

## **Internationalization Through Americanization: The Expansion of the International Communication Association's Leadership to the World**

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Based on Bourdieu's concepts of sociology, this article explores the International Communication Association's internationalization effort involving recruiting non-U.S. scholars into top positions. Therefore, it examines both the habitus and the capital of the 26 communication researchers from outside the United States who have been distinguished as ICA presidents and fellows. The study contributes to the discipline's reflexivity and shows that despite the expansion of ICA's leadership, the field's power pole is still a U.S.-centered enterprise. Today, ICA's international leadership is located in world regions closely linked to the United States and educated at U.S. universities or heavily influenced by North American research traditions, even if it includes a numerous contributions from other associations and alternative approaches. Consequently, this internationalization hardly changed ICA but instead changed the world's communication field. At least up to a certain extent, new perspectives are perceived at the discipline's power pole. However, in return, national academic environments in U.S.-affiliated countries became Americanized, especially via ICA fellows serving as role models to get scientific capital. Thus, ICA's efforts to expand its leadership are assumed to have an unintended effect of conserving the power structures in the field.

*Keywords: internationalization, International Communication Association, Bourdieu*

### **Introduction**

Based on Bourdieu's concepts of sociology, this article problematizes the International Communication Association's (ICA) recent tendencies to go international given the disappearance of ideological borders and the rise of global communication and mobility worldwide. More precisely, exploring the association's recruitment of non-U.S. scholars into top positions to face the transnational exchange of people and ideas reveals that what appears on the surface to have been a genuine outreach program to transform ICA into a truly international organization hardly changed the power structures in the field. Instead, it unconsciously spread a U.S. paradigm of communication research.

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Date submitted: 2015-08-07

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Put otherwise, the main argument of this article is about incorporation. Therefore, it focuses on biography patterns, career paths, and understanding the academic work of those 26 communication scholars working outside the United States who were selected as ICA presidents and fellows—an approach that made it necessary to draw on a qualitative research design. The study's major sources (publications, biographical interviews, information from Web pages) were examined with a document analysis based on Bourdieu's analytical tools of habitus and capital. This framework points out that despite good-faith internationalization efforts, ICA's leadership is still a U.S.-centered enterprise and the communication field is largely shaped by North American research traditions to this day.

ICA was officially created in 1950 as the National Society for the Study of Communication (NSSC) when a few U.S. scholars from the Speech Association of America (SSA) broadened the concept of communication for the needs of human relations at all levels (Weaver, 1977). At this early stage, the discipline was poorly developed throughout the world (Abbott, 2002; Simonson & Peters, 2008; Vroons, 2005; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004), and in most countries of Asia and the Global South, it barely existed (Ishikawa, 1998; Melo, 1988; Tomaselli & Teer-Tomaselli, 2007). In the United States, major research roots focused on practical skills that were not appropriate to upgrade communication's position in the larger academic field. Additionally, the discipline was above all a product of political and economic influences (Delia, 1987; Glander, 2000; Pooley, 2008; Simpson, 1994). In 1967, NSSC formally left SSA, and two years later, it gave itself the name International Communication Association according to the "recognition that communication is not a national or culture-specific phenomenon" (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 1704). At this time, it wasn't obvious that ICA would become the international field's power pole. Although the association counted 150 members from 27 nations (Weaver, 1977), it was mainly based in Midwestern U.S. universities. However, from that point, despite some pushback against international communication, ICA's triumphal procession started. First, this development went along with a clear focus on academic reputation and the shift from training offerings to academic approaches (Knapp, 2012), which included, as one example, the relaunch of the *Journal of Communication* headed by George Gerbner in 1974, which soon became the field's flagship. Second, the rise of an international association born in the United States was favored by the growth of communication, which began all over the Western world at this time with the U.S. research tradition serving as a role model, even if debates about the New World Information and Communication Order had an influence. To sum up, although the height of behavioral science approaches wasn't long-lasting and critical eclecticism was even discussed within the *Journal of Communication*, the discipline's increasing recognition (Craig, 2008) was mapped along the lines set by the natural sciences. Its transformation into an empirical social science (Mansell, 2007), which at the beginning was especially linked to David Berlo at Michigan State University, captured the interest of the media industry, which became engaged in market research (Rogers, 1997). Another factor of both the field's growth and the dominance of U.S. approaches was the differentiation of media systems, triggering the need for application knowledge, well-trained students, and a public debate on commercial media products (Meyen, 2015).

Of course, the consolidation of communication had an impact on ICA, which redefined itself to become a "more substantial association" (McLeod, 2012, p. 1743). This included the creation of more divisions reflecting "the complexity of the world" (*ICA History*, n.d., para. 9), an expansion of the association's publishing program, and several debates about what it means to be international. Although

this latter point was one of ICA's key issues following its renaming in 1969, it took more than two decades until initiatives faced the challenge of an academic field increasingly shaped by cross-border communication and mobility worldwide. The most significant innovations recommended by the global connections committee in the mid-1990s were the representation of non-U.S. scholars on ICA's board of directors, committees, and editorial boards; the installation of ICA's central office in Washington, DC, facilitating the management of a growing association (in 2004, ICA counted 4,000 members from 76 countries); the restructuring of the membership to take into account the differing resources of international scholars; and the launch of the journal *Communication, Culture, and Critique*, designed as an international forum for communication issues beyond Anglo-American research traditions. In addition, ICA recently created internationalization liaison officers. In this context, it also established an ad-hoc committee on internationalization whose report, "Reinvigorating the 'I' in ICA" in spring 2013 was targeted at recruiting specifically non-North American members from marginalized world regions and proposed thinking more inclusively about communication. To sum up, ICA's efforts to become a more substantial association seem to be working. As Section 1 shows, it's now the world's leading scholarly organization in communication. Furthermore, at first glance, it successfully tackled the objective to change "from a U.S. based organization that happened to have international members, to a truly international organization that happened to be based in the US" (*ICA history*, n.d., para. 14).

