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Table of Contents

Typography and Iconography: Influential Tools in Visual Communication

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Abstract

Graphic design is the most effective art form to quickly communicate a message to the viewer. People are influenced by skillful storytelling, which can provide both a logical and an emotional investment (Wroblewski, 2007). A visual communication craftsperson can efficiently stir the emotions in his or her audience through various tools of storytelling such as typography and iconography.

Typography is an illustrative technique that has been wielded by designers for centuries (Flask, 2009). Researchers suggest that creative typography and color is useful in technical communication (Keys, 1993) and is most influential in Web design (Mowery, 2011). It is all around us, in every medium. In my basic visualization courses and in my upper level motion tools courses, typography is a staple in digital design projects.

Another design tool that has been used for centuries is iconography. A few of many examples of iconography in film, photographs, or paintings include religious icons used to ward off vampires, a hero cowboy dressed in white, or a rustic world of desperation (Grant, 20017). Iconography symbols are used as a design element that give viewers an immediate understanding. For example, symbols are used to illustrate which restroom to use, the power button of a device, or which direction to take. We understand these icons and interpret their meaning at a moment's glance. This paper provides effective usages and examples of typography and iconography.

Keywords: Typography, Iconography, Graphic Design, Motion Design

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Introduction

The manipulation of type and iconic imagery are representations of cultural understanding and are effective art forms to efficiently communicate messages. Logo designs surround us. These designs are created to build images of corporations and organizations; however, the usefulness of typography and iconography are much broader. Typography and iconography create messages that are recognizable to people of different languages. There are icons that provide audiences with shared meaning, an important element in communicating across cultures. Iconography has been used for 40,000 years by artists to relay the human experience. Typography is used to show a hierarchy of information in everyday documents as well as to express the emotions of the message. Both typography and iconography are pictures that paint a thousand words of culture, emotion, and shared meaning.

Typography

Typography, simply put, is the stylization of alphabetic characters. One method of typography that is used in documents is to establish the importance of information using font size, color, style, or position (Lloyd, 2013). Headlines in the newspaper and pullout quotes are good examples of subtle type influencing a reader. Communication researchers suggest that nonverbal language relays more of the message than the words being spoken (The Nonverbal Group, 2015). Similarly, typography, or the visual language in type, are more powerful than words alone (Knight & Glaser, 2012). Typography not only gets a literal message across, but it sends an emotional message.

An example I use in class as a graphic design decision involving type is the word speed. I show this in a plain serif font and compare it with a sans serif font such as Impact or Haettenschweiler, which is a heavy bold font (fig. 1).

Figure 1: Speed typed in Times New Roman and Impact.

Immediately, the word is more pronounced using a bolder font, which seems to be relevant to its meaning. Taking this a bit further, I italicize the font. Typically this will give the word motion, which again, is relevant to its meaning. After showing these progressions, I explain that the word went from 0 to 90 miles per hour. Finally, I remove thin lines from the text, implementing a design decision to add a bit of flare and drama to the word's meaning. (fig 2).

Figure 2: Speed typed in Impact Italicized and with design.

Iconography

Early forms of iconology can be translated from cave paintings. This art documented the existence and events of early man. Why these images were created can certainly be debated, but the iconic paintings show a day in the life of early civilization (fig 3). Furthermore, they recorded events and accomplishments and gave the artist a voice expressing that I can think, I am creative and I exist.

Figure 3: The Bhimbetka cave paintings in India, South Asia. Photo by Raveesh Vyas (Scimix, 2010).

Whatever the case may be, these visual representations can easily be translated as a human event that occurred.

In the renaissance period, iconology is seen in religious sculptures and paintings (fig 4). However, to be understood by the viewer, the design of the image itself must be recognized and understood by many cultures. Erwin Panofsky explains, "To understand the iconographical meaning of the picture he would have to familiarize himself with the content of the Gospels" (Panofsky, 1972). With this being said, one would have to have a practical experience of familiarity with the object in order to derive a meaning.

Figure 4: Christ on the Cross between Mary and St John c. 1512. (Altdorfer)

This idea is understood all too well in the design industry where designers suggest that less is better and simplicity is key. In other words, it is usually the best solution and execution to create iconic imagery that must be understood worldwide. In today's electronic networked society, graphic icons are everywhere. Icons will not replace the written word but do communicate a vast amount of information at a moment's glance.

A graphic design exercise I give in class is to manipulate type and the meaning of a word to create the symbol or icon. I have students limit their design as black text on white and then create a color version. In the color version, I emphasize the use of color to complement the meaning of the object (fig. 5). While color is a vital component in the design process and can constitute other meanings and principles of design, color theory is part of a larger and different discussion entirely.

Figure 5: Typographic symbol exercise. Black and white and color version.

Iconography and Symbols

It is important to note the difference between icons and symbols. As mentioned earlier, the use of iconic imagery, in the purpose of this discussion, is relevant to graphic design solutions to create objects with specific meanings. In iconography, the object created directly relates to its meaning. However, symbols are typically abstract representations of their meanings and are prevalent within computer software and online components. For example, in Photoshop, the paintbrush tool is represented by a

paintbrush . Its meaning is literal and very well understood. If I chose this function, I expect the tool to react in a brush-like fashion. However, in Google

Chrome, I always thought the Google Apps icon to be subjective. After creating my Google account, it took me awhile to find what I was looking for only to discover that it was hidden beneath this icon. I still find myself hovering the cursor over this icon waiting for the definition text to appear in order to reacquaint myself with its function. This is an example of an icon in which the function is not immediately understood by the user and must be learned.

Design

Typography and iconography are essential components within visual communication in today's society. We see it everywhere, and it guides us to our destination or helps us make decisions. It is important that graphic designers understand that sometimes

less is better. This is certainly true in designing an icon or corporate identity image. The viewer must understand the message without much clutter surrounding its meaning.

Twitter's logo (fig. 6) or icon is an interesting solution for what it is. The name associated with the image and the action that one takes to implement the service are demonstrated in the logo. The simplistic logo design or icon of a small bird in fight and the name and terms used by the service, Twitter and Tweet, seem to directly relate to the actions of the icon itself. This symbol took little time in its online introduction to be completely understood as a mainstream communication source in today's electronic society.
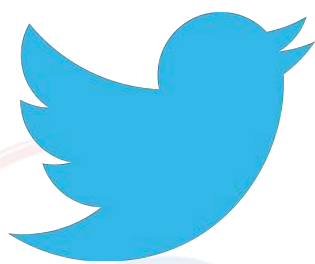
Figure 6. Current version of Twitter logo.

Other icons such as airport, men and women's restroom, and no smoking (fig. 7) are a few of the many iconic graphic representations that can be understood worldwide.
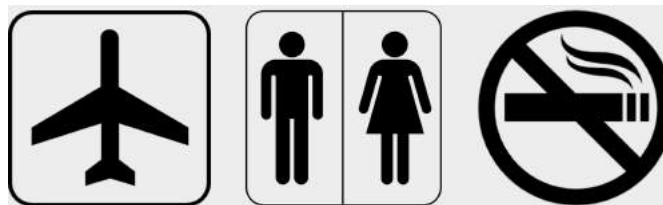
Figure 7: Commonly recognized icons.

Conclusion

Typography and iconography are design tools that have choreographed messages for centuries. Symbols surround us so that audiences can understand literal and emotional meanings within seconds. Typography is the stylization of alphabetic characters using font, size, color, style, organization and position to relay meanings and/or hierarchies of importance. Iconography are images that are easily recognized and have specific meaning to their target audience. These tools are all around us. They are used in social media, advertisements, signs, and in buildings and on roadways to give us direction.

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The Influence of Online Social Communication Networks on the Agenda of the Front Page of Thai Newspapers

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Introduction

The influence of social communication networks in the online world is the new empirical phenomenon spreading across the world. For example- in terms of the U.S. presidential election in late 2008, many scholars agreed that the media and the new online media were the key factors to Barack Obama becoming the first black President of the United States. Micah Sifry, a co-creator of the social-social blog in the States, said that Obama's social success was in part the result of his understanding of the power of the online network that he created to support his campaign. Sifry called it techpresident.com.

In addition, David Almacy, one of the internet service team members and a communication networker in the White House between March 2005 and May 2007 said Obama understood the concept of the power of the online community's communication network from the beginning. Obama focused on sending messages to Twitter every day (Seathapong Malisuvan, 2007: 3) and understood the dynamic interactions between multiple communities and it use n online strategy to create the Obama campaign.

Not only does social networking have a powerful impact on politics in the United States, but it has come to significantly affect politics in Malaysia as well. For example, after recent elections in 2013, the Malaysian Prime Minister admitted that the ruling coalition lost seats to the opposition in a landslide because the government did not pay enough attention to social networks.

Additionally, social networks have had a considerable influence on politics in Thailand. An obvious example is from the social crisis in April 2007 when a group of people who did not agree with the "Red Shirts" gathered to protest against the government. This event resulted in the government dissolving parliament and holding a new election quickly. The 400,000 protesters communicated using Facebook and organized their gatherings through online media (Facebook) which resulted in social change in Thailand.

Social networks are not only important for social communication, but they are also very popular for both consumers and businesses, for example, with the dissemination of information and images about a business and its activities, plus a place to post comments and share experiences. It can be seen that online media serves as a source of vast amounts of data to suit the needs of users when they want to send new messages. (Thanapruek, Chamarath, 2007)

The purpose of this research is to study the influence of social networks on the agenda setting in the front pages of Thai newspapers by using qualitative and quantitative analysis. For the qualitative method, the journalists who made the news selection were interviewed and for the quantitative research, a number of social news that appeared in the online media and printed on the front page of the newspaper was surveyed. The study used the second edition of the newspapers such as *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* daily. The research was conducted by using the news content for twelve months from February 2011 to 30 January 2012 for twelve months

Literature Review

This section presents the theoretical concepts and research related to the approaches used in the study including the Agenda-Setting Theory, the Spiral of Silence Theory, the Communication Technological Determinism concept, the Computer-Mediated Communication Concept, the Virtual Community concept, and the Public Sphere concept.

The Agenda – Setting Theory was used as a framework to study the effects of online social communication on the decision to select news items on the front page of two newspapers which set the social agenda in Thailand. The principles and concepts of the origin of the Agenda- Setting were studied in detail: determining the coverage area, selecting the featured coverage area, adding the news content, reducing the news content, following up the news in the following day, and deciding the period in the news.

Initially, Lippman (1922) formulated the Public Opinion concept and this later lead to the Agenda-Setting Theory. He said that the intermediary that created the images of the brain was media. In 1968, McCombs and Shaw proved this theory again by using extensive research to verify the media's role in a number of Agenda-Setting concepts. The research aimed to determine the effectiveness of the media in reporting news about the presidential election in 1968 and, as a result, expanded the concepts of Agenda-Setting. Based on this prior research, it can be concluded that the agenda-setting role of mass media set social issues to the audience in the general public.

In addition, journalism scholars, Dearing and Rogers (Dearing and Rogers, 1996, pp. 3-6), said the Agenda-Setting process had three major components. First, Media Agenda is an issue which receives media attention and the media determine which issue is important enough to be presented to the public. Second, public importance issue (Public Agenda) is an issue of public attention when the public realizes that an issue is important to themselves and society as a whole. Third, an issue that policymakers focus (Policy Agenda, is from the objectives of governmental authorities which can be expressed in the form of various policies.

Another important factor which explains the role of Agenda Setting is the "degree of concentration of the press which determines the concentration of news in three ways. The first is about the addition or expansion of the news and then, more generally, the news position, the news area and the font size which indicate the importance of the news compared to others. The second is the frequency of the news coverage which is the number of days an item is on the front page of the newspaper. This is important because the more often a news item appears; the more reinforces the audience's interest. The last one is the period of news reporting which is nearly as significant as the frequency. It measures the number of days from the first to the last reporting of a news item.

This is the role of Agenda-Setting on the front page of newspapers. In this research, it will be used as one of the theories in the theoretical framework in order to examine the influence of online news on the front page of *Thairat* and *Matichon* newspapers. The framework of the study is the number of days that each online issue was reported on the front page of the newspaper, how the newspaper followed up the issue and who

influenced the news agenda on the front page of the newspaper the public (public agenda), media (media agenda) and government (policy agenda).

The second theory that was used as a framework for this study was the Spiral of Silence that appears to affect social communication in online media and the front page. -Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. German political scientist explained the principle and theory of the Spiral of Silence in 1974. Spiral of Silence is the term meant to refer to the tendency of people to remain silent when they feel that their views are in opposition to the majority view on a certain subject.

The theory posits that there are a few reasons that they remain quiet. They are, for example. They are, for example, fear of separation when a large group in the community thinks that the person has a different view from the majority position and/or fear of acts of vengeance or greater separation, in the sense that expression of thoughts or views might lead to a negative effect worse than mere separation (loss of a job, social standing, etc.).

The theory relies on the basic instincts of people combined with their social context when they are in a situation where there is a difference of opinion with the existing view. The spiral is created or reinforced when someone with the perceived majority opinion speaks out confidently in support of this majority opinion and people in the minority begin to be more and more distanced from a place where they are comfortable to voice their views and start to experience the aforementioned fears. The spiral effect can continue to impact the minority people who have a different opinion from the majority. Those people who have an underground idea may express it publicly later if they have chance and it may provoke a violent situation.

The weakest parts of the spiral are those of the vocal minority and the internet. First, the internet apparently levels the playing field, where a minority opinion would not be felt by the individual as a minority opinion and might be voiced in that showground whereas the individual would have not been so vocal in another place of public discourse. Second, there are some individuals in the vocal minority with unusual ideas, like cats need the right to vote, that they constantly express who are seemingly outside of the effects of the Spiral of Silence.

This study examined the factors that affect the agenda issue from the spiral of Silence theory, for example, the attention of journalists, editors and receivers that affects the news agenda on the front page of newspapers. The data from in-depth interviews were examined. An expected result is that the interest of these individuals becomes the sound of silence that influences the agenda on the front page of the newspapers.

Technological determinism concept
The technological determinism concept was summarized by Merritt Roe Smith as the principle of technology as a major force in society. Later, this idea was developed by Bruce Bimber who statedthat technological development determined social change. Technological development changes the ideas of people and how they cooperate with others and can be described as a three-word logical proposition: "Technology determines history." Michael L. Smith believed that social progress is driven by technological innovation, which in turn follows an "inevitable" course. This idea of progress or doctrine of progress is centralized around the idea that social problems can be solved by technological advancement, and this is the way that society moves forward.

In addition, technological determinism was defined by Croteau and Hoynes as an approach that identifies technology, or technological advances, as the central causal element in processes of social change. As technology is stabilized, its design tends to dictate users' behaviors, consequently diminishing human agency. This stance, however, ignores the social and cultural circumstances in which the technology was developed. Sociologist Claude Fischer (1992) characterized the most prominent forms of technological determinism as "billiard ball" approaches, in which technology is seen as an external force introduced into a social situation, producing a series of ricochet effects.

Before acknowledging that a society or culture interacts with and even shapes the technologies that are used, a technological determinist view, as express by Neil Postman, holds that "the uses made of technology are largely determined by the structure of the technology itself, that is, that its functions follow from its form." However, this is not to be confused with the inevitability thesis by Daniel Chandler which stated that once a technology is introduced into a culture, what follows is the inevitable development of that technology.

Virtual community concept

The virtual community concept was used in this research as it is one of the online community concepts. A virtual community is an area of mutual exchange of ideas crossing geographical and political boundaries in order to pursue mutual interests or goals. One of the most pervasive types of virtual communities operates under social networking services consisting of various online communities

Haward Rheingold wrote the book with the same title of the terms of virtual community. The discussion in his book covers Rheingold's adventures on The WELL, computer-mediated communication and social groups, and information science including the use of internet, chat rooms and electronic mailing lists by a large society of members from around the world belonging to a virtual community.

The result of early research based on media-based communities was concerned with the nature of reality that existed through the media. This research put the result into the field of social science under the name of Ontology.

Another researcher, Benedict Anderson explained in 1983 that the imagined communities concerning the different technologies, example, and national newspaper, that the virtual communities showed the development of national and regional consciousness in the early nation states.

In addition, in 1981, a variety of social and professional groups were explained by Plato as the interaction between community members from a person and simply official such as email distribution list operates on an informational stage. In the mid-1990s, the proliferation of virtual communities in the form of social networking services and online communities was fostered by the explosive diffusion of the Internet. Technologies with the community had be analyzed clearly the virtual community. Plato assumed that social interaction between exchange and users online was depended upon online communities.

The concept of the virtual community is one of the variables in the study to examine how online content is used to bring about the creation of a virtual online world. In addition, in-depth interviews of editors and journalists were used to verify if they check whether the contents of the online news are propaganda that could be used to influence this virtual community.

Method

In the research, we have two methods were used for collecting data: quantitative and qualitative method. For quantitative, the researcher chose the online social issues that were the most commented on each day from the *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* Facebook pages for twelve months between 1 January and 31 December 2011 for a total of 356 pages. Next, the news items which was chosen from online and that was with the most commented on was checked to see if it was presented on the front pages of both *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* newspapers. After that, the news items that were presented on the front pages of both newspapers were examined to determine the frequency of news reporting and the news position on the front page.

Afterwards, based on the Agenda-Setting Theory, we examined the type of communication was examined from the online news that was selected for the front page of the newspapers. Communication patterns were divided into three categories: cognitive communication, interactive communication, and expressive communication. After that, each communication style was ranked according to frequency and percentage, from the least to the most frequency.

 For the qualitative method, in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of twelve interviewees: three editors and three journalists who work on the front page of *Thai Rath* and three editors and three journalists who work on the front page of *Matichon*. For the interviews, we conducted a standardized interview about the process of news making after the decision to select the social online news for the front of the newspaper was conducted: how to verify the content, sources, credibility and objectivity, as well as how to determine the news positions and follow-up, according to Agenda-Setting.

For data collection, *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* daily newspapers were chosen to represent quantitative and qualitative newspapers, respectively. *Thai Rath* is the best-selling quantitative newspaper in Thailand and it presents qualitative and quantitative news on the front page. Likewise, *Matichon* is the best-selling qualitative newspaper in Thailand and its reports include qualitative and quantitative news on the front page. Moreover, the period of February 2011 to January 2012 was chosen for this study because it was the time when online news became more popular. In addition, an initial survey found that the most popular online news tended to appear on the front page of daily newspapers.

Intended for in-depth interview, we selected the question for news processing on the front page of newspaper such as, news processing in editorial room: how to select some issue from online news and what is the theme to set the coverage area on the front page, determining the level of continuity in reporting: how to decide on the online news in the following days and why to bring to an end presenting the following news and how to evaluate whether or not online news can set the agenda on the front page. For in-depth interviews, the interviews will give examples of news that has ranked in the quantitative methods

Research results

The study results are presented as follows. There were five main results for the qualitative method from extensive interviews with sub-editors and reporters from both *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* newspapers about the influence of social online communication networks on the agenda of the front page of Thai newspapers: first, news processing in the editorial room; second, validating the accuracy of content before reporting; third, setting area on the front page; fourth, determining the level of continuity in reporting, and fifth, evaluating whether or not social online news can set the agenda on the front page.

First of the qualitative results is news processing in the editorial room. Both newspapers choose the news issues during the daily editorial staff meetings. To start, the online reporters discuss issues from various news areas in the editorial room. The consideration of the choice of social online news items is based on the same criterion as the newspaper. For example, editors will check the source credit and content reliability from other sources to prevent rumors, misinformation or defamation. Next, after selecting the online news in the editorial room, the online news issues that are selected will be sent to the concerned news desk, such as the online news concerning economic news will be directed to the economic desk. Later, the economic desk will check the news content including the accountability, the other sources and the credibility. Then, the news will be sent to the front page desk where it will be edited and checked again by the front page editor before its area is set on the front page.

The second of the qualitative results is validating the accuracy of the content before reporting it on the front page. For the two newspapers, the social online news items that are transferred to the concerned desk should be checked again to confirm the accuracy of the information before being reported on the front page of the newspaper.

For example, SimSimi[1] website news is the most popular player in Thailand in social media that is reported by online media, including Facebook and websites. SimSimi news receives a lot of comments from online readers and *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* editors often choose it for the front page of their newspapers. Before newspaper reporting, this news is sent to the concerned desk (Information Technology desk, IT). The IT desk has to check the accuracy of the content by comparing it with one or more websites. For example, the IT desk editor compares the content of SimSimi news with two or more websites to determine if they reported the same or different content.

In addition to examining the accuracy in the above situations, for other online news, if the editor is unsure about some facts or information, such as a number, a date, or a name of a victim related to the news item, the editor will ask the reporter to confirm the data. If this happens, the reporter will need to contact other sources to make certain the information is correct.

In the following example of the news about a member of parliament voting more than one time in parliament by using the voting cards from other members of parliament, the editor should ask the reporter about the facts, such as how many members of

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[1]
  SimSimi was created by ISMaker in 2002 as an artificial intelligence chat program. In Thailand, the program has led to argument and protest for some of its content, including swear words and has been disapproved of by leading politicians. SimSimi is pronounced "shim-shimi". It comes from the word "bored" in Korean, which is *Simsim* (심심). This program works on Android, Windows Phone and iOS systems.

parliament were involved, who they are, etc. For inquiry before reporting, the editor should require more than one source to check the reliability and facts. Additionally, the editor should inquire about the various comments from the concerned sources, such as the opposition politician who saw this event, parliament technician, etc.

In the following days, if the news content is continued on the internet or other media, the editor will check the progressive content and report it on another day. For example, if the parliament police can find the suspected politician who voted more than once in parliament by using other voting cards, it will be reported on a subsequent day.

The third of the qualitative results is setting area on the front page. After the concerning desk has already processed the accurate online news content, the front page editor will edit and check it again before its area is set on the front page. For setting on the front page, the editor will examine the importance of the issues and compare them with other news that have been prepared for the front page of the newspaper and determine the priorities of the issues.

For instance, on the first day of the SimSimi news item, *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* reported that it found that a group of teenagers used profanity on the SimSimi website. In the following days, with the progress of the news, it was reported that the Minister of Culture received complaints from parents that children had much more aggressive behavior after they joined this program. On the last day, the story was updated with the news that the behavior of SimSimi users would change in a positive way because the website would not allow users to use swears words. In this case, if this news story had continued, the editor would have reported it on a following day.

For editor correction, the accuracy of the online news data is reviewed again, such as the spelling of the source's name. The front page editor will also check the contents using logic, common sense and previous experience. For example, with news about a nude clip that was opened during a meeting of parliament, *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* editors should check the concerned sources before reporting, such as members of parliament who were involved in these events or who were in attendance at that time. It is very important for the press to verify the accuracy of news, especially with news that can affect the country's reputation.

The fourth qualitative result is to determine the level of continuity in reporting. The front page editor should check the importance of news content each day such as news progress impacts, changes in the events or the final outcome of the news. If the issue has just comments, the editor will reduce the area of presentation on the front page of the newspaper. In addition, if the issue has only comments and they do not affect the events, they will be presented as an article or report on another page of the newspaper. For instance, the news about "Twin Punch Varajath" (a lecturer at Thammasat University) was reported continuously by *Thai Rath* and *Matichon*. The first day, the news about the twin brothers' sharp shooting skills was reported and it was presented as the biggest news on the front page. In addition, *Thai Rath* also presented Varajath news with a photo of the twins in the coverage and added to the news content by reporting that in the past, one brother was arrested for carrying concealed fire arms and now, the other was charged with assaulting Varajath.

The last qualitative research result is regarding the evaluation of whether or not social online news can set the agenda on the front page. Songporn Srisuvan, the *Matichon* front page editor, said, "If the social online news can set the agenda on the front page, it will depend on the importance of the news and public attention. If the issue ends, journalists will stop reporting it. In contrast, if the news also gets attention from the public, it will get ongoing presentation. In addition, if the news has less progression, it will be presented on another newspaper page."

Discussion

Social online news can set the front page agenda if it is important and gets public attention as determined by the front page editor. In addition, the role of social online news also determines critical awareness and can set the agenda for the newspaper audience.

It can be concluded that the social news online influences the news agenda to the public by media agenda and public agenda based on Agenda-Setting Theory.(Dearing and Rogers mentioned that media agenda and public agenda are the elements of agenda setting in 1996) In addition, social online media also serves to determine the degree (news area) of the coverage. The last point is that the mission of the media is to try to act as a filter of news (media gate keeping) that aims to influence the audience according to an agenda.

For reducing the news priority of social online news on the front page, the front page editor would reduce the level of importance of social online news if the news did not progress and was not consistent. This concept of consistency is from Windahl, Signizer and Olson's concept about the effect of news content.

In addition, online news that was reduced in the level of importance in the newspaper on the following day was the online news that also had fewer comments on the following day. Online news that has a reduced priority will also be reduced in terms of the space on the front page of the newspaper or may be moved to a related page. The reduction of online news on the front page of the newspaper is part of the Agenda-Setting Theory.

In addition, technology development has impacted newspaper content because information flows quickly in online media. To create a commercial advantage over the online news content, the newspaper should adjust the news content with additional depth, width, fairness, human interest and objectivity. Consistent with Chaffee and Metzger' study, it can be concluded that technology has caused changes in traditional media.

In addition, the importance of social information can be seen in the creation of social networks that can be linked by virtual networks to create virtual communities. This shows the power of audience comments that can be considered "the sound of silence" of the social network, consistent with Marshall McLuhan's study of virtual communication.

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E-Solha: Peacebuilding in Information Technology Age in Afghanistan

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Abstract

Violence is the greatest challenge for Afghanistan in particular and the world in general. Both Afghan government and people want to promote peace and tranquility which could be possible with the tools offered by information communication technologies (ICTs). This study proposes an ICT based solution for peace building and conflict mitigation namely "e-Solha". The purpose of this system is to promote brotherhood, unity and trust amongst Afghan masses. The prominent features of e-Solha include: (i)information sharing procedure; (ii)platform for humanitarian community; (iii)wider collaboration between various organization; (iv)policy-oriented environment for conflict prevention and peace operation;(v) e-dialogue for peace;(vi) foresee potential capacity etc. Moreover, this system could provide customized portal for sharing information such as news, books, maps, magazines, print media, radio and video, articles etc. The encouragement of using social media as a tool for enhance peace, conflict prevention among people, violence prevention etc. This system will appeal users through providing services with better quality across the country. This environment enables people to extend unity and peace building relationships among the people and role of social media about Peacebuilding as national and international across the world. Indeed, e-Solha will accelerate the peace environment with efficiently and smoothly to remote area in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Communication Media; platform for humanitarian environment; e-dialogue; Information Communication Technology; e-Solha;

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Introduction

The last couple of years has been devastating for Afghanistan and surrounding areas. It is also one of the unfortunate countries that lack a peace. The number of conflict has increased massively since 30 years' war in Afghanistan. After the overthrow of the Taliban regime in the late 2001, Afghanistan appealed to the international donors for rebuilding the Afghan society and enhance Peacebuilding among Afghans due to various approach. Afghan government and people are willing to provide peaceful environment for citizens and to involve citizens for keeping peace. Moreover, involving social activities to enhance social capacities among citizens for ending and avoiding violent conflict and for management of peaceful conflict is the aim of Afghan government (Smith, 2004). Most of the scholars, practioners, international and regional organizations are attempting to institutionalizes picture of peacebuilding across the world (Michael Barnett, 2007). UN Secretary-Genearal Kofi Annan's proposed a peacebuilding commission, supportive office for peacebuilding, budget etc to institutionalize the peacebuilding at the very highest level to increase incentives ideas for cooperation with peacebuilding (Michael Barnett, 2007). Meanwhile, international and domestic scholars, actors, etc have strong interest to contribute peace in various part of land (Michael Barnett, 2007). The Afghan government priorities long-term peace for citizens acorss the country.

This study proposes an ICT-based solution for Peacebuilding and conflict mitigation namely "e-Solha: Peacebuilding in Information Technology Age in Afghanistan". The purpose of this system is to promote brotherhood, unity and trust amongst Afghan masses. The prominent features of e-Solha includes: (i) information sharing procedure; (ii) platform for humanitarian community; (iii) wider collaboration between various organization; (iv) policy-oriented environment for conflict prevention and peace operation;(v) e-dialogue for peace culture;(vi) foresee potential capacity etc. Moreover, this system will offer a customized portal for sharing information such as news, books, maps, magazines, print media, radio and video, articles etc. among citizens. The aim of the stated system is not only to create peace culture across the country, but also offers a comprehensive package to improve reconciliation, community dialogue between different people, increase human rights across the country, promoting environmental awareness, creating bridges between different communities in Afghanistan (Michael Barnett, 2007). Indeed, e-Solha merging various knowledge especially generalized knowledge with specific circumstances on the land scape to offer an outstanding recommendation (Michael Barnett, 2007) in term of information and communication technology and most of the scholars, policymakers monitor the Peacebuilding approach to being institutionalized and attempt to ensure that this is the understanding way of keeping peace culture across the world. Globally, more people have the opportunity to actively participate in social networks and offer useful ICTs tools to impact the process of peace culture among citizens in Afghanistan even across the world (Larrauri, 2013). In addition, the Afghan government has a wide vision to provide a peace keeping infrastructure among people especially new generation and to overcome the atrocities which destroy a community through different ways such as devastating effects on physical and emotional trauma (Ngwenyama, 2010).

1. e-Solha

Over the past couple of years various states, local and international organizations, public and private organizations dedicated more resources and developed more ICTs based system to offer peace keeping possible solutions to existing issues across the world.(Barnett, 2006). Meanwhile, the mentioned organizations are willing to replace the old-fashioned media (radio, TV, print, journalism etc.) although the noticed media playing vital role in providing information and shape general view of the society to citizenry (Igwe, 2013). ICTs usage expanding faster in the developing countries even in the world and ICTs tools provide the opportunity to participants to share their valuable ideas to engage new ways or possible solutions for Peacebuilding culture (Larrauri, 2013) between people. At the present, new technology has vital role in term of peace keeping and new technology will empower the people to manage conflicts and reduce the gap between conflicts.Moreover, to offer an innovation and opportunities through using new technology (Larrauri, 2013). In addition, new technology innovations have provided opportunities and outlets through which communication and information flows accelerated and new space opened up for different communities to play a vital role in reducing conflicts (Igwe, 2013).

At the present, Afghan government spending more resouces to reduce conflicts and crisises across the country through different ways such as dialouge, ICTs, social media etc. In essence, the governement has responsibility to provide sustained basis to citizenry which is the foundation of growth, development etc of the society (Igwe, 2013). The Afghan government has long-term argue with Taliban to empower and enable Afghan society through creation of efficient and effective ways, and to promote peacebuilding culture among Afghan citizenry. The lack of a systematic approach for conflict prevention is the main reason of Afghan society. At the same time, UN programes, NGOs, donor agenices are appealing to support Afghan government to promot Peacebuilding culture across the country. It means that there is and urgent need for coherence, international and local networks, sustainable long-term infrastructure and durable outstanding planning to improve peace in Afghanistan (Tobi P.Dress, 2005).

With the accelerating pace of using diverse range of communication tools to change communication among people. The authors of this study proposes a framework to enhance peacekeeping thorugh ICTs called *e-Solha.* The stated system considered as a driver of social conflict and making peacebuilding through ICTs (Igwe, 2013) as self-communication druing usage of internet or wireless communication networks. e-Solha will follow the bottom-up approach to involve individuals and whole communitites to create opportunities for greater self-sufficiency during crisis and conflict (Igwe, 2013). At the same time, this study recognize the social media and other communication ways could be strong elements of staibility, rebuilding, long-term development, peacebuilding etc (Igwe, 2013) and the authors are thinking systemic to replace the current fragmentation in term of conflict. Moreover, the mentioned study will reduce the vis-à-vis conflict and eruption of conflicts in the targeted area and design a Peacebuilding infrastructure to overcome conflict in Afghanistan, promote linkages between gaps (Tobi P.Dress, 2005). The other essential approach to improve peace culture among people are inter-disciplinary such as human rights, development economics and democracy (Tobi P.Dress, 2005).

1.1 Framework

E-Solha framework combines two parts: server responsiveness capacity and client request capacity (*see Figure 1*). The client request capacity side has general interface to access the mentioned system easily with outstanding features such as (i)policy-oriented environment for conflict prevention and peace operation;(ii) e-dialogue for peace culture;(iii) foresee potential capacity etc. . The mentioned framework uses different technologies such as AJAX, PHP, JavaScript, Database etc. to provide services such as accessing, searching, sharing, etc. to people related to Peacebuilding.
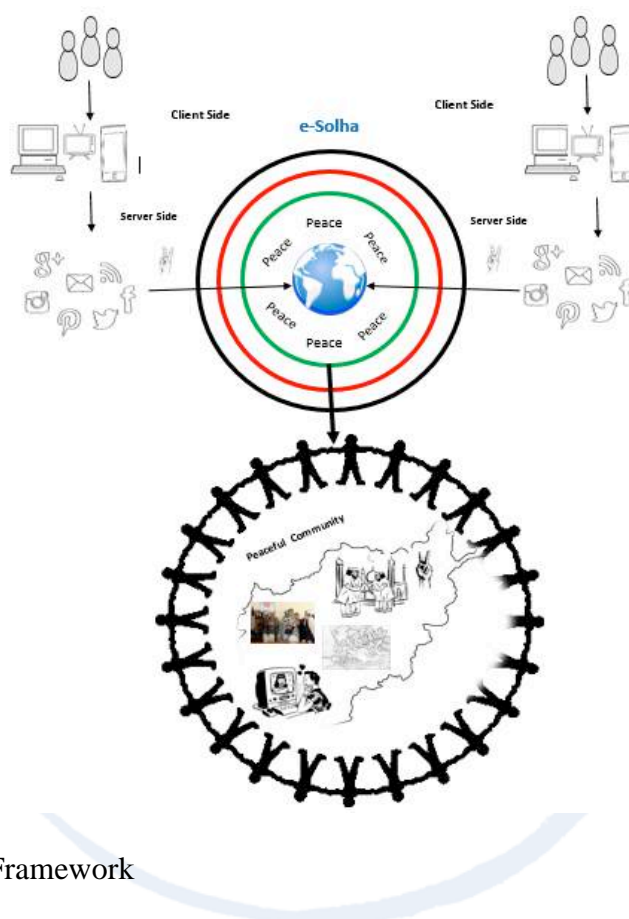
Figure 1: e-Solha Framework

1.2 Product Scope

As above mentioned Peacebuilding is generally an external factor that is intended to overcome or reduce the existing issues that will erupt into or return to conflict in the society(Michael Barnett, 2007). This study hopes that e-Solha will offer a comprehensive product package to improve peacekeeping culture among citizenry in Afghanistan. The prominent features or products are include: (i) information sharing procedure; (ii) platform for humanitarian community; (iii) wider collaboration between various organization; (iv) policy-oriented environment for conflict prevention and peace operation;(v) e-dialogue for peace;(vi) foresee potential capacity etc. The stated features are not accidental, however that will be sustainable, well planned, well organized, and strategized for better improvement of the framework (Tobi P.Dress, 2005). The other feature of e-Solha is to reduce domestic voilence which has devastating impacts on women in Afghanistan (Ngwenyama, 2010). In this circumstance citizenry are obligated ot respect international law and fulfil the women

rights across the country (Tobi P.Dress, 2005). The main stackholders of Peacebuilding are women which e-Solha will involve to peacekeeping culture (Tobi P.Dress, 2005).The noted framework will utilized the Afghan social development in marginalized communities and explore the role of e-Solha in field of mediation and violence prevention (Ngwenyama, 2010). Furthermore, e-Solha offers a socialy communities to sustain the current socioeconomic inequalities within Afghan different communities (Rajendra Kumar, 2006). Protection facilities are the outcome of community mediation through ICTs (Ngwenyama, 2010) to overcome the the theft causes across the country which is the main part of e-Solha.

At the end, the presence of ICTs can provide opportunity to build and increase social inclusion and self-actualize inside a community to realize their hopes and goals (Ngwenyama, 2010). Informatin Technology can strengthen the reconciliation, acountability, truth-seeking etc processes to encourage citiznery of Afghanistan even global world (Hattotuwa, 2010) to promote peace culture among people through social media such as radio, television, internet, digital communication etc and demonstrat good practices.

1.3 Development Strategy

The authors use agile method for development of the system (see *figure 2*) to deliver a high quality system to address user requirements (Amran Hossain, 2013). The stated method is rapid and flexible to changes and it is an iterative approach to improve teamwork, collaboration among users and designer and receive valuable comments and feedback from users to improve the e-Solha framework with outstanding service to users.
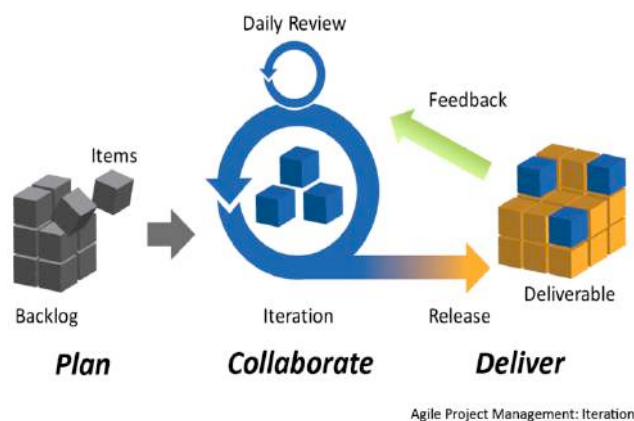
Figure 2: Agile method for system development

2. Evaluation Strategy

To ensure the end product will never display any functional or technical errors. E-Solha will be tested repeatedly in the Lab, expert-walk through and finally field test which will be carry out in Afghanistan with real users. Lab test will be preform in P*LAB at Kobe Institute of Computing that the stated lab members will interact certain duration with system and they will give us valuable comments and feedback to improve system prototype. After that we will go through expert-walk through, we will place the system prototype before experts to receive valuable comments, feedback and

green signal. After getting green signal from experts, the authors are going to field test which will be preform in Afghanistan with perspective users in the real environment.

3. Possible Limitations

Despite of the potential advantages of the e-Solha which stated above, new technologies do not work always as expected due to technical issues, complex architecture of information flow. Furthermore, usage of ICTs are the other limitation of the system. Because, ICTs are useful for those who know the usage of the technologies as effectively and understand the importance of the ICTs (radio, television, social media, magazines, mobile, internet etc.) (Dr.Choi Soon-Hong, 2011) because citizenry do not have the equal knowledge related to ICTs usage. Moreover, weak network infrastructure has negative effects on creating social network for citizenry. It means there is an urgent need to provide a sustainable infrastructure to implement the noticed framework. E-Solha system is trying to overcome the possible limitation in the future work.

4. Future work

This study, trying to focus on qualitative and quantitative point of views to overcome the future limitations of the system which are include of network infrastructure, skill of usage, implementational and operational issues etc. Furthermore, e-Solha will be used in the future to address users' need and provide services to users across the country. The authors are trying to extend the system to a comprehensive package to general users to promote peace keeping and building culture among new generation. Indeed, peace and Peacebuilding is the backbone of peaceful and educational society.

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Social Media as a Game Changer in the 2014 Indian Parliamentary Election: A Study of the Indian Diaspora Society in Canada and Oman

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Abstract
India is the seventh largest democracy of the world. Legislature, Executive, Judiciary and Press are its four pillars. So, media and politics have been cheek by jowl from many decades. Since Britishers till now, media is playing its significant role. Its role becomes more powerful with the advent of social media, because people got a platform to express themselves. 2009 election was different from 2014 Parliamentary Election. Earlier election campaigns were limited to rallies, public meetings, door to door canvassing, newspapers, magazines, radio and televisions.2014 Parliamentary Election has become a milestone in the history of Indian Election. For the first time Bharatiya Janta Party, Aam Adami Party and many other political parties utilized Facebook, twitter, Websites, E-mail, SMS, Mobile Phones, Internet Banners, and Online Advertising as major tools of communication to reach to maximum publics. This study aims to evaluate the efficaciousness of Social Media as a game changer in Indian Parliamentary Election 2014. The study will also try to explore mindset of Indian diaspora society in Canada and Oman. Why and how they got involved in this election and they influenced the result of elections. Because of Social Media, particular election campaign strategies followed by politician had given a new flank to the Indian politics. The study would show how Indian and Non-resident Indian (NRI) took this Parliamentary Election and change their decision in favor of good governance rather than choosing hackneyed issues like secularism and so on.

Keywords: *Social Media, Parliamentary Election, Election Campaign, Communication tools, Communication Strategies, Political Parties, Game Changer etc.*

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Introduction: India 16th parliamentary election was held in nine phases for all 543 constituencies of India. Polling was started from 7th April to 12 May 2014 and results were declared on 16th May 2014. As per the record of Election Commission of India, 814.5 million voters were about to use their voting rights. 66.38% voters actually casted their votes during all nine phases of polling which is a record in the history of Indian Election. 2014 Parliamentary Election considered as a milestone for many reasons. Common public of India got fed up with the policies, corruption and inflation of United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government. Public of India were looking for a change in the leadership of the nation. Mean time name of Narendra Modi from Bhartiya Janta Party appeared on social media as a strong leader. Indian society started dreaming Narendra Modi as a Prime Minister. There were so many campaigns started on social media to support Narendra Modi. This is the main point where social media role became significant. Like US Presidential election campaign, first time Indian political parties had utilized social media. Politicians realized the power of virtual world that's why they used it to attract the youth who were going to use their vote first time.

In 2009 Parliamentary election, some political parties set up a digital war room but they could not utilize it in effective way. In 2014, Bhartiya Janta party had become first political party who used unique combination of Satellite, DTH, internet; Facebook, Twitter and Google+ hang out to reach its maximum public across the nation. Social Networking Sites have emerged as a major player during election campaign. Different Political parties and their candidates started competing each other in breaking news, messages over Facebook and Twitter. Even electronic media started following Facebook status, and Twits of renowned politician. Analysis of UPA government works and debates started on social media. Facebook and Twitter were full of debate and discussion on the issues like slow economic growth of India, inflation, corruption, women security, unemployment, infrastructure development, and communalism. The supporters of different political parties started commenting on these political issues on FB and Twitter. It had also been noticed that their discussion and comments turned up into quarrel on FB wall. This trend showed that social media would colossal affect the result of Parliamentary election. Above trend differentiate 2014 Parliamentary election to erstwhile elections.

Methodology: This study is based on content analysis of newspapers, available on internet, survey and In-depth interview. Data are collected from Indian diaspora society of Canada and Oman with the help of questionnaire and schedule interviews. Qualitative research method is applied to get result.

Social Media: An Overview
Year 2002, first social networking site "Friendstar" started in US and within three months, 3 million users got registered. In 2003, MySpace social networking site launched and Facebook got started after it in 2004 by Mark Zukerberg. FB became famous among youngster due to its features. Podcasting started in the same year and Flicker image website was founded as a social news website. Now people can share their stories across the world. YouTube also began storing and retrieving different types of videos in 2005. FB defeated MySpace during 2008in terms of monthly visitors. FB became the most used social network worldwide in 2009. More than 3 billion users are across the world.

Internet Users by Region
As of July 1, 2013:

243,198,922 internet users are in India alone and it is growing by 14 to 15% per year. In 2013 Facebook users became 1.11 billion. Near about 108,000,000 people use FB in India only. The numbers of FB users in big metro cities are as followed-

Delhi- 11,000,000
Mumbai- 7,400,000
Bangalore- 4,800,000
Chennai- 4,400,000
Kolkata- 4,400,000

Social Media- A Game Changer
Actually, above internet users numbers are a huge number which attracted Indian politicians to step into social media world. They realized that large number of population can be directly addressable online. A study by Pew Research says that 45% Indian internet user connect to social media to discuss political issues. And this is the reason, Politicians cannot afford them to ignore. Many political parties had extended their presence on the Internet during general election 2014. But among all Indian politicians, BJP's prime ministerial candidate, Narendra Modi was the first person who set up a website and utilized all types of social media. Modi main opponent Rahul Gandhi, the undeclared PM candidate of congress party did not use a website and other social media. Anna Hazare movement activist and India against corruption campaigner turned- politician Arvind Kejriwal had utilized all types of social media to reach general public. He urged for fund for the election campaign.

The followers and likes on the social media may not turn into votes but it cannot be ignored also at the same time. It definitely throws in a few interesting figures. Narendra Modi from BJP and Arvind Kejriwal from AAP were more active on their online campaign. Some left parties like Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) used social media. DMK chief M Karunanidhi and his son M K Stalin had also joined Twitter and Facebook to woo young educated voters who were going to cast their vote first time.

List of Politician who used Social Media during General election 2014

Narendra Modi-   First connected to twitter from January 2009
                      As of March 18, 2014- his followers on Twitter 35.5Lakhs
                      Twitting 10 to 12 times in a day during his election campaign
Arvind Kejriwal- First connected to twitter from November 2011 almost three year after Modi. And before launching of AAP
                      As of March 18, 2014- his followers on Twitter 1.51Lakhs
                      Twitting 15 to 20 times in a day during his election campaign
Shashi Tharoor- Congress MP, his followers on Twitter 21 lakhs
                      He posted a lot of pictures of him interacting with the voters in
                      his constituency.
Gul Panag-   AAP candidate from Chandigarh, 8 Lakhs followers
Nandan Nilekani- Congress candidate from South, 80,000 followers
Anant Kumar-   BJP candidate from South 22,000 followers

Kapil Sibal- Congress candidate from Chandani Chawk
77,000 followers
Ashutosh- AAP candidate from Chandani Chawk, 1.45 lakhs followers
Shazia Ilami- AAP candidate from Ghaziabad, 93,000 followers
Shusma Swaraj- BJP candidate from Vidisha (MP)
Rajnath Singh- BJP candidate from Lucknow, 2 lakhs followers
Jay Panda- BJP candidate, 50,000 followers
Milind Deora- Congress candidate, 1.24 lakhs followers
Mandya Ramya- Congress candidate, 2.22 lakhs followers

The Congress President Sonia Gandhi and Vice President Rahul Gandhi were not on any social media. They were using traditional way of canvassing in general election. Congress had realized that their opponent party was ahead of them. Blogworks had also mentioned in their report that BJP prime ministerial candidate Narendra Damodar Bhai Modi continued to be most mentioned on Social Media. Congress supporters opened fake accounts and started using different hashtags against Modi on Facebook and Twitter like #FakuExpress and www.fekuexpress.com etc.

