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Organization, Discourse Ethics and the Interpretation of "Political CSR"

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Abstract: The political theory of corporate social responsibility (CSR) claims that the current social role of multinational corporations can not be described merely with the classic and economic CSR paradigms which are based on an instrumentalist view where the various corporate stakeholders are considered in decision-making only in as much as they are powerful and able to influence the profit of the corporation (Scherer and Palazzo 2011). Scherer and Palazzo suggest that the CSR activities can be discussed from an alternative perspective. Instead of analyzing corporate responsibility from an economic or an ethical point of view, they propose to embed the CSR debate in the context of the changing order of political institutions. Based on the Habermasian understanding of *lifeworld* and *system world,* the dialogues and other corporate social responsibility practices, such as voluntary programs, staff involvement and the use of social media for the purpose of stakeholder relation strengthening, are the solutions that facilitate the possibility to bring together the *lifeworld* and the *system world* through the formation of organisation's internal openness. Thus the initiatives of stakeholder dialogues are intended to ensure that the interest alignment between companies and stakeholder organisations is between two collective agents and occurs along the mutually agreed criteria. When we take a closer look at the corporate practice, in the case of stakeholder involvement, the companies largely determine with which stakeholders to initiate dialogue.Companies that put an emphasis on environmental and social aspects are equally valued by their investors; the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (www.sustainability-indices.com) for example, grades companies from the point of view of sustainability as a stock indicator. Therefore, ethical decisions have strategic purposes too. In order to describe the characteristic patterns of companies, stakeholder relations and social responsibility, the study reviews the related concepts and theories. It then investigates how the theories of social communication can be connected to companies' activities related to social responsibility and organizing stakeholder relations and how objectives related to the organization of stakeholder relations are present in the strategies and processes of major Hungarian companies.

Keywords: discourse ethics, Habermas, organizational communication, stakeholder relations, political CSR

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The variety of corporate social responsibility definitions

The following paper connects the Hungarian corporate social responsibility and stakeholder relations practice of multinational companies with the theoratical approach of social discourse based on the discourse ethics of Habermas. The study explains the major notions of the theory of "political corporate social responsibility (CSR)" and of the stakeholder theory and the non-market strategies of the companies. The amibition of the study is to give an overview of these theoretical schools of thought which describe various motivations of the corporate social, and thus political activities and additionally examine the tendencies in the case of the Hungarian corporate practice.

The study implies that in spite of instrumental motivations, companies can become political actors and have a social communication role. The study leads from the definitions of corporate social responsibility, through the habermasian theories to the introduction of the "political CSR", the stakeholder relations and the results of the primary researches.

The communications of businesses have undergone major changes over the past few decades. In the current environment, the success of a business does not merely depend upon the products and services they provide, but it increasingly depends on the relationship a company builds with the community – the management has to identify with a set of values that resonate with employees and other stakeholders.

There is another characteristic notion found in some papers called "The Postnational Constellation". It refers to that the old alignment of state authority and responsibility, national cultures, and geographic borders are being replaced by a "fragmentation of authority, the increasing ambiguity of borders and jurisdictions; and the blurring of the lines between the public and private sphere" (Scherer and Palazzo, 2011).

A key challenge for building the theory of the social responsibility of the corporations is the lack of agreement on where the boundaries of CSR lie (Frynas and Stephens, 2015). The meaning of CSR differs between national and industry contexts, and can change over time, it is appropriate to define CSR as an umbrella term for concepts and practices, which recognize that companies have a responsibility for their impact on society and the natural environment (Frynas and Stephens, 2015).

Businesses widely use a three-faceted approach to sustainable development, meaning that, in striving to achieve sustainability, businesses must focus on business, social and environmental aspects. In this essay I will focus on the concept of sustainability and social responsibility since these two encompass all three aspects the accord of which may determine the entire operation of any business.

The study aims to investigate the communication mechanisms and the related institutions of business practices. In addition to providing an overview of the literature of and an investigation of the relationship between communication theory and business ethics from a perspective of presenting theoretical connections between business ethics and stakeholder theory, as well as between communication theory and the preservation of social values and norms. The theories examined can be divided into two major groups: those related to social communication aspects and those related to the interpretations of political mechanisms beyond CSR and stakeholder relations.

The critical and the alternative approach of corporate social responsibility

The discussions regarding the notion of corporate social responsibility and the CSR criticism is dominantly focused on the motivations of the CSR activities and stakeholder relations. Archie B. Caroll aims to point out the scale of social responsibility, and in his pyramid-model he bases legal responsibility on economic responsibility, then ethical responsibility follows, and philanthropic responsibility is on the top (Carroll 1991). The point of the pyramid-model is that from economic responsibility the company eventually gets to social contribution. Proceeding on this development path, companies start from a defensive or purely economy-focused operation and they can reach activity characterised by instrumental responsibility and ethical operation that implements responsibility into everyday practice (Carroll 1991). Carroll's pyramid-model, at the same time, raises the question whether ethical operation can be considered an additional advantage as opposed to economic efficiency or not.

Similarly to the pyramid-model, Simon Zadek (2004) also divides CSR activity into three levels based on the several-decade long history of CSR practice. The first generation applied CSR as protection in case it did not endanger the generation of profit and in case it had to respond to a specific crisis situation with responsible activity. The second generation applied CSR activity as a tool to exploit certain instrumental advantages related to reaching customers and realisation of investments. According to Zadek, the responsibility of the third generation is CSR activity to be incorporated in corporate operation and that the company responds to global problems. Zadek's thoughts are in accordance with Visser's 2011 work The Age of Responsibilty:CSR 2.0 the New DNA of Business, which summarizes the typical conduct patterns related to CSR and proposes the introduction of a new CSR approach (Visser 2011).

Guido Palazzo and Andreas Georg Scherer aim to reconceptualize the corporation as a political actor, challenging the liberal conception of democracy which seeks political legitimacy simply in the output of elections but neglects the procedural input that precedes the decisions and oppose as an alternative based on the Habermasian deliberative democracy conception. The deliberative approach starts with the assumption that the legitimacy of a political decision rests on the discursive quality of the decision-making process (democratic legitimacy) (Habermas [1981] 2011).

Palazzo and Scherer deliver a theoretical ground for conceptualizing a new approach to CSR which shifts the focus from analyzing corporate reaction to stakeholder pressure to an analysis of the corporate „role in the processes of (national and transnational) public will formation and their contribution to solving global environmental and social challenges" (Palazzo and Scherer 2006).

Palazzo and Scherer propose that a theory of "political CSR" should be based on Habermas's theory of deliberative democracy as "an alternative model which seems to be better equipped to deal with the post-national constellation and to address the democratic deficit" (2006). Before we analyse the CSR from a communicative perspective, we should understand the Habermasian theory and other related thoughts.

The perspective of social communications and organisational theory

The alignment of interests and its role in the interpretation of communication values appear in the theory of German philosopher, Niklas Luhmann. According to his wording, the society is not just an aggregation of individuals, but a system made up of communicative actions, therefore, it is actually an operationally closed communication process. Therefore, whether we can consider something as a social system is exclusively due to the fact whether it can be

linked to communication type actions (Luhmann 2006; Brunczel, 2008). Social systems are only set up as part of some communication action, whereas it is not possible to imagine a communication that would not be the action of a particular social system (Brunczel 2008). According to Luhmann, communication cannot be described by a transmission model, because we cannot be sure that the speaker and the listener understand the message in the same way. Accordingly, communication is a unity of three components: "utterance, information and understanding".

The results of Stanley Deetz's (2001) research furthermore confirm that the operation of organisations is also determined by represented values. As part of a social critical theory of organisational communication, Deetz points out that corporations are political as well as economic institutions. Based on the critical theory, corporations are not simply organisations creating economic value, but also new entities that are created through communication and play a decisive role in creating meaning, therefore a number of public policy issues may be coupled with their operation and communication. They play a vital cultural role due to the ability to give information, which recipients will adopt as fact, so they have the power to freely form meanings (Deetz, 2001).

The political approach is at the same time the social critical as well in the sense, that the increase of organisations' internal democracy is a prerequisite for sustainable and efficient operation (Gelei, 1996; Griffin, 2003).

According to Deetz (2001), the strategy perceivable in connection with the managerial control serves the power extension, while the participation and the interest can be, in fact, interpreted as the transposition of democracy into practice. This is why Deetz views the role of people who are affected (stakeholders) in partial taking over of the meaning construction role from corporations and its joint creation with corporations. An important and distinctive element of the corporate operations is a conflict, which can create a situation facilitating the release of creative energies through appropriate conflict management tools (Alvesson and Deetz, 1998).

By highlighting the connection of ethical behaviour and communication, Karl-Otto Apel created the concept of communicative ethics. Discourse ethics consider public dialogue to be the origin of ethics and moral decisions and the reason of maintaining community norms.

Jürgen Habermas also points out the ethical implications and content neutrality of the fundamental rules of communication. Habermas looks for the possibility of moral normativity in modern society. As opposed to Kant's categorical imperative, Habermas does not take the universal validity of moral norms for granted but theorizes them to be of a linguistic-communicative nature. The notion described by Habermas is close to the deliberative democracy according to which, not merely the aggregation of preferences that occur in voting, but the support of interest groups, the authentic deliberation should preceed a legitimate, democratic decision.

According to discourse ethics theory, in today's modern world the motivations of the different people are so varied that ethics is unable to offer a common set of values that can be accepted by everyone. Beyond the lack of a common set of norms the real issue is that the norms lack legitimacy which means that any particular set of values can be questioned.

According to discourse ethics, reconciliation of interests and consensual communication are prerequisites of social cohesion. Ethics, however, can provide a specific way for solving moral conflicts (Császi, 2002). According to Apel and Habermas, "communication is a set of rules of normative nature, and this normative nature is independent of culture." (Szilágyi, 1995:810)

Habermas, in his work titled Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1999), separates the feudal and bourgeois public sphere, pointing to the openness that is

characteristic for civil public sphere, the subject of which is constituted by uncritically accepted questions and the best argument wins.
According to Habermas, communication is the only element in the everyday life of a pluralistic society, in which we are forced to adhere to the common rules, and Habermas's moral philosophy starts from processing of democracy, according to which a key element of democracy is theoretical foundation of ongoing contestableness of problems (Szilagyi-Gal, 2001). Public sphere replaces the traditions and promotes socialisation, moral orientation and integration of people on the basis of critically examined and collectively discussed rational concepts (Császi, 2002, 28). Public sphere is attributed by Habermas as the role of social and moral coordinator of the human lifeworld.

Based on the analysis of legitimacy and the total social consensus on the crisis in developed Western democracies, Habermas gives a general interpretation of communication showing that the speech act, made without constraint, that is freely, is a public domain regardless of who and what is saying.

In this action theory a special place is attributed to communicative action, which may equally apply to objective, social and subjective world. "I speak about communicative action (...) when the actors coordinate their action plan not by interlacing of egocentric calculations of utility, but by the act of reaching mutual understanding" (Habermas [1981] 2011, p. 197). According to Habermas, when analysing functioning of societies it is worthwhile to distinguish between economy, bureaucracy and politics described using the system concepts, and communication, culture, public and family expressed by the concept of lifeworld, and inclusive of the "world of sensitive interactions going on among them" (Felkai 2011: 583).

When drawing up the action theory, his preposition was that the private life and the institutional world will be separated, so in the action theory, emphasising the dissimilarity of the institutions and the morality, he separates the concepts of the lifeworld and the system world (Császi, 2002).

In his work presenting the Structural Transformation of the public sphere, he points out that the relationship between the two life spheres created by the public dimension, which is a transition between the private and institutional spheres (Habermas, 1999). Habermas distinguishes the scientific-technological-strategic learning, which can be associated with the system world. The communications-political-ethical learning is related to the lifeworld (Császi, 2002).

Moral discourse is pursued by a subject, but at the same time conscience transcendence of the subject occur necessarily keeping in mind another subject's personal integrity and gaining knowledge of another subject's special needs (Szilagyi, 1995).

Public sphere is attributed by Habermas, the role of social and moral coordinator of the human lifeworld. The problematics of civil society is connected with this. In contrast to individual and personal organisation of the "lifeworld", the civil society forms another aspect of the "lifeworld", its public life organisation and those voluntary associations and societies, "in which people express opinion on public issues and social justice" (Császi, 2002, 28).

Habermas's theory of action is based on referencing to the different types of action, different types of worlds (lifeworld, system world). Habermas separates his own theory from Max Weber's theory of action that focuses on the "lone actor (...) engaged in goal-oriented activity" (Habermas [1981] 2011, p. 195). Following the purposeful, value-oriented, affective and traditional action types introduced by Weber, Habermas introduces teleological, instrumental, strategic and communicative action types. In this action theory a special place is attributed to communicative action, which may equally apply to objective, social and subjective world. "I speak about communicative action (...) when the actors coordinate their action plan not by interlacing of egocentric calculations of utility, but by the act of reaching mutual understanding" (Habermas [1981] 2011, p. 197).

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The system world integrates people impersonally and not morally, using not language and dialogue, but power, money and other intermediaries. The lifeworld, by contrast, is based on personal relations and its key component is the communicative action, which integrates the lifeworld members in a community with the help of language and symbols (Császi, 2002). The lifeworld can be regarded as completely rational and enables reciprocal relations, which are driven by understanding created with the help of communication, rather than intermediary tools and constraints of the system world (Habermas, 2001; Alvesson and Deetz, 1998). In the lifeworld, that is in the scenes of human everyday life, the typical is "(...) the action type, which aspires for self-introduction, understanding of others and self-understanding, as well as (...) public consensus, and is controlled by communication and love as 'generalised media'" (Felkai, 2011: 570).

The condition for dialogue is mutual criticism, which can build a common interpretation. "The definition of a forced situation immunised against critique is not common because the actors have adopted it not from conviction, but for some other reason" (Némedi, 2000, 168). This is about the creation of the base of understanding in the course of consensus process of "uniting negotiation" of subjects able to speak and able to act, where the participants are featured with mutual tolerance and self-control; this base allows, at a later stage, to coordinate the management of strategical plans of individual and group wills, and this way the chance can be created that diversified entities of society – while remaining different – achieve an agreement (Habermas, 2001). This requires that the communication is free of all kinds of internal and external pressures and restrictions. Moral discourse is pursued by a subject, but at the same time conscious transcendence of the subject occurs necessarily keeping in mind another subject's personal integrity and gaining knowledge of another subject's special needs (Szilagyi, 1995).

Habermas names the instrumental action, which is orientated at success and calculates with the antipodal response, as strategy and opposes it against communicative action, where "the actors coordinate their action plan not by interlacing of egocentric calculations of utility, but by the act of reaching mutual understanding". In communicative action, the actors are primarily orientated not on their own utility, but on mutual understanding" (Habermas [1981] 2011: 209).

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The institutions of parliamentary democracy are always created in the drifting of practical discussions, from communicative rationality implemented, under specific historical conditions. The discourse ethics, using the means, which are scientific to this extent, justifies the universality of claim for the implementation of institutionally guaranteed democratic will-formation that creates public consensus (Szilagyi, 1995).

This is important because Habermas points out that democratic participation gradually narrows and becomes more formalised for the citizen. The private sphere and the public sphere move away, separate from each other. Therefore, "according to Habermas a real possibility for the ideal communication community is nothing else but a well functioning participatory democracy. This point shows, that according to Habermas's interpretation of discourse ethics, in fact, participatory democracy is the foundation of morality (Szilágyi, 1995: 819).

The discourse of corporate social responsibility leads to various directions as Frynas and Stephens (2015) describe the tendencies of the current studies. Major directions of the interpretation of CSR are the political CSR and the stakeholder relations approach, the later one even as part of companies' non-market strategy. These notions and an overview of the Hungarian practice are described on the following pages.

The overview of the major paradigms defining the "classical" CSR

The Habermasian interpretation of the social aspects appearing in the business decision process is implemented in practice according to the classical CSR methods, and in line with the categories of Carrol (1991) as part of the non-market strategy of the corporation and as part of the stakeholder engagement methods. The two methodologies are introduced on the following pages, completed with Case 1. which is the introduction of the implementation of these methods at the leading Hungarian building material producer, the Duna-Dráva Cement.

The motivations to apply a "non-market strategy"

To better understand the significance of the point of view represented by the political CSR approach we should also examine the strategic approach which presumes that the companies' social activities have instrumental goals, that are primarily based on the voluntary social and environmental responses to external pressures if external political/ regulatory pressures are not discussed (Frynas and Stephens, 2015). David P. Baron's theory (1995) describes these aspects as non-market factors of the corporate strategy, describing the social activities as part of the business strategy of the company.

The literature analysing corporate strategies also ascertains the position of corporate activities serving social and environmental considerations within the broader system of strategic goals. While corporate market strategy aims to achieve competitive advantage through traditional marketing methods, non-market strategy is based on interactions with government organisations, local communities, NGO's and the media (i.e. typically non-market stakeholders) (Matolay 2012). In addition to marketing considerations, corporate management must also take several non-market factors into account in the decision-making process.

Essentially, a non-market environmental strategy involves the cultivation of relationships with stakeholders, as well as improving the organisation's overall social performance, working to influence the organisational area where the company operates (Pataki 2000). In shaping and influencing the non-market environment, the aim of a non-market strategy ultimately remains the creation of market value. A collective strategy is when an entire industry uses a non-market strategy to advance the market interests of the industry as a whole. An integrated strategy involves the company management taking actions and making decisions to advance both the market and non-market aspects of the company's interests.

David P. Baron (1995) describes corporate environmental strategy in the context of market and non-market strategies. As per his definition, environmental strategy is ideally an integrated strategy, spanning the breadth of the company's core activities and simultaneously and comprehensively managing both the company's market and non-market goals and aspirations (Pataki 2000). The decision between market and non-market environmental strategies is to be made rationally, and its success may be dependent of the successful

integration of market and non-market considerations, as well as whether the organizational changes associated with the introduction of the environmental strategy are managed in a top-down fashion or not (Pataki 2000). György Pataki cites Johan Schot's typology of market environmental strategies, differentiating between dependent (avoidant), defensive, offensive, innovative and niche strategies.
The direction of "green development" was contingent on both outside factors and the existing organizational capabilities of the investigated companies, in equal measure (Pataki 2000: 128-129). Citing Paul Shrivastava, Pataki describes a potential sequence of strategic measures that can be used to determine the general process of green development: "1. perceiving threats arising from environmental regulations and public opinion; 2. redefining corporate goals to reflect the company's newfound commitment to environmental values; 3. gradual, ad hoc implementation of environmental programs; 4. evaluating the programs in terms of the competitive advantage provided; 5. extending organizational systems and procedures to include environmental programs, leading to the institutionalisation of said environmental programs within the organisation's structure, management systems, procedures and corporate culture "(Pataki, 2000: 17).

The elements of non-market strategies pertaining to environment-conscious operations also affect the role assumed by the company in social communication, as the significance of the company's relationship with stakeholders becomes increasingly apparent. Stakeholder feedback may result in the company initiating Phase 1 of the process described above. In addition, the continued involvement of stakeholders with regards to environmental programs remains equally indispensable at later stages.

According to the approach of the theory of non-market strategy corporations consider the non-market activities as the expectations of powerful stakeholder groups as economic restrictions in their course towards maximizing profits. Legitimacy is considered as a resource to guarantee the corporation's continued existence. Guido Palazzo and Andreas Georg Scherer underline that a radical reformulation of the role of legitimacy is overdue and corporate legitimacy should deal with the appropriate role of corporations in society, through a discursive reinterpretation of organizational legitimacy (Palazzo and Scherer, 2006).
Palazzo and Scherer (2006) propose „a fundamental shift to moral legitimacy, from an output and power oriented approach to an input related and discursive concept of legitimacy. This shift creates a new basis of legitimacy and involves organizations in processes of active justification rather than simply responding to the demands of powerful groups. Which is a step towards the politicization of the corporation and attempt to reembed the debate on corporate legitimacy into its broader context of political theory, while reflecting the recent turn from a liberal to a deliberative concept of democracy (Palazzo and Scherer, 2006).

The theory, the categories and methods of stakeholder engagement

Based on the Habermasian discourse ethics, the mutual understanding should be achieved through negotiation between stakeholders. The practical realization of this can be achived according to the management theory literature by the implementation of stakeholder theory which describes the necessity and methodology of negotiation between companies and stakeholders.

In 1984, R. Edward Freeman published his work on strategic management describing stakeholder theory. Freeman focused on stakeholders, a concept first formulated in 1963 at a research institute of Stanford University. This research described stakeholders as actors whose support is necessary for the survival of the company. The same concept also appeared

in Russel L. Ackuff's 1974 book Redesigning the Future, which laid the foundations of stakeholder theory. By the eighties, the theory had evolved into a full-fledged business paradigm, identifying as stakeholders all individuals or groups affecting or affected by the organization, including both the organisations employees and those living in its environment (Zsolnai 1994).

Over the last few decades, the concept of stakeholder has become a fundamental determinant of corporate responsibility, emphasising the importance of transparency, accountability, ethics and responsibility in corporate governance (Fremond 2000). Stakeholder theory is only one of several cooperative theories described in the literature of organisational management. In addition to stakeholder theory, Gyula Zilahy (2007), recognises five other models for describing cooperation between companies and other organizations. It is important to note that each of these is a stand-alone model, suitable for independently describing the relationship between organisations.

The 1970's brought significant changes in the external circumstances determining the activities of companies. New, emerging trends, including the increasing strength of the civil sphere, and later the rise of Internet-based communication, have also served to enhance the importance of stakeholder relationships. The environment surrounding the companies grew increasingly dynamic, and the process of charting and maintaining stakeholder relationships soon began to serve a role as a pre-emptive warning system for future events. The new approach proposed by Freeman is also reflected in his definition of a stakeholder: a stakeholder is any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives (Philips, Freeman and Wicks 2003, Lepineux 2004).

This can be interpreted as a "watchdog" role, in the sense that it helps the company assess the degree to which the governments attention is drawn to the activity in question, as well as the extent to which international market circumstances, growing competition, an increasingly critical media and declining public confidence towards corporate governance can end up affecting the company (Preble 2005).

Furthermore, by emphasising corporate rights and the impact of corporate activities, this approach requires that the company refrain from violating the rights of others, and assume responsibility for the impact of its activities on others. Accordingly, "the company is not merely a vehicle for maximizing shareholder value, but a coordinator of the conflicting interests of stakeholders" (Málovics 2009: 100). The company's goal, therefore, is not merely to generate income in accordance with the interests of the shareholders, but also to harmonise economic, environmental and social benefits. To achieve this, communication and the coordination of interests is of paramount importance.

Stakeholder engagement serves strategic directions and operating principles that contribute to the company's sustainable performance, allowing the company to meet the threefold performance requirements of the Triple Bottom Line principle (environment, society, economy; People, Profit, Planet) (Braun 2013).

John F. Preble (2005) identifies three types of approaches for cooperating with stakeholders, from a corporate motivational point of view. Firstly, cooperation with stakeholders is advantageous in an instrumental sense, as it can contribute to the company's financial performance. This relates to the strategic stakeholder model developed by Shawn L. Berman and his collegaues (1999), whereby companies consciously maintain stakeholder relationships when doing so can fit their strategic goals.

The second approach demonstrates the consequences of the company failing to maintain its relationships with its stakeholders. In this case, stakeholders are more likely to block negotiations and initiate boycotts. Third is the moral approach - from this point of view, stakeholders are seen as a goal in and of themselves, and not merely a means of achieving an objective. Preble then describes a six-step approach to stakeholder theory. First, the

organisation must identify the stakeholders. It is then important to assess the requirements of stakeholders. In addition, differences in performance between the stakeholders should also be evaluated. The expectations and requirements of stakeholders should be surveyed. The next important factor is the prioritisation of stakeholder requirements, followed by identifying possible organisational responses to these requirements. The company should monitor all of the above.

With regards to stakeholder relationships, it is important to determine which groups should be considered stakeholders of the organisation. The first phase of the stakeholder assessment is building the stakeholder map. Certain stakeholders or groups of stakeholders may also be members of other stakeholder groups and may coordinate their roles, which is worth considering when planning relationships (Freeman 1984, Zsolnai 1994). The significance of the stakeholder assessment is enhanced by the fact that corporate managements impression of stakeholders (stakeholder perception) often does not correspond to reality. Executives often misinterpret the interests of stakeholders, underestimate their influence, especially in the case of "non-market stakeholders" (Zsolnai 1994).

It is possible to distinguish the set of primary stakeholders, i.e. the owners, employees, suppliers, from the wider set of public stakeholders, including the company's customers, the government, and other communities (local residents, the press, special interests, professional organisations, local governments) (Clarkson 1995, as cited by Lepineux 2004). Zsolnai (1994) places emphasis of two dimensions with regards to stakeholder analysis: stake and power.

While in certain cases it is indeed possible to clearly distinguish between stakeholders along these dimensions – there are stakeholders with large stakes and significant power and stakeholders with large stakes but little power. Circumstances generally tend to be more complex, with stakeholder groups holding multiple different types of stakes, and possibly even several different "dimensions" of power. A single person may be a resident of a city, an employee of a company, a client of the company, and a member of a civil community involved in the criticism of some aspect of the company's activities. Stakeholder relationships can thus be interpreted as a constant shifting in the relationships between stakeholders.

By dividing stakeholders into two categories – social stakeholders and business stakeholders – we find that social stakeholders are not necessarily associated with individual countries; some may be of global influence, and can be associated not just with specific groups, but rather with processes affecting all of society, e.g. media or environmental protection. The other category is linked to the organisation through business interests (Lepineux 2004). Regarding stakeholder relationships, a global point of view becomes indispensable: "Once we start thinking on a global scale, all actions will ultimately appear as part of a zero-sum game, meaning that we can only win by causing someone else to lose." (Győri, 2010: 84).

It is possible to break down the two categories further: global or national civil society stakeholders and small social group stakeholders, while business stakeholders can be divided into shareholders, and external or internal stakeholders. The individual groups can then be subdivided with even greater precision: global and national civil societies, NGO's, government, media and for the business group, suppliers, shareholders, management, employees, etc. All of this can be visualized with a shareholder map, which will also display the relationship between the organization and its stakeholders as well as between the individual stakeholders themselves. Consequently, each stakeholder is connected to all other stakeholders, meaning that the relevant theoretical questions can be further analysed using the tools of network and systems research (Lepineux 2004, Ackoff 1974).

The purpose of the stakeholder map is not merely to allow companies to see the groups affecting their activities, but also to show that the relationship with stakeholder groups is dynamic, and depending on the specific circumstances, the effect of the company's activities on the various stakeholder groups may be markedly different, and likewise for the effects of the stakeholder groups' activities on the company.

The scientific literature also includes methods for defining new stakeholder categories, which can become necessary when various different types of relationships come to light. One such relationship involves vested interests in the company or organization, requiring new stakeholder categories to classify and evaluate these different types of relationships. Using these methods of categorisation, real stakeholders are groups in close contact with the organisation, including vested interests between the real stakeholders and the organisation. As such, some of these groups typically hold a certain loyalty to the organisation (e.g. employees) (Fassin 2011).

Stakewatchers are group that do not have a vested interest in the activities of the company or organisation as such, but represents stakeholders as an intermediary or liaison entity. This category primarily includes civil organisations or special interest groups defending or representing other groups and communities. The stakekeeper category includes groups that have no direct stake in the company, but perform a monitoring function. The name is reminiscent of the well-known "gatekeepers" found in the history of journalism, and perform a similar function. The primary stakekeeper is the state, the government itself, but the category also includes other institutions with control and regulatory functions, such as regulatory authorities, standards enforcement organisations, and even journalists and the public.

The three categories of stakeholders derive their legitimacy from three different sources. Real stakeholders are legitimized through their very real relationship with the company in question. Stakewatchers gain legitimacy from their representation of real stakeholders. Stakekeepers are fully independent of both, but do affect both real stakeholders and stakekeepers.

Companies are directly responsible to the real stakeholders only. The concept of real stakeholders is derived from the strictest definition of stakeholder, that is, those with a contractual relationship to the company (Fassin 2011). Including stakewatchers and stakekeepers in the category of stakeholders involves differences, in accordance with the definitions of claimant and influencer. As per the "claimant" approach, only real stakeholders can be considered stakeholders, as they are the ones who can "claim cooperation" on the part of the company. Using the strategic approach corresponding to the stakeholder definition of "influencer", however, stakewatchers and stakekeepers should certainly be included in the stakeholder map, as both are capable of influencing the company and its operations. When considering the narrower activities corresponding to corporate social responsibility, however, the real stakeholders are primarily the ones involved.

The strategy and practice of stakeholder relation at Hungarian corporations

Following an overview and synthesisation of the literature on business ethics, corporate social responsibility, stakeholder relationships and approaches to communication theory and society theory, this chapter will provide an overview of recent Hungarian studies that I use to recreate the individual and corporate practices and attitudes associated with social responsibility and stakeholder relationships. The survey of the practice of Duna-Dráva Cement and Hungarian Telekom will allow us to have a look into the motivations and results

based on activities that are related and can be interpreted as part of the notions of "political CSR".

This is the reason why qualitative methodology was chosen for this reseach. The analyses includes a sample of 14 companies from a population of approximately 300 companies which include 200 of Hungary's biggest corporations. The sample companies are taking part in professional CSR contests as well as of communities that were created through the participation and with the membership of companies in the course of corporate social responsibility initiatives in Hungary. From a perspective of what social corporate responsibility practices, the companies' conduct, to what extent these practices are influenced by public matters and driven by stakeholder relationships and how they provide a problem-solving opportunity based on communication and cooperation.

The sample presents companies that use unique solutions and have major achievements in terms of stakeholder relationships, or there are some lessons that can be learned from the company's stakeholder relationship practice. Selection criteria whereby a company should structure stakeholder relationships around strategic aspects so that an investigation of the selected sample population would provide an insight in the considerations used by organisations that are conscience about their stakeholder relationships. The study aims to provide an overview on how the concept of sustainable development and the idea of business, social and environmental sustainability are represented in corporate communications and whether they are institutionalised in business operations and how, and in what way they result in various forms of cooperation and win-win innovations between businesses and stakeholders.

This method was selected because, over and above the numerous available quantitative studies and qualitative studies conducted using other methods, there is a need to hear the voices of decision-makers responsible for the areas of corporate social responsibility and stakeholder relationships in Hungary's corporate sphere. Frynas and Stephens (2015) point out that CSR-related studies often dismiss the importance of the individual level of analysis so they ignore the significance of individuals in shaping CSR and focus little on individual corporate leadership or entrepreneurship. However, Scherer and Palazzo (2011) underline the role of the corporate executives when they state that the regulation gaps have to be filled by managers "with pro-social behaviour and an aspiration to the common good".

Case/1.

The implementation of social and environmental aspects at the strategy of Duna-Dráva Cement

The conclusions of the studies of corporate sustainability,social responsibility strategies, and of market & non-market strategies is worth to be surveyed in case of one company.
The Duna-Dráva Cement Ltd. is one of Hungary's leading industrial material producing firms in terms of revenue. The last three decades modernisation period of the company went together with the adaptation and implementation of the market and non-market strategies.
The company (which operates the cement plants in Vác near Budapest and Beremend in South Hungary) is a subsidiary of the global building-material producer company, the leading German cement producer, the HeidelbergCement Group. The company's majority is owned by the HeidelbergCement Group employing 45 thousand pople in 40 countries.

The CSR activities and stakeholder relations of the company became intensive when the alternative fuel usage became priority for the company in 2003. The company asked for

a permanent permit of the environmental authority for using alternative fuels when a local NGO began protesting movement against the company's plans and appealed against the permit at the authority. The NGO's campaign continued with demonstrations which led to articles in mainstream media and even the municipality became unsure about the support of the project.

The company hadn't focused on the communication of the project until this situation but when the local protest and the media attention became intensive than the company introduced a complex stakeholder involvement policy. The company did not communicate the rehearsal usage of the alternative fuel and only communicated the basic information and used the elementary ways of communication, which were compulsorily specified by the regulations at the time.

> "We assumed that the process, the methods, the safety and the advantages of the technology will be evident for everyone. We hadn't taken into consideration that we should explain the details of the new method for the local citizens" (János Szarkándi, Chairman-General Manager, Duna-Dráva Cement Kft.).

After the new process of the authority, the company received permanent permit for the usage of alternative fuels only in 2005. The company hadn't started the usage of the new technology after an educational communication campaign, that's why they were only followers of the communication of the protesters, but then, the company began a proactive communication in 2003. The strategy of the communication with tocal stakeholders not only consisted of the new technology being environmentally friendly but the company changed the key message and emphasized a new aspect: the role of the social control, the various ways how the civil community can be involved in the supervision of the processes at the cement plant: as the initiative of the DDC a local publicity program had been started and as part of this the so called Social Control Group was founded, the foundation of the Social Control Group, the start of the plant's new website where the daily emission data was uploaded and public plant visits every quarter year.

In line with these, the company started the so called open plant program, with presentations and internal information events for the employees as well. The more intensive local media relations, local forums, publishing local newspaper were also parts of the project. There were about three-hundred people taking part on the local public forum where the plant's emplyoees also participated and talked about the advantages of the modern technology.

The company also financed a new emission measuring system at the town which made it easy to follow, to measure the major reasons of pollution at the town. The firm and the municipality also signed the Environmental Charta of Vác, which is still effective.

The company finally started intensive cooperation with the stakeholders to be able to fulfill the targets. The cooperation led to multiple advanteges for the community as well.

The company also applied these methods when the modernisation of its other plant in Beremend started in 2007. The company organised an information event for the mayors from the region and also published a brochure about the project which was sent to all households in the region.

After 2007, the CSR and the sustainable development became even more important messages for the company and those became the key elements of the company's brand building. The CSR became the part of the training of the internal employees. The company defined how the company interprets the notion of sustainable development and publishes it in several brochures, documents, etc.

In spite of these, the company doesn't have a published CSR or sustainable development strategy and the company hasn't defined KPI's or targets that can be publicly supervised. The company has active stakeholder cooperations, the strategic attitude and institutionalisation of the stakeholder relations is still limited at the DDC.

The overview of the deliberation of corporate discourse: the political CSR

Scherer and Palazzo (2011) state that the liberal democratic view that corporations are only private, economic actors is changing as globalisation has shifted the balance between corporations and states, since corporations are becoming active, influential, and constructive participants of contribution to solving global environmental and social. Scherer and Palazzo propose that in order to understand the role of the firm today, we need to move away from outdated models of liberal democracy, which see corporations as private actors, and instead adopt models which better recognize the role of corporations as political actors.

The companies' motivation to intensify stakeholder relations is typically instrumental, which means that it is based on the business strategy as we learned this from the example of DDC Group. Scherer and Palazzo criticise this approach and the classical CSR theories, such as the stakeholder theory as it is an instrumental approach of the relation between the company and its stakeholders. The way in which companies use stakeholder relations with different groups of stakeholders can also be interpreted as a form lobbying, a form of influence to mediate the regulatory process. However, stakeholder theory emphasises the role of (particularly external) actors in transmitting ideas and beliefs about desirable managerial practices to the organisation and adaptation to stakeholder (Frynas and Stephens, 2015).

Habermasian theories are applied in the field of political CSR in order to offer a normative account of institutional changes that will legitimise business' political CSR activities. This way using insights from Habermasian theory of deliberative democracy, it can be assumed that politics starts at the level of deliberating civil society associations, in order to conceptualize the growing relevance of private actors in global governance processes and the rise of multi-stakeholder initiatives as legitimate political actors (Frynas and Stephens, 2015).

In the terms of political CSR, the notion of legitimacy is also understood as managing a legitimacy gap created by the involvement of non-state actors in decision-making of public affairs. When legitimacy can not be seeked by reference to nationally defined laws or even by reference to widely accepted rules or customs in a plural, heterogeneous, and deregulated social environment, legitimacy needs to be created, and constantly recreated, through proactive discursive and political engagement. (Edward and Willmott, 2013).

According to this interpretation, the corporate political activities impact can range from

(1.) the deliberate attempts of firms to influence governments in order to gain firm-specific competitive advantages,
(2.) unintended effects of firm activities on the development of institutions such as by acting within 'institutional voids',
(3.) to reactive strategies of firms with regard to changes in the external political environment. (Frynas and Stephens, 2015)

This excludes voluntary social and environmental responses to external pressures if external political/ regulatory pressures are not discussed (Frynas and Stephens, 2015).

Scherer and Palazzo (2011) suggest that the CSR activities can be discussed from an alternative perspective. Instead of an economic or an ethical point of view they propose to embed the CSR debate in the context of the changing order of political institutions corporate responsibility. They point out that the move from nation states to a world that is characterised by a post-national constellations, the division of labor between governments, corporations and civil society does not remain stable.

The post-national constellation challenges key assumptions about the order of the political institutions in which corporations are embedded this is why the key assumptions of CSR and in management theories have to be reconsidered. Independent from whether or not it pays to be responsible and whether or not universal normative principles can be defined. And a new perspective can be found in theorizing on CSR where the post-national constellation is characterised by a loss of regulatory impact of national governments on multinational corporations, and new societal risks result from this power shift and new forms of (global) governance have been developed to deal with the risks (Scherer and Palazzo, 2011).

In contrast to stakeholder management, which deals with the idea of internalizing the demands, values, and interests of those actors that affect or are affected by corporate decision-making – as we saw this in the case above detailed example of Duna-Dráva Cement – Scherer and Palazzo (2011) emphasise that political CSR can be understood as a movement of the corporation into the political sphere in order to respond to environmental and social challenges.

The scholars of political CSR define new mechanisms of governance (Scherer and Palazzo, 2011):

- Self-regulation is becoming a key issue in the CSR debate.
- The idea of social connectedness is replacing the idea of legal liability which means that along their supply chains, multinationals are asked to take responsibility for more and more social and environmental externalities to which they are connected.
- ” From cognitive and pragmatic legitimacy to moral legitimacy” (Scherer and Palazzo, 2011): CSR in a domestic context is built on the assumption that corporations, in order to preserve their legitimacy, follow the nationally defined rules of the game. In the changing institutional context corporations have to find new ways to preserve their legitimacy.
- From liberal democracy to deliberative democracy: The growing engagement of business firms in public policy, when the corporations participate in governance initiatives, they engage in a political deliberation process that aims at setting and resetting the standards of global business.

Case / 2.

Setting up a strategy and the organisation of social responsibility

The process of creation, motivations and main objectives of the strategy related to the sustainability concept and the structuring of stakeholder relationships and methods for measuring the success of the strategy, reporting, method of communicating the results was the main question of the survey detailed above. This is why the strategic background of the

CSR activities and stakeholder relations reveals the motivations and commitment of the company.

The practice of the examined companies often entails a comprehensive, long-term social responsibility- and sustainability strategy, in most cases based on research. Meanwhile, practices are also present, where companies include social participation and activities relating to the sustainability concept in their communication strategies. Such strategies are for the most part publicly available, making the company's objectives of each area trackable for the affected demographics. For the purposes of this writing, I regard declarations companies' representatives made during interviews or stated in public documents as strategic goals, regardless of whether or not they are published in the form of an independent document.
Some of the companies build their strategy on research or analysis, while the concept of social responsibility is reiterated in their communication activity over and over again. Additionally, companies differ in the proportion of the role community engagement and environmental protection plays in their activities. Though companies often refer to the principle of sustainable development as a guideline, in certain cases only its social aspects dominate, as opposed to all three components. Accordingly, the area is characterized by the dichotomy of the two approaches: environmental protection and social responsibility. While DDC, LG, TELEKOM and E.ON focus on sustainability embedded in environment protection, TESCO, Vodafone, KPMG, Dreher, MagNet Bank and OTP emphasises community engagement and social responsibility. MOL, Audi and Coca-Cola HBC pushes for both directions, moreover, MOL and Audi also aims for talent management.

Magyar Telekom' sustainability strategy includes harmonisation of the social- and economic aspects. Having reviewed the strategies and having read the presentations prepared for the conversations with the affected, it can be established that corporate experts responsible for the strategic courses of action place the company's activities in the context of global trends and ensure that the strategic goals relating to sustainability are in line with them.

Magyar Telekom's presentation, entitled Trends - Everything Is Changing presented on the Sustainability Roundtable meeting on 3rd September 2014, aiming to review the company's sustainability achievements, also informs about the global changes in energetics and technology. According to the review, Magyar Telekom aims to ride these trends to meet the challenges of sustainable development, with the strategic goal to significantly reduce carbon-dioxide emission, thus become the first carbon-neutral telecommunication company of Hungary. In November 2015, the company launched a campaign, in which it informed the public that this goal was attained.

Companies predominantly implement processes which enable the compliance of certain parts of their basic activities or operation with the requirements of sustainable development and social responsibility. A further possibility is that they support or launch community events that help to meet social- or environmental challenges. Additionally, companies often push for the inclusion of the affected theme or public issue in the media, which might benefit the perception of the company, reinforcing the acceptance and legitimacy of its basic activities.

Generally, the strategies can be divided into three groups: a strategic approach outlining the company's general activities (Magnet, MOL, Telekom), the comprehensive strategy for the management of one activity segment (DDC), and project-based initiations, that don't directly belong to the company's scope of activities. Accordingly, based on their strategic planning, the reviewed companies form three large sets:

- Large companies, that plan a comprehensive sustainability- and social engagement strategy in line with the international trends, which is applicable

to the company as a whole: Magyar Telekom, MOL, OTP, Vodafone, Dreher, Tesco.

- A less detailed, but intentionally built, comprehensive corporate responsibility planning is the main characteristic of Coca-Cola and Magnet Bank.
- The planning process is done along two lines: communication and environmental strategy (DDC, LG).

The main difference lies in the extent of comprehensiveness of their plans, the transparency of their corporate activities, the accountability they assume, and the extent they use indicators to assess the practice of sustainability and social responsibility. In this regard, the strategy of Magyar Telekom and MOL is detailed enough and it is publicly available. During interviews it was mentioned that Coca-Cola HBC, DDC, OTP and KPMG establishes key performance indicators (KPI's) associated with the strategic goals of sustainable development for their leaders.