Obviously, the evolution of an academic discipline is a product of cognitive and social parameters (Löblich & Scheu, 2011). At the same time, international scholarly institutions such as associations and conferences shape "the transnational flow of people and ideas in decisive ways" (Heilbron, Guilhot, & Jeanpierre, 2008, p. 148). Therefore, it's important to have a closer look at ICA's expansion to the world. Today, being "truly international" is essential according to the ICA president's welcome (Jordan, 2015, para. 2). Moreover, according to the ICA mission statement (n.d., para. 1), the organization's principal aim is to achieve "excellence in academic research worldwide" and so, it claims to promote "inclusiveness and debate among scholars from diverse national and cultural backgrounds" (n.d., para. 1). Indeed, ICA members currently come from 85 countries, and even though 59% are still from the United States and only 3% from Africa and Oceania, the association's proportion of international membership more than doubled in the last 15 years. Additionally, ICA's conference venues reflect its international look. Aside from Berlin (1977) and Acapulco (1980), all major meetings took place in North America until 1989, but then they began to rotate more and more frequently to locations beyond the continent. It's impressive that ICA's international image can also be detected at the organization's highest levels of power. Since 2003, almost half the board of directors was from countries other than the United States and, even more important, the number of international ICA presidents and fellows increased considerably. Regarding ICA fellows, until 2006, only seven non-U.S. researchers received the association's major recognition of distinguished scholarly contributions. Today, ICA counts 23 (six more between 2007 and 2010, and 10 more in the last five years). The same is true for ICA's presidency. Beginning in 1989, altogether nine scholars from outside the U.S. have been elected ICA president. Thus, it seems that even ICA dignitaries have become more diverse in terms of theoretical traditions, methodological approaches, and scholarly influences. However, just looking at the two candidates standing for presidential election in autumn 2014 leaves space for speculation. Although the members had the choice between two Asians (Peng Hwa Ang from Singapore and Paul S. N. Lee from Hong Kong), both were educated at Midwestern U.S. universities

(Michigan State, University of Michigan), which, at least regarding the aspect of leadership, puts into question the successful accomplishment of ICA's attempt to become truly international.

The central issue of this article is to critically scrutinize the effect of ICA's internationalization efforts through recruiting non-U.S. scholars into top positions. Hence, it's not targeted at describing episodic or continuous change within an academic organization (Weick & Quinn, 1999). It rather seeks to problematize the impact of mechanisms at the field's power pole on field hierarchies, and focuses, as Bourdieu (2004) would say, on the mutual assimilation of subjective structures (*habitus* and *capital*) to objective structures (field positions) in communication as an academic discipline. To put it differently, examining the expansion of ICA's leadership is not limited to telling *what* happened and *how* it happened (Weaver, 1973) that ICA went international. Instead, it's mainly oriented to the logic behind this internationalization (*why*) and delivers a nonintentional explanation for the discipline being largely shaped by a U.S. research paradigm to this very day. Therefore, the article should not be linked only to studies on past and recent developments of organizations in the field (Meyen, 2014; Nordenstreng, 2008; Tomaselli & Teer-Tomaselli, 2007; Weaver, 1977). It also contributes to reveal the identity of communication (Donsbach, 2006; Hardt, 2008; Pooley & Park, 2013) through globalizing tendencies (Kavoori, 2009; Leung, Kenny, & Lee, 2006; Mansell, 2007) and is aimed at strengthening the discipline's reflexivity (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2000). More precisely, referring to Bourdieu, the study explores ICA's unconscious strategy in the struggle for authority to define what communication is all about and argues that, without intentional calculation, ICA's leadership going international ironically produced a power conservation effect and, at least until now, Americanized the field.

To make this argument comprehensible, as the article's title suggests, Section 1 focuses on Bourdieu's understanding of academic fields and adapts his ideas (in particular regarding the dynamics of capital and field power) to the communication field. Section 2 then presents the study's research design and describes the method and sources. The results (Section 3) are organized into four theses. They demonstrate, first, that ICA's international leadership is located in world regions strongly tied to the United States. Second, almost all ICA presidents and fellows working outside the United States have been educated at U.S. universities or heavily influenced by North American research traditions, even if the non-U.S. environment had an impact on ICA by allowing new perspectives to grow within the association. This might be, third, also because ICA's leadership expansion includes contributions from other associations and alternative approaches. Fourth, however, internationalization hardly changed ICA but rather changed the national academic fields of countries closely connected with the United States, especially via ICA fellows serving as role models for accumulating scientific capital.