Narendra Modi supporters created Joke of Pappu for Rahul Gandhi. Facebook and Twitter walls were full of Pappu and Feku jokes. U tern and Kajri Bai name were used for Arvind Kejriwal. To create awareness about Modi Visit in different cities #NAMOInHyd, NAMOInVaranasi etc. were used. NAMO, RaGa Gandhi and AK were Abbreviation used for Modi, Rahul, and Arvind Kejariwal. AAP convener Arvind Kejriwal was trying to encash scandals during UPA 2. He was taking up this issue through media to the public that all politicians were corrupt. Increasing food prices and women security were also some issues which was discussed by the youth of India online.

After seeing this trend, a lot of blather and speculation were started over the impact of social media networks on elections' outcome. The big reason behind such kind of speculation were those movements which were fuelled by social media like Anna Hazare's Movement for Jan Lok Pal Bill, India against corruption, justice for Damini etc. One google based survey showed that social media would impact 30% seats in Lok Sabha Poll. It might be 160 of 543.

IAMAI also released a report which said that social media campaigns could swing 3% to 4% votes in 24 states. **The Hindu** newspaper also published "Facebook users swing the result in 160 Lok Sabha Constituencies."

Word of mouth carried out offline. Those who were passively engaged with comment and conversation carried out the opinion offline to family, friends, relatives and their colleagues. Thus social media had become a huge source of influence even in the physical world. Easy accessibility for new users and female voters, powerful platform to educate, inform, transparent, fast and quick and enabling everyone to share are some qualities of social media which could connect a huge mass to the internet worldwide. Mobile phones became also a great tool to reach to people. AAP political party had signed up thousands of members by urging people to give them missed call for free. BJP social media and IT head Arvind Gupta said that mobile had become an integral and most unique electioneering tool which allowed potential voters to listen Modi rally speeches on their cell phones.

Criticism of Modi was on its full swing on social media. But he tried to perform his best. Sometimes it seemed that Facebook and Twitters 'walls were looking like war place. He used video conferencing which connected his with 10000 tea stalls in 300 cities at the same time. He could reach to lakhs of his supporters and curious onlookers. The event named "Chai Pe Charcha" was organized by NGO citizens who were accountable for governance. It appealed the youth of India who were very keen towards use of technology. The programme was relayed live from Iskon Gandhi Tea Stall in western Ahmedabad. National and International all types of media covered that event. **The Washington Post** wrote, "Modi the son of a train Station tea vendor is vying for power with Rahul Gandhi 43 year-old scion of the powerful political dynasty that has nominated the congress party".

Data Analysis
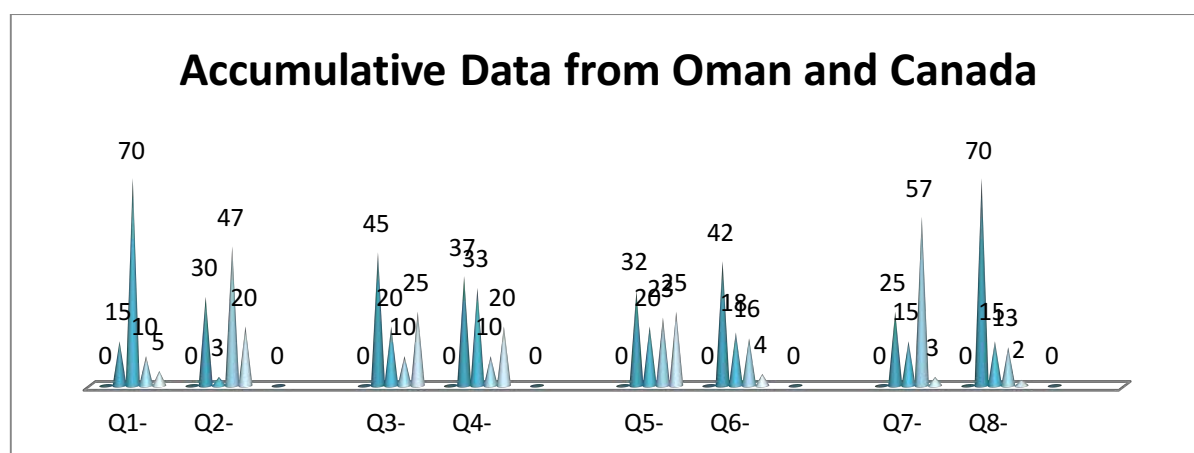
Graph No. A

Above graph presents an accumulative data from Oman and Canada. Random sampling method is applied to collect primary data from Salalah, Sohar and Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, and Montrell, Canada. The sample size was one hundred. I could have only 10 data from Montrell, Canada through one of my friend Ms. Madhu Sawney. Rest ninety data are from Oman. Both countries NRIs are from different states of India like Gujrat, Punjab, Delhi, Karnataka, Chennai, Hyderabad, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. They were interviewed through scheduled questionnaire. To ensure qualitative research, samples are gathered from public and private sectors, hospitals, academic institutions etc. Questionnaire has total eight questions to reach to objective of research. Variables are election fever and pattern of social media use.

In answer to first question, 70% of the respondents said that parliamentary election was hugely affected by Social Media. Graph 2 shows that 15% believed it as erstwhile election, while 10% NRI believed that it was not much affected. Only 5% thought that it is not affected.

Q 1- How do you see parliamentary election 2014?
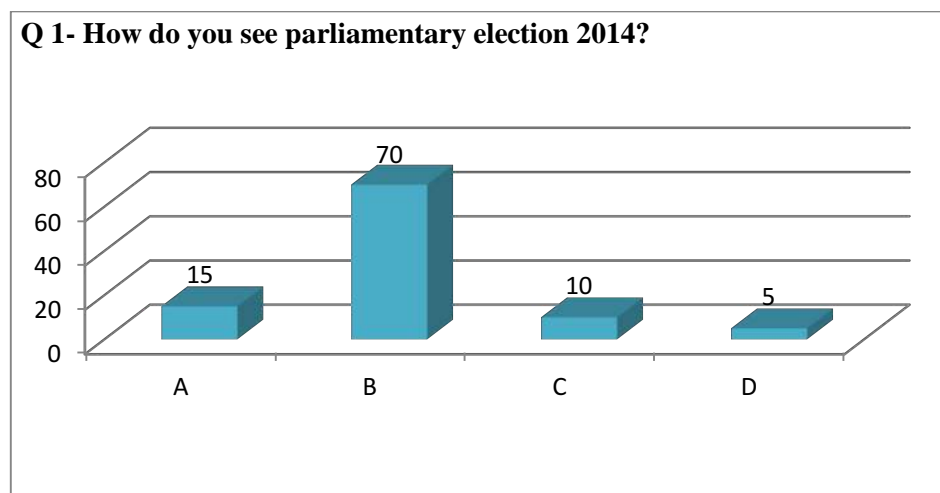
Graph No. 1

During parliamentary election, 47% member of Indian Diaspora from Montrell, Canada and Salalah Oman got involved through TV. They said that TV is still more easy and comfortable medium to access news and entertainment. 30% NRI used Facebook to connect to their country's politics. 3% NRI said that they used internet newspaper portal to know election news and activities.

Q 2- How did you get involved in your country election while you are living abroad?
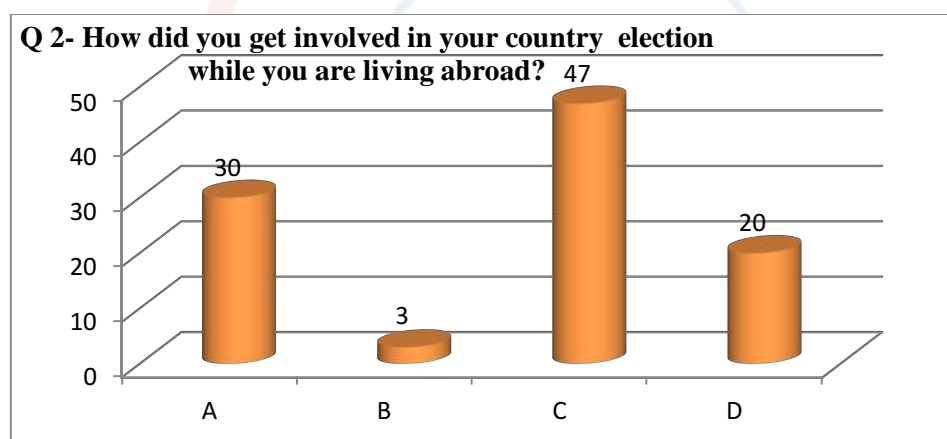
Graph No. 2

To the question of social media use, 45% NRI said that they are connected with Facebook, while 20% are with Twitter. 10% respondents said that they use YouTube to seek special types of interview of renowned politician. Congress Vice President Rahul Gandhi's interview on Times Now Channel with Arnav Goswami and BJP Prime Ministerial candidate Mr. Narendra Modi interview on India TV with Rajat Sharma got super hit on YouTube. 20% respondents said that they utilized all types of social media.

Q3- What types of social media do you use?
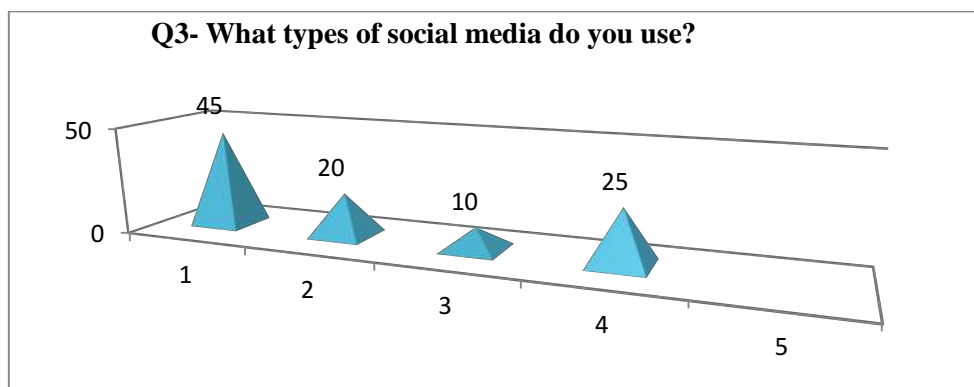
Graph No. 3

In response to the fourth question, 37% respondents said that they were looking for the strong leadership which could give a bang to their nation's slow economy to take it up to new height. 33% NRI said that they were looking for such news along with strong leadership, by which they could develop a view point about political parties. They said that inflation control and corruption were some issues which need to take care of. 10% NRI said that security and development issues were also important points to develop an idea to support a particular political party during election campaign. Graph No. 4 shows that 20% NRI answered that they were looking for all types of news about election.

Q 4- What types of news you were looking for developing an idea to support a political party during election?
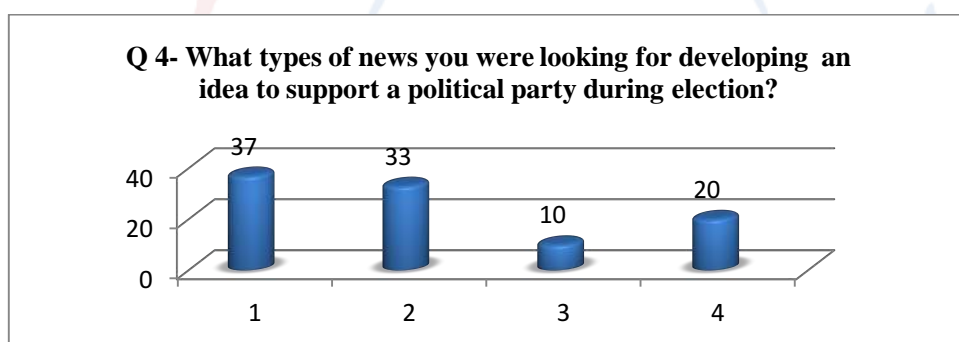
Graph No. 4

Following fifth graph is showing those issues which captured the attention of NRI on social media. 32% respondents said that they were more interested to know about Mr. Narendra Modi and his criticism related news. 20% respondents said that this election was different because hackneyed issues were ignored. They appreciated that 2014 election campaign was mostly based on India against corruption, nation building, employment and infrastructure development. 23% respondents said that communalism and secularism had also dragged their attention on social media. They said last phase of campaign was tried to polarize by the political parties. 25% NRIs said whatever issues were coming through news portal or social media were capturing their attention.

Q5- What were those factors which captured your attention on social media?

	32			
40		20	23	25
20				
0				
	1	2	3	4
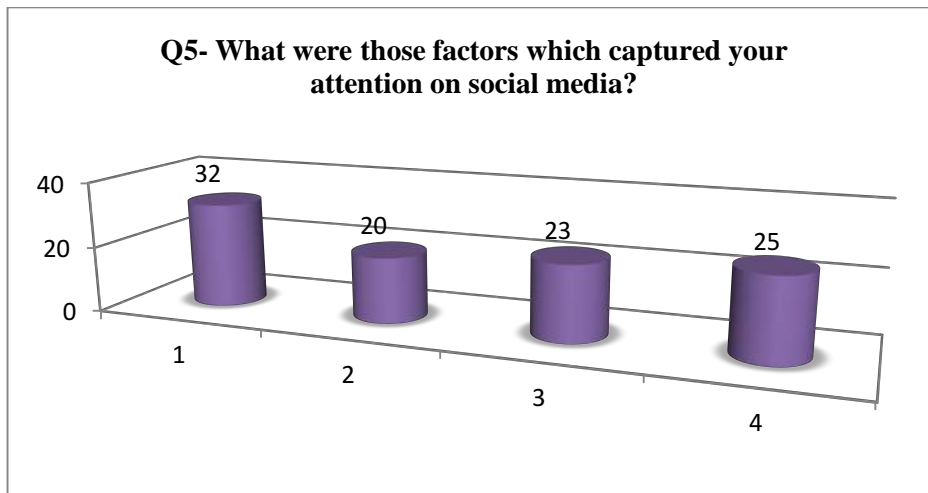
Graph No. 5

A satellite transmission programme "Chai Pe Charcha" a discussion on tea was organized to reach 300Cities and 1000 tea stalls at the same time. It was happening first time in India during election campaign. 42% NRIs admired this technological experiment and admit its great impact to increase **Modi Wave**. They themselves want to see India as a young and technically equipped nation. They believed if their Prime Minister would use this type of technology to connect with their people, country will touch to new height definitely. They also said that they want such leader who can connect with all age group of the country people, mostly to the youth. 18% respondents said that it was less effective. 16% NRIs said that it increased only **Modi Wave.** 4% respondents said that they did not watch that show.

Q6- "Chai Pe Charch" a discussion with Narendra Modi was organized to reach three hundred cities at same time. What do you think about its effect?

50				
40	42			
30				
20		18	16	
10				
0				4
	1	2	3	4

Q6- reach three hundred cities at…
Q6- "Chai Pe Charch" a discussion…
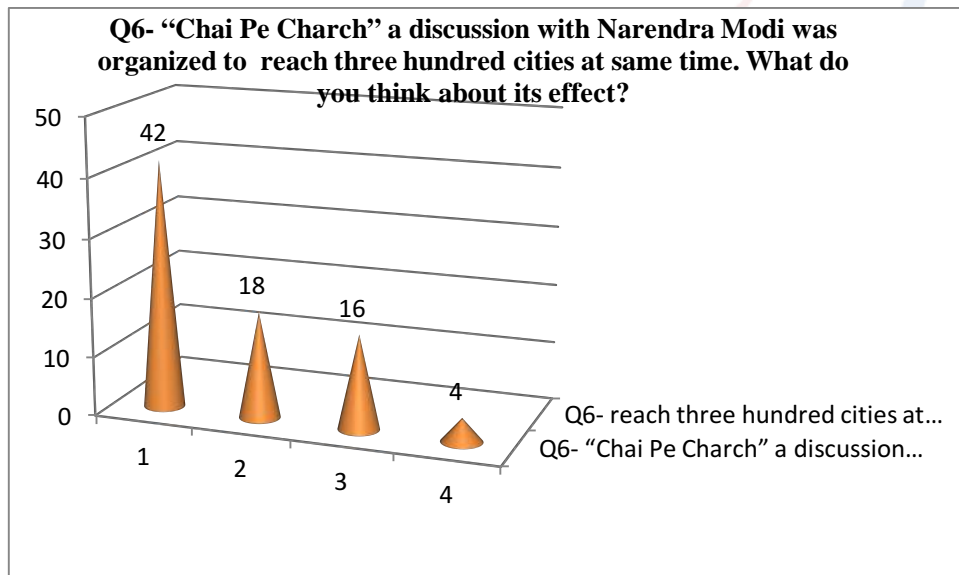
Graph No. 6

Answer to seventh question, 25% NRI said that they influenced their family and friends through Facebook status and comments. 15% respondents said that they used tele phone to convey their ideas about election. 57% NRI said that they utilized WhatsApp and

Viber to send their messages to their family, friends and relatives. Only 3% respondents did not influence any one.

Q7- How did you influence your family, friend and relatives to support a particular party?
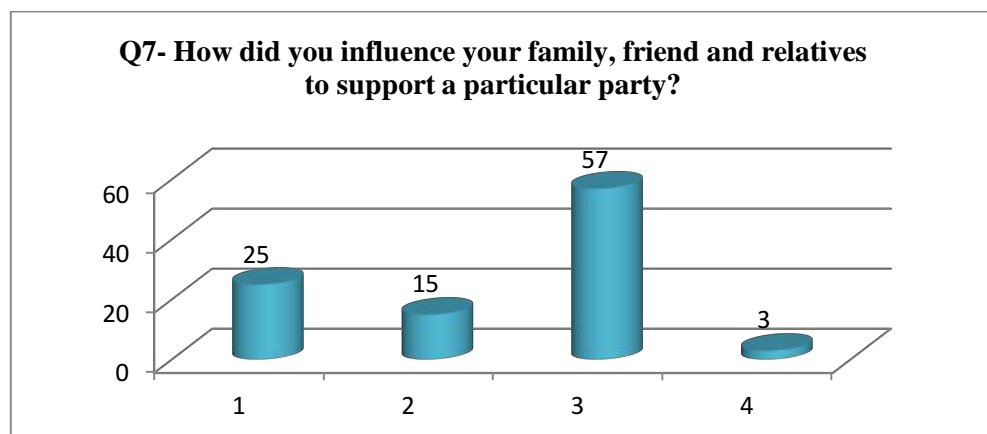
Graph No. 7

Following graph no 8 is showing that 70% NRIs believed that 2014 parliamentary election is a mile stone in the history of Indian Election. Youth of India played a very significant role through social media. That's why it is first time when record voters tuned out for casting their votes. 15% respondents said that it was just like other election while 13% said that it was milestone in terms of voter turn-out only. We can say that social media effect was 50-50. Only 2% respondents said that they do not know anything about election.

Q 8- Do you really believe that 2014 general election is a milestone in the history of Indian election and the youth of India played a very significant role through social media?
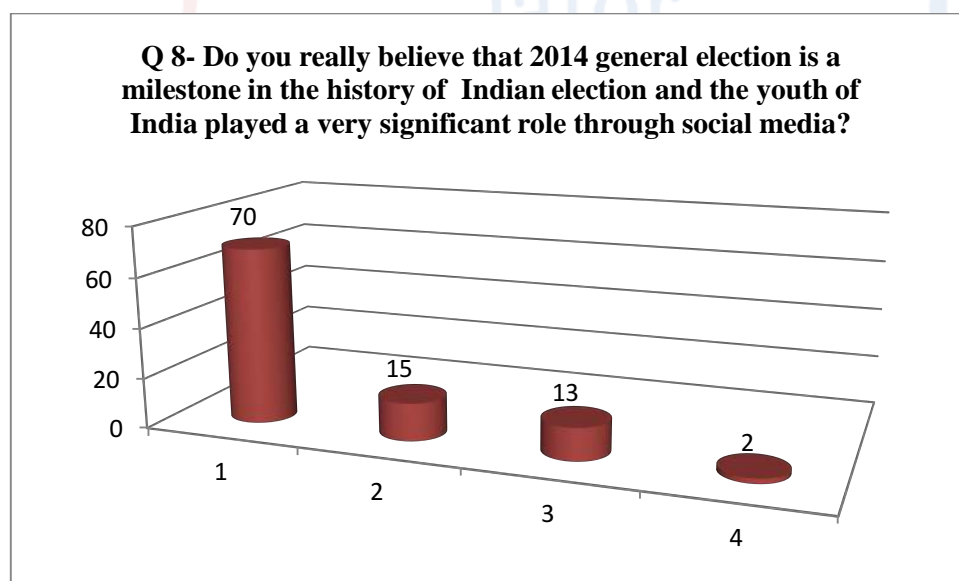
Graph No. 8

Findings

After calculating all data and responds, the efficaciousness of social media becomes clear. During the research, a huge number of respondents agreed that social media has change the mindset of not only resident Indian but Non Resident Indian in abroad. The result shows how this backchannel Social Media becomes frontline media and played a significant role as a game changer in Indian Parliamentary election 2014. Not only resident Indian but Non-Resident Indian also got involved in election campaign. They

looked more inclined towards the issues like strong leadership, corruption, women safety, infrastructure development and good governance. Non-Resident Indian told that they could abolish the distance of thousands of miles between their native country and resident country due to this new media. A huge number of respondents agreed that Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Viber and YouTube had given them power to express and judge election scenario. In this way they could able to influence their own people thinking and participate in their own country election. While taking interview, I found that many Non-Resident Indians planned their visit to India at the time of polling, so that they can cast their vote in nation building.

Recommendations
During research, Indian Diaspora recommended that Indian government should arrange such kind of facility, so that we can also cast our vote, as we are contributing in nation building through our remittance to Indian Economy.

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The Ethical Dimension of Citizen Journalism Practice: A Case Study of 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria

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Abstract

Media can set agenda which can positively or negatively affect the society. Beyond the setting of agenda the media can and do act as agents of checks and balances of the other powers in the society. Social media have greatly increased the power of the media and have produced what may be called the 'fifth estate' which may be termed citizen journalism; whose power have produced events that were responsible for the creation and propagation of Arab spring, terrorism, and the unprecedented active participation of citizens in politics of world democracies. Citizen journalism is now a great phenomenon in Nigeria. This is a welcome development considering the way citizen journalists have democratized the media. Consequently, Nigerians no longer depend only on the mainstream media for information and news. Citizen journalists through the platforms of Facebook and twitter have played great roles in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. As good as this may sound, there is an ethical dimension regarding the practice of citizen journalism in Nigeria. There is the fear that most citizen journalists do no play by the rules or the ethical principles of journalism. This paper will therefore investigate the ethical dimension in citizen journalism practice during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria.

Keywords: Media, Power, Citizen Journalism

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Introduction

Journalists have the inherent ability to set agenda that can affect the society positively or negatively. Beyond the setting of agenda, journalists can act as agents of checks and balances of other powers in the society. "An extension of the information function of political journalism in a democracy is the role of critical scrutiny over the powerful, be they in government, business or other influential spheres of society. This is the *watchdog* role of the journalist, who in this context becomes part of what Edmund Burke called the Fourth Estate" (McNair, 2009, p.239). The media have become so powerful that they have been regarded as the *fourth estate of the realm*. However, recent developments in new media technology and journalism have brought about what has been termed as *citizen journalism*.

According to Banda (2010), Citizen Journalism is a: "rapidly evolving form of journalism where common citizens take the initiative to report news or express views about happenings within their community" (p. 26). In defining Citizen Journalists, Banda (2010) says that they are, "… independent, freelancing citizen reporters. They are not constrained by conventional journalistic processes or methodologies, and they usually function without editorial oversight. Citizen journalists gather, process, research, report, analyse and publish news and information, most often utilising a variety of technologies made possible by the internet "(p. 26). Citizen journalism with its several branches, which include the social media, blogs, online newspaper forums and the likes have not only gained prominence but have also become so powerful that it may be right to call them the *fifth estate of the realm*.

Citizen Journalism now has a great impact in Nigeria. For one thing, it has helped in democratizing the media in the sense that citizens are free to be involved in the practice of journalism even without going through the basic trainings of professional journalism. Citizen journalists through social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and blogs played great roles in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. The downside, however, is that there were ethical dimensions to the way that citizen journalists carried out this role. This paper interrogates this ethical dimension.

Statement of problem

Before the emergence of citizen journalism in Nigeria, mainstream media used to set the agenda and direct the minds of the Nigerian people during electioneering, a privilege that was often thought to have been abused by local journalists who openly displayed political, economic, religious and ethnic biases. Although Citizen Journalists intervened in the process to challenge the mainstream media and offer the people greater choice of what to read and view, it cannot be said that the misguidance of the people did not continue through pre-election and post-election reports of the 2015 general elections in Nigeria. There are suggestions that citizen journalism fell far short of the required professional and ethical standards. This paper interrogates the ethical standards maintained by citizen journalists during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are to:
1. Determine the ethical dimension in citizen journalism practice during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria
2. Identify the ethical principles at play during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria
3. Identify how citizen journalists applied the social responsibility theory of media in practicing citizen journalism during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria

Research questions

Originating from the objectives of study are corresponding sets of research questions:
1. What was the ethical dimension in citizen journalism practice during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria?
2. What were the ethical principles used by citizen journalists during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria?
3. To what extent did citizen journalists apply the social responsibility theory of the media in their practice during the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria?

Significance of the study

The result of the study will be useful to all journalists both professional and non-professional, Nigerian citizens who need to understand the nature of citizen journalism, political parties and politicians, researchers on citizen journalism in Nigeria, Nigerian Union of Journalists and other professional bodies.

Review of related literature

Citizen Journalism and the 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria: Citizen Journalists through social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter played great roles in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria. As Adeola (2015) reports, "Either by phone calls, social media, radio or TV, the connected Nigerians remained conscious and active towards their social responsibilities than ever. Across the nation, people stood in the rain and under the sun to ensure they play their part." (para.10). Another example of this can be seen in Fagorusi (2015), "Channels Television asked Nigerians to send in pictures showing them watching updates cum analysis of the election and also that of them celebrating when eventually the All Progressive Congress (APC) presidential candidate won." (para.2). Fagorusi (2015) went on to note that, "While the election count was in progress, there was literally no one in Nigeria who was in the dark as to how things were turning out. Phone calls, tweets, Facebook updates, emails, instant messages and other forms of new media engagements were happening" (para. 6).

Ethics of Journalism defined and the code of ethics for journalists
Ward (2009) in his chapter on *Journalism Ethics* in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies* gives a broad view of the definition of Journalism Ethics as, "A species of applied ethics that examines what journalists and news organizations should do, given their role in society." (p. 295). The International Federation of Journalists gives twenty-six (26) codes of ethics for journalists which may have influenced the code of

ethics of Nigerian Press Council. In order to maintain a high level of standard for the media profession in Nigeria, the Nigerian Press Council gives a comprehensive code of ethics for the Nigerian journalists and these are the highlights:

> editorial independence; accuracy and fairness; privacy; privileged/non-disclosure by observing and not disclosing the source of information obtained in confidence; decency; avoid discrimination; journalists should not receive reward and gratification to suppress or publish information; journalists should not report acts of violence and crime in a manner that glorifies such acts; the names and pictures of children and minors involved in cases concerning sexual offences, crimes and rituals or witchcraft either as victims, witnesses or defendants and these children should also not be interviewed should not be identified; journalists should employ open and honest means in sourcing for their information (except in cases that the interest of the public is at stake); reportage should be in the public interest; social responsibility; avoid plagiarism; and should enhance press freedom at all times
> (Nigerian Press Council, 2009 cited in Ogwezzy-Ndisika, 2015. pp.82-83)

Ethical issues of Citizen Journalists during the 2015 presidential election: There were ethical issues associated with the citizen journalism practice during the 2015 presidential elections. One was that too much importance was placed on personal accounts, undermining ethical standards and eventually reducing the significance of professional journalism during the elections. Not all contributions from citizen journalists adhered to ethical standards that can be expected of professional journalists. The situation whereby certain citizen journalists are anonymous could make them not responsible to the information they disseminate. They tended to spread rumours, calumny, detractions and information that were unauthenticated. There were issues with the ethics of exposing some of the images they spread. Untrained citizen journalists were used as propaganda tools by major political parties.

Other ethical issues in the role played by the citizen journalists in the 2015 presidential elections were: deliberate misrepresentation of opponent's positions, tactics and strategies; anonymous messages and rumours intended to arouse fear, cause panic, suppress voter turnout and so on; defamation and irresponsible attack comments; use of off-limits issues as campaign strategy: health, age, direct attacks on personal character, family circumstances, distortion of political communication and selfish interests by the social media by citizen journalists.

Perception of Citizen Journalism

Bowman and Willis (2003) defined citizen journalism as an "act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information, in order to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information". (p. 9). This definition by Bowman and Willis has not in any way done justice to the definition of citizen journalism as several citizen journalists do not in any way provide, 'reliable and accurate information'. Some even go to the extent of providing diluted information just to appeal to the emotions of some particular set of audience.

A clearer picture of citizen journalism is given by Barnes (2012) as he states that, "Blogs, forums, uploading of photographs or videos to the Internet, are now being labelled 'citizen journalism' as distinct from traditional, mainstream or professional

journalism. The idea behind citizen journalism is that people without professional or formal training in journalism have an opportunity to use the tools of modern technology and the almost limitless reach of the Internet in order to create content that would otherwise not be revealed, as this kind of journalism goes far beyond the reach of professional journalism" (p. 16).

Attributes of Citizen Journalism

The difficulty involved in determining who a citizen journalist is makes it imperative to state the attributes of citizen journalists. Some of the following are attributes of citizen journalists:

- They are usually unpaid for the journalism work they try to do
- They are not employed by the mainstream media outfit
- They are not professionally trained
- They publish unedited contents
- They use informal language
- They could be biased in their story selection and news judgment
- They could be called, 'open source journalists'
- They are too quick to report stories or bring out issues

Benefits of Citizen Journalism

There are several benefits of citizen journalism:

Watches the watchdog (a case of check and balance); reduces influence of ownership of main stream media houses advertisers, government interference in the news professional journalists disseminate; and provides eye-witness account as they are usually very close to news sources.

Gates came down; gate-keeping functions of the media provide reason for editors to pick and choose news that is important to them, but citizen journalists can provide the information the editors do not want to provide. Citizen journalism democratized the media, anybody with internet connection and a smart phone becomes a citizen journalist.

The Alternative: The lack of engagement in mainstream journalism is supporting the growth of citizen journalism and there is a belief that "independent community journalists are in an ideal position to offer audiences a real alternative by applying a more appropriate framework for making sense of the world" (Meadows, 2013, p. 55). It is an opportunity to improve journalism, making it more transparent and democratic as the audience can check the facts presented and easily correct or add to the original article.

Eye witness reports from ordinary people provide a variety of personal points of view, at times contradicting official statements. In repressive countries, eye witness reports and images taken by ordinary citizens are often the only testimony available and can help influence international politics. Citizen journalism is a more transparent and democratic form of journalism (Jurrat, 2011).

Pipers without tunes: The case of *he who pays the piper dictates the tune* does not come into play with citizen journalists.

Theoretical framework

This work is hinged on the social responsibility theory of the media which was propounded by the Hutchins Commission of 1947. As seen from the social responsibility theory of the media, journalists have certain obligations to the society. Journalists must be truthful, accurate, objective, and they must give balanced views in

their reports. The journalism practice should be free but regulated in line with the codes of conduct and ethics guiding the profession. Media ownership should be a public trust. Journalists have a moral obligation to consider the overall needs of society when making journalistic decisions in order to produce the common good. The journalists should support state security, support democracy, support the rights and freedoms of individuals, provide diversity of content as part of the cultural and political pluralism of society and improve the quality of content as part of raising the cultural level of citizens. The social responsibility theory clearly captures the style and nature of citizen journalism. Citizen journalists should do their duties with the social responsibility theory of the media in mind so that they can do their job in an ethical way.

Research methodology

This is a descriptive research design study. We adopted the content analysis method to study and analyze online reports and comments by Nigerian citizen journalists during the 2015 general elections. The variables of measurement were the same as the principles of social responsibility – truthfulness, accuracy, objectivity and balance in the reports. As the most obvious sources of data appropriate for content analysis are texts to which meanings are conventionally attributed, we assigned a number of ethical issues observed in citizen journalism reports during the election to these four variables to measure the social responsibility performance of the journalists. According to Keyton (2001), the unit of analysis is the unit of measurement which provides a standard way of studying and classifying texts into elements to be analysed. Consequently, our unit of analysis were news reports and commentaries on the two leading candidates and their political parties. Our keyword search on the blogs and using Google Search included "President Jonathan, General Buhari, the PDP, the APC and the 2015 general elections." We analysed four issues in the campaigns published in the sample social media channels between January 1 and February 28, 2015, a period of two months. The content categories derived from the purpose of the study were as follows:

- Newspaper 'death' scare advert
- TV personality documentaries
- Publication of unofficial results
- Educational qualifications and certificate forgery

Our unit of analysis was selected from three of the most popular Nigerian social media genres in Nigeria –twonews blogs(lindaikeji.blogspot.com and LadunLiadi's Blog), one twitter handle (@henryokelue) and several commentaries by author's Facebook friends onthe issues of study.

The blogs and tweeter handle were chosen based on the fact that their owners were not journalists but have chosen to "dabble" into news reporting and political commentary and have hundreds of thousands of followers and avid readers. The unit of analysis and the content categories were coded, counted and further subjected to analyses using simple percentages and charts. We analysed a total of 242 reports from the three social media channels. A coding sheet containing the four categories of content was used to collect the date and assigned unit numbers against the report of its category. This was done for each channel being studied. The operational meanings assigned to the research data were summarized using frequency distribution with corresponding percentages and charts.

Presentation, analysis and discussion of results

News and analysis on 'Check and balance' role of citizen journalists with focus on the 'Buhari' documentary shown by AIT (a media house in Nigeria)

The tweets of prominent Nigerian youth leaders that have numerous followers were analyzed. The basis of this selection is on the fact that the tweets of non-professional journalists are accepted as authentic news and their tweets spread across their numerous followers.

Blog on the 'check and balance' role of citizen journalists was also analyzed. One of such instances was the documentary showed by African Independent Television (AIT) about Major General Muhammadu Buhari, the APC presidential candidate. Below are some of the tweets and blog that showed how citizen journalists tried to balance the reportage of the mainstream media.

Henry Okelue (@4eyedmonk) and Abu's (a blogger) rebuttal

Henry Okelue's tweets on the 2015 Nigerian presidential elections that have been picked for this research were the ones where he responded to the AIT documentary on the APC Presidential candidate, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari.

In Abu's blog, he notes that, "The AIT has been airing a sponsored programme called 'The Real Buhari' in which attempts were made to discredit General Buhari and thereby weaken the candidacy of the General in the forthcoming elections. Being a good citizen, I decided to issue this rebuttal before they mislead those who are too young to know or not fortunate to have read about these issues from authentic sources" (2015, para.1). Abu (2015) gives a thirty (30) facts rebuttal to the issues raised by AIT on his blog.

HENRY Okelue
@4eyedmonk

1.The documentary on GMB started lying as early as 18 secs in when it claimed the picture of him and Yar Adua was from "elementary school"
2:20 PM - 29 Jan 2015

↩ ⟲ 247 ★ 15

HENRY Okelue
@4eyedmonk

2. The only quote backed with a voice over was that of Humphrey Nwosu. The rest were paraphrased quotes, many from living individuals.
2:22 PM - 29 Jan 2015

↩ ⟲ 192 ★ 9

HENRY Okelue
@4eyedmonk

3. They managed to link Shehu Musa YarAdua's death to GMB. GMB was chairman of PTF under Abacha. That way killing Yar Adua by association :D
2:24 PM - 29 Jan 2015

↩ ⟲ 211 ★ 10

HENRY Okelue
@4eyedmonk

5. Documentary claims Olabisi Onabanjo was jailed for 20 months and died shortly after his release. Another lie. Onabanjo died in 1990.
2:40 PM - 29 Jan 2015

↩ ⟲ 244 ★ 13

These were rebuttal to the documentary shown by African Independent Television (AIT), a documentary that a blogger like Abu and Henry Okelue (whose tweets were analyzed) believed was not in any way objective, accurate or truthful. Thus, where AIT seems to have failed in presenting a balanced side of the story, a citizen journalist such as Henry Okelue and a blogger like Abu corrected their errors.

Tweets on the attack on Jonathan's personality: However, there were tweets that were attacks on the personality of President Goodluck Jonathan. Citizen journalists called the president of the federal republic of Nigeria names like 'dumbo,' 'clueless' and all sorts of names. These were unethical as it was not only an attack on Jonathan's personality, but also an attack on the office he held. Below are some of these tweets
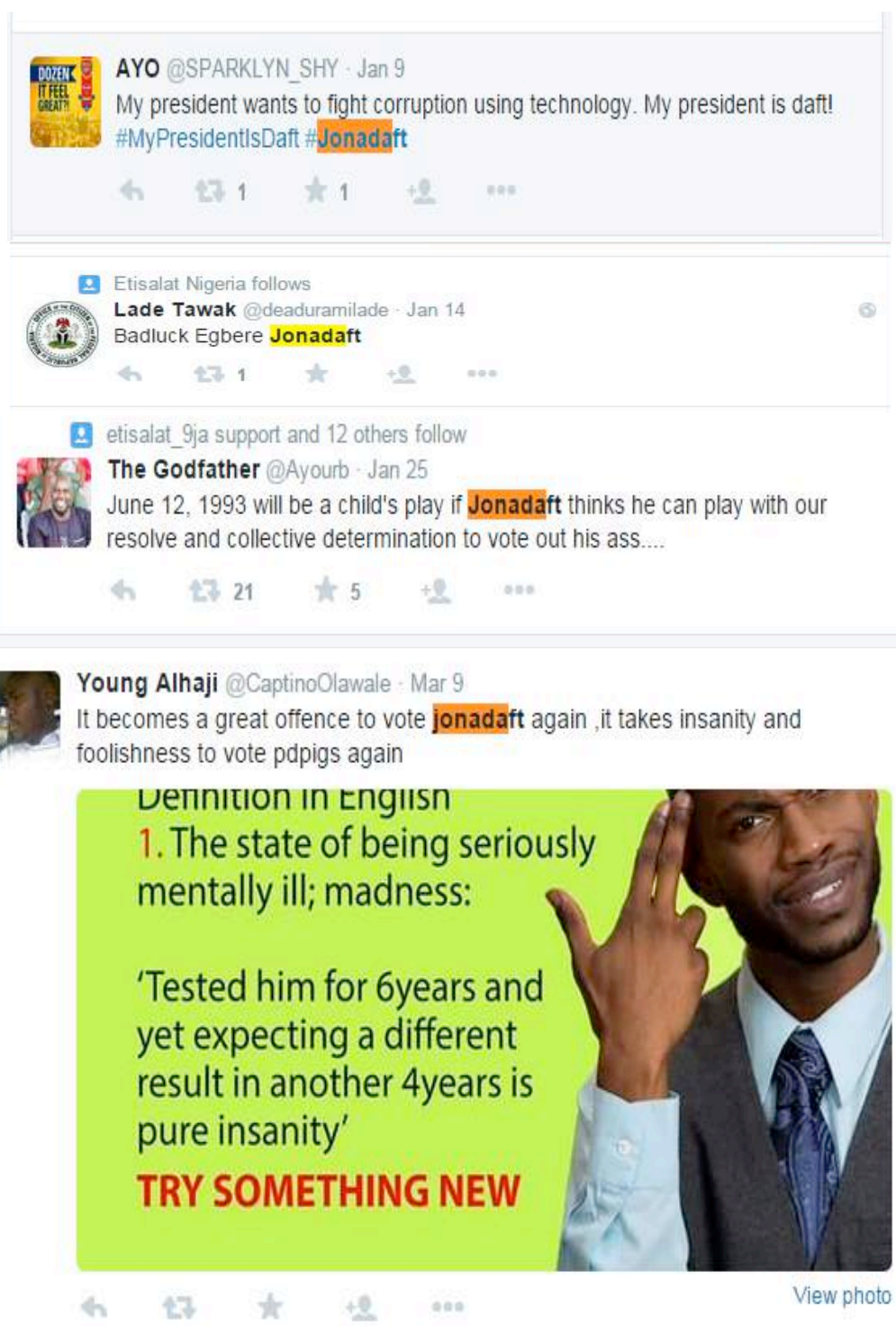
The tweets were obviously against the ethics of the journalistic profession as decency is one of the codes of ethics of journalism. The use of foul language in these tweets shows that these 'citizen journalists' were not in any way decent.

The 'publishing' of results through Facebook updates: Four Facebook updates were analysed and the focus is on the announcement of the result through these updates. In the Facebook posts below are some of the results as distributed by some citizen journalists. It is also important to look at the ethical dimension of this practice.

INEC Nigeria @inecnigeria

INEC strongly warns against announcements of results. Only the Commission has power to announce results, anybody who does so before INEC will be liable to an Electoral Offence #Nigeriadecides
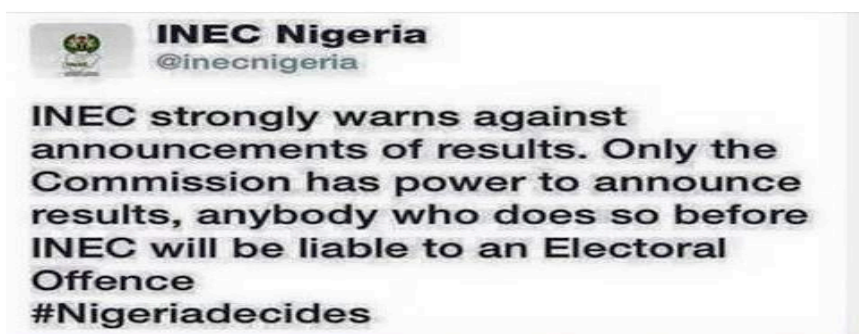
Scannews

Message from INEC

Hardeyeye Holuwaphemmy
March 30 ·

We gave out reports in 19 states and Abuja but they(PDP) attacked us. Now that Jega had confirmed, can you go and change it?

Like · Comment · Share

Hardeyeye Holuwaphemmy
March 30 · Edited ·

My guys, please relax your mind. We are ahead of INEC itself. We have Kano, Katsina, Jigawa, Niger, Benue, Kwara, Gombe, Lagos and Bauchi. More to come. Check the info we had given before this time and you will appreciate the consistency.

Like · Comment · Share

👍 3 people like this.

↪ 1 share

Ayiti Akinwale Edward PDP Rivers 1.5million APC 87K, Delta 1.4mill APc 600K, waiting for Cross rivers and Akwa ibom
March 30 at 4:38pm · Like

Jubril Opeyemi femo,u really tried
March 30 at 4:39pm · Like

Ajulo Ayorinde Lege whatever u have ahead of INEC is trash so guy put it off. Oga Yemi u dey answer this guy abi?
March 30 at 4:46pm · Like

Olu Sam So the number of voters in Rivers are more than those in Lagos ? We are watching in 3D. This rigging arithmetic will not work. 1.4m votes for PDP...hehehe. I hope JEGA will not announce this rubbish figure.
March 30 at 4:53pm · Like

👤● Chat (41)

Fijabi Demola SOKOTO: APC: 569,085 PDP: 125, 125.
DELTA: APC 47, 799 PDP: 773, 456
BORNO: APC: 463, 163 PDP: 26, 508.
March 31 at 4:40pm · Like

Victor Momoh hmmmmmm.....demola jega
March 31 at 4:41pm · Like

Fijabi Demola u can put ur money of those figures....all credit to Wole Opatola, our Noble Nigeria at the collation center.
March 31 at 4:45pm · Like

It is clear from these updates, that these citizen journalists were partisan and biased in their presentation.

The first post was the one copied from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)'s twitter handle and it stipulates that no one should announce the results before INEC. Thus, these results lacked the credibility it deserved, since none

of them were posted after INEC had made their official announcements. It is unethical and illegal for results to be published before the official declaration by the electoral body. What is unethical about this is that they might be misleading people though the results they post, especially when these results end up not tallying with INEC's official results.

Responses to the offensive 'death' advert by the press and the response by two bloggers (Ladun Liadi and Linda Ikeji)

Ethical Issue	Ladun Liadi's blog	Linda Ikeji's blog
Were they objective?	Yes	Yes
Balanced or bias?	Balanced	Balanced
Were they trivial?	No	No
Reactions/Feedback	51	233
Were there offensive words in the comments?	Yes	Yes

Source: Author

Ladun Liadi's blog article was centred on the professionalism of the *Punch newspaper* in publishing such an advert. Most of the readers that commented were critical of the advert.

Linda Ikeji's article gave another dimension to the presentation of the issue. She responded by presenting 13 tweet responses of people to the issue.

Analysis of forum on the issue of Buhari's certificate forgery and attack on Jonathan's personality

One of the most popular forums for citizen journalists in Nigeria is www.nairaland.com; it creates a platform for people to discuss mainly on issues that concerns Nigeria in what could be referred to as a public sphere space. It is pertinent to take a critical look at one of the discussions by a user named; *Etcetera* tagged *Buhari's Supporters are silly and unrealistic* and see the ethical dimension in the discussion trend.

Re: Buhari's Supporters Are Silly And Unrealistic - Etcetera by **Sammiejokes**(m): 5:29pm On Jan 31

lyntiffany:
Well said Bro, our youths struggle in the rain, under sunshine, stay hungry a times trying to better their future by going to school, university e.t.c. Some where rusticated from campus cause of issues of falsification of result, some graduated with good grades but yet to find an organisation to fix themselves.
Here we are with our mr integrity who falsified his result and lied to millions of learned Nigerians.
If qualifications are no longer a standard for employment then our government should stop making our parents go through untold hardship sending their children to school as it is of no use to them cause they can seek for any position in the society with no qualification. All am saying is let the right thing be done.

Who is this, show us the proof that he falsified his qualification. See this jonadunce fan voting on certificate basis since 1960. Fk phd, jonadunce is a good example of a man who bought his certificate, he has never talked intellectually all his life, he should go and doctor the Animalz, we are human.

The issue of Buhari's certificate scandal created an avenue for citizen journalists to interrogate themselves and also gave room for some name calling.

