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## So Far, Yet So Close: International Career Paths of Communication Scholars From the Global South

MARTON DEMETER<sup>1</sup>

Karoli Gaspar University of the Reformed Church, Hungary

In this research, using the Bourdieusian conceptual framework of the sociology of science, we analyzed the career paths of 426 researchers in communication studies from the Global South. We investigated how academic capital collected in the Global North contributes to the international success of Global South authors, and the alternative ways in which Global South researchers raise their visibility. We found that it is almost impossible to become an internationally recognized scientist in communication research without Global North capital, and the network of international education is quite similar to the network of international collaboration. We also found that some more successful Global South regions were able to develop relatively autonomous international fields of forces.

*Keywords:* Bourdieu, communication careers, field of forces, academic capital, habitus, norms

The notion that science is a game that scientists play by well-established rules has a long history in the sociology of science, but it was Pierre Bourdieu who made a whole conceptual universe on this assumption (Bourdieu, 1988). By participating in this game, scientists internalize the existing rules of the *field* and transform them into inner habits, or, as Bourdieu called it, *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1998, 2004). Researchers who are more successful in internalizing rules into habits gain more academic *capital*, whereas their less prosperous peers might suffer serious disadvantages. The original Bourdieusian ideas have been expansively used by later social scientists to conduct descriptions of various fields of social phenomena (Demeter, 2018c; Wacquant, 2018). Economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital were investigated in Leung's research (2013), and the same author used Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* when referring to academic mobility (Leung, 2017). In detailed analyses, Bauder (2015) investigated the types of *capital* in science research and conducted studies on other Bourdieusian concepts like *habitus* (Bauder, Hannah, & Lujan, 2017). In the current article, we present research in which we apply the concepts of habitus, field, and capital directly to the description of young researchers' career

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Marton Demeter: [demeter@komejournal.com](mailto:demeter@komejournal.com)

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paths in communication studies, and we show that Bourdieusian ideas could explain the career trajectories of emerging scholars from the Global South (GS). Throughout our analysis, we use the concepts of GS and Global North (GN) in accordance with previous research of Edmund Lauf (2005) and Marton Demeter (2018a), in which the aforementioned authors investigated academic inequalities in the field of communication and media studies. Based on the standards of development dependency theories, both researchers count North America, Australia, Western Europe, and developed Asia (Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) as parts of the Global North, and developing Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe constitute the Global South.

Our first concept to study is the *field*, which could be separated to the *field of forces*, which conserves, and the *field of struggle*, which transforms the existing system (Bourdieu, 2004). Bourdieu conducted heroic efforts to emphasize the role that the field of forces plays in academic life, and his later followers dedicated an enormous amount of research to this topic (Bauder, 2015; Bauder et al., 2017; Grenfell, 2008; Leung, 2013; Recke, 2011; Thatcher, Ingram, Burke, & Abrahams, 2016; Wacquant, 2018; Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016). According to the original Bourdieusian idea, the field is “the space of the relations of force between the different kinds of capital or, more precisely, between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding field” (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 34). The field of forces (the original *le champ* is sometimes translated as field of power, or simply force field) has the well-established institutions, which entails the ruling academic language and rhetoric (Liu et al., 2018; Oshima & Hogue, 1999), high-valued affiliations like world-class universities and research institutions (Neuman, Davidson, Joo, Park, & Williams, 2008), leading journals, main publishers, selection committee memberships, administrative positions (Asheulova & Dushina, 2014; Toth, 2017), and/or university rankings (Pietrucha, 2018).

In global science, especially in the case of communication studies, most components of the field of forces (and also most norms) originate from and still range in the GN. Many historical facts could explain the dominance of the United States, at least in the first period of the discipline’s history. The so-called received history of the field tells us that studying communication started in the U.S., and the first academic institutions had been established, without exception, in the GN (Pooley & Park, 2013). It was also in the U.S. where “communication was first institutionalized as an academic field in the decades after World War II” (Simonson et al., 2013, p. 26). It is not a surprise then, that the GN, and especially the U.S. and the UK, mostly determines the field of forces in communication research. As opposed to the field of forces, the field of struggle is the place where science revolutions originate and happen. Here we could find authors or other academic agents (laboratories, institutions, research schools) that do not want to join the mainstream or normal science, in other words, to the field of forces. This is “a socially constructed field of action in which agents endowed with different resources confront one another to conserve or transform the existing power relations” (Bourdieu, 2004, pp. 34–35). De-Westernization ambitions of communication research are typical examples of field of struggle movements (Waisbord & Mellado, 2014).

From the point of view of this current research, we must emphasize that Bourdieu's original version of the concept of field was extensively criticized by social scientists handling international patterns, because Bourdieu suffered from the so-called epistemological and empirical nationalism (Gerhards, Hans, & Carlson, 2017). Thus, current researchers extended the framework of field theory to be able to handle international issues, typically globalization. In accordance with the Wallersteinian concept of world systems (Wallerstein, 2004), researchers developed the concepts of transnational field and transnational human capital. It means that although the original Bourdieusian concept of field is not related to physical world regions (because it remains in a nation-state frame), we cannot deny that, in a global context, power relations in societal systems could be usually correlated with relations between real-life physical world regions.

Our second concept, *habitus*, is one of the main ideas of Bourdieu's field theory, and it refers to some durable and transposable dispositions or tendencies that social agents have in order to be active during social actions (Grenfell, 2008). Regarding habitus in practice, the most important empirical phenomenon in career development is the mobility of researchers because it affects other parts of the habitus, such as publication habits (Aksnes, Rorstad, Piro, & Sivertsen, 2013), cooperation skills (Henriksen, 2018; Ronda-Pupo & Katz, 2018), and networking (Coccia & Bozemann, 2016). It should be mentioned that for Bourdieu, habitus is not a necessarily conscious course of action, but quite the opposite: It is a set of dispositions that make agents act and react in certain ways. These dispositions "generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule.' The dispositions that constitute the habitus are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 12). Because education figures prominently in habitus formation, we can say that GN education would likely result in the development of GN habitus, and for GS scholars, it could be acquired through mobility. It is also noteworthy that the habitus of being mobile as an academic is deeply rooted not just in higher education but also in one's familial background. Gerhards et al. (2017) referred to empirical analyses from several countries that all reveal strong correlations between familial background and the likelihood that a student will spend a year abroad during a degree program. The same authors found that mobility, as a habitus, is the result of the accumulation of earlier acquired "transnational human capital" (Gerhards et al., 2017, p. 6), which consists of being cared for in international or bilingual nurseries, living abroad with parents for a long period, and spending school years abroad. This cumulative advantage results in extensive social inequality because the accumulation of transnational human capital and the habitus of international mobility would be more likely the share of upper-class children, distancing them from others (Gerhards et al., 2017).