### **The Logic of Academic Fields and Communication's Power Pole**

The reference to Bourdieu's understanding of academic fields comes with the assumption that using a theoretical framework is essential to guarantee systematic research findings (Pooley, 2008). The French sociologist himself worked on the rules of academia, focusing particularly on its reflexivity (Bourdieu, 1975, 1988, 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Park, 2014). His sociology of science approach, which has been broadly adopted by historians of the communication discipline to detect past and present currents in the field (Löblich & Scheu, 2011; Meyen, 2012b; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2000; Wendelin

& Meyen, 2009; Wiedemann, Meyen, & Löblich 2012), starts from the idea of a circular relationship between individual dispositions and social structures that lies behind the logic of every academic practice. According to Bourdieu (2004), an academic field is a social microcosm with hierarchies and constraints, "organized around the principal opposition" (p. 35) between dominant and dominated agents. Within this scheme, the positions of academic field agents are determined by their habitus, their capital, and the logic of their specific academic field. Respectively, the question of whether they are powerful is up to their reputation, a certain kind of symbolic resource that can only be granted by other agents in the field, who are competing for scientific capital as well. Thereby, following Bourdieu, the power pole in every field serves as a role model, since it promotes the currently gainful habitus and the potential capital to get a successful position. More concretely, it defines which questions, theories, and methods are regarded as legitimate (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), or which research area, which network, and which journal articles prove useful for those wishing to advance professionally (Bourdieu, 2004). In other words, the dynamics of different power relations in the field frame individual scholars' habitus and academic practice, in particular regarding their method of seeking recognition.

Adapting this idea to communication, there is no doubt that ICA is the field's most important point of reference. Although communication research is "heterogeneous" in the "organizational and curricular models it has produced for itself" (Calhoun, 2011, p. 1481) and the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) still claims to be "the preeminent worldwide professional organization in the field" (Wasko, 2014, para. 1), current figures indicate that ICA won the competition. First, ICA publishes five major academic journals at the moment and IAMCR none at all, at least at the association level. Second, ICA membership increased up to 4,500 in 2014, whereas IAMCR only counts 1,500 members. Third, between 2011 and 2015, ICA had five conferences with more than 2,000 delegates in a row (Boston, MA, 2011: 2,507; Phoenix, AZ, 2012: 2,166; London, UK, 2013: 2,827; Seattle, WA, 2014: 2,727; San Juan, PR, 2015: 2,726), but IAMCR had only two conferences with more than 1,000 participants in the same period (in Dublin, 2013, and in Montreal, 2015). Of course, communication researchers are divided between social sciences and humanities all over the world and highly diverse in methods, theories, and objects of study (Averbeck, 2008; Calhoun 2011; Craig, 2008). However, taking into account both ICA's origin and the impact of the North American research tradition, it's not surprising that the field's power pole is strongly linked to the U.S. discipline, which is concentrated, with the exception of the two Annenberg Schools, at the large public research universities. More precisely, the habitus of the communication department at Michigan State University, one of the discipline's seed institutions (Rogers, 2001), is still characteristic of many of the field's dominant agents. Parts of this habitus (represented by, among others, Charles Berger, Joseph Cappella, Robert Craig, Peter Monge, Byron Reeves, Michael Roloff, and David Seibold, who all got their PhDs at Michigan State) are often a nonacademic and religious family background triggering a certain work ethic combined with public responsibility, an affinity for the area of media effects and psychological approaches, a strong emphasis on quantitative research including statistical methods and sophisticated data analysis, the notion that communication is an academic underdog, the feeling that the resultant methodological orientation is superior to any other approaches, and a high degree of male bonding (Meyen, 2012b). Of course, one cannot deny that the U.S. field was and is more diverse in terms of academic orientation, which also includes, to mention just one example, critical approaches such as culturalism. However, even though the Michigan State habitus is not a stand-in for the field's elite, there are good reasons for considering it as

one of the discipline's elements of core identity and using it in the following discussion as a device to describe the major intellectual assumptions of ICA's leadership.

Still following Bourdieu (1975), academic fields are also "the locus of a competitive struggle in which the specific issue at stake is the monopoly of scientific authority" (p. 19). In other words, although the field's power pole has the authority to define what good science is, it's "also a party to the dispute" (Bourdieu, 1975, p. 25). Of course, in this struggle, which Bourdieu compares to a game, the unconscious strategy of academic agents corresponds to their field positions. To put it differently, those scholars who belong to the field's power pole are bounded to conserve the structures of the field; this is because they determine the conditions to participate in the game according to the field logic (Bourdieu, 2004), which has become part of their habitus and guides their evaluation of criteria for academic practice. This mechanism becomes obvious when the rules of the game are questioned. This can be the case due to the alternation of generations. But it also might be relevant in light of the transnational exchange of people and ideas resulting from the dissolution of ideological borders and the rise of global communication and mobility worldwide, which makes it necessary for an academic association such as the ICA to appoint non-U.S. scholars to top positions and face, among other challenges, the pressure to de-Westernize the communication field (Curran & Park, 2000; Thussu, 2009). However, just looking at the process ICA decision makers follow when they select a president or a fellow makes it conceivable that even true efforts to open up the centers of academic power may have the effect of strengthening field hierarchies. More precisely, only scholars who are long-term ICA members, have served the association, and bring in a "strong" academic record are eligible for presidency or fellowship. In this spirit, and without imperialistic conspiracy, given the interplay of individual scholars' capital seeking and the power pole's habitual practice of drawing on well-known people with provable credentials according to the existing logic of reputation, the expansion of ICA's leadership is likely to transfer the U.S. field's power structures to the world.

### Research Design

To get a deeper insight into ICA's internationalization efforts involving recruiting non-U.S. researchers into top positions, this article focuses on those scholars working outside the United States who were selected as ICA presidents and fellows. Beginning with Jay Blumler in 1989, ICA members elected nine international researchers to become president, which includes being part of the association's board of directors and executive committee (Table 1).