The comment by Sammiejokes leaves little to be desired. Calling the former President, the commander in chief of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria names such as Jonadunce was uncalled for, no matter how bad one feels about

his administration. Also saying that Dr. Goodluck Jonathan should go and, 'doctor the animals' shows lack of respect for the office of the president. This comment was not in any way ethical, because it is against the ethics of respect for human person. However, it is not just because he was the president, that he should not be called names, every human person deserves to be respected.

The comment by Eastherbunny was another round of name calling, mudslinging and an utter abuse of the office of the president as this user tagged the then president a 'clueless zoologist'. This was another unfair treatment of the Nigerian president.

Re: Buhari's Supporters Are Silly And Unrealistic - Etcetera by truvine(m): 5:38pm On Jan 31

Eastherbunny:
If buharis supporter are silly then I pity what GEJ supporters are.

If you are called silly for supporting someone that is not clueless, then what would you be called for supporting some one that is a certified clueless zoologist.?
Answer that mister etcetera

Sai buhari for now until GEJ supporters get sense

The last content to be analyzed is a picture of the president that had the word, "desperado" on it. This is an extreme case
This kind of image will not have been allowed on the pages of the national newspaper. This is evidence that the gatekeeping function of *nairaland* was not in place or was not effective as the case may be.

There were offensive words in the comments and the use of these offensive words were not in any way justified. The discussion were responses to the calling of names by a user and the people from the other side responded by equally using offensive words. This was not in way right. The forum was obviously not in line with the ethics of the journalistic profession as decency is one of the codes of ethics of journalism.

Research Questions	Facebook	Twitter	Forum	Blog
1. What was the ethical dimension in citizen journalism practice during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria?	The publishing of results was unethical	While some tweets acted as 'checks and balances' to the mainstream media, some resulted to names calling. These acts represented two different aspect to the ethical divide	Too much freedom on the forum made it a 'free-for-all' platform where people showed their partisan nature by calling their 'perceived' opponents names	The bloggers acted as 'checks and balances' and questioned the unethical conducts of some media outfit.
2. What were the ethical principles used by citizen journalists during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria?	None was actually used in the issues analysed	Used a couple of ethical principles: objectivity, truth, balance etc.	None of the ethical principles were used	Used a couple of ethical principles: objectivity, truth, balance etc.
3. To what extent did citizen journalists apply the social responsibility theory of the media in their practice during the 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria?	Though other individual members of the society aired their views and opinion, the application of the social responsibility theory was not too satisfactory, especially in the presentation of the results	Some tweets helped in balancing the issue raised by a reputable media outfit which showed that those individuals applied the social responsibility theory. However, some tweets resulted to names calling, which was irresponsible.	They did not in any way perform their duties responsibly	Satisfactory as they helped in balancing the issue raised by a reputable newspaper. The feedback mechanism allowed by the bloggers showed that they applied the social responsibility theory to an appreciable degree

Figure 1: Responses to research questions
Summary, conclusion and recommendation

The several platforms of citizen journalism were exploited during the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria as they showed that they were really so powerful to have been called the *fifth estate of the realm*. If the freedom that citizen journalists have is not within limits, it could be abused and might not augur well for the society. Thus, while citizen journalists had their good side in the 2015 presidential elections, they also had their bad side. While, they fuelled the passion of the elections through the many updates that made the elections really worth following, they also attacked the personalities of certain individuals. While they acted as checks and balance to news spread by the mainstream media, they also showed that their many excesses also need to be checked too. While they helped to keep people abreast of the results through their updates, the timing of these results were wrong as it was not ethical to have published these results before the official announcement by the electoral body (INEC). The aforementioned issues represent the ethical dimension to the citizen journalism practice in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria.

There is also the need to position the citizens themselves on checking the authenticity of reports of citizen journalists before they accept it as fact. The social responsibility theory if exposed to citizen journalists will help them to understand that they should be responsible for their actions through responsible production of their contents in different platforms. Social responsibility theory if understood and applied by citizen journalists should help them to be the voice of the voiceless, support security, democracy, social and cultural development of the Nigerian state. Citizen journalism should not be used as weapon to cast slurs on political opponent. It should not be used to fan the embers of social, cultural, religious and economic differences of Nigeria. It should be used to protect the corporate existence of Nigeria. This means that if done well citizen journalism should be used to promote democracy, political participation and the sovereignty of the federal republic of Nigeria.

There should also be a clear distinction between citizen journalists and rumour peddlers. However, news blogs or other online news platform that have the habit of going against the ethics of journalism should be brought down by regulatory bodies. The citizen journalists should be made to face the consequences for their unethical practice if found wanting in practicing their own kind of journalism.

Due to the spread of citizen journalism, the need to have a code of ethics for citizen journalism has now become important. However, it could be difficult to enforce. It is one thing to set ethics; it is another thing to ensure that people carry out their duties ethically. This is where social responsibility comes into play. There may be codes but individual responsibility, decency and practice of virtues such as prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude will make citizen journalists to perform their duties well or in an ethical manner because their work should be used to promote the common good and minimise harm in the society. Professional journalists and citizen journalists need to seek a common ground in terms of ethics.

Urgent action needs to be taken on media literacy. Media consumers need to be duly educated on the information they regard as news on the media. Since the mainstream media is being watched by the citizen journalists, they (the citizen journalists) also need to be watched and regulated also in order to curb some of their excesses noted in this paper. The audience should be literate enough to understand how the media work and should be made to understand that they should not take every information they get

from the media (whether traditional or new media) hook line and sinker. Media literacy will help in taming the power of citizen journalists.

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Jin: 'Women' And 'Life' in the Light of the 'Difference'[1]

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Abstract

Sören Kierkegoard describes Jacques Derrida is as the best 'ironist' of our age. This is an emphasis on the success of the 'ironic seriousness game' in Derrida's writings. Through the 'Jin', it is also possible to consider the art praxis of Reha Erdem, trained in France, on the context of 'ironic seriousness game'. Thus Jin stores the law of the compositions and rules of the play from first glance and the first coming before, it is cannot be recognized and understood either. The film is 'blind-alley' with unexecuted 'introduction'. As Derrida underlines in 'The Archeology of the Frivolous: Reading Condillac' (2013:23), "the introduction seduces and starts a fake guidance. An introduction must not enter forcibly. It must not involve in text, first of all, it must not fill the text with reading. Introduction is seduction…" Based on Derrida's notion of 'difference' and on poststructuralist feminist methods, this presentation/paper offers an interpretation of Reha Erdem's who is regarded as auteur in Turkish cinema after 2000 last film 'Jin'. The Jin movie made in 2013 is important to turn into a movie to the Kurdish issue which is still going on claim lives in Turkey. Jin mean 'women' and 'life' in the kurdish language. At the same time, Jin is name kurdish guerrillas woman that she is leading actor of movie. As a Kurdish girl, Jin could have been a South American guerrillas, a African rebel, a Brave either. In this connection, the presentation/paper analyzed the Jin movie's intentional meaning.

Keywords: (cinema, poststructuralist feminism, ironi, Derrida, Reha Erdem, Jin.)

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[1] This concept is used by Derrida as 'différance' instead of difference.

Introduction

Jin is kurdish origin. Jin mean 'women' and 'life' in the kurdish language. At the same time, Jin is name kurdish guerrillas woman that she is leading actor of movie. The Jin movie is important both to turn into a movie to the Kurdish guestion and women ıssue. At the same time, this matter is our basic motivation in film selection. Because Kurdish question have protect its feature is political trouble since Ottoman. This question, which wasn't solved after the establishment of the, become a bleeding wound after 1980s. But armed movement is stopped with resolution process starting AKP goverment. İt is answered to expectations of Kurdish people. Such that a Kurdish side taking Turkish support get into parliament as make the cut in 2015 June elections. In parallel with these developments, it can be said that Kurdish issue takes part in Turkey and Turkish cinema. On this context, Kurdish issue is a metaphor which is represented by 'Jin' (life).

'Being a woman in patriarchal structure' is a frequently discussed topic in Turkey. Unfortunately, present situation is not satisfactory. In this context, produced narrative structures via cinema is quite important. So, thinking cinema independently of social context might be deceptive. Women matter is the epitome of 'Jin' from this aspect.

In this context the question of 'what the purpose of this study?' gains importance. This study focuses on the reflection of Kurdish issue and problems of women in the Turkey on the cinema. Sociological context is seen as significant and analysis is made on historical and social context. According to poststructuralist view, this type of dualisms reproduces 'structure'. Jacques Derrida's 'deconstruction' method is the source of inspiration of this study. This method tries to break oppositions. Actually, this study has also the same aim.

In fact, Derrida associates three types of women with the philosophy of Nietzsche. These are the castrated woman, the castrating woman and the affirming woman (Derrida, 2007:167). The castrated woman refers to dogmatic, metaphysical and scientific feminism. It claims to explore reality-woman. Derrida expresses that feminism is nothing short of actions of a woman who desire to be like a male (Derrida, 2007:151). The castrating woman is identical with illusion and to hide oneself is the epitome of a metaphysician. Also, artist bends the truth to withstand attempting to anchor her own meaning. "Her biggest art is lie and her highest interest is appearance and beauty" (Derrida, 2007:153). However, this type of woman has a loyalty to her ideals fanatically and actually if she forgets these ideals are created by herself, she might be seduced easily by her own illusion. Affirming woman refers to Dionysian power which refuses all bases and precisions by basing reality and life on the perspective. She is affirmed by accepting as an affirmative power, an artist, and an enthusiasm. And now, she is not affirmed by man. Woman affirms herself in man" (Derrida, 2007:165)

Derrida agrees with structural linguistics on two points: the basis of language is negative and linguistic structure consists of oppositions. However, Derrida dissociates from structuralism by seeing intertextual reading as obligatory and refusing approach of foundationalism and constituent subject. This makes him a poststructuralist.

There are not identical speakers and texts of language and authors who have deliberate plans and intentions in the thought of 'death of the subject'. Because of that, subject is a thing which is constructed, fictionalized and founded. According to poststructuralist approach, subject is a fiction and product of discourse (Işıklı, 2011:233). While Foucault, who is one of poststructuralist philosophers, makes genealogic analysis to remove the subject, Derrida destroys the subject with deconstructivist analysis.

In 'intertextuality' everything is the text and nothing exists outside the text. In poststructuralist thought, all texts can be crosschecked merely by other texts. The meaning of intertextuality can be expressed that texts postpone their meanings to other texts (Göksel, 2006: 364). Meaning depends on the context and it is unlimited in number potentially because each reader has own opinions in reference to missing contexts and uses them in various forms. This thought either challenges the idea of dominant author which claims production of certain messages or subjects it to deconstruction (Smith, 2001: 180). As it is seen, there is a reciprocal structure in intertextuality. Both creators and analyzers of the texts approach to texts in an intertextual manner. All texts open onto other ones and embodies another texts because they are not closed and ended (Göksel, 2006:365). Deconstructive analysis of Derrida begins with a contemporary question and analyze existing answers. Then, it studies with these answers as how they are produced by which discourses and how they are fictionalized by whom, and how they are created by which language games. This is merely possible by looking at other texts and analyzing them; in other words; studying in an intertextual manner (Ramond, 2011:58).

According to 'Rejection of Binary Oppositions' principle, language is divided categories like right-wrong, good-bad, black-white, male-female, up-down in itself. This division makes earlier term superior. The most important criticism of post structuralism is claimed that systems are not limited with two-pole like good-bad and there are different tones different from them. Also, poststructuralism is not interested in which term is superior and it approaches things ontologically (Kristeva and Derrida, 1999:168).

Foundationalism as an attempt to construct all ideas and principles on given principles does not need to show a justification apart from the knowledge. According to foundationalism the knowledge bases upon strong beliefs foundation and our knowledge of the external world bases upon these beliefs. Foundationalism opposition of poststructuralism expresses that it is not possible to find foundations for both knowledge and morality so meaning and value cannot be attributed to the life (Ryan, 2012:108-109). Foundationalism appropriates the first of these binary oppositions and holds the other responsible for the negative one. The foundation of good and bad is the one who describes them. By rejecting this structure, poststructuralism claims that questions about real, truth, reality, validity, transparency, explicity cannot be asked; if they are asked, answers could not be found.

The aim of this study is reading a film from Derrida perspective. By doing that it is aimed to make use of poststructuralist feminism approach. Deconstructive analysis method which was revealed by Derrida for analyzing binary oppositions which dominate Western philosophy and culture is guidance for aim of this study.

The concepts of logocentrism/phonocentrism, difference, inversion/dislocation (erasure/drawing) must be known to understand deeply deconstructive analysis method.

Derrida expresses that in order to understand concept oppositions, the concepts of logocentrism/phonocentrism must be understood. Because, according to him there is logocentrism and phonocentrism in the basis of Western philosophy which was criticized (Derrida, 1999:57). The discrimination between logos (word) and ecriture (script) is in the basis of current concept oppositions. This causes giving priority to logos against ecriture. Ecriture is seen as a cradle of mistakes and uncertainty. According to Derrida, phonocentrism make relation between language and reality wrong (Derrida, 2011: 10). Because logocentrism assumes that idea is in conscious independently from language and sees the language as a transfer tool for existing idea. However, Derrida claims that 'me' is a text which exists thanks to language and nothing exists outside the text (Moran, 2012: 201-202).

Another significant concept for Derrida is 'difference'. According to Derrida, ecriture is equal to difference which forms the meaning. As it is known, according to Saussure, language is the first and meaning follows language. Saussure conceptualized language as a system of differences. Derrida disagrees with this conceptualization and says that if this is accepted, we face with the system of signs which predates meaning (Timur, 2005:167). With this aim, Derrida conceptualize an open system instead of closed system concept of structuralism which is called difference by him and this concept includes both differences and postpone (Moran, 2012:201-202). It is enough to reveal instability of meaning that difference's postpone meaning can be understood in ecriture instead of talking. Because meaning is both different and postponed. According to Derrida difference as an expression of this instability weaken our beliefs that language is a stable meaning transfer medium among individuals because it is always in our discourse. According to Derrida, difference is to slip certainty through people's fingers when they think they caught (Sim, 2000:32).

In addition to representation role of women sexuality in social, psychological and historical frame, it is diversified and reproduced thanks to metaphor concept of Derrida which made its mark on the century. Because in traditional manner, referred phenomenon of sexuality is damaged and known sexual descriptions give their place to simulations and metaphors of women as a sexual object. Rise of feminist art tries to damage traditional women concept and starts with rejection of produced women images. Because these images transform concept of women into an object which is consumed. In this sense, the aim of poststructuralist feminism is to eliminate the inequality of women and men; to cease the image bombardment; and to try giving women sensitivity prominence.

Conclusion

All films which are shot by Reha Erdem so far does not include any specific time and space. Additionally, all of them have a unique setting and take audience to these imaginary places. These places are not in maps. This situation is seen as different in Jin, but it is the same. Jin refers to a place on the map. Creatures, casualties, Kurdish guerrillas and Turkish soldiers of the war which continue to claim lives in Turkey are

framed. However, Erdem looks on the war without leaving his manner. This film was shot in Mersin, Mut and Kaz Dağları (Mountain Ida), but they do not refer to their real locations. In other words; in the film, these places represent Eastern Anatolia Mountains where guerilla camps are located. This is a struggle tale of a female Kurdish guerilla who is alone and tries to live self-sufficiently between earth and sky…

Scene 1: Jin Film

At the beginning of the film, the nature is seen accompanied with the music called as 'unveiled' by Hildur Guðnadóttir: trees, flowers, insects, animals, everything incident to the nature. The music called as 'unveiled' by Hildur Guðnadóttir is used in the film so it is also important at that point. In addition to lexical meaning of 'unveiled' word, there are different meanings like explaining, revealing, disillusionment and unveiling the mystery.

And then, bombs and guns start to explode immediately and damage everything saw. Branches of trees are broken, a lizard returns to his home, snake goes to its hole. In other words; at the beginning of the film, it is told that actual damage of this war is on nature.

The film starts with escaping Jin from an armed organization in the mountain[1] because of unknown cause. Jin has hard times all alone on the mountain by hiding herself from members of armed organization and law enforcers. Members of armed organization and law enforcers are the same for Jin. Binary opposition is broken in these scenes.

Animals give biggest solace and power to Jin because they also live under similar threats and take the same side. In the film, the given roles to animals by Reha Erdem are to protect Jin and share her sorrows and also they are witnesses of Jin's experiences. Such that, Jin is in solidarity with a deer and treat an injured donkey. Also, Jin makes a deal with wild bird that she gives its egg back. A lynx gives solace to Jin, she is stimulated by a snake, a horse tries to protect herself. The dualism of nature/culture loses its opposition at this point.

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[1] In addition to the meaning of natural formation, mountain has secondary meaning. Terrorists are located in these places. So, mountain is a myth of terrorism.

Scene 2: Jin Film

She is respected from a shepherd because of being 'an armed guerilla'. The shepherd shares his bread and asks him to 'give his blessing'. When the same shepherd sees her in a civilian dress, he will try to get closer and make use of her femininity. Jin is the same Jin despite his changing dress. Differentiation occurs in approach towards Jin. Uniform gives its place to lace stocking. This frame is formed by masculine view and it refers to first breaking point. 'Lace stocking' and 'masculine view' are 'the apparent' of the text. However, 'lace stocking' is unknown for Jin. Because she doesn't have any idea about the lace. She wears something for demilitarization uncaringly. Jin is 'affirming woman' of Derrida. What uniformed Jin live is what Jin who wears lace stocking live.

After short-timed conflict, Jin gets out of breath. While she pants for air, at the same time a lizard breathe. This is an awesome metaphor in terms of Jin's struggle to survive like other animals in the mountain.

She leaves the mountain by getting civilian clothes from a home. Jin steals a geography book in addition to clothes and foods by creeping in a home. She spells "where I do live" sentence in cave of asylum is quite meaningful. Where Jin lives is decided by others..

She is harassed by male personnel of a bus company office when she is 17. This harassment is verbal that "if your money is not enough, we try different ways". Jin prefers to work in a plantation and in this work women earn 25 Turkish Liras and men earn 35 Turkish Liras per a day. Jin pulls weights with men workers to get travelling money erewhile. One of the workers who is seen as brother by Jin, sets his eyes on her and soon he sidles up to her by saying "I loved you" and harass her. Harassment is leading role in Jin's tale. Harassment starts with shepherd and continues with in bus company office, plantation and police station. All harassers are Kurdish. Only truck driver approaches her in a different manner and he shares his chocolate with Jin. He is Turkish. This is another braking point of the film. Binary oppositions which were refused by Derrida is also supported with this narrative. Erdem tries to break Turkish/Kurdish opposition at that point.
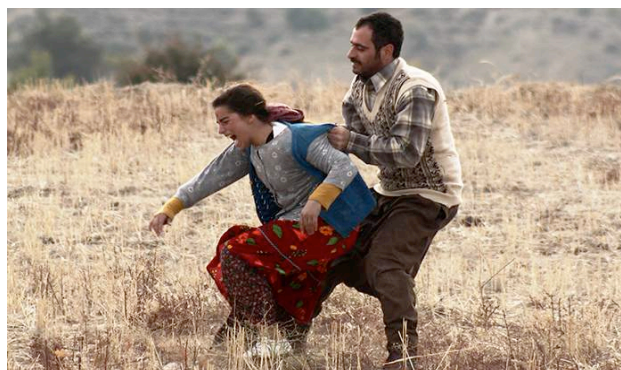
Scene 3: Jin Film

Jin is caught in the bus and she is taken to a mountain patrol. In here, an injured companion of her says to her "kill me". She has to kill her companion hearth-breakingly. Otherwise, the testimony of the terrorist is taken and this might be beneficial for soldiers. Another case is that a man who acts as Kurdish interpreter in the patrol harasses Jin. Then, Jin finds an injured Turkish soldier after conflict and disentangles him from guerrillas and takes him to the cave and treat him, eat his fill. In these stages, the director takes a stand against dualisms which creates structure. At the same time, these scenes can be read as a reference to Derrida's concept of 'difference'. Meaning is postponed continuously. Also, injured soldier says that "I wish we will be meeting again" and this can be evaluated as a peace desire for future.
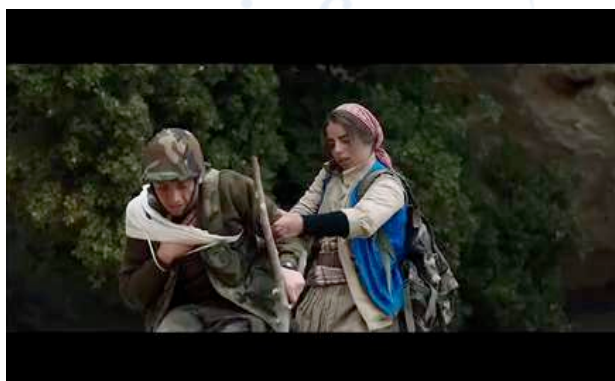
Scene 4: Jin Film

Jin returns to both mountain and her solitude with a great eagerness and a big disappointment. Shortly, 'she tries, but she is not successful'. She takes up her arms again. She crosses an injured donkey's path. After dressing its wound, she unleashes the donkey and sets its free. She gets stuck in felled trees, fragmentized animals under bombs and arms. Her rebellion becomes desperation thanks to explosions, bombs and arms.

Fabulous narration which is reinforced with the saying of 'reality is a big shame' by Reha Erdem is aroused in Jin with the story of 'Little Red Riding Hood'. Standing hazards on the 'outside' arising from leaving 'the area' where she belongs are over while her injured body looks on audience.

Reha Erdem states that "when I shoot this film, sometimes, I lost my sleep and I got bored…" Jin's story culminates in a gory final…Soldiers ambush Jin who is only 17. Her child body falls out of a tree. Her relatives are huddled around her dead body. They are very green trees, a lynx, a donkey, a bear and a deer.
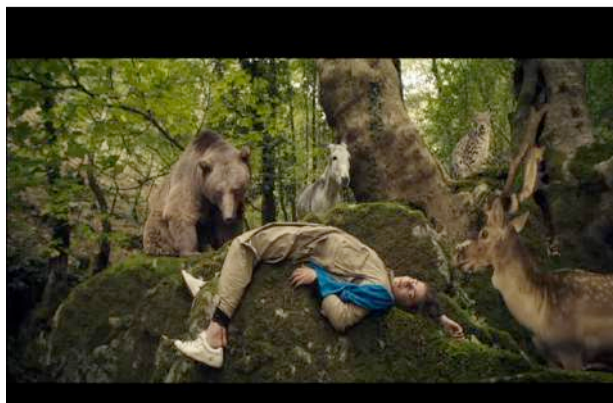
Scene 5: Jin Film

Jin squeezes into her 'women' and 'Kurdish' identities and she represents the damage of the war on both nature and people clearly. She mentions being a 'human' without touching on ethnic identities and equalize 'humanity' with 'deconstruction'.

Jin is fictioned as a 'woman' character in the 'life' and it is possible to recept beyond secondary position of woman in patriarchal culture. The matter is organizing the meanings by mining the meanings within the text. In this context, 'risk matter' is the thing which Erdem desires for himself and he interested in this most. Ultimately, the focus of this film is a Kurdish guerilla who is against both state and organization. In the last instance, making the resistance of Jin tragic is also a risk. Because the film does not answer the question of "What is the natural life envision positioned against struggle of Jin?" and line is not drawn for audience in company with 'ironically seriousness game'. Jin is embraced by 'stagger' drive during the film. This starting point is supported with this embracement and refers to her hungers, weakness and power. Also, 'borders' postpone their 'meanings' for both Jin and audience.

Jin enables feminist reading by criticizing binary oppositions and handling the issue from the point of woman. Also, it is tried to determine critical points of the film by describing constructed 'language games' and created 'narrative structures'. Attention is paid to what the film do not say instead of what it says; and 'hope' and 'hopelessness' are traced on the path of differentiation between 'real' and 'reality'. The 'meaning' of Jin comes from a letter with a mark which is named as 'hat' in Turkish grammar: in Kurdish language the meaning of Jin is 'life' and Jin is 'woman'. So, this is an 'introduction' to 'postponed' 'life' of Jin without seducing accompanied with her 'red headgear' and deep eyes.

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Understanding Malaysian Twitter Users Behaviour Using Hans Eysenck's Three-Trait Model

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Abstract

The study seeks to understand Malaysian Twitter users personality using Hans Eysenck's three-trait model; that entails of extraversion, neuroticism, and psychoticism. This theory proposes that individuals possess certain personality traits which partially determine their behavior of usage. Data was randomly collected using Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (EPQ) from 400 Twitter users in Malaysia via Google Docs. The EPQ used were altered to suit the objectives of this study and the data collected were analyzed with statistical analysis (SPSS) using descriptive analysis represented by mean (X). Items for this study were adapted from the study of Tiwari, T., Singh, A. L., & Singh, I. L. (2009). The Cronbach Alpha reliability test on all items has gained scores as below: Extraversion (Cronbach's alpha value = 0.766), Neuroticism (Cronbach's alpha value = 0.722); and Psychoticism (Cronbach's alpha value = 0.722). The findings of this paper found that Twitter users in Malaysia posses a medium extraversion personality (between x=5.00 to x=4.52). however, the respondents posses low neuroticism and psychoticism personality (between x=4.47 to x=3.87).

Keywords: Hans Eysenck, EPQ, Twitter, Extraversion, Neuroticism, Psychoticism

Introduction

According to Twitter in Malaysia: Population and Insights. (2014, April 13), Malaysia had a total of 3.5 million Twitter users as of February 2014. But only 21.8 percent of the registered Malaysian users are actually active at a given time. Malaysians send a total of 162.4 million tweets, or roughly 5.4 million tweets per day. This is higher than the 4.5 million tweets that Twitter users from Thailand send in each day. Among the most popular brands followed by Malaysians are two airlines, Air Asia and Malaysian Airlines. PlusTrafik, FireFly and Maxis are the other three most followed brands in the country. Among celebrities, actress Lisa Surihani is the most popular with more than 2 million followers, trailed by Zizan Razak the famous Malaysian comedian, who has 1.57 million followers and actor singer Shaheizy Sam who has 1.52 million followers. Among Malaysian politicians on Twitter, Prime Minister Najib Razak is the most popular with 1.93m followers. In terms of usage, Twitter is ranked at number 4 among the most popular social networking sites in the world. While English is the most commonly used language on the site, it only accounts for 34% of the tweets. 8% of the tweets are in Malay, which is the fourth commonly used language on the site.

Personality on the other hand has a significant influence on the way we perceive outside world, think, feel and relate to other people. The word "personality" itself comes from the Latin word Persona which stands for the theatrical mask to project different roles of a performer. Hall and Linsey claimed in 1957 that there are many definitions of personality as different theorists articulate it differently. However, we generally define personality as the combination of characteristics or traits such as emotions, pattern of thoughts, feelings and behaviors unique to an individual. Traits are partly inherent and remain consistent throughout life, especially after adulthood. However, they can be marginally manipulated with the help of psychiatrists for an individual's amelioration.

It was found that there are many psychology works that relate personality traits to online social behavior. They found some evidences that personality and online behavior do have link to each other. For example: people scoring on high neuroticism often use more social media services like Facebook, Twitter and blogs (Teresa Correa, Amber Willard Hinsley, and Homero Gil De Zuniga, 2010; Rosanna E Guadagno, Bradley M Okdie, and Cassie A Eno, 2008). However, some studies found a negative correlation between neuroticism and overall Internet usage (Tracy L Tuten and Michael Bosnjak, 2001). Moreover, people with emotional instability seem to have additive behavior on the Internet (Elizabeth Hardie and Ming Yi Tee, 2007; Lei Li, Yang Yang, and Liu Mingxin, 2006; Mehwash Mehroof and Mark D Griffiths, 2010). This indicates that there is inconsistencies and varieties in previous findings.

Hans Eysenck's Three-Trait Model

Hans Jürgen Eysenck developed a model of personality based upon just three universal trails:

1. Introversion/Extraversion
   Introversion involves directing attention on inner experiences, while extraversion relates to focusing attention outward on other people and the environment. So, a person high in introversion might be quiet and reserved, while an individual high in extraversion might be sociable and outgoing.

2. Neuroticism/Emotional Stability
   This dimension of Eysenck's trait theory is related to moodiness versus even-temperedness. Neuroticism refers to an individual's tendency to become upset or emotional, while stability refers to the tendency to remain emotionally constant.

3. Psychoticism: Later, after studying individuals suffering from mental illness, Eysenck added a personality dimension he called psychoticism to his trait theory. Individuals who are high on this trait tend to have difficulty dealing with reality and may be antisocial, hostile, non-empathetic and manipulative.

According to this perspective, traits are relatively stable over time, differ across individuals (e.g. some people are outgoing whereas others are shy), and influence behavior. Traits are in contrast to states, which are more transitory dispositions. Since Hans in 1947 defined the pillars, or traits, that form personality, numerous studies have been conducted and many works have been written about the subject. These works have supported his theory of individual differences between humans with regards to personality. In communication research, Eysenck's supertraits have been used for a great deal of variance in a variety of communication variables: communication apprehension (Beatty, McCroskey, & Heisel, 1998, Beatty & Valencic, 2000, Kelly & Keaten, 2000), communicator style (Bodary & Miller, 2000, Horvath, 1995), humor enactment (Wrench & McCroskey, 2001), nonverbal immediacy (Cole, 2000), sociocommunicative orientation (Cole & McCroskey, 2000), and verbal aggression (Valencic, Beatty, Rudd, Dobos, & Heisel, 1998, Wrench, 2002).

Since the Internet is powered by human interaction, we cannot understand the Internet without knowing the personality of the user, and researchers stated above have used Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and various other websites to collect usage statistics. However, we are still far from a successful outcome. This paper aims to add academic value towards the literature, thus this study embarks on following objectives:

1. To identify the extraversion personality among Malaysian Twitter users
2. To identify the neuroticism personality among Malaysian Twitter users
3. To identify the psychoticism personality among Malaysian Twitter users

Methodology

An online survey of 34 questions using Google Docs was done to 400 Malaysian Twitter users. Simple Random Sampling method was used as suggested by Jianguo Lu, Dingding Li (2012) due to irrespective of respondent's status in a scale-free nature. According to Twitter in Malaysia: Population and Insights. (2014, April 13), Malaysia had a total of 3.5 million Twitter users as of February 2014, thus the sample chosen for this study is 400 (p=. 5, >100,000) by referring to table by Israel, Glenn. D. Twitter users irrespective of age, gender and so on, were approached randomly and given the URL of the survey. The research instrument in this study comprises of 4-section questionnaire. All sections except for Section 1 used 5 point Likert Scale ranging from 1 = "Strongly Agree" to 5 = "Strongly Disagree". Crosschecking with communication experts in order to get the standardization of the questionnaire and wording of the questions was done to get the instrument's validity. Items for this study were adapted from the study of Tiwari, T., Singh, A. L., & Singh, I. L. (2009). It was later altered to suit the objectives of this study. The Cronbach Alpha reliability test on all items was done by the same study and has gained scores as below:

1. Extraversion Cronbach's alpha value = 0.766.
2. Neuroticism Cronbach's alpha value = 0.722
3. Psychoticism Cronbach's alpha value = 0.722

Data from 400 respondents were analyzed with SPSS using descriptive statistics and were represented by mean using the value of X. X represents the mean (also known as average) scores of the result. Only top five scores of mean were shared on this research paper. As for the operational definition of the variables, Twitter in this research is defined as a free social networking micro blogging service that allows registered members to broadcast short posts called tweets. Twitter members can broadcast tweets and follow other users' tweets by using multiple platforms and devices. Tweets and replies to tweets can be sent by cell phone text message, desktop client or by posting at the Twitter.com website (Yair Amichai-Hamburger and Gideon Vinitzky, 2010). Personality in this research is defined as characteristic patterns of thoughts, feelings and behaviors that make a person unique. In addition to this, personality arises from within the individual and remains fairly consistent throughout life (Lei Li, Yang Yang, and Liu Mingxin, 2006). Elizabeth Hardie and Ming Yi Tee (2007) define extraversion and neuroticism as a central dimension of human personality theories. Extraversion tends to be manifested in outgoing, talkative, energetic behavior, whereas introversion is manifested in more reserved and solitary behavior. Meanwhile, psychoticism in this research is defined as refers to a personality pattern typified by aggressiveness and interpersonal hostility (Mehwash Mehroof and Mark D Griffiths, 2010).

Findings And Discussions

Respondents' Characteristics

The demographic characteristics of respondents indicated that 42.6% of the respondents were male. Majority of them were Malay (94.5%), 49% of them spent 6-7 hours per day in online activities, and 50.7% were aged between 21–25. In terms of education level, 54.0% of the respondents hold a diploma, and 31.0% were bachelor degree graduates.

The extraversion personality among Malaysian Twitter users

The first objective of this study is to identify the extraversion personality among Malaysian Twitter users. It is found that respondents posses a medium extraversion personality. On Twitter, respondents see themselves as someone full of energy (x=5.00), they choose to exhibit their social skills ability (x=5.00), they were ingenious, a deep thinker; and weighs everything before sending a tweet (x=4.52). Respondents also took the initiative to make new friends On Twitter (x=4.52); and they choose to tell jokes and funny stories to their followers (x=4.52). These findings are consistent with the findings of a study done by Yair Amichai-Hamburger (2005) that demonstrated a positive link between personalities and the Internet usage.

The neuroticism personality among Malaysian Twitter users

The second objective of this study is to identify the neuroticism personality among Malaysian Twitter users. It is found that respondents showed a low neuroticism personality as they do not experience the sense of moodiness, worry, and envy or full of jealousy for other users (x=4.47), respondents have the ability to withstand the effects of a hostile environment (x=4.47); and they were not prone to be stressed out whenever their tweets were replied with negative remarks (x=3.92). It is also found that that respondents on Twitter, does not care deeply of what other users think of themselves (x=3.92); and they did not became overly sensitive (x=3.92). These findings are consistent with the findings of a study done by Yair Amichai-Hamburger and Gideon Vinitzky (2010) that did not find a strong correlation between people's change of personality (after-used) and their activities on social media.

The psychoticism personality among Malaysian Twitter users

The last objective for this study is to identify the psychoticism personality among Malaysian Twitter users. It is found that respondents have a low psychoticism behavior while on Twitter as they can control themselves to not be irritable, annoying, impatient, tends to threaten others, and be verbally aggressive (x=4.47). Respondents also pointed out that on Twitter, they do not misused weak spots in the society (x=4.00). For example, respondents will not retweet possible false news on their timelines. Respondents were also able to safeguard themselves by not blocking users/followers they're not comfortable with (x=3.87). it is also found that Malaysian Twitter users are able to commit to long-term friendship / relationships found on the social media network (x=3.87); and solemnly agree not to deceit and deception to cheat, con, or defraud others for their personal gain from other users of Twitter. These findings are consistent with the findings of a study done by Yair Amichai-Hamburger and Gideon Vinitzky (2010) that suggested, current users are able to isolate their real life personality from the virtual world personality due various reasons such as privacy, branding efforts, or laws that has been enforced.

Conclusion and suggestions

Based on the findings, it can be concluded that Twitter users in Malaysia were sociable and craved for excitement. They tend to be carefree, optimistic and impulsive. The respondents were also not anxious, worrying and moody on Twitter. They are not overly emotional and find it difficult to calm down once upset on

conversations over social media network. This paper would like to suggest for replication studies to be done using more items, to larger popularions or different demographical elements among Twitter users in Malaysia. The absence of replication studies is particularly problematic because as stated above, we cannot comprehend the Internet without shrewding the personality of the user and the social media network such as Facebook and Twitter is here to stay. This paper would also like to suggest the test on other major theories of personality such as Biological Theories, Psychodynamic Theories, Humanist Theories and so on towards the personality of social media network users.

Acknowledgments

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Cultural Geography of News in Digital TV Age

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Abstract

The research "Thai News Cultural Landscape in Digital TV Era." is the study of Thai news and current affairs landscape in Thai News television programmes relating to Thai reporters, way of life and digital media by using content analysis methodology since April 24, 2014 – April 24, 2015 that Thailand's broadcast has been transformed from analogue to digital broadcasting for 1 year.

According to the findings, It appeared the new news making culture of Thai news television programmes in Digital TV Era. The reporters monitored and selected the popular clips,the most share and like, in social media to broadcast , etc. Facebook, YouTube and various websites. Reang Raung Chow Nee, the most popular news television programme in Thailand, has the part "Share of the Day" boardcasting the most popular clip of the day from social media. And found that the issues boardcasted were the violence in individual conflicts in society and were stimulating the emotion of audiences like a watching docudrama.

Keywords: Digital Television, Cutural Landscape, Thai News, Violence

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Introduction

Thailand's TV industry is undergoing a transition, as the introduction of digital TV system marks a milestone and requires media workers to embrace technological changes. The digital transmission of TV signal has the advantages of clear pictures and sound, as well as bigger data-transmission volume when compared with the analogue version. The digital TV system, moreover, is compatible with various other technologies. As a result, its use promises greater variety and greater cost effectiveness. The digital TV system has also combined information technology with telecommunications technology. With the synergy of technologies within the digital TV industry, TV news programs have to overhaul its management and strategy so as to create new services that respond well to viewers' needs. At the same time, the synergy has allowed media workers to create a greater variety of news content and forms in a more up-to-date manner.

Since a total of 48 TV stations started broadcasting their programs in digital system in Thailand on 24 April 2014, many new news programs have emerged in response to the National Broadcasting and Telecommunication Commission's (NBTC) regulation on programming ratio. The higher number of news programs means a fiercer competition for TV viewers. Most TV stations have paid much attention to their morning news programs, or the ones broadcast between 6am and 9am. TV stations have now tried to present current affairs in Thailand and the world in a new and different way, relying on new technologies, just as Voice TV Company Limited's president Mr. Songsuk Premsuk said,

> "Today, it's not just about TV. It's about mixed media including in particular modern media like Internet and social media. We focus on content that new-generation people and modern media pay most attention to. Voice TV has placed an emphasis on news and inspiring stories" (Thai Broadcast Journalists Association, 2014, P.34)

Nearly one year after the launch of the digital TV services, Thailand's TV industry has undergone changes in various aspects. Some new stations have successfully established themselves in the market, thus directly affecting ratings of big free TV stations. These new successful stations have managed to attract many viewers away from Channel 3 and Channel 7. Channel 5 and Channel 9 have also faced direct impacts. They used to be the next most popular stations behind Channel 3 and Channel 7, but not anymore. Today, the younger station like "Workpoint" has managed to claim the No 3 spot. (Thansetthakij, 2015).

In light of such developments, the researcher has decided to conduct a research on the Cultural Geography of News in Digital TV Age. The purpose is to study tangible forms and content of news coverage in the Digital TV Age, which encourages the synergy of information technology and telecommunications technology. The research is done within the framework of Cultural Study Approaches, Media Convergence concept, and Media and social responsibility concept.

Methodology

TV news programs are analyzed with a focus on the coverage of current affairs in Thailand and the world. The research covers TV news programs that prove relevant to people, the Thai society and the international community. Their broadcasts between 24 April 2014, the first day of Thailand's digital TV service, and 30 April 2015 or over the period of about one year were examined. The researcher has chosen to study four TV news programs that go on air between 6am and 9am based on their popularity. These four programs, ranked in order of popularity ratings, are: 1) "Rueng Lao Chao Nee", which is broadcast on Channel 3 from Monday to Friday between 6am and 9.45am; 2) "Chao Khao Chad Social", which is broadcast on Thairath TV station from Monday to Friday between 6am and 9am; 3) "Kebtok Jak Nation" (Morning), which is broadcast on National Channel from Monday to Friday between 8am and 10am; and 4) "Voice News" which is broadcast on Voice TV from Monday to Friday between 6am and 7.30am. The research focuses on the content, the form and the source used by these TV news programs. However, this article presents only findings about the most popular morning TV news program, Rueng Lao Chao Nee.

Timetable: Rueng Lao Chao Nee

Rueng Lao Chao Nee is a news talk program. It goes on air on Channel 3. Produced jointly by BEC-Tero Entertainment Public Company Limited and Bangkok Drama, this news program was first broadcast as a 30-minute program on 2 June 2003. But starting from 1 January 2014, Rueng Lao Chao Nee's airtime has been between 6am to 9.30am from Monday to Friday. During the program, there is no seriously fixed section or fixed time for any particular news category. Airtime section for the whole content during the program can be rearranged all the time. The program usually presents crime news, provincial news, political news, social news, economic news, world news, sports news and entertainment news. Sometimes, its live TV program is broadcast outside its studio. Such broadcasts are made under the "Rueng Lao Chao Nee Sanjorn" program or "Mobile Rueng Lao Chao Nee", of which productions take place at various locations in Thailand and overseas. For example, there was the "Mobile Rueang Lao Chaon Nee Live from Incheon, South Korea".

Mr. Sorrayuth Suthassanachinda, Thailand's most famous news teller, and Miss Pichayatan Chanphut are major co-hosts of the program. They are in the program from the beginning till the end every day. Other co-hosts appear only in some sections. For example, Mr. Ekarath Kengtooktang, a well-known football-match commentator in Thailand, co-hosts the program only during its sports section. During world-news section, there are three other co-hosts who take turns appearing on the program. During Entertainment Family section, seven actors and actresses from Channel 3 take turns co-hosting the program.

Program's Content Management

Rueng Lao Chao Nee is divided into 11 sections, with advertising breaks between them. (These sections do not get equal airtime. Their airtime is not fixed either. Each section can be short or long, depending on news flow on each day). These 11 sections are:

Section 1: Current Affairs: It starts from 6am (15 – 30 minutes)

On content, this section is devoted to current affairs and interesting happenings of the day. For example, Rueng Lao Chao Nee covered Nepal's big earthquakes, SEA Games' results, and updates about and efforts to control the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS). On a dry news day, the program also highlights big political news stories such as constitutional amendments. Most news stories in the program are social news, crime news and disaster news. For example, the program featured a story of a truck hitting and instantly killing a motorcyclist, a story about the collapsing ceiling of a department store, and a story about a victim getting pierced by the pointed part of a fence.

On source, Rueng Lao Chao Nee relies on video recordings and audio recordings that are related to news prepared by Channel 3 news teams, provinces-based reporters, and foreign news agencies. In addition, Rueng Lao Chao Nee also uses video clips from Youtube, Facebook and Twitter, plus photos from Instagram, Twitter, Facebook and Line. There are also video clips sent in by viewers.

Section 2: Rueng Lao Chao Nee for Kids

On content, this section presents news stories about children and various kinds of animals. These stories are fun and cute. For example, one story shows a kid crying out loud when stepping on doggy dung. Another story reveals a cat is watching a boxing match. There is also a story about a young kid with apparent taste for Rock music. Most these stories come from foreign countries.

The sources are video clips from Youtube and foreign news agencies.

Sections 3 – 9 (Their content is interchangeable. However, they are divided by advertising breaks and sponsor announcement just like other sections).

On content, Sections 3 to 9 contain SHARE OF THE DAY. This part presents video clips from social media that have the highest number of likes or shares in the day, with the co-hosts commenting on them and sharing their feelings. Most of these clips are about bad happenings like the use of violence over conflicts, teenagers' brawling, car crashes, and car overturning. For example, the "All Thrown Out Crash" clip shows how students in a school pickup were all thrown out when their vehicle collided with another automobile. Some of the students were killed and some others sustained serious injuries. The "Rowdy Monk" clip, meanwhile, shows a monk high on drug and throwing tantrums. The "Vocational Students Brawling" features the deadly fight among vocational students. Sections of social news, crime news and provincial news usually cover thefts and fatal brawls. On colorful news, most stories are something fun from social media. These sections also offer some positive news like Thai students winning top awards, and honest people returning money they have found. Section of intensive political news is often related to the prime minister, Cabinet members, politicians, policies, and charter drafting. On some days, Rueng Lao Chao Nee includes a section of insight economic news. This section features the country's economic policies and economic structures, as well as complaints from the program's viewers. On some days, Rueng Lao Chao Nee program presents highlight news in MV form. Such MV is a compilation of news photos and clips with a relevant song.

In addition, Rueng Lao Chao Nee spends about three to five minutes of the Sections 3 to 9 on a few pieces of PR news. The presentation form is exactly like the program's presentation of news. Co-hosts say what project is going on at which location. Video recordings about the project then appear on screen along with CG text giving

information on the project. The presentation of some PR news pieces includes the audio interview of the organizer plus the CG text. For example, the text says, "Buriram United Super GT Race 2015, 19-21 June 2015, International Circuit Racecourse. Tickets are available at All Ticket, 7-11 outlets. For more information, call 02 711 7788".

On source, these sections rely on video recordings – some without voice or sound – from various sources. Among these sources are Channel 3 news team, provinces-based stringers, foreign news agencies (Vdo's reporter bullet Thai News bullet English News), and social media namely Youtube, Facebook, Instragram, Twitter and Line. There have been contributions from the program's viewers too. Rueng Lao Chao Nee has hardly used front-page news stories from newspapers as its sources now. This is far different from what used to be during the first three years of the program. In that period, the program relied on many Thai newspapers.

Section 10: Sports and World News, Additional Co-Hosts (9am)

On content, the program's sports news cover matches that take place both inside and outside Thailand. However, most parts of the coverage are about world sports news and updates about foreign football players. The world news, meanwhile, are related to both politics and economy. For example, the program reports a US billionaire's intention to run in the upcoming presidential race and North Korea's drought problem. There are some light-news reports in this section too. For example, a clip shows Britons stampeding for discounts and another reveals an American found a mouse in his fried-chicken serving.

On source, the program relies on foreign news agencies and Youtube.

Section 11: Entertainment Family: Additional Co-hosts being actors/actresses associated with Channel 3 (9.10am -9.30am)

On content, the Entertainment Family section can be divided into two parts. The first part presents updates about Channel 3 stars, and the production of new TV series so as to inform the audience of which stars will play which roles. The second part is a live interview of singers or actors/actresses whose work is being on air or whose performance is about to take place. On some days, Rueng Lao Chao Nee features a new band. On some other days, it presents a band that is going to stage a concert. Sometimes, the program recommends new TV series or new TV programs of Channel 3. Guests will perform live performance such as singing or re-staging a TV scene for this section.

On source, the program uses video clips from Channel 3's TV-series production team, live music performance, and live interview of guest actors/actresses.