The motivations between mobility include simply economic features such as higher salary or better material-technical conditions, but research shows that the promotion of scientific visibility—growth in publication output, coauthored international publications, or the increase of citation indices—also plays a very important role (Aksnes et al., 2013; Asheulova &

Dushina, 2014). Moreover, internationalization—that is, the concept of a neoliberal and global university (Herschberg, Benschop, & van den Brink, 2018)—became a keyword or norm that most universities should strive toward. Mobility as a habitus, therefore, became not just an important source of academic capital for individual researchers, but also a valuable feature that international universities support and appreciate.

With this, we arrived our last concept, namely, *capital*. Bourdieu's notion of capital could be roughly conceived as the extension of the economic sense of the concept, because

Bourdieu's purpose is to extend the sense of the term "capital" by employing it in a wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields. He is attempting to relocate the narrow instance of mercantile exchange away from economics into a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges and valuations of which the economic is only one (though the most fundamental) type. It is important to note, however, that other forms of capital such as cultural and social can be seen as "transubstantiated" forms of economic capital. (Grenfell, 2008, p. 102)

Mobility is the most important factor when GS academics wish to raise their academic capital, and it is expected that more mobile authors will collect more capital. Among the most obvious examples of "entry level" (Bourdieu, 2004) academic capital are scientists who earn BA, MA, or PhD degrees in the GN, and then collect advanced types of capital in the form of GN postdoctoral research experience, international grants, GN affiliations (Shen, Rousseau, & Wang, 2018), and, mostly, publications in leading periodicals (Cole & Cole, 1967; Hanssen, Jorgensen, & Larsen, 2017). Networking, collaboration, and coauthorship are also sources of measurable academic capital in terms of both citation and publication output (Coccia & Bozemann, 2016; Henriksen, 2018; Katz, 1999; Ronda-Pupo & Katz, 2018). According to Bourdieusian field theory, different types of capital are often interchangeable; this means, for example, that academic capital could be converted to economic capital. It follows that scholars with more academic capital would find better positions in the field in terms of not just symbolic capital, but economic capital as well. As Zdenek (2017) put it, one of the most important conditions for international success represented in tenure and hiring decisions is based on high-quality publications in leading peer-reviewed journals, but the prerequisite of these publications is, in most cases, English proficiency and GN education. Because we could assume that internationally recognized GN institutions offer much better salaries and working conditions than their less exclusive GS counterparts, we could understand how academic capital could be exchanged for economic capital.

Another—and, according to current research, systematically overvalued—type of symbolic capital is an elite degree, and that elite degrees can be acquired almost exclusively in the GN also intensifies mobility from the GS to the GN. Many researchers even ascertained that the prestige of the affiliation of a given candidate's PhD school could determinate her chances

for a tenure-track position to a much greater extent than her productivity (Burris, 2004; Cowan & Rossello, 2018; Creat & Musselin, 2010; Enders, 2001; Maliniak, Peterson, Powers, & Tierney, 2018; Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004; Tomlinson & Freeman, 2018). The function that the prestige of the alma mater has in the career trajectories of future academics is extraordinarily strong: Burris showed that “the prestige of the department in which an academic received a PhD consistently ranks as the most important factor in determining the employment opportunities available to those entering the academic labor market” (Burris, 2004, p. 239). This results in a process whereby elite institutions mutually hire each other’s candidates while systematically excluding academics with degrees from schools that are not top institutions. Moreover, they do it often regardless of the merits of the candidates even though future productivity could be predicted by past productivity alone, not by the prestige of the past academic degrees (Fumasoli, Goastellec, & Kehm, 2015; Long, 1978; Musselin, 2004; Williamson & Cable, 2003). Thus, on the analytical level, we should distinguish institutional capital from human capital; the former refers to the reputation of an institution (like the label of being part of the elite), and the latter refers to the symbolic capital of an individual who is incorporated or objectified (Gerhards et al., 2017) by a university degree from an elite university. It is obvious, then, that agents could partake in institutional capital by being educated at that institution, thus receiving transnational human capital—in this respect, human capital proceeds from societal or institutional capital.

When we would like to understand the main patterns of a given academic field, we should not just analyze what is typical; we should also consider exceptions. It is obvious that generally, GN authors with GN education and GN affiliation will be more familiar with the ruling GN norms, will have much more academic capital, and will have better positions in the field of force than their GS peers will (Demeter, 2017, 2018b; Freelon, 2013; Lauf, 2005). Are there any exceptions from this general rule? To test the role that GN capital plays in international success in communication research, we analyzed the career paths of 426 GS authors and set up two hypotheses for empirical test.

*H1: The field of forces will attract GS authors to the GN, therefore, in terms of academic capital (in the form of GN degrees, GN postdoctoral fellowships, and GN coauthored papers), they will be quite similar to their GN peers.*

*H2: As a result of the growing GS capital in the form of GS publication houses and indexed GS periodicals, alternative fields of forces could emerge in the GS.*

### **Methods**

Former research on social sciences in global power relations has already ascertained that while the bias against GS authors is extraordinarily strong in all subfields of social sciences (Heilbron, Sorá, & Boncourt, 2018), the most biased picture can be found in the case of communication and media studies, followed by sociology, philosophy, and the hard sciences

(Demeter, 2018b). Thus, communication and media studies is an adequate discipline to analyze regarding inequalities in academic power relations in their extreme form.

To analyze the publication patterns in communication research, we selected the most prestigious periodicals from SSCI, namely, all the quarter 1-ranked communication journals. As a result, we analyzed the national diversity of 19 periodicals for the period 2012–2017. The research sample contained only full papers ( $N = 3,910$ ) because other publications, like book reviews, editorials, and opinion papers, represent lower scientific capital. From this sample, we selected all the articles authored or coauthored by a GS author, meaning that the (co)author submitted the paper from a GS institution, and this was indicated on the article's author information section. Therefore, the "GS author" category refers to the affiliation of the submission, not the nationality or the author's country of origin. It is a very important point because, as Bourdieu noted, the bearer of the scientific capital is usually the affiliation (research group, laboratory) and not the birthplace or nationality in itself. One could rightly suggest that there is a plethora of GN scholars, in the previously defined sense, who have come from the GS. Indeed, it is a rather general career path for a GS academic to collect the appropriate academic capital and then work in the GN. These scholars are even likely to study GS-related topics. Still, from the point of view of this present analysis, they are no longer GS authors because their publication output—their academic capital—will go to the GN institutions to which they are affiliated. In this sense, they will further strengthen the asymmetry of power relations of the field because with these GS authors, GN institutions will develop better publication output (and thus collect more academic capital), even in GS topics of the field.