**Table 1. Non-U.S. ICA Presidents (chronological order).**

Jay Blumler (1989–90), Akiba Cohen (1993–94), Cindy Gallois (2001–2), Wolfgang Donsbach (2004–5), Sonia Livingstone (2007–8), François Cooren (2010–11), François Heinderyckx (2013–14), Peter Vorderer (2014–15), Peng Hwa Ang (2016–17)
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Furthermore, at this point, 23 out of 108 scholars who received ICA fellow status are from outside the United States (among them six former ICA presidents; see Table 2). It's important to mention that this major "recognition of distinguished scholarly contributions to the broad field of communication"

and of "service to the International Communication Association" (*ICA Fellows*, n.d., para. 1), which was established in 1979, is exclusively granted by scholars who are already ICA fellows.

**Table 2. Non-U.S. ICA Fellows (alphabetical order).**

Janet Bavelas (since 1980), Jay Blumler (1991), Joseph M. Chan (2014), Akiba Cohen (1997), François Cooren (2015), James Curran (2013), Wolfgang Donsbach (2010), Kirsten Drotner (2014), Cindy Gallois (2007), Cees Hamelink (2013), John Hartley (2012), Youichi Ito (2009), Elihu Katz (1991), Hans Mathias Kepplinger (2015), Hak-Soo Kim (2015), Dafna Lemish (2010), Sonia Livingstone (2008), Karl Erik Rosengren (1989), Winfried Schulz (2014), James Taylor (1989), Patti Valkenburg (2008), Joseph B. Walther (2013), Osmo Wiio (1982)
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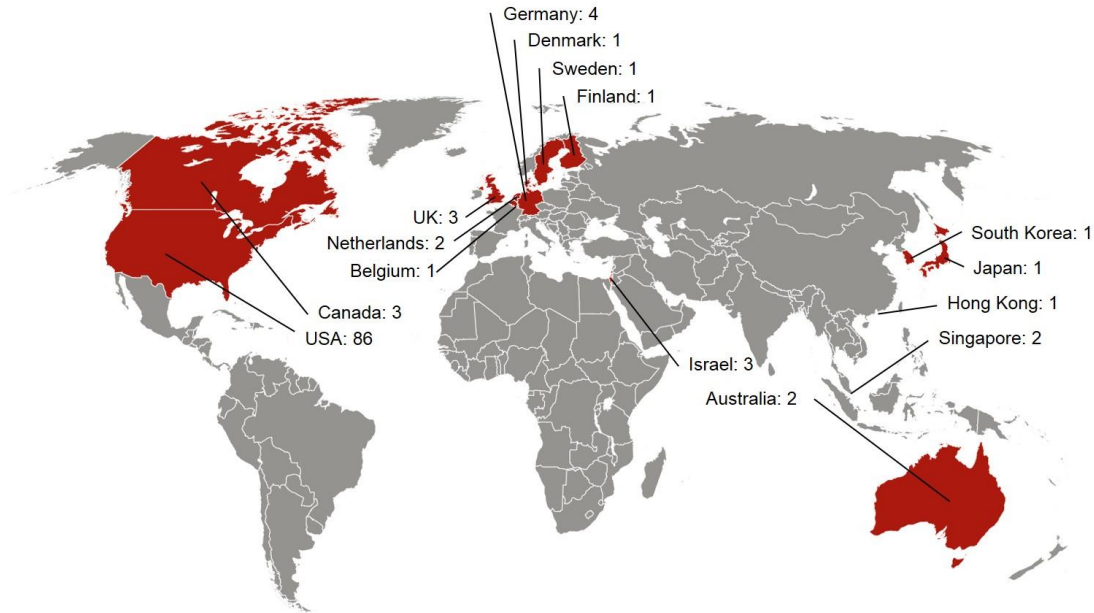
According to the theoretical perspective, exploring both habitus and capital of these 26 non-U.S. ICA presidents and fellows aims to reveal which type of researchers the field's power pole considers socially appropriate "to speak and act legitimately" (Bourdieu, 1975, p. 19) in communication matters at the international level. What should an international communication researcher look like to be distinguished by ICA? Which habitus and capital benefit from the association's internationalization? More concretely, where do international ICA leaders come from, how did they get into academia, and from whom did they learn to do good science? Which role perceptions do they have and what are the principles guiding their work that match the field's structures? What skills do they bring in and which expertise, contacts, resources, and prestige are conducive to get access to the field's power pole?

Examining the 26 international ICA presidents' and fellows' biography patterns, career paths, and understanding of academic work suggested a qualitative research procedure. First, the study drew on the publications of those non-U.S. communication scholars. Second, it reviewed 12 biographical interviews with members of the sample that were held in 2011 (Meyen, 2012a). Third, to fill in the remaining gaps and to balance current statements, it referred to information from personal Web pages. All these sources were examined with a document analysis based on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital.

## Results

This section will show, with the support of a chain of arguments organized into four theses, how ICA's leadership expanded to the world and how this process hardly changed ICA but rather changed the international communication field. The word limit for this article only allows for the inclusion of limited source evidence to support the successive stages of the argument.

Thesis 1: ICA's leadership is located in world regions that are strongly tied to the United States. There is very little leadership in Latin America, Africa, the Arab world, large parts of Asia, and eastern and southern Europe.



**Figure 1. ICA's Leadership Map (fellows and former or future presidents).**

Looking at ICA's leadership map (Figure 1), this first result is obvious. ICA presidents and fellows work or worked in 15 countries only. Here, the United States' position is even stronger than in membership. Almost 80% (86 out of 112 in total) of the association's most distinguished scholars teach or taught at U.S. universities. The other 14 countries include close U.S. allies exclusively. In addition, Israel, the UK, Australia, Canada, Germany, Scandinavia, and the Benelux countries have an affinity for English. It's easy to see the link to ICA's conference venues outside North America (Table 3).