Cultural Geography of News: Rueng Lao Chao Nee

Analyzing from the content and source in the program's schedule, it was found that "Rueng Lao Chao Nee" focuses on social issues and crimes, as well as conflict and violence. This is the case in the sections of news, current affairs, regional news, Share of the Day section, as well as world news and entertainment news. Most of the content involved conflict, particularly between individuals. Such news had no impacts on society as a whole or involved social structure. Sources of the news were various. However, in this age of online social media, which has influence on the social mainstream, it was found that television chose to present what was going on in the online society, in order to respond to the interest of people in the contemporary

society. The news selection was based on the number of "likes" and "shares" in the social media.

A point worth mentioning involves the responsibility of the producers of "Rueng Lao Chao Nee" towards its viewers, regarding the program's content. Public relations releases about different projects were treated as news in the program. And its "Special Story" sections introduced different concerts, dramas and programs of Channel 3, the broadcaster of "Rueng Lao Chao Nee". Such information should have been treated as PR advertising pieces, rather than news reports of events.

Regarding the creation of program schedule and the flow of news in the program, William (1974) explained that it was planned flow. The experience and recognition of meaning, that had been completely separated, were put together into the program schedule that combined the different things into one. The flow of television and the viewer experience were interchanged, between "reality" and "deception". It is therefore unusual to conclude that under the flow culture, the moods of the contemporary people are influenced by the television media.

This researcher notes that producers of TV news programs must be aware that although such programs are a cultural product, a man-made choice and a social activity with numerous factors, the television media have the duty of communicating truths through the language system, thought structure and ritual of consuming messages from TV on the daily basis. In fact, the communication technology is not just about television. It also refers to the online social media. At present, human knowledge does not come from direct experience alone. It also comes from learning through mass-mediated experiences, the recognition of social value, significance, power and awareness that Raymond William describes as "sources of cultural form" (Williams, 1974).

The "Rueng Lao Chao Nee" program's Share of the Day section features video clips popular among social media users, judging from the number of "likes" and "shares" on that particular day. The detail and story behind the "most popular video of the day" is retold in the news program. The information is also spread through the program's social media channels, such as Facebook, Twitter, Line, YouTube, as well as its own website. This inspired many people to shoot video clips and posted them on YouTube, and the TV program then talked about them, completing a circle.

This process of "recording" the culture and value is called "tradition of selection". A fact worth mentioning is that about 80 per cent of the video clips featured in the Share of the Day section involved personal disputes, and not a story on social structure. Violence was used in dealing with the conflict.

There was a circle of recording (shooting videos) for distribution on YouTube, then sharing on Facebook, and broadcast on TV news programs. After that, the TV programs disseminate those video clips through their live broadcast and their social media channels.

This researcher notes that the viewers are consuming violence through the "Rueng Lao Chao Nee" program. Williams (1974) viewed that television is a mass medium that arranges the "rhythms" of thought and cultural pattern of the contemporary

people at the same time. Moreover, the fact that "Rueng Lao Chao Nee" allows viewers to vote for the "best" news of the day is an example of the selection and rhythm arrangement. This in effect is arrangement of the "rhythms" of thought and cultural pattern of the contemporary people in the form of shoot, post and share. Those challenges lead to convergence of media in the age of digital television.

From Television to Multiple Platforms

In the age of digital TV, all the television stations display their potential of blending social media technology with the contemporary culture. People today acquire news and information through online social media through digital communication technologies. Viewing of TV programs through the Internet in this age of online social media provides a new experience for consumers of the new media. There are three factors involved: 1. Important qualities of new media affect the experience of media consumption; 2. Diffusion of innovations effects consumption of the new media; 3. Digital technology helps encourage media convergence that results in new forms of media business.

Jenkins (2006), an American media scholar, explained about the advent of an age of technology convergence. He said it was convergence of media content from different platforms, as well as the behaviour of consumers. There is cooperation between different media industries. For example, they provide different telecommunication services, such as access to broadband Internet, television, telephone and mobile-phone equipment.

Straubhaar and LaRose (2000) said that media convergence refers to a rapid change towards Information Society due to the progress of computer networks and telecommunications. This leads to harmonious blending or convergence of different media, namely radio, television, motion picture, telephone and computer. It is difficult to separate them. Media convergence leads to many new services that rely on technology, such as long-distant telephony through Internet Protocol network (IP phone), Internet-based television (IPTV), online radio, video clips on such websites as YouTube, and mobile TV that can be viewed on phone screen. In addition to the services, there is also convergence of digital devices that are used to access different services.

"Rueng Lao Chao Nee" adopted the innovation of media convergence by broadcasting the program through multiple platforms. The program is broadcast live on TV Channel 3 on Mondays to Fridays between 6 am and 9.30 am. And there are also video recordings of the program available for later viewing. Here are the program's multiple media platforms: 1. Audio broadcast through Ezy FM 105.5 MHz; 2. The program's website http://morning-news.bectero.com/v3/main.php; 3. Facebook https://www.facebook.com/MorningNewsTV3; 4. YouTube https://www.youtube.com/user/MorningNewsTV3; 5. Twitter https://twitter.com/morningnewstv3; 6. Android app https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.bectero...hl=th; and 7. Apple iOS app https://itunes.apple.com/th/app/ reuxng-lea-chea-ni/id530352082?mt. The program also has a official Line account to inform the subscribers about news issues in the morning, five top news in the afternoon, and five top news of the week every Sunday. The items on the lists all have links to the full reports.

Conclusions and Implications

The broadcast of "Rueng Lao Chao Nee" in the form of media convergence may be analysed with George Gerbner's theory about the qualities of television culture. It was found that in this age of digital TV, new communication technology has been adopted to help with the production and dissemination of television programs through multiple platforms. These include the social media such as YouTube and Facebook, as well as online television (for later viewing). The broadcast is no longer done through TV station alone. As a result, the qualities of television culture under George Gerbner's theory, involving culture of time and path of communication as stream and interval, no longer exist. It is because the audience now can view the program content at any time or through any channel suitable for them. The viewers can select the time of viewing. With this, the viewers no longer have to be aware about the time. Also, they can choose to view their program with no advertisements. Later viewing gets rid of the limitation of television about intermittent intervals for advertisements.

The finding about the content of "Rueng Lao Chao Nee", which consists mostly of social and criminal news as well as conflict and violence, Raymond Williams' Cultural Theory may be applied to explain. Despite the technological changes as well as increase and shift in channels and sources of news and information, television still has two sides of the coin, being a form of technology and a source of cultural form that creates social value, meaning, power and awareness (Somsuk Hinwimarn, 2015).

There is a rapid development of digital technology and a substantial expansion of social media users. At present, there are an estimated 3 billion Internet users, an increase of 6.6 per cent from last year (http://www.it24hrs.com/2014/itu-3-billion-internet-users/ as of November 26, 2014; the search conducted on June 25, 2015).
In Thailand, there are 23.8 million Internet users, or 35 per cent of the population of 67.4 million. Thais have 24 million Facebook accounts, 14 million of them in Bangkok alone (http://service.nso.go.th/ nso/nsopublish/service/survey/ICT-HouseExc57.pdf; the search conducted on June 25, 2015).

The figures are an important factor for television in this age of digital TV to adapt substantially. They have lost advertising revenue to social media. And the mainstream media's influence in setting the news agendas has been challenged by the online social media. Several news issues that are widely interested and talked about all originate from social media, namely Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and the Pantip website. Television on many occasions had to follow up news from the social media on their media. This is compatible with this research study's finding. It was found that news sources of all the morning news programs partly are the social media. They are hot issues on the social media on that particular day, measured by the number of "likes" and "shares". "Rueng Lao Chao Nee", the most popular morning news-talk program with the highest number of viewers, has shifted from talking about newspaper front-page news to the most-shared clip of the day, in its Share of the Day section. It may be concluded that the movement of news culture in this age of digital TV is determined by the expansion of online social media users. The social media have the dominant power in setting the topics of debate in Thai society, as well as the meaning and value of things. They have become a production source of "cultural form" that is relayed to the television media in this age of digital TV.

However, this researcher questions the news worthiness of the video clips from the social media selected for the digital TV's news programs based on the number of "likes" and "shares". The selection certainly did not take into account the 10 values of news, particularly the value on impact, as well as the five qualities of news -- balance, neutrality, completeness, fairness and presentness. Also, many of the video clips selected contained violence or featured personal conflicts in which violence was used.

In the age of digital TV, media outlets are capable of reporting news in a more quality way. They are helped by communication technology in improving the quality of news and increasing the potential of having expertise on content, in terms of depth and broadness. However, as it has turned out, what is happening is the opposite. The quality of digital TV has been questioned. The mainstream media organisations are no longer the main player in setting news agenda; the online social media have taken over that role. The mainstream media are just a follower now. They use communication technology in relaying information from the social media into the digital TV. In the end, television news programs simply act as a messenger.
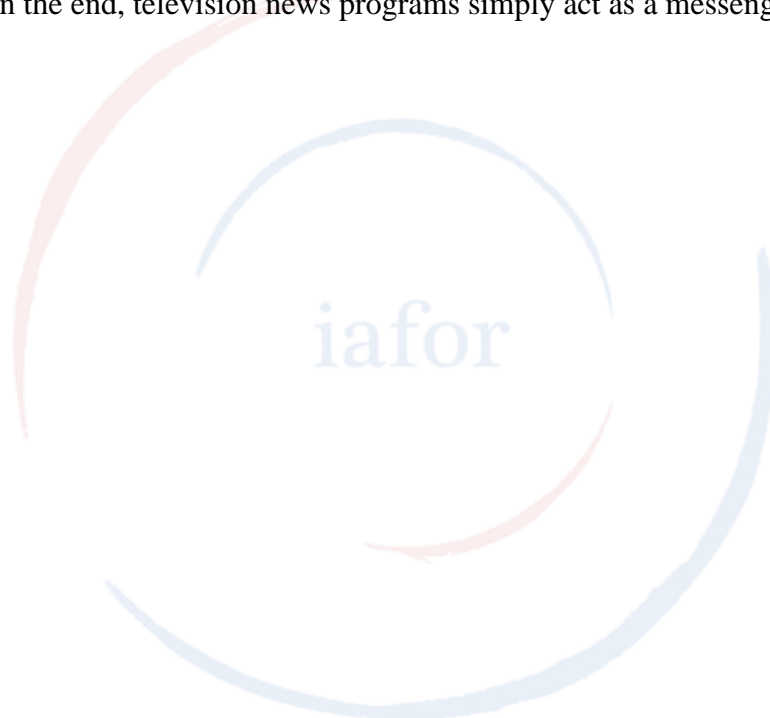
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New Turkish Documentaries: The Tools to Raise Public Awareness with Their Narrative Structures and Discourses

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Abstract

Undoubtedly, NGOs, different ethnic and religious groups, political dissidents, and sexual orientations and identities convey the unseen images, unheard voices and unknown stories or buried narratives to the public sphere in the face of the mainstream media. Documentaries about buried narratives remind and recall people's history against the conventional or the mainstream, and contribute to the social memory that seem to be realized only with their own narratives therefore act as an efficient tool to raise public awareness. Today, thanks to the digital technologies, cinema is no longer the privilege of certain people. Correspondingly, as for the documentaries, their narrative structures and discourses are changing accordingly, accompanying a big rise in production numbers. In Turkey, documentaries which are open to self-representation with a much more subjective style are being produced, addressing issues such as history, politics, women's issues, gender, identity and culture, urbanization, and environmental problems. Covering the aforementioned points and also considering the effect of political and social conjuncture, this paper assesses New Turkish Documentary and examines its effectiveness in raising public awareness with specific focus on the documentaries *Küçük Kara Balıklar* (*Little Black Fish*, A. H. Ünal, C. Terbiyeli, E. Akay, S. Güler, Ö. İnce, 2014) which deals with the 1990's Kurdish policy of Turkey through the testimony of children; *Yeryüzü Aşkın Yüzü Oluncaya Dek* (*Love Will Change The Earth*, R. Tuvi, 2014) which is related to Gezi Protests and *Komşu Komşu! Huuu!* (*Hey Neighbour!*, B. Elmas, 2014) which examines the process of urban transformation.

Keywords: documentary, public awareness, new Turkish documentaries

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Introduction

Ideologies are no less significant in this era of social movements which is characterised by power structures, struggles and constituent entities. Van Dijk (2003, 43) claims that our social praxis is commanded mainly by ideologies. Social communication, in that regard, should also be considered under the influence of ideology.

In *The Consequences of Modernity*, Giddens (2004, 62-64) defines the institutional dimensions of modernity as surveillance (control of information and social supervision), capitalism ("strongly competitive and expansionist nature of capitalist enterprise means that technological innovation tends to be constant and pervasive"; capital accumulation), industrialism (transformation of nature, development of the "created environment") and military power (control of the means of violence in the context of the industrialisation of war). Mass communication plays a significant role in surveillance in the organization and reorganization of power via controlling information and society so that in his celebrated study *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, Althusser (2006, 63) ranks communication and culture among the ideological apparatuses. Horkheimer and Adorno (1996, 7-62) considers cultural commodities, and thus cinema, as means that serve for the approval of power relations.

Public opinion is an aggregate of beliefs and opinions of the people. However beliefs and opinions are usually weak and changeable and beliefs and opinions that are rooted and profound happen to form the public opinion. To form an individual opinion about a particular issue, on the other hand, depends on one's accessibility to information about social problems or matters (Sartori, 2004, 53). That accessibility is provided by mass communication via mainstream and alternative media. Mainstream media, and thus mainstream cinema, conveys narratives that approve the power structures while alternative and structurally independent media which employs criticism, opposition and alternative sources, has a more libertarian stance. At this point we may recall the notion of 'expanded cinema' by Gene Youngblood. According to Youngblood, cinema relates to the phenomenon of expanded consciousness and changing human relations with the environment, which is preconditioned by the gradual disappearance of boundaries of different disciplines, media and arts. And thus, expanded cinema could be perceived as a certain process of becoming something new. For the author, new image-making technologies extended man's communicative capacities, created an alternative paradigm of film and media language (as cited in Šukaitytė, 2012, p. 130).

Documentaries, Digital Technology and the Public Sphere

As we will focus on documentaries particularly in this paper, it is also important to mention the characteristics of the genre through its subjects, aims, perspectives and approaches, structures, production process, and finally, what it presents to the audience. Documentary, as a genre, does not occupy the narrative territory of fiction films in terms of individual actions and relations, feelings and story-telling. In that regard, documentary records its subject so that it urges a certain stance and affects its audience in a certain manner. Documentaries, thus, bear social responsibility due to the fact that it does not fabricate its subject matter but it takes it as given. Principal properties of its production are real person-subjects, on-spot and real time filming, natural lighting, content preserving editing. Including getting in action as a result of

the film, documentary offers a social experience to the audience (Ellis, McLane, 2005, p.1-3).

Thanks to the digital technology it has never been easier to gather geographically diverse individuals around a common interest and to raise public awareness on a subject, and documentary exploits the digital age, as well. The fast improvement of digital technology along with people's demand to hear and see direct and independent stories from all around the world also affects the cinema. In this respect, it is possible to assert that contemporary documentary making drives from both technological developments and social expectations. Craigh Hight notes that the relation between documentary and digital technologies, "offers the potential for a far more extensive and permanent transformation of fundamental aspects of documentary culture," and namely, changes of materiality of the image, modes of representation and the role of the audience in the cinematic event (2008, p.3). Recently in Turkey, the audience whose access to information is secured due to digitalization and social media, protested the indifferent and negligent attitude of the mainstream media towards the Gezi events.[1] Video and audio streams and texts produced and recorded by the participants of Gezi events imply that the participants formed their own media and these footages constitute the main materials for the succeeding documentaries of the events. One such documentary, *Yeryüzü Aşkın Yüzü Oluncaya Dek* (*Love Will Change The Earth*, R. Tuvi, 2014) is discussed in this paper.

Of course, not entirely new, John Grierson, one of the founding fathers of documentary, defined documentary as a socially educative vehicle and the role of the documentary filmmaker as an orator. According to him, documentaries should be designed to enter into the arena of social policy and orient or predispose public opinion to preferred solutions (1966, p.141-55). Dziga Vertov defines his own documentary theory, Kino-eye, "as the possibility of making the invisible visible, the unclear clear, the hidden manifest, the disguised overt, the acted nonacted, making falsehood into truth" (2007, p. 48). However, the instability of the 'truth' that the documentary reveals and the subjectivity of the documentary narrative imply that documentary genre should be considered as a narrative that arouses interest and leads to questions instead of a rigid source for information. In John Grierson's words, documentary "is not a mirror but a hammer" (as cited in Morris, 1987). Jill Godmillow also claims that a documentary "should question the poverty of children instead of displaying children in poverty"(Godmilow).

P. Rotha, on the other hand, emphasizes that the task of the documentary is depict one part of the population to the other part (2000, p.88). Agenda-setting theory, inspired by P. B. Cohen's earlier studies and developed by McCombe and Shaw, asserts that mass media communication filters the reality and determines about what the public thinks but not how the public considers these issue (Erdoğan, Alemdar, 2005, p.180). In other words, visibility is fundamental and ideas that are invisible cannot have existence for individual opinions. So documentaries also play an important role while seeking to bring to the attention of a larger public those whose voices are seldom heard in mainstream media discourse or those who are otherwise in danger of being socially or representationally excluded, as Kilborn emphasizes (2004, p.28).

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[1] http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ntv-binasi-onunde-protesto/gundem/detay/1717999/default.htm
http://www.dailydot.com/news/cnn-turk-istanbul-riots-penguin-doc-social-media/

Documentary film creates a bonding experience in the society and allows its subject matter to be discussed from various standpoints. In this way, documentary film functions as a means of confrontation and dialogue-building. Considering the resolution process in Turkey, confrontations in documentary is essential for the dialogue among Turks and Kurds. This study discusses *Küçük Kara Balıklar* (*Little Black Fish*, A. H. Ünal, C. Terbiyeli, E. Akay, S. Güler, Ö. İnce, 2014) as an example of a narrative that the story of the "other" is being heard.

Danacı notes that the quest for "history from below", "history of the silenced masses", "people's history" emerges in the 60s when the notion of civil society came into prominence, the definition of society started to cover the marginalized groups and times were perceived as a product of a multifaceted process (as cited in Susam, 2015, p. 68). Documentary tries to capture the unseen aspects of the flow of events and records witnesses while it enables to (re-)write the history of events. James Harwey Robinson also asserts that "the world would be completely different if historical facts are known and approved and if they are allowed to affect our everyday life" (as cited in Rotha, 2000, p.35). Even while hoping that documentaries will enlighten and enrich, a contribution to the development of an 'open-minded attitude' toward new information is a great win. All through these, it is easier to understand why one of the most frequently proclaimed aims of documentary film-making is to raise public awareness (Nichols, 1991, p.79-80 & Corner, 1996, p.14-15), and it wouldn't be wrong to say that public awareness rises the sense of community since shared values and beliefs are vital for a sense of community.

In this sense, public-building requires public spaces, and that is why arenas like, public broadcasting, cable access, public satellite TV channels, local communications networks, community media workshop spaces and internet are getting more and more affective each day. Media, and mostly alternative media, on these platforms are becoming tool of a democratic process, an open society, and a vital culture (Aufderheide, 2007, p.72). It reminds us of the rather normative notion of 'public sphere' (Habermas), a domain out of the state with the function of controlling and criticizing governmental policies. Habermas defines the public sphere as a public habitat where individuals come together to discuss public issues and problems, to reconcile about the values and criteria for the solution social and political problems (as cited in Mutlu, 2004, p.164). Digital technologies and recent developments that secure the accessibility of opportunities for the production and distribution of films enable an equal discussion and communication environment into which each individual or group would participate with their own productions. This can be considered as a modest step to realize Habermas' notions of public sphere, democratic negotiation space and participation. Public sphere can now be considered as the whole world. Time, space and language are not constraints anymore. Political, cultural, economic and social issues are being discussed in burgeoning communication channels. Documentaries strongly contribute to the public sphere not only with almost no-budget, independent productions but also with alternative distribution strategies. It is not just the internet as an alternative screening medium, but also private screenings like those in festivals, meetings and assemblies, in parks and on the streets, by-pass the mainstream. This echoes the factory screenings of Getino and Solanas, authors of the *Towards Third Cinema* manifesto and *La hora de los hornos* (*Hour of the Furnaces*), a revolutionary masterpiece of the 60s, which altered the role of the audience. The nature of such screenings is that they turn out to be places of discussion

or debate and also contribute to heighten the audience's involvement in the documentary's subject matter. This more focused community brings a more qualified feedback and carry this to the real life.

New Turkish Documentaries

Documentary film in Turkey, so far, tried to survive under severe censorship and without the support of commercial distribution and find itself a place in the history of the Turkish cinema. Due to the fact that digital technologies became widespread and because of the increasing number of film festivals and increasing availability of film productions and literature on film on internet, film literacy augmented and documentaries and other forms of narratives are preffered to be used as an effective means of expression. Therefore, documentaries in various languages that are more local, that can represent various identities, that derive from various ideological stances, that reflect various cultures varied and multiplied in number. Such a flourishing relies not only the particular properties of this cinema but also on the political, social, economic and cultural structure of Turkey in 2000s.

Rise of political Islam from 1990 in an accelerating rate during the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Justice and Development Party) regime; state intervention to the personal lives including issues like marriage, love, personal hygiene, eating habits on the one hand and EU harmonization process on the other; use of Islam as a means to divide and conquer Kurdish nationalism in the Eastern and Southeastern parts of Turkey on the one hand and the ongoing resolution process on the other; rural-urban migration reaching its climax in 90s; tensions among the settled and the newcomers in city and its social, economic and environmental consequences; economic policies of the AKP governments and the utilization of construction industry as an economic accelerator in particular; resulting awareness about environment… All these conflicts and contradictions nourished unrest and polarization and an accompanying uneasy tone in Turkish society. In similar vein, this emerging political, social, economic and cultural era affected arts and film-making. Classifying the films of this period as 'New Turkish Cinema', and 'New Turkish Documentaries' in particular, derives from the fact that films of this period were used and considered as a means to discuss, and even to propose solutions for, the issues at stake. Distinguishing features of these productions can be generalized as follows: narratives that deviate from mainstream and dominant ideology; critical towards power; unusual variety in subject matters; particularly preferring the documentary genre as a means of expression; self-funding; screenings organized out of mainstream distribution channels; productions with fresh new language, new representations and self-representations.

Little Black Fish, Love Will Change The Earth, Hey Neighbour!...
In this study, we focus on three recent, striking (especially in terms of their subject matters), independently produced, and alternatively distributed documentaries to portrait New Turkish Documentaries and its influence for raising public awareness.
First decade of 2000s witnessed an unseen dialogue platform among peoples about the Kurdish issue due to the government's updated policies, namely the resolution process. Films of this era also serve a function in building this dialogue. The directors of *Little Black Fish* express their will to contribute to the resolution process. Five directors of the documentary, one being Kurdish, others being Turkish, are inspired by

the book entitled *Bildiğin Gibi Değil*[2] by two young researchers, Funda Danışman and Rojin Canan Akın. The book brings together the interviews with Kurds who were children in the 90s living in the Southeastern region of Turkey. The directors describe the film as a documentary produced by Turks for Turks and state their aim as to introduce the violence faced by Kurdish children stuck in the middle of a war to the Turkish people.[3] The production started in 2012. Kurds from Van, Hakkari, Batman, Mardin, Diyarbakır, Lice and Şırnak are interviewed and they tell their own stories and experiences about their childhoods. Since the interviewees are of different age groups, their childhood covers a period of 30 years from 1990s up to 2010s. The film was self funded and with the voluntary contribution of professionals.

The Occupation of Gezi Park started on May 28, 2013, protesting against the implementation of an urban management project, which would turn one of the last green area of Taksim, Istanbul into a shopping mall. When the police brutally intervened and used aggressive force, the Gezi movement gained momentum and massive support of different social sectors, and also spread to various cities other than Istanbul. *Love Will Change The Earth* is one of the documentaries comprehensively covering the incidents through the eyes of the witnesses which are also the participants of the protests. Director herself was also a protestor at the Gezi Park and she documented, gathered evidence, interviewed and recorded as well as shared film materials with other filming protesters. This was also one of the basic characteristics of Gezi, the use of social media and online sharings to capture and cover the whole process, and bypass the inadequate mainstream media.

As the result of economic policies of the recent AKP government and its employment of the construction industry as an economic catalyzer, urban renewal projects played a significant and destructive role for the last few years. These projects destroyed the historical traces in the neigbourhoods, promoted vertical housing, and attacked the last remnants of green spaces in order to replace old neighbourhoods with shopping malls (as in the case of Gezi) or new luxury housing. In such cases where the projects are not yet completed or when the current inhabitants are not totally evacuated, the old and the new, and the rich and the the poor become neighbours. The documentary *Komşu Komşu! Huuu!* (*Hey Neighbour!*, B. Elmas, 2014) is about the relationship of a huge residence apartment building in Kurtulus district and a shanty in the old Pasa neighbourhood as neighbours. The whole story is narrated by the pink old house.[4] In other words, the location itself becomes a defining character, voice of the film.

As we define the main characteristics of New Turkish Documentary as the voice of the cultures and histories that had remained ignored or oppressed under the dominant values and beliefs of society, *Hey Neighbour!,* standing in opposition to government policies, set a good example. The director asserts that the use of the pink old house as the narrator, gives chance to those whose voices are seldom heard to be heard.[5] The conflict intensifies visually when we see the image of the huge crane, portrayed as if it is a juggernaut, a merciless and unstoppable destruction machine. Urban renewal not only destroys the buildings but also the lives of the householders and the local culture.

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[2] R.C. Akın, F. Danışman. (2011). *Bildiğin Gibi Değil*. İstanbul: Metis.

[3] For further reading about the film and interviews with the directors, see www.facebook.com/kucukkarabaliklar. The film is also available online, see vimeo.com/108880966

[4] For detailed information, trailer and contacts see www.asminfilm.com/en/Film-detail.aspx?cid=30

[5] For the interview with the director see, G. Aydemir, (2015). "Kentsel Dönüşüm İnsanların Kültürlerini Formatlıyor". *FilmArası*, *49*, p. 60-62.

The screening of the film at various festivals and organizations played an important role on raising public awareness on the issue. The film also had chance to be promoted on Hayat TV[6] whose motto is "to be the television of millions, not the millionaires."

The fact that children telling their own stories about their own childhood in the *Little Black Fish* contributes to mutual emphaty and its language being Turkish supports the idea that mutual dialogue is well possible. However, the film should not be considered to have an impact only for the Turkish people. Directors assert that Kurdish audiences also appreciate the film in the sense that it reveals what the Kurds, themselves, wanted to express but remained so far unvoiced. Thus, when the documentaries are being screened at its source, or when the subject of the documentary or those who can identify with the subject, watch himself/herself on the screen, as is in the case of *Little Black Fish*, this confrontation stimulates grassroots to be organized, raises awareness and provides a sense of self empowerment. Moreover the film not only screened at international festivals, but also televised on IMC TV[7], a TV station that adopts an independent stance against the mainstream media, released for movie theathers through Başka Sinema[8], and finally become available online, so that its reach extended even international circles. In a similar vein, the screenings of the other two documentaries at international festivals and events organized by various institutions turned Q&A sessions into forums with the participation of the directors. This enabled an in-depth interaction of the films with the audiences. We also witness the active participation of the audience in their comments on online screening sites and social media.

Another contribution of *Little Black Fish* and *Love Will Change the Earth* to the public awareness is their narrative style. These documentaries contain examples of direct, firsthand evidences of alleged crimes or violations, recorded based on the method of oral history. Thus the effects of the incidents can be traced back easily. According to Sancar, dialogue in the resolution process is only possible under social reconciliation. This is mainly guaranteed by the political arena but not restricted to that. Indeed political will and action is necessary but not sufficient for a thorough discussion about peaceful coexistence especially when there is a nationwide trauma of this scale. Policies of recollection with various communication channels is crucial to realize the politics of democratic recollection and confrontation instead of top-down designed, directed and carefully controlled recollection policy (Sancar, 2010, p. 56). *Little Black Fish s*hould be considered in this framework. *Love Will Change the Earth* does not rely on the dominant ideology in the sense that it challenges the collective memory by employing oral histories. The film presents its material in such a way so that the Gezi incident can be recollected and comprehended in a human-centered framework via presenting the witnesses of the same event through their different experiences, feelings and reflections. The fact that the collective memory, i.e. what the society recollects and what it forgets, is conditioned by the power and the dominant ideology should not be underestimated. Huyssen points out that to forget is a strategy of the memory under the pressure of the power and thus recollection is political. In that respect collective memory can be formatted, rebuilt, directed and, in a

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[6] www.youtube.com/watch?list=PLJHMLVS9bmNoXw67YrJN8mo-FTlKWVSmN&t=4872&v=dNFC9bYwhro

[7] For further information about IMC TV see, www.imc-tv.com and gokhanbicici.com/?page_id=18

[8] *Başka Sinema* is an initiative for the theatrical release of independent productions or festival films which are otherwise not distributed nationwide. For further information see, www.baskasinema.com/

way, fictional. Recollection of the past is not unilateral and past can only be conceived if it is represented with the use of language (Huyssen, 1999, p. 13). These documentaries function not only as a source of this representation, but also as the means through which this representation is realized.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, NGOs, different ethnic and religious groups, political dissidents, and sexual orientations and identities convey the unseen images, unheard voices and unknown stories or buried narratives to the public sphere as opposed to the mainstream media. They have to challenge official ideology, promote an alternative history to the official one and contribute to the social memory with their own narratives. Being a noncommercial genre, built upon the real stories of real people, claiming to be the source of truth, and with its narrative characteristics (such as real time footage and on location shooting), documentaries deviate from other cinematic genres and act as an efficient tool to raise public awareness. Today, thanks to the digital technologies, cinema is no longer the privilege of certain people. Correspondingly, as for the documentaries, their narrative structures and discourses are changing accordingly, accompanying a big rise in production numbers.

Nichols emphazises that some documentaries set out to explain certain aspects of the world. They analyze problems and propose solutions. They reflect about the certain aspects of the historical world by means of their representations. They seek to mobilize our support for one position instead of another. But on the other hand some documentaries invite us to understand aspects of the world more fully. They observe, describe, or poetically evoke situations and interactions. They try to enrich our understanding of aspects of the historical world by means of their representations. They complicate our adherence to positions by undercutting certainty with complexity or doubt (Nichols, 2001, p.165).

We may easily say that New Turkish Documentaries set examples for the latter with their structures and discourses. These documentaries have narratives that deviate from mainstream and dominant ideology; they are critical towards power; they present unusual variety in subject matters; they particularly prefer the documentary genre as a means of expression; they are self-funded; their screenings are organized out of mainstream distribution channels; they are produced with a fresh new language, new representations and self-representations; they exploit technological opportunities of the digital age; they function as active means of expression in raising public awareness in parallel to the struggles and the gains of the leftist, feminist, pro-LGBT, Kurdish freedom movements, including Gezi Events.

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Public Service Announcement for "Public Interest"?

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Abstract

The public service announcement or advertising (PSA) is conceptualized as "public spot" in Turkey. The term is used for short films or announcements which are produced on behalf of governmental or non-governmental organizations. The aim of the PSA is to inform or educate citizens about the subject on public interest. Turkey has witnessed the phenomena of PSA -especially the government's PSAs- during the 1980's. However, Turkey's first regulation about PSA was in Turkish Broadcasting Law No: 6112 in 2011. According to the law, PSA approved by Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Court (RTÜK) has to be broadcasted free of charge in the media. Then, RTÜK approved "Public Spot Directive" in 2012. Meanwhile, some ministries started to have the privilege of publishing PSA's. In 2013, RTÜK approved a new regulation again that banned politicians –except the prime minister and the president- from appearing in PSAs. PSA has become a very controversial genre within this context. Accordingly, the aim of the study is to analyse PSA as invisible and hidden mechanisms of power dynamics in the political agenda of Turkey via discourse analysis, since before and during the local and presidential elections in 2014, PSA has been implemented remarkably competent for the sake of the government party. The study takes its lead from the process of legal regulations, discussions in political sphere and media within the intersections of the government's PSA practices.

Keywords: public spots, public service advertising, Turkey

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Introduction

The public service announcement or advertising (PSA) is conceptualized as "public spot" in Turkey. The term is used to refer to short films or announcements which are produced in the name of governmental or non-governmental organizations. The aim of the PSA is to inform or educate citizens about subjects of public interest. In brief review of the literature, public service advertising has been a remarkable subject in different point of views, but mostly being handled within the context of positivist perspective.

PSA has become a very controversial genre for the last couple of years. Especially before and during the local and presidential elections in 2014, PSA has been discussed and still being discussed in media. In this paper, the media and public spots will be scrutinized by the help of the Althusserian concept of ideological state apparatuses which refers to the idea that ideology is circulated, reproduced and naturalized via media text.

In that respect, aim of this study is to analyse public service announcements as an ideological apparatus in Turkey with the aid of discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk (2001, p. 352), critical discourse analysis is "a type of analytical discourse research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and speech in the social and political context". The study takes its lead from the process of legal regulations, discussions in political sphere and media and undoubtedly government PSA practices.

(Re)Thinking on public and Public Service Advertising

The term "public" has two meanings almost in every language all around the world. As the synonym of people, the public is defined as "connected with ordinary people in society in general", the synonym of government is stated as "connected with the government and the services it provides" according to the Oxford Dictionaries[1]. Habermas (1989, p. 1) considered the term as the opposite of private: "We call events and occasions 'public' when they are open to all, in contrast to closed or exclusive affairs". The term "public" in Turkey has always been discussed and mostly signified synonym of the "state" or "government". This is for two reasons. The first reason can be said to be that mostly concepts which start with public is linked to the government or state such as public administration, public policy, public schools etc. The second one is, understanding of governance, from the beginning of the Turkish Republic, can be stated as "citizens for government". Thus, the regime always constructs "acceptable citizens" via ideological apparatus.

Under this circumstance, it is possible to re-define public service advertising as "government advertising" especially when these spots are used and regulated by the government to "inform and educate citizens about the subject on public interest". In PSA's, the advertiser is public, meaning the government the aim of which is to inform or educate the target audience. At the same time the target audience, which refers to the people or citizens, is itself the public.

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[1] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/learner/public

The public service announcements or public service ads are non-commercial messages for the public interest the objectives of which are raising awareness for a problem, informing, educating, and changing public opinion towards a social issue. The main characteristic of these messages is the way they are disseminated by the media without charge. PSAs can be considered as *an advertising genre* which is used by both governmental and non-governmental organizations. PSAs are usually known as public information films in the UK. Similarly, PSAs often appear as short films on Turkish televisions and are generally referred to as "public spot" in Turkey. Television is considered to be the most effective medium for delivering PSAs because of its geographical and demographical reach (Van Dijk, 1999) and its dual audio and visual impact (Wong, 2006). Besides the traditional media, this motion videos are observed to get into circulation through the internet on social media devices such as YouTube and Facebook, via new communication technologies.

Announcement can be considered one of the first meanings of advertising and PSA is also a genre of (non) commercial advertising! Advertising derives from the Latin words "*adverto* and *advertere*"; "it has the root sense of *turning to something*" (Barnard, 2002, p. 27). Target audiences direct their attention to various social issues with the help of PSAs, such as pollution control, environmental protection (water problem, climate change, animal rights, etc.), crime prevention, seatbelt use, drug abuse, drinking and driving, child abuse, obesity, gambling, education, smoking, etc. Undoubtedly, the weighty issues vary country to country, depending on incidence and prevalence of the problems.

Public Service Advertising in Turkey as an ideological apparatus

It can be said that Turkey became acquainted with PSA with a similar content to, despite not being denominated as such in the 1980s. Being The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), which has been the national public broadcaster of Turkey since 1964's, produced and broadcasted educational and informative films in these years. Being the natural monopoly, TRT broadcasted many films in this kind in the sense of public interest. These can be considered as *archetypal* PSAs from a contemporary point of view. The first prominent instance on this context is the campaign, memorable with the catchphrase "A Sales Slip for Each Purchase", that narrates about the value added tax which was introduced into Turkish economy in 1985. This campaign can be understood as a campaign which canonised the reorganization period of Turkey with neoliberal policies in the 1980s, and the law-abiding citizen who pays and receives her taxes, and is expected to accommodate herself to those liberal economic policies. "Let's the Kids Get Vaccinated" campaign, which resembles the abovementioned tax campaign with its humorous tone and script, was also prepared towards raising a healthy (consumer) generation. Kibar (2013) remarks that the PSA called "I am working for Turkey, I am producing for Turkey, there is no other Turkey" in 1990s particularly became prominent as an output of the political and economic depressions experienced back in those years. The text includes messages towards persuading the citizens to work harder and earn more for the country 'sake. In this conjuncture in which the efforts to articulate to what was global grew denser in the country, it can be stated that the campaign was launched in order to sooth the restlessness of the society by means of producing more in order to consume more.

One of the consequences of the neoliberal policies of privatization was the restructuring of the media. 1990s witnessed the introduction of non-media capital into the media sector and the ending of the state monopoly of broadcasting. This period was strikingly characterized by the beginning of capital accumulation in the media and the emergence of an oligopolistic market in which certain conglomerations came to dominate the market. As a part of reregulation, Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) was established as a regulatory authority of the new oligopolistic media market in 1994 for monitoring, regulating, and sanctioning radio and television broadcast. Advertisement revenues, without any doubt, were considerably important for the media which was reorganized in this vein. The obligation to broadcast the PSAs without charge and their nature of interrupting the media's entertaining content caused the media to broadcast them as off prime time coverage after midnight.

Positioning itself as "conservative and democratic", The Justice and Development Party (AKP), the political and ideological practices and discourse of which found itself legitimate grounds with neoliberal globalization and European Union harmonization references, came into power in 2002 and remained in power as the single party until quite recently. Particularly after its third term in power, AKP regulated the format and the content of the PSAs and employed them as an apparatus of reproducing its ideology, by favour of RTÜK whose majority of members AKP held.

Turkey's first regulation about public spots was in Turkish Broadcasting Law No: 6112 in 2011. According to the 10/5 law, PSA has to be suggested and approved/accredited by RTÜK and published free of charge in the media, provided they should be broadcasted aside from the commercials. In his statement on May 1st, 2012, RTÜK Chairman Prof. Dr. Davut Dursun stated that "the public institutions have discovered public spots as an efficient way of informing the society about activities, campaigns and certain warnings of public institutions" and added "recently, we've been receiving applications for more public spot suggestions particularly from the ministries, general directorates and certain public institutions"[2]. A few months after this statement, RTÜK approved "Public Spots Directive" on August 8th, 2012. This regulation was claimed to be necessary by the institution which made the regulation for the reason that there had been 236 public spot applications from various institutions and organizations as of the date the previous law came into force, and therefore the evaluation process had been very dense.

According to the Public Spots Directive, Article 3(c), public spots are defined as "films, audios and banners of an informative and educational quality which are prepared by public institutions and organizations, and non-governmental organizations such as associations and foundations, and as being deemed to be of public interest, they should be approved by the Supreme Council". In the new directive, it is stated that the subjects of the public spots should be "related to events and progresses which concern the society and are of public interest to be broadcasted". The new directive also limits PSAs durations, as 45 seconds for films and audios, 10 seconds for banners. It also indicates that applications which are broadcasted during commercials and which have advertising budgets cannot be

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[2] Retrieved from http://www.bik.gov.tr/rtuk-baskani-prof-dr-davut-dursun-kamu-spotu-haberi-1981/

considered as public spots, and that public spots cannot be used for commercial communication.

According to the "Civil Society Monitoring Report" prepared by Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (2013: 43- 44), RTÜK received a total of 183 public spot applications in 2012, from central public institution units, local government units, intergovernmental institutions, two city councils, civil society organisations, professional organizations, unions and a company. The report reflected that 56 of the 78 public spot applications from associations and foundations while 72 of the 83 public spot applications from public institutions were approved. The report criticized the Supreme Council not having clearly identified the criteria upon which its selection would be based and stressed the importance of the transparency of the process so that more CSOs have the opportunity to broadcast their messages.

Public spots are an important means to make themselves visible and express themselves for the civil society organizations which are essential for a democratic, participatory structure, work on a voluntary basis and without any profit motives and describe their mission as to promote the social benefits of the society. One of the columnists of the *Hürriyet* Newspaper, Yalçın Doğan (2012), indicates that "there are not enough opportunities remaining for civil society organizations on public spots inasmuch as the government uses them excessively". From my stand point the question whether the opportunity remains should be reformulated as the question whether the opportunity was given in the first place. Yet, the RTÜK which is the only granted authority that approves public spots consists of nine members elected by Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the basis of the number of chairs in the Parliament. Five members should be from the ruling party's list, and four from the opposition parties' lists. In other words, it can be seen that the decision making procedures about broadcasting public spots are retained by the political power. The rejections of public spot applications by NGOs such as Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation's in 2011, Association for Support of Contemporary Living in 2014 and The Foundation Of Children with Leukaemia's in 2015 are only a few of the examples which can be discussed within this context.

Due to the November 25th, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation applied to RTÜK after having shot 3 short films named "3 Films against Violence towards Women" to be broadcasted on television. With the meeting decision numbered 66 and dated December 1st, 2011, RTÜK decided that the mentioned application was not suitable by majority vote, "on the grounds that it included generalizations contrary to social gender equality". Purple Roof volunteer Ülfet Taylı stated that RTÜK had swept the existing inequalities under the rug with this attitude, and she also reminded the fact that in every international convention AKP government had signed, there appeared the struggle against gender inequality. Undoubtedly the position taken by the political power via RTÜK towards gender has exacerbated existing violence and created additional forms of violence against women such as femicide. Accordingly, in the Inspection Report for Violence towards Women and Family Members, drawn up by Human Rights Inspection Commission in Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Saktanber (2011: 25) states that femicides increased by 1400 per cent between 2002 and 2009.

As a civil society organization Purple Roof's standing up against the oppressive discourse of the political power regarding the women and woman body can be read as a clue for why they are not given public spot opportunities. Though the short films which were rejected by the RTÜK could not have the opportunity to be broadcasted on television free of charge, they entered into circulation on the internet.

The predominant involvement of Ministry of Family and Social Policies in public spots towards violence against women can be interpreted as institutionalization of the political power and its ideology and discourse. As Kandiyoti (2015) quoted that in a conference of women's organisations the former prime minister, and present President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, said that "he did not believe in the equality of men and women, that women's destiny was divinely foreordained". Erdoğan, also in a meeting he attended on March7[th], 2011, stated that "events of violence against women, being abused by the media and the opposition parties, were being presented as if they were increasing"[3]. In the 1st International Women and Justice Summit which was organized by in KADEM[4] on December 24th 2014, Mr. Erdoğan stated that "You cannot equate women and men, this goes against the disposition"[5], and following this, he took part in the public spot "violence against women is treason against humanity", prepared in scope of March 8th 2015 International Women's Day, with his wife and celebrities known for their favour for the government. He also shared Arabic and Kurdish subtitles of the mentioned public spot on his twitter account.

The public spot application to RTÜK made by the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life in scope of "Dad, Send me to School" campaign, which aimed to make people send their daughters to school and increase the schooling rate, and is one of the most long-running social campaigns of Turkey, was rejected on the grounds that it exceeded the time limit by two seconds. "Perception of the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life in Turkey is obvious. We all know that the association is trying to remedy the educational problems of Turkey. RTÜK is normally supposed to notify the association of deficiencies and ask them to have the public spot prepared accordingly. Instead, they directly rejected the request" said Esat Çıplak, a member of RTUK elected from the quota of the Nationalist Movement Party, predicating that the Council approaches the matter ideologically[6].

Another example to the government's attitude towards public spots, especially of civil society organizations is the public spot of the Foundation for the Children with Leukaemia (LÖSEV), which had been allowed to air for two terms, then announced not be a public spot after a correspondence from General Directorate of Health Promotion to RTÜK. The Ministry of Health notified RTÜK that the 10 and 45 seconds public spots of LÖSEV, which ask for donations for the LÖSANTE hospital where the treatment of leukaemia is provided free of charge to leukaemia-stricken

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[3] Retrieved from http://www.ntv.com.tr/arsiv/id/25189895
[4] Several significant women's rights groups were excluded from the selection of international institutions and comities as representatives of the country. In fact, only three organizations that the political power addressed were the Women and Democracy Association (KADEM), the Women Healthcare Providers Association (KASAD) and the Women's Rights Association against Discrimination (AKDER) which have strong affiliations with the government (Retrieved from http://www.todayszaman.com/monday-talk_kamers-akkoc-womens-groups-excluded-from-istanbul-convention-process_368252.html)
[5] Retrieved from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/27640428.asp
[6] Retrieved from http://www.gercekgundem.com/guncel/35091/rtukten-cyddnin-kamu-spotuna-ret

children, with the catchphrase "You too, put a brick ", did not in fact meet the qualifications to be public spots. The "apparent" problem between the Ministry of Health and LÖSEV is about the capacity of the hospital. In the statement he made, the current Minister of Health, said that LÖSEV was granted permission to build a 100-bed hospital at the first pre-application, and the request for a 400-bed hospital was unethical and anomalous. "LÖSEV applied to us for a 100-bed hospital and we deemed the prior authorization for it appropriate. However, if they say 'We are powerful, we can manage the public opinion, therefore, we can build the 400, and the Ministry would have to bear the expense for the 400', this is unethical and anomalous. Nobody can condemn the government of this country to this unethical and anomalous behaviour" he said[7].

While the decision, which concluded that the mentioned public spot was not in fact a public spot, was made by majority vote, a member elected from Republican People's Party lists, Süleyman Demirkan, criticized the decision with his statement "They incentivize uniformity not only in public but also in civil society organizations. Even being impartial is not enough now (…) The Ministry of Health acted as if he was the superior of civil society organizations, and LÖSEV was a subdivision of the Ministry".

In response to this unjust and partial attitude of the Council, civil society's reply was a broad repercussion in social media in order to advocate the campaign with "We love LÖSEV" and "You too, put a brick" hash tags in Twitter.

Arguably, in only certain civil society organizations that discursively and ideologically supported the government had the privilege to obtain broadcasting permits for their public spots as part of the government's support. For instance, the public spot "Let's be vigilant against drugs" (2014) of the Fahrettin Tacar Education Foundation[8], founded with the purposes of "introducing Turkish and Islamic civilization to the world" and "providing economic and spiritual development by education in Turkish and Islamic Geography" in 2012, begins with cut scenes from a speech of the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. At the beginning of the public spot the President Erdoğan's words "They have to be awake, they have to be sharp, and they have to be equipped with knowledge. We want such a generation" were included. This enunciation was a part of a speech on the legal regulation regarding sales and publicity of alcoholic beverages where he stated "we do not want a generation that drinks day and night that walks around merry", and added "we will raise a pious generation".