GS (co)authored papers ( $n = 263$ ) were further categorized as having authors from Africa, developing Asia, South America, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe (for the detailed categorization methods, see Lauf, 2005, and Demeter, 2018a). As a result, we have 426 (co)authors from the GS. In the next step, we collected all these authors' curricula vitae from their official institutional Web pages or from their professional profiles on academic social media sites like ResearchGate, Academia.edu, LinkedIn, Mendeley, or the South American site Escavador. We registered the academic milestones of all individuals—including the institutions of their BA, MA, and PhD studies, the places of their postdoctoral research (PD), their GN affiliations (GNa), their GN coauthors (GNc), and the number of their Scopus-indexed articles—as the measure of their academic capital in terms of international science contribution. We called this latter feature the productivity (PROD) of the given author. The PROD of an author shows the total number of his or her Scopus-indexed articles so it is not restricted to the analyzed time period; it means that an author with  $PROD = 1$  published only one Scopus-indexed article in his or her course of academic life.

As a rule, we registered only clear and assured data; in the case of ambiguous or missing information, we indicated that we do not have the appropriate data. Because Scopus offers information regarding authors' affiliations, the affiliations of their coauthors, and the number of their Scopus-indexed articles, we have these pieces of data in all cases ( $n = 426$ ). Clear data on other categories as BA, MA, PhD, PD, GNa and GNc were missing in the case

of 110 authors (26%). Thus, we analyzed the whole sample in the case of affiliations, coauthorship, and article numbers, but in the case of the additional categories, we analyzed only the narrowed sample ( $n = 316$ ) with appropriate and complete data.

First, we calculated the average Scopus-indexed article number/author values for every periodical, and then we measured the number of authors who earned their BA, MA and/or PhD from GN universities. We also calculated the contribution of authors with GN postdoctoral fellowships or GN affiliation. Finally, we ascertained the proportion of coauthored articles with at least one GN coauthor.

Regarding productivity, we made separate measurements for three clusters of authors. The first class (TOTAL,  $n = 426$ ) includes all the authors from the GS, and the second (NA,  $n = 110$ ) contains only those with missing data regarding BA, MA, PhD, PD, and GNa. The third and final cluster consists of the so-called PURE researchers ( $n = 71$ ). We defined researchers as PURE if they have neither GN BA, MA and/or PhD studies, nor postdoctoral experience in the GN. A PURE researcher of this kind does not have GN affiliations or GN coauthors. Thus, according to our conceptualization, a PURE researcher is someone who undertook his or her BA, MA, and PhD studies at GS universities, worked at GS affiliations in his or her postdoctoral years, and submitted his or her paper without a GN coauthor. When calculating the number of categories BA, MA, PhD, PD, GNa, GNc, and PURE, we considered only authors with certified biographies. Thus, for example, if we have 100 GS authors in a given periodical from which there are 25 without appropriate data, and we have 30 individuals with a GN MA, then the percentage of MA will be  $30/100 - 25 = 0.4 = 40\%$ .

To have a picture of international cooperation between different world regions and countries, we made network analysis on two levels. The TOTAL sample contains all the countries ( $n = 63$ , minimum degree = 1) that have at least one author with GN coauthor(s). The PURIFIED sample ( $n = 20$ , minimum degree > 1) contains only those countries that have at least two coauthored articles with a GN author. Finally, we analyzed the education and career paths of GS researchers: We made records on the source and target regions of all the individuals with GS affiliation and GN education, postdoctoral position, or second affiliation. With this, we could analyze typical interregional career paths. We used Gephi 0.9.2 throughout the analysis and visualization.

## Results

First we calculated the contribution of the GS in the sample and found that 263 articles (6.7% of the TOTAL sample) have at least one (co)author from the GS. Regarding GS contribution, we also found significant differences between the analyzed periodicals. Although most journals keep their GS contribution between 4% and 10%, there are two kinds of exceptions. The first is when the contribution of the GS is much higher than average, as in the case of *Comunicar* (26%); the second is the opposite, when it is much lower, as in the case of *Communication Research* (2.2%) and *Political Communication* (1.3%), or even zero

(*Communication Monographs*). However, half of the periodicals published fewer than eight articles from the GS. The relatively high GS contribution of *Comunicar* could be explained by the fact that it is the only non-Anglo-Saxon periodical in the sample, and, because of its Spanish origin, it has strong links to South American affiliations. Thus, *Comunicar* published 146 Spanish and 41 Latin American articles from the totality of 201 papers, which means that the total Latin content of the journal is 93%.

We also found that even those from the GS who succeed in publishing in leading periodicals presumably had their education in the GN. Thus, 27% of GS authors earned their BA from GN universities, and this figure increases to 49% for the MA level and 59% for the PhD level. More than half (53%) of GS authors have GN postdoctoral experiences, and 35.5% of them even have a current GN affiliation. In this latter case, the author works for both GS and GN institutions. In addition, because 63% of GS authors have GN coauthors, the figure for PURE cases (authors without any GN connections) is only 16% (71 authors). It is noteworthy that seven titles from the 19 SSCI communication journals do not have any PURE GS articles. Almost 90% of the GS authors in *Journal of Communication* have their PhDs from GN universities, and the same is true for 100% of the GS contributors to *Political Communication* and *Communication Theory*. Moreover, there were no GS authors without GN coauthors in *Communication Theory*, *Political Communication*, and *Communication Research*, and all the GS authors of *Communication Theory* and *Political Communication* have GN affiliations (Table 1).

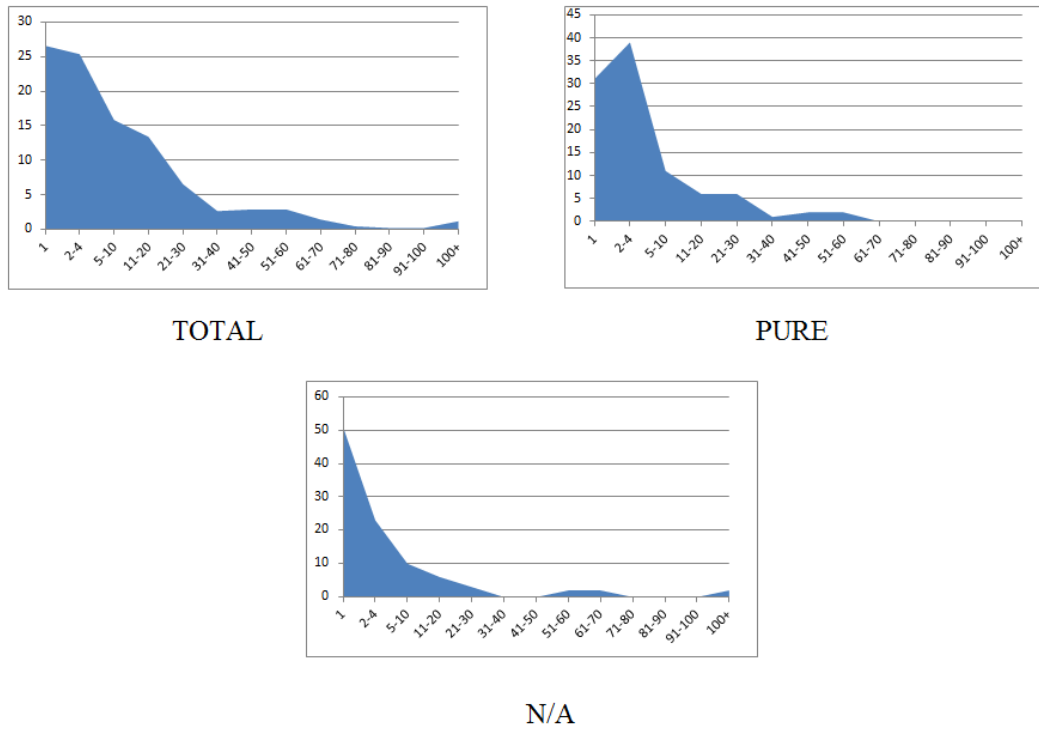
**Table 1. Qualitative Measures for Global South Authors in the Sample.**