**Table 3. International ICA Conference Venues.**

1990: Dublin, Ireland; 1994: Sydney, Australia; 1998: Jerusalem, Israel; 2002: Seoul, Korea; 2006: Dresden, Germany; 2010: Singapore; 2013: London, UK; 2016: Fukuoka, Japan; 2018: Prague, Czech Republic
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For ICA going international means going to rich, economically strong countries. Hosting the world's leading communication scholars is entirely an issue of highly specialized knowledge and media societies. Formulated the other way round, the Michigan State habitus as a proxy for U.S.-style communication research is more likely to be developed in countries with a need for practical knowledge, application knowledge, and data (Löblich, 2007). Upon investigating the academic biographies of the 26 ICA presidents and fellows working outside the United States, their strong affinity to the field's power pole becomes even clearer.



**Table 4. ICA's Non-U.S. Leadership's U.S. Ties (alphabetical order).***Type 1: Non-U.S. presidents and fellows with U.S. degrees (12) and U.S. appointments (5)*

Peng Hwa Ang (Singapore), PhD at Michigan State

Janet Bavelas (Canada), born in Portland, OR, PhD at Stanford

Jay Blumler (UK), born in New York, BA at Antioch College

Joseph M. Chan (Hong Kong), PhD at Minnesota

Akiba Cohen (Israel), born in Detroit, PhD at Michigan State

Cindy Gallois (Australia), born in Washington, DC, PhD at Florida

Youichi Ito (Japan), MS at Boston University

Elihu Katz (Israel), born in New York, PhD at Columbia

Hak-Soo Kim (Korea), PhD at University of Washington

Dafna Lemish (Israel), PhD at Ohio State, 2010 Southern Illinois

James Taylor (Canada), PhD at University of Pennsylvania

Joseph B. Walther (Singapore), born in Santa Monica, California, PhD at Arizona, 2006 Michigan State

James Curran (UK), visiting appointments at Stanford and University of Pennsylvania

Cees Hamelink (Netherlands), visiting and guest professorships at Santa Clara, California (1990), Ohio State (1993), Hawaii (1998), and Colorado (2005)

Hans Mathias Kepplinger (Germany), 1980 research fellow at the University of California, 1981 visiting professorship at Southern Illinois University

Peter Vorderer (Germany), 1983–84 study in the United States (NYU, University of Michigan), 2004–7 joint professorship at USC

Osmo Wiio (Finland), 1979 visiting professor at Buffalo

*Type 2: Non-U.S. presidents and fellows with U.S. and ICA teachers (7)*

François Cooren (Canada, student of James Taylor)

Kirsten Drotner (Denmark)

Sonia Livingstone (UK)

Karl Erik Rosengren (Sweden)

Patti Valkenburg (Netherlands)

(Wolfgang Donsbach and Winfried Schulz, Germany)

*Type 3: Exceptions (2)*

John Hartley (Australia/UK)

François Heinderyckx (Belgium)

Thesis 2: Almost all ICA presidents and fellows working outside the United States were either educated at U.S. universities or heavily influenced by U.S.-based academic approaches. However, the non-U.S. environment is not without impact on ICA. On the one hand, brokered by distinguished colleagues, European and Asian academic traditions are suddenly perceived at the discipline's power pole. On the other hand, new perspectives such as comparative research and youth and media could grow within the association.

Regarding academic socialization, within ICA's non-U.S. leadership three types of scholars may be distinguished: professors with degrees from U.S. universities and joint or temporary appointments at U.S. universities (type 1), close disciples of professors belonging to ICA's leadership (type 2), and professors without any ties to the field's power pole (type 3). As Table 4 shows, almost two thirds of ICA presidents and fellows working outside the United States were directly in touch with U.S. universities—as students, visiting and part-time professors, or joint professors such as, for example, the German scholar Peter Vorderer from 2004 to 2007 in Los Angeles.

Six out of 26 ICA fellows and former or future presidents who could be assigned to universities outside the United States were nonetheless born in the United States. Jay Blumler, for example, who later became the discipline's founding father at Leeds University, grew up in East Harlem. From 1940 to 1943 and then again from 1946 to 1947, he was at Antioch College enjoying a classic liberal arts education including chemistry, physics, literature, and statistics. In the interim, before joining the army, he was enlisted in an intensive Russian course at Georgetown University. In an interview, Blumler (2012) named the U.S. political scientists Donald Kingsley and John Sparks as his main academic teachers. These two scholars, in combination with U.S. legislation, also helped paved his way to Europe. The GI bill that provided World War II veterans with access to universities

was not only available for education in the U.S., but anywhere else, as long as you got accepted. Both Kingsley and Sparks had spent time at the LSE [London School of Economics] with Harold Laski. Sparks encouraged me to apply, which I did. Laski became my supervisor. (Blumler, 2012, p. 1500)

Although Blumler had a joint appointment at the University of Maryland from 1983 on, he became one of the icons of the emerging European field of communication studies. The 1986 launch of the *European Journal of Communication* Blumler justified by pointing out "different emphases among European and American scholars." Looking back, he noted:

In 1980, I had a visiting professorship at Madison. I became aware of how graduate students were taught there. Although the training was impressive, I also formed the idea that much American work was just too concentrated on the bits and pieces of research, as well as being unaware of what was going on in other countries, especially in Europe. I felt if we could have a good journal, we could, in part, use it as a vehicle for creating awareness amongst Americans of European ideas and approaches. (Blumler, 2012, p. 1502)

Blumler's fellow campaigners in launching the journal were his student Denis McQuail and Karl Erik Rosengren from Sweden, another ICA fellow. The theme of the ICA conference in San Francisco that Blumler organized in 1989 was "Comparatively Speaking." As will be outlined later in more detail, comparative approaches are one major contribution of ICA leaders coming from outside the United States. Interestingly enough, Blumler's opponent in ICA elections was the political scientist Doris Graber, who failed to become the association's third female president, after Brenda Dervin (1985) and Edna Rogers (1987), in a time when gender equality had become a big issue even in ICA.