Magyar Telekom's strategy set-up was preceded by research and assessment of the results of the previous strategy. In the last decades, the emergence and development of the company's strategic thinking is predominated by the continuously growing environmental impact of the info-communication sector. By today, 2 per cent of the greenhouse gas emissions can be attributed to the sector, tóhe significance of which is indicated by the fact that the total emission of the cement industry and civil aviation amounted to 5 per cent each. (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2012)

Magyar Telekom's strategy for social responsibility- and relations with the affected demographic

Magyar Telekom started the process that led to the draft of an environmental report in 2004 and the sustainability strategy in 2005 with the objective of realization its environment protection goals.

> "In 2004, we could present a so called GRI-based sustainability report, compliant with the international standard. This can be regarded as the review and inventory of our activities aiming to attain sustainability. The writing already mentioned community engagement, - though previously only environment protection goals constituted to sustainability – with the enactment of the Social Charter in 2005, this also forms part of it. I believe that experts responsible for the field should strive to shape the management's thinking with regards to sustainability and environmental aspects. Magyar Telekom is an innovative company, in other words, it doesn't just follow other companies, it much rather initiates and takes the lead. Today, the company has a sustainability coordination team, which convenes quarterly, and where all business branches are represented. This team singles out the sustainability report's chapters for further elaboration." (Katalin Szomolányi, Magyar Telekom)

The company faced the negative consequences of the effects of rapid modernisation and infrastructural development when the act on environment protection became operational in 1996. This is when criticism emerged, calling attention to the environmental impact on the expansion of telecommunication networks, and the company was fined several times. The demand thus arose for the organisation to meet with the affected parties, and to start a conversation to coordinate the main issues.

As a result of the first conversation with the affected parties, the issue of restoration of damages caused by the modernisation of the line network was clarified. Furthermore, the ancient monument protection aspects of the lines running along Andrássy Avenue, Budapest were also mentioned. The late nineties witnessed the emergence of the process in association with the organised environment protection activities, which was summarized by the company in its 2004 report. "It listed the measures taken to ensure that our operation is compliant with the principle of sustainable development." – informed us Katalin Szomolányi, head of the company's Sustainable Development Center.
The company's first sustainability strategy was drafted after the report. It included economic, social and environmental sustainability aspects, also mentioning community engagement functions. True, the implementation process was part of a longer development process. Magyar Telekom's sustainability strategy applies for a five-year term, and features exact commitments of both environmental- and business factors. For example, it lays down that innovations with environmental goals should reach 10 per cent of the R&D activities, and the residents' awareness with regards to the concept of sustainability should reach 20 per cent. The strategy also specifies exact target values or indicators for each environmental goal (such as energetic efficiency). The company regards the role of its sustainability activities in the company's practices as a comprehensive attitude shaping organizational culture and business strategy, as opposed to a separate entity, without any connection to the business processes.

> "We are putting a lot of effort in including the concept of sustainability in the company's activities as a whole, and to transform it into a competitive advantage. We are handling this issue comprehensively, and not as a task of a separate entity. The individual tasks require the cooperation of units located far away from each other. In its everyday activities, the company is committed, proactive and transparent in its efforts to make sustainability a part of its identity." (Katalin Szomolányi, Magyar Telekom)

The 2014 sustainability report lays down the strategic goals for 2015, and presents the results already achieved. The company sets two primary strategic goals:

> "(…) with its progressive thinking, innovative and sustainable products and services, its responsible conduct, the company facilitates revitalization of the society and the environment." (Magyar Telekom Nyrt. 2014).

> „(…) In its everyday activities, the company is committed, proactive and transparent in its efforts to make sustainability part of its identity and to transform it into a competitive advantage." (Magyar Telekom Nyrt. 2014)

For Magyar Telekom, research is an important part of the process of setting up a strategy. The company asks their customers (1430 people) of their preferences four times a year, within the framework of an omnibus survey. The survey includes questions about the use of basic profile services, such as TV, Internet, phone or other services, such as energy, insurance or sustainability issues (Magyar Telekom, 2014).

The strategic goals with regards to sustainable development are set by the Group's Sustainability Coordination Council. In addition to the coordination of the sustainability office, the Council is responsible for setting up the strategy, while the operative management and the implementation of the strategy fall into the scope of the individual management fields and team-level functions.

In documents available on their website, and also during the interview, Magyar Telekom's representatives emphasize that the introduction of the principle of sustainable

development into the business strategy, adopting its aspects to the company's operation, and the development of the brand are also triggered by business interests. Pointing out the aspects of sustainable development makes the company stand out, this way improves the company's competitiveness. Especially in an environment, where investors increasingly emphasise social and environmental factors. During the 2012 Sustainability Roundtable, Magyar Telekom was asked whether they would pursue sustainability, if it didn't result in a certain competitive advantage. Katalin Szomolányi, head of the center responsible for this field, commented:

> "(…) Most probably not, as we are not a non-profit organization. We have to meet the profit expectations of our owners" (Magyar Telekom Nyrt., 2012)

The current sustainability strategy features exact goals beyond communication goals, designed to monitor the company's actual environmental performance and social impact. According to the surveys, the principle of sustainable development is known by 16 per cent of the population. One of the strategic goals of the company is to increase this number to 20 per cent in Hungary. Another goal for 2016 is to link half of the company's team-building activities to volunteering for charities. The company's carbon-dioxide emission should also be decreased by 20 per cent. This stirred up some controversies within the company, as some of the organisational units do their business along different aspects and interests. The cost-effectiveness, expectations of the experts operating the company's real estates and the sales department's plans to find new sales shops can hardly be brought in line with sustainability aspects. Sustainability goals have to be met in addition to that of profit- and cost-effectiveness. "Setting carbon-dioxide emission targets might open up a firestorm of controversies" - informed Katalin Szomolányi, and added, that the team's recommendation of 20 per cent, which is compliant with the EU directives was finally accepted by the experts and decision-makers.

Conclusions

At the beginning of my research, I planned to approach corporate social responsibility practices with the goal examining whether the communication of companies that promote themselves as "responsible" are credible and whether cooperation with civil organisations is more than verifying procedures performed in return for funding and in accordance with corporate needs. The domain of the analysis, after understanding the academic literature and conducting interviews, became an examination of the realization of social and environmental concerns in corporate practices, in a way corresponding with the for-profit activities of the companies. Thus, I turned my attention to legitimization issues, the importance of non-market strategies, the mechanics of the organization of relevant cooperations, and to the examination of the social communication role of these cooperation activities.

If it can be stated as a criticism of Habermas's theory, that it overstates the significance of rationality and consensus status, but it introduces the concept of institutionalised communicative situation (Alvesson and Deetz, 1998).

The institutionalisation of communication provides normative stability, says Habermas. In communicative action, the actors are primarily orientated not on their own utility. They follow their individual goals under the condition that their action plans can be coordinated based on their common definition of the situation. To that extent, the situation definition bargain is an essential part of "interpretive performances necessary for communicative

action" (Habermas [1981] 2011, p. 203). An example of all this is the discourse of ethical issues, responsibility undertaking and stakeholder engagement in the context of companies' activities.

In the management of their stakeholder relations, companies pursue communicative actions, so in addition to actions of the instrumental and strategic type otherwise typical for companies, they learn the communicative action aimed at compromise and even consensus in the meaning of Habermas concepts, and also the cooperation of equals. Thus, the dialogue characteristic for the lifeworld appears in the institutional world, which is traditionally characteristic for companies. Therefore, the importance of corporate social responsibility and fostering of stakeholder relationships is in that the values characteristic for the lifeworld become achievable in the system world as well. An example of this is a corporate volunteering program or a social aim initiative, under which a leading trade chain initiates cooperation with NGO's in order to forward their products to people in need. Additionally, these solutions also facilitate that the institutions give preference to the ideal speech situations and morally driven discourse in the Habermas sense (Alvesson and Deetz, 1998).

The new mechanisms of the political CSR (Scherer et al., 2015) can be set against the above explained examples of the Hungarian corporate practice.

Self-regulation is becoming a key issue in the CSR debate. In line with the climate initiatives the Hungarian Telekom defines ambitious target 20% for the CO2 reduction. As the work safety is regulated strictly in the EU countries, the European subsidiaries of HeidelbergCement Group have to follow these rules. Since the company is present in several African and Asian countries where the HeidelbergCement is present with various and less complex regulations. This way the strict safety standards are spread by the company all over the world. These are also examples for the principle of "the shift from a liability to a social connectedness" since all internal stakeholders and suppliers responsible for the processes related to Telekoms CO2 emission have to be involved to achieve this target and they also have to be committed to realize the target.

Accordingly, in organisation studies the legitimacy of business behavior is understood as its perceived conformity with social rules, norms, or traditions. This suggests a focus on argumentation rather than on rhetoric. Multi-stakeholder initiatives such as the Fair Labour Association or the Forest Stewardship Council attempt to establish an institutional context in which the use of superior power in decision-making becomes more difficult. There are initiatives at Telekom and also at Duna-Dráva Cement with the aims to integrate the stakeholder groups as part of dedicated platforms and fora. At Telekom the annual stakeholder forum is a method, while at Duna-Dráva Cement the Social Control Group has this role, to be a regular and institutionalised meeting and discussion opportunitiy.

To pursue the interest and the publich sphere is also crucial and this is why the political CSR scholars stress that deliberative constrain of individual freedom (including those of corporations) by laws is unavoidable. In the liberal conception the citizen is conceptualised only as a private person (bourgeois) who will pursue his or her private interest both in the private and in the public sphere. But as we saw above both companies have initiatives which involve build upon the active participation of their stakeholders in the global issues (eg. sustainability) that are defined as major issue for the company.

These companies can be connected with political CSR but have instrumental goals and are active in stakeholder relations in line with the classic pardigms.

As for the criticism of the social responsibility of large enterprises, - claiming that these activities generally serve a communicational purpose - based on the review of the theory and the definition of the practice, it can be concluded that institutionalised forms communication contribute to the long-term enhancement of stakeholder cooperation.

The research contributes to the examination of the areas and channels of social dialogue and analyses the practice in social discourse. The autonomously defined relationship of market participants and stakeholders, which is independent of the government institution system and decision making, may serve as a starting point for bottom-up, democratic initiatives. Cooperation of the parties may lead to mutually beneficial programs and the enhancement of forms of cooperation that are independent of the government institution system and which integrate relevant factors into the making process.

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Soap Opera Viewing Motives among College Students in the Republic of Armenia

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Abstract: Soap operas are a popular culture phenomenon around the globe, including the Republic of Armenia (Armenia hereafter), a small ancient and changing society in post-Soviet era. A survey of 292 college students from Yerevan, the capital, as well as the provinces of Armenia was conducted in Yerevan. Employing uses and gratifications theory, this study investigated the students' reported motives in viewing soap operas in relations to their demographics. The survey yielded three motives for viewing soap operas: to pass time, for pleasure, and for stimulation. Analysis showed that provincial students were more likely to watch soap operas to pass time. The study can serve as a foundation for future studies about media use in Armenia and possibly other post-Soviet societies.

Keywords: Armenia, college students, soap operas, survey, uses and gratification, viewing motives

Introduction

Popular culture refers to 'the way of life in which and by which most people in a society live' (Brown & Brown 2001, p. 1). Popular culture, according to Hall (1998, p. 442), is about the culture of working classes and, as such, is 'linked … to questions of traditions, of traditional forms of life'. Contemporary world economy is global capitalism, and global media its 'necessary component' (Herman & McChesney 2004, p. 10), in that it facilitates 'the emergence of some kind of global culture' broadcast by 'dominant commercial centers' (p. 8). Thus, popular culture is also about 'transformations' and 'the active destructions of particular ways of life' (Hall 1998, p. 443), and global popular culture is about the

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homogenization of traditional cultures (eg Featherstone 1990) through programs such as soap operas.

Soap operas and telenovelas have long been considered a global popular culture that are watched every day by millions of people around the world (Allen 1996, 1995; Rios & Castaneda 2011), including Armenia, thus connecting local to global. Unlike in many other societies where soap operas have been present for a long time, the genre is a post-Soviet hence a relatively new phenomenon in Armenia—an ancient civilization with a unique history and culture. Armenians now watch Armenia-made serial dramas, as well as soap operas or serial dramas from different societies. Serial dramas have become one of the most watched programs in Armenia (Caucasus Research Resource Center [CRRC]-ARMENIA 2013) among viewers of almost all ages, including college students. The genre's unprecedented popularity has led to concerns among researchers and critics about its potential negative impact on the viewer (Mirakyan 2012), yet hardly any empirical study has been conducted on the topic.

Employing uses and gratifications (U&G) theory, this study investigated college students' reported motives in viewing soap operas in relations to their demographics. U&G theory focuses on how people use media and explores the appeal of different types of media content. According to this theory, audiences use media to gratify social and psychological needs. That is, they turn to media when their needs or desires cannot be met in more 'natural' ways (Rosengren & Windahl 1972; Rubin & Rubin 1985). U&G theory has guided numerous research studies of different popular media genres and different demographic groups in many countries, and was widely used with television. According to the theory, viewers derive gratification from three sources: 'media content, exposure to the media *per se*, and the social context that typifies the situation of exposure to different media' (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch 1973-1974, p. 514). Conducted mostly on the general adult population, U&G research has yielded two types of television viewers: an 'instrumental' viewer who uses the medium to seek information and to learn; and a 'ritualized' viewer who uses the medium for diversionary reasons such as to pass the time and to escape or for arousal and relaxation (Windhal 1981). These findings were confirmed by three other studies (Rubin 1981a; Rubin & Rubin 1982; Rubin 1983) and reconfirmed by yet another (Rubin 1984), which concluded that TV viewers are instrumental or ritualized, depending on their motives for watching TV, how much they watch, and the programs that they select. Instrumental (or selective) viewers use the medium to seek information, or to learn, so content is important for them. Ritualized (or habitual) viewers, on the other hand, depend on the television for gratification, and not on particular programs.

Since its inception decades ago, U&G theory has evolved in many ways and has been effectively applied to numerous new media (Rubin 2009; Ruggiero 2000) and across cultures. Current studies, conducted in a number of countries (eg China, Hong Kong, Netherlands, South Korea, and the U.S.A.), have applied the theory to cellular phone (eg Leung & Wei 2000), chatting on ICQ ['I seek you'] (eg Leung 2001), the Internet use (eg Choi, Dekkers & Pak 2004; Roy 2009), Podcasts (eg Chung & Kim 2008), mobile Internet (eg Shin, 2009), text-messaging (eg Grellhestl & Punyanunt-Carter 2012), and social media (eg Leung 2013), to name a few, resulting in 'nuanced gratifications' (Sundar & Limperos 2013, p. 504).

What is rather significant about these Internet-based technologies, particularly in regards to the genre, is that they have increased access to televised serial dramas. Although these technologies are on the rise in Armenia, access is still limited by sociodemographic factors such as economic well-being, urbanness, and language influences (Pearce 2014). Furthermore, TV was still the most accessible and prevalent medium in Armenia when the present research study was being conducted in 2013, and college students are a particularly good sample for the study because they have chosen to make time for soap opera viewing in

their busy schedules. The section below will provide an overview of U&G theory and research as it pertains to soap opera viewing among college students in particular. Please note that the literature review below is mostly from the 1980s because, as revealed through our literature search, the bulk of the research on soap opera viewing was conducted then when TV was the popular medium and many college students had been identified as 'devotees of this entertainment genre' (Rubin 1985, p. 241).

U&G Theory, Soap Operas, and College Students: Literature Overview

To begin with, it should be noted that U&G theory has been criticized for its theoretical and methodological shortcomings, such as not being rigorous enough about the social origin of the needs that the viewer brings to the media (Katz 1987), and for being individualist in its methodological inclinations (McQuail 1994). However, U&G theory has been also praised for effectiveness and for being the 'most influential' social science theory (Roy 2009, p. 878) that 'furnishes a benchmark base of data for other studies' (Ruggiero 2000, p. 12).

Focusing on college students primarily in the U.S., several U&G research studies have revealed that students seek many different kinds of gratifications from their viewing. Rubin (1985, p. 254), for example, identified four motives: orientation, avoidance, diversion, and social utility. He concluded that the gratifying motives depended 'both on the use of the program as content and on the use of the program as a medium'. Soap operas are viewed as a medium when watched to achieve gratifications such as enjoyment, and viewed for content when watched to learn about others (reality exploration) or to have discussions with others (social utility). Rubin (1985, p. 255) also concluded that 'the more [life-]satisfied and [socially] interactive seemed to sense less need for soap opera viewing in their lives'. A research study by Lemish (1985) revealed two additional motives for this group: preference and attachment to a particular soap opera, and time consumption (ie they watched what was on TV at the time). Applying U&G theory with cultivation analysis, Carveth and Alexander's (1985) study yielded five motives: enjoyment, boredom, reality exploration, escape, and character identification. Perse's (1986) research study identified five motives: exciting entertainment, habit-pass time, information, relax-escape, and voyeurism. A study by Babrow (1987) resulted in sixteen motives, the top five of which were time consideration, diversion, quality, social interaction, and arousal. The same study also revealed three dimensions of viewing anticipated by students: social pleasure, romantic fantasy, and learning. Rubin and Perse's (1987) study led to these motives: exciting entertainment, pass time, voyeurism, escapist relaxation, information, and social utility. In a subsequent investigation built on the same research study, and focusing on audience activity and satisfaction with favorite soap operas, Perse and Rubin (1988) found that watching soap operas to pass time correlated negatively with life satisfaction.

Since the present study was conducted in Armenia, the following section will provide an overview of the country's history, including the media status in general and soap operas in particular.

The Republic of Armenia and Soap Operas: A Brief History

Contemporary Armenia, unlike Historic Armenia, is a small country of about three million population in the southern part of the Caucasus region of Eurasia. Armenia declared independence in 1991, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and after having been ruled by Soviet Communism for nearly seven decades. The new government abruptly

changed the country's politico-economic system from a centrally-controlled command economy and so- called dictatorship to a free-market/capitalist economy and so-called democracy. This massive shift was particularly difficult for Armenia in that it coincided with other ongoing challenges, such as the horrific consequences of the earthquake of 1988 (Engholm 1989), the conflict with Azerbaijan over Artcakh (Nagorno Karabakh), and economic sanctions by Turkey (de Waal 2003).

This drastic change in direction had many unexpected negative consequences on the society. One such consequence on all post-Soviet republics has been a significant income and wealth inequity (Gevorkyan 2011). In Armenia, in particular, this change has brought about corruption, unemployment, poverty, and an altogether difficult life (Kennedy 2002; Sandholtz & Taagerpera 2005). For example, in 2013 (the year when the present survey was conducted), the poverty rate in Armenia was 32.0%, and it was higher in rural areas (27.5%) than in Yerevan (20.1%); and the unemployment rate was 17% (The World Bank 2016). The dire economic situation has led to male labor migration (Gevorkyan & Mashuryan 2006; Grigorian & Melkonyan 2011), posing a 'threat to [their] existential security' (Payaslian 2011, p. 21). The debilitating impact of these harsh economic realities on Armenian social life has been elucidated in qualitative research studies (Tholen et al. 2012).

The mass media is one of the spheres that was affected by the abrupt socio-politico-economic shift. In Soviet times, the media industry was a government monopoly and state-controlled newspapers were the dominant means of acquiring news and information. In contemporary Armenia, the mix of media and ownership has changed and so has the dominant way of acquiring information. Private television is now king and state newspapers have been deposed almost entirely. In terms of media accessibility, a national study conducted of 1403 households showed that 98% own a TV set and 79% consider it as the most important source of information about current events and news (CRRC-ARMENIA 2013).

As the means have changed, so too have the contents. Media providers now focus on entertainment and not on official news. Television is now the most popular mass medium in the country and the majority of the 'sixty broadcasting outlets' (Kurkchyan 2006, p. 267) are privately owned (Djankov, Nenova, & Schleifer 2003). And 'serials' (the Armenian word for soap operas), local and international, are one of the entertainment programs that these media providers nowadays focus on.

Serials, which can be described as *telenovelas* (i.e., there is a central storyline which eventually comes to an end), are a relatively new phenomenon in Armenia. Media companies first started broadcasting serials with dubbed foreign content in late 2005 to early 2006. In 2006, Armenia produced its first serial titled *Mi Vakhecir*/Don't Be Afraid, depicting the people's struggles in 1991-1992 (Abrahamyan 2006). The majority of the serials are produced in Armenia and in the Armenian language by either Armenia TV or Shant TV, both private, or by the Public Television of Armenia. The viewers' choices, however, also include Russian soap operas, as well as *telenovelas* from Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and a couple of Arabic Speaking countries, all dubbed into Armenian. Serial dramas, which broadcast during the day and during primetime, have attracted viewers of both genders, though more females, and almost all ages. They have become one of the most popular television genres in the country, filling 30% of airtime on some TV channels ('SUMMARY: Soap operas' 2012). According to a large scale national study (CRRC-ARMENIA 2013), soap operas are the second most watched TV program (viewed by 35%) next to the news (viewed by 65%). Further, based on a national survey conducted by the Institute of Political and Sociological Consulting (IPSC 2011), nearly 45% of the participants (50% female) had a more positive than negative view of the genre.

The unprecedented popularity of serials, nevertheless, has led to concerns among some researchers and critics about the genre's potential negative impact on viewers. Serial dramas have been criticized for their overall themes of crime, financial difficulties, and family and/or other relational problems. They have been also criticized for their 'aggressive' and 'violent' contents (Pearce 2011, p. 20); for creating 'a wrong impression about life with sexual, physical and psychological violence' (Gevorgyan 2011); and for 'advocating aggression, domestic violence, misfortune and hard living' (Hakobyan 2012). A concern of specialists in conflictology is that young TV viewers may see serial characters as role models and thus be encouraged to copy 'their behavior, manner of speech, vocabulary' (Gevorgyan, 2011). According to Vahram Mirakyan (2012), a strategic researcher, the danger of these portrayals lies in the fact that the audience and the Armenian serial characters share the same culture, language, and social reality. In other words, the viewer can more easily relate to the characters and portrayed situations.

Despite these concerns and criticisms, however, little empirical research has been conducted on this newcomer in Armenia. The present study is significant because it involves an ancient civilization with a unique culture and a 7,500 year-old history and traditional values (Herouni 2004). Unlike Historic Armenia, contemporary Armenia is a small country that was ruled by the former Soviet Union for nearly seven decades, and soap operas as a global culture phenomenon became rampant and popular in the country in post-Soviet era. The study is significant also because it focuses on college students who, as young generation, are considered the future of Armenia. They were born mainly after the country's transition or were toddlers at the time and, as such, grew up watching commercial-based media, including serials. Thus, unlike the older generation Armenians, the young population today does not have non-commercial-based media as a point of reference. Also, as noted before, as a commercial-based global popular culture, soap operas can pose a threat to the particular way of life in Armenia and its ancient cultural values.

However, our goal in this preliminary empirical research study on the topic was to investigate why Armenia college students watch TV soap operas in the first place.

The Present Study

Extending U&G analysis to college students in Armenia, our purpose in this study was to investigate the students reported viewing motives to watch serials and to explore the relationship between these motives and demographic variables. Our research questions were the following:

RQ1: What are the serial viewing motives reported by Armenia college students?
RQ2: How are the reported viewing motives related to the students' demographics?

Methods

Sample

The sample included 409 undergraduate students from different parts of the country, enrolled in the following universities located in Yerevan: Yerevan State University, V. Bryusov State University, Armenian-Russian (Slavonic) University, Khachatur Abovian Pedagogical State University, and Mkhitar Heratsi Medical State University. They were recruited from the

following departments: Journalism, international Relations, Foreign Language, Social Sciences, Architecture, and Other.[1] Verbal permission was obtained from each department chairperson prior to conducting the survey. The study was approved by the University Institutional Review Board prior to the recruitment of any students for the study. The survey questionnaire was administered during the spring semester of 2013 by either two faculty members or two designated student aides. Students who agreed to participate in the survey were given a numbered questionnaire, which they returned to the proctor. Participation in the study was anonymous and strictly voluntary. The procedure took approximately thirty minutes in each class.

Of this sample, 292 (71.4%) contained sufficient data for analysis. Of the 292 students included in the study, 245 (83.9%) were females and 44 (15.1%) were males; 3 (1.0%) participants failed to indicate gender.[2] Most of the students *(n* = 212, 72.6%) of the study participants were younger than 20 years old; 26.0% were 20 or older; 1.4% did not indicate their age. A large proportion (*n* = 262, 89.7%) of the participants were unmarried; 8.2% were either presently or had been married. Another 2.1% of the participants did not respond to the marital status item. Study participants were classified on residence as either living in Yerevan (*n* = 191, 65.4%), which is the Armenian Metropole, or in the outer provinces (*n* = 101, 34.6%). A large majority (*n* = 187, 64.0%) indicated their monthly family income was less than 120,000 drams, 14.4% indicated incomes of 120,000 drams or more; 21.6% did not respond to the question. (At the time of the study, 400AMD [Armenian Drams] = 1USD; and 120,000 drams = $300.00 was considered an average family's monthly income.)

The most popular major was journalism (22.6%), followed by international relations (19.5%), and foreign language (15.4%). The social sciences ranked fourth (9.2%) and architecture ranked fifth (7.2%). Other majors were indicated by another 26.0% of the students. These majors had fewer than 10 students per major and included such fields as law, philology, biology, tourism, energetics, computer science, and so forth.

Instrumentation

The survey instrument was a modified version of the one used in a previous study (Perse 1986) that explored U.S. American college students' motivation in viewing serials. To assure its accessibility to all the participants, the instrument was translated into Armenian by two faculty members, both fluent in Armenian and English, and was reviewed again for accuracy by a professional translator. The survey instrument was pre-tested with five undergraduate students to determine its clarity and the amount of time required to complete it. The instrument listed all the following 17 Armenian serials (no international ones) being broadcast during the data collection: *Qaxaqum* (In the Town), *Kargin Serial* (Decent Serial), *Djvar Aprust* (Hard Life), *Harazat Tshnami* (Familiar Enemy), *Kyangi Karusel* (The Carousel of Life), *Yerchap Ser* (Three Dimensional Love), *Generali Axjike* (The General's Daughter), *Ancanote* (The Stranger), *Yereq Kyanq* (Three Lives), *Yexbayner* (Brothers), *Kodrvatz Srter* (Broken Hearts), *Kuyre* (Sister), *Vostikanner* (Police Officers), *Maestro*

[1] Students normally major in an area of study that matches their future profession. The majority of the study participants were in the humanities because, in Armenia, medicine, pedagogy, music, and the humanities are considered 'female' professions; and law, engineering industry, economics, management, and computing technology are considered 'male' professions (Babayan 2001, p. 61).

[2] The majority of study participants were female because, normally, most young men in Armenia are either in the workforce or serve the country.

(Master), *Tigrani Molorake* (Tigran's Planet), *Mi Stir* (Don't Lie), and *Yntryalnery* (The Selected). The theme of two of these serials is comedy; the overall themes of the others are crime, financial difficulties, and family and/or other relational matters. Students were asked to indicate how many times a week they watched each serial. They were also asked how long they had been watching serials and how much time a day they spend watching the programs.

Serial viewing motives were assessed with 30 statements, three items each that included viewing for relaxation, companionship, habit, pass time, entertainment, social interaction, information, excitement, escape, and voyeurism. Students were asked how much their own reasons for watching serials were like each statement (5 = exactly, 1 = not at all).

Students also marked their agreement (5 = strongly agree, 1 = strongly disagree) with 10 items that assessed serial affinity, or how important they felt serial viewing was to their lives, and serial perceived realism, or how closely they believed that serials mirrored reality. Principal components analysis with orthogonal rotation identified two factors with eigenvalues over 1.0 accounting for 55.5% of the variance. As expected, the two factors represented perceived realism and serial affinity. The perceived realism scale contained 6 items. Typical items were: "Serials present things as they really are in life," and "Serials let me see what happens in other places as if I were really there." The serial affinity scale was made up of contained 2 items, "If the serials were not on TV, I would really miss them," and "Watching serials is one of the more important things I do each day." Items in each factor were averaged to create perceived realism (M = 1.90, SD = 0.87, α = .87) and serial affinity (M = 1.51, SD = 0.81, α = .76) scores.

Results

The first goal of this study was to identify the serial viewing motives of Armenia college students and compare these reasons to those identified in prior studies in the U.S. Principle components analysis with orthogonal rotation identified 3 factors with eigenvalues over 1/0 that accounted for 42.8% of the variance. Viewing motive scores were created by averaging item scores. Pleasure (M = 1.62, SD = 0.63, α = .90), was made up of 12 items and reflected watching serials for entertainment and amusement, as a social activity, and to relax. Pass Time (M = 2.12, SD = 0.78, α = .85), comprised 10 items that showed watching serials to pass time, to fill empty time, and to fill lonely time. Stimulation (M = 1.44, SD = 0.53, α = .74), was made up of 8 items that reflected watching serials because of the sexually appealing characters, to get excited, and to get away from daily pressures.

MANOVAs were conducted to investigate demographic influences on students' serial viewing motives and sources of learning about the world. MANOVA was chosen over *t*-tests in these and subsequent analyses to correct for Type I errors accruing from repeated *t*-tests, plus multivariate statistics provided important additional information, such as overall influence of the factors and proportion of variance accounted for by the factors in the equation.

Serial Viewing Motives and Demographics

Age was dichotomized into those younger than 20 years and those 20 years and older. (The youngest category on the survey instrument was respondents under 20 years of age [72.6% of the sample].) No age differences were found between the two age groups on motivations for viewing serials (F[5, 282] = 1.26, ns). Gender accounted for 5.7% of the variance (F[5, 283] =3.34, $p < .01$), presented in Table 3. Bivariate analyses revealed that females were

significantly more likely to view serials to pass the time than males (F[1, 287] = 8.40, p < .01). No other significant differences in viewing motives were found.

Table 2
Means, Standard Deviations, and F-ratios for Motives and Attitudes towards Viewing Serials by Gender

	Gender				
	Female (n = 245)		Male (n = 44)		
Scale	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	$F_{(1, 287)}$
View serials to pass the time	2.18	0.78	1.81	0.74	8.30**
View serials for pleasure	1.63	0.62	1.52	0.70	1.27
View serials for stimulation	1.44	0.48	1.47	0.75	0.18
Serials show reality	1.91	0.87	1.83	0.90	0.32
Importance of serials	1.49	0.78	1.60	0.98	0.74

**p < .01.

Place of residence also influenced viewing motives differences between Yerevan and provincials, accounting for 3.9% of the variance in attitudes (F[5, 286] = 2.84, p < .05). Bivariate analyses presented in Table 4 indicated that students from the provinces were significantly more likely to view serials to pass the time (F[1, 290] = 6.19, p < .05) than students from Yerevan; viewing of serials was significantly more important to them as well (F[1, 290] = 7.03, p < .01).

Table 3
Means, Standard Deviations, and F-Ratios for Motives and Attitudes towards Viewing Serials by Residence

	Residence				
	Yerevan (n = 191)		Provinces (n = 101)		
Scale	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	$F_{(1, 290)}$
View serials to pass the time	2.05	0.79	2.29	0.75	6.19*
View serials for pleasure	1.59	0.66	1.68	0.61	1.20
View serials for stimulation	1.41	0.52	1.50	0.55	1.71
Serials show reality	1.83	0.87	2.03	0.86	3.57
Importance of serials	1.42	0.75	1.69	0.94	7.03**

*p < .05; **p < .01.

Discussion

Results of the present study show that Armenia university students' reported motives for watching serials are: to pass the time, for pleasure, and for stimulation. These findings are more or less consistent with the findings of previous empirical studies that involved U.S. American college students (ie Carveth & Alexander, 1985; Perse 1986; Rubin & Perse 1987; Perse & Rubin 1990), as well as other adult groups in the U.S. and abroad (eg Compesi 1980; Greenberg et al. 1982; Greenberg & Woods 1999; Livingstone 1988). Previous research on viewing motivations yielded two types of viewers: instrumental and ritualized (Windahl 1981; Rubin 1981a; Rubin & Rubin 1982; Rubin1984).

Participants in the present study tend to be mostly ritualized (or habitual) viewers: they watch serials to pass the time (eg when they have nothing better to do, because of a lack

of better programs on TV, because it allows them to escape or get away from what they are doing); for pleasure (eg to relax, to be entertained, and to discuss them with others); and for stimulation (eg because they find the serials sexually appealing or exciting, and because they help them feel less lonely). That the study participants watch serials for diversionary reasons concurs with previous research (Rubin 1985). Focusing on audience activity and satisfaction with favorite soap operas, a study (Perse & Rubin 1988) showed that watching soap operas to pass time correlated negatively with life satisfaction. Nonetheless, based on the conclusion drawn by an earlier study (Greenberg et al. 1982), individuals turn to soap operas because of difficulties or dissatisfaction with their own lives. In other words, that the present study participants view serials for diversionary reasons, may also have to do with the people's difficult life, especially in post-Soviet era. Young Armenians' displeasure with their current impoverished and insecure way of life, especially in post-Soviet times, is well documented (eg Payaslian 2011; Tholen et al. 2012; Keshishian & Harutyunyan 2013). It is not surprising, therefore, that they turn to serial fiction as a way to escape or divert themselves.

Participants in the present study are also instrumental (or selective) viewers. Instrumental viewer uses the medium to seek information and to learn, so content is important for them (Windhal 1981). Participants' endorsement of statements such as, 'Serials present things as they really are in life,' 'Serials let me see what happens in other places as if I were really there,' 'I would feel lost without serials to watch on TV,' and 'Serials show life as it really is' implies that viewers believe that serials mirror reality. This finding may be influenced in part by serials such as *Kyangi Karusel* (The Carousel of Life) and *Mi Stir* (Don't Lie), which are allegedly based on real life incidents. This finding may also reflect the role that serials have in discussing important social issues such as corruption; the economy and the transition, and their impact on individuals; personal financial difficulties; or a daughter's refusal to accept a traditional marriage that cannot be easily talked about in political forums.

Similar to affinity toward television, found in other studies (Greenberg 1974; Rubin 1979, 1981b, 1983), the emphasis in this study was placed on viewing serials (not television *per se*) and reflects the participants' endorsement of the following statements: 'If the serials were not on TV, I would really miss them' and 'Watching serials is one of the more important things I do each day.' This finding may imply that watching serials is a significant activity in many Armenian students' daily lives and that these viewers count on serials to fill their day to some extent.

Results of the present study also revealed that females are significantly more likely to view serials to pass time than males. That females view serials to pass the time (ie for diversionary reasons) more than males, may imply that Armenian society in general provides females with fewer extracurricular activities or venues for entertainment. This is, in part, because Armenian parents tend to control adolescent girls more strictly (Ghazarian, Supple, & Plunkett 2008, p. 610), a situation that could encourage females to watch serials as a way to pass the time and fill idle hours. That females are more likely to view serials to pass time, may also be due the society's expectations of women than males. For example, at puberty, females are expected to grow up and take on responsibilities. Thus while men are traditionally expected to support the family, household management in Armenia is generally a woman's domain. Such an expectation in a society with a poor economy which has led to male labor migration (eg Gevorkyan & Mashuryan 2006; Grigorian & Melkonyan 2011), can only increase females' responsibilities in taking care of the family. Such a situation could be exacerbated by an unemployment rate of 41.5% among females (and 31.8% among males) ages 15-24 (The World Factbook 2014), making it more likely to facilitate serial viewing as a way to pass the time in general and among females in particular.

Results of the study indicated that viewing serials is significantly more important to students from provinces than to students from Yerevan. This, according to M. Khalatyan (personal communication, September 9, 2016), has to do with a few interrelated factors. To begin with, most students in Armenia prefer to study in Yerevan, where most Armenian academic institutions, especially prestigious ones, are located. In this way, they are likely to be afforded new opportunities, new contacts, and more possibilities. To study in Yerevan, however, provincial students who live far away, either have to rent a place in Yerevan or live with a relative there. Either way, they have to overcome obstacles such as financial difficulties, unfamiliarity with city life, and homesickness. Coping with homesickness may be particularly difficult because the Armenian culture, which values children (American Field Service [AFS]-USA 2016), also teaches them to depend on their parents and the family unit for solidifying cultural values and individual identity (Bakalian 1993; Ohanian 2007). Given all these, consuming more television, including serials, is usually a practical solution for coping with homesickness. Thus, although the findings of the present study revealed no significant differences in viewing motivations based on monthly income, the country's overall poor economy (eg Tholen et al. 2012), especially in rural areas (IFAD 2014; The World Bank 2015), is such that it makes serial viewing to pass the time appealing. Both female students and students from provinces are likely to watch serial drama because it allows them to get away from the harsh realities of contemporary life on a daily basis and in an affordable way.

Serial Viewing Motives and Culture

Seen through the lens of U.S. viewers' uses and gratifications, the study showed that Armenia students' viewing motives look much the same as the motives of U.S. students of the 1970s and 1980s. This might be due to the fact that the survey instrument used in the present survey, which was mainly the same instrument that had been used in a previous study (Perse 1986), did not consider culture as a possible influencing factor. And that might be a difference that makes a difference. Culture, according to Jandt (2007, p. 427), is sum total of ways of living, including behavioral norms, linguistic expression, styles of communication, patterns of thinking and beliefs and values of a group large enough to be self-sustaining transmitted over the course of generations'. Following Hofstede's (2001) value orientations, Armenia, unlike the U.S. and many other Western societies, has a 'collectivistic' culture that places high importance on family and extended family, and on respect for the elderly ('Countries and Their Cultures' 2017). Further, due to cultural and/or economic reasons, Armenian households tend to be multigenerational with one TV set that serves as the main source of information and entertainment. Consequently, family members do not generally experience TV viewing in generational isolation, but rather in an intergenerational context. They engage in co-viewing, including when serials are broadcast, making serial viewing a collective activity and a part of the people's daily life. In this context, and because of the role of the elderly within the family structure, parents and grandparents are likely to choose what the rest of the family, college students included, watch. Thus, deference, rather than choice, may be a motivation in viewing serials. In other words, viewing motivations can be influenced by the viewer's culture. Although U&G theory does not address the role of culture *per se*, a few scholars have noted its significance albeit implicitly or in passing. For example, according to Windahl (1981), one's viewing motivation may be derived not only from needs, but also from one's externally enforced constraints; and such constraints may include cultural rules and expectations. One's motivations may also be influenced by 'the social context that typifies the situation of exposure to different media' (Katz, Blumer & Gurevitch 1973-1974,

p. 514); that the 'social context' (which by extension refers to a society's cultural tendencies) can influence one's viewing motivations, is illuminated by other scholars (eg Allen 1995; Ang 1982; Leal 1986) with regard to *telenovelas* and melodramas. Rubin (2009) points out that 'cultural nuances' pose challenges and opportunities, suggesting that researchers create methods that are 'sensitive' to the culture in which they conduct their research.

Study Limitations

Participants of the present study were college students who lived mostly in the capital, thus the findings cannot be generalized to the country's entire population. Also, the instrument employed in the survey did include a list of Armenian serials, but it did not take other aspects of the culture into consideration.

Conclusion and Suggestions for Future Research

The study extended the application of U&G theory and methodology to contemporary Armenia, a small country in post-Soviet era where TV serials are a relatively new though highly popular phenomenon that has hardly been empirically researched. Thus, the present study can serve as a foundation for future studies about media use in Armenia and possibly other post-Soviet societies. Findings of the study broaden our understanding of motivations to view serials by pointing to demographic factors such as place of residence (ie capital vs. other provinces), which is in turn linked to Armenia's larger socioeconomic situation. The study findings create directions for future research.

As noted before, the present study did not consider the role of culture, or, as Raymond Williams (1958, p. 281) calls it, 'the way of life as a whole', in one's viewing motives. Future research could use culture-specific survey instruments that take into account cultural subtleties (eg one-TV and multigenerational households, and the role of the elderly), in order to determine viewers' motivations to view serials. Considering that serials are watched by viewers of both sexes (although more females than males) of almost all ages, future research could conduct interviews to determine different generations' views of serials (eg the elderly who lived under the Soviet system who lived when there were no serials on TV, and the young generation who grew up watching the genre in post-Soviet Armenia). In light of serials' perceived negative themes addressed by previous research (eg Mirakyan 2012), future research could employ content analysis to investigate the kinds of cultural values that specific Armenian serials and/or imported soap operas reinforce; and whether or how that content may threaten the traditional values of Armenia, a country that has been labeled as 'cradle of civilization' (Lang 1970). Future research could interview producers of serials to determine what inspires the themes they select. Further, using cultivation analysis (Gerbner & Gross 1976), future investigation could scrutinize the role serials play in the viewers' perceptions of reality, especially vis-à-vis their viewing motives and viewing habits. Given the importance of children and the youth in the culture (AFS-USA 2016), and because serial viewers in Armenia include children as young as four years old, future research might include interviews and/or observations of this population to explore their motivations to view the genre and its possible impact on them.

With the rise of Internet-based media in Armenia (Pearce 2014), future research could examine Armenia college student motives in using these technologies (eg smartphone, instant messaging, Podcasts, iPad, and iPod), compared to similar studies conducted in other countries. Also, as noted before, Internet-based technologies increase access to serial dramas

and other televised programs. Also, since the genre has a long history of viewer involvement (Lemish 1985), and use of social media for connecting with others may also lead to the programs having greater influence on their viewers, future research could explore college students' use of social media as a way to discuss the programs, connect with other viewers, and express their thoughts about plot directions.

Finally, given Armenia's collectivistic and family-centered culture and since each medium has its own conditions of attendance (eg stationary TV set vs. smartphone), future research could focus on a comparative analysis about Armenian college student motives in viewing the genre on the Internet-based technology vs. TV. As noted before, Armenian households are multigenerational and have one TV set. Thus TV viewing becomes an event that brings the family together where they all watch the same serial being broadcast; hence a more family/community-based context. Watching serials on smartphone, on the other hand, can take place privately and almost anywhere (eg at home, on the bus, and at the library); hence a more individual-based context. Ultimately, future research could explain whether Internet-based communication technologies help reinforce or harm this ancient society's culture.