Title (WoS SSCI Q1)	total articles (n)	GS (n)	GS %	GN BA %	GN MA %	GN PhD %	GNP %	GNa %	GNc %	PURE %	NA %	PROD
New Media & Society	475	32	6,7	20	66	71	62	46	71	8	24	13
J of Computer-Mediated Com	173	17	9,8	9	55	86	68	32	82	9	20	22
J of Com	268	15	5,5	11	78	89	56	22	56	0	25	12
Media Psychology	114	5	4,3	33	60	73	73	40	47	7	16	26
Com Research	223	5	2,2	25	25	50	50	0	100	0	42	33
J of Advertising	182	11	6	30	40	60	60	40	70	20	30	15
Com Theory	110	4	3,6	100	100	100	100	100	100	0	25	21
Inf Com & Society	431	24	5,5	17	22	28	55	33	44	44	25	15
Pub Understanding of Science	336	26	7,7	11	28	50	78	44	78	33	35	15
Political Com	149	2	1,3	100	100	100	100	100	100	0	33	7
Int J of Advertising	191	17	8,9	15	50	55	35	35	70	0	16	8
Comunicar	201	53	26	4	12	26	17	5	28	47	21	13
IEEE Transactions of Prof Com	93	11	11	17	53	53	53	0	47	17	41	22
Technical Com	77	3	3,8	0	0	0	0	50	50	50	33	1
J of Advertising Research	189	6	3,1	30	55	30	22	22	30	22	10	19
Journalism Studies	306	22	7,1	19	41	32	32	11	59	13	29	11
Res on Lang and Soc Interact	103	3	2,9	33	66	66	66	66	66	0	0	17
Science Com	169	7	4,1	14	29	86	29	29	43	14	46	7
Com Monographs	120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	na	na
<b>sum</b>	<b>3910</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>6,7</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>35,5</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>15,40</b>



However, PURE authors in the strictest sense are only those without any connection to anyone with GN association. From this category, we also excluded those PURE GS researchers who coauthored with not-PURE-GS authors. This kind of "superPURE" author is rare; we found only 22 articles (0.5%) by superPURE authors in the TOTAL sample of 3,910 papers. There are four papers of this kind from Mexico, three from Turkey, two each from South Africa, Romania, Argentina, Slovenia, and India, and one each articles from Hungary, Peru, Poland, Serbia, and Brazil.

Our productivity measures (PROD) show a significant overrepresentation of authors with very low productivity indices (Figure 1). This means that more than one quarter of the GS authors in the TOTAL sample have only one Scopus-indexed article (PROD = 1), and more than half of the sample authors (52%) have at most four Scopus-indexed papers in their careers. The curve of TOTAL is quite unbalanced; 80% of the authors have fewer than 20 articles, and we have only nine very productive authors with more than 60 papers. In the PURE cluster, we have more authors with two to four papers (40%), but the number of authors with only one article is also very high (32%). A total of 83% of the PURE cluster authors have at most 10 Scopus-indexed papers during their careers, and there is a total lack of very productive (PROD > 70) authors. Thus, a typical author in PURE (72% of the sample) has at most four articles in Scopus, which means that his or her contribution to the most prestigious journals is barely accidental. Finally, the N/A cluster, which includes authors without ascertained BA, MA, PhD, PD, GNa or GNc values, represents most authors with only one paper in Scopus (more than 52%), and 75% have at most four articles. This distribution of GS authors follows roughly the power law that has been predicted, among other real networks, for publication networks by Barabasi (2016).