Not only certain civil society organizations but also certain public institutions share the privileged position of on public spots. Especially the public spots of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, which are in a position to reproduce the government's social, economic and political discourses of all kinds in the structuring denominated as "New Turkey", had been taken into the scope of mandatory public spots between 2009 and 2013 one by one[9]. It is also designated on the legal platform

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[7] Retrieved from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/saglik/28477220.asp
[8] https://www.fahrettintacarvakfi.org/icerik/8/vakif-hakkinda-bilgi.html
[9] http://www.rtuk.org.tr/Home/SolMenu/1149#

that public spots in scope of mandatory broadcast are required to be broadcasted during the prime time. Prior to these practices, only educational short films and public spots against tobacco products were broadcasted in scope of mandatory broadcast.

Undoubtedly, the government changed the matter in line with its own ideological stance as well. In their research, Şeker and Tiryaki (2013) state that public spots especially against smoking have been frequently used by the government in the context of moral panic effect. The authors considered that accompanied by legal regulations on smoking, as a reflection of the government's effort to control and oppress the behaviours of smokers and non-smokers by means of public spots.

Despite not being one of the institutions in scope of mandatory broadcast, the Ministry of National Education televised the public spot along with the legal regulation which led to fundamental changes on the educational system. The spot worked almost as a mandatory broadcast, especially in the context of the actors. In this public spot, called "Project for Increasing the Schooling Ratio of Female Children" the Minister of National Education, the Prime Minister, and the President play the leading role. The law, which extended compulsory education in Turkey from 8 year to 12 years, yet cascaded the education as 4+4+4 instead of giving it uninterrupted, decreased the school starting age, included conversion of many schools into religious vocational high schools and increment of the number of elective religion lessons, and is interpreted as an initiative to hinder the education of especially female children or designate it with a directly religious content, led to significant discussions and protests in the public. In the public spot prepared in this process importance of sending female children to school is emphasized, however, it can be stated that the effort is to extinguish the responses of the public to the law with the help of this public spot.

RTÜK, in its meeting on the date of January 22nd, 2013, has decided that the provision "political party logos and political figures cannot be displayed in public spots" shall be added on principles section of the Public Spots Directive. Although this decision was interpreted as that no political figures can appear in public spots, including the prime minister, by the media, a couple of days later RTÜK chairman made a statement expressing that the President and the Prime Minister cannot be considered within the scope of this article. As things stands, the willingness of the bureaucrats to legitimize and consolidate the power of the aforementioned political figures bypassed the Directive.

The political instrumentalisation of public spots and their employment as government propaganda incited the opposition parties to table a motion in the Assembly in respect of "Agricultural Lands and Food Preservation Code Public Spot" given to the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock on December 15th, 2014[10]. Stating that non-agricultural activities on agricultural lands shall not be permitted, the public spot is challenged in article 7 of the parliamentary question thusly: "All this public spot does is being broadcasted and it has no provision in practice, so, is this public spot being broadcasted in order to do government propaganda and cover up unlawfulness (…)? What is the reason your ministry broadcasts regarding public spots while it is forbidden in the legislation?" On the one hand the message in the public spot is being

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[10] http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/7/7-57005c.pdf

given as "Let's preserve agricultural lands together", as is known to public, the agricultural land has recessed by 3.5 million hectares in Turkey in the last decade, only half of the current land is cultivable because of irrigation system problems, and agricultural lands are being assigned for building thermal power plants, industrial zones, tourism investments and housing sector investments, on the other.

The occupational-work accident is an important issue that occupies the agenda of the country. The way the government takes side with the capital owners and employers became evident especially after the Soma mine disaster with the remarks, such as "these kinds of accidents are present in the disposition of mining and hence could happen even if everything were made right." Also having drawn up the serious accidents of the last century, the Prime Minister labelled these kinds of accidents as natural. Concordantly, the public spots broadcasted about work safety are being reproduced in the same vein. In the Canadian-made original version of the public spot "There are no work accident" prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and General Directorate of Occupational Health and Safety. The original spot featuring "There really are no accident", underlines the irresponsibleness of the employer whereas in the Turkish version, all liability is laid upon the employee, underestimating the role of the state and the employer.

Aykan and Salgırlı (2013) awarn us against the position the political power takes on the fields of health and security via public spots broadcasted in Turkey. They stressed that "whilst the Turkish state (and its governmental apparatus) provides guidance through public spots, it is the self-motivated individuals rather than the state that is to be hold responsible for dealing with risks" (p. 309). It can be argued that the political power get rid of its responsibilities by "indirect governance, i.e. attribution of responsibility to the individual" (Aykan and Salgırlı, 2013).

In lieu of Conclusion

In Turkey, in parallel with the understanding that considers public to be synonym with state, state with government, and service with the government's duties, it has become possible to identify "**P**ublic **S**ervice **A**dvertising" that is "**P**olitical **P**ower **A**dvertising". While trying to open a path for communication towards public interest by forbidding commercial communication, the path has led to "political communication" of the political power.

While being an inseparable part of various media texts from news to debates, the government has possessed a free broadcasting time zone without purchasing time and space for it on television by means of public spots. The regulation regarding certain public institution's public spots' being in scope of "mandatory broadcast" and their obligation to be aired during the prime time has doubtlessly attached a new meaning to the media content that is reserved for the government by the opponent media. It is controversial that the privilege that makes certain public spots mandatory is not granted to civil society organizations. In return, the civil society, who is encompassed by partiality of the political power, finds alternative means of communicating messages via social media.

Recently, the government has been seen to employ various genres from the advertisement semiosphere, as well as public spots. Though not being public spots, but prone to being public spots, advertisements of certain institutions, which take

place during the broadcasting time zone, are just another appearance the government's ideological instruments takes within the advertisement semiosphere. It can be stated that these advertisements, of whose advertisers can be public or private institutions, are grotesque texts that resemble the election period advertisements both in tone and style and reproduce the governing party's discourse.

It can be argued that it is no coincidence the fact that among the first ten institutions to have broadcasted public spots in majority are the public institutions since 2013. As this period was both presidential and local the election period, the employment of public spots as an ideological instrument was no astonishment. Forasmuch as the public spots of public institutions during this process served as the mandatory commercial broadcasted free of charge. These public spots have also had an implication that reproduces the "New Citizen" of the "New Turkey" as "middle class, married with children, and conservative", in accordance with the government's discourse (Sayın, 2013).

Television is still the main means of propaganda and the political power heavily makes use of it to be visible by converging of genres including advertising, and public spots to mediate its naturalising and legitimizing its authoritarian *modus operandi.* In this conjuncture, in addition to public spots and mandatory spots of public and private institutions, governmental and nongovernmental organizations, and the advertisings of the Justice and Development Party constitute the universe of the advertising in which the expression and content, the mode and tone are employed to veil the unseen mechanisms of political power's propaganda. Since the results of the last general elections were not a landslide victory for Justice and Development Party, this strategy and tactics of intensified messages, as it turns out, has created congestion in the network of communication with confusion and exasperation as for results.

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The Opinion of Media Entrepreneurs towards Thai Mass Media

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Abstract

The purposes of the research are to study the roles of today's mass media and to gather media members' opinions on media reform via qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Quantitative findings show that television is the medium media entrepreneurs have used the most. The next most used media are email and mobile phone respectively. Media entrepreneurs have high approval for the role of mass media today and think the roles follow the Normative Theories of Media Performance. The approval for public interest and accountability are in the middle to high level. Besides, most media members view that media organizations should have the regulation in certifying media license and the regulation in controlling the salary and welfare of media. Qualitative findings show that in regards to freedom, media members believe Thai media has freedom on the overall but has faced many legal restrictions too. In regards to content, most media members think the unbalanced proportion of substance and entertainment is not the problem of mass media. In regards to work-amid-crisis atmosphere, most newsmen admit that working under the "red-yellow conflict" is more difficult than any previous political crisis.In regards to code of conduct, all media members say their editorial staff will not violate any person's rights or defame anyone. In regards to media oversight, most media members disagree with the idea of media supervision by the government. They agree that a self-regulatory system should be in place. To them, media consumers are the best mechanisms to supervise media.

Keywords: Thai, Mass Media, Reform, Freedom

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Introduction

Media reform has been a subject of widespread debates and discussions throughout the past decade. There have also been efforts to reform the way media work, but to little effects. Both mainstream and new media are found to have presented some unreliable and unethical content particularly during Thailand's recent and intense political conflicts. Just as Thais become politically divided, there emerges a question as to whether media have carried out their duty in line with ethics and professional standards.

Following the 2010 unrest, media reform became a really hot issue once more. Back in 2010, the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) had staged its rally at the Ratchaprapong Intersection or the Bangkok's key shopping district. Troops were finally deployed to disperse demonstrators. In the wake of the violence, then-prime minister Abhisit Vejjajiva presented a national-reconciliation proposal in a bid to heal rifts in the Thai society. His government made the media reform a part of the national reconciliation plan, which gave birth to the research project titled "Studies for Media Reform Planning". This project comprises a total of five researches, covering all groups of stakeholders in the media reform. Being a part of the project, this research aims to study the opinions of media professionals on media reform. Findings and recommendations from the research will be used to develop guideline for tangible media reform in the future.

Objectives of the study

1. To study opinions of media professionals towards the work of today's mass media;
2. To study opinions of media professionals about ways to reform the mass media

Methodology of the study

This is a quantitative research study, with the use of survey research method, quantitative research, in-depth interviews and focus groupinterviews. The sample group selected for their opinions consists of media professionals, including news editors, columnists, news announcers, program hosts and news commentators. The method of Purposive Sampling, which is Non-probability Sampling, is used. Questionnaires were sent to the selected media professionals at different organisations. There were a total of 183 samples, 60 samples for in-depth interviews, and 48 samples for focus group interviews (divided into five groups).

Before the actual data collection, the Researcher carried out a pre-test with a sample group of 30 people with comparable qualities. This was to test the reliability of the data-collecting tool. The Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient formula was used to measure the result, and the reliability value was 0.87.

Analysis and processing of data

1. The descriptive statistical method is used for basic analysis, with such figures as frequency, percentage, means and standard deviation. All those statistical numbers are used in describing the population, the media used by the professionals, opinions towards the Thai media, and opinions about the welfare for media professionals.

2. The inferential analysis, or statistical analysis of the t-test, is used to analyse the differences of opinions between male and female media professionals, and between media professionals from print media and those from radio and television broadcasters.

Findings of the study

Quantitative findings

The following are findings from the study on the opinions of media professionals towards the Thai mass media.

Part 1: General information about the respondents of questionnaires

The sample group in this research study consists of media professionals working in print media, radio and television. Of the respondents, 53.0 per cent are men and 45.9 per cent are women. Most of the samples, or 53.0 per cent, are aged between 36 and 45 years old. Most of the samples, or 92.3 per cent, work in Bangkok and the adjacent provinces. The remaining 7.0 per cent of the samples work in other areas of the country.

It was also found that the largest group of the samples, or 29.0 per cent, is reporters/correspondents, followed by 25.7 per cent who are news announcers and program hosts. The largest group of the samples, or 29.0 per cent, works for the front-page news, regional news and crime news sections, followed by 15.3 per cent who work for the sports news section. The smallest group of samples comes from the IT news desk, making up of 0.5 per cent of all the samples. The largest group of the samples, or 29.0 per cent, gets a monthly salary of between 10,000 and 20,000 baht, followed by 18.0 per cent of the samples who have a monthly salary of between 20,001 and 30,000 baht. The smallest group of samples, or 1.6 per cent, gets a monthly salary of 50,001 to 60,000 baht. Of all the samples, 25.1 per cent work in print media and 74.9 per cent work for radio and television stations.

Part 2: The media that media professionals use to receive and send information

The order of media that media professionals use to receive and send information the most is as follows: First, television (27.3 per cent); Second, e-mail and mobile phone (12.6 per cent); Third, radio and online social media (11.5 per cent). The media that the media professionals use the least are as follows: satellite dish (3.8 per cent), True cable TV(3.3 per cent), and magazines (0.5 per cent).

Part 3: Names of the media that media professionals receive and use to send information

The newspaper that media professionals receive and use to send information the most is Thai Rath, which accounts for 24.0 per cent of the samples, followed by Matichon (12.6 per cent). The newspapers that receive and send information the least are KrungthepTurakit and Post Today, which account for 0.5 per cent equally.

The television outlet that the sample group receives the most is Channel 3, which accounts for 28.4 per cent, followed by Thai TV (10.9 per cent). The sample group receives Channel 7 and Channel 11 the least, equally at 2.7 per cent. Of all the respondents, 96.2 per cent said they had never received local cable TV and 90.2 per cent said they had never received satellite-based TV. Regarding the new media, the sample group receives news websites the most, accounting for 37.2 per cent. As for the search website, 84.0 per cent of the respondents use Google. And the largest group of the samples, or 47.5 per cent, use Facebook as their online social media.

Part 4: Opinions of media professionals towards today's mass media

Regarding the work of the Thai media, there are two issues that the sample group showed the highest degree of agreement. As for the first issue, "the news coverage of international conflicts should be done carefully", the average of opinions is 4.18. For the second issue, "the mass media can present news in a modern, quick and up-to-date manner", the average of opinions is 4.12. The two last issues where the samples replied that they felt "indifferent" are "the media present news with respect to the right of privacy of people in the news" (the average is 2.88) and "the media have credibility" (the average is 2.51).

The difference between the sexes is not a factor for media professionals to have different attitudes, with statistical significance, in 23 different issues. There are only three issues where the attitudes between the sexes differ with statistical significance. These are: (1) "The government allows the mass media to have various channels to present news and information" ($p = 0.04$). The male samples have the average of opinions at 3.34, compared to 2.98 for female samples; (2) "The media carefully check the credibility of news sources" ($p = 0.03$). The male samples have the average of opinions at 3.45, compared to 3.69 for female samples; and (3) "The media encourage political and social participation by the people" ($p = 0.05$). The male samples have the average of opinions at 3.78, compared to 3.53 for female samples.

There is no difference with statistical significance between the opinions of media professionals from different types of media (print media vs radio and television) on 24 issues. However, there are two issues where there is difference with statistical significance. These are: (1) "The Thai media have the freedom to present news and information" ($p = 0.05$). Media professionals from print media have the average of opinions at 3.78, compared to 2.95 for those from radio and TV; and (2) "The media present news and information with respect to the rights of people in the news" ($p = 0.02$). Media professionals from print media have the average of opinions at 3.65, compared to 3.72 for those from radio and TV.

Part 5: Opinions of media professionals on welfare

Of all the samples, 69.4 per cent agreed that there should be occupation permit for media professionals. A group of 74.9 per cent of the respondents viewed that such permit should be issued by the media groups. And 97.0 per cent viewed that to be eligible for such permit, the media professionals must pass training. A similar size of the samples agreed that those who should have occupation permits are reporters, news announcers and program hosts.

A group of 42 per cent of the samples agreed that media professionals should earn more than 20,000 baht a month. Another 33.3 per cent viewed that their monthly salary should range between 15,000 and 19,999 baht. The largest group of respondents, or 38.3 per cent, agreed that media professionals who have to work in the field in a conflict situation deserve additional welfare in the form of life insurance. Another 23.87 per cent said there should be health insurance, and 10.18 per cent suggested allowances.

Qualitative findings

Media freedom

The media professionals viewed that the Thai media have considerable freedom although they have to comply with the libel law and the code of conduct. Due to certain legal loopholes, relevant laws have been used to control the media, since the tenure of ThaksinShinawatra's government. Newspapers are sued and they have to spend a lot of money in their court battles. This is an expensive cost of them. New media, meanwhile, are under the control of the Computer Crime Act. An editor of an online media outlet said that the media are under government control through the law. This makes it more difficult for them to perform their duty. The editor suggested that enforcement of the Computer Crime Act should be reviewed, as there has been much problem on the enforcers' part.

The media professionals said that due to the direct and indirect intervention, as well as political and business interference, their work has been affected. However, they are not prohibited from covering certain news. A newspaper editor stated that, "The mass media have to do self-censorship for the survival of their business. You have to know how to present the news. It depends on the social context. If you go against the mainstream, you become social outcast." Eventually, media professionals opt to do self-censorship, keeping a balance between the journalistic ideology and business survival. They attempt to answer the question "How to make the business survive?" They may end up moving news reports that are supposed to be on the front page into an inside page.

The local media also share the view. They see that there is considerable freedom in presenting news. Their problem is intervention from influential people. Their media outlets serve a small society, in which all residents know one another. Therefore, they have to be careful in presenting news, by doing an extent of self-censorship.
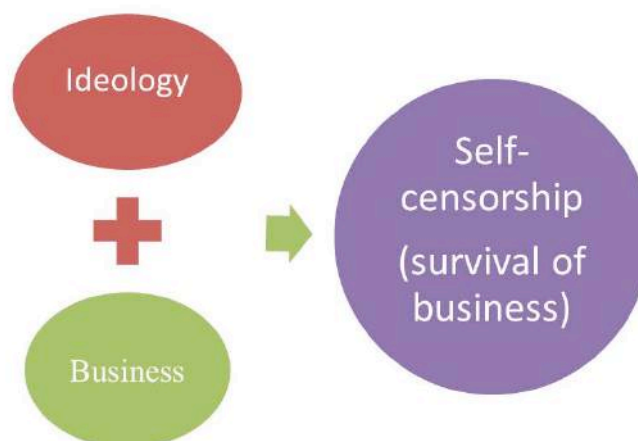
Figure 1: Philosophy of running media business

Contents

Most media professionals viewed that the proportion between serious substance and entertainment is not a problem for the mass media. It involves amatter of policy that differs from one media organisation to another. For example, newspapers often design their "personality" to be compatible with the targeted readership. The television media is viewed as being influenced by the market mechanism, or rating. But the problem for TV rather involves quality of the contents. The quality should be improved, for serious substance as well as entertainment. An editor said that the Thai media have four elements -- power, bias, discourse and benefit. The editor saw no need for the civil society to help determine the media contents. It is because the market mechanism, or the audience, already is involved in determining the proportion of the contents.

Media that create division vs Media that encourage unity

The opinions over this matter can be divided into three groups. The first group admitted that the media's work at present is partly responsible for the social division and that they are a catalyst for conflict. The second group admitted and also denied. They agreed that the mass media encouraged conflict but that the media also reported accurately. The third group denied that the mass media created social division. They said that the media were doing their job of reporting facts. Truth is that the society is already divided. The media simply report that to the audience. It is the audience who will interpret the information they get. However, all the three groups agreed that politicians are the cause of the division. Most of the respondents said that they did not think it was the media's duty to mend the conflict. The media have no duty to help with reconciliation; they just serve as media to report facts and happenings.
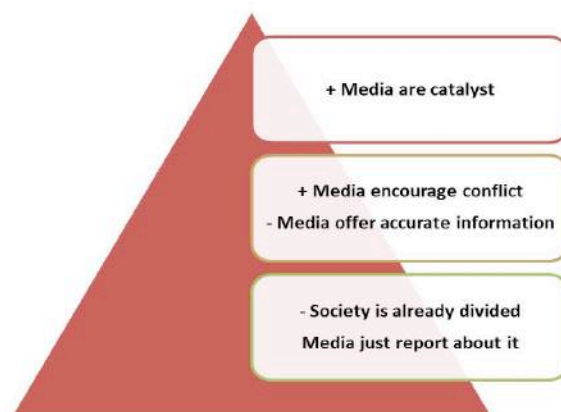
Figure 2: **Media that create division vs Media that encourage unity**

Working under the situation of conflict

Most of the respondents admitted that it was difficult for journalists to work at a time of conflict between the "yellow shirts" and "red shirts". It was more difficult than any political crisis in the past. It was because under the situation, you could not tell exactly what was right or wrong. That was different from the past's conflicts between "democracy and dictatorship" or between "democracy and coup". It was not between black and white but at present it was grey. You could not tell which was better between "yellow" and "red". And this made it more difficult for media professionals to do their work. The journalists had to work under restrictions: 1. various facts that were difficult to be verified; 2. a situation in which there was liking and dislike; and 3. bias and personal preferences of both media people and media consumers.

Regarding "neutrality", the media professionals said that the mass media have to adhere to the principle of neutrality in presenting facts. An editor of an online media outlet said that in fact the term "fairness" may be more suitable in this case. It was because the media have to present news to the public in a fair manner, correctly and accurately.

Local media also present news carefully. Most of them avoid political news and instead focus on entertainment content. And they opt to present information that is neutral by its nature, such as words of wisdom by His Majesty the King.

Most media professionals agreed that there should be a review on welfare and well-being of media workers. They suggested regular training for reporters about the changing work environment. They agreed that it was the duty of the Thai Journalists Association. Regarding salary and remuneration, they pointed out that it was the responsibility of the employing organisations to provide.

Code of conduct

Media professionals of all groups said that the editorial department has the code of conduct to follow in doing their work. They are required not to violate individual rights or commit libel that results in someone's reputation being adversely affected. They must be particularly careful about news on children and women, as well as

photos of children in the news. However, when a mistake is committed, the journalists involved have to admit to the fault and offer to present corrections or clarifications.

The local media likewise said that media professionals are well aware of the code of conduct. But they also admitted that there was still a practice of accepting money for food and fuel to cover news. It was because local media workersgot small income.

Supervision of the mass media

Most of the media professionals disagreed with any government attempt to supervise the mass media. They said that there should rather be self-supervision by the media. More importantly, the media in effect are supervised by society, by the media consumers through the market mechanism. Readers do not buy newspapers they think are not worth their money. The media professionals viewed that the media organisations, such as the National Press Council of Thailand, can well take the duty of supervision although some structural adjustment may be needed. They were against establishing a new independent organisation to supervise the mass media. The media professionals also agreed with having an independent media monitor. However, most of them disagreed with the proposed requirement for a media occupation permit.Some respondents viewed the requirement as violation of people's basic rights to communication. However, some media professionals in the group of community radio and local cable TVs agreed with the idea of requiring occupation permit.
Discussion of the findings

Media professionals' adoption of mass media

For media professionals, new media such as e-mail, online social networks (Facebook and Twitter), chat programs and search engines like Google and Yahoo are among the most used media in sending news and information. We can conclude that modern-day media professionals are gradually shifting from an "analog" age to a "digital" work environment.

With the growth of new media, as mentioned above, the study found that new media is a popular tool for media professionals to receive and send news and information. More than two-thirds of the media professionals studied use Facebook, clearly higher than other online social networks. This indicates that media professionalstend to prefer new media with the capability of simultaneous interaction. Facebook helps them to present images, sounds and video clips in one place. They can use it to present news or communicate with recipients of the content, as well as to exchange views on issues that are widely interested in society.

Opinions of media professionals towards the Thai media

Generally, the media professionals showed a high degree of agreement with different research issues involving the work of the media at present. Likewise, findings of in-depth interviews showed most media professionals viewed that the Thai media present news with neutrality and professionalism. This is in line with theories about the social norm of liberal media and about mass media with social responsibility. We may conclude that the Thai media have the guidelines of work in line with the norm and ideology at a satisfactory level.

The media professionals viewed that the mass media perform their duty in line with the liberalism norms and social responsibility, and the average of the opinions is of a high degree. This is in accordance with the Normative Theory of Communication suggested by McQuail (2005). There are three major aspects: (1) structure and execution of media work, (2) public interest, and (3) people's and social safety.

The media professionals agreed most on the issue that the media's coverage of international conflicts should be done carefully. This indicates that media professionals place importance on the public interest of both their own country and other countries involved. They regarded national interest higher than other factors.

Another issue that the media professionals agreed with, at a lower degree, involves the media's ability to present news in a modern, quick and up-to-date manner. This well corresponds with the media professionals' behaviour in adopting and using the media. New media are becoming increasingly popular among media professionals. A major strength of the new media is that they can spread news quickly. The political violence in May 2010 was widely reported through online social media, and numerous video clips were recorded for TV broadcast.

The media professionals showed a high degree of agreement in the work of media regarding public interest, particularly concerning support for social order, national security and democracy. This indicates that the media work in line with the Theory of Social Norms suggested by McQuail (2005,p.167). The theory is that the mass media are expected to perform their duty in a way that serves the public and mainly for the public interest. The media professionals said that the mass media have a duty of serving as forum for expressing opinions and encouraging political participation by public members. This is how the media professionals are actually doing their job. Television and radio programs feature public members or stakeholders to express their opinions and explain about their viewpoints on different issues. For example, the "Ruang Den Yen Nee" TV program often invites ordinary people to appear. Also, many TV programs allow audience members to send short messages (SMS) to express their views on different issues. In addition, an essential content is a column for "letters to editor" where readers can file their complaints. This kind of communication also appears in new media, such as message boards and online social media.

Suggestions by media professionals

The media professionals involved in this study suggested that the first thing the government should do about media reform is to change the structure of media ownership.

The main media like television and radio are still under state control. This has resulted in restriction of media freedom, as the mass media remain under state control, both directly and indirectly. Revenue from privatisation of those media outlets should be destined for funding a new independent organisation to be set up to oversee the mass media.

The print mediais dominated by capitalism, as the publication business is mostly listed in the stock market as a public company. Operating result is the main concern for the business as they have to make profits for the shareholders.

Regarding the local media, there are calls for the government to expedite establishment of the National Broadcasting and Telecommunication Commission to ensure that the relevant laws and regulations are enforced. Community radios and local cable TVs are mostly careful about operating in a way that does not violate the regulations. However, the problem is that there is still no clarity. There are many local media outlets operating illegally. And there seems to be double standards.

Conclusion

This research was conducted at the time Thai society experienced a high level of political conflicts. During the period, Thais were divided by their political ideology and their society often saw prolonged protests. However, Thailand's situation has been changing since the 2014 coup took place. Coup leader General Prayut Chan-ocha has now served as the Thai prime minister. Under his military-installed government, media work under strict control. With such limitations and circumstances that are different from what were during the elected governments, media forms of work has changed. Such point is interesting and worth of being a subject for future researches, which may focus on media work under the current military-installed government.

Suggestions for future studies

1. This research focuses on studying the opinions of media professionals, so the findings obtained may be from just a group of people. There should be future studies on other relevant groups, such as people who consume the media, media professional groups, and academics.

2. There should be additional study about the work of reporters in times of emergency or armed conflict. Also, future studies should cover factors that affect reporters' decision of news presentation at times of unrest.

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Revitalising Indigenous Resistance and Dissent through Online Media

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Abstract

Indigenous peoples continue to experience exclusion from mediated mainstream public sphere debates. In Australia, recent government funding cuts suppress opportunities for Aboriginal resistance and dissent. Long-standing Aboriginal print media have ceased publication. Public broadcasters have cancelled Indigenous news services, and a 2014 Commission of Audit recommended culling the community broadcasting sector. This is in direct opposition to Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights which stresses that all people have the right to "without interference…receive and impart information and ideas through any media".

This presentation considers the ways in which online media may overcome the silencing of dissenting Indigenous voices and broaden public sphere access and engagement. Based on interviews carried out with Canadian and Australian traditional print journalists, bloggers and social media producers this project investigates how online media circulate news and information to Indigenous communities and inject Aboriginal perspectives into public sphere debates. The presentation interrogates the diversity of current Indigenous online media and considers whether access to online and mobile media technologies expands or inhibits democratic participation. How successfully Indigenous media producers have upskilled to meet the demands of multimedia platforms is discussed, along with unique challenges they face in relation to funding, responsibilities and community expectations. The investigation concludes that online media are facilitating a revitalisation of grassroots media production that counters the exclusion of Indigenous voices from democratic conversations. However, while they enhance the circulation of Indigenous perspectives and information, demand for multimedia delivery results in 'two-speed' Indigenous public sphere processes.

Keywords
Indigenous, democracy, public sphere, online media, communication

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Introduction

A cornerstone of democracy is that all citizens should have fair and equal access to democratic conversations. Mass media provide the primary mechanisms through which these conversations occur. However, in reality mass media structures and processes often exclude minority groups such as Indigenous Canadians and Australians, and prevent their participation in debates that may relate directly to their individual and community well-being. To counter their exclusion from public sphere processes, Indigenous people have produced their own media. However, these media are often susceptible to funding, editorial and legal challenges. The rise of the internet and user-generated media potentially provides Indigenous peoples with media production opportunities that can counter democratic inequalities and provide them with greater access, control and power over their communication processes and messages. This paper draws on a series of interviews with Indigenous media producers across Canada and Australia, and analysis of digital media content. It investigates to what extent the internet and user-generated content are improving the access and diversity of Indigenous voices, within Indigenous and dominant public sphere debates. Overall, this paper argues online media are facilitating a revitalisation of grassroots media production that counters the exclusion of Indigenous voices from democratic conversations. However, while they enhance the circulation of Indigenous perspectives and information, demands for multimedia delivery results in 'two-speed' Indigenous public sphere processes.

Canvassing the literature

Fair and equal democratic processes must allow all citizens equal access to democratic conversations (Poodle 1989; Garnham 2000; Fraser 1990). These conversations occur within the political or dominant public sphere which is the space between society and the State where citizens debate issues of concern to them in order to influence public opinion and public policy and decision-making (Gerhards & Schafer 2010; Fraser 1990). Habermas (1974: 49) wrote "a portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body" and he has argued (1996: 359) the political public sphere is "a sounding board for problems that must be processed by the political system because they cannot be solved elsewhere". Mass media have historically provided the main communication channels through which the State informs the citizenry, and the citizenry's responses are circulated (Cottle 2000). However, both Castells (2008: 90) and Dahlgren (2015: 90) argue horizontal methods of communication, including face-to-face conversations, are essential components of the communication processes through which "nonstate actors influence people's minds and foster social change". The advent of the internet and user-generated media, have to at least a degree, usurped mass media's dominance and exclusivity (Bruns 2008). Dahlgren (2015: 22) considers the internet a "boon for civil society: [since] it permits and indeed promotes horizontal communication". Similarly, Gerhards and Schafer (2010: 145) have described "internet communication" as a better public sphere than "the old mass media". Likewise, Castell (2008: 90) has identified emerging 'global media and internet networks" as "the new global public sphere".

Nancy Fraser (1990) challenged Habermas's (1989) original public sphere theory by arguing it failed to recognise the existence of alternative public spheres and that subaltern counterpublics had always existed and there had always been conflict between them and the dominant public sphere. Eley (1999) also criticised Habermas's

lack of acknowledgement of the existence of competing publics. However, Fraser (1990) also contends subordinated groups are denied equal access to societal debates within the dominant public sphere. She argues they are excluded, silenced and prevented or inhibited from communicating using their own voices, styles and norms. Therefore, subaltern counterpublic spheres provide spaces for subordinate groups in society to "invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs (Fraser 1990: 66). Subaltern counterpublics are "spaces of withdrawal and regroupment", "bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics". US scholar, Catherine Squires (1999) developed a four-phased framework of signifiers (later modified to three-phase (2002)) through which to interrogate individual public sphere nuances and to compare interactions between subaltern publics and the dominant public sphere. Squires (1999) argued the level and frequency of oscillation dictates whether ideas and information can cross public sphere boundaries and the likelihood of change occurring. A subaltern public sphere's potential to exact social change increases as interactions between it and the dominant public sphere develop (Squires 1999). During its embryonic phase (or enclave stage), subaltern public communication may be covert and limited to constituents; and communication from the dominant public sphere is likely to paternalistic and patronising (Squires 1999; 2002).

As a subaltern public sphere's communication structures evolve, constituents will develop greater freedom to speak in their own voices and to dictate how they communicate. Furthermore, Squires suggests oscillation between the subaltern and dominant public will advance from one- to two-way information flows. Subaltern publics are usually culturally bonded (Squires 1999) and constituents use culturally appropriate communication styles and techniques that facilitate debate, promote their own identity and challenge stereotypes. As a subaltern public sphere matures and reaches what Squires (2002: 460) describes as the "counterpublic" phase, constituents will no longer feel the need hide their own texts and scripts. They may make "tactical strikes into the dominant public sphere" (Squires 1999: 35) and the public is strong enough to undertake "sustained social movement activity" and to take political action in order to "transform" debates and generate political action (1999: 36). However, more assertive, confident interactions may force or encourage the State or other dominant public sphere institutions to enter into negotiations with the subordinate group (Squires 1999). Should a public sphere develop to the satellite or parallel phase, Squires suggests information will flow freely across public sphere boundaries, and oppression from the dominant public sphere will no longer occur. In the satellite or parallel phase, subaltern counterpublic sphere members have equality with the dominant group, and their cultural differences are accepted (Squires 1999; 2002). These signifiers will be used to evaluate Indigenous subaltern public sphere communication using the internet and user-generated media.

Bruns (2008: 68-69) describes the emerging, new global public sphere as a "patchwork of overlapping public spheres centred around specific themes and communities", however, this patchwork of overlapping public spheres that focus on "specific themes and communities" has always existed (Fraser 1990; Squires 1999, 2002; Eley 1999; Avison & Meadows 2000; Burrows 2009). What has changed, as Bruns (2008) himself acknowledges, is the access subaltern public sphere constituents now have to dominant public sphere debates. In an expanding mediasphere,

individuals and organisations control how, when and what messages are circulated and subaltern public sphere constituents use their own voices, their chosen communication style and what they say or write to a much greater extent.

Traditionally, journalists and editors have operated as "orchestrators and moderators of public debate" and have dominated public sphere processes and created the "one-to-many mass media of the industrial age" (Bruns 2008: 67). However, Bruns (2008: 67) argues this "one-to-many" structure, with its vertical information flows, has been replaced by "many-to-many, user-led media" that open up public sphere discussions through their horizontal information flows. Citizens can now "conduct engaged and lively political discussion and deliberation away from the perceived spin of journalism's punditariat" through media they create and produce (Bruns 2008: 68). Within this evolving media environment, citizens are active participants in the political conversation rather than bystanders observing the manufactured perspectives of the political left and right (Bruns 2008: 68). Citizens can (to a greater degree) now control their own interaction and moderate their own contributions (Bruns 2008; Gerhards & Schafer 2010). And these changes are contributing to the emergence of a "vastly more multiperspectival debate" (Bruns 2008: 68). This paper will consider how Canadian and Australian media producers are contributing to a global public sphere.

Research design

This paper reports on a pilot study that connects to a larger research project that investigates how the internet and user-generated media have affected Indigenous media producers and enabled them to participate in both Indigenous and dominant public sphere discussions. This project's primary research question considers how Indigenous media producers are adopting the use of digital media and how they are transitioning to access the online media environment. This paper particularly focuses on print and text-based media and draws on 18 in-depth, semi-structured, interviews with Indigenous media producers across Canada and Australia and a textual analysis of online media content. Interviews were coded manually and using Nvivo qualitative data analysis software to extract key themes emerging from the data. Nvivo Capture software was used to collect digital data such as website content, blog, Facebook and Twitter posts and comments. Nvivo Capture gathers both original posts from the primary user, and responses from their audience. Additionally, Nvivo Capture uses the member's Twitter contact information to map commenter's locations. These maps were used in this research to provide indicative data about Indigenous Twitter users global audience reach.

Connections between Canada and Australia

Despite the geographic distance between Canada and Australia, they have much in common. Both countries share a history of colonisation and there are parallels between the Australian and Canadian authorities subsequent treatment of each country's First Nations peoples. Indigenous people in Canada and Australia existed under "discriminatory and genocidal regimes" that left them "transformed, displaced and marginalised" (Coombs 2006: 1-2). They "were considered inferior, scarcely human – their presence was ignored, treated as a minor inconvenience, walled off from view or physical intrusion, or made the subject of genocidal projects" (Bateman & Pilkington 2011: 1). The similarities between the two Indigenous populations continue and in 2011, only 4.3 per cent of Canadians identified as Aboriginal compared (Statistics Canada 2011) to 2.5 per cent of Australians who identified as

Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (ABS 2012a). Furthermore, both groups have a high percentage of young people. The median age of Aboriginal Canadians was 27.7 in 2011 (ESDC 2015), and the median age of Australia's Aboriginal population is 21 (ABS 2012b).

Both Canadian and Australian First Nation communities have had negative interactions with mainstream media. While mainstream media provide the primary mechanisms through which democratic debates take place with the aim of influencing public opinion and bringing about social change, both groups have experienced exclusion from mainstream media coverage that purports to cover issues specifically affecting them (Meadows 2005; Alia 2010). Canadian mainstream media have portrayed First Nation peoples as "outsider[s]" (Roth 2005: 14). And when mainstream media coverage does occur, it has been criticised for being sensationalistic and for perpetuating racial stereotypes (Meadows 2001). Mainstream coverage includes few Indigenous voices apart from those that are considered palatable by the dominant group (Meadows & Oldham 1991; Burrows 2004). To counter these long-standing negative mainstream media traits, from the 19th century onwards, Indigenous people have produced their own media in order to speak in their own voices, to ensure issues of concern to them are covered and that the perspectives they deem essential are heard.

Silencing Indigenous voices

Despite Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights stressing that all people have the right to "without interference… receive and impart information and ideas through any media" (United Nations 1948), in Australia particularly, the range of traditional Indigenous media has narrowed over the last two years. In 2014, Australian Government funding to The Vibe group, which had operated since 1997, was cancelled (Kerin, 2014). The Vibe group produced and managed The Deadly Awards, which were the annual Australian Indigenous Awards for achievement across a range of sectors. Vibe also produced Vibe3on3 basketball and hip hop challenge. Vibe produced InVibe Magazine, Deadly Sounds radio, Move It Mob Style TV and the deadlyvibe.com.au website (Deadly Vibe Group 2014). All of which disappeared with the cancelling of their funding. Also in 2014, the New South Wales Land Council (NSWLC) cancelled publication of the Tracker magazine (Brereton, 2014). The Tracker had a circulation of 30,000 as well as an online presence (A. McQuire, personal communication, 20 February 2015). Although NSWLC blamed funding pressures, Tracker journalist Amy McQuire said they had experienced editorial pressure from the land council, and the Tracker's closure followed their publication of a disparaging story about the Abbott federal government.

The broadcasting sector has also faced threats with an Abbott Government Commission of Audit report recommending removal of government funding for the community broadcasting sector (Gough 2014). While the government did not implement this recommendation, the suggestion was a chilling moment for the 100 Australian Indigenous community radio stations. In 2015, Australia's second national Indigenous newspaper the *National Indigenous Times*, went into voluntary receivership because of its inability to pay mounting legal costs relating to defamation and an unfair dismissal legal challenge (Terzon 2015). In 2011, Australia's Special Broadcasting Service, the SBS, absorbed the National Indigenous Television network. However in June 2015, following federal government funding cuts, the SBS decided to cancel the nightly national NITV News program (Robin 2015). NITV News was

Australia's only daily national Indigenous-produced news broadcast. Threats to Indigenous media demonstrate the importance of mechanisms that can provide Indigenous people with independent media production opportunities.

Conceptualising an evolving Indigenous public sphere

This section provides a potted overview of the development and structure of the Indigenous mediasphere. Since the 19th century, Canadian and Australian First Nations people and communities have produced a wide-range of print media (Avison 1996; Burrows 2009). The first North American Aboriginal newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, was published in 1828 (Avison & Meadows 2000) with Australia's first Aboriginal publication, *The Aboriginal or Flinders Island Chronicle* appearing in 1836 (Burrows 2014). Within the contemporary Indigenous public sphere, the *Koori Mail*, the first and only surviving national Australian Indigenous newspaper was first published in 1991. Both Canada and Australia have rich Indigenous broadcast sectors. Broadcasts of Aboriginal produced content began in North America in Alaska during the 1930s, with the first Canadian Aboriginal broadcasts occurring in the 1960s (Alia 2003: 37). In 1999, the national Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) was launched incorporating both domestic and international content (Roth 2005). Roth (2005: 24) explains the APTN took advantage of the increasing range of international, Indigenous content and adopted an "international perspective" with a "wide optic on aboriginal issues around the world". Alia (2010:72) has described Canada as "the world leader in Aboriginal broadcasting" with several hundred radio stations, eleven regional radio networks and… six television production outlets. Similarly, Australia has a well-developed Indigenous broadcasting sector. The first Aboriginal produced radio programming was broadcast in Adelaide and Townsville in 1972 (Australian Government 2010). Since then the sector has grown to include more than 130 Indigenous radio stations and in 1988, the commercially-funded Imparja Television began broadcasting. This was followed by the development of the federally-funded National Indigenous Television in 2005. The community media sector provides a 'major communication outlet for indigenous voices' (Meadows 2009: 516). However, the availability of the internet and online media and funding pressures have changed the structure of the Indigenous mediasphere.

This paper suggests the Indigenous mediasphere now includes two overlapping sectors. The 'traditional' sector that includes traditional print media (magazines and newspapers) and the broadcast sector (television and radio - Commercial, public and community). The second 'user-generated' sector includes digital content such as weblogs, news and information sites and online publications. The 'user-generated' sector also incorporates Indigenous peoples' use of Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Vimeo, Pinterest, LinkedIn, Google+, Tumblr and other social media sites. Indigenous people are using all available user-generated media options to disseminate their individual and group perspectives. However, it is argued there are two distinct sectors within the contemporary Indigenous mediasphere, the sectors overlap. Traditional Indigenous print media producers now often duplicate their print newspaper in online, digital format (or at least selected content) and some have opted to publish their content exclusively online. Traditionally print publications may also include audio and video content in their online site. Likewise, Indigenous broadcasters now upload print, audio and video content to their station websites. And traditional Indigenous media producers (print and broadcast), bloggers, website producers all use various forms of social media, in addition to their primary communication method, to

connect with their audience. Consequently, the lines between traditional Indigenous media producers and user-generated content have converged.

The effect on media producers and communities
Funding pressures and audience expectations are driving the adoption of online and multimedia platforms and a faster news cycle. Vancouver Island's *Salish Sea Sentinel* editor Mark Kiemele (Personal communication, 23 July 2013) and Manitoba publication *The First Perspective* journalist Trevor Greyeyes (Personal communication, 10 August 2013) said their publications were now only delivered online. They each said the decision to move their publications to an online-only format was a cost-saving measure but had led to community criticism since older community members may lack easy access to the internet and some prefer to receive a print version of their community newspaper. Vancouver Island *Ha-Shilth-Sa* editor Debora Steel (Personal communication, 23 July 2013); Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council 2015) said they now produced a print and online version of their newspaper. She said meeting the needs of digitally-savvy, younger community members who wanted faster, up-to-date news had motivated this decision. Both Canada and Australia have a growing number of online newspapers including Canada's *Intercontinental Cry* that uses a network of stringers to publish international Indigenous news (CWIS 2015) and Australia's *Black Nations Rising* (which replaces Brisbane Blacks) (WAR 2015).

Bloggers represent an important and growing user-generated sector of the Indigenous mediasphere. Blogs provide a voice for those who want to be heard but who cannot speak through mainstream media. Bloggers Eugenia Flynn with her *Black Thoughts Live Here* (Flynn 2015) and Celeste Liddle with her *Rantings of a Female Feminist* (Liddle 2015a) use blogs to circulate their perspectives on a range of contemporary topics and to counter stereotypes and challenge government policy. Blogs also provide access to minorities within the Indigenous community. Canada's Lisa Charleyboy used her *Urban Native Girl* blog to provide positive messages for Indigenous youth. Her blog helped her to develop a strong media profile and she now produces and edits the online *Urban Native Magazine* (Charleyboy 2015). In Australia, Celeste Liddle and Eugenia Flynn have both been invited to publish in a range of alternative publications including the popular and influential online publication *Crikey*, and both have been offered regular commentary spots with *The Guardian* online (Flynn n.d.; Flynn 2012; Flynn & Onus 2014; Flynn 2014; Liddle n.d.; Liddle 2014; Liddle 2015b). These opportunities provide access to a mainstream audience that was previously unavailable. Axel Bruns (2008) has argued the internet as provided mainstream media access and profiles for a range of alternative voices, and this is true within the Indigenous public sphere too.

Social media has further expanded the Indigenous mediasphere. Almost all the people I spoke to said Facebook was an essential aspect of Indigenous communication. Canada's *NationTalk* CEO Don Barraclough (personal communication, 1 August 2013) said Facebook encouraged First Nations people and leaders to use computers. And *Ha-Shilth-Sa's* Debora Steel (personal communication, 23 July 2013) said their Facebook page participation rivalled their newspapers print circulation. Indigenous journalists Trevor Greyeyes (personal communication, 10 August 2013) and Amy McQuire (personal communication, 20 February 2015) both explained they use Facebook to find sources to interview and to connect with other journalists. While

blogger and photographer Steven Rhall (personal communication, 1 June 2015) and writer Eugenia Flynn (personal communication, 4 June 2015) said it was essential for them to use social media to promote their work. And some media producers such as *Black Rainbow* founder Dameyon Bonson (personal communication, 12 February 2015) and *Wiradjuri News's* David Towney (personal communication, 21 May 2015) use Facebook to produce standalone news sites. Towney uses *Wiradjuri News* to share mainstream news stories he believes will be of interest to the Wiradjuri community. One story about the water being turned off to force 12,000 people to leave their community attracted 737 shares, 225 likes and more than 40 comments. *Wiradjuri News* Facebook statistics show the site has clocked more than 100,000 views in one week (*Wiradjuri News,* 2015). Given Australia's only surviving national newspaper, the *Koori Mail* has a circulation of 10,000 and a readership of 100,000 (*Koori Mail,* 2015), *Wiradjuri News's* achievement is notable. Social media are an integral element in creating a horizontal relationship between media producers, their peers and audience. However, while the interactivity of online media enhances connectedness between media producers and their audiences, it also increases pressure on production staff who may have gone from producing one newspaper a week, a fortnight or a month, to regularly having to upload digital content and to managing a number of social media sites. None of the people I interviewed had received any specific training in how to use software, apps or to manage social media. Bloggers, who may work in other jobs in addition to producing a blog, must also maintain a social media presence if they want to effectively promote their writing.