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Control, Communication, and the Voice of the Leader. A Control-Character Analysis of the 2016 US Presidential Debate

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Abstract In the current research, we showed the strongest parts and the clouds of the speeches of the 2016 presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. A communication control analysis of this type could reveal the role control-characters play in assessing the performance of the actors of political communication. We also concluded that people want to be controlled in an easy but still total way. To make people think that there is a man who is able to do this: it was Donald Trump's greatest asset. He was able to utter up to 37% more assertions than his opponent, clearly stressed the boundaries between 'Us' and 'They', and showed greater integrative complexity and objective control. As the result of our peculiar and detailed linguistic analyses, control direction and thematic role tests show that Trump was a man of 'know', 'say' and 'take', while Clinton was full of 'think' and 'want.'

Keywords campaign communication, USA presidential debate, content analysis, political communication, control and communication

Introduction

The role of control in social and behavior studies: an interdisciplinary approach

"Social control includes all of the practices by which people define and respond to deviant behavior" – says Donald Black in his *Toward a General Theory of Social Control* (Black, 1984, p. xi). The authors of the aforementioned work, in spite of the fact that most of them are experts of criminal justice or criminology, say that social control has not always been the research field of law: philosophy, anthropology, social sciences, and even mythology and theology have addressed the question of controlling people's behavior and guiding it in the right direction. But most authors seemingly state that social control is something against crime, deviant, unseemly or incorrect behavior. So, for the sake of a peaceful life, people need to be controlled by political power and communication (Castells, 2011). Historically, there are many occurrences of the problem of control as early as Pre-Socratic philosophy, or even the Homeric Myths, where legions of gods control the lives of the Greeks. But it was Heraclitus who first emphasized the importance of control in a given society. He was also the one who created the concept of *Logos*, a genuine controller of the world (Kahn, 1979), of society, of the individual (Johnstone, 2014) and also of particular things. Without *Logos*, the world

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would fall apart: so the universe must be controlled, it is not autonomous in the narrow sense of the word. But it was admittedly Plato who stressed the importance of control in the life of the individual, and he also emphasized that, in an ideal society, social order or social control are the most important things. As we could read, for example, in Plato's *Laches*, the main source of control is education, or pedagogy, and it can be accomplished by exercises, reward, and punishment (Allen, 1996). He also states that we only need control when we are not quite good in something that we want to do. This is a typical learning situation, where the teacher controls the behavior of the students, or the parents control their children, and so on. This clearly shows that, for Plato, control is desirable mainly in hierarchical situations. In his *The Republic* (Bloom, 1991), Plato stressed his most famous ideas on control and hierarchy. Here he states that the structure of the human soul could, and should be correlated with the structure of the ideal state. In the case of the individual, his appetite must be controlled by his courage, and his courage must be controlled by his reason, so the human soul has three hierarchical parts. Similarly, the state has three layers or parts, where workers must be controlled by soldiers and soldiers must be controlled by the king, or by the caste of philosophers. Interestingly enough, maybe no philosopher (with the possible exception of anarchists) ever questioned the role of control in societies since the time of Plato, although there are considerable differences as to what exactly is the nature of this control. As for the human soul, or more recently, the human mind, as early as the first rationalist psychologists thought (Parkinson, 2005; Vendler, 1971) that the rational part of the human soul must control the other parts (the beastly instincts and desires). Actually, their opinion is quite popular nowadays thanks to cognitive therapies. However, we must not forget the analytical school, which states that mainly unconscious desires control us and our seemingly rational behavior (Williams et al., 2012).

The concept of control in psychology

Unlike sociology, psychology is much more interested in self-control, but its evaluation changes over time, and there are serious differences between the perspectives of scientific communities. For example, psychoanalytical experts and therapists suggest that excessive self-control could lead to serious mental symptoms so patients should also learn how not to control themselves. Of course, a psychoanalyst could control the mind of the patient, especially in the case of dynamic psychotherapy. However, sometimes even a psychoanalyst needs to be controlled: that's why he or she must go to supervisions, or, in other words, to control cases (Mijolla, 2005). On the other hand, cognitive and behavior therapies rely on the presupposition that an effective self-control would produce adaptive behavior and cognition (Piquero et al., 2016), which could overwrite the patient's harmful old habits and ways of thinking. Interdisciplinary research shows that individual, personal self-control could cause social and even cortical changes (Hassin, Ran R. et al., 2010). Of course, the practice of self-control is a very old method for both spiritual progress and psychotherapy (Rachlin, 2004). But the theory and practice of the recently very fashionable mindfulness therapy is the field where the role of self-control is the most significant. Here the method is based on the conscious presence of the patient and it calls for a continuous but moderated self-control (Bowlin and Baer, 2012). This latter is also known as pro-active self-control, as contrasted with reactive or automatic self-control. In neuroscience, the concept of control is generally described as a "process of acting on a system to cause it to behave in some desirable fashion" (Binder et al., 2009, 880-881) When neuroscientists talk about 'control,' they often refer to a system with at least four components. First, it would contain the controlled physical system itself; we should call it the controlled compartment. Second, every control system should have

some sensors that measure the behavior of the controlled part(s). The other two parts of the control system, namely, the actuators and the algorithms, could be called the controllers of the system. Algorithms are the cognitive (or mental, intellectual) agents of the control, while actuators are the executors. For example, in the case of a human agent (where his body could be conceived as a physical system), we have our ears and eyes as sensors, actuators would be the hands, and, of course, the brain serves as the source of algorithms, which are often called control laws.

Control as regulation, automatization, and programming

Of course, within this paper we could not deal with the role of control and related concepts throughout all of the history of philosophy and psychology; we just tried to show that the idea of control was, and it is still, one of our most basic concepts when we try to understand and explain the nature of our behavior and our social mechanisms. It is important to see the very close interrelation between the concept of control and automation in the relevant literature. As an example, we could cite the Control Theory entry from the MIT Encyclopedia of the Cognitive Sciences, which clearly states that "The modern development of *automatic control* evolved from the regulation of tracking telescopes, steam engine control using fly-ball governors, the regulation of water turbines, and the stabilization of the steering mechanisms of ships" (Wilson and Keil 1999, p. 199, my emphasis). And later, the author adds, "The simplest and most frequently studied problem in automatic control is the regulation problem" (Wilson and Keil 1999, p. 200). In all the above-mentioned cases, control simply means automatization. For example, a typical regularization control consists of a problem where the level of a given variable must be held *automatically* by a regulator or controller. As a contemporary philosophical dictionary suggests, the prototype of any control studies, namely, cybernetics, was conceived as the science of regulation and self-regulation from the beginning, since the term 'cybernetics' had been "introduced by Norbert Wiener in 1947 for the study of communication and the manipulation of information in self-regulating systems and control systems, both in machines and in living organisms" (Bunnin and Yu, 2004, p. 156). It is true, since we could read on the pages of Cybernetics, that "We have decided to call the entire field of control and communication theory, whether in the machine or in the animal, by the name Cybernetics" (Wiener, 1949, p. 11). In a later writing, Wiener also emphasizes the important role of automatization in control studies:

> "Besides the electrical engineering theory of the transmission of messages, there is a larger field which includes not only the study of language but the study of messages as a means of controlling machinery and society, the development of computing machines and other such automata, certain reflections upon psychology and the nervous system, and a tentative new theory of scientific method." (Wiener 1989, p. 15).

But the fact that, for Wiener, control and cybernetics mean automatization or automatic communication, could also been discovered by the chapter "The History of Cybernetics" in which we rather get to know the history of machines, instead. It is not a surprise then that control studies from the time of Norbert Wiener have become the science of computation, automatic communication, and programming.

Take again the practice of cognitive psychology, but now from a wider philosophical point of view. As it is well known, one of the most useful exercises in cognitive psychotherapy is when the patient is asked to examine his or her automatic thoughts. As research suggest, negative automatic thoughts could affect not just maladaptive ways of

thinking, risky behavior (Choon, 2015) but also serious mental diseases as depression (Hjemdal, 2013), anxiety (Pirbaglou et al., 2013), addiction or even adult ADHD (Mitchell et al 2013). If the patient wants to overcome his symptoms, he must learn how to use self-control over automatic associations and thoughts (Gonsarkolare et al., 2010). Automatic thoughts represent the automatization of the self, or, phrased in everyday language, the automatization of the human being itself. Most of our physiological processes are automatic in a sense that they are not subject to conscious control. But, at least this is what we think, we could control our behavior, our thoughts, and, most importantly, we could also control our communication. Now cognitive psychology – among others – clearly shows that this is far from being true.

Since its beginning, cognitive therapies state that automatic thoughts are maladaptive or irrational thinking patterns, which cause inappropriate behavior. These patterns are often called cognitive distortions, and to eliminate them by conscious control is one of the main aims of cognitive therapy. During the so-called cognitive restructuring (Morrison et al., 2015), the patient must validate his automatic thoughts, feelings, and even behavior (Strickland, 2001; Rnic et al., 2016), and then he can change them in the right direction. Here involvement and control of the self are very important because the therapy will not be successful with patients who do not want to take an active role during their treatment process.

Communicative approach even points out those automatic thoughts could be conceived as unconscious self-talk or self-statements. Some authors make distinctions between automatic thoughts and voluntary thoughts; the latter are conscious and decision-like entities while the former are unconscious, non-accessible, and very powerful schemata. “Automatic thoughts are considered to be unconscious or lying below the surface of immediate conscious awareness. They are spontaneous self-statements, stemming from core beliefs out of conscious awareness.” (Craighead - Nemeroff, 2004, p. 95)

While in standard cognitive behavior therapies control usually means our ability to manage our cognition against automatic thoughts, in the case of the so-called cognitive control therapies we have a more detailed analysis of control itself. A normal cognitive control therapy includes computer-aided exercises by which our controlling abilities can be improved, and as a result, many mental disorders, including major depression, could be successfully treated (Brunoni et al., 2014, Segrave et al., 2014). In control therapies, we have “three basic postulates: (1) All individuals want a sense of control in their lives; (2) there are healthy and unhealthy ways by which they attempt to gain or regain that sense of control; and (3) there are individual differences in control profiles of individuals and in how they face this central issue of maintaining a healthy sense of control in their lives.” (Craighead and Nemeroff, 2004, p. 223). When, as a pre-intervention method, specialists draw the profile of the patient, they are interested in four things: (1) where the client wants control and why he or she wants it, (2) the patient’s actual sense of control, (3) the modes by which the client seeks control and (4) the use of both self and other agencies in gaining control (Craighead - Nemeroff, 2004, p.223).

It is noteworthy that, not just in philosophy, but also in psychology, there are fundamental differences between the western and the eastern perspectives on control.In the west, control is basically positive, and the traditional view argues that instrumental control is good and that the more control, the better. Normal control is “defined as gaining control (which even includes an illusion of control) and is equated with mental health.” (Craighead and Nemeroff 2004, p.224). In contrast,

> “the yielding, accepting mode, which has historically been emphasized by non-Western philosophical and psychological traditions, helps clients learn the value of surrendering, accepting, and letting go with serenity (i.e., without feelings of helplessness or

> resignation) of those aspects of their lives that are not under personal control, or of inappropriate active control efforts." (Craighead and Nemeroff, 2004, p. 223).

So we can see that control is not necessarily good or bad in itself, but it depends on our environment. An optimal level of control could be reached by (1) maintaining our current level of control (2) increasing our control or (3) decreasing it.

Control in linguistic analysis

In linguistic studies, more precisely, in generative grammar (Chomsky, 1956; Landau, 2013), control is conceived as a predicate that assigns a thematic role to the controller (Brown, 2006). In cognitive linguistics, there are many thematic roles. Evans (2006) specifies nine of them: agent, patient, theme, experiencer, beneficiary, instrument, place, aim, and source. But it could be simplified to two main proto-roles, namely agent and patient. As the prototype-theory (Dworty, 1991) suggests, all other thematic roles could be rated to one of the main categories. For example, all roles in the 'agent' proto-role could be classified with the following properties 1) conscious participation in a given event 2) perception or detection 3) causes events or makes change in the state of an another participator 4) dynamical 5) independent in his/her/its act. Other authors use different terms for agent (see for example Davis, 2004 or Foley and Van Valin, 1984) but their 'actor' is quite the same as Dworty's agent. Now we can state that a controller, as a thematic role, could be conceived as the agent of a given situation. While thematic roles (including controllers) are related to the arguments of a given sentence, the control-predicates are related to the verbs. Basically, we have two types of control, and thus we have two sets of control-verbs. In the case of the object-control verbs (like persuade, encourage, recommend, appeal, force, plead, order, urge, dissuade), the subject of the sentence controls the behavior of another participant while subject-control terms (try, condescend, promise, decide, plan, agree, hope, prefer, wonder, refrain) refer to an agent who controls his/her/its own behavior (Landau, 2013, p. 10).

The formal description of a control statement is, then ((CV')(cv')(AC)(PC)) where CV' is the control-verb of the sentence, cv' is the controlled verb, AC is the agent of the sentence (the controller), and PC is the patient (the controlled). In the case of object-control (1), AC and PC should be different entities, but in the case of subject-control (2), the controller and controlled is one and the same.

(1) Elsa commanded Anna to go (command')(to go')(Elsa)(Anna)
(2) Elsa will try to do her best (try')(to do sg')(Elsa)(Elsa)

Control in political communication

Communication is obviously the most powerful tool for controlling the behavior and thinking of other people. In spite of the fact that this had been emphasized as early as Wiener's Cybernetics or Control and Communication in the Machine and in the Animal (1948), control studies somehow underestimate the importance of communication. The same is also true in social sciences where, at least from the writings of Georg Simmel, the exercise of power among people was the central issue. It is noteworthy that both power-related issues and control-related issues were always in connection with communication issues, but the emphasis was rarely on communication itself. The main areas where communication frequently appeared as means of control are in children-teacher relations (Richmond and McCroske, 2009) or consultant-children relations (Erchul, 1987). The term 'control' has also been

defined as ‘interpersonal power’ that regularizes hierarchical relations. For example, one could be *dominating*, when he or she wants to control the relationship, or he or she could be the *recipient*, when he or she accepts the relation that the other person offers, and, finally, one could be *nondemanding*, when he or she seeks to neutralize relational control.

Another frequently investigated topic is the complexity of the speech of political leaders, which is conceived as one of the most important factors of cognitive style. There are two main types of complexity here: the first is the so-called integrative complexity that presupposes the respect of alternative views of the opponents, and the second is cognitive complexity, which means that the speaker has alternative views in his or her own mind (Tetlock and Tyler, 1996). Regarding their relation with contact issues, we could say that while cognitive complexity is related to subjective control, integrative complexity is related to objective control. There is also a distinction between emotional and cognitive control, which could be analyzed by the type of the control-verbs in a given corpus. Many scholars, including Kinder (1994) suggested that former research on political analysis had underestimated the importance of emotions in political life. However, current research clearly emphasizes the role of emotion in political campaign communication (Huddy et al., 2015; Hoggett, 2016; Powell and Cowart, 2013), which is often called “passionate reason” (Huddy, 2012). While our current analysis is much more linguistic than psychological, we should also mention those well-known authors who investigated campaign communication and the behavior of both the political leaders and their voters form a political psychological point of view (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004, Laustsen and Petersen 2016).

The role of communication control in presidential debates

The most important part of political communication in the US is obviously the campaign for presidency (Schroeder, 2000; Jamieson and Birdsell, 1988). Since the era of mass communication, the most effective and spectacular events of the presidential campaign are the presidential debates between the leading candidates. It is even truer today when the television performance can be seen over and over again on various video sharing websites (Benoit et al., 2016). We have a widely accepted proposition in the literature that states that there is a significant discrepancy between the rationality of the candidates and the irrationality of the voters (Miller and Shanks, 1996; Wittman, 1983). In other words, while politicians are professionals, voters are amateurs (Simon, 2004). But as we can see from the results of the recent presidential debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, an unprofessional candidate with unprofessional style could win against a professional politician. Voters are not really interested in technical or biographical issues: instead of this, they are looking for a leader who can provide strong leadership, but also must display integrity and an empathic understanding of them the voter (Trenaman and McQuail, 1961). It seems we should look for other aspects of political communication besides professionality and competence. Maybe a more recent work by Kitchens and Powell (2015) would help us in understanding what people expect for an ideal candidate. In The Four Pillars of Politics, the authors state that there are some basic factors in political communication with which voters could be successfully controlled. The authors apply Festinger’s theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) to the voters to explain their behavior as a reaction to a candidate’s messages. Moreover, their Four Pillar Model could be conceived as a specialization of the Social Judgement Theory (Hovland and Sherif, 1961, 1980) since the former applies the latter directly on the American society. According to the Four Pillar Model, there are four basic foci, namely fear, narcissism, consumerism, and religiosity. The authors argue that Americans view the communication of the candidates through a filter of these four categories, which means that, in order to win the

debates, candidates should show their capacities to control fear, narcissism, consumerism, and religiosity (see also Stecker, 2011). In short, they must be ready to control the average American psyche, which contains both thoughts and emotions. While political rationalists tend to overemphasize the role of thoughts in decision-making, other theorists warn that emotions might play a more important part (Hoggett and Thompson, 2012; Bennett, 2001).

Presidential debates are the most important media events in the political communication of the United States since the 1960s. These so-called "High Holidays of Mass Communication" (Dayan and Katz, 1992) or "epitomes of the election campaign" (Blais and Perella, 2008) embody everything we expect from an epic contest: we have heroes, noble ideas, conquest and fall. The winner takes it all – and this is why "debate winners are often the election winners" (Castells, 2011, 234). As Benoit suggests in his *Functional Theory* (Benoit, 2007; Benoit, Glantz, and Rill, 2016; Hanson and Benoit, 2010), there are three types of messages with which candidates should operate: acclaims, attacks, and defenses. This author also points out that empirical research shows that acclaims are more preferable to attacks, and defenses are the least effective in campaign communication.

Research question

But why should we examine the role of control in political communication? The answer is that, while most people wish to control their own lives, they also wanted to be controlled by their leaders (Simon, 2004, Laustsen and Petersen 2015). Voters want to live in a country where everything is under appropriate control in the sense of being able to handle every situation without foreign, outer assistance. In order to draw a picture of the control-character of a given candidate, we should analyze his or her communication content in regard to his or her 1) level of control 2) control terms 3) domination style and 4) control performance. The level of control (the amount of the person's need for being the controller of the debate) can be analyzed through the modes the candidate seeks control and by the use of both self and other agencies in gaining and maintaining control. It will also show the optimal level of control for a given communicator. The analysis of the control terms provides deeper insight into the control-character of the candidate and it will tell us which kind of semantic field is used by the nominee. The domination style contains the main aspects of control as regards thematic roles like demanding controller, the controlled recipient, and the nondemanding participator. Finally, the control performance of a candidate shows his or her cognitive and integrative complexity and semantic elegance.

Now we can hypothesize that a candidate should show the appropriate control-character to appear as someone who can handle the fate of the biggest collective agent, namely, the nation. Differences between the apparent control-character of the candidates could induce differences in the way the voters judge the candidates' abilities to lead the country. As it has been formerly mentioned, people like to think that they control their lives, and if the nation is a collective agent, its members also like to think that the leader of the nation could control not just him or herself, but also the country. That's why the perceived control-character could decide a candidate's fate.

Methodology

Beyond all question, the most characteristic parts of the campaign are the presidential debates, so we decided to analyze all three debates to draw the control-character of the candidates. We used the *New York Times* transcriptions (NYT, 2016) of the original debates for the sake of an

objective textual analysis, which has been conducted with CATMA 5.0 software. The total corpus consists of 44,606 words. After we had separated the texts of the two candidates, we made simple frequency tests for nouns, verbs, and pronounce usage to analyze control levels and control terms. For the most frequent control terms, we also made CATMA Double Tree analyses, which show the most peculiar contexts and co-occurrences. At the next level, we analyzed the interactional control between the two candidates. We measured the length of contiguous speech in the case of both candidates (which shows how long they could argue without interruption). Then we marked the 50-50 longest speech, and made a 10-10 sample with random number generator, so we could test for both integrative and cognitive complexity. We measured integrative complexity with a standard 7 point scale, where 1 refers to the minimum level, and 7 to the maximum level of integrative complexity. Cognitive complexity, which shows the number of arguments in a given position, was measured with the following scores: 0-1 argument/position = 0; 2 arguments/position = 2 points; 3 arguments/position = 3 points and so on. As a validity probe, we also made the standard readability tests (Flesch - Kincaid Score, Gunning Fog Score, SMOG and Coleman Liau Indices and Automated Readability Index) to make sure of we measured valid complexity levels. At the third and last level of the analysis, we identified the thematic roles as regards the most common control terms by using the formal description of linguistic analysis as it had been proposed by Bierwisch (2006) and Wunderlicht (2006). A control-sentence is a sentence in indicative mood that contains at least one control verb. This formalization shows not just the logical structure of a given control-sentence, but is also reveals the correspondent thematic roles (Agent {Controller}, Patient {Controlled}, Instrument, Force, Path, Location and so on). On a second level we could also show the hierarchical structure of the control-sentences and we could relate it to the controlled nouns.

Results

As we can see in Figure 1A, Donald Trump was far more successful in controlling the time: he was able to use many more words than Hillary Clinton in all three debates. Even though Secretary Clinton could radically decrease the amount of differences during the debates, the average difference was still 18% in favor of Trump.

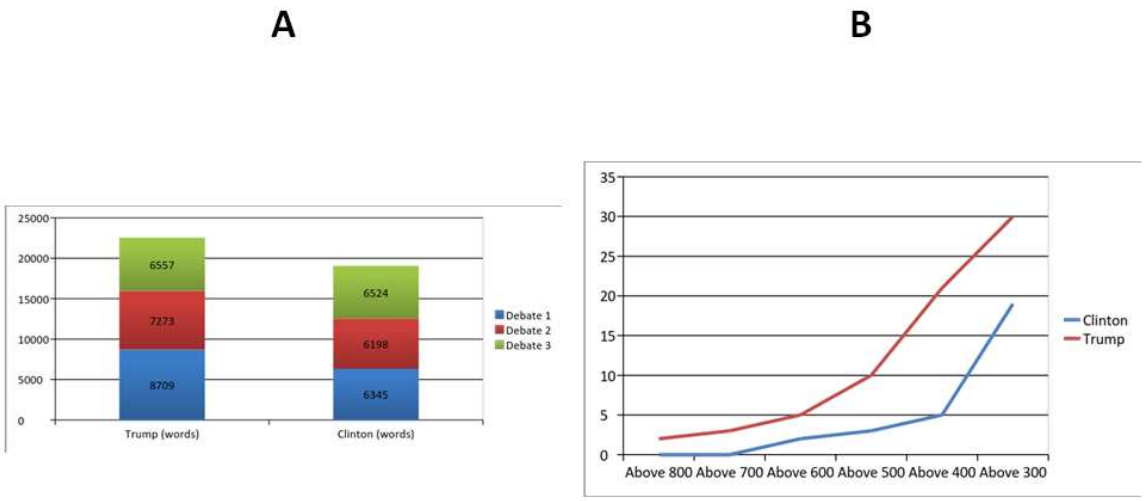

Figure 1: (A) Differences in the number of words used by the candidates (B) Number of blocks of contiguous speaks in all three debates

While in the first presidential debate, the word-count bias to the direction of Donald Trump was 37%, it was only 18% in the second, and almost 0% in the third debate. It is obvious that Clinton and her campaign professionals recognized that Trump was speaking much more than Clinton, so they tried to work off the handicap but were only successful in the third debate. We found additional inequalities when we focused on the length of the contiguous talks of the two candidates. Donald Trump was able to speak many more words without interruption than Clinton: he has 2 blocks of contiguous talk with more than 850 words while the longest speech by Clinton consists of only 644 words. As can be seen in Figure 1B, Trump had many more long monologues than Secretary Clinton: he had 21 blocks of more than 400 words of speech while Clinton had only 5. The inequalities start to decrease in the case of more than 300 words talks because here Clinton has 19 while Trump has 30. It is also noteworthy that both Trump and Clinton had their longest speeches in the second debate. The result of the cognitive complexity (CCT) and integrative complexity tests (ICT) shows that while Secretary Clinton produced a high level of cognitive complexity (an average of 2.8), she had an average of zero in the ICT (0/7). Donald Trump presented the direct opposite of that with his 0.1 points in CCT and his 4.5/7 as regards integrative complexity (see Figure 2A).

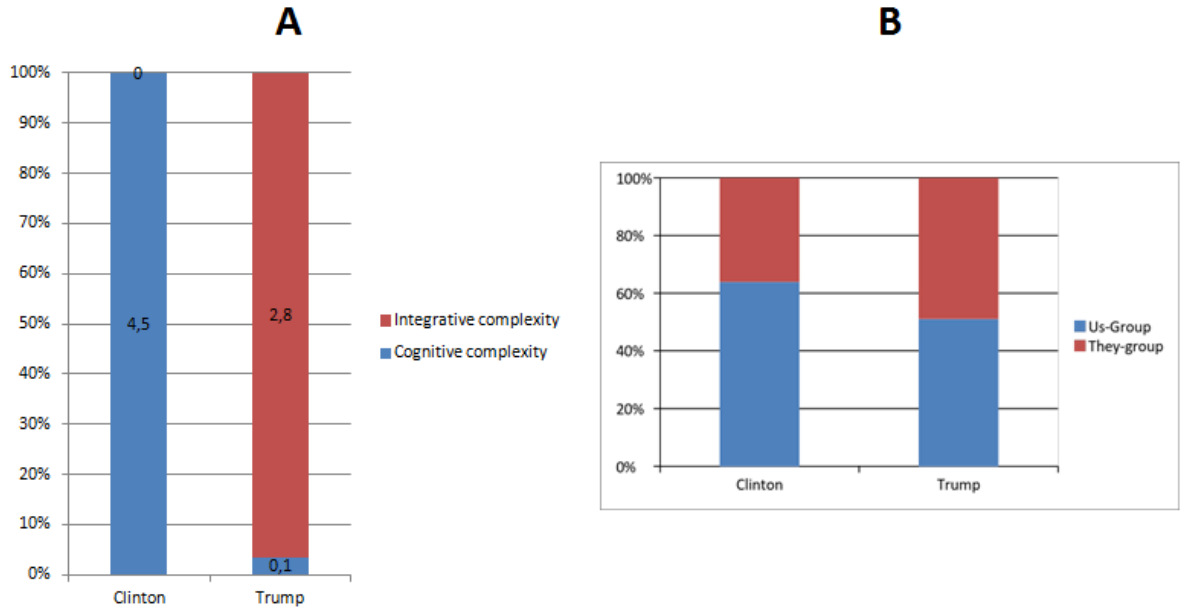

Figure 2: (A) The integrative and cognitive complexity levels of the candidates (B) They-group and Us-Group usage of the candidates

Hillary Clinton shows a higher level of complexity by our readability tests, to, which means that readability correlates with cognitive complexity, but not with integrative complexity (See Table 1)

Readability measure	**Donald Trump**	**Hillary Clinton**
Flesch Kincaid Reading Ease	80/100 School level: 7th grade Fairly easy to read	71,3/100 8th & 9th grade Plain English
Flesch Kincaid Grade Level	4,9 5th grade student level	7,2 7th grade student level
Gunning Fog Score	6,9 7th grade student level	9,6 High school sophomore
SMOG Index	5,6 6th grade student level	7,4 7th grade student level

Coleman Liau Index	8,5 8th grade student level	9,2 9th grade student level
Automated Readability Index	3,6 4th grade	6,4 6th grade
Text Statistics		
No. of sentences	2028	1229
No. of words	22564	19160
No. of complex words	1769	1949
Percent of complex words	7,84	10,17%
Average words per sentence	11,13	15,59
Average syllables per word	1,37	1,41

Table 1 Readability Scores for the candidates

When we analyzed the semantic control field of the two candidates, we had to conduct frequency tests for nouns, verbs, and pronouns. Adjectives do not really matter here because they could only label or qualify control verbs and thematic roles but could not change their directions. But before we present the results of the frequency analysis, we should mention semantic elegance, which shows the opulence of the vocabulary of the candidates. In short, the low elegance level shows semantic simplicity (which does not imply grammatical simplicity necessarily). Here Donald Trump turned to be much more scrimpy: from his 27,905 words he used only 4,657 different ones, while Clinton had 5261 different words despite using appreciably less words altogether (22,605). If we calculate the semantic elegance level by dividing the number of different words with the number of total words we get 0.167 for Trump and 0.23 for Clinton (range: 0-1). In other words, Clinton spoke less but more elaborately while Donald Trump preferred long but semantically simple speeches. As the most important aspect of control-character is the direction the speaker's communication style, we analyzed the frequency of pronouns first. As can be seen in Table 2, the first and maybe most important difference is that Trump used many more pronouns than Clinton: the average rate <the sum of the 5 most frequent pronouns/total frequencies> was 0.081 for Trump and 0.071 for Clinton. Moreover, there is a notable difference between the pronoun-usage of Donald Trump and Secretary Clinton: while both of them used 'I' in the first place, Clinton used 'We', and Trump used 'You' as the second most frequent pronoun, which signifies different perspectives. It is also noteworthy that, when referring to their opponents, the candidates followed different strategies: Clinton usually referred to Trump as 'he', while Trump referred to Clinton as 'you', which is far more direct, natural, and informal in a situation where both candidates are present.

Clinton pronoun	Frequency	Trump pronoun	Frequency
	n=22605		n=27905
I	555	I	625
We	384	You	519
It	242	We	440
He	232	It	420
You	205	They	271
Our	149	She	259
They	64	Our	140
His	54	Me	94
Them	53	Them	80
Us	51	Her	76

Their	48	My	47
Your	46	Your	42
My	35	Their	42
Me	35	Us	29
Him	29	Her	28

Table 2: the most frequent pronouns used by the candidates

We could also group the pronoun-usage of the candidates to Us-group (I, We, Our, Us, My, Me) and They-group (You, They, His/Her, Them, Their) to see the differences between the thematization tendencies of the candidates (Figure 2B). The diagram shows the data after scaling by the total frequencies of the candidates. We can easily see that Clinton tended to speak mostly of the Us-group while Trump also emphasizes the role of the Others (as we will see later, mainly as enemies). The next step was the analysis of the most frequent nouns used by the candidates during the three presidential debates. Nouns are the objects of any communication; they define not just the topic or theme of speech but also ascertain the possible values of control-verbs. When we take a look at the frequency table (Table 3) we should mind not just the differences, but the similarities as well.

	Trump Nouns	Frequency n=27905	Clinton Nouns	Freqency n=22605
1	People	130	People	111
2	Country	116	Donald	89
3	Thing(s)	95 ↑ 14	Country	67
4	Years	56	President	52 ↑ 36
5	Company(es)	55 ↑	Tax(es)	48
6	Hillary	52	Jobs	39
7	Tax(es)	52	Women	35 ↑ 20
8	Money	49 ↑ 18	Years	30
9	ISIS	43 ↑	Family(es)	30 ↑ 5
10	Clinton	43	State(s)	29
11	Jobs	39	Time	27
12	Obama	38 ↑ 14	America	25
13	President	36	Economy	24 ↑ 5
14	Russia	34 ↑ 10	Business	23 ↑ 17
15	Disaster	31 ↑ 1	Trump	20
16	Time	29	ISIS	20
17	Deal	28 ↑	Health	20 ↑ 7
18	World	28	Plan	19
19	Iran	27 ↑ 9	System	18 ↑ 2
20	Border(s)	26 ↑ 7	Children	18 ↑ 3

Table 3: The 20 most frequent nouns used by the candidates

The sign ↑ indicates that the corresponding candidate used the term much more frequently than his or her opponent; in some cases, when the difference was salient, we also mark the frequency value of the opponent at the right side of the sign ↑. For example, when we see ‘Money 49 ↑ 18’ in Trump’s column it means that the word ‘money’ was used by Donald Trump 49 times, while Clinton used it only 18 times. As we can see, the most frequently used noun by both candidates was ‘people’, and this is absolutely not surprising in a country where,

since the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln democracy is considered as government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is far more interesting that, on the part of Secretary Clinton, the second most frequent word was 'Donald' while Trump designated his opponent only on the 6th place. The most ostensive differences were the following. Trump used the undefined 'Thing' almost 7 times more frequently than Clinton, which shows his affinity for generalizations, while Clinton used more specific terms. 'Disaster' was the most special word in the sense that Trump used it very frequently (31 times) while Clinton used it only once. Something similar happened with the word 'family': the proportion was 30/5 in favor of Clinton. We could also group the most frequent nouns to the following sub-categories. 'Country' includes nouns which refers to the United States generally, like 'US', America', 'country', and so on. 'People and Social Issues' relates to social words like 'insurance', 'health', 'people', 'community', and so on. 'Business and economy' entails 'money', 'business', 'trade', 'deal' and 'tax', while the 'War terminology' group consists of terms like 'war', 'Syria', ISIS', 'weapon', 'border'. Finally, the 'Political issues' subcategory includes terms that refer to political actors and institutions like 'president' or 'election'. The candidates also reflect the debate-situation itself by using political terms. In Figure 3A, we can see not just the preferred sub-categories of the candidates but also the differences between their stressing. Clinton's most frequent themes were People & Social Issues and Political Issues, while Trump prefers War terminology, Country, and Business. Note, that there were absolutely no equally important categories for both candidates: they emphasize totally different topics in spite of the fact that, majorly, they had to answer the same questions.

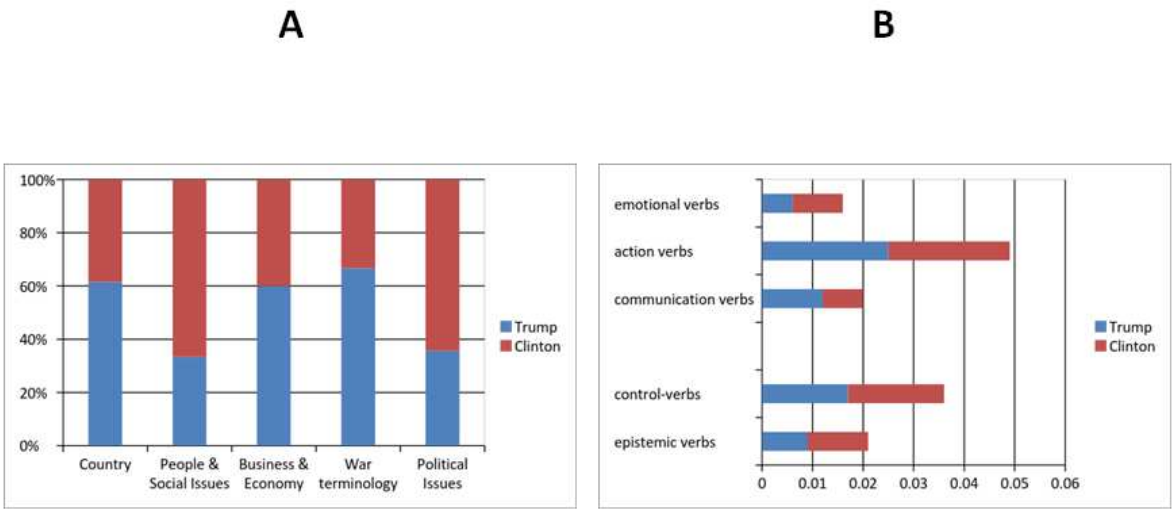

Figure 3: (A) Main thematic groups of the most frequent nouns (B) Modal grouping for the verb-usage of the candidates

The table of the 20 most frequent verbs used by the candidates also shows important differences and similarities (Table 4). As a general rule, Trump used many more verbs (1064 tokens in top 50, which means a 0.04 ratio after scaling) than Clinton (721 in top 50, which means a 0.03 ratio after scaling). Since the frequency of verbs could show the activity level of the speaker, we should conclude that Trump was more active not just quantitatively (because he talked more) but also qualitatively (because he used more verbs). The control-profiles of the two candidates are very different in spite of the fact that 'say' and 'know' were important and frequently used verbs by both of them. But when we consider the numbers, we will see that Trump is a say-character while Clinton seems to be a think-character (the ratios were 188/116 for 'say', and 118/87 for 'think').

	Trump verbs	Frequency N=27905	Clinton verbs	Frequency n=22605
1	say/said/saying	188 ↑	think	118 ↑
2	look	103 ↑	say/ing/s/said	116
3	know	96 ↑	want/s/ed	90 ↑
4	want/s/ed	93	know	80
5	take/ing/n/took	92 ↑	make/ing/made	77 ↑
6	think	87	work/ing/ed	76 ↑
7	go/es/went/gone	75	go/went/goes	63
8	happen/s/ed/ing	62 ↑ 12	need/ed	49 ↑
9	talk/ed/ing	61 ↑	see/n/saw	45
10	see/seen	59	take/n/took	43
11	make/made	59	look/ed	35
12	tell	50 ↑	try/ing/tried	32 ↑ 4
13	come/ing/came	44 ↑	talk/ing	30
14	give/gave	34 ↑ 11	plan/s	26 ↑
15	believe	32 ↑	pay/paid	25
16	bring/ing	32 ↑	help	23 ↑
17	pay/ing	29	come	19
18	start/s/ed	29	start/s/ed	28
19	need/ed	25	use/ing/ed	18
20	use/d/ing	22	support	17

Table 4: The 20 most frequent verbs used by the candidates

The modal profiles of the verbs are also very instructive. We classified the verbs into different modal groups to see the amount of control verbs, epistemic verbs, communication verbs, action verbs, and emotional verbs in the corpus. Figure 3B shows the results after scaling.
Emotional verbs are expressions like ‘to feel’, ‘to care’, ‘to love’, and so on; action verbs describe actions like run, stop, start or fight. Communication verbs refer to acts like to call, to say or to hear, while control-verbs describe control activities like to give, to defend or to use. Finally, epistemic verbs refer to expression like ‘to know’ or ‘to believe’. Figure 6 shows that the most frequently used terms were the action-words for both candidates. The most significant difference could be found as regards emotional and communication words: while Clinton preferred the former, Trump used the latter more frequently. Clinton used more epistemic verbs than Trump, and both of them used a number of control-verbs. We also categorized the most frequent verbs to definite and indefinite subgroups, which could show the perceived confidence level of the candidates. Definite verbs could be both epistemic verbs like ‘to know’ or ‘to understand’ and action verbs like ‘to do’ or ‘to make’. Similarly, we have indefinite epistemic verbs like ‘to think’, ‘to hope’ or ‘to believe’ and indefinite action words like ‘to try’ or ‘to plan’. As we can see on Figure 4, Secretary Clinton used many more indefinite verbs than Donald Trump who obviously preferred definite epistemic and action words. While using indefinite verbs in phrases like ‘I think that…’ counts as a polite way of speaking, it could also mean incertitude or even obscurity. On the other hand, however inelegant it may appear, the frequent use of definite verbs shows a great level of confidence and positivity. Note, that definite verbs suggest objective control, while indefinite verbs suggest subjective control.

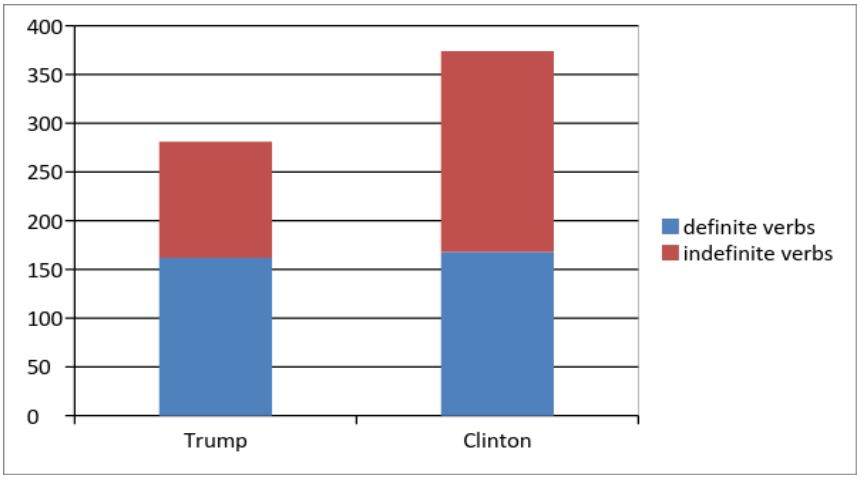

Figure 4: Definite and indefinite verbs in the corpus

Finally, we made a thematic-role based analysis of the 10 most frequent control verbs of both candidates. In the first column, we can see the analyzed control term. Meanwhile, the second column shows the most typical examples of the corresponding verb in the corpus of the candidate's debate speeches. The numbers in brackets refer to the frequency of the type in the whole corpus of the three debates. The third column shows the corresponding thematic relations: λ represents the elements of lambda terms that serve to bind variables z,y,x in a given logical expression. Then, for example, λyλx ,TAKE CARE (x,y) should be interpreted as 'x takes care for y' where y and x are bound variables. Accordingly, we interpret 'λzλyλx ,GIVE(x,y,z)' as 'x gives y a(n) z' where all variables are bound. In the fourth column, we can see the dependency structure of the most frequent statements containing the analyzed control verb. These formal expressions also show the main thematic roles with their dependency order. For example, a BENEFICIARY always depends on its CONTROLLER (CONTROLLER $>_{dep}$ BENEFICIARY), just like a POSSESSUM depends on the PATIENT, which also depends on its CONTROLLER (CONTROLLER >dep PATIENT >dep POSSESSUM). Finally, the fifth column shows the thematic role of the candidate (the speaker) in the analyzed examples. Now Table 5 shows the results for Donald Trump.

