



## **Analyzing the 'Critical' in Media Control Discourse**

Copyright © 2009  
*Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*  
<http://cadaad.net/ejournal>  
Vol 3 (1): 80 – 91  
ISSN: 1752-3079

**JOHN E. INGULSRUD**

Meisei University

**KATE ALLEN**

Meiji University

[katejohn@gol.com](mailto:katejohn@gol.com)

### **Abstract**

*Practitioners of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and media control discourse view their work as contributing to the social good. In addition, both share the literacy practices of engaging in the text critically. However, CDA practitioners would probably resist having their work compared with that of media control discourse. They would prefer to see their goal as emancipatory, as opposed to defending perceived standards motivated by fear. This article describes similarities and differences of the two approaches in terms of reading text. Four general positions are presented to describe ways in which a text can be read. The article then illustrates how one media control text, Frederic Wertham's 'Seduction of the Innocent', was successful in bringing about social change in the United States as comics were censored and attitudes towards them were profoundly altered. In contrast, manga in Japan were not suppressed and censored in the same way, providing an example of what developed in the absence of such social critique. Wertham's success provides a cautionary note for CDA practitioners as they attempt to effect social change.*

**Key words:** censorship, comics, literacy, manga, media

### **1. The Analytical Texts for Social Change**

The various approaches in the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) movement provide insight as to how language is used to promote ideology and support legitimacy in power relations. These kinds of analyses that focus on the language patterns of specific texts are compelling in their own right, especially as the majority of the texts analyzed contain pressing social and political issues. Yet most practitioners of CDA do not view the work of uncovering assumed meanings in texts through linguistic analysis as an end in itself. Their goal is effecting social change. Norman Fairclough (2003: 202-203) makes the case in this way: 'The aim of critical social research is better understanding of how societies work and produce both beneficial and detrimental effects, and of how the detrimental effects can be mitigated if not eliminated.'

While CDA practitioners hold this aim, there are few, if any, critical analyses that have actually effected change, whether as critical discourse analysis, critical literacy, or critical linguistics in general. Because success in bringing about social change through an analysis of text has been so rare, most likely practitioners have not contemplated how they would deal with the possible success of their work. In this article, we would like to present examples of a critical analysis that effected social change. We will also present some of the dangers and collateral damage that could result. We do so by examining works concerning media control or censorship. The reason these texts have been selected is that works of media control discourse, to be convincing, must provide evidence of harmful content through recurring language use and visual representation. Their attention to language, particularly, is an emphasis shared with CDA works.

Still, CDA practitioners may resist having their work compared with that of media control discourse. They would prefer to see their goal as emancipatory, as opposed to defending perceived standards motivated by fear. Moreover, CDA practitioners generally come out of applied linguistics. Most of the English-language practitioners draw on the categories and tools of systemic-functional linguistics. Consequently, CDA studies tend to be more linguistically rigorous. At the same time, those working in CDA and media control discourse view their work as contributing to social good. In addition, both share the literacy practices of engaging in the text critically. Yet to understand the similarities and differences of the two approaches, it is important to examine a range of hermeneutic positions employed in reading text.

Not all researchers involved in critical analysis would welcome the use of the term 'hermeneutics'. Jere Paul Surber (1998), for example, sees hermeneutics as a specific philosophical discipline that has its origin in the German romantics, but loses its influence in critical theory because too much emphasis is made of the subject, or the reader. However, we find that the reader cannot be ignored. The existence of plural interpretive positions of a text or medium is a fundamental reality. The term, hermeneutics, provides a useful superordinate for literacy practices and literacy strategies (ways of understanding) on the one hand and the discursive qualities of texts on the other. In so doing, we identify several hermeneutic positions, of which a critical reading of text is one kind.

## ***2. Critical Reading and Other Hermeneutic Positions***

The critical reading strategies of CDA practitioners and media control analysts are not the same as those of non-critical readers. Hillary Janks (2002) writes of reading 'with the text' versus reading 'against the text.' Kay Richardson (2002) cites Sharrock and Anderson (1981) who criticized the early methods of critical linguistics, accusing the practitioners of engaging in a kind of reading that was very different from the 'lay reader.' The term 'lay reader' has not gained currency because obviously it is impossible to ascertain how exactly a lay reader reads. Moreover, the profile of such 'lay readers' cannot be fully described. Yet, here, the concept can provide us with a point of contrast. A critical reading, for instance, is not a 'lay reading.' Media control

discourse concerns itself primarily with works of popular culture, assuming readers or consumers are almost always purchasers. Even if the reader/consumer did not purchase the work, he or she is assumed to engage with the text in a sympathetic manner, usually motivated by pleasure or curiosity. This kind of 'lay reading' stands in contrast to the critical engagement of CDA practitioners and media control analysts who normally minimize their sympathies with the author as they uncover meanings that are assumed.