Case study one: *Two Row Times*

Jonathan Garlow founded the *Two Row Times* in Hagersville, Ontario in 2013, and it now has a print circulation of 23,000. The print newspaper is delivered to communities at no cost and the publication also shares content via the *Two Row Times* website and through the online reader Issuu. A defining feature of the *Two Row Times* is its diverse social media profile and web presence. The producers are trying to cover all the major social media including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Tumblr, Pinterest, Instagram and more. The paper's target audience is the Six Nations of the Grand River which includes all six Iroquois nations that number more than 25,000 members and is the largest First Nations band government in Canada. The paper is distributed throughout Ontario and Upstate New York (*Two Row Times,* 2015; Jim Windle, personal communication, 31 July 2013). In contrast to Vancouver Island's *Ha-Shilth-Sa* and *Salish Sea Sentinel*, the *Two Row Times* is an independent Indigenous newspaper and is not publishing on behalf of the tribal council or any other funding organisation. In 2013, Garlow explained his was "...to provide timely and relevant news and information to Native communities as well as to serve as a bridge between all nations by promoting and demonstrating the values of the Two Row Wampum." (Founder, Jonathan Garlow, August 2013).

To resolve the fledgling newspaper's financial challenges, the owners ran a crowd-funding appeal to try to raise CAD$25,000 additional funding. The appeal achieved 16 per cent of its goal (CAD$3899) (Indiegogo 2014). In the campaign video Nahnda Garlow, a *Two Row Times,* Arts & Culture columnist, highlighted the lack of "strong voice[s] in mainstream media to "stand and speak the voice of the people". She also stressed that the *Two Row Times* is "Indigenous led" and is not "led by another institution that is dictating what is Indigenous or what is First Nations or is Aboriginal" (Indiegogo 2014). The campaign also explained they planned to use the funds to "hire Onkwehon:we journalists and correspondents, employ the distributors

that keep more than 500 pickup locations stocked with papers, and to of course print the paper and keep our office running". Although the crowd-funding campaign enjoyed limited success, the *Two Row Times* is still published in print and digital format. This Nvivo map (Figure 1) plots the location of the *Two Row Times* 4337 Twitter followers shows it is successfully reaching its North American target audience.
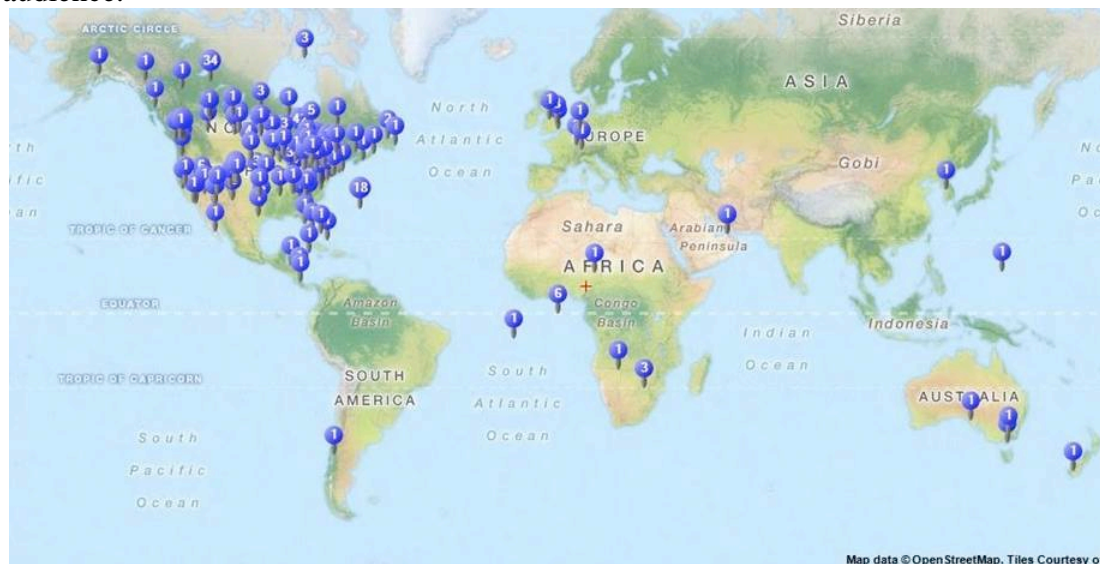
Figure 1 Two Row Times Twitter Followers

Case Study 2 - *Indigenous X*

Luke Pearson founded *IndigenousX* in 2012. It is a rotating, curated, Twitter account that demonstrates the unique ways Indigenous communicators are using social media. Each month, the *IndigenousX* baton passes to a different Indigenous user who can tweet to the account's more than 21,000 followers about an issue of concern to them and those followers can in turn retweet that information. Since 2012, more than 180 Indigenous Australians have shared their perspectives, knowledge and ideas relating to health, education, constitutional recognition, Aboriginal culture, closure of communities, meaningless rhetoric, reconciliation, music, Indigenous literature, sport and many other topics. It is highly unlikely that most of those 180 people would have been chosen by mainstream journalists to speak on these topics.

Apart from attracting a large Twitter following, *IndigenousX's* the success has led to an opportunity for each contributor to publish a blog post on *The Guardian* online website thus extending the reach of their contribution and their ability to reach a broader, mainstream audience. Pearson has also allowed two Indigenous people in Canada to replicate the *IndigenousX* process using the *IndigenousX* branding, and he hopes to find an Indigenous person in New Zealand and other countries to pick up the *IndigenousX* baton.

Despite its success, *IndigenousX* struggles financially. Pearson runs the media organisation on a shoestring and in 2015 launched a crowd-funding appeal for AU$250,000 to bolster the financial resources he requires to sustain *IndigenousX's* production and to extend its reach. Pearson told The Walkley Foundation (2015), "We need more strong Indigenous media voices, and we need to make sure those voices reach far and wide, and with your support that's what we aim to achieve". The appeal attracted AU$81,966 in funding. The Nvivo map below (Figure 2) demonstrates that *IndigenousX* has successfully attracted a global following that extends far beyond

Australia. *IndigenousX* has innovatively enhanced the diversity of voices participating in Indigenous and dominant public sphere debates.

Figure 2 IndigenousX Twitter Followers

Discussion and conclusion

Analysis of the broader, contemporary Indigenous mediasphere shows access to the internet, and ability to produce, control and share media has enhanced the diversity of Indigenous media voices within Indigenous and dominant public sphere debates. The Indigenous mediasphere has broadened and now includes traditional media such as print newspapers and broadcast media and a growing range of online publications, blogs and social media using Twitter and Facebook that demonstrate unique and innovative media communication styles. The downside to this expanding mediasphere is the pressure it places on Indigenous media producers, whether they produce traditional or user-generated content, in relation to workloads and funding.

Digital and mobile technologies and digital and social media have facilitated access to democratic discussions for Indigenous communicators in Canada and Australia. As Bruns (2008), Dahlgren (2015) and Castells (2008) suggested, Indigenous people are engaging in horizontal and two-way discussions and debates about issues that affect them. These horizontal information flows allow Indigenous media producers and their audience, to debate, challenge and provide counter-discourses to government policy and practice and mass media representations of their communities. Indigenous participants can counter the mass media's exclusion of Indigenous voices and perspectives and control the circulation of messages, individual participation and challenge ideas and policy with which they support or disagree.

The internet and online media are facilitating dissemination of Indigenous perspectives towards mainstream publics. The control journalists, editors (even Indigenous media journalists and editors), politicians and government officials have

had over who participates in democratic debates affecting Indigenous people has been eroded. Writers such as Eugenia Flynn, Celeste Liddle or Lisa Charleyboy access Indigenous and mainstream audiences through their blogs. This access and their success as writers and commentators has allowed them to speak out and be heard by a wider audience. Indigenous media producers have adapted social media and online communication mediums for their own purposes. Pearson's *IndigenousX* is a unique and innovative concept that has generated a broad Indigenous and general audience and given voice to 180 Indigenous Australians on a range of topics. Similarly, Towney and Bonson and have used Facebook to inform their audience on topics of interest and concern to specific groups within the broader Indigenous community. As Bruns (2008: 76) contended in relation to "issue publics" the internet and online media have "…given rise to a new class of topical experts…whose knowledge may not be conventionally accredited, but who derive their authority through the community processes…". Individuals decide what they will discuss and what content they will engage with. The audience determines whether the perspectives presented are of value or not. In turn, those who generate community interest gain access to mainstream media through sites such as *The Guardian,* and mainstream audiences through a range of alternative, online but not exclusively Indigenous, media. Roth (2005: 13-14) argued:

> First Peoples self-development involves not only control over production and distribution of their own messages to their own communities but also the seeking of cross-cultural links and coalitions through program content considerations and through diffusion to populations outside of their immediate regional territories.

Online media and the internet provide opportunities to produce and distribute media content that they can share with their own local communities, broader global Indigenous peoples and mainstream society.

Fraser (1990) and Squires (1999; 2002) provided signifiers through which to evaluate the development of subaltern public spheres. Analysis of online Indigenous media suggests they are affording Canadian and Australian Indigenous people with freedom to speak in their own voices and to dictate how and when they communicate. Online media, both traditional and user-generated, provide opportunities to challenge and resist stereotypical ideas and government policy. For instance, Liddle's (2015b) challenge of the notion that Indigenous women are "welfare 'cash cows". Or Towney's curated discussions through *Wiradjuri News* that debate and challenge the closure of Aboriginal communities or domestic violence. Similarly, *IndigenousX* and Liddle's (2015) *Constitutional Recognition Survey* challenges government propaganda regarding constitutional recognition. While it goes beyond the scope of this paper to discuss whether Indigenous engagement using their own media results in policy change, the willingness and ability to challenge and indeed, make "tactical strikes into the dominant public sphere" suggests Indigenous public sphere processes are in a "counterpublic" sphere phase. However, the withdrawal of funding and shutting down of Indigenous voices shows Indigenous people and their right to engage with and produce their own media without interference is not yet a reality. Whether this growing range of Indigenous media can influence public opinion and policy is as yet unclear, but the internet and user-generated media are producing a resurgence in independent Indigenous media.

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Campaign American Style? Facebook Activity of Presidential Candidates in Poland before 2015 Election

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Abstract

The Barack Obama presidential campaign of 2008 was the first of its kind to use social media in a positive and efficient manor. What was a new phenomenon back then, today seems to be standard protocol. In Poland the leading social network is Facebook used by 59% of internauts every day. The paper is part of the research conducted at The Department of Communication Studies, UCLA, US within the Kosciuszko Foundation's Exchange Programme. It is focused on five candidates to Polish presidency: Bronisław Komorowski, Andrzej Duda, Magdalena Ogórek, Paweł Kukiz and Janusz Korwin-Mikke. The paper aims to explore their use of Facebook for political communication before the 2015 election. The research uses data provided by Fanpage Karma, a social media tracking tool, along with content analysis of the comments. Its aim is to evaluate the quality of political communication via Facebook during the 2015 presidential campaign in Poland and determine the relation between social media engagement of the candidates and the results of the election.

Keywords: Poland, presidential election, Facebook, political communication

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Introduction

The rise of Internet and social media has brought a new quality to the world of communication. Dutton described it as the "Fifth Estate", explaining that "the Internet is enabling people to network... This is being achieved in ways that can support greater accountability... in government and politics... I will argue that this could be as important – if not more so – to the 21st century as the Fourth Estate has been since the 18th" (as cited in Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009, p. 146). Also Blumler and Kavanagh (1999) in their theory of three ages of political communication explain that while the first age belonged to the press and the second to the television, what we live now is the third age characterized by the multiplication of TV channels and the wide use of Internet and social media. They also stress that nowadays the political communication is no longer an "add-on to the political decisions but is an integral part of the interrelated processes of campaigning, cultivation of public opinion, policy-making, and government itself"(p. 214). According to them, the third age of political communication is a product of different factors, such as the increased competitive pressure, anti-elitist popularization and populism, which rejects the traditional top-down model of communication (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999, p. 217-225).

Methodology and data

The social media activity of the candidates for Polish presidency presented in this research was tracked between the deadline for the collection of 100,000 signatures that allows the official start in the race (March 26) and the beginning of the campaign in broadcast media (April 25). It was assumed that in this period the use of social media was crucial for the campaign as the broadcasting media could not be reached. The candidates were chosen on the basis of the public opinion polls conducted in March and April, that put in the leading position the current president Bronisław Komorowski, followed by Andrzej Duda and the three politicians: Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Paweł Kukiz and Magdalena Ogórek, who were placed on the third position in different surveys. The data for this research was collected via Fanpage Karma, a social media tracking tool, that allows real-time monitoring of the Facebook accounts. The content analysis was applied to provide the general overview of the popular topics and to analyse the feedback left in comments.

American pioneers

The first country that successfully applied the Internet as a tool of political communication was the US. In 1994 Clinton administration established the WhiteHouse.gov domain, which opened the door for the e-mail communication with the citizens. The next big step was made in 2000 during the Bush-Cheney campaign. The website GeorgeWBush.com was the first one customized to deliver a local content for the potential voters, including contacts for regional offices and news about the campaign in almost every state. Later, George W. Bush administration launched "Ask the White House" service, based on live chat that allowed people to ask their questions to the White House staff in real time. The idea was new and brilliant, however the conversations were still controlled by the government. As Jimmy Orr, White House Internet Director explained, Internet was considered back then "the safest medium in the world and the reason for that is we ask for questions from the public and then we take the questions we want to answer and we publish just those.

People don't see all the questions coming in. We just answer the questions we want to answer" (as cited in Katz, Barris & Jain, 2013, p. 26). This was in 2003, one year before the presidential campaign of Howard Dean's, who was the first one to adopt the social media as a tool of communication with the potential voters. Back then neither Facebook nor Twitter existed so the strategy employed a great use of blogs and other Internet tools. His online activity made Dean a celebrity in the traditional media and helped him to gather more funds for the campaign than any other of the candidates (O'Connor, 2012, p. 195-201). Although Dean finally did not manage to win the race, the new approach to political communication presented by his campaign was groundbreaking and managed to set new trends, developed later by other politicians.

As Katz, Barris and Jain (2013) noticed: "The fact that the campaign might not have been victorious does not diminish the importance and effects of the breakthroughs it achieved. Moreover, one must consider that even a losing campaign may have been far more competitive than without its pioneering social media effort; this was certainly the case with Howard Dean" (p. 21). What also should be noticed is that the architects of Dean's online success in 2004, Nicco Mele and his colleague Jim Brayton, formed later an essential part of Barack Obama's team both during the Senate election and the presidential race. This last campaign, conducted in 2008 is widely known as the world's most prominent example of employing the social media for political communication. Four years after Dean's campaign the range of the social networks was widely expanded. Even if both Facebook and Twitter were still in their early stage and the number of the users was not as high as today (only about 10% of the Americans were following the political race via social media), the study conducted by Pew Internet and American Life Project showed that 74% of the Internet users, which meant 55% of entire adult population in the US, used Internet to stay informed about the campaign. Fully 59% of them used new technology such as e-mails, instant messages or Twitter to share or receive the news about the political race. Also, around 38% of Internet users talked online about the campaign.

Although television was still the most popular source of political news, the Internet was almost as popular as traditional newspapers. About 26% of the voters got the information online, while 28% preferred the printed versions (Smith 2009). The Obama campaign seemed to understand this potential and managed to combine perfectly the traditional media with the use of new technologies. The website MyBarackObama.com had a user-friendly design and was ready not only to present the content, but also to interact with the audience. The supporters could use it to create groups, plan events and raise funds. In other words the site was a kind of internal social medium itself. According to the statistics, by the November election there were more than 160,000 active users on MyBarackObama.com, 35,000 groups and 200,000 offline events planned via the site. The Internet was also used by the volunteers to create fundraising websites, which in total managed to gather around 30 million USD (Katz et al., 2013, p. 31). Also, the day before the general election in 2008 Obama counted on more than 2 million supporters on Facebook and more than 100,000 followers on Twitter. For McCaine the figures were respectively: about 600,000 and 4,600 (Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009, 151). In 2008 the voters for the first time were offered more than just one-way communication. They were invited to participate and give a real-time feedback through the Web. The social media provided a sensation of a personal contact with the politicians facilitating at the same time communication

between the people who shared same values and goals and exposing them to the enthusiasm surrounding the political race (Bronstein, 2012, p. 185). As many scholars noted, the social media have also the priceless asset of lowering significantly the cost of the technical infrastructure needed to create and share the content with the voters (Stieglitz, Dang-Xuan, 2012, p. 1277; Carlise & Patton, 2013, p. 884-885). Obama campaign in 2008 raised 745 million USD, of which half a billion was gathered online (Katz et al., 2013, p. 32). This is exactly why the social media interaction is becoming a standard protocol for the political campaign in the world. No other way of communication has the four most important qualities at the same time – it is cheap, fast, it reaches the majority of the voters (including the individuals who are not interested in politics) and allow finding and organizing the supporters to act in favour of the candidate all over the country and even abroad.

After the 2008 campaign turned out to be a huge success, a similar strategy was applied in 2012. By this time both Democrats and Republicans were already experienced in using the social networks. The online audience was much wider as the use of the social media increased significantly. For instance, the penetration of Facebook in 2012 reached already more than 50%, which means that half of the American population could have been reached via this channel. What is more, according to the studies, 48% of the social media users who were in favour of the Democrats and 34% of those who voted for the Republicans used in 2012 social networks to stay up to date with the campaign. Also, 25% of social media users claimed to become "more active in a political issue after discussing it or reading posts about it on the sites" and 16% admitted to change their political views "after discussing it or reading posts about it on the sites" (Rainie & Smith, 2012). About 25% of the registered voters were convinced to vote for one of the two candidates by family or friends via social media. Higher figures were presented only by face-to-face conversations (Rainie, 2012). It is interesting that although both candidates were aware of the importance of the social media in their campaign, the dynamics of their activity were different. For example during the second debate, Obama's staff posted 37 tweets, which were retweeted more than 117,000 times, while on Rommney's account appeared only 2, retweeted around 6,800 times. Overall, in 2012 campaign Obama had 20 million followers on Twitter and 29 million fans on Facebook, while Rommney was followed by 1,2 million users on Twitter, 8 million on Facebook (Wortham, 2012). On the election day the support on social media again matched the results of the political race.

Poland gets social

The first successful Polish social network was Nasza Klasa, designed to help people re-establish contact with their classmates. The service was created in 2006 by two college students and quickly became the main social network in the country. The spectrum of nk.pl users was, however, limited by the language, while young people tended to travel, study abroad and make friends with foreigners. This is why after the Polish version of Facebook was launched in 2008 many users switched to this platform. Especially after 2010 when Nasza Klasa decided to introduce new privacy regulations, rebranding the service to nk.pl. The controversies about the new regulations along with growing popularity of Facebook made many users abandon their accounts on Polish social network. Although in 2010 nk.pl was still a leading social network in the country, on which 89% of the social media users declared

having a profile, Facebook was already on the second position with a score of 59% (Internet Standard, 2010, p. 27). One year later Facebook ultimately dethroned nk.pl. (Gazeta.pl, 2011). The new trend was set.

As for today, there are around 13 million active social media users in Poland, which represents the 34% of the total population (We Are Social, 2015). In 2014 90% of Internet users owned were connected via social networks, of which the most popular was Facebook, used by 74% of the internauts. (We Are Social, 2014). In January 2015 around 35% of the population claimed to have Facebook account and the second most popular service turned out to be is G+, mainly due to the popularity of Gmail. (We Are Social, 2015). The largest group of social media users are no longer teenagers, but rather people between the age of 25 and 34, more women than men, living in big cities. However, the dynamics of growth of the new profiles was in January 2014 highest for Internet users from medium cities between 100,000 and 200,000 of inhabitants. The data for Facebook itself was quite similar. Women represented 53% of the total users and the largest age group was between 25 and 34. What is also important, the majority of Facebook users visited their accounts on a daily basis and about 66% of them admitted relying on friend's recommendation, which is an important data for the political communication via this channel (IRCenter, 2014).

The candidates

On March 27 it was confirmed that the total number of the candidates to Polish presidency was 11. All of them were present on Facebook. According to the public opinion polls, in March and April the leader was the current president Bronisław Komorowski with the result between 42 and 46% of votes. He was followed by the candidate of the leading opposition party "Law and Justice" (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) – Andrzej Duda, who could count on 26-31% of votes. Later positions were not clear, however, usually three politicians were set on the third position: Magdalena Ogórek – an independent candidate backed by the left wing, Janusz Korwin-Mikke - the leader of the right-wing party "Korwin" and Paweł Kukiz – a musician, not affiliated to any political party (tvn24.pl).

Although all the candidates were present on Facebook, during the campaign Bronisław Komorowski was the only one with a verified site. The rest of the candidates seemed not to be concerned about the fact that the voters were confused in many occasions. For example there were many accounts on the name of Andrzej Duda and only the number of followers could suggest which of them was the official one. As for Magdalena Ogórek, the situation was even more complicated. On December 21, 2014, she posted on her private profile that she did not plan to change it into a site and later, on January 12, she confirmed that her official Facebook site was different from the profile. However, while the site was describing her as a politician, her private profile was made public and was describing her as a candidate to the Polish presidency. The posts published on her private profile were copied from the site and addressed not to her friends, but open to the public. In fact, since the begging of 2015 she has not placed any personal information there. As both accounts were not verified, it was hard to determine which of them Ogórek wanted her supporters to follow.

The sites of the candidates were usually run in first person to create a virtual bond with their supporters. The only exception was the account of Bronisław Komorowski, which most frequently used third person. Only from time to time there were posts in first person, mostly with the greetings from the president. As for the language, the sites of Duda, Komorowski and Ogórek used formal style, while the accounts of Kukiz and Korwin-Mikke were much more casual. Especially Kukiz tended to use colloquialisms and populist rhetoric. In his Facebook posts he often called the president by a nickname "Bronek" or distorted the phrase "okrągły stół"[1] (the round table) into "okrągły stolec" (round excrement). While the rest of the sites appeared to combine private messages of the candidates with the posts placed by their staff, the one of Kukiz seemed to be run directly by him.

Fans

In terms of fans the leader was Janusz Korwin-Mikke, whose site registered 628,612 fans on the election day. This fact might be surprising as he is known for his controversial beliefs, describing himself as sexist, claims that women are less intelligent than men and therefore should not vote, urging for the right to bear arms in Poland or criticizing Paralympic Games because according to him only healthy people should be watched on TV. The second best score – 144,151 fans belonged to the president Bronisław Komorowski and the third one to Paweł Kukiz, whose site was followed by 137,699 users. Andrzej Duda had 104,946 fans and Magdalena Ogórek only 37,119. It should be noticed that the day before the start of the campaign in broadcasting media the number of Kukiz's fans was 65,074, which means that it doubled within the last week before the election.
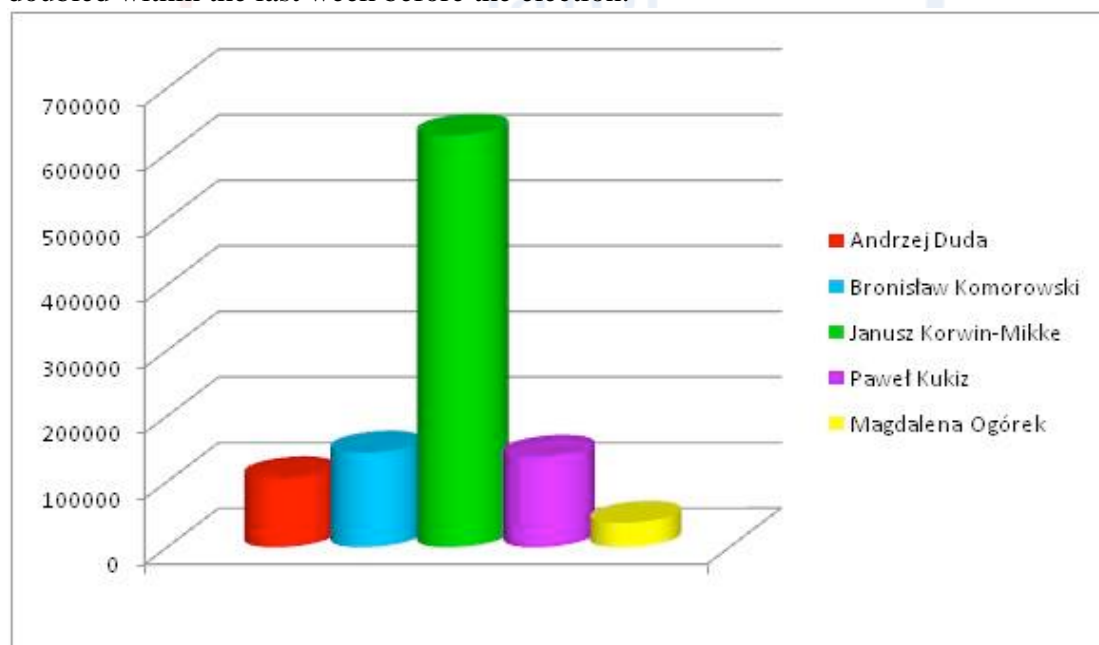
Figure 1: Number of fans on the election day.

The majority of fans were Polish, however there were also supporters from other countries where Polish communities are big and active. These included mainly the UK, Germany and the US. The users registered in the UK formed the second biggest

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[1] "Okrągły stół" is a popular name of the negotiations between the communist government and the trade union Solidarność, held in Warsaw in 1989, which led to the abolition of communism in Poland.

group on the sites of all the candidates. The percentage was 1.1% for Duda, 2.1% for Komorowski, 3,1% for Korwin-Mikke, 4.8% for Kukiz and 2.4% for Ogórek. It is not unusual, considering the fact that in 2014 there were around 700,00 Poles in the UK (Slack, Drury & McTague, 2014).
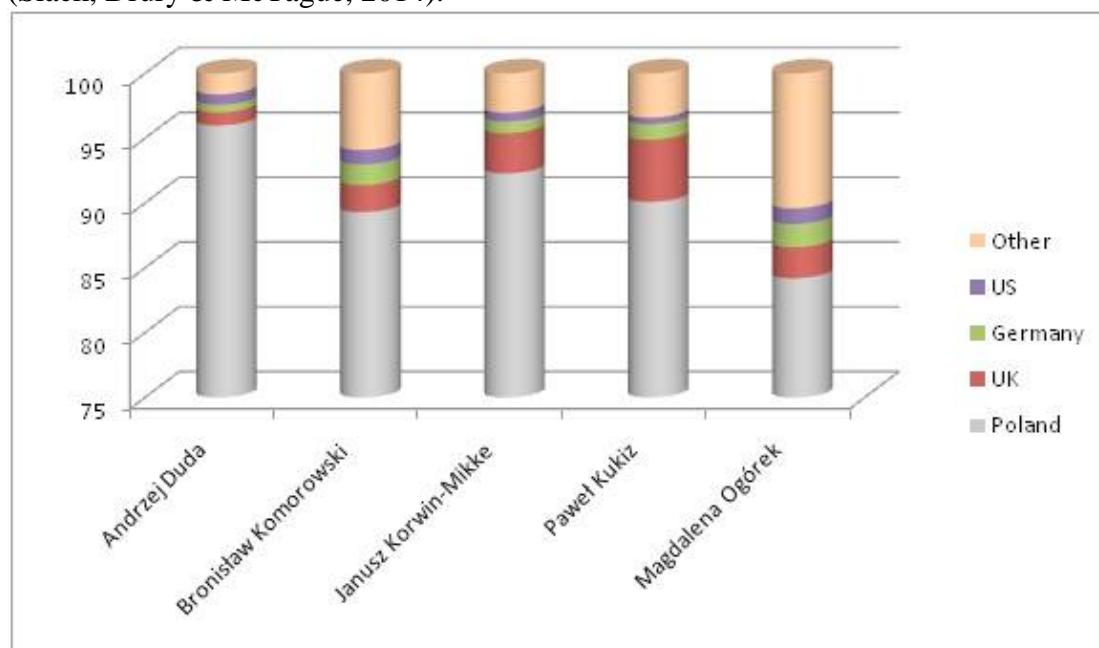
Figure 2: Fan origin.

Posts

The figures 3 and 4 present the activity on the sites. During the analysed period Duda placed 130 posts, of which 66 were pictures, 42 were links, 20 were videos and only 2 were status updates. The main source included in the posts was his web page andrzejduda.pl. The average number of posts a day was 3. It should be noticed that Duda was the most active candidate in calling for action. The majority of his posts included hashtags and requests for sharing. Duda was also a leader in discrediting his opponents, mainly Komorowski. Kukiz and Korwin-Mikke also used their sites to harm the reputation of their adversaries, however, it was more general, not focused on one candidate. Both Komorowski and Ogórek did not place this kind of posts at all. Komorowski published 102 posts, of which 54 were pictures, 44 were videos and 4 were links. There were no status updates registered in this period on his site. The average number of posts per day was 2.1. Korwin-Mikke was the most active politician with 235 posts, including 125 pictures, 76 videos, 30 links and 4 status updates. The most recurring source were partiakorwin.pl, the website of his political party and sklepkorwin.pl, online shop with the candidate's merchandising. The average was 5.5 posts a day. Kukiz posted 127 messages, of which 71 were links, 22 were status updates, 19 were pictures and 15 were videos. His mostly used reference was wiadomosci.wp.pl, a popular news website. His average was 3 posts daily. Ogórek placed 50 posts, averagely 1.2 a day, using often references to tvn24.pl, a website of a TV news channel. There were 24 pictures, 13 videos, 7 links and 6 status updates.
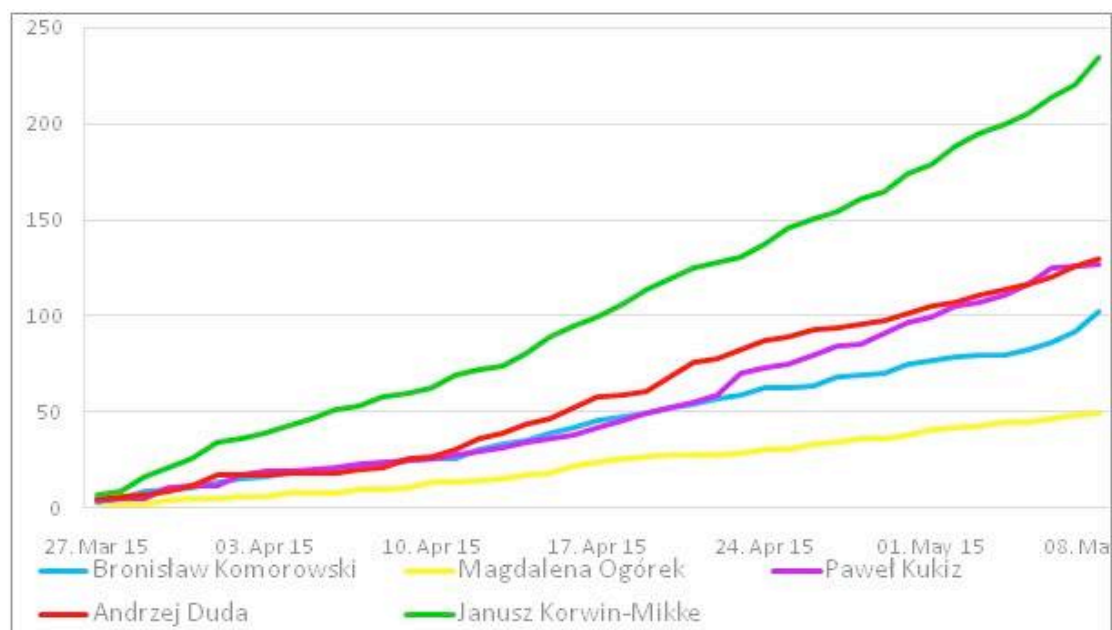
Figure 3: Number of posts.
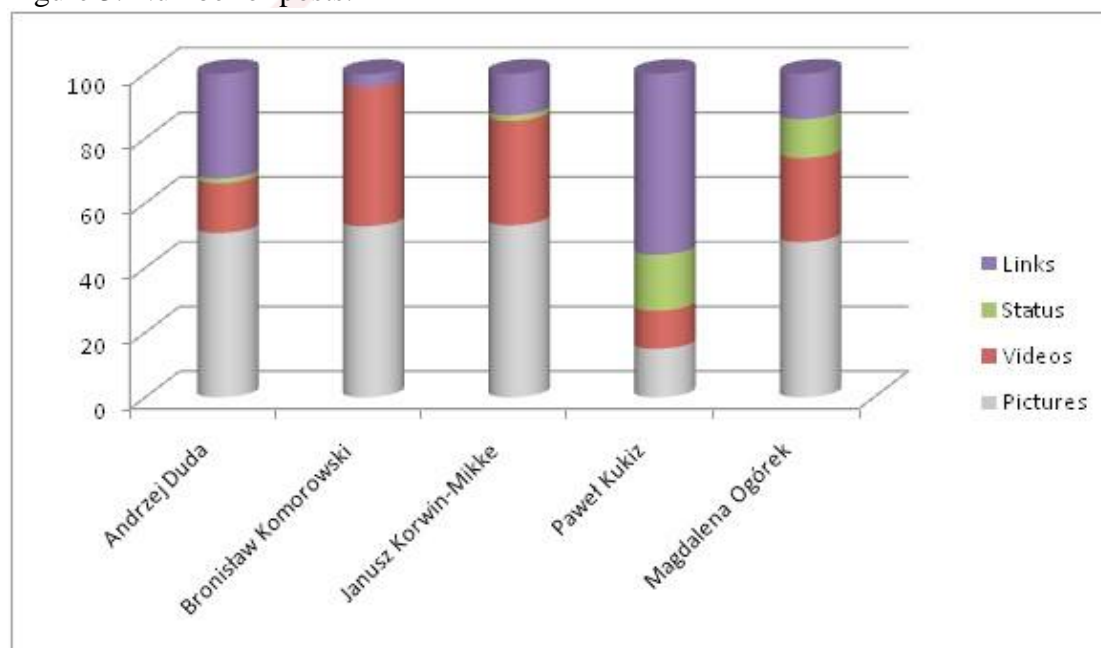
Figure 4: Type of posts.

The most successful post of Duda was the one published on April 12, with a statement "Obiecał i oszukał" (He promised and lied), referred to the president Bronisław Komorowski. This post reached 9,269 total reactions by the election silence. As for Bronisław Komorowski, the top posts were not related directly to the campaign. The one that gathered an impressive number of likes – 12,878, along with 1,302 comments and 2,092 shares was expressing a sorrow after the death of Władysław Bartoszewski – a prominent Polish politician and academician who died on April 24. Another successful post was placed on April 4 and contained Easter greetings and reached 10,792 total reactions. Janusz Korwin-Mikke's top posts was his election spot, in which he claimed he would "force Ewa Kopacz [Polish Prime Minister] to work". The post reached 25,026 total reactions. Kukiz's top post was the one on the TV debate in which the candidate expressed his discontent about the decision of the current

president Bronisław Komorowski, who had denied his presence during the event. The posts reached the total number of 26,747 reactions. Ogórek's top post was a presentation of her campaign spot on April 18, that gathered 2,175. The majority of the weakest posts placed on the sites of all the candidates were the ones that promoted the offline meetings with the supporters. However, it might be surprising that among the weakest posts of Komorowski there was one published on April 15 with an invitation for live Hangout with the president.

User engagement

As for the user engagement the leader was again Korwin-Mikke with a score of 4,564 total reactions, including 3,872 likes, 506 shares and 186 comments. Second most active fans were these of Komorowski. The total reactions for his site were 2,419, of which 1,870 were likes, 374 were comments and 175 were shares. Duda's fanpage registered in total 1,722 reactions, including 1,367 likes, 97 comments and 257 shares. At the same time Kukiz's site had 2,233 total reactions, including 1,869 likes, 163 comments and 200 shares. Finally, Ogórek's site registered 524 likes, 98 comments and 74 shares, 696 reactions in total. Although all the candidates had some negative comments, the sites of Kukiz and Korwin-Mikke registered mainly positive ones from their supporters. Ogórek's site had mainly positive feedback too, however not always related to her work, but in many occasions to her beauty. To the extent that male users were proposing to her, while women were praising her outfits. It is interesting that Duda and Komorowski, the strongest candidates, had mainly negative comments on their sites.
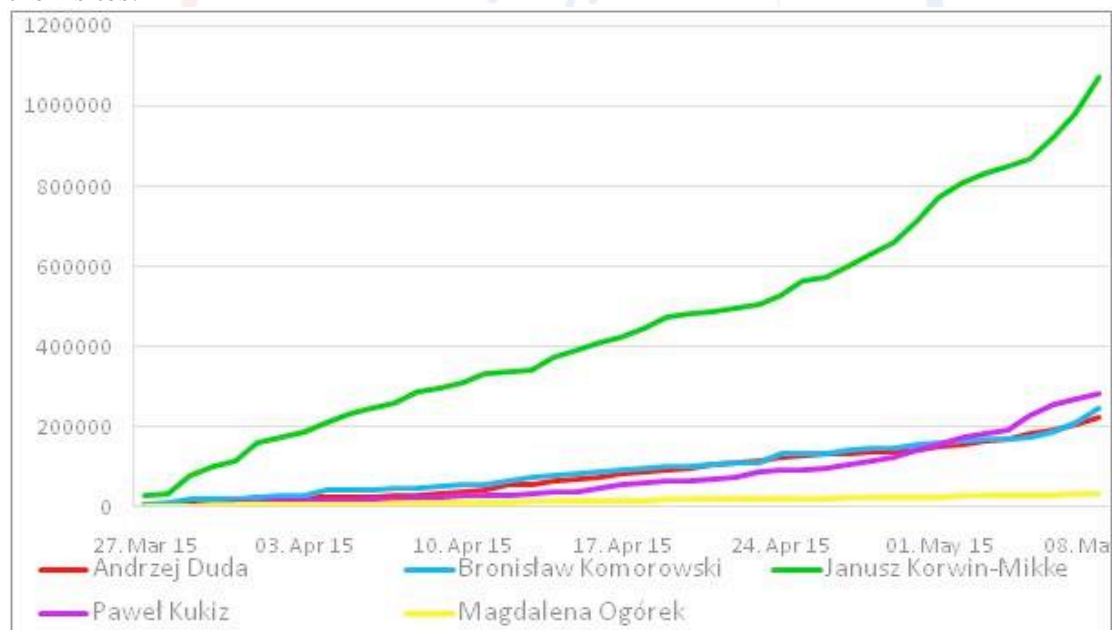
Figure 5: Total Reactions.
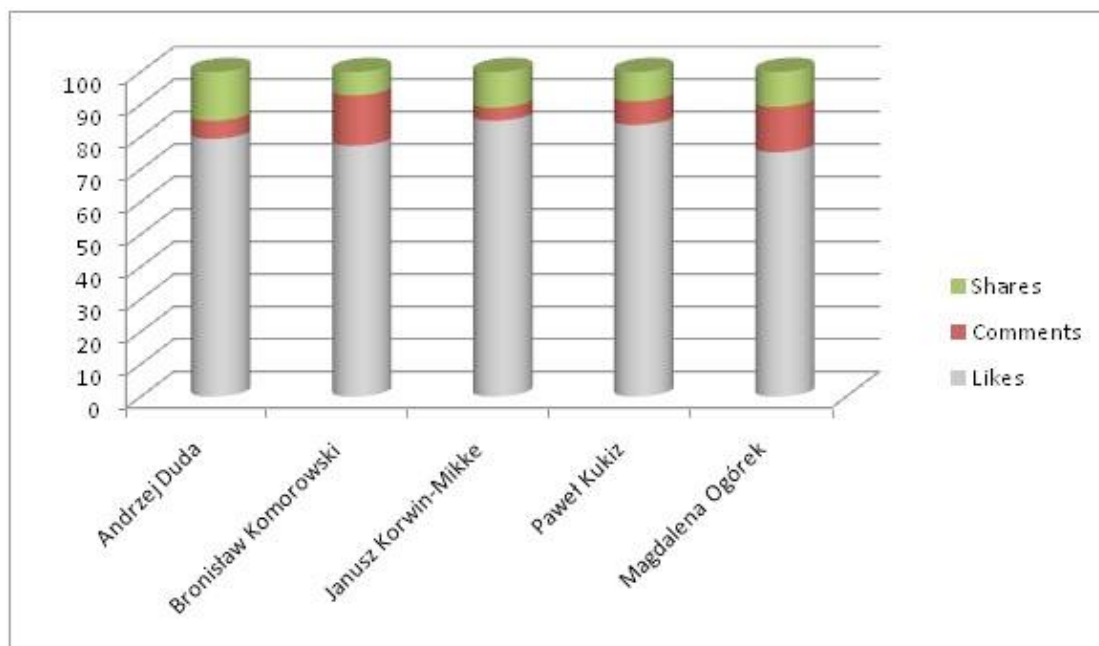
Figure 6: Likes, shares and comments.

Keywords

As for the keywords, Duda used most frequently the hashtags #AndrzejDuda2015 and DrużynaDudy (Duda's Team). However, the highest engagement was related to the phrase "podajcie dalej" (pass on), which means that his calls for action met their goal. Komorowski's most used words were his name and surname, which also generated high level of user engagement. For Korwin-Mikke, abandoning the prepositions and other words that have no meaning alone, the most popular word was "godz", which is a shortcut for an hour. It seemed to be related to the interest in candidate's activity in traditional media. On Kukiz's site the highest engagement was generated by the use of word "Polska" (Poland), while the keyword that was related to the highest engagement on Ogórek's site was "prawo" (law). It referred to her idea of reforming the legislation in Poland.

size = frequency | dark green = high engagement | dark red = low engagement

Andrzej Duda

Trzymam się oraz Bronisław chwilę :-) Gdańsk wyników internetowej najlepszych miejsca dalej Proszę wezmę dzisiejszego przez jak udostępniania [AKTUALIZACJA] zadawania Trzeba za Obiecał DudaBus Zmiana Faktach AndrzejDuda2015 tych internautami zobaczenia DrużynaDudy Dziś udział Maja sklepy podnieść od Zapraszam spotkanie pomorskie po zobaczenia Podajcie byłem dzisiejszej Oszukał Komorowski wysłuchania godz mojej

Bronisław Komorowski

videobloga Dialog Polsce też Prezydenta się Prezydent wizyty jak mieszkańcami Bronisław Odwiedziłem kolejny debaty od Razem podczas maja zobaczcie Komorowski Polaków są bezpieczeństwo młodych Proszę tym mojej :) spotkania Komorowskiego Spotkał dzisiaj maja poparcie Zapraszam Więcej Bronisława polskich videoblog mówił odcinek Dzień ludzie zagłosuj Polski spot dla jestem za że

Janusz Korwin-Mikke

sondaże oraz Wiec można tutaj teraz bez Prezydenta ze więc tylko Polska nawet mnie że po jak był tego od są Przy tak będzie Proszę jeszcze tym za Janusza bo też wielkie jestem osób dla się przez Korwin-Mikke bardzo więcej KORWiN czy Spot godz ludzi państwo już jeśli Polski tej

Paweł Kukiz

bo Dobrego jest że Po przez mówił panie mojej Dobrej Czy czas Jutro mnie już Pan jestem więc przed od za prezydenta tylko kandydata Bardzo Dziękuję mi tym dla będzie jak :-) głosy są Nasz ze ale jeśli Tutaj tak się Polska tego … wszystko mam nas Dziś jakie Potem

Magdalena Ogórek

kobiet dlaczego Dzisiaj dla że tym godz spotkania Kwota Zapraszam oraz mieszkańcami się obejrzenia jest może Nasz Rynek które prawa tak państwa będę za obywateli programie pracy nowa wywiadu który tys. po iż nas programu ul ale czy tys maja chcę gościem Prezydent serdecznie miejsca od podatkowe prawo jeżeli podatku

Figure 7: Keywords

Conclusion

The campaign of Barack Obama in 2008 set a new trend in political communication. Although the presence of the candidates in traditional media is still essential, it is limited by time and money, while the social media allow reaching wide audience at low cost and in real time. In Poland, after a period of Nasza Klasa domination, today the most popular social network is Facebook, where the politicians are very active. This research on political campaign on Facebook during the 2015 presidential election in Poland resulted in several observations.

1. In terms of professionalism the best turned out to be the site of the president Komorowski. It was the only verified one and its use of formal style and third person was consistent with the image of a serious and respected politician. Also the site of Kukiz seemed to match his image of an outsider who challenges the system. His Facebook posts were emotional and casual, written in first person to maintain a personal relationship with the fans. The least professional site seemed to be the one of Ogórek, mainly because of the confusion generated by the use of both a site and a private profile open to public.

2. All the candidates posted regularly and the site of Korwin-Mikke even seemed to be oversaturated with the average of 5.5 posts a day. As for the content Duda, Komorowski and Korwin-Mikke posted mostly pictures, while Kukiz was more focused on links. The most balanced offer was presented by Ogórek,

however it did not translate into fan engagement as the highest number of total reactions was registered by the site of Korwin-Mikke.

3. The relation between frequently used keywords and the fan engagement was best for Komorowski and Ogórek, while the most unsuccessful in this field turned out to be Duda, whose most used keyword was his name in a form of hashtag, which did not generate important engagement.

4. The number of fans and the feedback left by Facebook users turned out not to correspond neither with the public opinion polls, nor with the election results. Korwin-Mikke, whose site was the most popular, was placed in the surveys between the third and the fifth position and managed to gather only 3,26% of the votes on the election day. At the same time the most successful in the first round turned out to be Duda, whose number of fans was lower than Korwin-Mikke's, Komorowski's and Kukiz's. What is even more interesting is the fact that the candidates with mostly negative comments on their sites: Duda and Komorowski were leading in the public opinion polls and had the best results in the first round (34,76% and 33,77% respectively), which let them meet in the second voting. This phenomenon can be possibly explain with the lack of "don't like" button on Facebook. The supporters tend to "like" posts, while the critics use the comments to express their discontent as there is no other possibility to "dislike" the posts.

5. The fact that the number of Kukiz's fans on Facebook doubled after his TV exposure leads to the conclusion that television is still the most important channel for the political campaign in Poland, especially for less known politicians like Kukiz. His final result in the election was much higher than predicted by the surveys, reaching 20.8% and it can be attributed mainly to the success of his TV campaign.

Although the social media are essential for political communication nowadays, their impact on the voters during the presidential election in Poland turned out not to be crucial. Facebook was definitely a useful tool for maintaining the supporters up to date with the campaign, however, the number of fans and their engagement failed to match the real tendencies among the voters. Nevertheless, the research on the role of social media in political communication in Poland should be continued as the future elections can bring different tendencies.