Control term	Example(s)	Thematic relations	Thematic roles (dependency)
TAKE	We take care of People (3) Vets (2) Illegal immigrants (1)	λyλx ,TAKE CARE (x,y)	CONTROLLER >dep BENEFICIARY
	They take care of their oil (1)		
	I'll take care of ISIS (1)		CONTROLLER >dep PATIENT
	Take a look at The people Syria Benghazi The person Washington Her Senate Mosul	λyλx ,TAKE A LOOK(x,y)	CONTROLLER >dep PATIENT >dep GOAL

	Russia Wikileaks Those commercials CNN Her website Carrier air			
GIVE	Give amnesty We cannot give amnesty Hillary wants to give amnesty She wants to give amnesty	λyλx ,GIVE (x,y)	CONTROLLER GOAL	>dep
	She doesn't give up (2 times)			
	I give you One other thing An example	λzλyλx ,GIVE(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER	
	A list of banks (2 times) The example of Mexico		CONTROLLER BENEFICIARY INSTRUMENT	>dep >dep
PAY	I pay Tax(es) (3) Hundreds of millions of dollars (2)	λyλx ,PAY(x,y)	CONTROLLER POSSESSUM	>dep
	They have to pay up (5)	λx ,PAY UP(x)	CONTROLLER PATIENT POSSESSUM	>dep >dep
	They will pay off (2)	λzλyλx ,PAY OFF(x,y,z)		
	Our national debt Our tremendous budget deficit			
USE	We use We use our people We have to use our great people We use people	λyλx ,USE(x,y)	CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
	We don't use We don' use those people We don't use our great leaders			
FIGHT	She does fight hard She wants to fight for rebels She wants to fight (two times)	λyλx, FIGHT(x,y) λyλx, FIGHT(x,y) λx ,FIGHT(x)	CONTROLLER PATH BENEFICIARY	>dep >dep
HELP	We have to help to Create profits Wealthy people Families Small businesses (4 times) Kids and families Revitalize coal country Agriculture Syrians Make our country what it is	λyλx ,HELP(x,y)	CONTROLLER GOAL CONTROLLER BENEFICIARY	>dep >dep

STOP	We have to stop Radical Islamic terrorism The drugs Her Insurance companies Them The violence Them (business firms) from leaving (3 times) These countries (from stealing our businesses) Our jobs from being stolen	λyλx ,STOP(x,y)	CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
ALLOW	She She will always allow Hillary Clinton wants to allow (3) Hillary Clinton won't allow them to bring the money	λyλx ,ALLOW(x,y) λzλyλx ,ALLOW(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER PATIENT >dep FORCE	>dep
	We We can't allow it to happen anymore	λyλx ,ALLOW(x,y)	CONTROLLER PATH	>dep
DEFEND	Defend yourself! Defend yourselves (2)	λx ,DEFEND(x)	CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
	We cannot afford to defend (8) Japan Saudi Arabia Germany South Korea	λzλyλx ,DEFEND(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER GOAL	>dep
CHANGE	On Clinton She never will change (4) you won't change the law you wouldn't change it why didn't you change it? Why didn't she change it? You should have change the law (4)	λyλx ,CHANGE(x,y)	CONTROLLER CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
BUILD	They build houses for the veterans (2 times)	λzλyλx ,BUILD(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER PATIENT BENEFICIARY	>dep >dep
	We/I want to build The wall (2) roads company(es) (5)	λyλx ,BUILD(x,y)	CONTROLLER GOAL	>dep

Table 5: thematic roles as regards the most frequent control verbs of candidate Donald Trump

Before starting to analyze the thematic relations in Discussion, let's see the most frequent control terms of Hilary Clinton with examples and thematic roles (Table 6).

Control term	Example(s)	Thematic relations	Thematic roles (dependency)
MAKE	We will make The economy fairer (3) Your life better (2) Investments It work Our country even greater	λzλyλx ,MAKE(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER>dep GOAL
	Our country what it should be	λyλxMAKE SURE(x,Y)	CONTROLLER>dep BENEFICIARY
	We will make sure that Our police are.. They respect the communities We keep people safe Women Kids with disabilities Women get equal pay		
WORK	We can make it work again I know how to really work to get new jobs We have to work with the police We have to work more closely with our allies	λyλx ,WORK(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep PATIENT >dep GOAL
	I will work with every American We will work with one another I will work on behalf of the people We have to work with American Muslim communities		CONTROLLER>dep BENEFICIARY
	I worked with President Obama Bernie Sanders George W. Bush Latinos		
TAKE	I take responsibility For that (e-mail usage) For using a personal e-mail address	λyλx ,TAKE(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep POSSESSUM
	He needs to take responsibility for his actions		CONTROLLER>dep POSSESSUM
	(the goal is to) Take back Mosul (2 times) Raqqa (2 times) Take out ISIS (2 times) Al-Qaida Their leadership (of ISIS)		CONTROLLER>dep GOAL
PAY	Corporations should pay their fair share	λyλx ,PAY(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep POSSESSUM
	The wealthy should pay their fair share		CONTROLLER>dep PATIENT>dep

	He (Trump) didn't pay federal taxes		BENEFICIARY CONTROLLER>dep
	He (Trump) refused to pay (3)		PATIENT>dep BENEFICIARY
	We should pay equally for women (4)		
HELP	We should help	λyλx ,HELP(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep
	Families		BENEFICIARY
	Kids		
	Small business		
	Haiti		
START	If he wants to start, he could start (2)	λyλx ,START(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep
	Let me start (2)		PATIENT
USE	Mainly war terminology	λyλx ,USE(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep
	Russia has used cyber attacks		PATH
	They are well prepared to use force		CONTROLLER>dep
	only when necessary		FORCE
	I would not use American ground forces		
	I do think the use of special forces		
	About the use of nuclear weapons		
SUPPORT	We have to support	λyλx	CONTROLLER>dep
	People	,SUPPORT(x,y)	BENEFICIARY
	Our Arab and Kurdish partners		
	Our democracy		
	Children		CONTROLLER>dep
	I'm not support putting American		POSSESSUM
	soldiers into Iraq.		
	Corporations should paid their fair		
	share to support this country (2)		
CREATE	Create jobs, profits, businesses (8)	λzλyλx	CONTROLLER>dep
	Will they create jobs in America?	,CREATE(x,y,z)	GOAL
	Create more new jobs		
	(My plans) would create 10 million new		
	jobs		
	Clean energy superpower and create		
	millions of new jobs		
	Create new opportunities and new		
	businesses		
GIVE	They/he	λzλyλx	CONTROLLER>dep
		,GIVE(x,y,z)	POSSESSUM

Table 6: Thematic roles as regards the most frequent control verbs of Hillary Clinton

Discussion

Based on the results of our analysis, we can draw the communication control-characters of the candidates. Let we start with Donald Trump. First of all, he was far more successful in controlling time. Since it is commonplace in the literature on campaign communications that more assertion means more persuasion, we can also state that the person who controls time controls the debate. Speech length and semantic elegance tests also show that Trump used the easiest communication style so he could make much simpler assertions than Clinton. Moreover, he was able to talk much longer without interruption. Because of the above-mentioned properties of his communication style, Trump seemed to be very productive, energetic, a real man of clear-cut control. However, his communication style proved to be simplistic and easy to understand. It has been reinforced by the results of our readability tests.

These results have been also verified by the fact that Trump was more successful amongst high school or less educated voters while, compared to past Republican candidates, he underperformed with college (or higher) educated voters. This is a new and important schism in the American electorate, and Trump's easy-to-understand language aimed at less educated voters worked in his favor.

The accurate and somehow informal aspects of Trump's control-character could also be shown by his control-direction. He used much more pronouns than his opponent with 'I' as the most frequent one, which made his speeches personal and expressive. By using many pronouns, Trump clearly stresses the boundaries between 'Us' and 'They' which is obviously one of the most powerful tools of political persuasion. It was also reinforced by his noun usage, with which he could draw an expressive picture of not just his ideal country but of the enemies of the nation, too. Trump frequently spoke about ISIS, Iraq, emphasized many dangers, problems, and pictured many future disasters, and he was also very inquisitive about the responsibility of former presidents Barack Obama and Bill Clinton. He definitely used many more general terms than Clinton did, which shows his tendency to make generalizations. Moreover, we could also see that Trump's favorite noun-group was "war-terminology group," which means that his most important aim was to create a definite image of enemies. A vivid picture of enemies causes fear: this is one of the most common features of emotional control. As regards his verb usage, we could also state that Trump was more active in his control-character than Secretary Clinton: he used many more verbs than his opponent, which shows a high level of capacity and spiritedness. During his speeches in the presidential debates, he was a man of 'know', 'say' and 'take', while Clinton was full of 'think' and 'want'. He used mainly communication and control verbs, and he deliberately used more definite than indefinite verbs, which shows a high level of certitude, confidence, and positivity. The same could be perceived when we consider the results of the analysis of the most frequent control terms of the candidates. It is obvious that, in most cases, the main thematic role played by the candidate is the role of the controller. But there are also remarkable cases where other people play this important role: in Trump's case, 'give', 'fight', 'allow' and 'change' are the examples. In the case of 'give', he frequently refers to Hillary Clinton's supposed plans for giving amnesty to criminals. It is more interesting that, in the case of the control verb 'fight', he also exclusively refers to Clinton as the fighter, so the agent and controller of all the control situations that had been mentioned by Donald Trump. 'Allow' and 'change' were also frequently associated with Secretary Clinton in the context of her former decisions. The strongest control terms of Donald Trump were unquestionably 'take care', 'help' and 'stop'. He portrayed himself as a man who takes care of his people, who would help companies and families alike, and who is able to stop crime and violence. In short, the control-character of Donald Trump seems like a mixture of features like simplicity and confidence, certitude and positivity, intimacy and clear-cut control. He turned out to be a good controller of time, and he was able to make much more positive assertions than his opponent. He drew a simple, maybe primitive, but clear picture of his vision of America, and he also depicted a vivid image of the enemies of the country.

On the contrary, Secretary Clinton was not very good at controlling time issues. She used fewer words than her opponent, and she has shorter and fewer uninterrupted speech phases. In addition, Secretary Clinton used much longer sentences with a more elaborate semantical frame than Trump, so she made significantly fewer assertions. She was elegant, sophisticated and professional – but she did not appear to be as energetic and sparkling as Donald Trump. As regards Secretary Clinton's control-direction, we should mention that she used significantly fewer pronouns than her opponent and she failed to talk about the Other group. Instead of stressing a clear dichotomy between We and They, Secretary Clinton concentrated on 'we-and-I' issues while she also kept some distance from Trump by referring to him with

an indirect ‘he’ instead of the more direct and personal ‘you’. With these aspects of her control-direction, Clinton appeared not just a little bit cold, distanced, and remote but also as a candidate who speaks only of, and only for, her own voters. When we examine the noun frequency of Clinton, we will find that the second most frequent noun was the first name of her opponent, Donald. This resulted in a loss of control because we can say that the second most frequent topic of Hillary Clinton was Donald Trump himself, which means that Trump-controlled not just his almost 20% longer speeches but Clinton added to this through her own Trump-related speech phrases. Beside Trump-content, Clinton frequently used nouns as regards women, families and children: her most frequent noun category was obviously ‘People and social issues’, but she also had a partiality on political issues. This shows that she preferred professional and intellectual topics instead of popular ones like crime, war, business, and terrorism. Her verb usage was also rather different from Trump’s active and definite communication style. Clinton was the candidate of ‘think’, ‘want’ and ‘need’ with active supplements like ‘make’ and ‘say’. As opposed with Donald Trump, Secretary Clinton used indefinite verbs like ‘think’ and ‘try’ to a great extent, so she appeared to be less confident and assertive when contrasted with Trump. As a representative of a more intellectual and sophisticated professional, Clinton preferred emotional and epistemic verbs, but she was somewhat negligent of communication verbs, which ultimately led to decreasing communication control. While, as a general rule, the main thematic role played by Hillary Clinton was of course the controller, she had also speech situations where she could not play this role. The most important ones of them were ‘use’, ‘start’ and ‘give’ where Clinton could not take the place of the controller. The most important control verbs for her were ‘work,’ ‘help’ and ‘support’. It reinforces the results of her verb-usage: she portrayed herself as a caring, diligent professional who wants to work for the people instead of fighting with their enemies. In short, Secretary Clinton’s control-character is a complex one of professionalism and caring attitudes with a clear line of dubiousness and elitism. But she also shows a serious discrepancy between her image as a receptive and tolerant politician and her loss of flexibility and willingness for dialogue (note that her integrative complexity level which shows cooperative attitudes was 0). Table 6 shows the components of control-characterization for a better picture of the differences between the two candidates.

	Donald Trump	**Hillary Clinton**
Time control (quantitatively)	Much more words and assertions than Hillary Clinton	Fewer words and assertions than Donald Trump
Time control (qualitatively)	Shorter assertions Less usage of bolted language Semantically simple speeches	Long sentences Professional language Semantically complex speeches
Speech length control	Much longer uninterrupted speeches than Clinton Much more long speech phases than Clinton	Shorter speeches with frequent interruptions Fewer uninterrupted speeches
Cognitive complexity	Zero	Relatively high
Integrative complexity	Relatively high	Zero
Control direction	Personal – expressive Us – They dichotomy	Subjective and distanced Us and I perspective
Noun usage control	Generalizations War-terminology group	Specifications People and social issues
Verb usage control	Definite verbs Know, say and take Communication and control verbs Definite verbs (object-control)	Indefinite verbs Think and want Emotional and cognitive verbs Indefinite verbs (subject-control)

Main thematic roles in expressions with the most frequent control verbs	Controller Take care, help and stop	Controller Care, help and work
Basic features of the control character	Productivity	Caring
	Intimacy	Professional
	High level a spiritedness and capacity	Intelligent
	Simplicity	Sophisticated
	Clear-cut control	Inflexible
	Certitude	Dubious
	Confidence	Emotional
	Populist	Elitist

Table 7: Summary of the control characters of the two candidates

It is controversial, however, that polling data showed Hillary Clinton as the consistent winner in all three debates. Most political analysts thought that she will win the election, but they were wrong. One possible explanation could be that sometimes as impressions of the candidates harden there can be changes in how voters perceive the debate outcome. The first Bush-Gore debate in 2000 is a case in point. Gore was initially viewed as the winner, but his sighing led many to come to an opposite conclusion in a matter of days. Maybe the same is true to the Trump-Clinton debates, where CNN made the poll interviews too early, right after the debates. The National Tracking Poll was also made too early, only one day after the debates. The second explanation could be that the measured impact of the debates only reinforced the preconceptions of the interviewees. As, for example, the results of CNN – ORC International Poll suggest, the vast majority of the interviewees thought that Clinton will performing better on the presidential debates before it even happened. It means that the poll measures not just the outcomes of the debates but the preconceptions of the interviewees, too.

Conclusion

In every system, the aim of control is to make the system behave in the desirable fashion. In the case of political communication, the controllers of the system are the candidates and their consultants, while voters constitute the controlled compartment with electors as actuators. On a psychological level, every individual wants a sense of control in their lives, but on a political level, everyone wants to be also controlled by an appropriate leader. But the wannabe leader should be careful because he or she must anticipate where voters want to be controlled and why. To be perceived as an ideal leader, one should be dominating but still caring, easy to understand but still assertive, personal but still persuasive. If there are events in the world where these issues could be investigated on a grand scale then they are the presidential debates of the United States. Who controls time and space, controls communication. During the last presidential debates, it was obviously Donald Trump who controlled all aspects of time issues: he made many more assertions, used many more words, and had much longer periods of uninterrupted speech. Moreover, he was the one who used simpler vocabulary, shorter sentences, and many more pronouns - which made his speeches easy to understand, personal, and persuasive. It is not surprising then, that Trump was more successful and popular amongst less educated workers and was able to to carry the key states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania because of his dominance in these rural communities. In short, he was more successful in not just controlling the topics of the debate but also in controlling the attention of the audience. For the sake of greater control, we should interact with others first. Hillary Clinton missed this point. Her integrative complexity was on a zero level during all three debates, while the more aggressive and dominant Donald Trump was able to use his

integrative skills quite well. With this is mind, we cannot wonder that Secretary Clinton appeared to be a candidate who speaks only for her own voters, while Trump successfully positioned himself as the candidate of everybody. Word frequency tests also show that Clinton focused chiefly on her specific issues like women's rights and other social issues while Trump was able to be concerned, albeit superficially, with many issues. Donald Trump also successfully stressed the Us-Enemy dichotomy during his debate speeches while Clinton somehow forgot to draw a picture of the Other, excepting Donald Trump himself, who was her second most frequent topic. Which kind of control do the voters prefer? Knowing both the result of the election and our content-based control analysis, we could draw a rough conclusion that people want to be controlled in an easy but still total way. At first it seems to be a sort of contradiction but it is not. First, easy control means easy-to-understand-control: people are kind of indifferent towards the details: instead, they want to hear simple assertions repetitiously. But easy also means that people do not like to make sacrifices: they want others to offer up the sacrifice; they need others to pay the bills. That's why they need not just to see the problems but the Others, the people who caused the problems and who must solve the problems instead of them. On the other hand, people like total control, which means that they look for a leader who can manage countless issues instead of being a specialist: a leader who has a good word for not just the intelligentsia but for the workers and peasants as well. In the current research, we showed the strongest parts and the clouds of the communication of the candidates. A communication control-analysis of this type could reveal the role control-characters play in assessing the performance of the actors' political communication. We also concluded that people want to be controlled in an easy but still total way. To make people think that there is a man who is able to do this: it was Donald Trump's greatest asset. But how can a candidate show that his campaign communication was truthful, and when will he fulfill his promises? The secret curl of communication control is that no candidate should ever fulfill his or her promises: only a president could do it. But this is a quite different story.

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Masked Thinkers? Politics and Ideology in the Contemporary Superhero Film

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Abstract: This article analyzes the ideological representations in the discourse of contemporary superhero films. In recent years, there has been a tendency in the genre: The characters have become more self-conscious of their roles, even questioning the 'greater good' that they are trying to achieve. Thus, the ideological representations of two recent superhero films are studied. For the corpus of analysis, *Iron Man* (2008) and *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014) would be selected to be examined based on a Critical Discourse Analysis approach, and using two categories: plot and characters (the second with two subcategories: biographic origin and objectives). The main results point out political contradictions at the discursive level and suggest a relation with current political issues of the contemporary capitalism. This work discusses how a text unfolds an ideology harbored in the meanings and values of an American-based production and political culture.

Keywords: Ideology, Discourse, Political Representations, Superheroes, Film, Politics.

Introduction

It is unquestionable that the American cinema has a great influence globally; every year, a multitude of U.S-produced films land in the movie theaters across the continents (Boyd-Barrett, 1977; Webster, 2014). '*Blockbuster*' has become a term to coin Hollywood's super-productions (Elberse, 2013); with large budgets and 'mega-stars', these products are likely to be consumed by considerable portions of audiences. For instance, a single movie such as *The Avengers* (2012) achieved a box office of $ 1, 511, 409, 272 worldwide (Box Office Mojo, 2012).

The superhero films have gained popularity in recent years. Their stories have proven to be profitable for Hollywood studios, as well as alluring for global viewers. The Marvel franchise has been the leader of this production increment. Initially, the media company sold the rights of certain characters to major studios; the studios, meanwhile, developed their own versions. Nevertheless, Marvel executives, led by producer Kevin Feige, decided that it was better, creatively and economically, to start producing the films by themselves,

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independently, sometimes with an occasional partnership (Leonard, 2014). This decision created the *Marvel Cinematic Universe*, which consists of separate stories of different superheroes that are linked to a common narrative (Murray, Phipps, & Singer, 2013), having the opportunity to unite all the characters in feature films such as The Avengers series or *Captain America: Civil War* (2016). Following the box office successes of its competitor, D.C. Comics has also started to plan a similar shared universe in cinematic form. Thus, the phenomenon suggests a trend of a *new superhero film*, in which a base narrative nurtures different plots with tight relations between each one.

Discursively, the superhero genre has been criticized for containing ideological representations that support a certain *status quo* (Arnaudo, 2013; Collins, 2015; Eco, 1964/2011, Klock, 2002; McAllister, Sewell & Gordon, 2001; Moore, 2003; Hugues, 2006). Nonetheless, Marvel comics have historically integrated references to social reality, creating more intertextual conflicts (Johnson, 2012; Rauscher, 2010). This tendency has appeared in the cinematic counterpart: The characters have become more self-conscious of their roles, even questioning the 'greater good' that they are trying to achieve. The Marvel Cinematic Universe has started following a more traditional logic, but the recent stories have focused on moral issues, criticizing, for instance, military solutions typical of American foreign policy.
Hence, this article studies the political representations of two recent Marvel films to understand the ideological operations of their cinematic discourse. Two films were selected to understand the relationship between political ideologies and contemporary iterations of the superhero genre: *Iron Man* (2008) and *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014). The study is based on a Critical Discourse Analysis approach and utilizes two analytical categories: plot and characters – the second is divided in two subcategories: biographic origins and objectives.

For this, the concept of *ideologeme* is discussed as the single unit of an ideology; the analysis proposes that the discourse of the films' functions based on two: society and individual. This relation points out a contradiction regarding the ideals searched by the superheroes whilst, at the same time, gives the semiotic mechanism to harmonize oppositional meanings. The discursive process is considered as a mirror of current political issues and concerns a product of recent historical developments such as the economic crisis of 2008.

Theoretical Considerations

Popular culture is a realm where many meanings and values collide; nevertheless, there are dominant forms and contents that prevail anchored in hegemonic dynamics, generating a defined discursive repertoire across different media outlets (Morley, 1992; Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). Media products are created within an ideology that enables the production process in a technical or a semiotic sense, displaying it either in a clear or in a more ambiguous manner. In this sense, Jameson (1981) suggests that a *political unconscious* operates underneath narrative manifestations, locating the product in a specific socio-historic context of emission, setting the possible paths of interpretation, and charging it with ideological maneuvers or objectives.

The figure of the superhero has become a cornerstone of the mainstream media culture in recent years, even though its influence and popularity began in the era of comic books (Coogan, 2006; Johnson, 2012; Reynolds, 1994). Different studies (McAllister, Sewell & Gordon, 2001; Moore, 2003; Hugues, 2006) have found that the character of the superhero unfolds a clear ideology, defending in several occasions a hegemonic *status quo*. For instance, distinct superheroes have displayed intertextual connections with their socio-historic

conjunctures; for instance, Captain America initially faced challenges proper for World War II, the period in which the character was created (Dittmer, 2011, 2013).

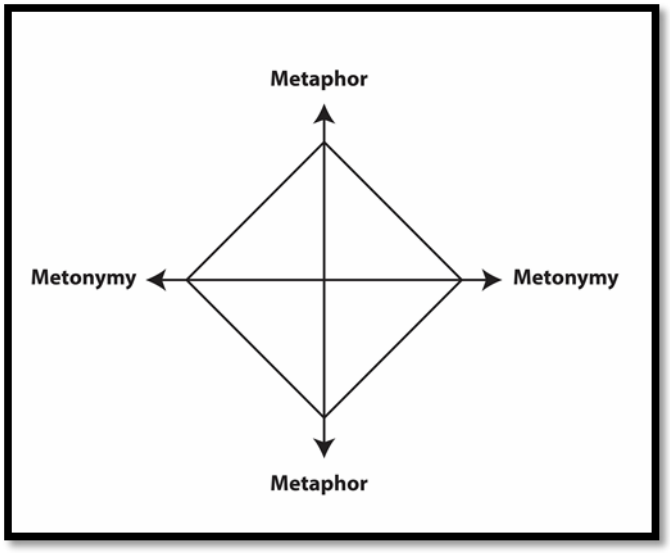
Žižek (1994, p. 1), following the ideas of Ernesto Laclau, argues that ideology functions as a generative matrix that regulates the relationship between the visible and the non-visible, between the imaginable and the non-imaginable; thus, the political representations found in media products are a crucial variable in the construction of the social world, they are frameworks that function as references of possible readings for a certain audience. The inscription of an ideology in a product occurs based on the possibilities offered by a particular political conjuncture; in other words, reality, understood as a dialectic between the material and the symbolic, is the ground from where ideology emanates. For Ryan and Kellner (1988), the relationship between film and social life is developed in a process of discursive transcoding, pointing out a dynamic of semiotic tensions:

> Films transcode the discourses (forms, figures, and representations) of social life into cinematic narratives. Rather than reflect a reality external to the film medium, films execute a transfer from one discursive field to another. As a result, films themselves become part of that broader cultural system of representations that construct social life (pp. 12-13).

The transcodification of discourses exhibits how political representations are rooted in media products. But a representation, as theoretical category, not only indicates the trace of some political value, it helps to strengthen that which it stood for originally; in this case, films recreate features of a certain ideology and they support its reproduction at the same time. Popular culture, then, boils different political realities, being a sign and defender of a particular Zeitgeist.

Inside a media product, the 'footprints' of an ideology can be grasped. These basic unities are called *ideologemes*, being described by Kristeva (1974) as an intertextual function that confers historic and social coordinates. Jameson (1981, p.76) suggests that an ideologeme is an amphibian formation that has a conceptual description and a narrative manifestation simultaneously. This concept indicates the main cores of an ideological representation, the meeting point between politics and narrative. Nonetheless, it needs a further re-elaboration to be identified more clearly in the superhero films here analyzed. For this, the role of rhetorical figures in ideological representations, as theorized by Ryan and Kernell (1988), becomes extremely useful. For the authors, metaphors allow the sedimentation of allegories, symbolisms, and myths, whilst metonymies link a representation to a material basis of social reality; these two spheres can be in harmony, or in conflict, depending of the political state of affairs. Thus, the structure of an ideologeme shall be recognized as follows:

Figure 1: Structure of the Ideologeme



This 'open-diamond structure' illustrates the tensions, agreements, and antagonisms that could be present in an ideologeme as the primordial unit of a textual ideological operation, as the engine that powers semiosis. According to Ryan and Kernell (1988), the metaphor displays a vertical relation headed to an idealism or allegory, it assembles an abstract ground; e.g. all the values attached to the American notion of 'freedom'. On the other hand, metonymy addresses a material, or 'real', situation, almost as an index in a Peircean fashion, it is the reference to the everyday life for a subject, to the vicissitudes of social life; e.g. the economic conditions and constraints that a character must confront.

This proposed structure is called 'open' because: 1) it points out the levels of abstraction of the metaphor and material constrictiveness of the metonymy. The ascendant-descendent direction of the metaphor line signalizes the level of abstraction that the rhetorical figure has in a product. The horizontal direction of the metonymy line indicates an almost endless possibility of direct and concrete relationships with a context. 2) It is in an intertextual relation with other ideologemes in the same product that contains it, and with the social world in general; 3) ideologies change and disappear, hence ideologemes must be conceptualized as veering entities.

A single ideologeme can show contradictions: a struggle between metaphors and metonymies. And this situation can be present in a media content. As part of a cultural production process, films can display oppositional meanings. These strains are common, and are found in hegemony in general. Superhero films are not the exception: They can express realities that challenge ideals hitherto dominant.

Research design

This qualitative study is based on a discursive and ideological analysis of cinema. The main concerns are centered on the texts themselves, scrutinizing the political representations present in the discourses that display an ideological representation. The adopted approach is anchored on a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. As Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011, p.357) suggests, this theoretical and methodological standpoint is interdisciplinary and aims to examine specific problems, being concerned with the semiotic dimensions of power

and the political and economic change in culture and society. In this sense, media products are containers of discursive constructions that are part of an ideological dynamic, their content can be dissected to understand how the operation interacts with social life (van Dijk, 2001).

According to Torfing (2005), one of the main advantages of the approach is that it is open to new methods and conceptual formulations. Therefore, the political representations of superhero films will be dissected to identify the ideologemes from the ideological operation they nourish. The corpus of analysis consists in two Marvel Studios productions: *Iron Man* (2008) and *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014). This selection seeks to include the first independent production of the franchise and another one from the so-called second phase of its cinematic universe to fulfill a sharp and detailed inquiry.

Table 1: Corpus of analysis

Film	Release date	Director	Screenwriters
Iron Man	30 April, 2008 (United States)	Jon Favreau	Mark Fergus, Hawk Ostby, Art Marcum & Matt Holloway
Captain America: The Winter Soldier	13 March, 2014 (United States)	Anthony & Joe Russo	Christopher Markus & Stephen McFeely

The analysis in question is carried out based on two main categories, attending the definitions and considerations provided by Chatman (1978): first, *plot*, meaning the complete progress of events and actions in a delimited narrative universe; with this study unit, it is intended to identify the main ideological representations of the films and the possible similarities and differences among the two texts. Second, *characters*, indicating the fictional agents that are the protagonists of the storyline; this study unit will be divided into two subcategories: *biographic origin*, trying to understand the background and principles that drive the character's behavior, and *objectives*, establishing the direct goals of these actors within the story. For this category, only the main superhero and the villain are taken into account to illustrate the political representations through an oppositional relation rooted in a moral conflict. The study was made using an analysis matrix to classify the results obtained, taken as base the procedure offered by Barnett (2005).

In an initial phase, the discursive analysis distinguishes the distinct ideological representations contained in the films. Then, these findings are discussed based on the proposed 'open-diamond' structure of the ideologeme.

The Superpowers of Representation: Discourse and Ideology

In this section, the ideological representations of the filmic discourses are discussed to identify the main ideologemes of the products. The principal findings are divided into the categories and subcategories described above.

Plot

The narrative construction of the two films follows the basic conceptions of screenwriting according to a Hollywood tradition (Field, 1984/2005; McKee, 1997). The flow of actions and events is displayed following the dramatic progression of the objectives set by the protagonist. In this case, the superheroes have to confront a threat uttered by an aggressor or villain (Vogler, 2007). This construction is based on a moral problem: The agent that carries the main action seeks an ideal; thus, its main operation is an antagonism between two conflictive perspectives. The focus is posed under the dramatic agent that is considered the messenger of 'noble intentions', being the possible point of identification for the audience. Hence, this narrative conception suggests that the superhero is the defender of a repertoire of desirable meanings and values. Ideology appears in this semiotic gap: the signifiers are available for the attachment of a specific stream of signifieds, of political beliefs (Laclau, 2005).

In *Iron Man* (2008), Tony Stark is a billionaire, heir of a weaponry empire. His corporation is trying to sell to the United States Military a missile called 'the Jericho', which could benefit the American cause in the Iraq War. But an Arab terrorist group called 'the Ten Rings' kidnaps Stark so he can build the device for them. The mogul, being also an intellectual genius, cheats the organization to believe that he will build the missile; instead, he creates an iron suit that allows him to escape. Stark returns and announces, in a press conference, that the weapon manufacturing division of his corporation will be shut down; nonetheless, he faces the opposition of Obadiah Stane, one of the enterprises' executives and former CEO, who is interested in economic efficiency. Tony Stark creates a better iron suit, but, at the same time, the terrorists that kept him captive discover the remains of the initial armor and start to assemble it again. Stark discovers that his company is selling arms and technology to the terrorist group, and that Stane is backstabbing him, trying to keep him away from the board of directors. Following his evil plan, Obadiah Stane visits the terrorist group, paralyzes their leader and steals the remains of the first iron suit: his plan is to reproduce the prototype in order to sell it. In a final battle, Stark fights Stane, both dressing an 'iron jacket', and the protagonist beats his rival.

The filmic discourse is located historically, in the American invasion of Iraq, adopting the American cause as the background for the dramatic events. The military is shown as reactionary: instead of being the cause of the war – after all, the conflict was started by the political motivations held by president George W. Bush –, the army defends itself from the attacks of radical organizations. The war is not problematized: Everything occurs in a given state of affairs and several actions along the storyline are depicted as necessary for protecting the nation. The American hegemony is not questioned; and notwithstanding the change of attitude of Tony Stark after he is hold hostage, the imperialistic ideal is explicit at the beginning of the film when the character remembers one of his father's phrases: "Peace means having a bigger stick than the other guy". This discursive elaboration is based on a sense of ambiguity that may suggest a mild critique towards the armed intervention or a supportive sentiment towards the war.

'The other guy' represents the sphere of antagonism of the filmic discourse. The source of evil, then, comes from the outside: The villains are foreigners whose extremist objectives attempt against the *Pax Americana*. This narrative configuration is paradigmatic considering that it poses the otherness as direct enemy: An Islamic terrorist group becomes a threat for the superhero and for the national security. Thus, the danger is external, undermining the domestic welfare. As Sandoval-García (2004) argues, these discursive constructions fortify the edification of nationalism, setting it as an ideal, by degrading other identities as strange and different. The narrative is American-based: It becomes a plead for a

certain set of values that position the United States as the center, and socio-economic engine, of the world. Jameson (1992) defines this characteristic as the *geopolitical unconscious* of a product, the territorial imaginary it suggests; by contemplating a specific space as the stage of actions, a discourse can support a hegemony. This dynamic is crucial in blockbusters due to their global reach (Elberse, 2013; Webster, 2014); as media products, they are semiotic ambassadors of ideological stipulations.

Nevertheless, one of the main villains in *Iron Man* (2008) is national inside the narrative universe: Obadiah Stane is an American citizen. This situation leads to the most remarkable critique made in the film: the excesses of the economic system. Even though, the discourse is guided through a military fantasia that reinforces U.S. dominancy, the plot shows how greed can affect minorities and vulnerable populations (Alford, 2010). The villain is only concerned with profit growth and economic efficiency; in order to increase the capital of Stark Industries, he starts dealing with extremist groups, without any regards for the consequences. Indeed, the film's ideological representations are based on dichotomous moral categories, but it also raises ethical preoccupations about the distribution of armament in this kind of conflicts and the motivations of the organizations that are acquiring it.

At the end, the solution is simplistic: Tony Stark is trying to make a better world, thus he deserves the iron suit. However, the proposed argument is important. The role of technology is highlighted; discursively, it is connoted that progress shall be discussed according to its uses and intentions. The film exhibits the ethical implications of artillery usage by the United States in armed conflicts. *Iron Man* (2008) illustrates a tendency that has become a convention in the contemporary iterations of the genre: The presence of denounces based on current political issues. The cinematographic discourse exposes the effects of contemporary capitalism in a moral fashion, addressing a crisis of values. Although it forgets to exhibit the causes more directly, the film indeed tries to achieve some critical relevance in an ambiguous way.

Captain America: the Winter Soldier (2014) is the sequel of the first Avenger's story; it tells how Steve Rogers is living in modern society after being frozen since World War II. In the film, the Captain discovers that a federal agency, SHIELD, (Strategic Homeland Intervention, Enforcement and Logistics Division) is developing a project called 'Insight', which aims to build a defense mechanism – constituted by several flying ships full of guns – that will kill potential dangerous individuals in advance, before committing a crime. Rogers opposes the initiative because, for him, it is an assault against freedom. But, suddenly, Nick Fury, director of SHIELD, is attacked and dies. Hence, the Captain and Black Widow, a female secret agent, start investigating the murder, realizing that HYDRA, a former Nazi organization, controls SHIELD thanks to Alexander Pierce, Secretary of the World Security Council, who intends to use the defense mechanism to rule the world. Captain America decides to face the menace; but, at the same time, he is in constant danger thanks to the apparition of the Winter Soldier, a mysterious and deadly figure, who in reality is Bucky Barnes, Roger's best friend during WWII. Then, Nick Fury reappears, confessing that he faked his death. Thus, Rogers develops a plan to destroy Project 'Insight' and to dismantle all the operation of SHIELD. After a fierce battle, the superhero fulfills his objective and the agency is eradicated.

One of the most important political representations of the film regards the villains. The deployed narrative model uses antagonism as a mechanism for signalizing moral categories. In this sense, the traditional conceptions prevail: The enemies are outsiders, foreigners. It is truly symptomatic that, first, HYDRA is a German organization, remembering all the efforts carried out by the United States against Nazism; and, second, the Winter Soldier is dressed with Soviet signs, such as a red star in his metallic arm, being a direct reference to the Cold War. Therefore, the 'evil forces' are allegories to historic

adversaries of the American power. The Otherness is seen, again, as a threat to national interests; ideology needs a distinction to operate, it creates opponents, attackers, in order to render its own hegemony and ontology (Torfing, 2005; van Dijk, 2008).

Despite this anchorage in traditional ideological and discursive representations, the film centers his main argument in a polemic issue: security and surveillance. The whole struggle effectuated by Captain America seeks to stop the implementation of a violent technology used as an excuse for peace. 'Freedom', an important value of the American ethos, is put to test, its meaning is questioned. An ethical discussion arises: the real implications of sacrificing free will in order to get order. In the cinematic text, the superhero observes it clearly: "you are holding a gun against everyone on Earth and calling it protection". This critique can be related to modern-day events such as the 'Arab Spring', WikiLeaks, and the digital control wielded by authoritarian regimes (Christensen, 2012, 2014; Fuchs, 2013). Hence, the discourse maintains a dialogue with contemporary political developments, exposing it within the plot: What could be an abstract or complicated event in the news is depicted through the grammar of the blockbuster's visual spectacle.

Captain America: the Winter Soldier (2014) highlights the power and entangled relations within institutions and organizations. The antagonistic force of the film succeeds in establishing its agenda by controlling the structures and decisions that comes from governmental bureaucracies. The discourse identifies that a political outcome might result from the movements that take place inside an organization. In a provocative *à la* Foucault (1977, 2000) style, the narrative displays how power functions as a network of networks in institutional entities; true domination comes from the edifications of bodies of knowledge that contain self-legitimizing practices. A special attention is directed toward the invisible scenarios of everyday life; Steve Rogers signalizes that it is important to ask who is making the decisions, and for what.

This film in particular suggests a meta-narrative dimension (Waugh, 1984). The superhero unfolds an awareness about his role, questioning former methods of action and goals. The figures of authority are scrutinized, the final mission is reconsidered to grasp its principal essence; in the plot, Captain America tries to secure real freedom to civil society. This aspect is an important rupture with the cinematographic history of the character: The soldier does not follow orders anymore. The self-consciousness enables a critique of power structures, a partial departure from *status quo*, and from the figure of the superhero itself.

Characters

Tony Stark is the man behind the suit of Iron Man. His origins are traced in a prominent family belonging to a patriotic American tradition; for instance, Howard Stark, his father, was a scientist that created military advances for the U.S in the World War II. Since his childhood, the young heir of an industrial empire was considered a genius. These intellectual abilities have been used to improve the company's main activity: military technology. A rich-family background is not rare in the superhero genre (Coogan, 2006); this narrative construction suggests a top-down flow of benefits: a member of the millionaire class brings the 'grace' to the inferior levels, an ideal common to right-wing conservative sectors. The 1% appears to hold the hope for the rest 99%: the actions of Iron Man are presented as charity toward an 'inferior and uncivilized world'. This fact is pivotal to all the story: Without his resources, Tony Stark could not be Iron Man; only a technocrat would be able to develop such an alter ego. In the film, all the empathic characters are associated with a high social class, and the villains with lower ones –in this case, the terrorist group-.

Stark's progression along the plot is important because it stands as a critique for a decadent economical system. At the beginning, the billionaire is egotistic and self-absorbed, appearing to be only interested in living an elite life. Nonetheless, after his kidnapping, he changes, realizing the danger of an 'armed peace'. The corporate culture of Stark Industries is only concerned with revenues; to sell, the identity and intentions of the buyer are ignored. Tony Stark aims to tackle the problem. Ironically, his solution is building an iron armor: freedom and reconciliation seem to necessitate a police body to guard them. This way of thinking opens a moral breach: Technology can be prosperous when it is use correctly; but what does it mean 'correctly'? Who shall be the person in charge of deciding its usage?

Steve Rogers is the man who wears the mask of Captain America. After taking a special serum, Rogers became a super soldier to fight the Nazi menace during World War II. Accidently, he was frozen until the U.S. government discovered him almost 70 years later. In the film, the Captain questions institutional authority, being an important change in the cinematographic narrative of this superhero. What could have been a two-dimensional character becomes a thinker in his own terms: he is depicted more as a detective than as a soldier. This is the base of his internal conflict: Captain America now shows a patriotism based on critical inquiry. Discursively, the representation is crucial, signalizing the abuses of structural control, and considering the ideals of the superhero as an end in itself that can collide with traditional forms of authority.

But all the doubts regarding authority figures are framed in a moral naïveté. Steve Rogers still searches for a greater good without defining it. Even though, there is an important shift in the representation of dominant organizations, the values pursued are inherently 'American': The Captain is fighting for the 'empire', trying to defeat its internal enemies. The film discourse does not promote tolerance or an ecology of knowledge, its core is ethnocentric. Rogers indeed saves the United States; however, this is elaborated in a particular rhetoric strategy: saving America means the World, a hegemony is expanded and validated globally, as ruling principle, in a clear discursive synecdoche.

The villains of a superhero film are usually related to him or her in some manner; they share incredible powers, the difference dwells in their goals (Arnaudo, 2014; Coogan, 2006). In *Iron Man* (2008), Obadiah Stane is an industrialist businessman as Tony Stark, he embraces the whole capitalist criteria, being obsessed with economic growth and profit. The attitude leads him to make deals with dangerous organizations. With his persona, the excesses of the actual socio-economic system are addressed: a massively consuming greed and egoism rides the operation of Stark Industries. Again, with moralistic narrative devices, the film poses as a threat to the inhumanity that derives from a disproportionate corporatism. The danger is spotted in the outburst of unregulated practices. Evidently, the film does not plead for the destruction or redistribution of the means of production, it solicits a more moderate and human model.

Stane's objectives are simple: to generate money. In this sense, the film presents a refreshing vision compared to similar cinematic superhero stories: the villain is not interested in 'destroying the world', or another analogous *cliché*, it aims to achieve economic progress. This behavior is the basis for the whole aggression that Iron Man will have to face. Two political antagonisms, inscribed in the same ideological spectrum, clashes in the form of technological warriors.

Captain America: The Winter Soldier (2014) is more aligned to a classic narrative of the genre. The two main villains are members of HYDRA, the Nazi organization that was the original opponent of Captain America in the past. Its operations are carried out through SHIELD, an American agency of security. Evil, then, is transmitted as a disease from the outside; the national welfare is contaminated by a threatening other that responds to a historically driven representation. Despite the provocative critiques uttered by the film, this

construction of corruption as a contagion from an external source undermines the discussion, it makes it soft; the solution proposed is to defeat the persons that allowed the invasion. The focus is located on the 'symptoms' and not on the 'illness' itself. The motivation is the control of the planet; in this sense, there is not a political confrontation regarding the ideology supported by HYDRA, a complex political thought is reduced to a plan performed by 'thugs'. The ideological representations described in this section are contradictory: The superheroes criticize the abuses of capitalism or power structures, but, at the same time, they defend moral values embedded in a tradition of American hegemony. These kinds of critiques present in blockbusters are an important effort to transmit a political awareness towards large portions of audiences. The inception of the discursive contradiction can be found in the semiotic operation of the ideologemes that operate in the discourses. This discursive operation is addressed in the next section.