**Figure 1. Percentages of authors with different productivity indices in our three clusters.**

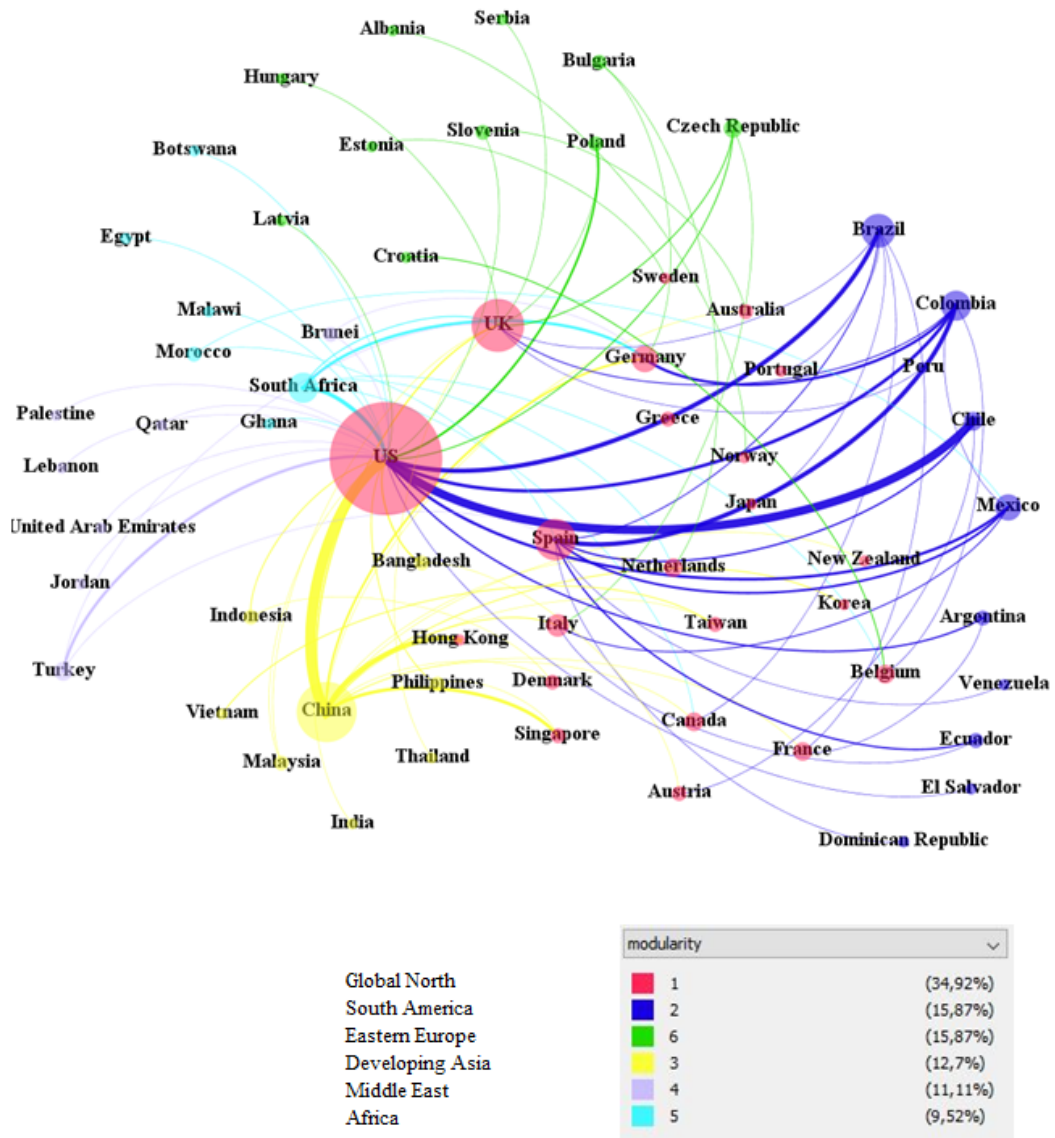
As Table 2 shows, there are considerable inequalities in the contributions of different GS world regions. The leading region, beyond question, is South America, providing 40% of GS contribution, followed by developing Asia (25%). Eastern Europe (13%), the Middle East (12%), and Africa (9%) have squarely less, but still a noticeable contribution. However, the role of leading countries cannot be ignored, so we will further analyze the sample in the discussion section.

**Table 2. Number of GS Authors by World Regions in the TOTAL Sample.**

South America		Asia		Eastern EU		Middle East		Africa	
Chile	50	China	76	Poland	13	Turkey	29	South Africa	33
Mexico	41	India	13	Czech Republic	11	United Arab Emirates	5	Botswana	2
Brazil	31	Philippines	4	Slovenia	8	Brunei	4	Swaziland	1
Colombia	24	Thailand	4	Romania	5	Lebanon	3	Ghana	1
Ecuador	10	Bangladesh	4	Russia	5	Iran	2	Egypt	1
Argentina	7	Indonesia	3	Serbia	4	Pakistan	1		
Peru	4	Malaysia	3	Croatia	3	Kuwait	1		
Venezuela	1	Vietnam	2	Estonia	2	Jordan	1		
Dominican Rep	1	Sri Lanka	1	Bulgaria	2	Qatar	1		
El Salvador	1			Hungary	2				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>170</b>		<b>106</b>		<b>55</b>		<b>47</b>		<b>38</b>

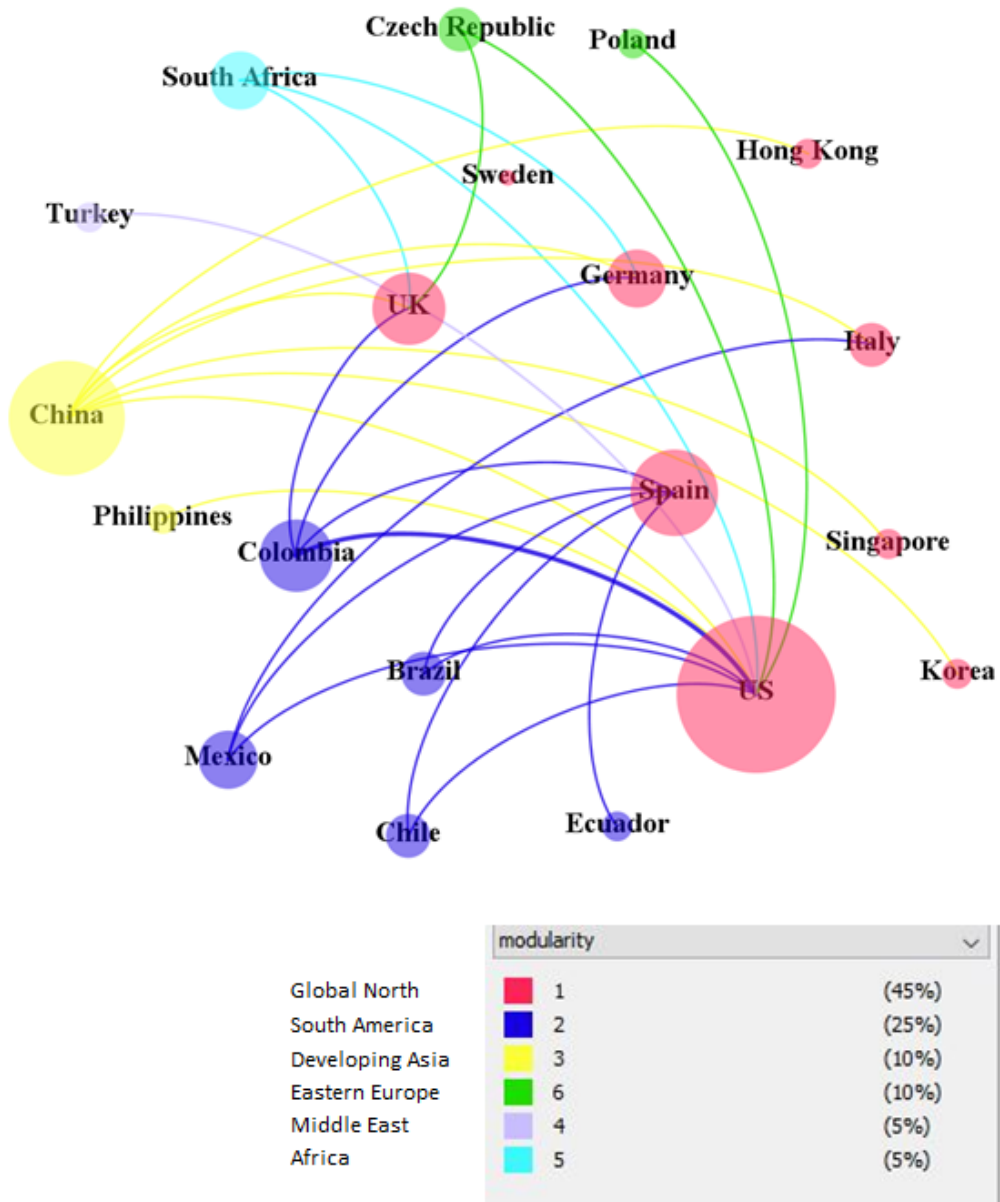
We also analyzed GN–GS coauthored articles to investigate which author had the greater PROD measures in the cases of these “mixed” articles. We found 38 GN–GS coauthored articles, from which 25 papers (66%) were led by the GN author (“led” here means that the GN author had greater a PROD index than his or her GS coauthor). However, 11 articles were led by the GS author (29%), whereas we have two papers for which the PROD indices of GN and GS coauthors were the same. After measuring the productivity of these mixed articles’ authors, we found that GN authors had average PROD values (21.16) 3 times higher than their GS coauthors (7.24). This points to the fact that not only do GS authors surpass their GS peers in their overall contribution in communication studies, but they perform better in terms of their individual productivity as well.