The hermeneutic positions raised above, namely critical versus 'lay'; critical versus sympathetic; 'with' versus 'against,' are all dualisms. Another dualism is Brian Street's (1984) distinction between the autonomous and ideological models of literacy. These dualisms do not capture the range of hermeneutic positions that readers actually employ. We would like to propose four positions: reading with the author's intent, kerygmatic reading, parodic reading, and critical reading. Each of these is not a singular position but a cluster of positions, whose identities are defined by how they overlap with the other positions.

If every dualism mentioned above is analyzed, one part of a pair refers to the author's intent. For instance, reading 'with,' sympathetically, or as a 'lay' reader reading a text that is assumed to be 'autonomous', all focus on reading in terms of the author's intent. This position is the unmarked hermeneutical position. It is simply assumed that readers attend to the interpretations the author intends. In fact, E.D. Hirsch (1976) insists that readers have an ethical responsibility to do so. Indeed reading tests assume this position; moreover, Street (1984) points out that the 'autonomous' feature of such a position regards text as containing sufficient information to be understood without having to rely on contextual information. This self-sufficiency of information reflects the concern for 'evidence' to substantiate the author's intent. Because evidence is so important, such a position is regarded as the most positivistic of the four. Traces of this positivism can be seen in CDA studies employing corpus linguistics. In recent decades, however, such a position has been questioned. Roland Barthes (1977), for example, wrote an essay called 'The Death of the Author' where he argues that for the reader, the author's intent is not central. Since there are so many layers of meanings and intertextualities, naturally there exist multiple ways to interpret a text.

The author's intent is one position. There are also positions that have been constructed by communities. In describing the literacy practices in an Iranian village, Street (1984) has suggested that because the purpose of literacy there was to read the Koran, not for other functions, the model of literacy can be described as 'ideological'. Harvey J. Graff (1987) has made a similar observation by providing examples in Sweden as well as in North America, where literacy skills were widely acquired, yet at the same time reading material and ways of understanding were strictly controlled.

Although these community-constructed positions were indeed 'ideological' in their intent, all of the hermeneutic positions described here contain varying degrees of ideology, even though this position might be the strongest one. We propose the term 'kerygmatic' to refer to community-based interpretations. The Greek term comes from New Testament studies referring to the understanding of the Gospel texts that grew up in the first four centuries of

the Christian Church. The kerygma is a summation of the points the community believes as salient. Such summations can be seen in the ecumenical creeds. Graff's (1987) example of the spread of literacy in seventeenth-century Sweden was kerygmatic, based on Lutheran understanding of the how the Bible was to be read and applied to Christian life. Kerygmatic positions in communities of faith tend to be public, therefore explicit. In contrast, other kerygmatic positions are less so. Among communities of manga readers in Japan, for instance, the ideologies are less explicit, but there is evidence that readers learn standards of appropriate content (Ingulsrud and Allen, 2009). The Miller Test used to determine whether a work is obscene or not, based on a United States Supreme Court ruling in 1973, requires 'applying contemporary community standards'. This means it is up to local communities to apply, in judging a work, their own kerygmatic position, which often is not explicit (Miller vs. California).

Kerygmatic positions can be inclusive and exclusive. Many communities of faith are inclusive, intent on gaining new members to share in their perspectives. Media control analysts are also intent on convincing people to their cause. Kerygmas of experts, on the other hand, are more exclusive, restricting interpretation to only those that qualify.

The least considered hermeneutic position of the four is the parodic or satirical reading position. Reading a text based on this position can involve methods from the other positions particularly critical reading, but the purpose is to have fun, to create humor from interpretations. This kind of position is seen in fanzines where works of popular culture are recreated in different ways. Slash fiction, for example, re-assembles characters in unlikely romantic combinations. In the process, certain attributes are exaggerated. Like caricatures, a character or idea can be reduced to a single attribute. This can result in oversimplification and thus stereotyping. While most parodic interpretation is for enjoyment, political cartoonists, for instance, would insist that their caricatures serve social purposes.