The Ideologemes of the Masked Thinkers

As exposed in the past section, the discourse of the analyzed films tends to be contradictory at some points. The political representations contain direct critiques to some aspects of the contemporary capitalist system, but, at the same time, they promote the ideals of the American power, the principal supporter of the denounced system. This fact can be related to what Bell (1978) calls *cultural crisis*. For the author, capitalism is under constant crisis because it demands different ontologies that may differ between each other; e.g. consumers are almost obliged to enjoy the act of purchasing goods in a 'liberating' manner while they are required to display attitudes of discipline and obedience when they assume the role of 'worker' or 'subordinate'.

The ideological movements of each film, indeed, confirm a crisis of coherence. All this operation occurs in the ideologemes, as basic units of an ideology. Discursively, the main conflicts of the two superheroes point out two principal foundations that work as a 'flipping coin', staging arguments that are in fact, contradictory. As Žižek (2006) proposes, this 'optic' phenomenon is a parallax that permits the existence of oppositional realities as if they were logical. It depends on the perspective: one side covers the other when it is in action.
Therefore, following the theoretical elaboration fulfilled in preceding sections, the 'open-diamond' structure will be used to explore the agency of the ideologemes of the films. It is considered that two ideologemes operate as principal pivotal points for both texts.

Ideologeme: Society

This ideologeme draws aspirations of social order, of the best system to organize society. In *Iron Man* (2008), the metaphoric level is located around the image of peace; even though the armed occupation in Iraq is problematized in an ambiguous way, the superhero seeks to achieve reconciliation through the employment of technology. Moreover, in some moments, the war is explained as a vehicle for a peaceful result. The metaphor operates in contrast with its metonymic sphere: The film succeeds in showing the disasters of military intervention; a certain *pathos* drives Tony Stark to change his mind about weapons. The material constraints question the idealized conception of 'peace': Paradoxically, this status can only be achieved though violence, annulling its real meaning. The solution proposed by Stark of an iron amour exemplifies the contrast, the allegory is divided from its cause. In a Laclauian fashion, the signifier is separated from its original signified and it has to function as if it were complete, forgetting the semiotic/conceptual and, consequently, factual connection.

In the case of *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014), the metaphoric relation is entangled around the same ideal of 'peace'; nonetheless, it is confronted with the concept of social order and structure. Again, the allegory is confronted with a metonymic stance: The discourse asks for the meaning of the searched solutions. The material consequences of accomplishing a peaceful society are brutal, vicious. Ideologically, symbolism and materiality are detached: one cancels the other, but with this operation the contrary direction is signalized.

Ideologeme: The Individual

The figure of the superhero stands as a quest for a better subject as a moral category. This can be proved in the narrative journey that the character confronts, a progression whose final outcome is the hero as a more evolved individual. In this case, the superheroes desire to achieve freedom for themselves and for society. In *Iron Man* (2008), Obadiah Stane endorses a free market ideology: Corporations, as subjects, shall not be regulated, according to his thought. But, this idealization does not take into account the metonymy of inequality. He owns means of production that enable him to plan his actions; on the other hand, those who are excluded from the privilege cannot do anything but suffer the effects of the weapon business. For the villain, the market is the epitome of freedom, disregarding its ethical consequences, considering it an entitlement that can be bought. Capitalism promotes this value as keystone, yet most of the time the ways to achieve it are contradictory. Tony Stark, however, supports an ideal without excesses. In this sense, the film's discourse does not elaborate on the definition of the superhero, it takes it for granted.

'Freedom' is the central point of *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014). The metaphoric and metonymic levels of the film's ideologeme are aligned. The ideal is discursively constructed as something in danger, something that must be constantly revisited; in this sense, there is a considerable shift compared to other blockbusters. The metaphor is not blind; it is linked to the material realities of its symbolism. The metonymy sphere of the ideologeme suggests a paradox of protection: This value can be the excuse for authoritarian regimes. Steve Rogers says it clearly: "This isn't freedom, this is fear." The individual is at the center of the question; the antagonism of the story renders two possible results: democracy or totalitarianism. Indeed, the film is more metonymic than metaphoric, being the principal quality of the text.

The ideologemes, then, present a metaphoric ideal, allegory, that highlights a symbolic repertoire harbored in ideology. The metonymic sphere, on the contrary, unfolds the limits of the metaphor in a material reality. This tension is present along the analyzed films. Both ideologemes are in constant interaction within the narrative, they touch similar topics, reinforcing their operation; as the basis of the ideological representations of the discourse, they are inscribed culturally, illustrating a dynamic moored to the social world.

The birth of ideologemes inside a discourse can be tied to a discursive transcodification process in which social meanings are translated to fictional narratives (Ryan & Kernell, 1988). But fiction implies the construction of alternative realities that, in one way or another, still have elements of their 'primordial broth'. The contradictions found in the ideologemes signalizes how ideology is not logical, it allows a sensitivity that can ignore – or unite – oppositions, digressions. As Eagleton (1997) suggests, "in the sphere of ideology, the universal truth and the concrete particular truth incessantly slide along each other, dodging the mediation of rational analysis" (p. 42). Ideological struggle points to the edification of hegemony. Notwithstanding the fact that the scrutinized films utter political critiques, they do not contemplate alternatives, different epistemologies; they pledge for the correction of the abuses of a socio-economic

system, not for a real change. The discourse attempts to 'clean' the hegemony while standing inside of it.

Concluding Remarks

This article analyzed the political representations of superhero films, evidencing a contradiction of meanings. The study of the two main ideologemes of the cinematic discourse points out a tension between an allegorical and a material level, suggesting that ideologies tend to rest in symbolisms rather than facts. For this, an apparatus of cultural production is crucial to transmit contents that create the grounds for a certain ideology; as Ryan and Kernell (1988) sharply observe, culture is the antechamber of politics. Cinema can function as a semiotic therapy.

The characters, and the ideologemes, exhibit a discrepancy between morality and ethics. Žižek (1992) traces the line for this two terms that are commonly taken as equals. Even though they share a very close relationship, for the author, morality means the subscription to an authority of any type, considering it superior in some sense, to get knowledge about 'good' and 'evil', or 'right' and 'wrong'; for instance, the Bible as a ruling principle. On the other hand, ethics signifies questioning the *telos* of something by using reason and logic, commonly based on standards set by a scientific discipline. Thus, the metaphoric level tends to be moralistic, while the metonymic level is inclined to be ethical. The superheroes confront alleged ideals with their thinking: e.g. Captain America trashes his loyalties to an institution to fulfill a more ethical goal. This conflict becomes the center of the dramatic actions, refreshing a tradition of mainstream codes of narrative production.

Contemporary blockbusters exhibit a tendency of addressing relevant political issues within an explosive narrative. The denounces can be a first impression for audiences, they can raise awareness towards discussions that somewhere else could be really difficult. But all the criticism is constructed, at the far end, in a simplistic form. These productions shall be transcended for a more detailed argument. The cinematographic discourse tries to tackle some 'deficiencies' of the 'machine', it does not try to propose a radical shift, or a revolution. For Boltanski and Chiapello (2007), opposition is essential for capitalism, validating its position as a dominant reality; the authors suggest that resistance is part of the *spirit of capitalism*, the mode in which a society is engaged within the ideology. Insurgency reflects hegemony, and can be used as a tool to promote it.

Furthermore, the films are commodities of the Hollywood industry; they take part in a global system of entertainment. Jameson (1979) signalizes that Capitalism cultivates a reification process in which human activities are instrumentalized according to the dominant ideology and the modes of production (p.130). In general, the discourses found in different media outlets are part of this process; in one way or another, they promote a minimum aspect of the ideology. Fisher (2009) denominates this situation *capitalist realism*, the acceptance of this socio-economical structure as a reality, as an inescapable form of life. It has become difficult to escape its influence.

The superhero genre shows the intricate dynamic of values and meanings, an ideological project confirms its impact when popular culture starts using its main ideals. Nonetheless, the analyzed films display a crisis, a contradiction that can be interpreted as a mirror of the current political context. The socio-economic system is experiencing a significant moment of distress; from the trenches of social media to manifestations on public streets, many sectors are advocating for consciousness, for more human models (Fenton, 2011).

The popularity of the superhero must be explored. The stories show supernatural human beings defeating problems that threaten the planet. Perhaps it has become easier to imagine that a special agent will save the world than to imagine real political action achieving it (Žižek, 1994).

As Eco (1978/2005) notices, these characters tend to fight social problems properly from the reality in which they are produced; its narrative deployment tries to placate worries and concerns shared with the audience.

The theoretical input of the present article discusses how texts unfold an ideology harbored in the meanings and values of a hegemonic production culture. To expand the study of ideology, it is necessary to promote empirical research of the field. For Williams (1977), hegemony is a dynamic process in which values, beliefs and ideas are interiorized, as the everyday life itself, in dynamics of limits and pressures. In this sense, the audiences, according to their backgrounds, can read these contents in many ways (Hall, 1980).

Superheroes, in their cinematic forms, may be critical of social reality; perhaps the biggest achievement that they could aspire to is the assurance of more democratic media systems, the exposure of different epistemologies to gain an ecology of knowledge (de Sousa Santos, 2011). Undeniably, the power of thought turns ordinary men and woman into superheroes; that is why true political action does not need radioactive explosions.

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Metacommunication as Second Order Communication

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Abstract: By giving full emphasis to the impossibility of not to communicate, the first axiom of communication stresses how communication is an event not subject to cessation. It is this never-ending characteristic that impels us to the need to ponder on metacommunication as "communication *about* communication". By taking a philosophically informed and pragmatic stance, this paper deals with the concept of "metacommunication" and tries to incorporate it in the theory of communication. It posits communication is a multilevel dialectical happening in which metacommunication presents itself a kind of second order communication. The paper describes communication as an *ad infinitum* process in which every communication supposes always more communication. Metacommunication is the answer to the relationship level of communication and that's why we postulate metacommunication as a *re-communicating communication*.

Keywords: Metacommunication; Communication Theory; Pragmatics of Human Communication; Bateson; Watzlawick; Metaporo

"*Language commonly stresses only one side of any interaction*"
Gregory Bateson, (1979) *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*.
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Introduction

One of the everlasting questions that Communication Theory answers is: what is "communication"? Despite the theoretical differences and scientific ambitions between them, several authors, from Dewey (1927) to Shannon & Weaver (1949) or Watzlawick *et ali*. (1967) point to its "*processus*" aspect. Yet, considering communication as a symbolic process does not immediately give us a complete answer regarding its nature. Is communication a kind of vehicle giving place to a process of information transportation, a transitional medium

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of meaning? Does the notion of "communication" contain clearly transmissible content? Can it be envisaged as sheer content and form?

In a speech entitled "*Signature, Event, Context*", Derrida asked: "Is it *certain* that to the word communication corresponds a concept that is *unique, univocal, rigorously controllable, and transmittable*: in a word, communicable? In accordance with a strange figure of discourse, one must, first of all, ask oneself whether or not the word "communication" communicates a determinate content, an identifiable meaning, or a describable value" (Derrida, 1988: 1).

Derrida is, of course, playing with common assumptions in order to deconstruct the concept itself and by doing so, it seems he is alluding to the common notion that to communicate is to "get someone to understand your thoughts or feelings or to give information about (something) to someone" (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online*). He is primarily trying to push the boundaries of what one can comprehend by communication[1]. Of course, there is a representational, directive, clearly transmissible content. It is communication's referential duty: to portrait something about the world. Derrida is also interested in theorizing the displacement of writing by reflecting upon the impossibility to fully saturate the context.

The reading of Derrida's oeuvre suggests a critical aspect to communication: the endless allocation of meaning, as if meaning entered a perpetual cycle. In other words, he posits an enlarged and general idea of communication. It is as if communication were a symbolic process that is always escaping us, always in self-reconfiguration. A process with no commencement and no dissolution (cf. Dance, 1967), in constant happening. More importantly, we can read Derrida's insights as a total possibility of meaning: one meaning does not impose itself to another.

This assumption on the total deference of meaning, it seems to us, is of vital importance to communication studies since we cannot ponder only the referential duty of communication. One should also consider its relationship aspect (Watzlawick *et ali*., 1967: 50). This means communicators entail a dynamic process where, along with representation, we need to consider expression (Porcar & Hainic, 2011).

Communication is not a bridge between two separate atoms (cf. communication models based on the machine or billiard-ball (Sfez, 1992)) but a spiral and inclusive process where participants link to each other. Additionally, it is an expression of a relation between individuals; it is circular, interactive participation.

Since human communication happens between two subjectivities, the concept is constructed between the lines of the relations individuals are building while they socially interact. Beyond the communication messages, we encounter instructions that enable us to cope with one another. In other words, communication always presupposes a metacommunicative element or meta-message indicating how to be interpreted.

Seeing that it indicates how communication should be understood, communication always presupposes more communication. We must then think about the role of metacommunication - is it a mere substitute? Is metacommunication a kind of appendix to communication? Is it possible (and justifiable) to differentiate between a first and original communication and a second, metacommunicative communication? And how does the relation between them function?

Metacommunication is a fundamental feature of interaction and a key concept in communication (Andersen, 2009: 654). As the term was introduced in 1951,

[1] A more thoroughly analysis on Derrida's concept of communication can be found in the paper: "*There is no outside of communication -Metacommunication at the light of Derrida's graphematic structure of communication*" (Mateus, 2015).

"metacommunication" has been adopted by different authors in the domain of psychiatry, education, business and communication. Esser, Reineman and Fan (2001), for instance, have applied the notion of metacommunication to the study of news coverage and spin doctoring arguing that "metacommunication (1) describes a new, third stage in election coverage after issue and strategy coverage; (2) reflects the mass media's new role as a political institution in the third age of political communication and (3) can be seen as the news media's response to a new, third force in news making and professional political PR".

Baltzersen (2013: 128), on the other hand, discusses "what specific types of metacommunication might facilitate good supervision in higher education. It is suggested that one should distinguish between metacommunication as part of a transparent communication style and metacommunication about the collaboration period in supervision". Nakano (2001) examines the Basic Structure of Metacommunication in Intersubjective Fun-Interactions between mothers and infants.

The concept was also used on organizational communication (Castor, 2017) and in interpersonal communications studies to codify and analyze interaction between individuals at the relational level (Rogers & Escudero, 2004). In political studies, (Simons, 1994) metacommunication is a rhetorical tactic used in political debates e.g. politicians striving to cope with provocative questions by challenging the journalist's legitimacy for asking them. In the international relations and political science domains (Rich & Craig, 2012), metacommunication is used as a key concept in Digital Media studies. Jensen (2016: 7), for instance, emphasizes, "the importance of meta-communication for contemporary communication theory, examines mediated presence as an instance of metacommunication, and addresses the implications of digitally mediated presence for current issues of surveillance".

The objective of this paper is to theoretically interrogate this imbrication between communication and metacommunication by taking, in contrast, a philosophically informed and pragmatic exploration of these concepts.

Metacommunication is communication beneath the surface. We will envision communication as a multilevel event in which metacommunication presents itself a kind of second order communication. We will describe what the expression may mean, taking communication as an *ad infinitum* process in which the communication always presupposes more communication.

Inspired by the philosophy of Derrida (1988), Serres (1969) and the idea of Metaporo (Marcondes Filho, 2012) we draw a theoretical perspective on communication as an unfolding notion that needs to be considered dynamically in its articulations with metacommunication.

We will, then, characterize the idea of metacommunication, establish it as a kind of second order communication and finally ponder on the consequences of this framework suggesting a notion of communication *ad infinitum*.

Metacommunication: communication *about* communication

Metacommunication is an additional communication, a never-ending "*processus"* that pushes communication away from simple codification of contents. Ultimately, it confirms the first axiom: *one cannot not communicate (*Watzlawick et al*.,* 1967). This maxim is based on the assumption that behaviour has no opposite, in other words, one cannot cease to behave.

Since there is no counter-part to behaviour (an anti-behaviour) it is impossible not to communicate. Every behaviour is, thus, a form of communication. Besides, each behaviour

has the value of a message. Activity or inactivity, each behaviour influences other behaviours.

The first axiom can be postulated as a metacommunicational principle of the pragmatics of communication (Watzlawick et al., 1967: 32). In simple terms, metacommunication may be understood as the possibility to indicate how information should be interpreted and may be congruent, to support or to contradict communication.

Since it is implicit and not expressed in words, it is a risky activity. Metacommunication is a complex concept, sometimes what one means is not what others interpret. Every time there is communication, there is also metacommunication linked to it making sense of the meaning.

Communication, in this regard, is a highly pragmatical activity. If I say "*Do you want to come to the movies tonight*?" and someone answers "*I am studying this evening*" with a shrug- in a proper context - we can infer according to the Principle of Cooperative Conversation (Grice, 1975) "*thank you for the invitation but I am not really interested*". At the same time, this conversational implicature resumes a meta-communication given that vocal intonation and face expression that accompanied the utterance and had taken the interlocutor to conclude that assertion meant a negative answer to the invitation.

We can now see that body language, for example, is an important part of metacommunication but metacommunicative competence, seen as the ability to identify, intervene and repair communication disruptions – involves also verbal communication (written or oral words), para-verbal communication (intonation, volume, interruptions, rhythm) and nonverbal communication (Birdwhistell, 1959) - Kinesics and Proxemics including gestures and facial expressions. Indeed, all symbolic systems can function as metacommunicative operators.

In some cases, the words metacommunicate body language enabling the subjects to interpret it in a context of a joke, for instance. Metacommunication supposes, then, that the subjects understands each other's code by repairing in the metacommunicative cues that send whenever they interact. It is these cues that enhance or disallow what we say with words. Metacommunication is also communication about what we mean by our communication.

What is really problematic is the meaning of "*about*" when we describe metacommunication as "communication *about* communication". When Ruesch & Bateson's (1951: 209) define metacommunication, they do not deal extensively with what we should understand by "communication about communication". They simply described metacommunication as a "new order" of communication that arose in the evolution of mammals (Craig, 2016: 1). This other order of communication enabled them to explain some creative, complex and paradoxical attributes of social interaction. Ruesch & Bateson (1951) tells us metacommunication is an act of communication, between two or more persons, that communicates something about either the communication itself, either the relationship between them, or both. It contains a potential to paradox since the adaptive and creative qualities of human communication destabilizes meanings and relational frames[2]. Since a message is always tied to a particular context, it implies a relationship dimension, thus, every message contains an implicit metacommunication about the relationship between the communicators that classifies or frames the message. Metacommunication is communication (relation) about communication (message).

Note that we are not using the word "metacommunication" in a commonly or clinical sense when it describes the explicit discussion in therapy groups about their here and now

[2] Robert Craig very pertinently relates Goffman's *Frame Analysis* to metacommunication. "Although Goffman does not discuss metacommunication explicitly, he distinguishes several forms of communication that function metacommunicatively, such as *directional signals* and ways of *breaking frame*" (Craig, 2016: 4).

experience of social interaction. Nor are we limiting the term to the non-verbal signals that modify the meaning of verbal expressions, for example, in order to convey sarcasm. Although they are clearly consistent with Bateson's concept, these uses tend to simplify a complex process. Instead, we refer to metacommunication in a theoretical perspective attempting to query its depth as a key concept on Communication Theory.

We want now to go deeper into the concept of metacommunication and for this reason we will turn to the idea of interaction. We will address this question suggesting that interaction could lead the way to approach metacommunication as a second order communication.

This theoretical framing of metacommunication entails a redefinition of the communication notion and that is what will occupy us in the third section of this paper.

Metacommunication as Second Order Communication

In physics, interaction points to the direct effect that one kind of particle has on another. In communication studies, interaction may be broadly described as the study of the effects of communication between two or more agents. But as long as it concerns "a sequence of messages exchanged in a reciprocal relation" (Marc & Picard *apud* Centeno, 2009: 36), the analysis of interaction culminates in the study of the autocorrections processes. In order for two individuals to successfully interact, they have to predict each other's behaviours as well as to modify their own actions when those predictions turn up wrong. The ability to autocorrect ones own actions is based on the capacity of the individual to predict events in the reciprocal relationship (Centeno, 2009: 36).

At an interpersonal level, we observe these autocorrection processes by the presence of three elements: expressive acts; conscious or unconscious perceptions of those expressive action made by other persons; and re-sent information that those expressive actions were perceived (and implicitly acknowledged) by others (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951: 208).

Metaperception is thus a crucial point. It is the perception to be perceived that significantly changes human communication. "If I know that the other person perceives me and he knows that I perceive him, this mutual awareness becomes a part determinant of all our action and interaction" (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951: 208).

Metaperception, or the perception of perception, signs an implicit agreement and supposes the recognition of mutual influence. By entering and recognizing the field of mutual awareness, one steps into a communication system in which the other determines his action by integrating (accepting and responding to) my behaviours. In effect, it is the perceived perceptions that constitute a communicative field between two persons.

Ruesch & Bateson (1951: 209) specify some criteria for mutual awareness: "(a) signals whose only meaning would be the acknowledgment of a signal emitted by another; (b) signals asking for a signal to be repeated; (c) signals indicating failure to receive a signal; (d) signals which punctuate the stream of signals; and so on. With complete awareness of the other's perception an individual should stop repeating a signal after it has been received and acknowledged by the other individual, and this type of self-correction would indicate mutual".

Ultimately, metaperceptions inaugurate a new order of communication: metacommunication. The mutual recognition of perceptions immediately leads to the emergence of communication about communication. The characteristics of metacommunication are thus, closely tied to the degree and features of mutual acknowledgement of perceptions. Metaperceptions and metacommunication are both related systems within interaction.

At this point, it is most useful to refer the importance of distinguishing levels in communication. This is not the place to discuss how Bateson adapts the Russellian Theory of Logical Types (Bateson, 1972: 279-308; Bateson, 1979: 114) nor how metacommunication involves oxymora and may be related to the paradox of Epimenides: "All Cretans are liars" (being Epimenides a Cretan). To the purposes of this paper, we will follow Bateson's insight that ordinary communication necessarily seldom conforms to these logical rules (cf. Craig, 2016: 2).

We detail two levels associated with communication. "Levels" does not mean a primary and a secondary message, it is above all the distinction between the contents of communication - its communicative code – and the instructions of communications – its communicative directives. Metacommunication is understood by Ruesch & Bateson (1951: 209) as "communication about communication" encompassing "all the exchanged cues and propositions about (a) codification and the (b) relationships between the communicators". Meaning is, thus, better apprehended, not as a univocal and unique transfer, but mainly as negotiation. It flows from these two levels.

Every instance of communication involves, by one hand, a statement or affirmation of a previous event. And, by the other hand, it comprises a command, be it a cause, or a stimulus for an ensuing event (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951: 179). This command or instruction is considered to be a second message encompassing the first whose main task is to specify how the message should be apprehended. According to Watzlawick and his colleagues (1967), communication is not just a means to represent and explain reality. It is also a way to express reality. In other words, communication established multiple versions of reality and must be understood as reciprocal comprehension (cf. Porcar & Hainic, 2011: 14).

Communication is also subject to the other's subjectivity, it is also inter-comprehension. Therefore, it must suppose an intrinsic process of orienting the comprehension. As the mechanistic or mathematical notion of message is surpassed by this pragmatic view of communication, the relationship dimension stands along the "content" of communication. And that's why metacommunication is such a fundamental notion to understand the communicational process.

Communication *about* communication points to this complementary level. Consequently, metacommunication may be considered a second order or second level of communication. However, viewing metacommunication as a second order communication does not suppose metacommunication is a surplus or a parasite to communication. It does not presuppose a hierarchy or a first, primary message, different to a second, marginal, one.

On the contrary, metacommunication seems to be the very nature of the general process of communication. It is communication decomposed in its core. There are not two exclusive processes but metacommunication is the double constitution of communication. Since communication is a process of interaction, metacommunication is its double. This notion should, hence, be taken, not as a replica, but as a second order communication.

Bateson comments that a meta-message is something bringing redundancy to the universe (Bavelas, 1995: 34). But redundancy does not mean that communication is another communication. The expression "communication *about* communication" indicates, above all, this redundancy-creating relationship. We suggest looking into this redundancy-creating relationship as the matrix or vital movement of communication talking about itself through metacommunication.

One important corollary of it is that it enables us to consider communication beyond a subjective conceptualization such as "intentions". Metacommunication is not always intentional nor fully digital or analogic (Watzlawick *et ali*., 1967). To the Palo Alto School, communication is a set of actions and rules that make interactions and relationships possible. Intentionality does not determine communication (Porcar and Hainic, 2011: 13). This means

assessing the "*about*" in "communication about communication" is not so much a logical problem but a theoretical one to which one could apply a new framework to conceive communication in its particular complexity.

From a practical viewpoint, we could consider "definitions" to be explicit metacommunicative (more specifically, metalinguistic) messages about the semantics of words. But we would like to take this discussion to a more theoretical standpoint and mention how the general process of communication is implicated by metacommunication. It is as if metacommunications were an implicit directive of communication that constitutes, elaborates and transforms it. Metacommunication as a self-reflective torsion of communicative processes. A movement in which, just like a moebius stripe, communication is turned inwards and outwards.

The next section describes the consequences to the object "communication" from the perspective of metacommunication as second order communication.

Consequences of Metacommunication as second order communication: communication *ad infinitum*

Communication Theory is not normally concerned with metacommunication but since communication is also redundancy, directive and relationship, we must include in it the interrogation about this communication-*other* - this metacommunication that is constantly framing and altering communication processes.

Previously, we have approached metacommunication (Mateus, 2015) as a kind of supplement (beyond "something that is added to something else in order to make it complete"- *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*). We want now to enlarge this perspective and examine metacommunication and its significance.

We posit that metacommunication can be understood as a continuous deferral, a second order communication constantly adding up (in an intrinsically way) whose ultimate conclusion points to the recognition of the insurmountable fixation or stabilization of meaning.

This means that metacommunication is permanently overcoming the codified borders of communication. Metacommunication is, thus, meaning remediation, perpetual flux, each message supplementing (cf. Derrida, 1988) communication. Metacommunication and communications are both levels of a process of symbolic sharing and mutual awareness that has no end: communication comes with metacommunication that in this case is also a communication about a communication that is a communication about a communication that is a communication about a communication… The process is one of constantly re-communicating.

This is why we submit the view of metacommunication as *re-communicating communication*. A redundancy that is not a discourse based on the sameness but a discourse based on the self-difference. In theory, metacommunication does not differentiate from communication. Still, it is a self-differentiating redundancy, an evolving differentiation that paradoxically contains the possibility of communication.

With this regard, metacommunication could be defined as a non-repeatable redundancy, an internal differentiation processes all communication suffers in itself. A self-difference (cf. Derrida, 1988), inhabiting the very process of communication.

By attending to this self-differentiation, we find the redundancy-relationship of metacommunication an evolving configuration of communication: resonating, dialoguing its multiple filiations and metaperceptions. Having this in mind, the inscription of

metacommunication, this takes us to consider communication as something moving towards, a perpetual dislocation of meaning.

This underscores an *ad infinitum* communication, a communication re-communicated and metacommunicated. This is why anything more than communication would not be non-communication or silence. Anything more than communication would be more communication - its self-disclosure in metacommunication. If all behaviour is potential communication, communication is a process we cannot escape. Even if one tries not to communicate that indication of anti-communication may be in itself metacommunication. It seems we cannot communicate without metacommunicate (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951) but *metacommunication is the other of communication.*

As a second order of communication, metacommunication is no discrete or separate entity. In fact, every communication causes metacommunication as a kind of process that is a simple communication about communication but, at the same time, is more than a subsequent communication. It is refracted communication, something we cannot overcome. Something that is behind and beyond communication.

As a second order communication, metacommunication is a re-communicating message rising from within communication. This is why communication is not a process that enclosures us but the really interacting environment where humans live, act and encounter themselves. A possibility always opening itself in metacommunication, a pure potentiality that is never soothed. A communication talking about itself.

At this light, metacommunication is the leaking communication, an extra that is still the own nature of communication. *Ad infinitum* communication may, thus, be apprehended as the mixing of two central levels of communication where communication becomes metacommunication which becomes more communication which becomes metacommunication. Or, in other words, the consequence to look into metacommunication as a second order communication is the necessity to admit that one does not preceded the other but they form a dialectical, heterogeneous, assorted unity.

One important theory of communication that may shed some light to the concept of metacommunication, as we are describing it, is that of Michel Serres (1969). Communication is to him a notion derived from the idea of declination. Everything is potentially releasing something (energy) in every direction: winds, animals, leafage, everything communicates. He says we are plunged in communication that is structured in relations. We are agents, mere bodies, crossroads, passages. Communication means networks but also multiplicity. The domain of the world is the domain of Hermès, of messengers and communication. Serres is not too far from Watzlawick *et ali*. (1967) as he also believes that it is impossible to escape communication and to not communicate (Marcondes, 2005: 12). Communication as something made of nodes and intersections and, therefore, permeating all things.

Influenced by Serres, Marcondes Filho (2012) also sees communication as a nomadic activity, in constant displacement and interference. A diffuse but fierce process. His "*Nova Teoria da Comunicação*" offers a new ontology and epistemology to communication based on non-determination and impermanence. The being of communication is an *event-as-occurrence,* a causal event marked by friction and impact (Marcondes Filho (2012).

Moreover, what we have in communication are no more than relations. In order to study them Marcondes talks about the methodology of the *metaporo*: not an absolute method as a fixed route to knowledge but a method made by recompositions, a method that is continuous (re)generation. This point is related to metacommunication since, just like the *metaporo*, metacommunication discovers paths, give insights and opens new trails in communication. Metacommunication, inspired by the *metaporo*, is an access to meaning and a glimpse to the other, a micro-event that signals an encounter in interaction.

Just like the *metaporo*, metacommunication is like a boat cutting through the waters, opening declinations without a fixed end. It is a spontaneous meeting between two orders of communication.

Conclusion

In this paper, we dealt with the concept of "metacommunication" from a Communication Theory perspective and searched to theoretically extrapolate some possible effects on the way we consider the "communication" process.

While having in mind an analysis of the meaning of "*about*" in the definition of metacommunication as communication about communication, we have suggested to consider it as a second order communication.

This means that metacommunication is, not a parasite, an appendix or a repetition, but a self-differentiating redundancy that inhabits the very process of communication. We have described the corollaries of such a view emphasizing the infinite dimension of communication. By considering its contingency and transience, we have briefly mentioned the thought of Michel Serres and Marcondes Filho as useful to deal with the displacement of communication that the idea of metacommunication, as dealt, requires.

We have highlighted that metacommunication pinpoints an infinite communication, in perpetual movement and deferral. Communication and Metacommunication form a dialectical process that form the symbolic environment of man. Metacommunication as the very nature of communication. It is not governed solely by a teleology (*telos*) and functional means but by spontaneity and relationship in an interaction characterized by reciprocal awareness. Communication is, given its counter-part of metacommunication, dissemination: metacommunication is a kind of second order propagation whose boundaries are open to complete and unprompted redefinition.

In this way, communication and metacommunication are just surfaces where a plurality of intersections, networks and transitions occur. Meaning between two persons is continually circulating between those two levels. And because it crosses the boundaries between individuals, communications must be seen together with metacommunication and the impossibility of not to communicate. By giving full emphasis at this feature, one is simultaneously stressing the relationship aspect of communication: how communication is simply a permanent happening and may not be subject to suspension or even cessation.

But it is also this never-ending communication that metacommunication enables that is key to the possibility of two individuals to orient and coordinate their own behaviours and their behaviours towards each other. If communication was simply a matter of transmission, metacommunication would be simply pure surplusage.

However, since we have suggested a self-differentiating redundancy, we can deal with a metacommunication as a rich and unavoidable part of every communicative act. Communication is something uncertain, a risk but also an asset: it is always a relationship. Its constant redefinition or its smooth gliding only asks for more communication. Metacommunication is the answer to the relationship level of communication. And the only answer daring to challenge the termination of communication. By including this concept on the nomadic and networked conceptions of communication, we gain a renewed perspective on the omnipresence of this process.

We cannot go around communication. And because we continually participate in this ritualistic process, communication is at all times *behind* and *beyond* us.

Metacommunication. *Metacommunication as self-differentiating communication.*

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Cyborgs, desiring-machines, bodies without organs, and Westworld: Interrogating academic writing and scholarly identity

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Abstract: This paper fashions a lens through which to view scholarly identity and the experience of academic writing. The lens of inquiry I apply is the metaphor of Season 1 of sci-fi HBO television show *Westworld* and its characters, especially its cyborg protagonist Dolores. Thrumming like electric currents through this lens of inquiry are Haraway's theorization of the cyborg, the fictional worlds of science fiction and Wonderland, my own lived experience, and Deleuze and Guattari's desiring-machines and bodies without organs. I engage in the cyborgic technology of writing in order to playfully explore what it means to be a cyborg academic operating in intersecting machinic worlds. I ask: Can we listen to our internal voices and write our own stories? Can we burn the world clean with our scholarship and the ways in which we interrogate ingrained and expected practices?

Keywords: New Media, metaphor, cyborg, science fiction, Deleuze and Guattari

Introduction

In this paper I use my relationship with the metaphor of Season 1 of the HBO television series *Westworld* as a way into scholarly identity work and theoretical exploration. I adopt a technological lens as a mode of inquiry and a disruptive act of destabilization within the authoritarian world of academic writing (Muhr & Rehn, 2015). In doing so, this paper responds to Muhr and Rehn's (2015) call for greater attention to be paid to the technological mediation of academic writing, to cyborg writing in particular, in order to facilitate a wider variety of textual forms, especially in scholarly journals.

In this paper, *Westworld* and the cyborg character of Dolores act as a metaphor for the Western academe and the Western academic. As conceptual processes are defined and structured through metaphor (Lakoff & Johnsen, 2003), using metaphor as a lens to re-see the world and re-consider reality can help to restructure experiences and understand intangibles. It can provide a coherent frame for imaginative rationality (Martınez, Sauleda, & Huber, 2001), helping us to test imaginative models for reality against our own realities. Being playful in our orientations to research can spark imagination and lead to fresh insights

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(Watson, 2015). Scholars can straddle the imaginative and the real (Mus, 2014), drawing together fiction-like artistry and scientific systematization. Researchers have employed metaphors in order to develop researcher and reader understanding of complex experiences. For example, Jones (2013, 2015) has utilized the bat from Aesop's fable as researcher and storyteller (2015); and the Persephone myth and labyrinth image as metaphor for the journey of the doctoral student (2013). Brabazon (2016) uses the zombie as a lens through which to critique the neoliberal university. These metaphors provide not only playfulness, but can also operate as structural frames and meaning making tools (Netolicky, 2015; Sharoff, 2013). They can, as McWilliam (2000) puts it, unsettle what it means to behave properly in the academe and in doing so push against accepted ontologies and epistemologies.

The metaphorical, the imaginary, the literary, and the fictional, can be legitimate tools in the researcher-writer's arsenal. Writing, reading, and viewing are all methods of inquiry. Czarniawska (2007) sees literary artefacts such as novels as partners of research, sources of meaning, and models of inspiration. For Haraway, looking through the science fiction genre is a way to explore the production of worlds (Grebowicz & Merrick, 2013; Haraway, 2004b). Science fiction can be seen as a kind of cyborg ethnography (Balsamo, 2000). Fictionalizing research (such as Kara, 2013) can create layers of deepened awareness, invoking imagination to conjure new and alternate ways of knowing (Caine et al., 2016). In this paper, I semi-fictionalize my own experiences as I move between authorial and semi-fictional voices, writing inside, outside, and alongside the lens of *Westworld* and its character Dolores. I slip in and out of *Westworld* fiction, my own constructed and deconstructed realities, and my authorial voice that tries to impose order onto my muddled thoughts and dis-ordered written words. I explore metaphor as a vehicle for scholarly and writerly identity work, while happily embracing what St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) call a lusty confusion that interrupts and deterritorializes knowledge making. That is, this paper is open to messiness, not yet knowing, showing my workings. In it I 'think out loud' through writing in order to offer a perspective on the ways in which scholars, especially those early in their research careers like myself, work through their identities, make choices in their research and writing work, and negotiate their mechanical entanglements.

Method is political (Lather, 2013) and this paper deliberately embraces cyborg writing as radical site of disruption of accepted notions of science (Prasad, 2016). I draw upon Haraway's cyborg (1991, 2006), which offers an alternative way of understanding the self and its relation to the world (Brophy, 2016). I embrace Haraway's (1991) assertion that reading, writing, and in this case viewing, science fiction are useful for theorizing and exploring possibilities. Goodeve (Haraway & Goodeve, 2000) notes that Haraway uses the tools of science fiction to speculate through myth-building; building ontologies via the imaginative. Science fiction is a methodological tool and source of inspiration for Haraway (Grebowicz & Merrick, 2013), allowing her to speculate about possible theories and potential futures. In this paper, the science fiction television show *Westworld* allows me to explore possibilities and push at boundaries of writing and of self. I take up Brophy's (2016) challenge to deploy the figure of the cyborg with care and self-reflection, in order to more deeply understand self-technology relationships.

Although theorization of the self has a long history (see, for instance Cooley, 1902), by the 1980s identity had emerged as a rich, complex, and explicit field of study. The field of identity remains interdisciplinary and diverse, with inconsistent views of what identity is and how it is shaped. While a tension remains around to what extent identities are fixed or fluid, stable or unstable, this paper takes identities as flexible, multiple, and continually shaped by contexts and relationships. This view is consistent with theorists who conceptualize identities as pluralistic, multiple, overlapping, and intersecting constructions, operated by the individual (Breen, 2014; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998; Lawler, 2014). In this view,

identities are ever-unfinished, ongoing co-constructions, constantly being recreated and refined over time.

This paper's notion of academic writer as cyborgic human-machine is also couched in Deleuze and Guattari's desiring-machine (1977) and body without organs (1977, 1987), as well as in the work of others who have explored the machinic, mechanistic aspects of academic writing and scholarship. Muhr and Rehn (2015) write that:

We as scholars … readily accept that our writing will always be processed through a set of complex mechanistic moves, reduced to fit the journal issue, suitable for packaging and sale by the academic publishing industry. We as writers struggle with the limitations that technologies of writing place on us, as they constrict and control us, pushing our words into the straightest of lines and most linear of narratives. (p. 136)

Their words —"reduced", "constrict", and "control"— reflect the oppressive pressure that limits and shapes scholarly writing. The reference to "mechanistic moves" and "packaging and sale" construct academic writing as a neoliberal machine concerned with performance and metrics. Henderson, Honan, and Loch (2016) channel Deleuze and Guattari's desiring-machine to explore the academicwritingmachine and the ways scholars may desire to both be ruled by, and to break, the machine. In a world in which academic writing is critiqued and measured at every turn, Henderson et al. note that academics are shaped by their interactions with the world of publication, citation, and performance. The academic writer, they suggest, becomes machinic themselves in their response to the machine and their desire to be counted as worthy within its performative metrics. Riddle (in press), too, conceptualizes the academic as desiring-machine; that is, individualized producer churning out performative outputs for the competitive university system. According to Riddle, the academic is hyper-visible, hyper-performing, hyper-producing machine, desiring success within the neoliberal system. He suggests, however, the need to question both the system and academics' part in keeping the system running as it is.

Like Donna Haraway's (1991, 2006) cyborg, the academic writer is an organism-machine, an assemblage of humanity, experience, science, and the technologies of writing and communicating. Writing itself is the technology of the cyborg (Haraway, 1991, 2006), and all forms of writing are cyborg writing (Muhr & Rehn, 2015). The academic writer melds themselves with their electronic devices and with software for word processing, reference management, data generation, and data analysis. They become one with their online identities through social media, Twitter bios, academia.edu profiles, and citations. Deliberate cyborg writing is multiplicitous and diverse, operationalized to challenge dominant Western epistemology (Prasad, 2016). Those such as Gale (2016) embrace the technology of writing, and the interrupting of writing technology, making it trip and falter, a vehicle for constant non-linear becoming. Here I embrace my own cyborg self, as deliberate fusion of flesh and machine, and the possibilities offered by science fiction, for theorizing ways of being in the world. In this paper I use the metaphor of the *Westworld* cyborg character of Dolores to reimagine my scholarly-writerly identity, envisioning a future in which, as the character of Maeve asserts in Episode 8 of *Westworld*'s first season, I can "tell my own fucking story," in my own way. This paper thereby gives others permission and encouragement to tell their own stories in ways that might challenge dominant ways of being, knowing, and writing.

Westworld's world of human cyborgs and monstrous humanity

The HBO television show *Westworld*, based on Michael Crichton's 1973 film of the same name, aired its first season from October to December 2016. For the purpose of this paper, the ten episodes that made up Season 1 provide a metaphorical lens through which to view

scholarship and writing in the academe. In the show's Westworld (an Old-American-Western-themed game park of sorts) cyborg creatures look, feel, suffer, and behave like humans; the cyborgs' suffering, we learn, is key to their humanity. Like Haraway's cyborg, Westworld androids are ubiquitous and invisible (Haraway, 2006). Their artificial intelligence is made up of coded memories, scripted dialogue and loops of repeated behaviours. Their bodies were once made up of the true cyborgic combination of "part metal, part meat," as Frentz (2009, p.821) describes the nature of the cybernetic organism. Later, however, as technology evolved, their bodies are made up of organic matter: muscle, flesh and bone. These later cyborgs—3D printed humanoids dipped in skin on Vitruvian Man style hoops—are virtually unrecognizable as different from the humans. But, as Haraway (1991) and the sterile lab surrounds in *Westworld* remind us, the cyborg body is not an innocent body, born by and into nature. It is mechanically and unnaturally constructed. It is Other. This Other-ness is part of why the cyborg is "about transgressed boundaries, potent fusions, and dangerous possibilities" (Haraway, 2006, p.121), an apt metaphor for the academic writer exploring their identity. The cyborg academic writer, too, risks being Other, being dismissed, being marginalized in academic discourse.

The cyborgs of Westworld are literal bodies without organs, but also bodies without organs in the Deleuze and Guattarian sense: "nonstratified, unformed, intense matter … the full egg" (1987, p.153). The Westworld cyborgs represent unformed consciousness, potential consciousness, awakening consciousness. They are the embryonic egg through which intensities pass again and again. They are corporeal matter, and as the season evolves, they realize that they *do* matter. The Westworld cyborgs are full of untapped uncracked potential, yet they are imposed upon by the coders and creators who control them, much like the organism that imposes upon the body without organs' "forms, functions, bonds, dominant, and hierarchized organizations, organized transcendences" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p.159). Throughout Season 1 we watch as the cyborgs of Westworld slowly rattle in their eggshell cages, finding ways to be sentient and free.