To have a picture of international contribution patterns, we made network graphs with individual countries as nodes and coauthorship as links between them. The links were weighted, so in the case of one coauthored paper with authors from two different countries, the weight of the link that connects them would be 1, for two different papers with coauthors from the same countries, the weight would be 2, and so on. Thus, we have 63 individual countries that have at least one mixed (GS–GN) coauthored article in the TOTAL sample (Figure 2). We also made clusters related to world regions (indicated with different colors).



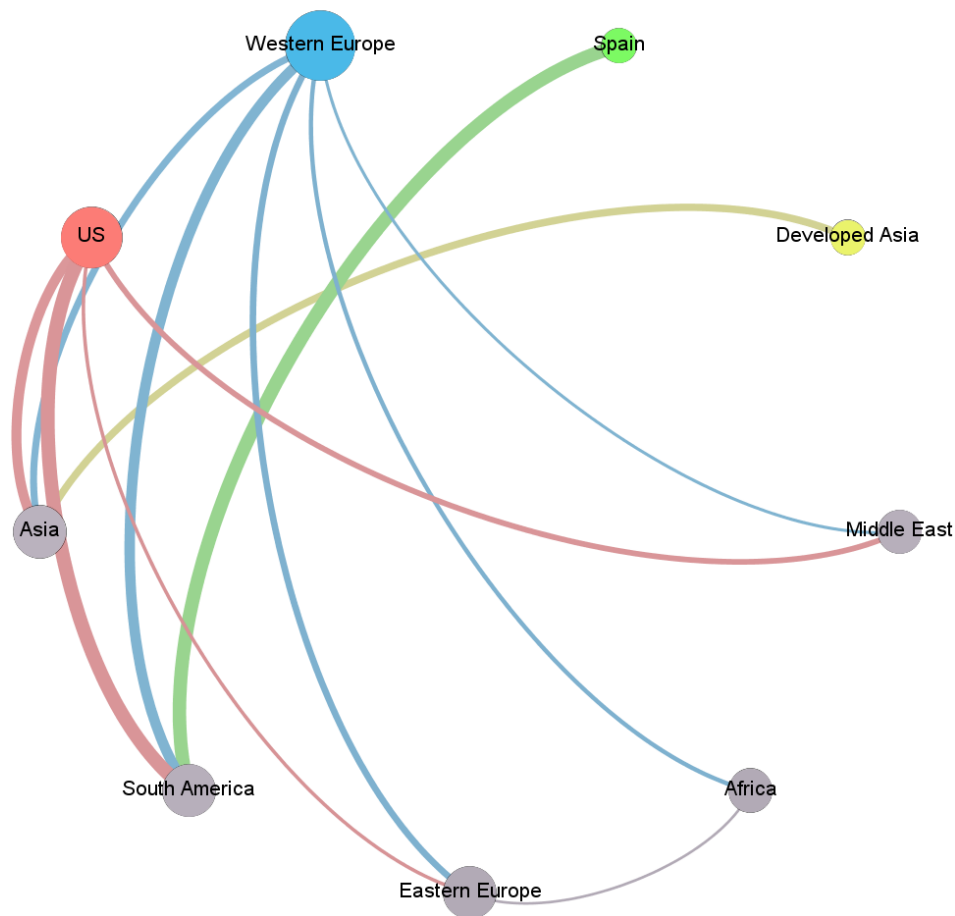
**Figure 2. Patterns of mixed (GN-GS) coauthorship in the TOTAL sample. Thicker lines represent higher weights, meaning more frequent coauthorship between the linked countries.**

The PURIFIED sample consists of only those contributions that are less idiosyncratic. Here we can see only those countries that have at least two coauthored articles. Thus, this sample contains only the top 20 countries in terms of contribution in communication and media studies (on Q1 SSCI level). As in the case of the representation of the TOTAL sample, world region clusters are indicated with different colors (Figure 3).



**Figure 3. Patterns of mixed (GN-GS) coauthorship in the PURIFIED sample. Thicker lines represent higher weights, meaning more frequent coauthorship between the linked countries.**

The strongest paths in career development are those that link South America to the U.S. ( $n = 32$ ), to Western Europe ( $n = 24$ ), and especially to Spain ( $n = 31$ ). Developing Asian authors from the GS prefer the U.S. ( $n = 23$ ) and developed Asia ( $n = 17$ ), followed by Western Europe ( $n = 16$ ). Most Eastern European researchers selected Western European institutions for education ( $n = 15$ ), followed by U.S. universities ( $n = 8$ ). Twice as many researchers from the Middle East prefer the U.S. ( $n = 13$ ) over Western Europe ( $n = 7$ ). Finally, African academics prefer the old continent, both Western Europe ( $n = 10$ ) and Eastern Europe ( $n = 6$ ). It is noteworthy that in our sample, the only GS region sending its researchers to other GS universities—namely, to Eastern Europe—is Africa (Figure 4).



**Figure 4. Education and career paths from the GS to the GN: The width of the edges represents the frequency of a given path.**

### Discussion

It is obvious from the data that having GN academic capital boosts the chance of being published in leading communication research periodicals. Data corroborated our first hypothesis (H1), given that almost 85% of GS authors in top-rated SSCI Q1 journals have some kind of GN capital: GN education (transnational human capital), GN coauthorship, and even GN affiliations appeared quite frequently in the biographies of the analyzed GS authors. However, the journals were everything but uniform in terms of their GS content. The first class, which included *New Media & Society*, *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, *Information, Communication & Society*, *Public Understanding of Science*, and *Journal of Advertising Research*, consists of periodicals with relatively high GS content and relatively high PURE content. It seems that these periodicals, predominantly newer and technology or business oriented, publish not just significant (up to 9%) GS content but also articles from authors without GN education or other GN scientific capital. It is noteworthy that *Technical Communication* published articles from three GS authors in the analyzed time period, and each has only that sole paper in Scopus, meaning that this periodical tends to publish articles from relatively insignificant or entrant academics. The second cluster contains periodicals that publish some GS content, but usually from authors educated in the GN. The perfect example here is the ICA flagship *Journal of Communication*, which published 15 GS articles in the past 5 years, none of which was written by a PURE author. The third category consists of periodicals that almost never publish GS articles, such as *Political Communication*, *Communication Monographs*, and *Research on Language and Social Interactions*. Finally, we have *Comunicar* as a separate universe because it publishes more than half of the PURE articles in the entire cluster of 19 SSCI journals.