Acknowledgements

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The Drama of Human Trafficking in Brazilian Soap Opera

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Abstract
This article analyzes the approach given to international human trafficking in entertainment venues of television, specifically, from the telenovela *Salve Jorge* (broadcasted by Globo Network between October 2012 and May 2013). The inclusion of social issues in the plots of soap opera is recognized as social merchandising, therefore, it is in this privileged media space that the story of a social problem is also constituted. One seeks to question the maintenance and the impact of the subject of human trafficking as a dialogue between fiction and reality portrayed by Brazilian television. The study is addressed to the discussion of the power of the telenovela to dramatize issues of public interest, having as the driving factor the broadcasting and the audience of *Salve Jorge*. Telenovelas generate visibility to social issues. Human trafficking, besides being part of the plot of the soap opera, orbited the Brazilian media agenda in the period between 2013 and 2014. It happened through awareness and engagement campaigns triggered by social and religious institutions, such as the launch of the Fraternity Campaign (CNBB - 2014) and the expansion of media coverage on public policies and plans to counter this crime within the government. Therefore, human trafficking emerges as the central theme of this study over the main plot of *Salve Jorge*.

Keywords: human trafficking, Brazilian telenovela, social merchandising

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Introduction

Human trafficking is one of the greatest violations of human rights today. Lured by the promise of a better life, people are recruited by criminal networks responsible for the third most lucrative illicit trade in the world, after the trafficking of drugs and weapons.

It is defined by the United Nations (UN) as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim, for the purpose of exploitation". Annually, more than 30 billion dollars, it is considered the third largest business in working capital in the world.

In terms of international classification, there are four traffic purposes recognized by the United Nations: sexual exploitation; removal of organs, tissues and body parts; slave labor; and servile marriage. For legal interpretation, trafficking can be configured as a kind of slavery, internationally coined under the term of 'modern slavery'. It is considered a crime and is related to other criminal practices and human rights violations, serving not only the exploitation of slave labor, but also the international networks of commercial sexual exploitation, often linked to sexual tourism routes, with the involvement of specialized transnational gangs.

In Brazil, the issue was placed on the agenda by the federal government in 2004 with the publication of decrees to promulgate the UN convention against transnational organized crime and additional protocols. Since then, it has been discussed at the federal level with the launch of the National Policies to Counter Trafficking in Persons, as well as conducting symposiums to discuss the international problem. From 2005 to 2011, victims of trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation reached more than 450 cases mapped by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, being considered a business that presents variation accordingly to the world economy.

In media appropriation through entertainment, telenovelas take this issue as a central element. Human trafficking was addressed in *Salve Jorge*, written by Gloria Perez and broadcasted by Globo TV between October 22, 2012 and May 17, 2013. The inclusion of social issues in the plots of telenovelas is recognized as a social merchandising strategy. Therefore, it is in this privileged media space of fiction that the narrative of a social problem also constitutes itself.

In Brazil, the telenovela is part of one of the most popular narrative genres, settled in an effective way the routine of a large part of the Brazilian population, becoming almost unanimous, considering the high ratings and great penetration in the popular imagination.

Telenovela in Brazil

Telenovela is a cultural product, it influences people's habits and customs, positively or negatively, by communicating, informing and entertaining. According to La Pastina (1994), telenovelas "have become very much a part of the fabric of the Brazilian society. It is hard to think of contemporary Brazil without thinking of telenovelas" because they

are characterized as the main product of the culture industry, resulting from the television history and the culture of the country.

In Brazil, it is still possible to observe their great popular penetration, coupled with the fact that they have reached the foreign market, besides provoking controversy and mobilizing public opinion, being associated as the business card of the largest national television network.

"For nearly twenty years the telenovela has remained in that position, stating stylistic features and a way to make things which became known as 'Brazilian way', which mobilizes the national audience" (Hamburguer, 2011). The plot having its own time and being presented in chapter form causes the viewer to maintain a continuous interest. This seriality is one of the fundamental characteristics of the telenovela. The plot is presented to the viewer in daily episodes as "one story (or several interlaced and parallel narratives) which succeeds more or less linearly along all chapters" (Machado, 2005). Such characteristic is considered as a facilitator in that it establishes a routine that competes or occurs at the same time with and/or the other tasks of the home life and allows the viewer to track the sequence of the plot daily. Watching the telenovela becomes a ritual, a habit.

The telenovela, without abandoning the excitement and the characteristic pedagogical dimension of the melodramatic product, when approaching the limits of fiction with reality, has been being constituted with what Lopes (2003) designates as a communicative resource, bringing to the plot a repertoire of references recognized and shared by Brazilians. In this context, with the strategy of portraying contemporary social concerns in their plots, soap operas can promote or instigate discussions as to observe the Brazilian situation more accurately than in the newspapers. "(...) Telenovela has become one of the most important and extensive questioning spaces in Brazil, ranging from private lives issues to social problems" (Lopes, 2009).

In fiction, one cannot forget the true value, enhanced by Marques and Maia (2008) when they state, "even if we identify certain actions to exist only in the fiction realm, the feelings that move the characters, their gestures and intentions many times correspond to what we know about the world we inhabit". The telenovela is recognized as a component of communication/culture policies pursuing the development of citizenship and human rights in society (Lopes, 2009).

This authenticity at narrating, interpreting or reproducing discussions of contemporary society is strengthened by what has been called the social merchandising that, in transposing the (re)reading of the real for the fiction, brings elements that support the maintenance of an aesthetic that is able to gather the aspects of a melodrama. Misery, violence, poverty, trafficking, prostitution, drugs, schizophrenia are hard issues that melodrama incorporates according to its aesthetic characteristic, being able to soften or enhance its appeal in accordance with the degree of reception acceptance.

The aesthetic dimension of the product is also underlined by Weber (2000) who states that "the fact that most of the population has been inoculated by the aesthetics of television, it becomes more vulnerable and receptive to the more easily assimilated speeches, with more known references: compact, passionate, standardized, advertising" (Weber, 2000). Along with this point of view, there is the seductive power of media,

because "the media, with logic and power equivalent to the state and the capital, distinguishes itself from these by agility, insight, and naive and transparent seduction capacity. It can relativize the real – the story – showing it in a less bleak outlook, more comfortable, providing alibis to the citizens about the impossibility of change, because of the complexity of power and politics" (Weber, 2000).

In addition, it is worth reflecting on the power of frameworks, especially for a population portion. "Citizens with low levels of information can make consistent decisions, but only when the public debate is relatively open to a wide range of interpretations of the political reality" (Porto, 2007).

Telenovela became one of the most important and extensive questioning spaces in Brazil, "ranging from private lives issues to social problems. This *sui generis* ability to synthesize the public and the private, the political and the domestic, news and fiction, male and female, is inscribed in the narrative of telenovelas, which combines formal conventions of documentary and television melodrama" (Lopes, 2009).

The identification of real public figures with fictional characters are recurrent in telenovelas, there is a blurring of the boundaries between plots and real problems and the tendency towards a greater likelihood in storytelling. There is a continuous search for associating topics of public and private life referring to the merge of the public and private fields held by soap operas.

Telenovelas are studied further, especially Globo's, a Brazilian television channel that has a hegemonic position before other media.

Globo Network and merchandising in telenovelas

Globo is the largest broadcaster in Brazil, balancing what is considered commercial success with artistic quality. According to OBITEL data (Ibero-American Observatory of Television Fiction), in Brazil, there are six national television broadcast networks, five being private – Globo, SBT, Record, Band and Rede TV! – and one public, TV Brasil. In 2012, except for two, all produced and exhibited television fiction.

Regarding the individual audience, Globo remains in the lead with 40.7% of broadcast television. The broadcaster is considered the largest producer of television fiction in the country. There are about 2,500 annual hours of telenovelas and programs, and 1,800 annual hours of television journalism.

In 2012, among televisions tuned exclusively on television channels, Globo obtained 44.7% share. The station also confirmed its hegemony on programs, and the 47 most seen programs in 2012 were from Globo. In addition, over 80% of the hours of fiction produced and displayed in 2013 were telenovela, increasing its weight in the making of the broadcast programming of Brazilian television.

The dominant themes in the main fictions in 2012 refer to the following contexts: "family relationships, revenge, ambition, adultery, identity revelations, disputes between social classes, racial, class and gender prejudice, child neglect, corruption" (OBITEL, 2013).

In *Salve Jorge*, produced by Globo Network, the social merchandising was related to human trafficking.

Salve Jorge and human trafficking

Salve Jorge, written by Gloria Perez, debuted in prime time on Globo TV, on October 22, 2012, ending its display on May 17, 2013. With 179 chapters, the telenovela average audience was 33.6. Human trafficking is the social heart of the plot, opening the first chapter of the telenovela with scenes of an auction of the protagonist in Turkey (scenario-country where sexual exploitation is practiced with the tricked characters who lived in Rio de Janeiro). The victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation are exploited by a gang with the 'justification' of debt acquired by the journey, family threat and restriction of access to documents, setting them up as illegal immigrants in that country.

The telenovela begins its first 30 seconds depicting images of Turkey. The scenes feature colorful plasticity, with pictures representing tourist areas of the country, especially the cities of Cappadocia and Istanbul. Right after, it presents the auction of a woman, who is recognized then as the protagonist of the plot, in a temporal projection of eight months of the narrative.

The scene is filmed inside a mansion, in a room, and, at the center, on a sort of platform, is the trafficked character – Morena, a single mother who lives with her mother and raises her child alone; this makes up the core of the plot. In the episode, she appears well made-up, dressed in elegant props and sensual clothing. Around, men of different nationalities (overlapping languages make the turn off the scene), wearing suits, smoking cigars, drinking and talking, admiring her beauty, but mostly the product she represents. Then, an interested man gets up and walks towards her in order to touch and smell the young woman. This same man makes the proposal and goes out with the trafficked woman who, in turn, shows revulsion and distress in the scene. The commodity is established. Soon after, another young woman enters the room, almost like a production line.
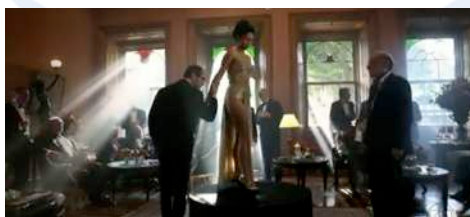
Figure 1: Frame of the first chapter of *Salve Jorge*

One can see that the first four minutes of *Salve Jorge* are intended to present the location where the plot will take place, with the climax being the auction of a trafficked woman. The auctioneer explains some features; among them, the age, they are over eighteen, and the fact that the trafficked woman is Brazilian. Such information reinforces or may be attached to the so-called guarantee of the legality of the activity (according to their age) and the nationality (Brazilian), considered an attribute because of the visibility of Latin women internationally.

International human trafficking has young Morena as its heroin, inhabitant of Complexo do Alemão (favela), in Rio de Janeiro, one of the main locations of the plot. She gets an offer to work in Turkey and, when she arrives in the country, she realizes that she had been trafficked, starting a struggle to get rid of the trafficking mafia and to see the head of the gang in Brazil, Livia Marine, arrested. Throughout the plot, Morena lives a complex love story with Theo, captain of the cavalry of the army, devoted to St. George, who wants to take on the relationship and raise as his the son of the young woman, Júnior.

The scenes displayed on December 4, 2012, show the moments experienced by Morena and the recruiter, then a friend, Wanda at the airport. Morena arrives in Turkey and comes across a group of foreign young women locked up. The girls, all deceived like her, are forced into prostitution in a nightclub. Angry, Morena attacks Wanda for having fooled her, becoming one of her main enemies.

The sequence of events demonstrates the crime of human trafficking for sexual exploitation: the profile of the victims (young women with financial difficulties), the emotional persuasion of the offenders to weave promises of a bright future and the incarceration in a closed nightclub or place without contact with the outside environment or the possibility to speak with relatives; who, at that time, can already be considered victims, because they are always coerced, besides all physical and psychological aggression.

The cast featured 91 characters plus extras to produce the most open scenes or those which reproduced the exploitation of the trafficked women. Regarding the locations, the main geographical areas of the plot were in Rio de Janeiro, especially in Complexo do Alemão. Internationally, Turkey, mixing scenes of Cappadocia and Istanbul.

Concerning Complexo do Alemão's location, the view of the plot was marked by the favela pacification, with the presence of the cavalry of the Brazilian Army and its role in strengthening the process of UPPs (Pacifying Police Unit). Actors performed riding lessons, lived in the environmental army command to develop what is identified as laboratory preparation for telenovelas.

The geographical location of the narrative, then, is depicted in the first chapter, with shooting situations and the occupation of Complexo do Alemão (RJ). In comes also the cavalry of the army, which plays, as a result, the role of peacemaker in the favela. The scenes[1] blend fiction with pictures of the news coverage of Globo TV, with audios of journalists and media images that accompanied the performance of military forces in real-time, which took place on November 28, 2010. At that time, as well as media coverage, residents of the community told what was happening there through social networks.

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[1] The scenes are available on G1 website: <http://globotv.globo.com/rede-globo/salve-jorge/v/o-exercito-entra-no-complexo-do-alemao/2203086/> Accessed in: September 10, 2014
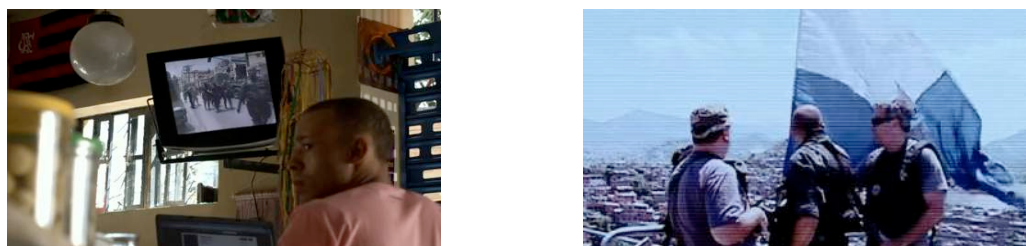
Figure 2: Frames of Complexo do Alemão and of the army training

The chapters, displayed from Monday through Saturday, were, in average, 75 minutes long. The telenovela has been exported to many countries, including Portugal and African countries, where Globo Network already has partnerships serving their entertainment products.

In the construction of the plot what one sees, in fact, are the contexts already established in the dramaturgical product composition: "beautiful, passionate, young, virtuous, protagonist heroes; failures of one and the other are superficial and always justified. Their virtues are enhanced by the exaggeration: they are workers, steadfast, good parents, fighters, honest, loyal, courageous, and are always looking good" (Pallottini, 2000, p. 07). In *Salve Jorge*, the formula is not replaced. The subplots are presented, bringing love affairs, disaffections, sexuality envisaged in the action of trafficking and in seduction, the different dimensions of social class, discussions and family conflicts, kindness, public actions in the scope of the Army and the Federal Police, and the victory of good against evil or the sense of justice done as a supposed happy ending.

Besides the sexual exploitation of human trafficking, the telenovela deals with trafficking in babies, rescuing, in the plot, the story of a character who was illegally adopted and discovers her true path along the evolution of the chapters. The action of the Federal Police, added to the military interventions, is set into the plot, showing the theme from the point of view of the mapping process of gangs and involvement of the international agenda, given the magnitude of the crime.

In terms of scenery, the police station of the Federal Police is constantly triggered, with the presence of delegate Helô or her staff that maps the human trafficking scheme, both of sexual exploitation and of illegal adoption of babies. The links are established and the gang begins to be unraveled along the plot.

International spheres are also represented by the action of Interpol – the International Criminal Police Organization – with the infiltration of an agent in the Turkish club, cooperating with the Federal Police in fighting the crime of trafficking. In the last chapter, the two teams come together and invade the establishment, arresting the gang and releasing the lured women.

In *Salve Jorge*, one can observe at least three dramatic arcs involving human trafficking: the victims of trafficking, the action of the gang and the actions of the Federal Police in tackling crime. These driven elements add in the configuration of Globo's social merchandising strategy. The dimension of reality in fiction, the correspondence with real situations, is evidenced by the telenovela by the display, at the end of some chapters, or even interacting with some characters throughout the plot (as in the case of

the victims of trafficking in babies), of testimonials from relatives or victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

An example of this strategy is the testimony of the housekeeper Ana Lúcia Furtado, trafficked to Israel in 1998. She was a housekeeper and was the only breadwinner of her three children when, at the age of 24, she received a proposal of what she dreamed to be a better future: working as a waitress in Israel. However, she ended up as a prostitute in a nightclub and was the inspiration for the author Gloria Perez shape the character of the protagonist, Morena.

In the story of Ana Lúcia, one can see the description of how the allurement took place: "I was in a party in Madureira, my friend Kelly and I, when we met Rosana... She approached us, bonded with us, when later, in the late evening, she made us a proposal to travel abroad, to work as waitresses at a diner in Israel. In the meantime, she had bonded with us, gone to our houses, met our families, become our friend" (GLOBO, 2013).

For the first time after her rescue, which took place in 1998, Ana Lúcia volunteered to tell all her drama to Globo, in a testimony after Chapter 85, aired on January 28, 2013. Ana Lúcia tells how the three months being held by the gang were and about the murder of her cousin, Kelly Martins, who went to Israel with her and inspired the character Jéssica.

The story of Ana Lúcia is often more dramatic than the fiction lived by Morena (Figure 3). She says that the contact with Gloria Perez is frequent and that she often recognizes, among the dialogues of the telenovela, sentences she told the writer. Ana Lúcia says, "I even joke that what the telenovela shows is a dream if compared to what we lived. In comparison to what we went through".

Figure 3: Trafficked women: in real life and in fiction

In November 2012, about a month after the debut of the telenovela, other real testimonials were inserted, testimonials from people who had experienced or closely followed the drama of who was trafficked. One can observe in Globo's website a video with the testimony of João Borges, father of trafficked Simone.

In one of the testimonials, the father João Borges tells the story of Simone Borges, who went to Spain hoping to make money. However, it was a farce and she was forced into prostitution. (...) As in fiction, the kidnappers took all Simone's money, her passport

and kept her in captivity. With her, there were approximately 10 and 15 other Brazilian women living the same drama. Simone died in the same year she went to Spain, in 1996 (GLOBO, 2013)..

The inclusion of testimonials on illegal adoption of babies is also observed. The disclosure of the *NGO Missing in Brazil*[2] is performed during the episode (Figure 4) displayed on November 8, 2012 and December 3, 2012, the testimony of Lior Wilk, a babies trafficking victim.
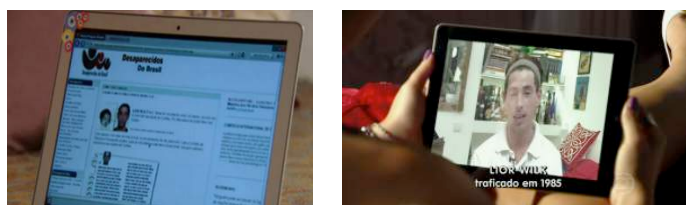
Figure 4: Scenes concerning illegal adoption

He is a young Israeli who wants to find out who his Brazilian biological parents are. In the scene, with the support of technology, Aisha, a young woman who was sold as a baby, talks to the boy who was trafficked in 1985. He says he loves his adoptive parents, but wonders how his life would be if he had continued in Brazil. Such doubts are played in the plot also by the character, giving voice to the international problem.

Beyond the intention to anchor reality in the television product itself, Globo Network expanded the possibilities of transmedia theme display, offering to the public the website – on air during the airing of the novel – coined as *Disque Salve*[3] (Dial Save) created in partnership with the *NGO Viva Rio*, to give information and help answer questions about trafficking and exploitation of people.

In this project, the *NGO Viva Rio* was responsible for operating the Dial Save, with the making of all the theoretical content on the subject, both for the web service and the call center.

According to Sandro Costa, coordinator of Save Dial at the *NGO Viva Rio*, the project recorded 456 cases in 22 weeks. In the 2013 work plan of the NGO, the project under the name *Salve Jorge*, had a budget estimated at R$ 650,000.00 by Globo Network. It is inferred that such an investment is set as a social support, thus, liable to tax deduction. Therefore, it is clear that there is a transmedia ownership of the theme by the broadcaster, promoting its image as a company by linking social responsibility practices, besides increasing the visibility of their telenovela, guaranteeing an increase in audience.

In addition to the traditional serving of the telenovela on television, Globo Network has been investing in production of content for the web, seeking "the insertion and sustained growth of the Internet in Latin America and the accelerated use of virtual social

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[2] The non-governmental organization "Missing in Brazil" began in 1997, from the disappearance member of a given family. Since then, it formed a large network of volunteers and it never stopped growing. Thousands of cases that pass annually by the website registration show that 15% to 20% of the missing are from human trafficking. Available in: <http://www.desaparecidosdobrasil.org/procuro-minha-mae/salve%20jorge.jpg> Accessed in: May 14, 2015.

[3] The service remained available through the website: www.disquesalve.com.br and the call center: (21) 2555-3777 (Mon – Sat, 5pm – 11pm).

networks[4] in the region, especially Facebook and Twitter" (OBITEL, 2014). Following this trend, the broadcaster, in addition to the chapters available for subscribers of G1, offered exclusive content viewing on its website, making supplementary materials to the plot available in digital environment, expanding the supply of the theme and extrapolating the television schedule.

Among the materials observed, there is the composition of a comic book telling the journey of a character that did not have a happy ending, expected in melodrama. This is the trafficked Jessica, who played an important role in the discussion on human trafficking; she did not make it until the end of the plot, though, being murdered throughout the display of *Salve Jorge*.

To keep the memory of the character alive and to extend the dynamic possibilities of interaction with fiction, Globo published on the telenovela website the stylized story in comics format (Figure 5), with the following title and helpline: "The Drama of Jessica: review the story of the trafficked girl in comics". "Blonde fought hard alongside Morena and ended up being murdered by Livia".

Figure 5: Image of the comic book: "The Drama of Jessica"

The comic book summarizes the story of the character that, for having been inspired by a real case, takes on a new media space. In this case, Globo reproduced some scenes and developed an art of the frames, turning the serialization narrative into an edition specifically about a character. It shows a summary of Jessica's story and, by selecting her, it gives the character a parallel leading role, evidenced through a speech of contextual recovery through a narrator that translates the most emblematic scenes she lived in the plot.

In transposing the narrative text in a comic book of only character, the author offers her a degree of relevance, probably because she is an established actress, associated with the inspiration element of Kelly's life story, enticed and killed by a gang in Israel.

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[4] According to OBITEL, "among fictional users, 82% were shown to be active in their visits to selected platforms, and their main activities were to comment, criticize and discuss with producers and other users, the fictional product content, this in relation to the participation in the official websites".

Therefore, giving a new way of translating the narrative text into a comic book, it can transform the character Jessica into a superhero, commonly observed in this genre production. Moreover, in comic books with superheroes, there is the disguise feature to hide the identity of the protagonist. In this case, the cover is the very silence of the crime.

Another content offered in a transmedia way is in the Trafficking Dossier (Figure 6), which refers to a material available in the telenovela website that summarizes what the documentation of the characters involved in human trafficking in the plot would be.

According to the people responsible for production of content, there are three categories of bonding: trafficked, traffickers and victims. The website provides a brief overview of the profile of each character involved in the trafficking and complements the content with photos and videos.

Figure 6: Trafficking Dossier

The structure of the document refers to a visual aesthetic of police reports, with a technical data sheet of the characters, symbols and icons that refer to elements triggered by the legal sphere, as stamps and handcuffs.

Based on the drama of human trafficking observed in *Salve Jorge*, one can confirm that Globo Network, in its various derivations of melodrama, becomes an important element in building theme meanings in society, being responsible for giving light and voice to human trafficking issues, promoting its maintenance according to its marketing interest and rebuilding and reconfiguring social identities.

Conclusion

Television is an instrument to narrate history, society and to influence the ways of thinking of the public, mainly through the soap opera, which is considered a cultural phenomenon in Latin America. The telenovela, as a popular genre, creates a public space to share experiences and national discussions (Lopes, 2009) and the representations in telenovelas tend to draw a parallel between the political and social realities. *Salve Jorge* is an example. Human trafficking has acquired importance, and, by giving voice and face to a story, and by inserting in the viewers lives stigmatized sexual identities or characters in violent situations, the soap opera reassures its role as a narrative capable of reflecting private dramas that, by gaining visibility into the public

sphere, refer not to a single individual, but to a collective that is placed in relation to the mediated experience of the other, producing a perception of reality.

The ideological work of the telenovela is in the way to provide a representation of reality, triggering real elements out of the fictional ones. In *Salve Jorge*, besides the debate of the subject, the melodrama has brought to social merchandising this dimension with the inclusion of real testimonials.

The social merchandising in telenovelas is effective in the promotion and visibility of the theme that the very public debates because it affects the emotional, the playful. It comes effectively with the inclusion of facts and real elements in fiction, strengthening the role of rapprochement with the portrayed social truthfulness. In addition, the theme is turned into commodities in situations that go beyond serving, through the broadcaster products available on digital platforms such as the Comic of Jessica or the Trafficking Dossier. In this sense, the power of the soap opera is in the dramatization of issues of public interest, which, by being romanticized, gain permanence or longevity in the media agenda.

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Propaganda in the Service of Genocide- Case of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

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Abstract
The objective of this paper is to examine methods of running propaganda campaigns in facilitating the execution of the genocidal policy by the example of the Islamic State.

The issue of using propaganda as a tool that support the crime of genocide has been a subject of studies before- mostly in regard to Third Reich and the genocide in Rwanda. The propaganda campaigns are designed to identify the enemy, to convince the society, that this enemy poses a great danger and it needs to be destroyed, and finally to persuade the 'audience' to support the extermination. However, it has never been noted in history that an organization so freely calling for genocide had such broad range of means of propaganda at its disposal as ISIS has.

ISIS summons its followers to Jihad understood as a battle with the 'infidels', which ought to be continued until the time, when Islam remains the only religion standing. While the ground for the policy of genocide is the concept of Jihad, the tools used are propaganda and meticulously built brand. ISIS, out of all terrorist organisations, was the first to use modern communication technologies (social media, the internet) so consistently and on such a wide scale, to promote its activities. Based on the analysis carried out by the authors, it becomes clear that the IS creates its image consciously and effectively uses communication to facilitate its plans of genocide. In order to fulfil them, it uses new communication technologies on a scale never witnessed before.

Keywords: genocide, Islamic State, propaganda, ISIS, communication, brand

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Introduction

The issue of religious fundamentalism and its negative consequences proves to be a prevailing topic nowadays. The activities of Boko Haram, Al-Shahab, Al-Quaeda or ISIS pose a serious threat to international security. Each of these organizations has a similar background and shares a similar view of the world; each of them is based on the same ideology and uses similar tools to reach their goals. Yet, it is the Islamic State that is the most successful in military actions, conquers new territories, actively develops its terrorist network worldwide, recruits the greatest number of fighters from the Western World and has significant economic accomplishments.

One of the means to reach its goals is the policy of genocide. ISIS summons its followers to Jihad understood, above all, as a battle with the infidels, which ought to be continued until the time, when Islam remains the only religion standing (M. Sadowski, 2013). To ISIS fighters 'Jihad' means armed expansion of the Muslim community- those of the 'infidels', who reject Islam and will not succumb to the Muslim rule are not worthy of living. 'The Infidels' are the Christians, the Jews, the Yazidis or the Copt but also Muslims who deviate from practicing Islam as dictated by the Caliphate. Such understanding of Jihad is dictated by the self-appointed Caliph- Abu Bakr al Bagdhadi[1]. This form of 'Holy War' lies thus in fact in the fundaments of the genocide intent. The Islamic State (currently only on conquered territories) commits mass murders and executions, rapes, women trafficking, mutilations. This has been proven in report from investigation conducted by UN (2015) by collected witness' testimony and discovered mass graves in Iraq and Syria. But ISIS leaders also call their supporters to killing 'infidels' in every other country- in Western Europe or USA- with clear intention of wiping them out of the map of future Caliphate. While the ground for the policy of genocide is the concept of Jihad, the tools used in the process are propaganda and meticulously built brand.

The issue of using propaganda and conscious brand building to assist policy of genocide has been a subject of studies before- it was mostly in regard to Third Reich and the role of the media before and in the aftermath of genocide in Rwanda. Most scholars (D. Yanagizava-Drott, 2014; V. Klemperer, 1983; M. Lower & T. Hauschildt, 2014) pointed towards a clear connection between using means of propaganda and the effectiveness of execution of genocide. The propaganda campaigns are designed to identify the enemy, to convince the society ('brand audience'), that this enemy poses a great danger and it needs to be destroyed and finally to persuade the 'audience' to support the extermination (in case of Rwanda the Hutu propaganda successfully motivated regular people to take part in slaughter). However, it has never been noted in history that an organization so freely agitating for genocide had such broad range of means of propaganda at its disposal. Most often such campaigns were limited to state traditional media, while now IS can use the internet and new communication technologies on global scale with no regard for borders. So far there have been only single articles mentioning this issue written,

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[1] There is a discussion among scholars and theologians, whether such interpretation of Jihad is correct (more: M. Sadowski, 2013). However the authors of this paper would like to avoid doctrinal dubiousness and concentrate on the fact that this interpretation of 'holy war' is persuaded by ISIS' leaders, therefore it is crucial for further analyses of ISIS' genocidal intent.

majority of which were of journalistic or popular science nature. In this paper, the authors aimed to present the issue of propaganda campaigns via new communication technologies and role of building the brand of the Islamic State in order to fulfill the plan of genocide.

The authors are of the opinion, that the professional and consciously ran propaganda (understood here as Brand Communication) is the crucial factor, which determines the effectiveness of the Islamic State. It is believed to drive the expressive and clear Brand Image. The resource, which a distinct brand known across the world is, directly and indirectly influences the execution of the goals and postulates of ISIS. It facilitates not only the recruitment of fighters or building a network in the Western countries, but also military actions (i. e. Christians living in neighboring countries leave their households in panic on a first sight of a black flag, having no previous contact with the organization- it is the effect of the communication of terror). ISIS, out of all terrorist organizations, was the first to use social media and internet so consistently and on such a wide scale to promote its activities. Based on the analysis carried out by the authors, it becomes clear, that the Islamic State creates its image consciously (culling from the know-how derived from the world of business) and effectively uses the means of propaganda to facilitate its plans of genocide. In order to fulfill them, it uses modern communication technologies on a scale never witnessed before.

Methodology

Since the authors were of the opinion, that the Islamic State utilizes knowledge gained and gathered in the consumer markets to pursue its genocidal intentions, in the research, the methods of brand analysis, which are applicable chiefly on commercial markets, were used. While analyzing the Brand of Islamic State, the authors applied the methodology of Corporate Identity, understood as conscious and long term planning and management of the communication process within an organization (M. Fleisher, 2003). This scope of research was based on matrix of four pillars (The 'Corporate Identity-mix' Model): Brand DNA, Brand Behavior, Brand Design and Brand Communication (C. B.M. van Riel & Ch. J Fombrun, 2007).

The authors state, that what differentiates ISIS from all of the other terrorist groups and what can be one of the reasons why they are so successful, is consistently built organization's brand based on Brand DNA. Since the goal of the paper is to present how propaganda can be used in service of genocide, authors will concentrate on analyzing ISIS' Brand Communication. The examination of ISIS Brand as a whole is a subject of further research and will be published in the future.

In the research, Brand Communication is understood as a verbal and visual presentation of certain meanings to the specific group of receivers via media or other channels. (M. Fleischer, 2003). According to Merriam- Webster Dictionary, the term 'propaganda' has three basic meanings and can be defined as: 1. ideas or statements that are often false or exaggerated and that are spread in order to help a cause, a political leader, a government, etc., 2. the spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person, 3. ideas, facts, or allegations spread deliberately to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause; *also* **:** a public action having such an effect. Authors recognize that

all of communication activities run by Islamic State have propaganda intent. That is why there is no need for differentiate these two terms- they will be used interchangeably in this paper.

In the study on using propaganda in order to support the policy of genocide, the authors based their research on the model of the crime proposed by Gregory Stanton[2] (G. Stanton, 2013). By analyzing genocides that occur in XXth and XXIth century, Stanton formulated ten stages of the crime, which are: classification, symbolization, discrimination, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, persecution, extermination and denial. According to Stanton's model, the initial stages precede the other ones, at the same time not finishing in the wake of the following ones. To the opposite, to illustrate, with the start of the process of organization, the level of dehumanization of the persecuted group increases. (Stanton, 1996). Stanton's model is crucial for transnational system of genocide prevention and punishment, since the identification of each stage would enable international community the effective containment of the crime.

ISIS' Brand Communication

ISIS communication is very well planned, professionally executed and used as a strategic asset by the organization. Active communication with massive media reach (according to data form Brand24 even 1/7th every internet users are getting information about IS activities on daily basis) result in lingering influx of new volunteers, donators and supporters. Acting on such scale is possible only through holistic approach to brand communication and usage of various channels based on clear strategy. Numerous communication channels are actively used and professionally ran by ISIS. According to authors' research, the most important ones are: social media, branded gadgets, magazines, news and PR agencies, advertisements, movies, TV and radio and brand ambassadors.

1. Communication Channels

ISIS activities in social media includes creating and running official profiles on Facebook, Twitter or Snapchat and even creating own Facebook – 5elaphabook (closed after few days), but mostly it consist in supporters and members of organization activity in this channel. Due to this fragmentation, it is extremely difficult to react and ban all of ISIS profile. What is even more important, communication itself is in this way more natural and can be properly adjusted to the audience. Since the communication is on "one on one" level (not "brand - customer") it enables ISIS to create real relationship with receivers of their message.

Branded Gadgets is one of the most interesting channel used by organization. T-Shirts, toys or "IS starter kits" created by Al-Hayat Media Center increase brand awareness and help to build and maintain relationship with supporters that cannot join ISIS in person. Gadgets are distributed by internet shops or can be purchased at numerous markets, for instance in Turkey.

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[2] Gregory H. Stanton is the Research Professor in Genocide Studies and Prevention at the George Mason University in Fairfax County. He is the founder (1999) and president of the think-thank 'Genocide Watch', the founder (1981) and director of the Cambodian Genocide Project, and the founder (1999) and Chair of the International Campaign to End Genocide. From 2007 to 2009 he was the President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. He originally presented his model in a briefing paper "The Eight Stages of Genocide" at the US State Department in 1996. Two stages- discrimination and persecution- have been added in 2013.

Another crucial communication channel widely used by Islamic State refers to information policy. Islamic State created four news and PR agencies including Al-Hayat Media Center, which are responsible for public relations activities of organization (P. Cockburn, 2015). There are also two major magazines published by ISIS and distributed globally: 'Dabiq'- main propaganda tube, the high quality magazine about Caliphate, available online and via Amazon; and 'ISIS Report'- the publication similar to corporate 'Wall Street-reports' that includes information about its activities, performance and future plans.

Al-Hayat Media Center is also responsible for creating set of fairly professional advertisements (Ads of Radio Stations, movies, magazines, etc.) and production of propaganda movies – including short clips (introducing organization, statements of its members and ostentatious decapitations) and full-length movies (for instance 'Flames of War' presenting honorable and courageous mudjahadines destroy 'infidels' army).

Traditional media are not dominant in ISIS communication, but the organization uses radio and TV in the process. There are three internet radio stations (in English, French and Arabic) and media coverage about ISIS is regularly occurred in, for instance, Al-Jazeera.

Finally, channel that is frequently neglected, but indicates high supporters' loyalty, is brand ambassadors. ISIS is believed to create global net of its supporters - lately there have been arrests of its members in Spain, Turkey, USA or UK.

Even though organization is using such various set of channels, it is able to create vivid and coherent Brand Image throughout each of them, so it should be concluded, that ISIS Brand Strategy is defined and implemented.

2. Brand's Language

Brand's language is one the main means, by which organizations express their personality. 'Tone of voice' can shape relationships that brand builds with the audience, connotes brand with certain meanings and create new ones. Brand language can also create whole society around the brand and help supporters recognize each other.

The language analysis conducted by authors was based on 'Dabiq' issues- ISIS' main propaganda tube- due to the fact, that those publications present the clearest version of IS's language. During analysis, word frequency and word concordance were examined.

The language of ISIS is based on religion fundament. This is mirrored in word frequency (the biggest group of words appeal to Islam), but also in imperative and judgmental overtone, typical to religious languages. The Islamic State orders its supporters exactly what to do, and how to do it- it doesn't leave any room for interpretation. Also noticeable is the vivid separation of "us" and "them" and extreme polarization. When it comes to describing Caliphate, used words are mostly positive or neutral. When IS introduce opposite side, the set of words is by far pejorative.

Another group of words appeals to military contexts- war and fight that need to be won in order to save the Caliphate. One of the most interesting set of words refers to the paradise that Caliphate is, and community of brothers that was created around it. Usage of words as "brotherhood", "amongst", "numerous", "families" not only suggests that land of ISIS is great place to be, but also shows that a lot of people have already joined it. This attempt to create a feeling of familiar choice is fairly common when it comes to ISIS communication. It creates delusion, that if that so many people think of it as a paradise – it must be true. To enhance this feeling, Islamic State is using storytelling and human stories of people, who converted to Islam (quotes, "he

said" – more believable information, listener can identify with the hero) or territorial marketing to show how life in Caliphate looks like.

3. Communication dualism – Hero archetype

This vivid separation of "us" and "them" is visible throughout whole ISIS communication. Islamic State is building separate, but coherent brand image in these groups. When it comes to building its image inside "our" group – ISIS is presented as the organization that defends Muslims and creates paradise world – the Caliphate. The propaganda presents it as a land of brotherhood, happiness, heroes, justice and peace. In 'Dabiq', pictures from hospitals with carrying doctors and nurses, pictures from playground with laughing children eating ice cream may be found. In the propagandist movie- 'Greetings from land of Aid", real masterpiece- ISIS warriors spin a tale about wonderful life in caliphate, a place where Prophet's idea of *Ummah* finally becomes a reality. They have little children in one arm, and machine gun in the other. Small children are yelling the name of God and describe what to do with enemies.

Communication directed to enemies group on the other hand, shows destructive, fearless army of Allah that brings certain death. This message is also aimed to "our" group - it shows what would happen if ISIS supporter would have doubts.

Examination of ISIS communication brings authors to conclusion that ISIS brand could be described as being the closest to the Hero/Warrior brand archetype (M. Mark, 2001). 'Hero' wants to prove his worth through courageous acts and improving the world and is driven by ego and honor. He is unforgiving for enemies and protective of his people. That vivid division is noticeable throughout whole ISIS communication system.

Propaganda in a service of genocide

It is crucial to outline first, what the crime of genocide actually is, since the term itself is very often misused. The whole legal concept of the crime was created by polish lawyer of Jewish origin- Raphael Lemkin (R. Lemkin, 2008). Lemkin was also the main architect of the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* adopted by the UN in 1948- the basic element of the international system of penalization of the crime. According to article 2 of the Convention, 'genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such : (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group'. The main element that constitutes the crime and distinguishes it from the war crimes or crimes against humanity therefore is the intent to destroy certain protected- religious, national, ethnic or racial- group (*special intent*, so called *dolus specialis*). The special intent means that perpetrators are killing individual not because of their individual characteristic or personal connection with them, but because the victims are the members of certain persecuted group, that should be destroyed.

Genocide is a process, it never happens overnight. The crime is always carefully prepared and planned (R. Lemkin, 2008). It also the crime, in which propaganda plays crucial role. The future perpetrators need to run people's hearts and minds, have power over their souls, and make them believe in genocidal purpose. The Islamic State activities are designed to achieve that goal. As it was point out earlier, the intent

of genocide is proudly presented by ISIS warriors and ISIS leader, Abu Bakr al Bagdhahdi himself. In his own words, caliphate's warriors should, 'fight them ('infidels'-authors' note) until there is no more strife'. ISIS calls its supporter to fight with infidels in Iraq and Syria, or if they don't have such possibility, in their own countries. This result in more and more brutal terrorists attacks on innocent civilian in France, Denmark, Turkey or Tunis. Propaganda is the crucial tool in this context. Strong brand and active communication help ISIS gather more and more loyal supporters and proceed through the next stages of the crime, as established by Stanton (2013): classification, symbolization, discrimination, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, persecution, extermination and denial.

Stages of the crime

According to above mentioned model, first phase of the crime is a *classification*. It's natural for human to distinguish and classify objects and humans. As Stanton (1998) pointed out, 'all cultures have categories to distinguish people into "us and them" by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality.

In the case of the Islamic State this division is simple and vivid. The line is drawn between the Caliphate (not generally Muslim world, because Muslims that don't believe or practice in proper way- such as Shiahs- or are not radical enough, are automatically excluded from the group of 'us') versus 'the others'- the rest of the world. This line is d fairly clear - black and white.

The next stage after classification is *symbolization*. It is also natural social process that occur in every society – created categories needs to be named. According to Stanton (1998) society puts name to the group, attribute to them some special characteristics or signs. Sometimes physical characteristics - skin color or nose shape – may become the symbols for classifications. Other symbols, like customary dress or facial scars, are socially imposed by groups on their own members. In the case of Islamic State, the language of symbolization is very judgmental, it therefore builds strict separation even on naming level. ISIS tends to distinguish three main categories of enemies; three main categories that constitute the group of 'them'.

First, there are 'crusaders'- so 'infidels' like Christian or Jews, Western Countries, USA and its allies. This designation is strictly referring to historical events from XI and XII century and therefore suggests that 'crusaders' are still planning to subjugate the whole Muslim world.

Second group is composed from the 'apostates'- Muslims that do not support the Caliphate. Semantic of this term is also strongly pejorative and suggests that those Muslims betrayed Prophet and abandoned their religion. It is crucial since, according to Quran, those, who abandoned Islam and become apostates, should be punished with death penalty. Therefore, the way in which not radical enough Muslim are described, may impose serious consequences.

The third group symbolized in IS communication is the Yazidis- a Kurdish religious community whose syncretic religion is linked to Zoroastrianism and ancient Mesopotamian religions. Yazidis are also the most persecuted group. Unlike

Christians or Jews, they are not considered as 'People of the Book'- they are seen as polytheists and Satanists.

Next phase is *discrimination*. During this stage, 'a dominant group uses law, custom, and political power to deny the rights of other groups. The powerless group may not be accorded full civil rights, voting rights, or even citizenship' (Stanton, 2013). As an example, the ISIS' *dhimma* policy may be shown. On conquered territories, the Islamic States forces non-believers to conclude the *dhimma* contract and pay special tax- *Jizya*. Such discriminative policy is supported and justified by Muslim theologians on the ground of the sharia law on the one hand, and propaganda on the other (K. Philips Erb, 2014).

As it was mentioned before, classification and symbolization are fundamental operations in all cultures. However, they become steps of genocide when combined with the next phase from Stanton model (1998)- *dehumanization/demonization*[3]. In this stage future perpetrators of the crime try to persuade other members of the "us" group, that enemies are less than human, so they are not worth living. According to Stanton (1998), 'denial of the humanity of others is the step that permits killing with impunity. The universal human abhorrence of murder of members of one's own group is overcome by treating the victims as less than human'. To the members of prosecuted groups offensive epithets are ascribed. On the one hand, using demonization, perpetrators builds the 'besieged fortress syndrome' in order to show that enemies are extremely dangerous. The 'them' group needs to be destroyed- otherwise it eventually destroys 'us'.

In the case of Islamic State the main enemies- Western Countries and apostates that support them - are presented as spoiled, shirk, without any moral values. They are cold-blooded murders that attack innocent children in Syria. As an example pictures of children bodies burned in bombing runs conducted by US army in one of the 'Dabiq's issue may be presented. ISIS' propaganda also threatens, that 'crusaders' and their 'allies' pursue to the destruction of the caliphate and aim at subordinating themselves whole Muslim world.

Dehumanization can be also clearly seen in the language used by Islamic State's media. Yazidis are picked as 'devil worshippers', 'Satanists' or 'devil creed'. In her testimony, one of the ISIS victims stated: 'He told us that Taus Malik — one of seven angels to whom the Yazidis pray — is not God. He said that Taus Malik is the devil and that because you worship the devil, you belong to us. We can sell you and use you as we see fit.'(cited as in R. Callimanchi, 2015). According to the one of the articles from Dabiq (issue no 9): 'We (ISIS fighters-authors' note) have indeed raided and captured the *kafirah* (non-believers- author's note) women and drove them like sheep by the edge of the sword.'

Consequences of this stage are far beyond propaganda, but affect the official IS law itself. According to official fatwa, Yazidi woman can and should be sexually abused,

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[3] G. Stanton in his paper proposed only the concept of dehumanization, but the others scholars such as W. Schabas, developed the idea pointing out, that in the same time prosecuted groups are very often also demonized. The authors of this paper tilt to this concept, especially due the fact that this mechanism is also vivid in the ISIS' case.

because they are less than human. At is was pointed out, 'Unbelieving [women] who were captured and brought into the abode of Islam are permissible to us.'(cited as in A. Smith, 2014) 'Infidels' are described as 'cancer', stealthy enemies that deserve only to be destroyed or become slaves. One of the ways, in which perpetrators express denial of humanity of theirs victims, is also body mutilation. It is also the case of Islamic State.

As it was mentioned earlier, genocide does not happen overnight. Perpetrators need to build organization frames in order to make crime possible. The next phase, after demonization/dehumanization is thus *organization*. As Stanton (1998) points out, 'the social organization of genocide varies by culture. It reached its most mechanized, bureaucratic form in the Nazi death camps. But it is always organized, whether by the Nazi SS or the Rwandan Interahamwe'. In case of ISIS organization stage includes for instance constitution of the Caliphate, creating IS branding (logo, flag, etc.), starting an active communication, building economic background, global recruitment or military training for warriors.

During next stage, *polarization*, organization need to strengthen the group by eliminating mellow parties inside and in this way inflame the conflict so there's no other solution than confrontation possible. According to Genocide Watch Co-Founder, (Stanton, 1998), 'Genocide proceeds in a downward cycle of killings until, like a whirlpool, it reaches the vortex of mass murder. Killings by one group may provoke revenge killings by the other. Such massacres are aimed at polarization, the systematic elimination of moderates who would slow the cycle.' The Islamic State focuses on fighting with moderate leaders. Once again, ISIS propaganda uses judgmental and pejorative sets of words to describe these groups ("hypocrites", "traitors", ect.). The exemplification of this stage in IS communication could be the cover of 8th issue of the 'Dabiq' magazine. The cover alludes to terrorist attack perpetrated in Charlie Hebdo newspaper office and the reaction of certain Muslim leaders. It shows them with palate 'Je Suis Charlie with short sentence as a comment: 'From Hypocrisy to Apostasy'. Moreover, ISIS matches their words with action- on the conquered territories in Syria or Iraq, less radical leaders are immediately killed.