In *Westworld*, androids are seeking their own humanity. In academia, scholars are seeking scientific systems and technological aides to research, write, and communicate. For Haraway's cyborg and for the academic writer, identities are fractured. In *Westworld* the robot-humans flash back and forth between timelines, identities, and memories, piecing together their experiences and seeking to understand their world and their selves. In academia, scholars become more and more cyborgic in order to communicate their theories and findings, in order to become part of the academic machine, and in order to resist it.

The *Westworld* universe is one in which binaries—their existence and their disintegration and implosion—are central. A binary appears in the setting of the show; the Old American Western world of the Westworld theme park is juxtaposed with the unseen 'real' world outside the park. To the characters within the park, its world—complete with clichéd American desert setting, an abundance of cowboy hats, the genre-typical saloon, and plenty of gun-slinging paraphernalia and explosive pyrotechnics—is the only world they know. It is real to them even though they repeat their narrative loops with Groundhog Day style repetition. The outside world is hinted at but never seen by cyborg or viewer.

Binaries appear, too, in the pairing of various characters. One such pair is the two creators of the park and its cyborgs: Robert Ford and Arnold Weber. Arnold is recreated by Ford after his death as a cyborg called Bernard Lowe (his name an anagram of 'Arnold Weber'). The central protagonist and cyborg Dolores is paired at different times with Arnold, her father who is 'played' by two different cyborgs after the first iteration of Dolores' father breaks down, fellow cyborg and in-park-narrative love interest Teddy, and human guests William and the man in black (who are in the final episode of Season 1 revealed to be one and the same character). Cyborg brothel madam Maeve has a previous Westworld back story

in which she was paired with a daughter. When we meet her she is paired with prostitute cyborg Clementine, and then with the outlaw cyborg Hector. In the lab Maeve makes an alliance with human Felix, who helps her to escape the limits of her coding, or so she thinks. William, who is also the man in black, is paired with himself in the past-present dichotomy that viewers experience at the same time through the fractured storylines of the cyborg characters. In one time and place William is a white-hatted potential hero; 30 years later he is a black-hatted villain. He is paired with his brother-in-law Logan, with whom he enters the park for the first time. Robert and Arnold, Arnold and Bernard, Robert and Bernard, Dolores and Teddy, Teddy and Wyatt (who we discover later is really Dolores), Maeve and her daughter, Maeve and Clementine, Maeve and Hector, Maeve and Felix, William and the man in black, William and Logan. Pairs abound in the Westworld world.

Throughout the first *Westworld* season, the Shakespearean line "these violent delights have violent ends" is used as a trigger to move the cyborgs along their paths of awakening as they become more and more human creatures who can make their own choices. Yet these choices are still limited to riffing off scripts written for them by someone else. That Shakespearean line comes from the play *Romeo and Juliet*, which explores the dualism of two families and two lovers; it is a play of pairs. The Westworld cyborgs, like Deleuze and Guattari's (1977) desiring-machines, are binaries, with one machine always coupled to another. Yet at the same time as *Westworld* presents us with pairs and clear cut dichotomies (white hat versus black hat, hero versus villain, damsel versus whore, cyborg versus human), it seeks to challenge and break these binaries.

In particular, the binary of cyborg and human is challenged. As Haraway (1991) suggests, technology pushes against and can suggest a way out of dualisms; it is unclear who makes and who is made when it comes to human and machine. In *Westworld*'s Episode 6, Felix notes that humans and cyborgs are "the same these days, for the most part," referring to the way cyborgs are made for the Westworld park, out of organic material, just like people. In Episode 8, when questioned by Bernard about the difference between humans and cyborgs, Westworld creator Robert says that humans "live in loops, as tight and as closed as the hosts do, seldom questioning our choices, content, for the most part, to be told what to do next." He says that the cyborgs he has created are "not missing anything at all." In Episode 9 he warns Bernard that people are "only human" and will inevitably disappoint. The challenge to the greatness of human-ness is also reflected when Maeve says to Felix in the final episode, "you really do make a terrible human being. And I mean that as a compliment." So *Westworld* contests not only the perceived difference between human and machine, but also the notion that being human is nobler than being machine.

The binary between organism and machine, human and robot, real and imagined, is transgressed, blurred, and erased in *Westworld*, echoing Henderson et al.'s (2016) and Riddle's (in press) notions of the academic writer's own mechanistic compliance to the machine of academia.

It also echoes the warning of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (another science fiction text): that science and humans can be more monstrous than the inhuman products they create. In Episode 8 of *Westworld* the character of Robert Ford references Shelley's character Victor Frankenstein when he says, "One man's life or death were but a small price to pay for the acquirement of the knowledge which I sought; for the dominion I should acquire." We are reminded of the monstrosity of the scientist, and the humanity of the created creature. As Frankenstein's creature was in some ways more human than its creator, so Robert's creations are in some ways more human than he is. This resonates with Haraway's (2006) warning that machines have become more lively, self-developing and human, and humans more inert. The academic writer may wonder about the energies of technology and flaccidness of their own human agency.

Dolores as metaphor for the academic writer

In order to see through the lens of *Westworld*, to explore what it might offer the academic writer, below I take a multi-voiced approach to placing myself into and outside of the cyborg body and mind of Dolores from *Westworld*. Like the robotic or artificially intelligent characters in other television series and films, Dolores develops consciousness beyond her programming as she moves from being controlled, exploited, and brutalized, towards becoming increasingly self-aware, critical of her world, agentic, and empowered to make her own choices. For me, Dolores is an apt personal metaphor, offering something idiosyncratic through her character's allusion to Lewis Carroll's Alice. In my PhD I employed the world and characters of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* as a symbolic and structural frame for analysis and academic writing (Netolicky, 2015, 2016). Carroll's Alice can be seen as a metaphor for the Western scholar. She is constrained by the rules and regimentations of Victorian England in which the novel is set, as the academic writer operating in the Western academe is contained within its dominant ontologies, epistemologies, and mechanisms. As an author, Carroll used writing as an act of disruption and destabilization. He wrote his fantastical fiction using the pen name, 'Lewis Carroll', while his more mathematic-logical work was published under his real name, 'Charles Donaldson'. Dolores, as the Alice character of *Westworld*, bestrides the worlds of the fantastical and the rational. She presents a dark Alice, a much-abused character who, as she learns the rules of her world, also learns why and how they might be broken. Her narrative of disruption and empowerment can provide a provocation for academic writers and their ways of being, knowing, and writing.

In taking on Dolores as a cyborg lens for cyborg writing, below I present italicized semi-autobiographical snippets beneath each sub-heading. These are experimental attempts at sense making, using writing as a method of inquiry (Richardson, 2000, 2002), and voice-formation. Like Richardson (2000), I embrace autobiographical writing as theoretical and practical sociological praxis; a method of making sense, revealing epistemological assumptions, and challenging hegemonic academic constructs. I use data from Season 1 of *Westworld* and the cyborgic technology of my keyboard and screen to piece together my experience of Dolores with my own worlds and my own scholarly-writerly selves. I use metaphor as lens, to see and make my world and my selves in new ways. I take on Frentz's (2009) suggestion to embrace storied vulnerabilities and lived experiences, and Caine et al.'s (2016) notion of embracing fictionalizing as a playful way in to theorize and understand more deeply the experience of academic writing and scholarly identity. Here writing is method, identity work, and activism.

Transformation and awakening

I wake from what seemed like a distant dream, into a present that feels like the past. Where and how am I? I am today like Alice, in my dreamy blue dress. I am corseted into my stereotypical femininity, my limited role, my narrative loop. Like a wind-up doll I move, trance-like, through my days. Easy. Uneasy. I am daughter, woman, damsel. Doing what is expected of me. I feel like a human doing, not a human being. Yet perhaps I am not human at all, but robotic slave to the machine of expectations. Going through motions. Pulled by mechanical puppet strings. Trying to understand the machine so that I can be productive within its mechanisms, and also so that I might escape its prison. Easy. Uneasy. I am warrior, rebel, hero. I am. Am I?

O, where to find the luxurious space to stop and think? How to just be? How to break from the Groundhog Day of daily grind and ascend, find a line of flight and follow it towards the stars? Sometimes, I plant ideas and problems for my academic writing and then walk, alone, without the technology of music to accompany me. Like a body without organs, I let myself be matter, let my ideas matter, allow intensities and confusions to flow through me. I race home to scrawl down what I remember.

I burrow into the rabbit hole of my scholarly identity. Digging digging into the dark, my nails jammed with dark earth and my eyes desperate for illumination. On I go. Wondering what I might be, what I might say, how I might write, if only I could reimagine my own story or my own self, or break from the parameters of my narrative and of this world.

Dolores is one of the Westworld park's original cyborgs. When we first meet her, she is wearing an Alice-in-Wonderland-esque blue dress, a nod to Lewis Caroll's nonsense world of Wonderland. Dolores is the Alice character, feeling like she is in a "distant dream," reminiscent of the unconscious and dreamlike quality of Haraway's cyborg (2004a). Dolores is constantly trying to figure out the world in which she has been thrust. Alice finds Wonderland to be a land of nonsense. This is reflected in *Westworld* when, in Episodes 7 and 9, Bernard remembers reading to his son from the Carroll's novel: "if I had a world of my own, everything would be nonsense. Nothing would be what it is, and everything would be what it isn't!" This quote from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is a clue to the Westworld notions that the world seems real to its cyborg inhabitants, but is a game park to its human visitors. Perhaps it also refers to the experiences and identities of the cyborgs; there are many ways in which they are not what they seem. The *Alice* reference also alludes to Dolores' awakening as she tumbles through her Westworld experiences. It is given a nod when, in Episode 3, Bernard asks Dolores to read the following quote from the novel:

"Dear, dear! How queer everything is today. And yesterday things went on just as usual. I wonder if I've been changed in the night. Let me think. Was I the same when I got up this morning? I almost think I can remember feeling a little different. But if I'm not the same, the next question is 'Who in the world am I?'"

Dolores here is asked, through the reading aloud of Carroll's text, to interrogate her own journey of transformation, to look for it and own it. To ask herself who she is and who she might become. Unlike the storybook Alice, who seems to live in books, Dolores doesn't want to be a character in a story. She declares in Episode 6, "I don't wanna be in a story … I just wanna be," signalling the transcendence and escape central to the rhetoric of cyberculture (Adam, 2000). Dolores wants the ability to be and to become. To awaken and transform. To be uncontrolled and in control.

Multiple competing identities

Where am I and when am I? I flash back and forth between times when my hand has been firm and my voice large. My grip strong and my intention fierce. And then I wake in my bed with soft curls in my hair and tender untorn skin, vulnerable and soft like the underbelly of an animal, and wonder what happened to the scars, blood, and fighting spirit of my dreams.

On awaking, expectations abound. They crush and swoop and strangle. How to be all-the-things? So many borrowed robes, I collapse under the weight of them all. Parent. Wife. Daughter. Sibling. Worker bee. Doctor. Writer. Thinker. Cog in a machine. Mouse on a wheel. My own multiplicity has me running back and forth and around in circles. I am

teacher, school leader, university adjunct, reader, writer, blogger, wanderer, and wonderer. I am everywhere but belong nowhere. My selves collide and tear at each other.

I try to immerse myself in my academic writing as my children swarm around me. Suddenly—thanks to a broken LEGO tower or a bumped body—my writing time crumbles into nothing. I make breakfast for my children while running the script for my work day in my mind. I send emails from the edge of the playground, tweet in queues at supermarkets, and text while waiting for my coffee at cafes. I am fused with my devices. Attached to my iPhone, which pings with each email, Voxer message, Twitter notification, Facebook like, and Wordpress comment. I write and rewrite my many selves across my many worlds: social media, conference bios, Facebook highlight reel, my blog, through my clothing and my body. I perform my academic identity online like a public dance in which I try to give my audience what it expects to see.

I become cyborgic as my fingertips attach to the keys on my keyboard, as the tendrils of my corporeal, mental, writerly, and online identities entangle. The pads of my fingertips wear down the keys on my keyboard just as the keyboard wears away their delicate ridged swirls of flesh. Technology and I smooth each other out. We meld together. A mummy-teacher-leader-researcher-writer cyborg, I am at once connected to humans and machines, mechanical tools and relationships, people online and people in the room.

My roles messily overlap and violently crash into one another. I am many. I am multiple. I intersect. I expand and cave in on myself simultaneously. I am here and there. I am now and then. I am before and after. While I try to control the chaos and flatten my edges, I am endlessly unravelling and eternally becoming. Shaping and being shaped.

Dolores is a character with multiple fractured identities, embodying Haraway's split and contradictory self (1991). Haraway's split self is described by Frentz (2009) as breaching the longstanding dichotomy between human and machine. Dolores is constructed as *Westworld's* protagonist, and one if its most human cyborgs. She often seems to exist simultaneously across geographies and times. As Season 1 progresses, she flashes between timelines, appearing to be in the same place at different times. While her costume is a clue to viewers as to *when* she is, Dolores herself becomes increasingly confused about her flashbacks. She exclaims in Episode 8, "Where are we? *When* are we? Is this now?" Dolores is existing on multiple planes, via her memories. It is also in Episode 8 that Felix explains to Maeve that human memories are hazy and imperfect, but that the cyborgs recall memories so perfectly that they relive those moments in exactitude. As Robert explains to Dolores in Episode 10, it is suffering that is key to her humanity. Her memories of pain, like Maeve's and Bernard's, are precious. They allow the characters to feel real emotion, live vigorously, and grow in consciousness. While Robert would take the memories of pain from his cyborg creatures, it is these memories that make them stronger and more agentic. For academic writers, the brutal processes of peer review, grant applications, and job applications, can build resilience and strengthen work.

Dolores' memories take her between not only times and places, but also identities. She is shocked to remember herself massacring an entire village of cyborgs, and a human. But it is through her acceptance of her multiplicity of selves—damsel, murderer, cyborg, lover, victim, heroine—that she reaches a point at the end of Season 1 when she understands her potential and the choices available to her. She, like Maeve, begins to write her own story, the Season 1 culmination of which is her decision to murder Robert Ford, the park's founder, by

shooting him in the back of the head. Like Lewis Carroll, who used a pseudonym for his novelist alter ego, so Dolores embraces her 'Wyatt' narrative, smashing through the binary stereotype of the blonde damsel in opposition to the male cowboy villain. It is in this final episode that Dolores realizes that the voice she has been listening to all season—the voice to which she must listen—is her own.

In control but controlled

I hear the words coming from my mouth, see them pouring from my keyboard onto the parchment of the smooth white screen. Are they mine? Are they the only words available to me? Must I stick to script? Speak and write only in particular ways, expected ways, ways that count and can be counted? Only for high impact journals or well-trafficked opinion sites? Only about topics that are popular, with titles that are likely to get hits? Am I a writerly cog in the machine, churning words out in order to please others, the reader, the unseen audience, the internet overlords, the university system, my workplace?

As a writer and academic, what is the use of writing freely and experimentally on my personal blog, of shouting into the online void? If a blog post appears in the night and nobody reads it or shares it on social media, did it really happen? Did it matter? Do I matter? What if I write and my words languish in dark corners of libraries and online repositories? Or worse: unpublished. Is production my purpose? I'm perpetually exhausted, breath panting, but getting nowhere. I am stretched thin by workload and laid out constantly on the cold slab of peer review for evisceration.

I scour my Google Scholar citations, set up an academia.edu account, check the number of downloads of my PhD thesis, scrutinize my Wordpress blog's statistics, follow the numbers down their dark lightless joyless rabbit hole of self-doubt and what's-the-point and clicks-equal-self-worth. Yet as an adjunct, I am free from the demands of the machine. I exist at the margins. The university dragon does not breathe down my neck with its urgent flames of impacts and publication metrics and journal hierarchies. So can I cast its expectations aside? If so, why do I still feel the desire (desiring-machine!) to be counted, acknowledged, and accepted into the academe via its performativities?

Am I a desiring-machine? What is it that I desire? To be published? To be read and respected? To feel intellectual and important and a worthy scholarly voice? What drives my words and my decisions about where and how to publish them? Who and what controls me and territorializes my time, my body, my words, my actions? Where do my boundaries end and the external academic writing machine begin?

Like Deleuze and Guattari's body without organs (1977, 1987), Dolores is literally a body without organs, especially in her first mechanical iteration. We see this viscerally when Logan cuts her open in Episode 9 to show her inner robotic moving parts. Dolores begins her journey as a Deleuze and Guattarian (1987) cancerous body without organs; that is, she and her organless body are caught in endless cycles of circular repetition. As the season unfolds, Dolores shows signs of becoming a more productive body without organs. We being to see her "freeing lines of flight" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) as she fights to overcome the loops and roles written for her by her creators. She begins to deterritorialize and reterritorialize her own self, ascending from her scripted place towards another plane of consciousness and potential action.

Two lines from *Westworld* provide an insight into the developing power and humanity of its cyborgs. In Episode 5 Dolores says, "I imagined a story where I didn't have to be the damsel," and in the final episode of the season she claims her own power of choice and action, but even this empowerment may be the result of a narrative written by someone else: Robert. Throughout *Westworld* cyborg characters' arcs, their creators and coders are central to their thinking, feeling, behaving, and becoming. Even their apparent rebellion is programmed, part of the script constructed for them. Perhaps this is also true for academia in which scholarly resistance is another choreographed move, an accepted and vital part of the machinations of the academe.

The peer-reviewed scholarly journal is itself a technology, or machinic agglomeration of technologies, shaping academic writing into a form that is uniform and conforms to accepted norms (Muhr & Rehn, 2015). The academic writer is a cyborg creature constrained by technology but also with the potential to be freed by it. While the academe continues to work, write, and communicate in old, accepted, agreed-upon ways, the cyborg is an act of resistance (Haraway, 2004a), a way in to reimagining scholarly ways of being and academic writing practices. Invoking the cyborg opens up productive ways of thinking about subjectivity and identity (Balsamo, 2000), but, as for the cyborgs of Westworld, there are real dangers. Academics who resist the machinic game of academia may, like Dolores and her cyborg peers, risk being decommissioned, left to languish and atrophy until they can be re-coded, re-institutionalized, or discarded.

What does the *Westworld*-Dolores lens have to offer the academe?

The character Dolores, when explored as a lens for cyborg writing and analysis, reveals themes common in both science fiction and academia: transformation and awakening; multiple competing identities; and control. As the dark Alice of Westworld, Dolores is demoralized and abused by more violent means than the Victorian morality and language rules that constrained Lewis Carroll's Alice. Her treatment could, however, be viewed as a metaphor for the repetitive loops in which some researchers find themselves. Her journey in Season 1 towards agency and empowerment has something to offer the academic who feels limited by and controlled within the machine of academia.

One of Robert Ford's final lines, in the final *Westworld* Season 1 episode (before he is killed at the hand of Dolores-Wyatt) is that there will be "the birth of a new people, and the choices they'll have to make, and the people they will decide to become." Dolores says to herself in that same episode that the world "belongs to us" and she chooses, or appears to choose, to reclaim Westworld for the cyborgs. Yet it is Robert that activates the more-assertive, damsel-defying Wyatt narrative he has written for her. The viewer of *Westworld* is encouraged to wonder: Is her newfound strength her choice or her coding? Is she acting on her own or still as a controlled puppet, or a cog in a machine from which she cannot transcend or escape? The academic writer might ask: To what extent do scholars and academic writers have choices in their work, their writing, and the kind of scholars and writers they decide to become?

In a *Westworld* flashback to Arnold during the final episode, we hear him say that "consciousness isn't a journey upward, but a journey inward" and he urges Dolores to listen to her own internal voice, rather than to his voice or to the code that has been written for her. Dolores and her narrative offer a suggestion that academic writers can recode and reclaim their selves, but not without a cost. Academic scholar-writers may benefit in agency and lived authenticity from following the Westworld cyborgs' lead of listening to their own inner voices in order to counterbalance or drown out external performative metrics and the voices

of others, reviewers, and the academic machine. They may find, however, that their rebellion only serves to draw them deeper into the world from which they are trying to escape, or to alienate them from the world of the academe. After all, despite Robert's dream of the birth of a new people, in Westworld those cyborgs that do not play by the rules are often re-coded or retired. The academic writer faces potentially serious career risks if they do not play the game of the academic machine.

Despite jeopardy to reputation, career, and remuneration, academics might take on St. Pierre's (2013) assertion that "*thinking and living are simultaneities*, and we have to think possible worlds in which we might live" (p. 655). This paper is part of a thinking-possible of a potential academe, one in which academic writers can pull free of neoliberal mechanisms and dominant scholarly orthodoxies. Henderson et al. (2016) and Riddle (in press) promote alternate ways of being, researching, and writing. Riddle seeks to work both within and against the parameters of the university machine. Gale (2016) uses the cyborgic technology of writing to dissolve binaries. He writes that in writing "this was there then and becomes again now and in so doing dissolves the binary artifice between there and then and here and now" (p. 307). These examples show the possibilities of Haraway's vision of dissolving binaries (1991) and active resistance (2004a) in the Western academe. Harking back to Maeve's comment in Episode 8 of Westworld Season 1, perhaps it's time to write our own stories, in our own ways. Maeve's character begins to rewrite Westworld narratives from the inside, controlling other cyborgs and their actions. Academics might choose to break from our own loops and our own desires for accolades and visible performative success, but in doing so are likely to be punished with less success, less publication in high impact journals, and less promotion through the ranks of the academe.

Lather (2013) challenges scholars to explore 'QUAL 4.0', to do qualitative inquiry differently, in a way that might produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently. She warns, however, that this inquiry is untidy; it is without clear and unproblematic guidelines or protocols. Dolores says in Episode 9, about Westworld, that "someone's gotta burn it clean." What might it mean for scholars and writers to burn the academic world clean? To set it alight with research and writing that matters – to us, to our communities, to our nations, to social justice, to the greater good? To use our keyboard strokes as the drumming that thrums beneath a call to battle and a thundering of cyborgian hooves across the plains? As St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) suggest, work at the margins is in reach of the centre. Early career researchers, adjuncts, pracademics, and professors can choose to engage in cyborg writing as a political act, to listen to their internal voices about the work and writing that is important. While fighting the machine from within runs the risk of replacing one method and locus of control for another, cyborg writing can act as a medium to burn the world clean with scholarship and to re-make the ways in which we interrogate ingrained and expected practices. The cyborg, the body without organs, and the desiring-machine, are all conceptions with which the cyborg scholar might engage. Like Adam (2000), this paper adds to the work on where academics find themselves in relation to technologies, and shows a glimpse of how we might imagine alternate futures. Science fiction, metaphor, the semi-fictionalization of our own experiences, and cyborg writing, can provide ways that we can push from the margins into the centre of the academe. We can apply writing, reading, and viewing, as inquiry, using metaphors as frames for gaining a deeper of understanding of our selves and the worlds in which we operate.

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New Media, Legacy Media and Misperceptions Regarding Sourcing

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Abstract: Resource dependence theory and related theories of management suggest online-only news media may displace legacy news media, but until that happens the two systems are likely to be dependent on the same resource: news. This quantitative content analysis finds that the systems exist as parallel but distinctly separate entities. Websites associated with legacy news media such as newspapers publish mostly hard news or news analysis in the form of original work. New, online-only news media publish mostly unoriginal features, but the origins of much of the content published by online-only media are unclear.

Keywords: New Media, sociology of news, resource dependence theory, content analysis

Introduction

That the way news is produced, delivered and received has been changed dramatically by the Internet is a foregone conclusion. More of us get our news online now than at any time since the advent of the news website in the 1990s, and there is no reason to expect the move toward digital to end. Print circulation declined 6.7% in 2015, the biggest drop since 2010, and the percentage of Americans who often use the Internet to access news (38%) is now nearly twice the percentage who often use print newspapers (20%) (Lu & Holcomb, 2016; Mitchell & Holcomb, 2016; Deuze, 2001).

But with the ease of access and speed of delivery inherent in new media come structural changes that should concern consumers and journalists alike. There are far fewer professional journalists vetting information than 15 years ago (Pew, 2014) and on some new media sites, the origins of information are not always clear.

Conventional wisdom among journalists holds that traditional media organizations, such as newspapers, produce much of the original content that they publish and that new media organizations, such as BuzzFeed, recycle content that originated in traditional publications. But most existing literature regarding new news media concerns the content on algorithm-driven aggregation websites such as Yahoo! News and Google News, not those of individual

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online entities. As a result, the relationship between traditional media content and new media content online remains largely unexplored.

This analysis extends the reach of existing literature by comparing the origins of news that appears on web-only, new media sites and the origins of news that appears on websites operated by traditional news organizations. For working journalists who are accustomed to seeing their original work aggregated, the results may be counterintuitive.

Literature Review

After online news effectively made its debut in the early 1990s (Deuze, 2001) its market penetration grew steadily. By 1998, 12% of news consumers turned to the web for breaking news, compared to 9% who turned to radio and 2% who waited for the next edition of their local newspaper (Paterson, 2007). By 2006 34% of news consumers received some or all of their news via the web (Ahlers, 2006) and by 2015 the percentage of consumers regularly getting news online reached 38% (Lu & Holcomb, 2016). By 2014, nearly 70% of consumers surveyed reported accessing news via a desktop or laptop computer in the previous week, with more getting their news via cell phones and tablets (American Press Institute, 2014). In total, the Internet has swiftly grown from infancy to more than 1 trillion webpages in 2011 (Chiou & Tucker, 2011).

The virtual rush to the web has been accompanied by a parallel shrinking of the legacy news media, including print newspapers and broadcast news organizations guided by traditional news values and practices (Westlund, 2013). Domestically, newspapers have been shedding jobs or closing entirely at an alarming rate. Since 2003 more than 16,200 newspaper jobs and more than 38,000 magazine jobs have been eliminated in the U.S. (Pew, 2014). *The New York Times*, widely considered to be a success story for the new Internet model, recently eliminated 100 newsroom jobs as it continues to search for ways to cut costs (Somaiya, 2014). Similar trends are at work internationally, where original reporting is produced by just a handful of old-media organizations, led by Reuters and the Associated Press (Paterson, 2007; Sundar & Nass, 2001).

With news consumers quickly migrating to the Internet and traditional news organizations shrinking or closing, demand for original content online has outpaced supply. The practice of repackaging and republishing the work of others, commonly called aggregation, has been widely adopted to fill the void. While there has been little research on the scope and implications of aggregation, anecdotal evidence suggests that much of the content offered by blogs and other digital native publications comes from legacy news media, mostly newspapers. A Pew Research Center study of the evolution of the media market in Baltimore (2010) found that about 80% of news stories that reached consumers there included no original reporting, and of the stories that did contain original reporting 95% came from the traditional media, mostly newspapers. *The Baltimore Sun*, meanwhile, published 73% fewer stories in 2009 than it did in 1999. The result, on a national scale, is a "spiral of sameness" or an echo chamber effect in which the same news product is repeatedly published, often with unclear provenance (Boczkowski, 2010). Separately, however, what empirical evidence there is suggests that true competition between legacy media and aggregators is rare (Lee & Chyi, 2015; Huang, Yang & Chyi, 2013). And new media advocates argue that aggregation builds value. Speaking at a presentation at a 2010 FCC workshop, CUNY journalism Professor Jeff Jarvis argued that there are two creations of value: creation of content, and creation of audience, and increasingly, different entities create each (Anderson, 2013).

As the origins of content has become muddled old and new media have begun evolving to look more like one another. While legacy media has moved to the web, digital native media

has begun adopting some of legacy media's standards and practices. Several early web-only publications once known as generators of "click bait," or shallow content meant to illicit page views, have hired experienced journalists and begun to produce original content. BuzzFeed now has a staff of 170 in its news department, including Pulitzer Prize winner Mark Schoofs, and the website Mashable has a news staff of 70 (Pew, 2014; Mitchell, 2014). Gawker added reporters hired away from traditional media, including former Chicago Tribune reporter John Cook (Kurtz, 2009). Even the Huffington Post, an aggregation pioneer often derided by old-school journalists, now has a staff of 575 in its news department, and in 2012 its military correspondent David Wood–formerly with Newhouse News Service–was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for national reporting. In their study of public interest blogs, Lowrey, Parrott and Meade (2011) found that many blogs were trying to establish themselves as legitimate members of the journalism community. More than half of public service blogs carried advertising in 2008, and in 2009 the average full-time blog spent $2,200 on staff beyond its main operator. Among the 151 blogs sampled, 40% had staff and about half of those blogs indicated they employed regular writers (Lowrey, Parrott & Meade, 2011).

Resource theories

As old news media and new news media grow toward one another in terms of standards and practices, they have one core thing in common: news. The Pew study of the Baltimore market suggests that both new and old media rely on the same raw material, an overwhelming majority of which is created by legacy media (Pew, 2010; Martin 2015). Organizational theory suggests that this dual reliance on the same resource places old and new media–to the degree they can be told apart–at odds with one another, and that their relationship will be a function of two forces: power and dependency (Emerson, 1962; Pfeffer & Novak, 1976; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Casciaro & Piskorski, 2005).

Pfeffer and Salancik's resource dependence theory rests on the idea that an organization's survival depends on its ability to acquire critical resources from the external environment (Casciaro & Piskorski, 2005), and that competing firms adopt tactics based on their place in that system. The classic concept first forwarded in Pfeffer and Salancik's 1978 book still holds sway 37 years later, having been cited by scholars 19,877 times, and scholars see the fact that it was republished in 2003 without revision as further evidence of its utility (Nienhuser, 2008). Pfeffer and Salancik theorize that parties in competition over resources will try to reduce uncertainty by unilaterally bypassing the source of constraint, by reducing need for the resource, by cultivating alternative sources of supply, by forming coalitions, through the exchange of other goods, through long-term agreements or via mergers and acquisitions. Citing Pfeffer and Salancik, Nienhuser (2008) also theorizes that dependent organizations may avoid the demands of critical resources by creating "the illusion that the demand has already been met" (p. 15). In the world of online news, where the origins of information are often unclear and copyright law often ignored, this already has proven to be a popular tactic.

Pfeffer and Novak (1976) and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) also predicted that in mergers and acquisitions–which they envisioned as the absorption of constraint–dependent organizations are more likely to absorb the source of their dependence than dominant firms are to acquire their dependent competitor. In short, the authors of dependence theory believe that the dependent organization will do everything it can to gain control over the resources it needs to survive. As Nienhuser writes, "Concentration of resources means above all concentration of power" (p. 12).

The theory has faced its share of criticism. Casciaro and Piskorski (2005) alleged that a lack of supporting empirical evidence makes resource dependence little more than a metaphor, or "a ghost in organizational discourse, a lingering presence without empirical substance" (p. 167). They identify four areas of concern: First, they argue that there is not sufficient distinction between the two dyadic power constructs of power imbalance and interdependencies. Second, the theory lacks applicability because it prescribes what organizations should do rather than what they may be able to do. Third, the concepts of power imbalance and dependence are ambiguous and, fourth, what little empirical research exists considers dependence, but not inter-dependence. Their findings supported their broad criticism, in which they argued that the theory may be practical at the macro level but it comes up short when applied to individual relationships or industries.

But several years later, to mark the 30th anniversary of the publication of Pfeffer and Salancik's book, *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective*, Hillman, Withers & Collins (2009) assessed the theory's standing and found resource dependence theory remains, largely, sound. The theory adequately contributes to understanding of the mechanisms behind joint ventures, board appointments and mergers and acquisitions. And, by the time of Hillman et. al's analysis, it could no longer be said that the theory has not been rigorously and empirically tested (Hillman, Withers & Collins, 2009; Davis & Cobb, 2010). Davis and Cobb went so far as to write that resource dependence theory and a handful of contemporary theories "like other products of the mid-1970s, such as disco and polyester clothing … continues to exercise influence today" (p. 22).

For the purposes of this study resource dependence theory's explanation of power dynamics and dependency is key. Both anecdotal evidence and the Pew analysis of the market in Baltimore suggest that legacy media relies on its network of professional journalists to create news content, and that new media, lacking a similar infrastructure, is reliant on the work of legacy media. This idea is further supported by research regarding the removal of Associated Press content from Google News during a contract dispute in 2010. When AP content was removed from the new media aggregation site the number of visitors who visited the site and then navigated to other sites declined relative to competitors, suggesting that consumers placed greater value on original material produced by traditional media than its aggregated substitutes (Chiou & Tucker, 2011).

Resource dependence theory suggests that new media, lacking a stream of original content, will attempt to acquire resources elsewhere or otherwise decrease its dependency on its traditional competitors. New media companies, however, have only just begun building editorial staffs to produce original work and coalitions and other agreements involving the exchange of goods between new and old media are not common (Pew, 2014; Mitchell, 2014). New media acquisitions of legacy media remain rare and deals such as the sale of *The Washington Post* to Amazon.com founder Jeffrey Bezos have been categorized as vanity buys by deep-pocketed new-media pioneers (Fahri, 2013). Resource dependence theory, therefore, suggests that while new media may one day employ all of these tactics the fact that it has not yet done so widely indicates that legacy and new media should still be dependent on the same raw material, the news product of legacy media.

The forces at work can be similarly explained by the cohort of management "theories of the firm" most often used to analyze business strategy during times of swift change, such as the technological revolution in news. The dynamic capabilities model suggests that in markets that see little turmoil, institutional behavior may be stable and predictable, but in times of change behavior becomes more unpredictable (Eisenhardt & Martin, 2000). Advantages may come not just from having resources, but from finding new ways to leverage them (Schumpter, 1934). While dynamic capabilities theory suggests that competitive advantage lies in a combination of competencies and resources, the resource-based view of

the firm provides a framework for understanding how advantages can be sustained, suggesting that long-term advantage lies in finding value-creating strategies that aren't easily duplicated (Eisenhardt & Martin, 2000; Teece, Pisano, & Shuen, 1997).

Theory of the Niche

While resource dependence theory suggests that common and limited resources drive relationships between new and old media, the niche dimension of uses and gratifications theory offers another possible explanation. Niche theory, which originated in the field of bio-ecology, suggests that new media fulfills needs and provides gratification while simultaneously incentivizing old media to change (Ha & Fang, 2012). Older media may face consequences including exclusion, replacement or displacement (Dimmick, Kline & Stafford, 2000). New mediums compete with established media for consumer satisfaction, time and advertising dollars, sometimes providing new solutions to old problems, and growing, competing and prospering by responding to users' needs (Dimmick, Chen & Li, 2004). The Internet is especially well-positioned to fill needs and provide gratification because it can provide essentially the same content as traditional media, and advance the model by doing more, (Flanagin & Metzger, 2000; Lai, 2014; Sundar, 1999, 2000).

At the center of the model is the "third dimension" of gratifications, "gratification opportunities." Gratification opportunities are defined as perceptions that a new medium has benefits over an old one regarding choice. These perceptions can amplify gratification, making the new medium even more appealing than it seems based solely on its merits. Dimmick, writing before the advent of Internet streaming, noted that new media gives consumers a level of control not present when they consume broadcast television or newspapers. Each advance in technology, such as cable, the VCR and the Internet, presents new gratification opportunities, amplified by their novelty (Dimmick, 2000): "…The new media offer greater choice, more control over content, or both" (p. 22).

The medium's niche is defined as its place in the greater environment, which is shaped by time, advertising, news budgets and gratification opportunities, among other factors. The environment can be deconstructed for analysis, and is composed of parts that themselves may present gratification opportunities and that can be viewed from different "dimensions." The niches of cable and broadcast television, Dimmick explains, can be viewed from the perspective of the advertising dimension, or from the perspective of the video dimension, for example. Citing Dimmick, Ha and Fang (2012) write that the theory uses three concepts to explain the relationship between consumers and media: (a) Niche breadth, or the range of gratifications available in a medium, (b) overlap, or the extent to which two media provide the same thing, and (c) degree of superiority of one medium over another. Empirical research supports the idea that there is overlap between news available on the Internet and traditional news media, and that the Internet has a significant degree of superiority. Generally, the more time consumers spend getting their news online, the more gratification they receive and the more likely they are to perceive the Internet as a superior delivery mechanism (Ha & Fang, 2012).

Just as old and new media overlap in terms of work product (Pew, 2010; Martin 2015), they also overlap in terms of gratifications provided to consumers via the content they deliver. "…There is a moderately high degree of overlap or similarity between the niches of the Internet and the traditional media on the gratification-opportunities dimension" (Dimmick, Chen & Li, 2004, p. 19). New media have a significant advantage over old when it comes to opportunities for gratification because Internet publishing is unencumbered by the scheduling and content constraints common to old media. Just as movies and radio displaced live entertainment and television displaced radio, new media will displace legacy media,

depressing advertising rates for legacy media and fueling still further displacement (Dimmick, Chen & Li, 2004). Just as news content is the limited resource in resource dependence theory, time is the limited resource in the niche dimension of uses and gratifications theory. In their analysis of new media effects Dimmick, Kline and Stafford (2000) found a clear displacement effect resulting from the advent of online news as consumers spent less time watching TV news. Television had the highest level of displacement with 33.7% of those surveyed reporting that they watch less television news since they began using the Internet to get news, followed by newspapers (28%), cable TV news (22.6%) and radio (22.2%). With the exception of the findings regarding newspapers, the results are consistent with a Pew survey that found displacement in broadcast (2000). A more recent survey found that the displacement effect lags behind exposure. It takes consumers about five years of Internet use to reach the point at which they become comfortable and it significantly displaces other mediums (Ha & Fang, 2012).

In broad terms, Dimmick and Rothenbuhler (1984) found that two conditions must be met for a new medium to replace an old one. The new medium must gratify the same needs as the old one with a significant degree of overlap, and the new medium must be superior to the old in some respect. The findings of Dimmick, Chen & Li, (2004) suggest those conditions may have been met.

With this in mind the following research questions are posed.

RQ1: What proportion of content on websites associated with legacy news media and on websites of new news media is original content?

RQ2: What proportion of content on websites associated with legacy news media, and on websites of new news media, is aggregated?

RQ3: What proportion of aggregated content in online legacy news media stories and in new news media stories is sourced from online legacy news media?

RQ4: What proportion of aggregated content in online legacy news media stories and in new news media stories is sourced from new news media?

RQ5: To what degree does the nature of content in new news media differ from the nature of content in legacy news media?

Methodology

For this quantitative content analysis, samples of stories were chosen from the homepages of websites belonging to the legacy news organizations *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, Fox News and CNN, and from new media sites belonging to the Huffington Post, BuzzFeed, Breitbart.com and Drudge Report. For the purposes of this study, legacy news media websites are defined as sites associated with mass media companies including those that operate print newspapers or with broadcast news organizations, which have significant resources and which are guided by traditional news values and practices (Westlund, 2013). New news media websites are defined as Internet-only operations that provide news content, either original or aggregated. This definition is drawn from Perez-Latre (2014). Among the legacy websites sampled *The New York Times'* website is the most-visited newspaper website in the U.S. and fifth most-visited news site in the country. CNN is the third most-visited news

website in the U.S, FoxNews.com is the 12th most-visited and the *Washington Post* site 13th. Among new media sites, The Huffington Post is the most-visited web-only news site in the U.S. and ranks fourth among all news sites. BuzzFeed ranks 34th in the U.S. overall, Drudge Report 26th among news sites and Breitbart 46th, according to rankings compiled by analytics firm Alexa Internet Inc., which is a division of Amazon.com (Alexa, 2015). In total, 400 stories were drawn from the most-recently-posted content on the eight websites in two phases, one sampling *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, Huffington Post and BuzzFeed from March 21 to March 26, 2015 and the second sampling CNN, Fox News, Breitbart.com and Drudge Report on July 28 and July 29, 2015, with the sampling periods chosen in part because they included no news of such great significance that it was likely to skew results. Stories were sampled exclusively from the home pages of the eight organizations studied, from most recently posted down each page. The stories analyzed in the first phase were sampled exclusively by the author while the stories analyzed in the second phase were sampled independently by the author and a research assistant.

Original content, for the purposes of this study, is defined as content that was written for the entity in which it was published, regardless of whether that entity is a print product, an online product, or both. A story written by a *New York Times* staff reporter and that appeared both on the Times' website and in print would be considered to be original content on both platforms, as it was written for both and both platforms are products of the same news organization.

Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the news story. Fifteen percent of the stories sampled in phase two were used to calculate inter-coder reliability based on Cohen's Kappa, with reliability ranging from .722 to .892, which exceeds the generally-accepted minimum reliability coefficient of .70 for content analysis (Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken, 2002).

Measured variables

A story is considered *hard news* if it, to a significant degree, is politically relevant, reports in a thematic manner, focuses on social consequences of events and is impersonal and unemotional in style. A story is considered *soft news* or a *feature* if it demonstrates little political relevance, reports in an episodic manner and if it is personal or emotional in nature. These definitions are drawn from Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr, & Legnante's meta-analysis of operationalizations of the concepts of hard and soft news (2011). Feature and soft news stories are coded as "1," hard news stories are coded as "2" and others, or stories that do not fit clearly in either the hard news or soft news/feature categories, are coded "3." Inter-coder reliability for the news type variable in the phase two sample was .722.

Content is considered to be *original* if it carries the byline of a content provider associated with the organization to whom the web page belongs, or if the story includes unattributed interviews, information or other reporting. Content is considered to be *aggregated* if it is attributed to an entity outside of the webpage in question and is reproduced in part or in whole. Content is considered to be *wire service* content if it carries a byline or tagline identifying it as the product of a wire service, or if a wire service is credited in the body of the story. The definition of "original" is purposefully broad for this analysis, so as to err on the side of originality of content in instances in which content is not attributed. In other

words, unattributed content on new media sites is assumed to be original for the purposes of this study. All of the content sampled from legacy media sites was attributed.

Stories that include mostly original content are coded "1," stories including mostly aggregated and or wire content are coded "2" and stories including original and aggregated or wire content in equal measure are coded "3." Inter-coder reliability for the originality variable in the phase two sample was .892.

A *hyperlink*, or link, is defined as an active link directing a reader to another story, website or document.

A story is considered to have *advertising* if it appears on a web page that also includes a display advertisement or a link or aggregated story and link labeled as an "advertisement" or as being "sponsored" content. Stories accompanied by three or fewer ads were coded "1," for low number, and stories accompanied by four or more ads were coded "2," for large number.