The parodic position is actually more basic and pervasive than it might seem. Due to the linearity of language and most semiotic systems, the hearer/reader cannot possibly comprehend the fullness of the message being communicated. Items are selected and linked with knowledge structures that already exist to create meanings that are not exactly the same as what was intended. Even the relatively precise task of paraphrasing involves selection of information and inclusion of other information. Just doing an Internet search on one's own publications can reveal how people have cited works in contexts opposite from what they were intended for. More frequently, they have been cited for minor themes, in effect, caricaturizing the works.

Finally, the critical position attempts to uncover assumptions and ideologies that are not necessarily apparent. Not all critical approaches, however, try to serve society. Methods of deconstruction in literary criticism and cultural studies do not have the same concern for the social good that CDA and media control discourse claim, although Surber (1998) would argue that cultural studies do reveal social inequities. In this sense, deconstruction in those disciplines and most parodic reading positions are similar. The difference between CDA and media control discourse is that media control discourse often serves specific kerygmatic positions, whereas CDA seems to do so to a

lesser degree, but this needs further analysis. The applied linguistic background of many CDA practitioners has led them to have their work be recognized by the standards of the social sciences. Consequently, corpus-based studies in CDA, for example, provide a higher degree of positivistic evidence for interpretation.

### ***3. The Nature of Media Control Discourse***

There is a long history of media control discourse. In the book, *Grand Theft Childhood: The Surprising Truth about Violent Video Games*, Lawrence Kutner and Cheryl Olson (2008) provide a review of media control discourse in the United States to argue that the current alarmist voices over video games are nothing new. They begin with the censorship of 'dime' novels in the 1870s and continue with the fears over the emergent cinema. Among the works that they review, they devote most attention to Fredric Wertham's (1954) *Seduction of the Innocent: The Influence of Comic Books on Today's Youth*. Fredric Wertham was a child psychiatrist in New York from the 1940s on and it was his work with juvenile delinquents that led to his study of comics.

Although Wertham promotes media control and censorship, his awareness of social inequalities in American society was perhaps more advanced than that of his contemporaries. He was an immigrant himself, having come as a boy with his family from Austria to the United States. According to David Hajdu (2008), he fraternized with many prominent African Americans and volunteered his services in a clinic in Harlem.

Our attraction to *Seduction of the Innocent* was largely for historical reasons. We have conducted a study on manga literacy and discourse (Ingulsrud and Allen, 2009). Manga are comics that have come out of Japan. In our study of the development of manga, we have found it useful to compare it with the development of comics, primarily in the United States. We found that due to the anti-comics campaigns from the late 1940s and into the 1950s, comics publishing and reading practices became much more limited. In Japan, the opposite development occurred. Manga were not censored and works for all ages and interests were created, thus enabling manga to secure 40% of the publishing market. In contrast, by the 1960s, reading comics in the United States became a practice engaged in almost entirely by boys. The fact that reading comics had been engaged in by both boys and girls, and even men and women, has been largely forgotten. This loss of memory is evident in attitudes expressed by American travelers to Japan where they see adults reading manga in public and find this practice juvenile, strange, and at best curious; attitudes many Japanese find condescending.

The media control discourse on comics was extremely effective. It not only censored but also blotted from common memory the actual literacy practices. Bradford Wright (2003: 155), for instance, cites surveys in the early 1950s indicating that comics were the reading material of choice among G.I.s. To verify some of Wright's findings, we requested a friend who is a veteran to ask at gatherings if any Korean War veterans had read comics. Most reacted with offense that anyone would suggest that they read such material. Few people remember that reading comics was an adult literacy practice.

There are numerous features of *Seduction of the Innocent* that resemble CDA studies. Norman Fairclough (cited in Janks 2002: 26-27) provides a general model for CDA with three dimensions of discourse and three interrelated analytical processes. The dimensions are:

1. The object of analysis (the text).
2. The processes by which the text is produced (speaking/writing/designing) and received (listening/reading/viewing).
3. The socio-historical conditions that govern these processes.

The first dimension (1) would involve text analysis or description; the second dimension (2), processing analysis or interpretation; the third dimension (3), social analysis or explanation.

For Wertham the text are comics, more specifically, crime comics and horror comics; therefore, his is not an analysis of a single text, but of an entire medium, with a focus on selected genres of that medium. He tries to demonstrate how these texts contribute to juvenile delinquency. In this sense he begins with a problem, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 60) point out, 'CDA begins with some perception of a discourse-related problem in some part of social life'. For Wertham, violence depicted in comics was most problematic. This is because he felt violence in comics promoted juvenile delinquency. The graphic representation of violence in comics may be a relatively obvious theme to analyze. The same may be said of the CDA of political posters (e.g., Wodak, 2008) where the positions of politicians are often obvious. In contrast, some practitioners, like Hillary Janks (2005), choose texts that on the surface would not invite a critical reading, such as a UNCR poster. Yet, within the obvious graphic representation in comics of violence, there exist ideological messages that are not necessarily apparent. Wertham uncovers these patterns, as do analysts of CDA.