From the data, it seems that to publish in leading international periodicals, the most frequent habitus is to find GN coauthors. More than 63% of our sample chose to follow that path, and it appears from the data that this is a quite adaptive habitus. Most journals seldom publish pure GS articles, and three periodicals—*Communication Theory*, *Political Communication*, and *Communication Research*—have never published GS articles without GN coauthors. The second most frequent habitus is to have a GN PhD (59%), while GN MA and BA was less common among GS authors. Data also show that almost everyone with a GN BA would continue with a GN MA and then a GN PhD, but the opposite is not true; many holders of GN PhDs do not have a GN MA or BA degree. In short, if GS individuals start their education in a GN country, they will probably stay there during their full academic education and even after, given that most GN PhDs continue their careers as GN postdocs. A total of 87 individuals in our sample went to a GN postdoc position after earning a GN PhD, whereas the number of GN PhDs without GN postdoc positions is only 44. This means that most GS authors (66.4%) went for a GN postdoc position after finishing their doctoral studies at a GN university. Other interesting correlations could be found between PhDs, PD positions, and GN affiliations. Of the 72 individuals with GN affiliations, 59 have a GN PD position and a GN PhD (82%), 11 authors have only a GN PhD (15.3%), and only two researchers from the GS succeed in working for a GN affiliation without GN education (2.4%).

We could easily recognize the most typical patterns in our sample's network of coauthors (Figures 2 and 3). The strongest links are those between South America and the U.S., followed by the same GS region's connections to Spain, but in terms of cooperation, South America is also strongly connected to other Western European countries. From the regions of the GN, Western Europe has the most diverse network of GS connections, given that it connects to all regions of the GS. The U.S. has almost as complex a network as Western Europe, with the exception of having no links to Africa. In terms of intensity (meaning collaboration frequency), the strongest connections could be found between China and the U.S., between the U.S. and Chile, and between China and Hong Kong. There are considerable connections between South Africa and the UK and South Africa and the U.S., and all South American countries have strong connections to Spain. China's collaboration with developed Asian countries, Taiwan, Korea, and Hong Kong, is also obvious. As a result of our network analysis, we could note the existence of some definable scientific hubs in communication studies. The first notable hub, or the main field of forces, is the U.S.-centered graph of coauthors. As Figure 3 shows, all world regions (and most countries) have direct connection to the U.S. But some alternative fields of forces also emerge, so our second hypothesis (H2) could be corroborated by research data. The first could be called *Latin* because it consists of Spain and many South and Middle American countries, including Chile, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Ecuador, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic. This is a very successful hub in terms of both the number of the countries and the frequencies of their collaborations. Another alternative field of forces is the Asian hub with China and Asian countries of the GN, such as Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Other GS regions, like Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe, are not successful in developing regional or international fields of forces.

Regarding education and career paths (Figure 4), we could also find typical international patterns. The first mentioned is that South American authors are tightly interwoven with Spain not just in their publication collaborations but also in terms of education. Despite this strong relation to Spain, South America's main educational path still leads to the U.S. Another interesting path lies between developing Asia and the U.S.; however popular the countries of developed Asia are in terms of education, American institutions slightly overtake them, while Western European institutions are only the third choice for Asian academics. In the case of Eastern Europe, the most typical education and career path is obviously Western Europe, followed by the U.S., while most Middle Eastern researchers choose the U.S. and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe. African authors typically eye Europe.

From these patterns, we could abstract three kinds of academic habitus in communication studies. The first shows the absolute leading role of the U.S. Given that the most recognized universities are certainly in the U.S., this region is the number one favorite of those researchers who can afford North American education. The second path relates to cultural connectedness; the most obvious examples are those South American academics who tend to learn and work in Spain, and those GS Asian communication scholars from China who were educated in GN Asian universities in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, or Korea. The third and perhaps most obvious education and career habitus for a GS scholar is to choose the closest GN region; this is why mobile Eastern European academics are typically educated in Western Europe and less so in the U.S. As a



conclusion of our network analyses, we could ascertain that the pattern of science collaboration (Figures 2 and 3) is very similar to the network of education and career paths (Figure 4). It could possibly mean that cultural, regional, and economic patterns are similar in education and in academic research, but the similarity could also refer to the fact that an educational connection could later result in academic collaboration.

Considering not just the strength of the links between different world regions but also the number of their authors (Table 2), we will recognize that, at least in some GS regions, there are absolute leading countries. The typical example here is China, with its 76 authors—more than the total contribution of other world regions, including Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. The same regional key function holds for Turkey, which accounts for 62% of the contribution of the Middle East. Neither developing Asia nor the Middle East has any other key countries in terms of international contribution, so Asia and the Middle East are centralized regional hubs. Similarly, Africa has only one central country—namely, South Africa—that accounts for 87% of Africa’s contribution. By contrast, South America has at least four leading countries; Chile, Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia have almost equally important GN collaborations. The same is true for Eastern Europe, where Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia were evenly successful in publishing their research in GS periodicals.

As a general conclusion, we could say that there are two different analytical levels to describe the nature of science networking in communication research. The first is the level of international networks, from which the largest is the U.S.-centered field of forces that connects all world regions in different measures. We also have two relative autonomous fields of forces: one for Asia, with China as its central hub, and another for South America. Both networks have very good connections with almost all regions of the GN (especially with the U.S.), but they also have their special GN countries with which they have significant collaboration in terms of both education paths and coauthorship. The second level is the intraregional level of the regional GS networks, which could be either centralized or decentralized. A centralized network has its leading country, as in the case of Asia (with China), Africa (with South Africa), and the Middle East (with Turkey). A decentralized network, on the other hand, has no leading country, as in the case of Eastern Europe and South America, where the science contribution is distributed among the countries of the region. Table 3 summarizes the possible positions in this two-level matrix.