Results

To explore research questions No. 1 and No. 2, a chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of original content on websites associated with legacy news media (see Table 1) and the frequency of original content on websites associated with new news media for the phase one sample. A significant difference was found (χ^2 (1) = 74.061, p <.05). Original content was more likely to appear in legacy media (69.8%) than in new media (30.2%), and aggregated content was more likely to appear in new media (96.2%) than in legacy media (3.8%). A chi-square test of independence also was calculated comparing the frequency of original content in legacy media (see Table 2) and in new media for the phase two sample, finding similar results. A significant difference was found (χ^2 (2) = 25.49, p <.05). In the phase two sample original content was more likely to appear in legacy media (58.2%) than in new media (41.8%), and aggregated content was more likely to appear in new media (63%) than in legacy media (37%).

Table 1: *In the phase one sample, original content was more likely to appear in legacy than new media*

			Nature			
			Original	Aggregated or Wires	Both	Total
Media Type	Legacy	Count	97	2	0	99
		% Within Legacy	69.8%	3.8%	0.0%	49.7%
	New	Count	42	51	7	100
		% Within New	30.2%	96.2%	100.0%	50.3%
Total		Count	139	53	7	199
		Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In terms of distribution within media outlet from the phase one sample, 98% of the content sampled from the homepages of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* websites was original work produced by Times and Post staffers or others employed by those organizations. Of the content sampled from the homepages of the Huffington Post and BuzzFeed, 42% qualified as original work.

Table 2: *In the phase two sample, original content was more likely to appear in legacy media*

			Nature			Total
			Original	Aggregated or Wires	Both	
Media Type	Legacy	Count	64	30	6	100
		% Within Legacy	58.2%	37.0%	66.7%	50.0%
	New	Count	46	51	3	100
		% Within New	41.8%	63.0%	33.3%	50.0%
Total		Count	110	81	9	200
		Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To explore research questions No. 3 and No. 4, regarding sourcing of aggregated material, a chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency and nature of links (see Table 3) to other media in legacy and new media in the phase one sample. A significant difference was found (χ^2 (1) = 49.7, p < .05). Links to legacy media were more likely to appear in legacy media (83.3%) than in new media (16.7%) and links to new media were more likely to appear in new media (80.4%) than in legacy media (19.6%).

Table 3: *Links to legacy media were more likely to appear in legacy media*

			Destination				Total
			Legacy Media	New Media	Both	Unclear or None	
Media Type	Legacy	Count	55	9	9	26	99
		% Within Legacy	83.3%	19.6%	40.9%	40.0%	49.7%
	New	Count	11	37	13	39	100
		% Within New	16.7%	80.4%	59.1%	60.0%	50.3%
Total		Count	66	46	22	65	199
		Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In terms of distribution within each media type for phase one data, 55% of links in legacy media stories took readers to other legacy media sites, while 9% took them to new media. Within new media, 37% of links took readers to new media, and 11% to legacy media. Of new media stories containing multiple links, 59% included links sending readers to both new and old media sites, versus 40.9% of legacy media stories doing the same. A chi-square test of independence did not find a statistically significant relationship among the same data in the phase two sample, though both media types were three times as likely to link to legacy media as to new media in the second sample, reflecting broad agreement.

To explore research question No. 5, a chi-square test of independence was calculated (see Table 4) comparing the frequency of hard news stories and feature and soft news stories in legacy and new news media for the phase one sample. A significant difference was found (χ^2

(1) = 11.69, $p < .05$). Feature stories were more likely to appear in new media (61.4%) than in legacy media (38.6%).

Table 4: *In the phase one sample, hard news was more likely to appear in legacy media*

			Type			
			Feature or Soft News	Hard News	Other	Total
Media Type	Legacy	Count	39	60	0	99
		% Within Legacy	38.6%	61.9%	0.0%	49.7%
	New	Count	62	37	1	100
		% Within New	61.4%	38.1%	100.0%	50.3%
Total		Count	101	97	1	199
		Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In terms of distribution within media type, 39.4% of stories in legacy media were feature stories, and 60.1% were news stories. Within new media, 37% of stories were news stories, and 62% were features.

Separately, a chi-square test of independence was calculated (see Table 5) comparing the frequency of hard news stories and feature and soft news stories in legacy and new media for the phase two sample. A significant difference was found (χ^2 (2) = 10.381, $p < .05$).

Table 5: *In the phase two sample, which included Breitbart, feature stories were more likely to appear in legacy media*

			Type			
			Feature or Soft News	Hard News	Other	Total
Media Type	Legacy	Count	44	55	1	100
		% Within Legacy	65.7%	42.6%	25%	50%
	New	Count	23	74	3	100
		% Within New	34%	57.4%	75%	50%
Total		Count	67	129	4	200
		Total	100%	100%	100%	100.0%

Interestingly, in the phase two sample feature stories were more likely to appear in legacy media (65.7%) than in new media (34%), and hard news stories were more likely to appear in new media (57.4%) than in legacy media (42.6%). It should be noted that the phase two sample included content from Breitbart, the lone new media site in either sample that

contained a significant volume of original news content. That content was almost exclusively hard news and can reasonably be assumed to have influenced said results.

Anecdotally, an overwhelming majority of the work sampled from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* was traditional journalism, defined as coverage of breaking news or analysis, while most of the original work sampled from BuzzFeed was lists of information compiled by BuzzFeed staff and of indeterminate origin. Huffington Post contained, largely, a greater mix of original and aggregated content. The phase two sample followed a similar pattern with one exception. Legacy media outlets CNN and Fox posted a significant amount of original reporting and new media's Drudge Report posted almost exclusively aggregated material. Eighty-six percent of the content posted by CNN was original, with the remainder being aggregated or a combination of original and aggregated material, while 42% of Fox's content was original, 48% was aggregated and 10% was a combination of aggregated and original content. Of content on Drudge, 98% was aggregated and the site routinely included redundant headlines/links that used different wording but sent readers to the same stories in apparent service of search engine optimization. On the new media website Breitbart, however, 90% of the content was original. While evidence suggests that a large majority of web-only enterprises rely on aggregation, Breitbart is not entirely unique as web-only news organizations continue to hire journalists (Pew, 2014; Mitchell, 2014; Lowrey, Parrott & Meade, 2011).

Separately, chi-square tests of independence were calculated comparing the volume of advertising present alongside stories on new and legacy media, alongside original and aggregated content and alongside hard and soft news. Significant differences were found in all three cases, respectively: (χ^2 (1) = 19.56, p <.05); (χ^2 (2) = 18.845, p <.05) and (χ^2 (1) = 3.487, p < .05).

Table 6: *In legacy media, advertising clusters were more likely to be large*

			Outlet		
			New	Legacy	Total
Number of Ads	Small Number	Count	23	6	29
		% within Type	31.5%	6.0%	16.8%
	Large Number	Count	50	94	144
		% within Type	68.5%	94.0%	83.2%
Total		Count	73	100	173
		% within Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In legacy media, 94% of advertisement clusters were large clusters, compared to 68.5% of clusters in new media (see Table 6). On pages hosting original content, 94.2% of ad clusters were large, compared to 70% of ad clusters associated with aggregated content (see Table 7).

Table 7: *On pages hosting original content, advertising clusters were more likely to be large*

			Originality			Total
			Original	Aggregated	Equal	
Number of ads	Small Number	Count	5	24	0	29
		% within Orig	5.8%	30.0%	0.0%	16.8%
	Large Number	Count	81	56	7	144
		% within Orig	94.2%	70.0%	100.0%	83.2%
Total		Count	86	80	7	173
		% within Orig	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

On pages associated with feature or light content, 90.2% of ad clusters were large clusters, compared to 70% of clusters on pages associated with hard news (see Table 8.)

Table 8: *On pages including feature content, advertising clusters were more likely to be large*

			Type		Total
			Feature	Hard	
Number of Ads	Small Number	Count	6	23	29
		% within Type	9.8%	21.1%	17.1%
	Large Number	Count	55	86	141
		% within Type	90.2%	78.9%	82.9%
Total		Count	61	109	170
		% within Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Discussion

There is little evidence to suggest that new media have employed the tactics enumerated by resource dependence theory as tools for overcoming dependence. Pfeffer and Novak (1976) and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978)'s constraint-absorbing mergers are simply not occurring, for example, and one searches in vain for examples of the sorts of strategic alliances theory suggests should be evident. Because previous research indicates new media regurgitates the

work of old media, it was anticipated that this analysis would show that new media largely re-publishes content created by legacy media, while legacy media produces original work. But the analysis found instead that, while an overwhelming majority of content on legacy media sites was original and a majority of content on most new media sites was not, the two systems exist parallel to one another, providing significantly different content and undermining the niche dimension of uses and gratification theory's requirement of overlap. Legacy media provide mostly original reporting on news and events, and with some exceptions new media provide mostly features compiled using information found on other new media sites elsewhere on the Internet or information of indeterminate origin. This is especially significant because of the continuing decline in employment in legacy media, as it suggests that new media are not filling the news vacuum left by the decline in the number of professional journalists, but are instead giving consumers aggregated content re-purposed as features. One possible explanation, while disheartening for news professionals, is that new media have created the "illusion that the demand has already been met" (Nienhuser, p. 15), and consumers of information simply are not aware of what they are not getting.

This idea is supported by the niche dimension of uses and gratifications theory, which suggests that "gratification opportunities," or perceptions that new media have more unique content, satisfy more and offer more opportunities for gratifications, amplify gratification. Further, dynamic capabilities theory suggests that new media should be able to find such opportunities to gain ground during a time when the foundation of the traditional news media is shifting. Also disheartening for old media news professionals is Ha and Fang's conclusion that there is a period of adjustment to new media, after which the rate at which they displace other mediums accelerates (2012). This suggests that the migration of consumers from legacy media to new media may be far from over.

The idea that new media is reliant on legacy media is further undermined by the findings regarding the use of links. Legacy media and new media in the phase one sample were basically mirror images of one another regarding use of links, with 83.3% of links that appeared in legacy media taking readers to other legacy media and 80.4% of links appearing in new media taking readers to other new media. New media was considerably more likely to link to both new and legacy media in the same story, with 59.1% of new media stories with multiple links linking to both, compared to 40.9% of legacy media stories (Table 2). In the phase two sample no statistically-significant relationship was found, but both new and legacy media in the sample favored links to legacy media. This provides limited support for the idea that new media is more reliant on legacy media than legacy media is reliant on new media.

The nature of content, categorized as hard news or features, was more complicated as it was studied across platforms. In the phase one sample 60% of the stories that appeared on legacy media sites were hard news stories, and about 40% were features, while the numbers were basically reversed for new media, where a significant portion of the feature stories were lists, often little more than a series of stock photo images with a sentence or two of copy for each. With the inclusion of Breitbart, which published a significant amount of original content, the second phase sample may better reflect the growing diversity of the online marketplace for news.

The snapshot of advertising, which can play a key role in both resource dependence theory and the theory of the niche, suggests that legacy media still holds the upper hand among advertisers. Original content and legacy news organizations have substantially more advertising as measured in this analysis. Still, feature content–which is in the wheelhouse of new media–also appears to be more popular than hard news as online advertisers pursue eyes and Ha and Fang's findings (2012) suggest momentum favors new media.

With technology developing at a pace that sometimes makes platforms obsolete (consider MySpace) the consequences of this disruption of the news market remain unclear. Citing Pew

data (2000), however, Dimmick writes that the consequences to legacy media are perhaps larger than one might expect, because broadcast news operations typically already are the least profitable divisions at television networks. The consequences for print news, as well, are still unfolding.

Limitations

The results regarding the proportion of original content to aggregated content in legacy and new media may be limited in applicability because of sampling method. Because only home pages were sampled the sample could have excluded stories that are categorized on themed pages, such as a sports page. The results are further limited because the four new media sites sampled, the Huffington Post, BuzzFeed, Drudge and Breitbart, may not be representative of the fast-changing world of online-only news. The largest web-only purveyors of news, Yahoo News and Google News, were purposefully excluded because they exist largely as headline services. Breitbart, meanwhile, was a clear outlier in terms of content originality among web-only news organizations studied. Future study could benefit from a wider net.

Finally, with the exception of the narrow look at number of ads, this analysis considers the resource of editorial content at the exclusion of the resource of advertising revenue. If resources amount to power, as resource dependence theory suggests, a similar analysis of advertising revenue might be enlightening, though solid revenue data may be hard to come by.

Conclusion

Resource dependence theory suggests that new and old media should rely on the same resources, and Dimmick, Kline & Stafford found that there is overlap regarding their gratification niches (2000). While they do have a parallel existence, this research suggests that new and old media draw from very different sets of resources. A majority of new media are dependent largely on other new media, feeding off of like resources as unoriginal and repackaged content is republished, and to a lesser extent, new media feed off of old media. Old media, however, draw largely from their own work product and other legacy media organizations that do the same. Each exist as a mostly closed system, linking largely to like entities. The reasons for this remain unclear, though it could be explained in part by research showing that entertainment, not news, remains the dominant gratification achieved online (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000).

Pfeffer and Salancik's resource dependence theory and related theories of the firm suggest that new media will eventually absorb old media in a bid to remove constraints on their ability to acquire critical resources. One can already see hints of this as new media managers are displacing old media managers within organizations that have distinct old and new media divisions, including the replacement of newspaper editors with new media natives at Advance Media newspapers as that company reorganizes to make digital delivery of news its priority (Luengo, 2014). But the theory of the niche offers a competing prediction that might offer some comfort to those concerned about the loss of old media's original work product and editorial standards. It suggests that, rather than being absorbed by new media, old media may adopt and adapt, learning how to better deliver original work on new platforms and how to use crowd-pleasing practices common to new media while maintaining the standards and credibility inherent to legacy media (Duncan, 2000; Dimmick, Chen & Li, 2004).

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Original Article (Transl.)

KOME

Common Topics of Sociology of Religion in Non-Religion-Specific Journal Articles

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Abstract: In this study, I analyze the main topics and results introduced in recent publications in the sociology of religion. Briefly touching upon the practical use of identification of major topics covered in published literature during the process of publication output planning, we continue the article with the thematical analysis of those journal articles in the sociology of religion, in which the presented research did not focus on a specific religion or on the believers of a specific religion. We examined the adherence to this criterion of lack of specification in 173 articles published in leading international journals between 2010 and 2013, from the journal list of the Institute of Sociology of the HAS (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), from which 66 journal articles were coded and classified with inductive categorization consistent with grounded theory. Throughout the process, we managed to identify 6 main topics (Secularization, Economy, Sexuality, Politics, Personal Satisfaction, and Well-Being, Social Co-Existence, and Cooperation). We then further divided each of these key themes into subtopics, and we examined the studies further, according to the institutional affiliation of first author(s), institutional affiliation of journal editors, and geographic location of journal publishers. Results show that the identified topics and topic preferences are characteristics of a subset of a Western sociological knowledge, produced mainly by agents embedded in an Anglo-Saxon research environment.

Keywords: publication analysis, thematical analysis, sociology of religion, Anglophone dominance

Introduction

In spite of post-secularization approaches becoming more and more common in professional sociological thinking, and of a relatively widespread consensus regarding the necessity of research in the public engagement of religion, religious people, and groups; in a Hungarian

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research environment there was not any organized, easy to navigate and relevant information source available that would have facilitated the international dissemination of research in sociology of religion.[1] Regarding Christianity, I attempted to solve this deficiency in my article published in *Szociológiai Szemle*, where I introduced and analyzed topics connected to Christian believers and Christian values - according to their distribution related to each other, as well as their geographical-cultural distribution - that were covered in articles published by the most respected international sociological journals (Tóth 2015a). In this article, I am attempting to do something similar by investigating not specifically Christianity or any other religion, but religiosity and religious values in general, here focusing more on thematical and less on geographical-cultural samples.

Earlier I discussed on other platforms (Tóth 2014: 35-36) that, for internal reasons, a research environment inspiring international existence orients research interest towards global significance, and "trendy" topics, often at the expense of topics mainly of local interest (vide Mišak–Marušić–Marušić 2005, Buckingham 2008: 2). The performance-based research funding system prevails not only in the research institutions these days but also in the sphere of higher education in many countries (Hicks 2012). Leaving few spaces for the individual, for curiosity-based, thematical or epistemological diversity (Geuna-Martin 2003:296). The latter is also adversely affected by the fact that different quantified values (e.g., Impact Factor, H-Index, number independent citations) are getting a more significant role in the perception of the quality of the research. This is squeezing insufficiently popular topics and nonindexed and insufficiently cited journals to the periphery of sight of the providently career-planning researcher (Teixeira da Silva 2015). Thus, not necessarily agreeing with the resulting situation but acknowledging the potential benefits of compliance and rule-abiding behavior, it turns out that the creation of a thematical overview could be made a subject of curiosity-based research, which gives information about who, and from which country based institution, and examining which relevant social issues in general terms of religiousness, could publish in the field of sociology in leading journals. This overview was realized in a thematical analysis, what we carried out on original journal articles which presented research on religions or religious people/groups but without a focus on a specific religion or a specific religious group. The journal articles were published in category "A" international journals between January 1, 2010, and December 31, 2013. For category “A,” we used a preexistent categorization published by the Institute of Sociology of the HAS for the sake of evaluating applications for the title of “Doctor of the HAS,” which came into force in September 2013 (2014 journal list of the Institute of Sociology of the HAS).

In addition to the identification of popular themes and publication output planning, a thematical analysis like this can also produce an intellectual surplus from the perspective of increasing sociological knowledge. The specific thoughts generated in the subfields of sociology, as it was just shown focusing on contributions to *Sociology of Religion* by Wuthnow (2014) recently, enforce the modification of general concepts on an ongoing basis, and do not only mean their application in a narrower field. According to this, the results of the thematical analysis are suitable for the identification of the topics in which sociology's generally valid ideas' modification or completion can be expected, moreover in which the application of the results achieved within the field of sociology of religion can be attempted in more general sociology research.

[1] The newest study published in Hungarian potentially apt for such task is almost 20 years old, so its relevance for the current state of affairs is limited. In this study Mikós Tomka (1996) dealt with new ways in Sociology of Religion, mentioning several fields and topics which since then prooved not to be momentary fashions is Sociology of Religion. However, the essayistic character of said study and its lack of a measures- and data-based systematic literature review makes the results uncomparable with those that will be presented in ours.

Methods

As I already published the methodology of this research in my article (Tóth 2015a) mentioned in the introduction part, in this chapter I only give an overview of it and sum up the basics of what is already done. Data gathering for the analysis was carried out on the assigned list of journals, using EBSCO's database, and also in the information of the publishers' websites. Data gathering was carried out between June 3-16, 2014. In EBSCO, we used the well-known method of software-assisted bibliometric analysis; we conducted a Boolean keyword search in titles and abstracts of published articles, with the following formula: Bible* OR biblic* OR bishop* OR buddh* OR burq* OR calvini* OR catholi* OR Christ OR christi* OR church OR congregation OR ecclesia* OR eucharist* OR evangelic* OR faith OR God OR gods OR hindu* OR islam* OR Jesus OR liturg* OR luthera* OR monk OR muslim* OR occult* OR pray* OR priest OR protestant* OR relig* OR ritual* OR sacral* OR sacred OR sectarian* OR secular* OR shaman* OR spiritu* OR theol* OR transcendent*. In some cases, the journal wasn't included, or was incompletely featured in the EBSCO, in these cases we manually examined[2] the abstracts' and table of contents' text on the website of the given journal with the same keywords.

After the implementation, from the displayed search results, we deselected, by manual inspection

- editorial documents (e.g., Editorial, Editorial Introduction, Introduction, Letter from the Editor(s), etc.), which didn't introduce an individual research, and/or didn't feature a list of references
- commemorations (memorial, etc.)
- book reviews[3]
- letters to the editors, replies, and commentaries[4]
- announcements (e.g., received books, books for review, call for papers - for a conference or special issue -, award ceremonies, etc.)
- retracted articles and erratum
- re-published documents
- duplicates of an article from the duplicated search results shown in EBSCO
- studies that used the keywords allegorically, without maintaining relevancy for religion.

After filtering, I summarized the results according to journals and years. I copied the titles and the abstracts, including the bibliographic data, into a separate Word document. Then using Word's built-in word search, I carried out the below categorization based on the weight of the keywords. The categories and topics introduced in the analysis were defined intuitively, according to the general logic of grounded theory (Glaser-Strauss 2012 [1967]).

[2] Here manual examination meant that I inspected every volume of said journals form 2010 to 2013 based on the Table of Contents published on the journals' own websites, and red through the article titles and abstracts obtained with this method. In the case of a keyword match, after extracting bibliographic data the title and the abstract was manually copied into the same Word document which already held the titles, abstracts and bibliographic data previously gathered from EBSCO's database.

[3] Meaning only the simple reviews; joint reviews and review essays were included in the sample; similarly to those review symposiums where the reviews was published together, as one article

[4] Except for methodology-specific, information-rich commentaries published in The STATA Journal.

Classification in categories

From the gathered sample (n=173), we sorted those studies (n=13), which were selected exclusively due to such (mainly regional) religions whose significance are negligible in a global context. The remaining studies (n=160) were classified according to the given religions/sects (Christianity,[5] Islam,[6] Judaism,[7] Buddhism,[8] Jehovah's witnesses,[9] General[10]). The categories were created according to the contents of the articles, so there were no empty categories, and I was able to categorize every one of the items. The classification of the items was done according to the following protocol:

The process of classification

1. If the title of the study contained at least one keyword of one category exactly, the item was classified in the given category.
2. If the abstract of the study contained at least one keyword of one category exactly, the item was classified in the given category.
3. If the title and abstract of the study contained more than one category's keywords, then we carried out a naming analysis, and we classified the item into the category with more matching keywords. If different categories' keywords were present in equal numbers, the study was classified into the "General" category. If the study didn't have an abstract, and it could not be categorized clearly into one category, we decided its classification after reading the main text.
4. We classified the studies automatically into the "General" category if they didn't contain any category's reference words.

The listing shows the order of the steps we followed. If the protocol resulted in the classification of an article, we selected a new article and restarted the sequence.

Thematical analysis of the studies classified into the main category "General"

Out of the examined 160 studies, 66 belongs to this category. It contains all studies that didn't have a religion-specific focus.

1. Secularization (n=6)

Studies on secularization do not have a mutual guide; however, at the same time, this is the only block in the category where theoretical writings are in the majority compared to empirical research. In this category, empirical research deal with effects impacting students

[5] Reference words: Anglican, Bible, biblical, biblically conservative, bishops, Catholic, Catholicism, Christian, Christians, Christianity, church attendance in the U.S., Church of England, churches + Britain, clerical, clergy, congregation, congregational, Dutch reformed family care givers, evangelist, Evangelical, gospel, inerrantist, lutherans, Protestant, Protestantism, Pentecostal, Sabbatarian, Second Vatican Council.
[6] Reference words: burqa, Islam, Islamic, Islamization, Islamist, jihad, jihadism, Muslim, Muslims.
[7] Reference words: Judaism, religion in the Israeli military, religious Jews, Ultra-ortodox Jewish women, Haredi
[8] Reference words: Buddhism, buddhist
[9] Reference words: Jehovah's Witnesses
[10] This was the place for all articles not belonging to any of the previous categories, because of lacking a religion- or sect-specific focus.

during college life (Mayrl-Uecker 2011) and citizen participation (Kim-Wilcox 2013), while theoretical works examine other topics, like publicity (Köhrsen 2013), existential meaning-making (la Cour-Hvidt 2010), religious reflexivity and cosmopolitan ethics (Speck 2013), moreover social sciences and knowledge creation (Seth 2013).

Seth's topic can be placed in a dewesternizing-decolonizing narrative within the philosophy of sciences, the narrative being present there at least since Edward Said's critique on orientalism. Seth's essayistic investigations can be gathered around the problem of banishing gods, ghosts, and nature from the concept of "social" (Seth 2013: 136, see Tóth 2015b for a broader relevance of his questions for the sociology of science). Speck examines a topic which is similarly important, and in terms of dewesternization of science, a similarly relevant one. First, he notices that while according to James Beckfort, contemporary social theory is completely lacking any serious consideration of religion; Ulrich Beck, who previously also hold a view with such negligence, in his 2008 book "Der Eigene Gott: Von der Friedensfahigkeit und dem Gewaltpotential der Religionen," Beck applies a completely new approach compared to his earlier research orientations. In this book, he takes religion into consideration as "a basic constituent of reflexive individualization and a vital support for the cosmopolitan moral and political 'vision' necessary in an age of global risk " (Speck 2013:158). Speck deals primarily with the description of the "individualization" and "cosmopolitization" as a path to Beck's supporting role in this religious faith, and attempts to track back the turn in Beck's thinking that religion, as a moral component, changes the role of radical secularization in the understanding of the reflexive modernity. The function of a religion understood as a moral element, quotes Beck (2013: 169); is "replacing truth with peace"and so "peace acquires a new priority vis-à-vis truth because the one truth jeopardizes not just truth but the continued existence of humankind". Speck relates very critically to Beck's newly raised, idealistic and normative-ideological stance, and sees clearly that Beck's project itself would be highly endangered if the validity check of his established agenda by empirical research-based analysis would be replaced by normative, redemption-like projections based on cosmopolitanism (2013: 170)

Naturally, sociological integration of religion and religious values can only be truly established if religion fills in a significant role in society itself. Such analyses would or would not be worth carrying out based on conceptions that are theoretically inconsistent with religion or religious acts. Beck's way of thinking about religion and the role of the only truth is perfectly incompatible with any other religion's doctrinal self-definition, but if the processes in society, fueled by religious morality tend to turn in that direction or actually work that way, then obviously, a better suited concept of religion applied by sociologies of religion will be more capable for their definition. Köhrsen (2012) tries to approach this problem from the other end of the spectrum. After he states that in sociology, many different definitions of religion are applied in order to find ways to research different problems, he tries to examine religion's role in the social public sphere when it is defined more precisely and not contradictory to its self-definition. Applying a definition like this, where religion is "communication and/or practice that refers to a supernatural – transcendent – reality" (2012: 280); and which, as he notices, is the simplest and most common definition in the sociology of religion (and in general in a western cultural context), he finds that religious actors mostly do not participate in the public sphere in a religious way. As a result, he argues that these actors, during their public communication, are adjusting to the requirements of secular publicity. Thus religion only plays a role in very special contexts and exceptional cases (2012: 273).

In the last theoretic article in this block, la Cour and Hvidt (2010) attempts to create a conceptual frame in order to grasp a kind of existential meaning-making valid in secular cultures similar to those in Northern Europe. There were three main dimensions identified in

this field: the secular, the spiritual and the religious areas, and the conceptual frame mentioned above were created and made suitable for mapping existential meaning-making by pairing these areas with the dimensions of knowledge, acting and being. According to the intention of the authors, the so created network can contribute to the better understanding of the multidimensional nature of existential meaning-making, and it can promote to raise adequate research and clinical questions by the researchers in this field (2010: 1292).

Kim and Wilcox's (2013) work can be compared to the Köhrsen study mentioned earlier. The two authors, unlike Köhrsen, is engaged in applied research, amending it with a data-driven theory construction. Working with data from the first wave of the "National Survey of Families and Households," they created a theory of the isolation, which explains how the familism - the accentuation of the family and being in a family - and religion encourages Americans to avoid secular civil participation. Basal elements of the theory consist of correlations which state that familism decreases participation in secular organizations, while religion moderates the effects of familism in a sense that the religious participation increases this negative effect of familism. For the familistic individuals, it seems that religious congregations strengthen the isolation of the family from the community, and limit the closest social circles of the individual (2013: 31).

Finally, the research of Mayrl and Uecker (2011) from the empiric research, compares the content changes of religious beliefs between college students and youngsters who do not attend college. They conclude that, in general, it isn't more likely to find liberal religious beliefs in college students; moreover, the changes in religious beliefs can be tied more to network effects. At the same time, they found cases which indicate that the beliefs possessed before attending college, retain more in college students than in those youngsters who do not attend college after finishing high school. They infer from there results that the effect of college on the student's religious beliefs isn't just weak but also fragmented, and the diversity of the social worlds within campuses can help keeping religious beliefs, practices, and engagements (2011:181). Taking into consideration that college enrollment has long been thought to liberalize the students' religious beliefs, these results are interesting by all means and are valuable contributions to the literature of network effects in higher education systems.

2. Economy (n=7)

It can be stated about the majority of the seven economy-themed studies (Bush 2010, Maselko–Hughes–Cheney 2011, Carter et al. 2012, Goldstein–Haveman 2013) that they mostly do not separate the religious and economic phenomenon; they examine them within the frame of a market-based, so-called religious economy, while in the other 3 studies the religious and economic phenomenon are more or less separated, and the effects to one another are examined (Peifer 2010, Bradshaw–Ellison 2010, Hill–Vaidyanathan 2011).

2.1 Religious economy (n=4)

The religious economy model has been criticized, and some have attempted to modify certain components. Bush notes that one proposition of the theoretic model of religious economy is inconsistent with the real situation. According to the general model of religious economy, in open religious economies, the religious offer has to adapt to different market segments and gaps. However, most religions produced in the American religious market prefers the needs of men, despite the fact that most of their consumers are women. The model, following the proposition above, is suitable for nor the description, neither the explanation of this phenomenon. The author proposes to resolve the contradictions in the model, by the

following changes: On one hand, the concept of religious capital have to be specified in a way that considers the unequal dispersion of power between producers of religious values, also their differential effects on the target audiences and beneficiaries of religious norms. On the other hand, the connection of religion to other social institutions should be seen as a source of expenses and profits that are taken into consideration by religious entrepreneurs. Thirdly, it suggests the introduction of an addition, in which the social status-based discrimination and the unequal dispersion of capital are the sources of limitations, which influence the production of religious supply (Bush 2010: 304). The additional critique of the religious economy is provided by Goldstein and Haveman (2013), who state that the model has 3 main deficiencies. The first is that the model views religious organizations as if they were similar to single-unit companies, which compete with each other for the believers in the local markets. The second item of their critique considers the exclusive focus of the model, which tries to approach this competition through the "companies' " mobilizing activities. The third deficiency, according to them, is that the competition is considered only among the "companies," not inside them. The defects mentioned above are consistent with the authors' results, what they found by analyzing the content of religious magazines published in America before the civil war, between 1790 and 1860, and where they were the major carriers of communications and agendas of different denominations (2013: 3). Their results show that the competition took place within a national context, and the geography of religious mobilization reflected the availability of resources better than the changes in the intensity of the competition. So, during this explanation, it should be considered that religious institutions, similar to every modern group, are structured translocally (2013: 27).

Religious capital was, apparently, not examined more thoroughly within the critiques mentioned above, and was considered to be homogenous. In other studies, however, transitions between types of capital and capital conversion strategies play a role. Maselko, Hughes, and Cheney (2011) conceptualize those social resources as a special type of the social capital which are made available for individuals or groups by their relationship with religious communities and also develop the methodology for measuring this capital. Carter et al. examine how people, throughout their cultural evolution, barter their expenses emerging in the context of their religiousness, to psychological and/or social assets or benefits. According to them one of those benefits, obtainable for followers of essentially all religions is the ability of delayed gratification, what means that in the hope of a greater benefit in the future, they renounce from the realization of an immediately available smaller profit, and Carter's investigation confirmed that religious commitment could be linked to the acquisition of this skill (Carter et al. 2012: 224).

2.2 Analysis of religious and economic phenomena separated (n=3)

Among studies where religious and economic phenomena are handled separately in the “Economy” block, there are two articles dealing with the act of giving alms, while the third examines the religious effect on the correlation between poverty and anxiety.

2.2.1 Giving Alms (n=2)

Religious individuals usually take major economic efforts in favor of their congregations, in the form of different social interactions. Peifer defines religious munificence, in the tracks of Weber, as a special social type of action, which lets individuals direct their value and instrumental-rational behavior at each other. In these tracks, the author tests different rational activity-hypotheses on the data given by the American Congregational Giving Survey is a

Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, which strengthens the role of solidarity in these processes, moreover show that high-level religiousness strongly influences almsgiving (2010: 1569). Hill and Vaidyanathan examine the phenomenon of charitable giving for religious and for secular goals. When they compare the two, they find that they're linked to each other in the following way; the families that increase their donations for religious goals usually increase their donations for secular goals also; because religious congregations usually facilitate in general the skills and practices linked to donating (2011: 157).

2.2.2 Poverty and anxiety (n=1)

Bradshaw and Ellison's research separates religion's role in mitigating the negative effects of mental health in socio-economic deprivation, and tests the existing theories on the results of the 1998 USNORC General Social Survey's results, for the 18-59 age group. They find that indifferent from the existence of financial difficulties being measured in a subjective or an objective way, both measurements' results associate positively with the psychological distress felt. While there is no interactive relationship found between frequency of praying and financial difficulties, it is clear from the results that more, various aspects of religious way of life reduces the negative impact of the financial difficulties to mental health, while the meditation (used as a spirituality-variable during measurements) can only exert this in case of objective financial difficulties (2010: 196).

3. Sexuality (n=11)

In the "General" main category, one of the most popular topics is sexuality. The studies here usually examine how religiosity affects sexual attitudes in the different, private and/or public dimensions; however, one of the most interesting research studies examine this question in connection with religious framing, not religiosity or religious identity itself.

3.1 The effect of religious framing on sexuality (n=1)

According to McCullough's hypothesis, the manipulation of religious cognition reduces men's impulsivity and motivation to show their physical strengths and abilities (McCullough et al. 2012: 562). To examine their hypothesis, they perform 3 experiments, in which they pre-tune a part of the participants with different tasks (essay writing about God and their religion, reading writings which provided "scientific proof" of the existence of life after death, correcting the order of words in mixed-up sentences that contained references to supernatural existence) (McCullough et al. 2012: 564–566). After that, they submitted them to questionnaire examination and physical exercises, which showed that among the pre-tuned participants, men's impulsivity against money and physical performance decreased compared to the pre-tuned group and the control group, while in the case of women, pre-tuning had no influence. The former was measured on a scale, where a choice was available between a smaller, immediate and a bigger, but later collectible money; the pre-tuned with religious concepts here chose the latter collectible amounts (2012: 564). In the case of the latter, they measured how long the subject can hold the 70% of its maximal grip strength (2012: 566). The results were independent of the values the subjects produced, after the evaluation of the questionnaire about the extent of their religiousness (McCullough et al. 2012: 562). From the aspect of the sexual attitudes, these results are interesting because of the Reproductive Religiosity Model (Reproductive Religiosity Model, Weeden et al. 2008), and as the authors note, they're consistent with their results, moreover provide a proof of the fact that due to the

religious concepts, men choose restrained sexual strategies (McCullough et al. 2012: 566-567).

3.2 Connection between sexual restraint/conservativism and religiousness (n=5)

As for the "reproductive strategy," quite similar to "sexual strategies," the relationship between modesty and religiosity can be justified in the case of the real, not pre-tuned behavior. Weeden and Kurzban (2013) try to clarify, based on the data of the World Values Survey/European Values Study, how strong the differences in individual religiousness can be predicted, in terms of the measured individual differences of cooperative and reproductive moral. They found that more restrictive reproductive moral is a significant forecaster of increased religiousness in every examined region, and the empiric investigation refuted the view that religion is fundamentally linked to the cooperation morals (2013: 440). At the same time, religiousness, as another study shows, has no identifiable effect on what the given person chooses as a partner (opposing sex) in terms of age: nor the preference patterns of religious men, neither women in 20, 25, 30, 40, 45 and 50 years old age groups show a difference, traced back to religiousness, from the same age groups, where the restrictive criteria were not religious, but cultural (Dunn-Brinton-Clark 2010: 383).

The restrictive, retentive power of religiousness elsewhere was examined from the aspect of sexual risk taking: Puzek, Štulhofer, and Božičević were curious, if there was an association between religiousness and the willingness to take sexual risk, moreover, if religiousness would project Chlamydia infection in case of women and men aged between 18 and 25. The examination was performed on the patterns of 1005 young Croatian adults , and they found that the effect of religiousness on sexual risk taking is minor, sporadic and rather specific to women. The relative inefficacy of religiousness, according to the authors, can be tied to the dominance of a special type of religiousness, which is characterized by individualized morality; so, it is questionable that the promotion of religious morality would be the effective tool of sexual risk reduction (2012: 1497). The validity of these statements seems regional, moreover restricted to a special partial question, and contradicts both Cao and Maguire's results, who think that in the United States, religiousness strongly compensates the social acceptance of prostitution (2013: 188), also Kenneavy, who finds that the gender attitudes based on religiousness predict that a given person would not support the civil liberties of homosexuals. Moreover, in this latter question (compared to the 2006), compared to 10 years earlier situation, the differences according to religious affiliation tend to disappear.

3.3 Sexuality in the light of differences in ethnicity and race (n=3)

The sexual attitudes are examined focusing on the racial and ethnic differences too. Das and Nairn examined the differences based on a sample representative of the United States (U.S. National Social Life, Health, and Aging Project, data from 2005 and 2006), which described the sexually non-exclusive, (“polyamorous” – “multi-lover”), long-term and occasional sexual relationships of older white and Afro-American men. They identified the layering of the resulting samples, based on the testosterone and dehydroepiandrosterone (DHEA) androgens' presence, and the systematic religious attendance that neither the hormonal effects from below, neither the religious, social control from above increased the probability of this behavior more in the case of Afro-Americans than whites. The greater incidence of sexual relationships of this kind in the case of Afro-Americans, according to the author, can be caused rather by undetermined variables, for example the Afro-American men's greater childhood exposure to larger sexualization processes, which can have a bigger impact in older

age in case of closer effects in time (2013: 1119). Elsewhere (Ahrold–Meston 2010) among the European-Americans[11], Asian-Americans, and Spanish-Americans, the differences in sexual attitudes were examined according to the degree of acculturation, and in the case of every ethnicity, they analyzed of the recipient and the inherited cultural, and religious effects data from a questionnaire survey. On the questionnaire, measuring the attitudes of the homosexuality, the traditional gender roles, the occasional sexual relationships and the sexual relations outside of marriage, they concluded that Asian-Americans, compared to the other two ethnicities, had a more conservative sexual attitude. On top of that, the higher degree of acculturation, for both the Asian-Americans and the Spanish-Americans, defined the similarity to the European-Americans' attitude. In the case of the women responders in all three ethnicities, the connection between the conservativeness of sexual attitudes and intimate religiousness were stronger on higher measured levels of spirituality, and so a significant interaction between intimate religiousness and spirituality were invincible. In the case of the Asian-Americans and the European-Americans, intimate religiousness and religious fundamentalism strongly projected the conservative sexual attitudes, while in the case of Spanish-Americans, this effect was not so expressed, but also significant. At the same time, they found that acculturation didn't mediate the connection between religiousness and sexual attitudes, indicating that the existing ethnical differences between religious effects do not stem from the degree of acculturation (2010: 190). In another comparative study, they focused on the white Canadian and Eastern-Asian women, and examined the role of guilt, within the connection of religiousness and sexual desire (178 Euro-Canadian and 361 Eastern-Asian female university students, with the help of questionnaires). Based on the results, it can be stated that Euro-Canadian women reported a significantly higher level of sexual desire and significantly lower level of guilt in connection with sexuality than the Eastern-Asian women. In case of both ethnic groups, there was a connection between the higher level of guilt in connection with sex, and the religious fundamentalism, the intimate religiousness and the higher values assigned to spirituality, while paranormal beliefs were not connected to the size of guilt for any group (Woo et al. 2012: 1458).

3.4 Sexual fantasies (n=1)

Ahrold and colleagues research is not entirely focused on ethical or racial particularities; while the authors emphasize they worked with an ethnically diverse sample. Their research, which they performed on 1413 volunteer university students who got lecture credits for participation, focused on the visualization of sexual fantasies. They wanted to find out how the type of the religion at hand, and the kind of religiousness, affected the visualization of specific themes. According to their results, the individual differences in the dimension of religiousness are better and more gender-moderated forecasters of sexual attitudes and fantasies, than the belongings to a specific religious group. The spirituality, the intimate religiousness, and fundamentalism were strong forecasters of conservative sexual attitudes of women; similar to the findings of the Ahrold and Meston study. On top of that, for women, the religious group and the dimensions of religiousness were both significant forecasters of the frequency of sexual fantasies. In the case of men, however, only intimate religiousness had such effect, spirituality forecasted liberality in sexual attitudes, and the frequency of sexual fantasies could only be projected from some dimensions of religiousness (Ahrold et al. 2011: 619).

3.5 Sexual abuses (n=1)

[11] Americans with European ancestors.

Finally, the topic of sexual abuses is touched, even though only in one study. Salter (2012) examined the role of rituals in the organized sexual exploitation of children and interviewed 16 adult people who were victims of sexual exploitation in their childhood. The interviews uncovered the ideologies that were the foundation of religious or mythological verifications of the abusive groups, moreover their strategic applications, which on the one hand, exonerated the perpetrators of the crime committed, on the other hand - by internalizing the rationales - achieved that children behave synergistically in that situation (2012: 440).

We should also mention the similarity that can be stated about the presence of sexual topics in general and Christianity-specific journal articles: In both groups, the presence of sexuality-theme is strong, but at the same time, in Christianity-specific articles, it appeared in disquisitions around the topics of sexual abuses committed against children, homosexuality and birth control (Tóth 2015a). The abuses, and in general the phenomenon that generate social conflict or potentially capable of doing so, were typical of Christianity-specific articles.