### 3.1 The analysis of racism

The text analysis of racism in *Seduction of the Innocent* is an analysis of graphic representation. Together with the dialogue in the speech balloons, the text is multi-modal. In the comics, the bad people were almost always depicted as people of color or foreign-looking. The good people were almost always white. Wertham found the jungle comics particularly disturbing, as well-built white thugs kept order while people of color were subservient, stupid, or crafty—thus untrustworthy.

Based on this analysis, one of Wertham's most effective arguments against comics was that they misrepresented the United States, or more accurately, they misrepresented American social ideals. Wertham asserted that comics depicted a society where people of color were represented as evil or stupid. Comics did not promote democratic values. These were serious assertions in the context of the Cold War. It also suggested that such negative images could be used to harm American interests. Unlike many CDA studies, he does not attempt to quantify the depictions. How frequent were these depictions? By providing selected examples, his method resembles the parodic positions that tend to stereotype and make caricatures out of single attributes. In doing so, Wertham was able to create the impression that all comics made racist depictions.

Closely connected to the identification of racism was Wertham's criticism of superhero characters. Here was a particularly unexpected critique. Observers who shared Wertham's disgust of sex, violence, and the general lack of taste in comics were surprised at the critique of superheroes. Superheroes who triumph over evil would seem, on the surface, to be simply harmless. Numerous writers have studied his superhero critique and have drawn attention to his comments that superheroes promoted fascism and therefore comics were seen as detrimental to the promotion of democracy (e.g. Barker 1984, 1999; Wright 2003). David Hajdu (2008) points out that church groups had made this observation earlier. However, it was Wertham who promoted the idea. For Wertham, superheroes are troublesome because society's problems, often caused by people of color or foreigners, are resolved unilaterally, without considering competing positions, and these solutions are almost always violent. Because superheroes offer quick solutions, there is little consideration for the difficult and humane processes of negotiation and compromise. The violence employed by the superheroes, characters that were supposed to be good, could promote vigilantism and thus delinquency.

By identifying a genre through its recurring patterns and linking it with an assumed ideology, Wertham's analysis of superheroes could certainly be seen as CDA, especially at the interpretation stage. At the social analysis stage, his notions of people relying on violent solutions are compelling, but these may suffer from the logical fallacy of hasty generalization. In the case of media control discourse, such fallacies are common so long as they serve to sway opinion and thus expand the kerygmatic community with members sympathizing with its views.

### **3.2 Representation of women**

In his analysis of how women were represented in comics, Wertham did not stop at graphic analysis. He also engaged in lexical analysis. While not employing the methods of corpus linguistics, he does attempt a kind of key word analysis. Take the titles of the love comics, which dealt with themes popular with female readers:

Fallen Woman

Runaway Passion!

Price of Pride

Forbidden Love

My Foolish Mistake!

Must I Reveal my Past?

Wertham felt that these titles denigrated women. They were shown as weak in character and willing sex objects, often illustrated as seductive, even when they were in danger. Consequently, he felt that comics promoted violence toward women. In this sense, his analysis is similar to feminists employing deconstruction. But in his social analysis, he reveals that he does not want strong women. He found the image of Wonder Woman (Marston 1944) to be highly threatening with her assertiveness, strength, and violent acts. The result of his analysis is a narrow understanding of how a woman should

behave. These results would find few sympathizers today. Perceptions, sensibilities, and awareness of ethical dimensions change; consequently, the social analysis level of CDA is often grounded in its historical context and the positionality of the practitioner. Let us present another example where even expert opinion can be in flux.

### 3.3 Expert opinion and hermeneutic positions

Another problem with Wonder Woman was her closeness to her female comrades. Wertham detected patterns of homosexual relations. In addition, he found Batman and Robin (Kane 1939) to be uncomfortably close. He describes in detail, over a course of six pages, examples where he and others have construed the relationship between Batman and Robin as homosexual.