**Table 3. Autonomy and Centeredness of Regional Science Networks.**

	<b>Autonomous</b>	<b>Dependent</b>
<b>Centered</b>	Developing Asia	Africa
<b>Decentralized</b>	South America	Eastern Europe

One can assume, however, that the significant overrepresentation of GN publications is, at least partially, the result of there being many more academics in this region than in the GS. Thus, our results should be somehow considered against the backdrop of the differences in raw

numbers of communication scholars in different regions of the world. Unfortunately, we do not have a database of the global distribution of communication scholars, but we have some statistical data on the number of higher education institutions (HEIs) in the world. Table 4 shows the proportion of different world regions in terms of the number of HEIs, and this is contrasted with the results of our analysis of publication output of different world regions. From these data, we could see that even if we do not have appropriate information on the global distribution of communication scholars, the distribution of HEIs does not suggest that the publication inequality could be a simple result of unequal distribution of HEIs or the uneven distribution of academics. On the contrary, the publication inequality in favor of the GN happens *in spite of* the predomination of GS HEIs in raw numbers.

**Table 4. Global Distribution of HEIs (the Author's Calculation, Based on Webometrics.info's Countries Arranged by Number of Universities Database).**

	Global					
	North	Global South				
<b>HEI percentage (n = 28,077)</b>	30	70				
		<b>South America</b>	<b>Asia</b>	<b>Eastern EU</b>	<b>Middle East</b>	<b>Africa</b>
Region percentage per GS		17	51	13	9	9
<b>Publication output (n = 3,910)</b>	93	7				
		<b>South America</b>	<b>Asia</b>	<b>Eastern EU</b>	<b>Middle East</b>	<b>Africa</b>
Region percentage per GS		40	25	13	12	9

We found that the Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, capital, and field of forces were extremely useful in describing power relations in communication and media studies. The field of forces of the discipline is extraordinarily asymmetrical, with a clear center-periphery structure. Top-tier periodicals and their publishers, elite universities, and research grants are owned by countries of the GN, with the dominance of Anglo-Saxon countries. Some semiperipheral parts of the field—with strong connections to the center—also emerge, the typical examples here being Latin America and, at least partly, China. In addition, we have a legion of peripheral countries

without visible academic performance in communication and media studies. For a GS candidate, the only prospect for an international and visible career is collecting GN academic capital in the form of GN academic degrees, fellowships, grants, and coauthored publications. In an ideal case, the accumulation of GN capital will result in boosting the candidate's publication output. Because this latter type of academic capital—publications in prestigious peer-reviewed journals—is generally considered the most important currency of global academy, GS candidates tend to support their chances to collect this kind of capital by developing appropriate habitus. This—not necessarily consciously acquired—habitus entails striving for GN education and finding GN research and publication partners and GN fellowships. It is understandable, then, as the results of our analysis demonstrated, that education patterns are rather similar to future collaboration patterns.

### ***Limitations***

In the course of our empirical research, we aimed to work with data that were as accurate as possible, so we registered only certified data regarding the career paths of the different authors. If the data were defective or unclear, or if we could not find an author's CV, we clustered the corresponding author to the N/A category. As a result, we have 110 authors (26% of the original sample) without appropriate data, meaning that our analysis is representative of only those authors with clear and certified data. To partially overcome this imperfection, we analyzed the N/A cluster separately so we could phrase some conjectures regarding the causes of the missing data. As we have seen in the Results section, the N/A cluster has the most idiosyncratic authors, with only one article (more than 50%) or, at most, four articles (two thirds of the authors in N/A). Based on these data, we could suppose that less productive authors might work at less prestigious institutions that do not require their employees to publish their clear and fully comprehensive biographies. If we look at the national diversity of the N/A cluster (Table 5), we see that the highest number of unidentifiable authors was found in Asia, especially in China, even though, as we see in Table 2, the overall number of South American authors exceeds the number of their Asian peers. Therefore, cultural or even linguistic differences could also play a role here; perhaps it is more difficult to find a biography written in Chinese than one written in the Latin alphabet.

**Table 5. Number of GS Authors by World Regions in the N/A Sample.**

Asia	South America	Eastern Europe	Middle East	Africa					
China	38	Chile	12	Slovenia	4	Turkey	7	South Africa	9
India	4	Brazil	5	Poland	3	United Arab Emirates	2		
Philippines	2	Mexico	4	Russia	1	Iran	2		
Indonesia	2	Argentina	3	Romania	1				
Thailand	1	Colombia	3	Serbia	1				
Malaysia	1	El Salvador	1	Bulgaria	1				
		Peru	1						
		Dominican Republic	1						
		Venezuela	1						
		Ecuador	1						
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>48</b>		<b>32</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>9</b>

Another limitation is that this current research deals with exclusively GS authors, and we did not use comparative data from GN authors. Although it would be impossible to conduct comparative research of this kind in this present analysis, we should premise that it is highly needed for a better understanding of the correlations between academic capital and education in communication and media studies.

### Conclusion

Our current research in which we analyzed the career paths of those GS authors in communication studies who successfully published their research in leading periodicals of the field shows that in most cases, GS authors can be prosperous only if they collect GN capital. As Bourdieu already ascertained, the agents of academic life tend to internalize the ruling norms of science, and by this internalization, their habitus will correspond to the field of forces. Individual researchers and even complete institutions could completely assimilate to the norms of the ruling scientific elite to the extent that they could be even conceived of as embodied fields of forces. Our research shows that it is not just that the field of forces attracts GS authors to the GN; because they will tend to assimilate GN norms and assume GN habitus, they become quite similar to their GN peers, at least in terms of the accumulated academic capital. Moreover, ambitious academics from the GS quite often collect GN capital (typically in form of GN education and collaboration) to increase their chances of having an international career. Furthermore, because the international field of forces is determined exclusively by the GN, an international career typically means a GN career.

Though the described process is rather typical in the field of communication studies, there are notable exceptions as well. Because of the growing GS capital, alternative fields of forces could emerge in the GS. The most important theoretical contribution of our research is, as we noted, two distinct analytical levels of these alternative fields of power. The first is the autonomy of the field of forces that describes the relative independency of the field from the ruling center. In our example, South American scholars and institutions were able to establish an autonomous field of forces that, besides having broad connections with the main hub, has very strong intraregional

relations. The second level is the centeredness of the field of forces that relates to the role of leading countries. Whereas some regions, like Asia and Africa, have centered fields of powers, other GS fields of forces, like Eastern European or South American ones, are quite decentralized. Our analysis also has shown that among alternative fields of forces, the most successful is the autonomous and decentralized one.

While former research shows the strong bias against GS authors in the field of communication studies, this is the first analysis that tries to find Bourdieusian explanations for this well-known phenomenon. Based on our empirical investigation, we could say that the field of forces is located almost exclusively in the GN, and this determines the valid norms, the adaptive habitus, and the valuable forms of academic capital in the field of communication studies. The more successful GS authors become, the more they will resemble their GN peers in terms of academic capital, so de-Westernization of the field will not result in the valorization of GS capital. On the contrary, de-Westernization could be conceived as the Westernization of the most talented GS authors through GN education, GN working experience, and even GN affiliations.

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