However, Blumler is clearly an exception since he left the United States at a very young age, married an English woman, and had four children born in the UK. Other ICA fellows born in America, such as Janet Bavelas and Cindy Gallois, emigrated only after receiving their doctorate. Joseph B. Walther was already a full professor at Michigan State (2006) and an ICA fellow (2013) when he joined Nanyang Technological University. The academic careers of the three Israelis among ICA's leadership are characterized by a flexible oscillation between universities in the United States and Israel. To begin with the senior of the three, Elihu Katz, born in New York in 1926, passed all his exams at Columbia University. In 1955, he became a professor at the University of Chicago. After holding two parallel responsibilities for five years, he moved to Hebrew University in 1963 (until mandatory retirement in 1993). Finally, he joined the Annenberg School at the University of Pennsylvania, first as visiting professor in 1978 and then on a regular basis in 1993. At Hebrew University, one of his students was Dafna Lemish. After finishing her MS in Jerusalem and her PhD at Ohio State University, she became a professor at Tel Aviv University (2002) and an ICA fellow (2010). Now Lemish works at Southern Illinois University. Akiba Cohen retired from Tel Aviv University. After a childhood in the United States and Germany and graduation from Hebrew University in 1966, Cohen earned his MA and PhD at Michigan State and then returned to Jerusalem in 1973.

To get in touch with the Michigan State habitus, which sums up the major intellectual assumptions within ICA, it is not necessary to study abroad directly at the source. Beyond the 17 scholars within ICA's international leadership who received degrees from U.S. universities or had an appointment there, another seven were educated by teachers who are very close to the field's ruling habitus (type 2). In Table 4, the names of the two Germans Wolfgang Donsbach and Winfried Schulz are placed in parentheses, since their teacher, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, never had any official position within ICA because of accusations that she was a Nazi (Simpson, 1994). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Noelle-Neumann was deeply influenced by the U.S. field. She had a scholarship at Missouri in the late 1930s and was a visiting professor on a regular basis at the University of Chicago between 1978 and 1991. In fact, the Mainz School founded by Noelle-Neumann and including Donsbach and Schulz and also Hans Mathias Kepplinger could be seen as the German equivalent of Michigan State. When asked about this school, Donsbach said:

The common denominator of us is first empirical thinking and having proof of what to say. One cannot just make new books out of old ones, but rather bring new evidence. The second is being bold enough to go against PC and climates of opinion. (2012, p. 1584)

Like Blumler, Donsbach (2012) named "to do comparative research" (p. 1584) as a major motivation of his academic activities abroad.

At first glance, other ICA leaders grouped together with Donsbach and Schulz in type 2, such as the French-speaking Canadian François Cooren and Sonia Livingstone, Patti Valkenburg, and Kirsten Drotner, are not just geographically far away from the Michigan State habitus. But even the three European women coming out of neighboring disciplines got ICA mentors in their early days. For example, "when I moved from Leiden to Amsterdam, I felt very lonely," said Valkenburg (2012, p. 1874), who got teaching degrees in language and health education before receiving her PhD at Leiden University in 1995.

In the Netherlands, there were no colleagues with whom I could talk about my interests. At my first ICA conference, I met Joanne Cantor. We e-mailed each other at the time at least once a week. That went on for years. . . . Joanne was my mentor right from the start. At ICA, I felt [at] home. In 1995, I was the only person from the Netherlands there. (2012, p. 1874)

Today, Valkenburg is the European "grant queen" in the communication field and has some 20 assistants working with her.

A quite similar example is Sonia Livingstone, who started out in psychology, got her doctorate at the University of Oxford in 1987, and had no contact with the United States for quite a long time. In her case, there were two early ICA fellows who served as bridges and mentors:

My PhD was examined by Jay Blumler. He said to my bemused supervisor, "I understand absolutely what she has been doing, it's brilliant, let's promote its publication." He became my mentor forever. He helped me publish in the early days, and he introduced me to people. . . . [In 1990], I went to Jerusalem. Elihu Katz has been a mentor to me ever since. . . . It was my first time in a media department. (Livingstone, 2012, pp. 1727-1728)

These two stories are remarkable for two reasons. First, being an ICA fellow and past president, Livingstone became a mentor of a new ICA fellow from outside the United States on her own. In at least two large international comparative studies on children and media involving Kirsten Drotner from Denmark, Livingstone served as principal investigator. Second, including Dafna Lemish, the achievements of these women prove the success of this topic within ICA. As late as in 2008, Children, Adolescents, and the Media (CAM) became an ICA interest group receiving division status in less than two years. The driving force of this process and first CAM chair was Patti Valkenburg, who was strongly supported by Livingstone and Lemish:

The youth and media researchers had no home. We were dispersed across many disciplines. Psychology, education, and anthropology. I wanted to create a division where we could exchange ideas and present our work. The youth and media researchers

were not taken seriously enough at ICA. We were talking about it and talking about it, but nothing happened. One person had to do it. (2012, p. 1847)

To make this very clear at this point: Although ICA undoubtedly expanded the Michigan State habitus to a handful of allied countries by exporting U.S. graduates and mentoring promising foreigners, this Americanization process nevertheless had, on the contrary, consequences for the association that go beyond faster rotation of conference venues and higher traveling costs for leadership meetings. The most obvious changes are new divisions such as CAM and also Journalism Studies, which was initiated by the German Thomas Hanitzsch in 2003, supported by the ICA fellow David Weaver. Similar to CAM, Journalism Studies got division status after only two years. Although Hanitzsch has not yet been made an ICA fellow, he became editor of the prestigious ICA journal *Communication Theory* in 2011.