Wertham's speculations are reminiscent of the parodic readings among members of fanzine communities. Since Wertham's time, Batman and Robin have become a notorious couple, as have Captain Kirk and Mr. Spock from *Star Trek* (Roddenberry 1966; Suzuki, 1998). Young Japanese people are also active in creating their own fanzine parodies called *dojinshi* (Ingulsrud and Allen 2009). In these works, well-known characters are selected for same-sex relationships.

Wertham's speculations, however, were not playful like fanzine activity. His speculation was imparting professional opinion. Wertham was in a privileged position to engage in such analysis. He was a psychiatrist, and in the 1950s, homosexuality was still categorized as pathologic. Because of his expert position, it was accepted that he could engage in this kind of speculation. In other words, he was interpreting in terms of the kerygma of experts concerning human behavior, a kerygma that is exclusive. Since that time, however, that expert kerygma has abandoned the pathology of homosexuality and as a result, all we have left for Batman and Robin, as a couple, are the parodic positions.

Because of the historical context of social analysis, it is easy in retrospect to ridicule Wertham's expert position. Yet, these kinds of expert positions exist today. In the same field of psychiatry, new disorders are being defined such as attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and repetitive strain injury (RSI) and it is only the expert that is able to diagnose them (Bloor and Bloor 2007). For those who suffer from these disorders, having them identified and recognized is an affirming process, unlike those who are diagnosed without having any or only borderline symptoms of the disorder. Yet for all who are suffering, questions arise as to the reasons for and the long-term effects of consuming the therapeutic products produced by the pharmaceutical industry and supported by the experts.

Perhaps most discourse analysts possess some kind of privileged position or positions towards the texts they study. Probably it is the expert position that provides the attraction to the text in the first place. We may try to identify what the privileged aspects are. We may try to reflect on our interpretations (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) and we may even invite people with various cultural perspectives to help us in doing so. Still, it is in history that the privileged features become most apparent.



### 3.4 Social analysis of participant perspective: The evaluation of paper quality

A given critical interpretation in a particular historical context is not the only fluctuating feature of social analysis. The positionality of the participants in the discourse reveals how a single critical reading serves only one party. Fairclough (1995) points out that CDA pays attention to how texts are produced and received. In the case of comics, there is the creator, the publisher, the consumer/reader and the media control analyst. Let us contrast the positions of the consumer/reader and the media control analyst. The example of contrast has to do with the quality of paper.

Most multi-modal discourse analyses do not deal with the essential qualities of media, but with the finished product. Basic media qualities such as the Shannon and Weaver (1949) electronic model of communication with its lines between the sender and receiver ignited the imagination of the non-technologically oriented with the concept of 'noise', providing a metaphor for fallibility of communication, be it interpersonal or intercultural. Marshall McLuhan (1964) suggested the notion of hot medium and cool medium. The hot medium is like the cinema where the viewer is presented with almost all the information. A cool medium is where the reader/viewer must participate to fill in the blanks, as with the information in the gutter between the panels of comics and *manga*.

Comics and *manga* are usually published first as periodicals. They may be reprinted as books, but when they are originally published, they are published on cheap newsprint. Wertham did not like the quality of paper. He felt the low quality of the paper matched the low quality of the content. If the content were of more lofty subjects, comics should be printed on better paper. He says:

We can produce the most beautifully printed books and pamphlets; every morning my mail has advertising matter expertly designed and handsomely printed on expensive paper. Yet to our children we give the crudest and most ill-designed products (1954: 139).

The key word here is 'give'. In the case of comics and *manga*, adults normally do not 'give' the material to children. The children buy them themselves. The quality of the paper enabled publishers to charge less, thereby allowing children and young people access to comics on their own. *Manga* for young children, for example, do not sell as well as for those for boys and girls. This is because young children are dependent on parents to purchase *manga*. Moreover, Japanese readers continue to be content with monochrome, while comics by the 1940s had shifted to color, a more expensive process. Nonetheless, it is the financial independence of children and young people that is vital in comics and *manga* publishing and reading practices. In the case of *manga*, it was the rise in allowances around 1960 that fueled the *manga* magazine market, taking customers away from the book rental shops (Nakano 2004).

The poor quality of paper allows children to exercise their own agency in their literacy practices. Wertham, as a media control analyst, found this threatening and called for adults to exercise more control over children's

literacy practices. From the child's perspective, being able to choose and purchase one's own reading material could be seen as emancipatory. Some would argue that the point whether or not children should be able to purchase reading material on their own is not an either/or question, but would depend on the child's age and the nature of the material in question. Still, this example of paper quality brings together in a contested manner, issues of paternalism, human agency, inequality, and the economics of production, all themes in CDA. A social analysis of the quality of paper involves examining the positions of all the participants. The media control analyst has only addressed the adult/parent position.