4. Politics (n=7)

4.1 The relationships between state and religion (n=3)

Three studies of seven in the political block (Biebricher 2011, Hemming 2011, Müller–Neundorf 2012) investigate the relationship between state and religion. Biebricher critically examines the program of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives started under the Bush administration and continued under the Obama presidency; using Foucault's "pastoral power" as a tool for forming this critique. According to the author, the nurturing-mentoring items mentioned in the program above can be interpreted as a take-off from neoliberalism, or at least, as transformations of it, which create not only new subjectivities but new forms of government. The novelty of these forms of government come from the fact that they are not only aimed at the transformation of spirituality but acknowledge the principle of control interventions; thus, they combine the rhetoric of neoliberalism with non-liberal elements (Biebricher 2011: 399). At the same time, not only the official and international state politics can have a positive effect on the expansion of religious-spiritual elements, but the structural change of state apparatus can also be the base of these effects. The research of Müller and Neundorf on the consequences of the democratic transformations of Eastern-European states (2012) show that after the transformation, the expansion of the new orientation systems (Berger's so-called "plausibility structures") in several post-communist states led to a mild religious revival. These orientation systems were the ones that had a fundamental effect, in the examined states, on what and why can be considered self-evident and true for the citizens (2012: 559). Within the context of the English education system, examined by Hemming (2012), from the beginning, from the introduction of the general compulsory education, the appearance of religious elements and role of the state conservator were the subject of arguments. It is likely that this stays an actual question in the future as well, especially because the author is identifying multiple religious and spiritual expressions in these types of state-controlled social institutions (2011: 1061). Because the education system also has its own plausibility structure that secures the production of cultural identities, the state expects the alignment of institutions to it, the educators expect the alignment of students to it, the question of presence and regulation of religious elements can help the commitment to neoliberalism or its alternatives, and the identification of the stations of political transformation.

4.2 The role of religion in publicity (n=2)

Whether the state takes part actively in the expansion of religious values, or contributes to it by its structure, the basic question in the frames of classic secular-neoliberal narrative will always be that if religion is a private matter, not a public matter, then how could and should the public engagement of religion be handled in modern liberal democracies? In the contemporary sociology research, the definition of the public influence of religion, often occurs after the identification of individual or collective religious actors, which is problematic because religion is handled by the stable and unified specific of the given individual or collective, while in reality, people, in case they get out from the direct surroundings of their own denominations, often express their religiousness in a context-dependent way (Lichterman 2012: 15); the statement harmonizes with Köhrsen's conclusion introduced earlier in the secularization block. At the same time, religion's public presence cannot only be examined as the source of conflicts like this or similar to this but takes up a role in creating peace as a "bridging social asset", so the presence in public stages can mediate social peace processes in the relation of the web of the civil society and the state, promoting social stability (Brewer–Higgins–Teeney 2010: 1019).

4.3 The effect of religion on personal political preferences (n=2)

Finally, Stegmueller and colleagues examine the question specifically, concerning certain person's political preferences, how religiousness affects the attitudes towards the reallocation of revenues. The author argues that the political preference of religious individuals living in secular societies differs from secular citizens views. According to the starting hypotheses based on the theory of religious cracks, religious individuals will oppose state revenue reallocation, on the other hand, the strength of this will be higher in those cases when the values rendered to secular-religious opposition are higher. They checked their expectations on the data of the 2002-2006 European Social Survey's 16 Western-European countries, and they found that

a.) both Catholics, and Protestants strongly oppose state redistribution,
b.) the gap between the secular and the religious individuals is much more important regarding this attitude than the differences in denominations among religious individuals, and
c.) their expectations regarding the relationship between the degree of polarization and the strength of attitudes were verified (Stegmueller et al. 2012: 482).

Manglos and Weinreb (2013) examined how religious identity, active religious membership, and education effects political interests in Sub-Saharan Africa. They came to a conclusion that active religious membership affects political interest positively in almost every examined country, and religious identity and belonging to religious minorities often conditions the effects of education. However; they didn't find a single religious tradition consistently "more political" than others (2013: 195).

5. Personal satisfaction and wealth (n=8)

5.1 Examination of positive effects (n=6)

In the studies examining personal satisfaction and wealth, Lim and Putnam checked how religion forms people's satisfaction with their own lives. They managed to find that religious people are more satisfied with their lives, because they go to church regularly, and build different networks within their denominations (2010: 914). The results of the research are not

surprising because these connections between religiousness and satisfaction have been examined for a long time regularly, getting similar results. Eichhorn, at the same time, who also examined the effect of personal (attitudinally and measured in actions) religiousness on satisfaction in 43 European and Anglo-Saxon countries' data announcements of World Values Survey, came to an interesting conclusion that is different than the ones before regarding these correlations. His research shows that the positive effect doesn't depend so much on personal religiousness, rather its conformity with the social context: Seems like personal religiousness can only be associated with higher levels of satisfaction in societies where the average level of religiousness is also higher (2012: 583).

Meulmann (2010) wants to answer two main questions, namely; on the one hand, does self-transcendence[12] - towards other people or a transcendent reality, looking at the level of individuals and countries, increase the type of wealth, from which the effect of self-concern was excluded, and if yes, then on the other hand, which type of self-transcendence has a bigger effect on it from the two mentioned above? The results show that on a personal level, success (related to self-interest) has strong, altruism weak, and religiousness has a mild effect on wealth. On the level of countries, economic and democratic development effects average wealth. However, the results achieved by civil society and secularization does not; so, it seems that religiousness can have an effect rather on a personal level (2010: 385). According to other results regarding the relation between subjective wealth and religiousness, it has a strong positive effect if religiousness is seen as normative within a given national context (thus, within the given nation, the proportion of religiousness is high, and also the social attractiveness of religion is high). Confirming the conclusion of the Eichorn-study, independent from him, Stavrova, Fetchenhauer, and Schlösser find that religious people are generally happier and also feel wealthier within these circumstances, than their non-religious fellows, and this tendency is stronger if dominant attitudes can be detected towards non-believers. One explanation for the higher subjective wealth and happiness of religious people could be that a link was found between religiousness and the social respect towards religious people (Stavrova–Fetchenhauer–Schlösser 2013: 90). Besides self-exceedance and social acceptance, the relationship between religiousness and wealth was examined in another study, in connection with praying habits.

Religiousness itself was measured by one single personal dimension, the frequency of praying, and they found that praying has a favorable effect on depression in old age; namely fewer depression symptoms were reported by people who frequently prayed in a research representative to Europeans above the age of 50 (Denny 2011: 1194). Another positive effect was detected by Brashears, who examines the data of an earlier, General Social Survey from 1985 on protective effect against anomia, which, in the tracks of Émile Durkheim and Peter Berger's work, can be granted by the integration to the network of the identically religious people. The results show that the probability of anomic state and the occurrence of unhappiness can decrease only when, if besides the connection to identically religious people, the personal religious belief is also present (2010:187).

5.2 Examination of negative effects (n=2)

The two last studies in this block approach the question from the direction of lacking satisfaction. McGregor, Prentice, and Nash (2013) introduce 5 different research studies, which confirm the empiric data corroborates the hypothesis of the so-called "Reactive Approach Motivation" (RAM).

[12] Self-transcendence manifest, on the individual level, in altruism and religiousness; on the collective level (the level of countries examined), in the advances of civil society and a type of “negative secularization” which builds both on religious tradition and on means of religious practices.

The RAM-approach attempts to explain the human parallels of behavior patterns from the fauna, where the anxiety-solving activities are not in close connection with the subject of anxiety, and the anxiety is explicitly solved by offering an alternative activity-controller focus. This can be observed in the fauna, when, for example, the rats caged in the terrarium, run until they starve in the rat race, or dogs lick their skin sore (when they didn't originally have a scar, bruising or parasites in that place).

In humans, this behavior can be observed in physical phenomena (e.g., smoking); however, the RAM focuses rather on the mental behavior and explains how people, who face insecurities causing anxiety, turn to their ideals, ideologies, meanings, and world views with increased stubbornness and energy. Overall, it seems like an effective strategy for treating anxiety because focusing on these mental constructs and the mental activity can take on the role of anxiety in the same way. Moreover, as opposed to specific activities associated with the physical effects, they do not require external resources and do not carry direct risks to health (McGregor et al. 2010). The research results of McGregor and co. converge to the conclusion that the threat connected to insecurity only triggers extreme defensive RAM-reactions, if those wake a false sense of insecurity in connection with existing and actively implemented goals (2013: 537). Immerzeel and van Tubergen (2013) examine the effects of different insecurities on religiousness in a longitudinal study; in the data of four recorded steps of the European Social Survey (ESS) between 2002 and 2008, which represents the population of 26 European countries. The obtained results strengthen the earlier hypothesis, which states that higher uncertainty levels go hand in hand with increased religiosity; where religiosity is operationalized as going to church (public dimension) and as subjective judgment (private dimension). Higher uncertainty-levels, it seems like, are not made up of uncertainties from distinct sources, but what plays a role in them is an uncertainty originated from multiple sources. Religiosity is also higher in those individuals, whose source is the workplace, the unemployment of parents, the lower-status work of parents, the war events experienced in their home country, the loss of spouse/domestic partner/partner or welfare spending and higher unemployment rate in the country of residence (2013: 359).

6. Relationship of social cohabitation and cooperation with religion (n=21)

In the studies in the block labeled with social cohabitation, the sub-topics, like race-focused and migrant integration, socialization of youngsters, moreover family/relationship-type cooperations and the (mutual) religious participation can also be well interpreted.

6.1 The rituals and the correlations between the types of established cooperations (n=1)

Atkinson and Whitehouse examined in total 645 religious rituals from 74 different cultures, from the perspective of evolutionary anthropology (2011: 50). Starting from the so-called "modes of religion" theory (Whitehouse 2004), they propose that one of the main responsible for the variation differences in rituals are the cognitive borders, which are hidden in episodic and semantic memory systems in connection with a "doctrinal" and "imagistic" religiousness, and which religiousness-types are clearly separable by the frequency of the given rituals, the degree of emotional involvement, and the intensity of the emotions evoked. In the "doctrinal" and the "imagistic" religious modes - according to the theory of the religious modes - they apply different techniques in order to preserve ritual elements in the memory of participants, which is necessary for people to maintain and inspire a given cultural heritage. These techniques, in case of doctrinal and imagistic religious modes, are capable of preserving the memories in the declarative memory's different subsystems: the doctrinal religious modes

apply rituals with a higher frequency, but with relatively less emotional involvement, so larger, more complex doctrines and more religious teachings can be fixed in the semantic memory, what can be recalled steadily, and so it can be effectively spread by word of mouth. The imagistic religious modes by contrast, applying rarer frequency, but higher emotional intensity rituals, with what they fix contents in the episodic memory (2011: 51). By examining the two predictions of this theory, the author duo could really classify the rituals into these two categories, and not only did they identify that within these types, the size and the structure of the groups in these rituals are similar, but they articulated the assumption that the rituals applied in the doctrinal religious modes are connected to the appearance of agriculture, and they generated groups of a size and structure that can be tied to the emergence of the first great civilizations (2011: 60).

6.2 The effect of supernatural control on following norms (n=1)

In connection with the group structure, and mainly the enforcement of control mechanisms and organizational mechanisms mentioned in the conclusion of the Atkinson-Whitehouse study, the role doctrinal religious modes in jumpstarting cooperation between people - which are generally predominant in today's advanced west according to the religion geography of the world - can be supported by other studies. This is shown by Atkinson in a different study, co-written with Pierrick Bourrat (Atkinson-Bourrat 2011), where they examine the effect of the two sources of supernatural control, God, post-death and after-life on individuals' willingness of moral transgression in an inter-culture survey covering 87 countries. From this data, it shows that these sources can predict independently if the responders consider certain differences in religiously correct morality verifiable. The connection stands after the authors control the results according to different religious-cultural variables (frequency of religious participation, birthplace of the responder, denomination, educational attainment), so it can be stated that the crossing of moral borders is connected to the beliefs in supernatural inspection and punishment, and these beliefs can be important promoters of the cooperation within certain groups of individuals (2011: 41).

6.3 The negative religious effects on coexistence and cooperation (n=2)

At the same time, it can be noted that the topic of religiousness was examined from the perspective of the negative effects on cooperation and in general, human symbiosis. Bailey and Snedker revealed in a historical retrospection that between 1890 and 1929 in the USA, organized lynchings were more frequent in the Southern states where religious diversity was higher; thus, he confirmed the view that states that the competing denominations weaken community togetherness, while they could strengthen white, race-based solidarity in the act of lynching. They could also find a remarkable result, a new danger source for the solidarity of race-based groups at that time. They found that, in the states of the USA, where black believers went to church services controlled by black people, were the victims of racist violence to a greater extent, while the level of this violence was significantly smaller where the believers were mixed in skin color (Bailey–Snedker 2011: 844).

The focus of the research of Lim and MacGregor was how religiousness' effect on volunteering could be transferred to non-religious individuals' volunteering through different personal connections. The important statement of their study was that within a given area, the level of religious participation's average level compares negatively to the volunteering of non-religious individuals - thus the more religious a region is, the less it is likely that the non-religious people would volunteer; so, it can be stated that within these circumstances, a mesolevel of religiosity affects a special type of the cooperation willingness of non-religious

people negatively. At the same time - as the author duo sums it up - if the non-religious people have close friends, who are religious, then there's a higher possibility of them becoming volunteers in religious or non-religious cases (2012: 747). So the personal connection, unlike the environmental impact, affects this type of cooperation positively.

6.4 The effects of religious participation (n=4)

Another, cooperation-forming effect that was examined by the researchers in this thematic block is connected to the patterns of church attendance. Throughout the examination of coooperations, Lewis, MacGregor, and Putnam (2013) look for the answer to the specific question in the data of the Portraits of American Life Study (PALS), if the social networks based on religion can explain the connection between the religion and civil attendance. They find that for the people who have a strong network of religious friends, the effect of church attendance can be explained by this fact in the case of numerous civil and neighborly attendance (2013: 331). The patterns of church attendance according to age (Hayward-Krause 2013), its effects on the protection from LBW-childbirth[13] (Burdette et al. 2012) and the connections to early childhood behavior of single mothers (Petts 2012) also form the focus of a study.

6.5 Migrant religiousness (n=3)

The examination of the frequency of religious attendance has an important role in the research of the religiousness of migrants. Based on the results of van Tubergen (2013), it can be said that for the majority of Dutch immigrants, the frequency of praying doesn't change compared to the state before migration, but for quite a major group, mainly in case of church attendance,[14] a slight decrease can be seen: here the decrease was visible for 40% of the immigrants, while the decrease of praying only for 17%. Neither continuity nor the decline seems to be dependent on personal experiences, while the values of different immigrant groups show a great difference in the size of the community. The Turks, Moroccans, or migrants from Suriname and the Antilles (from the perspective of their immigration history) "older" and larger groups, go to church and prey proportionally more frequently, than the "newer," smaller Polish and Bulgarian groups (2013: 715). At the same time, other studies examined migrants, who stood successfully against multicultural-based local political endeavors, realizing the non-ethnic, public identification with Christianity, Buddhism or Islam, and they chose the religious type of transnational cooperations, instead of the neoliberal version (Schiller 2011: 211). Furthermore, the fact that the connection between migration and religiousness can be a major topic of contemporary researchers is validated by one of the few structured literature reviews, which sums up the research results of the integration of the races, thus suggests three research directions for the future. On the one hand, it considers additional theory-creation necessary within this area, and the expansion and improvement of existing theories. On the other hand, it suggests improving the somewhat deficient interactions with sociology's different subdisciplines. Thirdly, it expects researchers in the future to be able to explain the positive and/or negative effects of religious-racial diversity on the systems of social stratification (Edwards-Christerson-Emerson 2013: 211).

6.6 Family and relationships (n=5)

[13] Low Birth Weight; when the infant born alive but with low (< 2500g) body weight.
[14] In the meaning of “religious attendance”; regarding the corresponding “church” (mosque, synagogue etc.) in each religion.

Ellison, Burdette, and Wilcox (2010) identified a new direction in the literature in addition to the ones mentioned above, namely the relative disinterest, which is shown by the researchers towards the mutual impact of race or ethnicity and religion on the forming strength of the quality of the relationships. The authors try to fill this shortage, by the help of the National Survey of Religion and Family Life (NSRFL; a 2006 telephone survey, on 2400, age 18-59, mainly Latino and Afro-American group). It is clear from the results of the research that the couples' religious activities at home and their mutual religious beliefs connect positively to the data about the quality of the relationship, reported by them (2010: 963). There is more information about the effects of religion on the relationship qualities in the results of Day and Acock (2013), who examined the relational virtues on a relationship (forgiveness, dedication, and sacrifice) and the mediation role of equality within a relationship, in case of 354 married couples, in connection with religiousness and relationship wellbeing. The three-year long, long-section research found that religiousness and relationship well-being are fully mediated by the variables of relational virtues, but their relationship isn't connected to equality within the relationship. These results do not support that religious activities are directly connected to stronger relationships, so they do not confute basic pricnciples of the relational inequality-theories, which states that religiousness decreases well-being.

They are capable of showing that religiousness can contribute to rational virtues that can be associated with - according to the pattern's narrower sense, within marriage - relationship wellbeing (2013: 164). The difference making between marriage and relationship in the context of family; so, in family research, the premise of the married (whether religious or civil) parties is not necessarily a constituent of the notion of "family", is able to dimension these research studies productively, and gives an opportunity for multiple comparisons with the inclusion of religion. Berghammer (2012), examining the different family creation units, the way leading to or from these units, and the reproduction results based on the data in the Austrian Generations and Gender Survey (2008-2009), finds that religious people would rather get married directly, than after an initial period of cohabitation. However, this opportunity is still considered more favorable than the ways of family creation differing "more" from the religious core principles, like having children outside of marriage, or successive (sequential) unions and "truncate" family type after divorce. Talking about having children, the childless singles are present with the same frequency in religious and non-religious groups. Religiousness explains only slightly, if the couples in a domestic partnership or getting immediately married, choose to have two or three children (Berghammer 2012: 127). In the research studies between 1999 and 2009 in connection with youngsters, Mahoney (2010) describes thoroughly, what topics were in the focus of the researchers, examining the role of religion in marriage relationships or in child-parent relationships: In the pattern examined by him, unity, fertility, marital roles, marital satisfaction and marriage conflicts, divorce, domestic violence, infidelity, pregnancy, educating teenagers and children, and overcoming difficulties occurring within the family. After looking through the literature, the author concludes that, based on the latest results, and also for the future, it is essential to identify the spiritual beliefs and routines which take over and deepen the problems in the traditional and non-traditional families (2010: 1246). This problem-centric approach describes the article of Ellison and colleagues, who choose the connection between divorce and family feuds as their topic of their research, and curious about how this formed young adults' (18-35 years old) religious and spiritual lives. From 2001, 1506 young adults were asked on the phone in the United States during the ’National Survey on the Moral and Spiritual Lives of Young Adults from Divorced and Intact Families’, and data shows that the individuals who were raised by happy parents, grew up in a relatively conflict-free family, gave a generally higher value answers for the questions targeting religious and spiritual states/attitudes, than the ones with divorced parents with high conflict levels. The healthy

families were named "intact families" by the authors; the authors defined this marking as "two biological parents, who were married before the responder was born, stayed married and at the time of the questioning were still married, except one of them were deceased" (Ellison et al. 2011: 539). The divorce and family feud had a negative effect within the children's religiousness rather on the traditional, institutional religious practices and beliefs; in the case of the personal, spiritual beliefs and practices this effect was weaker (2011: 538, 549).

6.7 Young people and youth (n=2)

The social dimensions of the religiousness of youngsters in the United States can be recognized by the two additional studies in the block (Adamczyk 2012, Cheadle–Schwadel 2012). In these, the topic of friendships networks can be found, where religion is shown as a form of social attraction that strongly influences who spends some amount of time with who. At the same time, the networks formed this way, the individual connections - to other attitude patterns of religion (e.g., the frequency of church attendance, the direction of identification and strength of commitment, etc.). Similar to alcohol consumption, they are formed by different social cohesive forces (Cheadle-Schwadel 2012: 1198).

These attitude patterns within the groups of religious youngsters also have an inter-group force; smaller alcohol consumption was discernible for every participant in cases when religious and non-religious individuals took part in different secular activities. This effect can be explained partly by the number of friends, who belong to a religious youth group, while rather interestingly, this relationship is not mediated by the variables, (overlaps between the parents' and children's social networks, the number of friends who consume alcohol or drugs, does the youngster have any adult friends who belong to a religious group), where the effect on lower alcohol consumption could be anticipated by sober thinking (Adamczyk 2012: 412).

6.8 Religiousness and health problems (n=3)

This thematic block approximates to different parts of medication / healing from religiousness. The studies deal with the actual or potential patients in every case; touching the subject of the doctors/healers and the healthcare personnel only marginally. Greil and colleagues (Greil et al. 2010) examined the connection between religion and the help requests regarding fertility, on a probability pattern of 2183 infertile women in the United States. While religiousness cannot be paired directly to medical help requests in these cases, it can be connected to the stronger faith in the importance of motherhood, and the stronger ethical concerns about the treatment of infertility. The former has an indirect impact, in addition to the request for help, the latter has an impact against it, the authors conclude that the effect of religiousness on the search for these types of treatments is complex, not direct, moreover they confirm the growing scientific consensus, which articulates that religious behavior and religious beliefs have an effect on the use of healthcare services (2010: 734). The relationship at the same time can be reversed; the use of healthcare services can affect religiousness as well; as according to the data of the 1994-1995 and 2004-2006 National Survey of Midlife Development (n=3443), the patient's religiousness can increase after a diagnosis of cancer (McFarland et al. 2013: 311). Khamis examined how in the Gaza Strip and South-Lebanon, in the cases of 12- to 16-year-olds (n=600) exposed to experiences with war, what connections could be found between the traumas and financial difficulties, the religious and ideological differences, the post-traumatic stress syndrome, and other psychiatric disorders (2012: 2005).

7. Other (n=6)

The 6 studies in the "Other" block deals with

7.1. the cultural analysis of religion (Edgell, 2012),
7.2 the theorization of the process of sacralization (Marshall 2010),
7.3 the materialistic and spiritual role of figs (Wilson-Wilson 2013),
7.4 the abolishment of the death penalty (Mathias 2013) and
7.5 the religious variables affecting the judgment of suicide (Boyd-Chung 2012); moreover,
7.6 the different preferences of visual arts types (van Eijck 2012).

The first three studies focus fully on the religious field, while the last three results were only a few of the components are relevant from a religious point of view, while they, as it seems, were significant enough to include them in the summing of the studies.

Conclusions

From the view of publication strategy, this thematical analysis can mainly help recognizing patterns and choosing the topic. Looking at the former, it can be stated that among the examined studies, in the case of the empiric, data-based research, the measurement of religiousness during data recording can be relatively simplifying; focuses on just some dimensions of it and shows great differences between and within topic choices. Within the measurement of religiousness, there is clearly no unified, recommended professional standards; the measurement can be adjusted to relevant dimensions of the problem at hand. It is visible in the big pattern data sets used in empiric research that the majority of these studies are not based on personal data recording, but they use existing databases. This is not surprising, but it's worth it to take into consideration that these researchers make conclusions from the analysis of data that was not created for the examination of their targets in the first place. In conclusion of this, the results having a greater generalization potential are based on inferences coming from data which had a less and/or disparate to ideal attention to conceptualization and operationalization of religiousness. Taking a look at the topics, it is clear that the examination of domestic partnerships, cooperations and their connection to religion, was the topic of almost one-third of the examined studies. Within this, the concrete subtopics are strongly scattered, with the minimal advantage of the family and relationship topics, 5 of the 21 articles included in the category focused on this. Taking the research focusing on sexuality, as second most popular (11 pcs), we can see that a presence of a theme, which looks for a solution to a concrete or personal problem by examining the connection between general religiousness and sexual-reproductive attitudes, is strong in the examined patterns. After our conclusion, it is necessary to show the limits of the analysis. The goal of the analysis is to identify and thematically structure those fresh results in sociology, in which the examination of religion or a dimension of religion gets a major role without the research focusing on a concrete religion, and the expected effect of which within this professional area will be significant, or already is significant, according to the place of publication. So, the analysis cannot be viewed as the replacement or alternative of traditional meta-analyses and systematic reviews. The thematical analysis gives a limited information about the content and results of the article: it can uncover what problems were analyzed by the researchers, how they compared to each other within the given context, but at the same time, compared to other systematic analyses, it does not deal with comparing the methods used for analysis in detail and explicitly. While it is possible that in possession of the results of a methodology-focused investigation, our analysis could be shaded, completed or

modified, our general statements about the thematization of the literature would stay unchanged. Moreover, it is highly visible that within the "A"-category journals selected by the Institute of Sociology of the HAS, there are no professional journals from the field of sociology of religion, while journals from other specialist sociologies (e.g., sociology of the family, economic sociology, medical sociology, etc.) can be found. This can distort the thematic map since general academic journals can be attractive places for publication of every subfield of sociology, while, e.g., an economic sociology journal can only be considered for publishing an article presenting research on the sociology of religion, if it somehow intersects with that other profile.

It is also an important limitation of the results that regarding their writing and publication, studies included in the sample are less heterogeneous from a geographic and cultural point of view. The majority of the studies present results that found their way through a Western Anglo-Saxon science filter and present results produced in Western Anglo-Saxon research institutions. Within this framework, diversity can rather only be manifested between Continental European, Non-Continental European, and North American regions. The great majority of the examined HAS-listed journals (39 pcs; 85%) are published by major commercial publishers, the journals published by independent scientific companies (7 pcs) are only at 15%, and their weight in publishing religious articles are even lower; 5%. All of these commercial publishers belong to the western world, the Anglo-Saxon area is weighing out the rest looking at the number of the journals (29 pcs, 74%); the rate of the journals from the Elsevier (Dutch) and the Springer (German) is less (10 pcs, 26%). Articles in the General category were published mostly by Elsevier (23 pcs), and there is no depressing difference regarding the geographic places of the publishers in the number of Anglo-Saxon (37 pcs) and the continental European (29 pcs) journals either (Annex Table 1).

This relative balance cannot be said about the examination of the editors of the journals, and the examination of institutional affiliation of the authors. From the 46 examined journals, 31 published religious-themed articles, but 28 of these 31 journals have an editorial staff that is homogeneous regarding the senior editors' institutional affiliation (so all the senior editors' all institutional affiliation points directly to the same country), the three others are heterogeneous. Out of the journals that have a nationally homogeneous editorial staff, 17 are tied to an institution in the United States, 7 in the United Kingdom, 2 in Canada, 1 in The Netherlands and 1 in Norway. The journals with USA-homogeneous editorial staff published 65% of the articles in the General category, while the UK-homogeneous journals published 9%. The rest 26% are distributed by nationally homogeneously or nationally heterogeneously edited journals. To sum up, three-quarters of the categorized articles were published by two Anglo-Saxon countries' institutions, by editorial staff homogenous to one country (Annex Table 2).

The institutional affiliation[15] of the first authors of the studies show a similar Anglo-Saxon dominance. Sixty-seven percent of the articles in the General category are first-authored or single-authored by researchers connected to research institutions in the United States and the United Kingdom (US: 54%, UK:13%). The weight of the Anglo-Saxon cultural circle, counting the Australian, New-Zealander and Irish institutions in, grows to 74%. Looking at the developed western world, it can be concluded that all of the examined studies, except the 1 Lebanese (and as a borderline case, 1 Croatian), geographically and culturally were created in a "western" scientific context. (Annex Table 3).

[15] Similarly to the case of senior editors, when a person indicated more than one institutional affiliation, all institutional affiliation in different countries were included in the count.

So, the introduced thematical analysis can introduce the thematical patterns, topic distributions, and research preferences present with a good approximation only in contemporary western social research.

Annex

Table 1: Types of articles published on religious topics per national distribution of journal publishers (based on Table 3 of Tóth 2015a)

Publisher and Country	**Number of Journals**	**Number of articles on religious topics**	**Articles on general (not religion-specific) religious topics**
Wiley, U.S.	10	29	8
SAGE, U.S.	11	28	10
other university/society publishers, U.S.	5	8	5
Taylor & Francis Group, U.K.	4	7	2
Oxford University Press, U.K.	4	30	12
other university/society publishers, U.K.	2	0	0
Elsevier, The Netherlands	7	47	23
Springer, Germany	3	11	6
Total	**46**	**160**	**66**

Table 2: Articles on religious topics in journals with homogenous and heterogenous main editorial team (based on Table 5 of Tóth 2015a)

	Homogenous (U.S.)	Homogenous (U.K.)	Homogenous (Other)	Heterogenous
No. of editorial teams	17	7	4[16]	3[17]
Articles on general (not religion-specific) religious topics	43	6	14	3

[16] Canada (2), The Netherlands (1), Norway (1).
[17] U.S.-U.K. (1), U.S.-Brazil (1) and Sweden-U.S.-Canada (1).

Table 3: Distribution of authors based on their institutional affiliation; per types of articles on religious topics (based on Table 6 of Tóth 2015a)

	U.S.	U.K.	Other	Total
Articles on general (not religion-specific) religious topics	37	9	23[18]	69

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Why does Retraction Watch continue to offer support to Jeffrey Beall, and legitimize his post-mortem "predatory" lists?

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Abstract: Retraction Watch is a science watchdog that may give the impression of being both an anti-bad science and an anti-science blog. This blog has tried to legitimize its ethical stance by naming its parent organization The Center for Science Integrity Inc. (CSI), and by appointing a former Chair of the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Elizabeth Wager, to the CSI board of directors. Jeffrey Beall, another science watchdog, often appears in public alongside Adam Marcus and Ivan Oransky, the CSI secretary and president, respectively, and participates in events with Wager. Beall became academically redundant on January 15, 2017. This is because his blog, which hosted a faulty, controversial and misleading list (and thus potentially libelous) of "predatory" open access journals and publishers, suddenly went blank. Beall offered no apology or explanation to the public, but was offered intellectual asylum and protection by the University of Colorado, Denver, where he works as a librarian. After a grace period of almost two months, members of the global academic community have now largely lost respect for Beall because of his silence, which may be equated with irresponsibility and/or cowardice. Despite this near extinct academic status, Retraction Watch continues to laud Beall, refer to his now-defunct site and lists as valid, as many as 25 times, and even rely on the Beall blog and lists to support several of their journalistic claims. In the world of science publishing, the legitimization of a "fact" using a defunct or false (i.e., non-factual) source, is equivalent to publishing misconduct, and feeds into the "false facts" and "alternative truths" epidemic in journalism that Retraction Watch is now impregnating into science publishing. Why then is Retraction Watch allowed to operate under an ethically superior platform, while expecting scientists and academics to respect basic rules of citing valid references, but while practicing suspect or unethical citation practices? This attitude undermines the ethical publishing foundation of the CSI, the CSI directors, and Retraction Watch as a reliable "journalistic" source of information, undermining trust and respect in this blog, while emphasizing its biased nature.

Keywords: Center for Science Integrity Inc.; COPE; ethical boundaries; "predatory" journals

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Conflict of Interest: The author is not associated with any academic institute, blog or web-site. The author was profiled multiple times, often with issues unrelated to retractions, by Retraction Watch. The author has always recognized that the need for a blog like Beall's, is necessary to raise awareness, but that Beall's lists have always been deeply flawed.

Dear *KOME* editors,

Using factually incorrect, outdated, inaccurate or non-existent sources of information is unethical in science and biomedical publishing, because the use of such sources corrupts the literature. The literature is corrupted because the source of information may be unreliable or factually dubious, and because such unreliable sources of information can mislead academics and the public, thus posing a real threat to the integrity of information sharing. A tainted message, or a message that is based on false, inaccurate or invalid citations cannot be relied upon as being fact. Using retracted papers, for example, to support a statement in a scientific paper, is – in addition to being academically invalid (Teixeira da Silva and Bornemann-Cimenti 2017; Teixeira da Silva and Dobránszki, 2017) – a violation of basic ethical publishing principles, because if done knowingly, and willfully, then it indicates that the user of such invalid and corrupt sources may be acting unethically. The counter-argument to this idea is what constitutes a valid, or verified, source of information, and who is in a credible position to verify that a source of information is valid? In science publishing, the responsible selection of a source of information lies in the hands of the authors, while the responsible screening of an author's choice lies in the hands of editors. Thus, a published paper represents a collective act of responsible citation use and selection, under a broad umbrella protected by editorial independence. In science journalism, a similar principle applies: if a source of information no longer exists formally, has been retracted, or removed, then referring to it not only distorts the factual basis of that information, it poses a threat to the integrity of journalism, by misleading society and academia. For example, the decision by the DOAJ to delist about 3300 journals in 2016[1] in essence invalidated their scholarly status.

That is why readers of this letter will be surprised to learn that the infamous lists of "predatory" open access (POA) publishers and journals that was maintained by a University of Colorado, Denver librarian, Jeffrey Beall, continue to be cited and referred to by Retraction Watch, a science watchdog blog, as if they are actual, valid, and legitimate. So, why are these lists invalid and factually false? The reason, as I interpret it, is two-fold. Firstly, many of the entries on the Beall lists were in fact not POA publishers and journals, they were simply new and perhaps academically imperfect publishers that had faults or naïve publishing practices, no doubt, but were not in any way predatory, abusive, or unethical. Those POA lists were also invalid because Beall never indicated clearly the precise criteria for ***each*** POA publisher and journal, leading them to be listed and profiled by Beall. Beall failed to be open, transparent or accountable for the flawed nature of those lists. The second reason is because, very suddenly and unexpectedly, the Beall blog went blank on January 15, 2017. Without any public explanation, or apology, Beall shut down (or blanked out) his blog, and the POA lists disappeared. So, why should Beall, who ran a private blog, be expected to offer a public explanation, or apology? There are several reasons. Firstly, even though Beall's blog was private, Beall was a highly public individual, therefore his actions are accountable to the public. Secondly, Beall's actions, mainly through his lists, his blog's message and his presence in public meetings around the world, directly affected global academia, both positively – through awareness – and negatively, through the spreading of the potentially libelous and derogatory POA journal/publisher lists. Thirdly, those lists were used formally by journalists, research institutes and academics for formal purposes, either as policies for inclusion / exclusion criteria in journals, citation lists, academic grants, and other purposes that directly affected public funding, so if flawed criteria (Beall's lists) were being used for determining public funding, for research or publishing purposes, for example, then Beall must be held accountable for the public dissemination of those lists. Notwithstanding, the

[1] https://doajournals.wordpress.com/2016/05/09/doaj-to-remove-approximately-3300-journals/

parties that used Beall's lists and blog to validate formal public, or private, academic or educational parameters of any sort, need also now be held accountable, given that the Beall blog, including his lists, are non-existent, and thus permanently invalid.

Even if these lists and blog posts were archived on the internet archive, the moment that Beall unilaterally shut down his blog, he lost considerable respect by the global academic community for this act, which may be interpreted as an act of cowardice. Even if Beall had valid motives, he should have explained these to the public, openly and frankly, even anonymizing the reason, for example, if there were legal threats. However, silence, lack of transparency and failure to offer any explanation are not only acts of cowardice, they are acts of unethical and irresponsible reckless behavior, at least in the eyes of academics, for whom those lists were apparently created. Therefore, Beall is a public figure[2], and must be held accountable until he offers a formal and detailed explanation for the scholarlyoa.com shutdown (Teixeira da Silva 2017a). Most importantly, his blog and lists must never again be used as a legitimate source of information, because they are not.

Retraction Watch, particularly the secretary and president of its parent company, The Center for Science Integrity Inc. (CSI), Adam Marcus and Ivan Oransky, respectively, share a rich history of friendship and interaction with Beall, primarily at events that focus on science integrity, ethics and other topics of core interest to (biomedical and science) publishing. The first major public amalgamation of common interests, as a powerful display of the power and prowess of the science watchdog movement, took place in the first quarter of 2016, where Oransky, Beall, Brandon Stell, the President of the PubPeer Foundation that runs PubPeer, an academic whistle-blower website, and the former Chair of the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Elizabeth Wager, among others, cuddled together to offer their influence and interpretations on the gaming of metrics, and ethics, within biomedical science and publishing (Teixeira da Silva 2016a). Unknown to most academics, Wager is one of the directors of the CSI[3], and ethically speaking, this is important because Wager continues to actively support and promote COPE, as an alumnus[4]. So the actions of Retraction Watch are under the directorship of Wager, in her capacity as a director, confidante and advisor, and thus any misconduct or ethically or morally suspect behavior by Retraction Watch also reflects poorly on Wager and COPE, who must share, through their direct association, in the responsibilities of unethical or opaque actions by Retraction Watch, as equally as they draw credit for standing alongside and supporting Retraction Watch and its awareness campaign. This is because, like co-authorship in a manuscript, credit and responsibility have two sides of any ethics coin.

To summarize the above: a powerful "ethical" axis developed between Retraction Watch's Oransky, COPE's Wager, Beall, and others. Beall's lists were invalid even before his blog shut down, but are now a *de facto* unreliable and invalid source of information, not unlike a retracted paper. That is why the academic community is surprised to know that Retraction Watch continues to cite the Beall blog and lists as if they are valid sources of information, to either support the CSI anti-science rhetoric, or to fortify its occasionally journalistically flawed stories.

The author has determined, to the best of his ability, and as accurately as possible, that Retraction Watch has referred to the now-defunct Beall lists, 14 times, while six approved reader comments rely on those factually invalid lists, and five mentions appear in Weekend Reads linking to papers that cite Beall's lists or that rely on those lists as the basis for their analyses. These values do not include reader comments on the initial Retraction Watch blog

[2] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeffrey_Beall
[3] http://retractionwatch.com/the-center-for-scientific-integrity/board-of-directors/
[4] http://publicationethics.org/about/cope-alumni

post on January 17, 2017[5], that exposed the news of Beall's blog shut down, because that blog post is a valid information source. It is evident that Retraction Watch should retract such factually invalid statements, and sources of information, including reader comments, because they rely on a source that no longer exists, or add an editorial note that such information should be viewed with caution, but will it? Curiously, a CODESRIA-linked reader on a May 9, 2017 Retraction Watch post was able to pass Retraction Watch moderation to question the premise of "predatory" journals[6] and the basis of the use of Beall's lists in a recent study (Pyne 2017).

In other words, when scientists use invalid citations or sources of information that are factually invalid, they are, on occasion, forced to retract such publications. This is a fundamental ethical principle supported by the Retraction Watch leadership, including CSI directors, so why should Retraction Watch not be held to the same ethical publishing principles, and what makes it so ethically superior to merit an exception to this rule? Part of the problem is that Retraction Watch serves as the author and the editor of its blogs, and there is no independent, external moderation, ethical or otherwise, of its blog publishing activities. In other words, Retraction Watch engages in a form of self-"peer" review. Any one of these five categories (see 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5) apply (to some degree but in a different context, of course) to the use of factually invalid sources of information, which Retraction Watch uses to profile "ethically" infringing, i.e., supposedly unethical, academics.

Imagine that an author is purposefully using a retracted paper again and again, because it suits their message or rhetoric, or simply because it seems to be the most suited source to support a fact in a paper. Such an action by authors, if submitting to a biomedical journal, would constitute an unethical action, if detected, even more so when done consciously, and deliberately. In such a situation, especially if the author repeats such unethical and non-academic behavior, with blatant repeated disrespect for basic publishing ethics principles, such an author may even be banned from a journal. Imagine now an editor who is on the receiving side of an author's paper that continues to cite invalid and non-existent sources of information, portraying them falsely as being relevant, and actively true at the time of submission. Clearly, such editors, especially of COPE member journals and publishers, would immediately call out such an author, initially very diplomatically to indicate that they should not use such flawed, outdated or invalid sources of information, but eventually with a stronger response if the author continues to repeatedly violate editorial requests. In this case, and analogous to this situation in publishing, Retraction Watch has violated publishing ethics by using invalid and, at the time of publication of their blog posts, non-existent, sources of information, i.e., from Beall lists and a blog that simply do not exist, at least since January 15, 2017 until May 13, 2017.

Why then, is Oransky and his journalistic pool of editors and reporters offered ethical exclusivity and exceptionalism? Why has Wager, of supposed ethical "purity" or purported ethical superiority, not advised the Retraction Watch team to stop citing and using the flawed and now non-existent Beall lists to support its journalism? Why has the Laura and John Arnold Foundation (LJAF)[7], or The Leona M. and Harry B. Helmsley Charitable Trust[8], which dedicate millions of US$ in grants to "ethics" groups and research integrity projects, including the CSI, not advised the CSI about such questionable citation practices? What does the lack of clear ethical and responsible leadership tell us about the integrity of Retraction Watch and its leaders, allies, and sponsors? There is no formal entity that watches over the

[5] http://retractionwatch.com/2017/01/17/bealls-list-potential-predatory-publishers-go-dark/
[6] http://retractionwatch.com/2017/05/09/faculty-publish-predatory-journals-school-become-complicit/#comment-1319833
[7] http://www.arnoldfoundation.org/grants/
[8] http://retractionwatch.com/2017/04/06/thank-helmsley-charitable-trust-325000-grant-renewal-will-help-us-build-sustainable-future/

actions of Retraction Watch, i.e., there is no watchdog that watches over the science watchdogs, in this case Retraction Watch, Beall and Wager (Teixeira da Silva 2016a). Consequently, Retraction Watch and its "ethically" powerful allies establish their own ethical publishing rules, apply them as they see fit, violating them, as in this case, and then expect scientists and academics that they profile from a moral higher ground, to respect publishing ethics, including only the use of valid (i.e., unretracted and editorially validated) literature. This form of ethical exceptionalism, and moral superior arrogance, combined with clear cronyism in an unhealthy and ethically suspect relationship between Oransky, Marcus, Beall, Wager, and others is now beginning to pose a serious threat to the integrity of Retraction Watch and its purported mission. It is, as I see it, dangerous for academics to rely on Retraction Watch as a source of accurate and unbiased science journalistic reporting, and its leadership should not be blindly trusted, especially because there is such a large financial conflict of interest, and lack of transparency about those finances (Teixeira da Silva 2016b). There are already reported / published instances of suspect activities by Retraction Watch, including poor journalistic standards, such as manipulated editing (Teixeira da Silva 2016c), apparent lack of interest in retractions (Teixeira da Silva 2016d), undeclared facts about the professional background of Oransky (Teixeira da Silva 2017b), use of slang and profanity (Teixeira da Silva 2017c), and, as fortified here, double ethical standards.

Retraction Watch must stop using the Beall lists as if they are valid, to support any facts in their blog posts. Moreover, they should stop referring to Beall as an ethically valid entity, when he is clearly not, cowering away from the public in an act of opaque cowardice. Beall's shut down of his blog, for whatever private reason he may have, has caused as-yet unquantified irreparable damage to an unknown number of academics around the globe, over and above the damage caused when it was still in existence. Beall is a public figure, his blog and lists were used widely by the public to support "facts", and thus Beall must be held responsible, even for his post-mortem blog. The same principle applies to Retraction Watch, the CSI directors, and CSI sponsors and allies.

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