Like Blumler, Donsbach, and Livingstone, with his project *Worlds of Journalism*, Hanitzsch embodies comparative research, the second major impact of ICA leaders from outside the United States. Also belonging to this research perspective are, just to mention the most important individuals, Akiba Cohen, Cees Hamelink, Youichi Ito, Elihu Katz, Karl Erik Rosengren, and Osmo Wiio. Whoever wants to do comparative research at U.S. universities needs cooperation partners abroad. It's obvious that these partners contribute with their own ideas and, therefore, influence the U.S. field. Ito, for example, who was, in the mid-1970s, just seen as a gateway to Japanese grant money, not only collaborated with colleagues from the United States, including the ICA fellows Steven Chaffee, William B. Gudykunst, Everett M. Rogers, and Karl Erik Rosengren, but also managed to introduce his concepts of information society and *kuuki* to the international scientific community (Ito, 2012). In other words, ICA's incorporation of international leaders went along with some, though limited, intellectual concessions, which up to a certain extent broadened the spectrum of mainstream U.S. communication research.

Thesis 3: The expansion of ICA's leadership to the world includes contributions from important challengers. That's true for regional associations (the European Communication Research and Education Association [ECREA], the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre [AMIC]), worldwide associations (the International Association for Media and Communication Research [IAMCR], the World Association for Public Opinion Research [WAPOR]), and alternative approaches (cultural studies, feminist research). However, looking at the numbers reveals that up to now, this has just been symbolic politics.

Although this thesis includes the two exceptions belonging to the third type of non-U.S. ICA leader (Table 4), it's not just about John Hartley and François Heinderyckx. To start with the latter: The first language of Heinderyckx is French. According to his resume and publication list, he had absolutely no ties with the United States in academic socialization, but he is one of the founders of ECREA and served as president from 2005 to 2012. When running for ICA president, his 2011 mission statement contained this unique selling proposition:

Together with a talented and dedicated team, I developed, organized, and consolidated an association now over 2,800 members strong, and involved in a range of activities including a yearly doctoral summer school, a book series, and numerous conferences and workshops. (Heinderyckx, 2011, para. 9)

With this pace of growth, the economic power of its membership countries, and cooperation possibilities at short distances, ECREA became a strong ICA competitor. This is also true in terms of theoretical and methodological orientations, since this regional association is more inclusive for southern and eastern European scholars. Becoming ICA president and, probably as soon as any of his predecessors, ICA fellow robs Heinderyckx of the aura of a European challenger to the dominant habitus within the communication field.

The case of Peng Hwa Ang (ICA president in 2016–17) is quite similar even though, strictly speaking, AMIC isn't a regional association. On the contrary, it is nation based, but thanks to Singapore's economic power, it has a very strong position in the region (Kuo & Lee, 2006). In his 2014 election campaign, Peng Hwa Ang referred to both his 10 years in charge of AMIC (2003–13) and ICA's 2010 conference in Singapore:

I actively steered AMIC towards serving as an association for media, communication and information academics, just like the ICA. AMIC's flagship event is the annual conference where some 250 to 350 delegates attend. Indeed, the 2010 ICA in Singapore was organized to overlap with the AMIC conference, thus enabling me to bring more people together. (Presidential Candidate, 2014, para. 14)

In this election, ICA members had the choice between two Asians (Peng Hwa Ang and Paul S. N. Lee), both of whom had been educated at mainstream Midwestern U.S. research universities.

Besides François Heinderyckx and Peng Hwa Ang, today there are a few other former (or even previous) foreign challengers belonging to ICA's leadership. Cees Hamelink from the Netherlands is an IAMCR icon, and not only for his presidency (1990–94). The same applies to Dafna Lemish and feminist research and to John Hartley and cultural studies. Hartley was first educated in Wales, completed his PhD at Murdoch University in Australia, and holds professorships in both countries now. Of course, WAPOR isn't that far from the habitus ruling ICA since the mid-1970s. However, it's symptomatic that Wolfgang Donsbach served there as president in the mid-1990s and was the *International Journal of Public Opinion Research's* long-term managing editor (1988–94) and editor (1999–2010).

Thesis 4: The national communication fields of countries closely connected with the United States became Americanized via ICA and its most prestigious awards. In particular, ICA fellows could serve as role models for young researchers since they demonstrate theoretical and methodological ways to get scientific capital.

Patti Valkenburg isn't the only ICA fellow who was very lonely in her early years but then became the founder and head of a national leading communication school. The same is true for some of the early international ICA fellows such as, for example, James Taylor and the Montreal School, Osmo Wiio and Helsinki, Jay Blumler and Leeds, Elihu Katz and Jerusalem, Karl Erik Rosengren and Lund, and also Youichi Ito and Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, despite the fact that she never got an official ICA award.

"When I came to Montreal, there was no communication program," said James Taylor (2012).