#### **4. Conclusion**

At the interpretation stage, there are many similarities between media control discourse and CDA. Both employ key word and genre analysis to uncover assumed ideologies. The differences are seen in the social analysis stage where conclusions are drawn from the interpretations. This has been described through an analysis of hermeneutic positions, the way in which the text is read. Four general positions have been suggested, the author's intent, the kerygmatic reading, the parodic reading, and the critical reading.

Although both CDA and media control discourse would engage in critical reading, media control discourse would tend to serve specific kerygmatic communities, or ideological positions. This is done by employing persuasive rhetoric to convince people to agree with their position, and such assent implies joining the community of shared purpose, that is, the kerygma. The persuasive rhetoric involves borrowing from the parodic reading, the techniques of exaggeration and caricature to oversimplify and thus stereotype. Taken out of the persuasive context, these techniques are shown to be fallacious.

Frederic Wertham's *Seduction of the Innocent* was a critical text that was extremely effective. Comics were not only eventually censored, but attitudes toward them were profoundly altered. Much of the effectiveness of his criticism was due to the social and historical setting that provided a receptive audience to his ideas, but the effectiveness was also due to his critical analysis that provided the evidence for his polemic. While CDA practitioners may envy his success, there are several cautionary points: The examination of arguments for their logical worth and ideological content; a realization that social analysis can shift in history; and the acknowledgement of all participants in a discourse.

#### **References**

- Barker, M. (1984). *A Haunt of Fears: The Strange History of the British Horror Comics Campaign*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Barker, M. (1999). Fredric Wertham: The sad case of the unhappy humanist. In J.A. Lent (ed.), *Pulp Demons: International Dimensions of the Postwar Anti-Comics Campaign*. Madison, NJ and London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and Associated University Presses. pp. 215-233.

- Barthes, R. (1977). The death of the author. In S. Heath (trans.), *Image, Music, Text*. New York: Hill and Wang. pp. 142-148.
- Bloor, M. and Bloor, T. (2007). *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Graff, H.J. (1987). *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Hajdu, D. (2008). *The Ten-Cent Plague: The Great Comic-Book Scare and How it Changed America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Hirsch, E.D. (1976). *The Aims of Interpretation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ingulsrud, J.E. and Allen, K. (2009). *Reading Japan Cool: Patterns of Manga Literacy and Discourse*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Janks, H. (2002). Critical discourse analysis as a research tool. In M. Toolan (ed.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Critical Concepts in Linguistics IV*. London: Routledge. pp. 26-42.
- Janks, H. (2005). Language and the design of texts. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique* 4 (3): 97-110.
- Kane, B. (1939). *Batman*. New York: Detective Comics.
- Kutner, L. and Olson, C. (2008). *Grand Theft Childhood: The Surprising Truth about Violent Video Games and What Parents Can Do*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Marston, W.M. (1944). *Wonder Woman*. New York: DC Comics.
- McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Miller vs. California. [http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC\\_CR\\_0413\\_0015\\_ZS.html](http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0413_0015_ZS.html). (accessed: 6 January 2009).
- Nakano, H. (2004). *Manga Sangyōron* [Theory of manga industry]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.
- Richardson, K. (2002). Critical linguistics and textual diagnosis. In M. Toolan (ed.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Critical Concepts in Linguistics I*. London: Routledge. pp. 358-374.
- Roddenberry, G. (1966). *Star Trek*. <http://www.startrek.com/startrek/view/features/intro/index.html>. (accessed: 6 January 2009).
- Shannon, C.E. and Weaver, W. (1949). *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Sharrock, W.W. and Anderson, D.C. (1981). Language, thought and reality again. *Sociology* 15: 287-293.
- Street, B.V. (1984). *Literacy in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Surber, J.P. (1998). *Culture and Critique: An Introduction to the Critical Discourses of Cultural Studies*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Suzuki, Kazuko. (1998). Pornography or therapy? Japanese girls creating the Yaoi phenomenon. In S. Inness (ed.), *Millennium Girls: Today's Girls around the World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 243-267.
- Wertham, F. (1954). *Seduction of the Innocent: The Influence of Comic Books on Today's Youth*. New York: Rinehart.

- Wodak, R. (2008). *The Politics of Exclusion. Debating Migration in Austria*. With M. Krzyzanowski. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Wright, B.W. (2003). *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.