I built it from zero. Now, there are 20 professors. At the beginning, we weren't even a department. We were a section in psychology. So communication had to build a reputation. I'm proud of the fact that it has done so. Now, it is recognized as a world-class department. (p. 1827)

In the same interview, Taylor (2012) insisted on the fact that there was no U.S. influence on his research topic: "I had no contact to speak of with the American branch of organizational communication until about 1988. At Annenberg, they had no tradition of it. Organizational communication grew up in the Midwest and in California" (p. 1826). However, Taylor also admitted that he "didn't even know that there was any such academic field" when he was hired to direct the TV labs at Annenberg in 1966.

I had never heard of it; at the Commission, it was all sociology and political science. In fact, Annenberg had gone through a big shift about two years before I went there. Previously, the focus had been on culture, but when George Gerbner came in, he said we do science. Looking back, it now seems to be that I entered a very strange world. Social science must be disciplined, etc. Now, I think it was unbelievable. (2012, p. 1824)

Setting up the new communication department in Montreal without having finished the doctorate ("my first proposal was refused in 1970"), Taylor went back to Annenberg and finally got his PhD in 1978. In 2002, he ran for ICA president. One of his Montreal students is François Cooren, ICA fellow and past president.

The U.S. story of Osmo Wiio from Helsinki, to give one more example, dates back even further. In the 1950s, Wiio "was given a scholarship to attend the American seminar in Salzburg, Austria. One of the lecturers was Percy Tannenbaum" (2012, p. 1867). Wiio got involved into an international comparative study on readability Tannenbaum had planned during his time at the University of Wisconsin. According to Wiio, the American support would have been

advice, not money. I had texts from *Reader's Digest* and also articles from Finnish magazines. I asked 1,500 students in different schools to read them. The method was very good. We deleted every fifth word, and the reader had to guess the missing word. We then had a direct measure of how people understood the text. It turned out that I was the only one from the 10 international projects who finished the study. It became my doctoral thesis. (2012, p. 1868)

Since the professors in Finland "knew very little about this kind of research," Tannenbaum came over from the United States for Wiio's exam. "We became good friends." Later, in 1978, Wiio turned down an offer from Buffalo but "made a lot of contacts there." He published in the *ICA Yearbook* and organized the association's Berlin conference in 1977. In the biographic interview, he also spoke frankly about communication's reputation in Finland when he started there. "They taught me how to write articles. There was very little content analysis and almost no theories. Very few people were interested in research" (Wiio, 2012, pp. 1868-1869, 1871). Distinguished with the most prestigious international award

the field has to offer as early as in 1982, Wiio was able to strengthen his leading position in the national scientific community and serve as an agent of change.

### Conclusion

The preceding sections leave no need for an extensive summary. In light of the disappearance of ideological borders and the rise of global communication and mobility worldwide, ICA started efforts to change into a truly international organization. At first glance, given the rising proportions of non-U.S. membership, its conference venues, and the increasing number of international scholars recruited into top positions, ICA has become more diverse. However, having an exemplary look at the consequences of ICA's internationalization efforts and exploring both the habitus and the capital of those 26 communication researchers working outside the United States who were selected as ICA presidents and fellows reveal that, at least regarding its leadership, ICA until now was going international only on a superficial level. Like the big majority of ICA's non-U.S. members and the venues of ICA's conferences outside North America, the association's international leaders are located in world regions closely linked to the United States. Moreover, they are educated at U.S. universities or heavily influenced by U.S. research traditions, even if they include contributions from other associations and alternative approaches. Therefore, the internationalization of ICA's leadership hardly changed ICA but rather changed national academic environments, especially via international ICA fellows serving as role models to get scientific capital. In other words, since the field's power pole is still a U.S.-centered enterprise and communication apparently remains shaped by North American research traditions to this very day, ICA's efforts to expand its leadership turned out to have an unconscious effect of conserving the existing power structures in the field. Following Bourdieu, this outcome isn't surprising because ICA started going international quite recently. Given the interplay of recognition-seeking academics, the established centers of academic power, and the history of those dynamics, someone without a strong tie to ICA and, consequently, to U.S.-style communication research would simply not be a candidate for the association's presidency or fellowship. Nevertheless, there are some indicators that ICA's expansion to the world is not a one-directional process. At least up to a certain extent, non-U.S. academic traditions as well as new research perspectives reached the field's power pole and grew within the association, since they were brokered by distinguished colleagues, promoted by international fellows, and presented in ICA conferences and journals. This finding refers to a complex give-and-take relationship, which on the one hand, from a Gramscian point of view, can be interpreted as a small concession making the U.S. approach even stronger. However, on the other hand, one might also consider it as the first step toward further diversification of the association's identity in the future.

ICA's ad-hoc committee on internationalization is aware of the possible criticism toward ICA being perceived as a colonizing academic organization that tries to shape communication scholarship around the world. Therefore, its report, "Reinvigorating the 'I' in ICA," not only advised the organization to strengthen membership in still underrepresented world regions, but also asked how to open the association and encourage the circulation of different intellectual traditions. Consequently, actual debates on ICA's further internationalization are, among others, about designing new types of awards, appealing more directly to regional and national communication associations, conducting workshops and webinars about publishing in ICA journals, sensitizing editors to issues related to ethnocentric language and research topics, and



setting up the ICA online Internationalization Forum discussing the association's future image. Of course, from a Bourdieusian perspective, doubts remain whether these measures can overcome the "principal opposition" between dominant and dominated agents given the logic of reputation resulting from academic competitors' recognition and the dynamics of power relations mixing with capital seeking by individual scholars (Bourdieu, 2004). However, they are likely to have an impact on ICA's image: an association that stands for the field's power pole, but becomes more diverse in terms of national identity and, therefore, might soon no longer "Americanize" the discipline in the true meaning of the word.

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