During next stages- *preparation and presecution*- the crime is directly prearranged. Lists of victims are created, houses of the future victims are marked (ISIS marked Christian homes in Mosul), the stage of execution is designed (ancient amphitheater in Palmira was a stage for execution performed by IS) and the men are separated from women and children. Preparation also includes expropriation of the property of the victims. It may include concentration: herding of the victims into ghettos, stadiums, or churches.

The culmination point of Stanton genocide model is *extermination*. According to Stanton (1998), 'it is considered extermination, rather than murder, because the victims are not considered human. […] Because they are not considered persons, their bodies are mutilated, buried in mass graves or burned like garbage'. In case of ISIS like never before, extermination is not hidden- moreover it's proudly presented and used as a part of brand communication.

The last stage according to Stanton (1998) is *denial*- the perpetrators hide the crime. 'Every genocide is followed by denial. The mass graves are dug up and hidden. The

historical records are burned, or closed to historians. Even during the genocide, those committing the crimes dismiss reports as propaganda'. Using the crime and extermination as a tool in communication process is one of the characteristics of ISIS propaganda. At this point it's hard to determine if this stage would ever appear in case of ISIS genocide, while the pictures of decapitated victims are proudly presented throughout every Islamic State communication channel. Such pride may arise due to strong belief in righteousness of ISIS path and goal but also could appear after the extermination stage is over.

Conclusion

The technological revolution of the cusp of 20th and 21st century brought a boom of new technologies, the development of internet media, social media, mass internet access (e.g. over 50% citizens of Nigeria have internet access on a daily basis) and subsequent democratization of information. As a result, traditional media have decreased in influence (which does not mean they lost it completely). Knowing this, the masterminds behind it changed their ways of leading propaganda campaigns, together with the tools used and ways of using them. As the world is a global village now, it is no longer required to broadcast a program in a major television channel or radio station, to reach millions. It has become much simpler and the message to a single viewer can be concentrated directly at him or her, you can even call it intimate, which makes it that more convincing and attractive. It is a powerful tool in the hands of professionals willing to use it for the purposes of propaganda.

The Islamic State is using technology very skillfully- the daily social media range of the entry 'ISIS' reaches even 720 million people [according to the internet data monitoring via Brand24]- no other propagandist in history had such access to global society. What is more Social Media Monitoring has reported increasing proportion of positive comments according to ISIS brand after next attacks. For instance after attack in Tunis the number of positive comments about ISIS in monitored social media doubled the negative-ones. According to this data, the public opinion support actions of Islamic State. Propaganda is extremely effective and might have an impact on a global scale.

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Classifying and Profiling Social Media Users: An Integrated Approach

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Abstract
The fast evolving business practice and the continuously changing users' profiles attract researchers' interest, such as Brandtzaeg et al. (2010), Brandtzaeg et al. (2007), Constantinides (2011) and Hsuan (2008). However, the current classification studies allows for users' segmentation in specific social media application and only one at a time (e.g. SNS, blogs). Thus, Beemt et al. (2010) and Brandtzaeg et al. (2010) called for integrated classification researches. The study addresses the gap of users' segmentation within all social media applications exploring how Greek users could be classified according to their "motivation of use", "usage patterns" and "social identity" (n=270). This is the first study that attempts to classify users on the basis of their common demographics (age, gender, educational level, income, and marital status), motivations of use, behavioral patterns - such as frequency of use and usual activities-and social identity in the environment of all social media types. The present study explores users' behavior (n=270) by providing a classification scheme along with a detailed profiling of the resulted clusters. Implementing cluster analysis results indicated that users can be classified into three categories ("Information Seekers", 27%, - "Operational and Psychological Boost Benefits Seekers", 47 %- "Communication Seekers", 26%). The "social identity" factor was also used through Anova Test presenting noteworthy differences among the emerging clusters. The current research contributes to develop a users' classification scheme treating social media as one single category. The paper ends by providing theoretical and managerial implications serving helpful insights about social media patterns.

Keywords: Social media users' segmentation, social identity, social media behavior, e-communication

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Introduction

Social media applications are becoming the new communication status quo. Kaplan & Heinlein (2011) categorized them into Social Networking Sites (e.g. Facebook, LinkedIn), Content Communities (e.g. YouTube), Virtual Games/ Worlds (e.g. Second Life), Collaborative Projects (e.g. Wikipedia) and Blogs. Their value is constantly reflected upon in our daily routine and lies in two strands: the social and the business axiom derived from their implementation.

As for the social strand of these new media, Papacharissi &Rubin (2000) pointed out the central role of the Uses & Gratification theory. With the dawn of Net, Papacharissi &Rubin (2000) adapted the classical concepts of Uses and Gratification theory, pioneered by Lazarsfeld (1949) and extended by Katz et al. (1973). According to their results, the main reasons of Internet use are "interpersonal utility, pass time, information seeking, convenience and entertainment" (2000:189). Actually, many people use social media in order to make new friends, keep in touch, to entertain, and boost their confidence and social identity (Hoffman & Novak, 2012; Urista et al., 2007; Boyd et al., 2007; Kraut et al., 1998).

Simultaneously, social media is becoming fast a key instrument and lucrative field from the business perspective thanks to the high consumer engagement offered through social media and web- interactivity (Noort et al., 2012, Pérez Latre& Tsourvakas, 2013). Not only do social media constitute a cost-effective, interactive and, above all, targeted communication tool for every organization (Aaltonen et al., 2013; Statista, 2014), but they also create a co-value for any product or service that can be communicated (Leimeister et al., 2006, Anderson, 200; Vorvoreanu, 2009, Threatt, 2009, Sung et.al, 2010; Nair, 2011). Dominos Pizza exemplifies the co-creation product: the firm invites their customers to create their own pizza named "Dominos Pizza Talent" through a contest within their corporate Facebook channel. "Mama's pizza" is definitely a new co- creative product, as it is a customer- made result
(https://www.facebook.com/DominosGreece?sk=app_149321268577876&app_data).

Undoubtedly, the widespread adoption of these digital media both for social and business reasons has emerged a new communication landscape with new users' patterns. This fast evolving business practice and the continuously changing users' profiles attract researchers' interest, such as Brandtzaeg & Heim (2011), Constantinides et al. (2011) and Hsuan (2008). However, very little is known regarding the users' segmentation and profiles in the context of all social media applications, addressing the research call of Kalmus& Pruulmann- Vengerfeldt (2009), Beemt et al. (2010) and Brandtzaeg & Heim (2011). While the available classifications attempt to focus on specific social media applications (e.g. SNS, blogs and only one at a time), no previous study attempted to develop a users' classification scheme treating social media as one single category. This study addresses this gap by employing behavioral data as the segmentation variables on the basis of Uses& Gratification Theory by Papacharissi &Rubin (2000). The survey extends knowledge about identification of social media users within all social media.

The present study attempts to segment Greek social media users according to their demographic and behavioral characteristics (e.g. Purpose of use, usual activities). This

study's contribution is reflected both on the presentation of new theoretical insights and the provision of interesting implications for enterprises eager to use this new communication tool.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 analyses the relevant theoretical framework. Section 3 presents the research methodology. Section 4 includes in depth analysis and elaboration on the results. Section 5 draws conclusions of the study and highlights the theoretical and practical implications as well as proposes avenues for further research.

Literature Review

Definitions and Internet Users' Classification Schemes

Smith set the premises of "segmentation concept" in 1956 mentioning the advantage of segmentation to enterprises. Hopkings (1968) defined segment as "a recognizable group of people that have common requirements that could play a vital role to the strategic marketing management of a product" (Siomkos, 2004:358). Usual criteria of segmentation are demographics, geographical density of population or geographical place of consumers, behavioral with variables like the frequency of use of a product, level of adoption, volume of usage, usage situation, and psychographics with variables such as lifestyle, personality, values and opinions.

So far several academics have created typologies of Internet users according to various criteria, such as their usual activities on the Net of Net Generation (Beemt et. al., 2010), time spent on-line (Forysth et al., 2000), psychographics (Assael, 2005) and users'culture (Johnston & Parminder, 1999). Furthermore, Meyen et al. (2009) found that behavior depends on demographical criteria, such as age, sex, status and occupation. Additionally, based on the premises of social capital theory Meyen et al. (2009) customized the media richness theory within Internet and created the following typology consisting of 7 segments "Virtuosi", "Professionals", "Addicts", "Affiocandos", "Companions", "Cautious" and "Affiliated. Moreover, Aljukhadal and Senecal (2010) divided Internet Users in 3 categories labeled "Basic Communicators", "Lurking Shoppers" and "Social Thrives". Finally, Brandtzaeg et al.(2010) trying to segment Internet users according to their usage patterns, created a typology with 5 segments, namely "Non-Users", "Sporadic Users", "Instrumental Users", "Entertainment Users" & "Advanced Users".

Social Media Users Typologies Review

Until now a lack of extensive classification schemes regarding users the totality of 6 types of Social Media (Blogs, Content Communities, Social Networking Sites (hereinafter SNS), Virtual Worlds- Games, and Collaborative Projects) is noticed, which can be mainly attributed to the Social Media's short "life–cycle". The only prior segmentation of social media users was conducted this year by Strickland (2013) and attempted to investigate the classification of social media users according to their influence in the social media arena. The emerged profiles users were named as follows: "Social Movers", "Actively Liked", "Reserves'" and "Listeners". Thus, the available typologies are presented below concerning, however, only the cases of SNS, Content Communities and Blogs.

SNS attract academia's attention. So far, many researchers have attempted to classified users of SNS such as Kozinets (1999), Johnson& Smaragdi (2001), Nielsen (2006), OFCOM(2008), Brandtzaeg & Heim (2011) and Constantinides et al.(2011).

Usual motivation of Content Communities users is information seeking, social interaction, diffusion of ideas and knowledge, self- presentation and personal fulfillment. Moreover, age constitutes an important predictor with content sharing being much more common among younger people (Stefanone& Lackaff, 2009; Kalmus et al., 2009). So far, only Courtois et al, (2009) & (2011) and Hsuan (2008) attempted to segment content communities users.

Blogs have a wide range of topics and formats, ranging from personal diaries to a forum commenting on and reviewing political, financial, technological and various other issues. Basic motivation of using a blog is the interactive communication, the freedom of expression among bloggers, the boost of social capital or self – esteem and positive social identity (Miura& Yamashita, 2007). According to Chung& Chiou (2009) factors affecting users' devotion to blogs are the perceived benefits and the pressure/ feedback that users receive from their cycle. Several studies have been carried out on segmentation of bloggers (e.g. Kalmus et al., 2009; Budak et al., 2011; Mathioudaki&Koudas, 2011). The key segmentation studies deployed until now are presented in the Table 1.

Table 1: Summary table of Key Segmentation studies in Social Media

Citation- Typology's Focus	Design/Method	Sample	Purpose	Findings/ Preposition
Kalmus, Runnel and Siibak (2009), Typology of Bloggers	Quantitative Research, Survey, Cluster analysis	(N =) 713 among 11- to 18-year old	To research the behavior in terms of online content creation among young Internet users in Estonia	"The Versatile, Blog-Centered Type", "The Homepage Centered Type", "The SNS-Centered Type", "The Forum Centered Type", "The News-Comment Centered Type", "Indifferent Type"
Budak, Agrawal, Abbadi,(2011), Typology of Bloggers	Algorithms; Measurement	N/A	To investigate existence of mavens, connectors and salesmen in the blogosphere	"Connectors", "Mavens", "Salesmen" and "Translators"
Mathioudaki & Koudas (2011), Typology of Bloggers	Experiment	N/A	To define the notions of `starters' and	"Starters" & "Followers"

			`followers' and investigate their computation in real blog tracking systems.	
Courtois, Merchant, Ostyn&Lieven De Marez(2009), Typology of users in Content Communities & collaborative Projects	Qualitative Research (Interviews), Quantitative Research Hypothesis Test	(N=)450	To explore how uploaders define their videos' viewership, given the inherent uncertainty of its actual composition	"An offline identified public'', "An – online identified public and "An online unidentified public''.
Hsuan (2008), Typology of users in Content Communities & collaborative Projects	Quantitative Research , Web-based survey	(N=)1,055	To segment the users according to their behavior within the Content Communities	"Neither consume nor create content", "Only consume content", "only create content", "Both consume and create content"
Kozinets (1999), Segmentation of SNS user	Theortical Review	N/A	To segments users of SNS	"Tourists", "Minglers", "Devotees" and "Insiders".
Johnson& Smaragdi (2001), typology in New Media	Quantitative Research, Survey, Cluster analysis	N/A	To segments users according to their patterns of usage within new media and other areas of us	"Low media users", "Traditional media users", ""Specialists'' and "Screen-entertainment fans''
Nielsen (2006), typology of users in Social Media	Quantitative Research, Survey	(N=)2 m.	To segment users in Social Media context according to the degree degree of users	"Luckers", "Interminents"and "Heavy contributors"

			participation	
OFCOM(2008), Typology of Users in SNS	Qualitative Research	(N=)52	To identify, explore and understand the behaviors, attitudes and barriers to people's use of social networking sites	"Aplha Socializers Users", "Attention Seekers", "Followers", "Faithfull" and "Functionals"
Brandtzaeg& Heim (2011), Typology of Norwegian Users in SNS	Quantitative& Qualitative analysis, Survey, Cluster analysis	(N=)5,233	To classify SNS users according to their patterns	"Sporadics", "Luckers", "Socializers", "Debaters" and "Actives"
Constantinides (2011)	Quantitative Research, Survey, Cluster analysis	(N=)400	To segment Dutch users of SNS according to their the demographic, social and behavioral characteristics	"Beginners", "Habitual Users", "Outstanding Users" and "Expert Users"
Strickland (2013),classification of the social media influencers	Qualitative Research	(N=) 6500	To segment USA social media users according to their influence	"Social Movers" (High Influence), "Actively Liked" (Medium Influence), "Reservers" (Low Influence),"Listeners" (No Influence)

While the available classification schemes are focused on specific social media categories (e.g. SNS, blogs and only one at a time), the present study aims to develop a users' classification scheme treating social media as one single category and employing motivational and behavioral data as the segmentation variables. Then, in case different segments/clusters emerge, the labeling and detailed profiling (e.g. demographic and behavioral data) of the resulted clusters will follow. Therefore, we explore the following research questions:

RQ1: How could be social media users segmented according to their "motivation of use" and "usage patterns"?
RQ2: In case different Social Media users' segments are created, do these segments differ in all factors that have been employed for the segmentation process?

Consumer Behavior & Social Media Theories

Based on the central concept of "uses and gratifications theory" in which people use communications media to gratify needs or wants, Papacharissi & Rubin (2000) identified five different motives for Internet use: *"interpersonal utility, pass time, information seeking, convenience and entertainment"* (2000:189). Indeed, the last decade more and more people use Net not only for instrumental reasons but also for social purposes. Some people log in various SNS to extend their social networks or communicate with their friends while other prefer Virtual Worlds, Blogs or Content Communities in order to entertain, boost either their social capital, or their social identity and confidence (Hoffman & Novak, 2012; Urista et al.,2007; Ellison et al.,2007; Kraut et al.,1998).

According to Utz (2010) the appearance of Net brought to the spotlight new theories, such as "Impression Formation" and "Social Identity". Especially, the Net's unique characteristics (such as anonymity or absence of verbal and face to face cues) in the SNS' context allowed users to expand their ties and format their identity and booster their level of collective self – esteem as well as their sense of group belonging. (Turkle1995;Boyd& Elisson, 2007; Donath& Boyd, 2004; Elisson et al, 2007; Walther, 1996, McKenna et al. 2000; Valenzuela et al. 2006). Other researchers examined the relationship between social identity and psychological well- being with SNS. According to Baker (2009), social identity is directly correlated to collective identity and collective self-esteem. Valkenburg et al. (2006) found that low self-esteem can impel adolescents, particularly girls, to use the Internet more often in identity exploration, while Elison et al. (2007) concluded that Web provides benefits for users with low self- esteem. Thus, we formulate the following research question:
 RQ3: Are significant differences noticed between segments towards the social identity dimension regarding the use of social media?

Concluding the available segmentation studies examined users' behavior within specific social media kinds. This paper provides a users' classification scheme within all social media platforms examining the following research questions:
RQ1: How could be social media users segmented according to their "motivation of use" and "usage patterns"?
RQ2: In case different social media users' segments are created, do these segments differ in all factors that have been employed for the segmentation process?
RQ3: Are significant differences identified between segments towards the social identity dimension regarding the use of social media?

Method

For the purpose of the current study, a questionnaire served as a data collection instrument. The convenience sample was used. We obtained data from 280 Greek social media users within age from 18 to plus 65 years old. We also excluded ten answers because they were invalid.

As for the demographic criteria, we examined factors such as age, gender, educational level, income, marital status and as for the behavioural criteria, parameters like the behaviour that each user possess within Social Media.

We also distributed a pre- test questionnaire to 10 respondents in order to examine questionnaire's credibility and comprehension. The questionnaire was composed of 23 questions and based on a combination of closed-ended, dichotomous and multichotomous, multiple choice intervals (Likert) – scales. The questionnaire was divided into 3 parts.

We developed an exploratory quantitative research and analysed the data with the statistical program SPSS. Before conducting the cluster analysis, we used Factor Analysis in order to explore whether separate items could be grouped into underlying factors that would be used for the cluster analysis (i.e. instead of single items-questions). Then, we used cluster analysis to determine different clusters of social media users based on the criteria of (a) the motivation of use (question 15) and (b) the usual activities in the environment of Social Media(question 16). Since the number of clusters was unknown in the beginning, we used Hierarchical Clustering with Wards method. Having obtained 3 clusters, we employed the k-means cluster to fulfill the cluster membership. Furthermore, descriptive statistics tests and cross- tab tests revealed interesting findings about the correlation of clusters and various variables, such as socio-demographic characteristics, aptitude, motivation of use, experience and activities of Social Media users, the number of personal accounts, friends and way of access that panel sample members have in each social media kind. Through One way ANOVA and Post- Hoc test we identified the significant differences between the emerged segments. Finally, One Way ANOVA and Post Hoc test revealed the correlation between the cluster and the dependent variables such as the construct of collective- esteem (question 17, items 11-21).

Results & Discussion

To address the RQ1 and RQ2, before the cluster analysis, we first used Factor Analysis in order to explore whether separate items could be grouped into underlying factors that would be used for the cluster analysis (i.e. instead of single items-questions). Thus, through the Principal Component Rotation Varimax method, we extracted communalities with the lowest percentage of variance among the examined variables. The key dependent variable of the sample that was classified into 3 types users was "the reason of social media use" and "the usual activities" each segment has within social media'. Since, KMO= 0.880>0.50, Approx. Chi-Square 2991,362, sig: 0.001< 0.05, df 210, Factor Analysis was used. The Varimax Rotation Matrix reduced the initial 30 items in 22 items in 4 factors identifying types of uses as shown in the Table 2.

Table 2: KMO & Factor Loadings- Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,880
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	299 1,362
	df	210
	Sig.	,000

Factor Loadings- Factor Analysis

Factors	**Factor Loadings**
Factor 1- Operational Reason and Activities	Sharing Files_ activities(0,818), Commenting the posts_ activities (0,789), Referring to the daily routine_ activities(0,730), Sending private messages_ activities (0,723), Tags_ activities(0,722), Profile Update(0,703), Sharing_ Reason(0,682), Gossip_ activities(0,667)
Factor 2- Communication	Sending public messages (0,701), To stay in touch with the family_ reason(0,699), To stay in touch with friends and acquaintances_ reason(0,682), Searching information for issues that I am interested to_ activities (0,672),inform about events_ reason(0,506)
Factor 3- Information	To retrieve information about various duties(homework, job)_reason (0,887), To watch videos(0,772), To get information that I can't through traditional media_ reason(0,746), To learn more information about something that I heard about_ reason(0,739)
Factor 4- Psychological Boost	To reduce my loneliness_ reason(0,816), To boost my confidence (0,761), To learn more about myself and others _ reason(0,6380), To exchange opinions_ reason(0,580)

Initially, we used Hierarchical Analysis to identify the number of clusters in which the sample's observations will be group into. Having obtained 3 clusters, we also deployed the k-means cluster to fulfill the cluster membership.

Table 3: Oneway ANOVA Descriptive & Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Oneway ANOVA Descriptive & Test of Homogeneity		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
REGR factor 1score,	1	73	- 1,016	0,613				
Operational	2	128	0,695	0,653	4,564	2	267	0,011

Reasons	3	69	-0,214	0,831			
	Total	270	0	1			
REGR factor2 score, Communication	1	73	-0,249	1,262			
	2	128	-0,007	0,764			
	3	69	0,276	1,015			
	Total	270	0	1	8,103	2	267	0,000
REGR factor 3 score, Information	1	73	0,646	0,697			
	2	128	0,301	0,552			
	3	69	-1,243	0,824			
	Total	270	0	1	7,759	2	267	0,001
REGR factor 4 score, Psychological Boost	1	73	-0,277	0,820			
	2	128	0,319	1,100			
	3	69	-0,298	0,784			
	Total	270	0	1	5,317	2	267	0,005

Given the K- Means Cluster Analysis, three distinct types of users emerged reflecting different behavioral patterns and motivation of social media use. These three types are Information Seekers, Operational Benefits& Psychological Boost Seekers and Communication Seekers, respectively. According to the figure below, Operational Benefits and Psychological Boost Seekers is the biggest cluster (47.4%), followed by Information Seekers (27%) and Communication Seekers (26%).
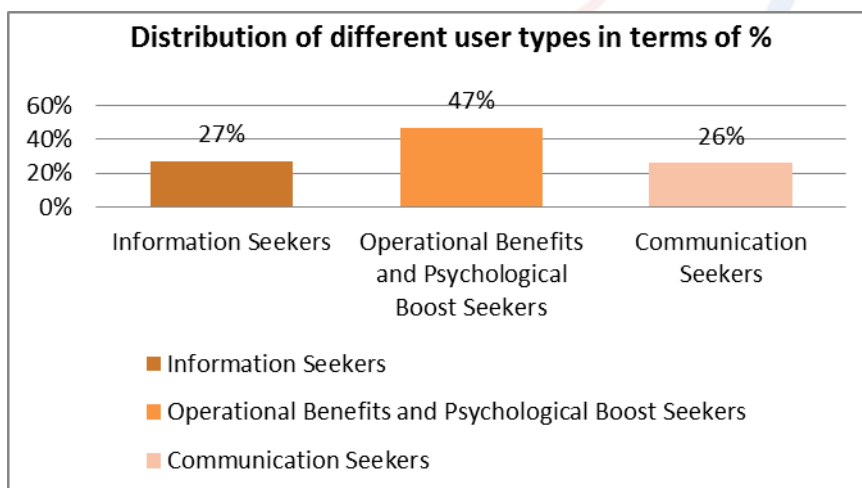
Figure 1: Distribution of different user types in terms of %

Additionally, we implemented one way ANOVA test to identify the significant differences between the emerged segments (Table 4). Likewise, one Way ANOVA test was also employed to identify the correlation between the cluster and the dependent variables comparing means such as the construct of collective- esteem- social identity(Cronbach's Alpha 0.746>0.07 (question 17, items 11-21, Tables5-7, RQ3).

Table 4: ANOVA Test between clusters

– ANOVA FOR 4 FACTORS		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
REGR factor 1 score, Operational Reasons	Between Groups	140,639	2	70,319	146,269	0,000
	Within Groups	128,361	267	0,481		
	Total	269,000	269			
REGR factor score 2, Communication	Between Groups	9,833	2	4,917	5,065	0,007
	Within Groups	259,167	267	0,971		
	Total	269,000	269			
REGR factor score 3, Information	Between Groups	148,912	2	74,456	165,544	0,000
	Within Groups	120,088	267	0,450		
	Total	269,000	269			
REGR factor score 4, Psychological Boost	Between Groups	24,817	2	12,408	13,568	0,000
	Within Groups	244,183	267	0,915		
	Total	269,000	269			

Labeling and Detailed Profiling of the resulted Clusters
The clusters derived from the aforementioned analysis are analytically described in the following section.

1. Information Seekers: This cluster comprises 27% of the sample. These users engage in information and oriented activities in the social media, while they abstain from communication activities. As for the demographic analysis, they are young women (25 -35, 13.7%) with a low (41%) and middle class background (14%) and high educational level – holding bachelor (34%) and Master/PhD (18%). They are experienced users of the Internet (18.9%) but they are not equally tech-savvy. Their preferred log in device is their PC (20.7%). Information Seekers prefer blogs to other social media in which they have no account (blogs: 14.8%, content communities: 14.1% and games: 20.7%) or only one account in the case of SNS (10.7 %) and Content Communities (11.5%). Consequently, the majority of them has no friends in the case of Games (21.9%), Blogs (17.8%) and Content Communities (19.3%) or few friends that are not more 50 in the context of SNS(4.1.%). Hierarchically, after blogs, they prefer Content Communities, then SNS and finally Virtual Worlds/ Games. Furthermore, the results showed that these users visit blogs on a daily basis (9.6%),

Content Communities (16%) and SNS (10.7%), contrary to Games where only the 3% visit so often. As a result, users seeking information are more active and extrovert on blogs, since they like to comment and share content contrary to other social media applications. Generally speaking, they are content consumers in the context of all social media applications, showing/featuring a passive behavior and encompassing the highest abstention levels inform content creation (Blogs: 18.1%, SNS: 14.1%, Games: 23.7%, Content Com.18.9%). Furthermore, regarding their behavioral patterns on the Internet, the majority of these users surf only for instrumental reasons, such as collecting information (24%), reading newspapers (21,8%), downloading files (14%) and using e-banking services (6.1%) .This user group generally features a high level of internet literacy (18.9% of the segment have been using Net for more than 5 years) and engages in a mediocre daily use (11.5%surf on the Net on 5-13 hours / per week). As for their attitude towards technology, these users are not so techno- savvy as the mean difference of the Post- hoc test has shown (m=- 1.968, sig: .0000). According to ANOVA Test results (sig: 0.09>0.05), there is no correlation between social identity and users seeking information: therefore, these users are not identified socially by their participation in social media.

2. Operational and Psychological Boost Benefits Seekers: This cluster which represents the sample majority (47. 4% of the sample) comprises women and men from 25 to 35 years with high educational level (students or holders of Bachelor or Master Degrees) and low-middle class background. These users prefer social media for operational and psychological purposes, such as communication, sharing files, boost of confidence or reduction of loneliness. They are techno- savvy, as they exploit all web – services and have the most positive attitude towards the technology. This group exploits all benefits of the Internet, such as downloading music (28.9%), sending messages (25.9%), ordering products (23%), playing games (17.3%), seeking travel information (26.2%), seeking jobs (12.6%), reading newspapers (38.9%), and retrieving educational or working information (40.7%). The main reason of their participation in social media is the ease of use, entertainment as well as the psychological boost that Social Media platforms offer. That is the reason why they log both via mobile (13.3%) and PC (32.6%). Consequently, most of them hierarchically use SNS, Content Communities, Blogs and last, Virtual Wolds/Games. The majority of them have at least one account in Content Communities (24.8%) and SNS (23%) where the 21.1% may have from two to four accounts. On the contrary, the majority of these users have no account in Blogs (26.7%), Games (33.3%). They prefer mainly SNS, where they have more than 2 accounts with more than 400 friends. Content Communities are followed with 1-2 accounts and less than 150 friends. Games are last in the ranking, since the half sample doesn't have an account, while the other half seems to have 2-3 with less than 100 contacts. As for the social capital, the biggest social capital emerges in the SNS example, with the 19.6% having more than 400 friends and minorities of 1.5% with friends between 11- 50 people, in contrast to the other social media application where the majority have no friends (Blogs: 26.3%, Games: 32.2%, Content communities: 24.8%) or very few contacts -maximum 10 friends- (Blogs: 9.3%, Games: 4.1%, Content Communities: 9.3%). From them, the 36.5% visit Content Communities on a daily basis. The 41.4% visit daily SNS, while the 21.5% have daily use of blogs and the 4.8% visiting Games. They are by far the most active and extrovert users, since they comment and engage on a daily basis with posts uploaded on SNS, Blogs, Content Communities and 3-4 times/week in the context of Virtual Games. They comment weekly on blogs (15.6%) and Content

Communities (13%), daily the SNS (26.7%) and a small minority of 5% comment weekly the content of Games. They are "content consumers" preferring commenting to creating their own content. Nevertheless, in SNS they are described as content – consumers, because they "produce" content daily (22.3%). Moreover, ANOVA Post Hoc Test showed that Operational and Psychological Boost seekers have the most positive attitude to Technology, compared to Information and Communication Seekers (m= 1,968, sig:.000 and m= 1,487,sig:0.004, accordingly). As a result, they surf for more than 13 hours on the Net weekly (21.5%) and they are experienced users of the Net (44.8%). Regarding the correlation between cluster and social identity, ANOVA Test (sig: 0.00<0.05) showed a significant statistical correlation between these two variables, contrary to the previous user profiles.

3. Communication Seekers: This is the smallest cluster, as it includes the 25.6 % of the sample. Communication Seekers are less technology affiliated than the other user types. Here women between 18-24 years of low- middle class dominate. Concerning their on-line behavior, these users claim the highest percentage in activities such as chatting and watching films (15.2%). The majority of them type surf for about 5-13 hours on a weekly basis (11.1%) and they are also experienced Web users (18.9%). They lie between the "Information Seekers" and the "Operational & Psychological Benefits Seekers" in terms of technology affiliation. They primarily use SNS, then Content Communities, after Blogs and, last, Virtual Worlds/ Games. They log in via their PC (17.8%), while access from mobile devices (mobiles: 0.7%, PC and mobile: 7%) remains premature within this category. Individuals of this cluster use social media for communication purposes; in order to stay in touch with friends and acquaintances, to be informed about events and activities of groups or organizations, to search for information, to send private messages, send public messages comment and gossip. Consequently, they visit Blogs once a week (9.6%), SNS and Content Communities on a daily basis (15.2%), while they abstain from Games (18.5%). The majority of them have no friends or few friends (10) in the case of Blogs (18.5% and 3%), Games (21.5% and 8.5%) and Content Communities (18.5% and 4.1%). On the contrary, in the context of SNS the 9.6 % have from 101- 400 friends, while the 5.6% have more than 400 contacts. Communication Seekers have no or one account in blogs (16.7%, 6.7%), games (20.4%, 4.1%), at least one account in SNS (13.3%) or two (5.9%) and no one (11.9%) or one account (10.7%) in the Content Communities. They are also proven content consumers, since they tend to consume and not to create except for the case of SNS where they upload content on a daily basis (9.3%). Having communicative motives, they rarely – twice a week- comment and interact via posts in blogs and SNS (7.8% and 8.5%, respectively) and abstain from Games and Content Communities (22.2% and 15.6% answered ''never'') or they would comment once a week (2.6% and 5.9%, respectively). According to the ANOVA Post- Hoc these users have no correlation with technology. (m= 0.48144, sig: .624).Finally the findings of ANOVA Test (sig: 0.00<0.05) revealed a significantly higher statistic relation between their participation in on-line communities and the social identity, compared to the rest of the clusters.

In order to address the RQ2, ANOVA and Post- Hoc Tukey Test (Table 5)for each of 4 factors (Operational Benefits, Communication, Information, and Psychological Boost) was employed to assess how distinct the clusters are. With regards to Factor "Operational Benefits" it was showed that the Operational and Psychological Benefits Seekers have bigger mean difference than the Information Seekers (mean difference:

1.712, sig: .001) and Communication Seekers (mean difference: .910 & sig: .001) because these users prefer Social Media for entertainment and operational proposes. As for the Multiple Comparison among the Information & Communication Seekers, the study shows that Information Seekers are not so affiliated with this factor as Communication Seekers (mean difference: -.802, sig:.001). In terms of the second Factor "Communication", an important statistical correlation is identified only between the Information and Communication Seekers, with the latest being more affiliated (mean difference: .526 and sig: .005) than Information Seekers. Regarding the 3rd Factor "Information", Information Seekers show a more intense relationship (mean difference: .345 and sig: .002) than the Psychological& Operational Benefits Seekers and Communication Seekers (mean difference: 1.890, sig:.001). Furthermore, Psychological& Operational Benefits revealed a bigger relation with this factor than Communication Seekers (mean difference: 1. 545 and sig: .001). Finally, as for the 4th factor (Psychological Boost), Psychological &Operational Benefits Seekers have a bigger relation to this factor than the Information Seekers (mean difference: .597 and sig: .001), but lower than the Communication Seekers (mean difference: .617 and sig: .001).

Table 5: Post- hoc Tests Tukey HSD among all factors and clusters

Regr. Factor 1: Operational Benefits			
Cluster	**Comparison Cluster**	**Mean Difference**	**Sig.**
Psychological and operational benefits Seeker	Information Seekers	1,712	000
Psychological & operational benefit Seekers	Communication Seekers	910	000
Information Seekers	Communication Seekers	,802	000
Regr. Factor 2: Communication			
Cluster	**Comparison Cluster**	**Mean Difference**	**Sig.**
Communication Seekers	Information Seekers	526	005
Communication Seekers	Psychological &operational benefit Seekers	284,	132
Information Seekers	Psychological &operational benefit Seekers	,242	217
Regr. Factor 3: Information			
Cluster	**Comparison Cluster**	**Mean Difference**	**Sig.**
Information Seekers	Psychological &Operational Benefits Seekers	,345	002
Information Seekers	Communication Seekers	1,890	000

Psychological &Operational Benefits Seekers	Communication Seekers	1,545	000
Regr. Factor 4:Psychological Boost			
Cluster	**Comparison Cluster**	**Mean Difference**	**Sig.**
Psychological &Operational Benefits Seekers	Information Seekers	,597	000
Psychological &Operational Benefits Seekers	Communication Seekers	,617	000
Psychological &Operational Benefits Seekers	Information Seekers	,597	000

Examining the RQ3, whether or not significant differences are noticed among users types towards the Social Identity variable (Cronbach's Alpha 0.746 >0. 7) employing the ANOVA (Table 6, Table 7) and Post Hoc Tukey HSD Test (Table 7)statistically significant differences (sig: 0. 001< 0.05) are emerged only between the cluster of Communication Seekers and Operational & Psychological Benefits Seekers.

Table 6: Oneway ANOVA Descriptive & Test of Homogeneity of Variances between Clusters and Social Identity

ANOVA BETWEEN CLUSTERS & SOCIAL IDENTIY								
REGR, Clusters (I) for Social Identity (D)		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
	1	73	26,973	6,416	2,918	2	267	0,056
	2	128	30,719	5,432				
	3	69	26,362	5,993				
	Total	270	28,593	6,178				

Table 7: ANOVA among Clusters (I) & Social Identity (D)

ANOVA AMONG CLUSTERS (I)& SOCIAL IDENTITY (D)						
ANOVA among clusters (i)& social identity (d)		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Between Groups	1113,42	2	556,711	16,238	0,000
	Within Groups	9153,76	267	34,284		
	Total	10267,2	269			

Table 8: Post Hoc Test Tukey HSD, between Clusters - Social Identity

(I) Cluster Number of Case	(J) Cluster Number of Case	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
1	2	-3,746[*]	0,85	0,001
	3	0,610	0,98	0,809
2	1	3,746[*]	0,85	0,001
	3	4,356[*]	0,87	0,001
3	1	-0,610	0,98	0,809
	2	-4,356[*]	0,87	0,001

According to the findings, social media affect more Operational& Psychological Benefits Seekers than Communication Seekers. Finally, Information Seekers are not identified socially through the social media use revealing the lowest correlation.

Conclusion

This study has identified three types of social media users according to demographics and behavioral patterns: the Information Seekers, the Operational &Psychological Benefits Seekers, and the Communication Seekers.

Information Seekers prefer primarily blogs rather than the other social media. Their second choice is Content Communities. Then, SNS and Virtual Worlds/ Games follow. These users visit blogs daily. Within other applications, they reported a passive and non- frequent use. Therefore, they have few accounts and few friends. ANOVA (one way) revealed no significant differences between these users and social identity. This result may be explained because these users surf on the Net for informational or instrumental reasons. The Information Seekers segment is consistent with Mathioudakis&Koudas (2011), Hsuan (2008), Constantinides et al. (2011) and Brandtzaeg&Heim (2011).

The cluster of Operational and Psychological Benefits Seekers includes the majority of users, distributed equally between men and women of 25-35 years old. Their basic incentive is the ease of use and all its advantages. Thus, they have numerous accounts and vast friends. Moreover, they log in social media both via mobile and via PC. Consequently, most of them firstly use SNS, secondly Content Communities, thirdly Blogs, and finally, Virtual Wolds/Games. The majority have the biggest number of accounts in each social media category (especially in the case of SNS, they usually have more than 2-3 accounts), more than 250 friends and they visit social media very

often. They perceived their participation through these communities as an important part of their social identity. This result may be explained by the popularity of SNS and the demographic profile of the users (young people). This cluster has a bigger correlation with the social identity. A possible explanation for this is that operational and psychological benefits are the main reason of use. This finding is identical to Aljukhadar& Senecal, (2010), Brandtzæg& Heim, (2011), Hsuan (2008) and Constantinides et al. (2011).

Finally, Communication Seekers use Social Media purely for communication purposes. Communication Seekers are young "content consumers" and perceive social media as a great communication medium. These patterns may partly be explained by the fact that they use Internet to communicate. Consequently, they have many friends and accounts. They prefer surfing SNS, Content Communities, Blogs and Virtual Worlds Games. Thus, they are habitual bloggers, average users of Content Communities, expert in SNS while they abstain from Games. Also, they do believe that their participation affect their social identity. Compared to the other clusters they usually log in via their mobiles, rather than their PCs. These results identified consistencies with Aljukhadar& Senecal, (2010), Brandtzæg &Heim (2011) and Constantinides, 2011.

Overall, this study consolidates previous findings and extends our current knowledge about the patterns of social media users. The research further shows significant differences between the emerged clusters and the factor of social identity. Hence, this typology provides meaningful insights to marketing practitioners addressing Wang's et al (2012) call for identification of users. Understanding users helps organizations to develop a customized strategy for launching successfully products in the social media arena.

Limitations & Further Research

During the research several limitations have to be considered. First, the limited bibliography within the segmentation of users in all Social Media categories was predictable given that each of 6 instruments has unique characteristics. Second, another important limitation was the absence of intercultural holistic study concerning the differences in use between Greek users and European users.

Beyond any doubt the marketing aspect of Social Media is a versatile field offering an enormous research potential. This research could be expanded by creating a more detailed segmentation of users by inserting complementary factors, namely psychographics criteria. Finally, a prosperous field would be this typology to be re-examined towards the variable of Word of Mouth.

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Impact of Motivation on Job Performance in Nigeria Broadcast Industry

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ABSTRACT
This study was carried out to know the impact of monetary incentives as a motivator on job performance in broadcast organization. The scope is restricted to two broadcast stations in Abeokuta metropolis OGBC and rock city FM. The study highlights the design of the study, sample, measuring instruments and the procedure followed in establishing the impact of incentives on job performance. Questionnaire survey method was used in collecting the data. The subject who are employees of OGBC and Rock City FM comprise of 126 males and 84 females. The research hypotheses were tested, with one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and independent test. One of the hypotheses tested was significant, while other two were not. At less than 0.005 of significance, there was a positive relationship between monetary incentives and job performance. The same positive relationship applies between marital status, job title and job performance all this were significant as less 0.5 level of significance. Findings suggest that monetary incentives have a great impact on the job performance of Nigerian employees in broadcast media organizations. It was recommended that manager and administrator of the Nigerians media industry should apply appropriate incentive as motivation to enhance the job performance of their staff. This is required for the achievement of the cooperate objectives of the organizations.

Keywords: Monetary incentives, Motivation, Impact, Job performance

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INTRODUCTION

All forms of motivation aim at satisfying desires that will lead to improved productivity or performance for the achievement of organizational goals. The use of working incentives to achieve this purpose is not an exception. Every worker has certain needs and the satisfaction of which are needed to enhance his productivity. Moreover, individuals work to gain rewards for their efforts. This exchange of labour for financial rewards is the heart of compensation process. Money is the basic compensation employees receive. It usually comes in the form of wages or salaries. The general global assumption related to work is to earn money. However, it has been postulated by Smith and Wath (1972) that some needs are satisfied without work. For instance, man needs oxygen to breath and he had it. However, man's needs are usually satisfied by wages attended to the work itself. Fredrick Taylor's classical theory states that "people work for money and they will work harder, if they can earn money". (Fulner, 1977:139). This theory is predicated upon the belief that a worker would follow whichever course is most financially rewarding to him. A worker would follow whichever course is most financially rewarding to him. A worker will perform better if he believes that money will follow effective performance.

Financial compensation is also a means of growth motivation. From the view point of the organization, people are compensated for performance through an increase in their wages, One can only hope that compensation can be used as one measure of how well employees have grown in their performance an capacities. It can also serve as a means of motivating higher performance. Increased monetary compensation can serve as a goal for which people will strike if they realize monetary compensation can serve as a goal for which people will strike if they realize that greater effort will fetch them higher wages. However, the amount of money that motivates one employee to produce more, may not motivate another employee. So, if money has a positive values for an individual, higher performance will follow. Money, can therefore help to increase job motivation. The importance of money has been demonstrated in the lives of all of us: clergymen/Imams, businessmen and industrial psychologists. (Gellerman, 1967) places great importance on the symbolic value of money for producing motivation and for reducing dissatisfaction among workers.

Generally, this implies that monetary incentives may be a factor of job satisfaction and motivation.
Empirical evidence has shown that lack of good monetary incentives has been responsible for rampant strike and industrial disputes by Nigerian workers. In a recent conflict between Polytechnic lecturers and Federal Government, the major cause of the conflict which later became a slogan is that "my take home cannot take me home".
However, to some individuals, money can solve all problems. To the biblical King Solomon. "Money answereth all things" (Ecclesiastes 10:19). This corroborates the point that money is as an important motivator.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Money is a major motivational factor that cannot be underestimated by most workers. Empirical evidence has shown that money plays an important role in motivating a worker into greater productivity. In this study we attempt to find out the extent to which money motivates employees to greater performance. It therefore seek to answer the following questions:

    (1) Is money all that a worker needs to motivate him to a greater performance?

(2) Does money motivate all employees?

(3) To what extent does money motivate to better performance?

(4) What exactly do workers want from their job?

1.3 OBJECTIVER OF THE STUDY

1. To find out if there is any causal relationship between monetary incentives and job performance.
2. To find out whether there is relationship between increase in monetary incentives and job performance.
3. To find out whether monetary incentives have any impact in the Nigerian context.
4. To find out whether monetary incentives have similar effect on all categories of workers.
5. To find out which variables of sex, age, level of education and mental status determines the extent of the impact of monetary incentives on performance.
6. To proffers solutions as how to use monetary incentives for greater productivity.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions guided the study:

1) To what extent will employees motivated by the monetary incentives perform than employees who not motivated in the monetary incentives?
2) How effective will lower qualifications staff perform with the monetary incentives than intermediate and senior employees?
3) To what extent will lower qualifications staff perform with the monetary incentives, compared with employees with higher qualifications?

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

To interpret the result of the study, the following hypothesis were formulated and tested:

1) H0: There is significant difference in the performance of employees who are motivated by monetary incentives than employees who are not motivated with monetary incentives.
2) H0: There is no significant difference in the performance of junior employees, intermediate and senior employees with monetary incentives.
3) H0: The extent to which lower qualification employees will perform will be better in the monetary incentives than employees by the higher qualification.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Many studies have been carried out by organizational and industrial psychologists on the effect of money on job performance. From the late 1950s to the present, they probably have made the greatest advances than any of the behavioural scientists in the study of the role of money on motivation. Prominent among such contributors are Festinger (cognitive dissonance theory in late 1950s), peak (instrument theory of 1953) Georgolos and others (path-goal theory, 1957), Vroom (Valency or expectancy theory 1957), Poster and Lawler Adams and others.

Workers production has increased over the years for a number of reasons. Though the quality of incentives offered workers by the management has partly influence productivity, the complexity of human motivation requirements are often overlooked by corporate governors. Psychologists and other behavioural scientists have however assisted in unraveling this mystery through various studies.

For instance, have been empirical researches which showed that Nigerian workers attitude to work in passive and their productivity is low. Before this conclusion is reached, we will find out how well-motivated Nigeria workers, especially those in the broadcast industry are in the current era of commercialization and digitalization. We also need to find out what motivate them so that we can properly account for their low productivity and poor attitude to work. Before narrowing down to the impact of monetary incentives on job performance in Nigeria broadcast media organizations, it will be necessary to consider some of the leading theories on motivation.

2.2 MCGREGOR'S THEORY OF MOTIVATION

McGregors (1960) theory assumes which assumes that people enjoy work and will exercise self direction and self-control when pursing objectives to which they are committed. It assumes further that most people can learn to accept and even seek responsibility to exercise high degree of imagination and creativity in solving organizational problems. McGregor's theory X which is based on the belief that people dislike work and responsibility and therefore must be coerced or threatened with punishment in order to work towards organizational objectives. The modern approach is the creation of an environment which will encourage commitment to organizational objectives and which provides opportunities for the maximum exercise of initiative ingenuity and self direction.

MASLOW'S THEORY OF MOTIVATION

Maslow's (1943) theory which is quite famous today. It proposed that a person's behavior is organized around a hierarchy of needs, with the lowest being the physiological needs such as hunger and thirst. Once these needs are satisfied, others become important. These are followed in the hierarchy by social, self-esteem and self actualization needs. Maslow argues that the potency of the high needs increase as a function of the satisfaction of the need lower in the hierarchy.

2.4 THE ROLE OF MONEY

One widely-held view is that money acts as generalized condition reinforce.
Skinner (1958) in Adeosun et al (2013:46) stress the importance of this role when he stated that "such generalized reinforce should be extremely effective because some deprivation will usually exist for which the condition reinforcer is appropriate". For instance, in Nigeria, basic salaries are paid with a lot of allowances which facilities the

retention and motivation of employees. Such allowances includes payments made to reimburse a worker for expenses incurred in the course of performing his official duties and also include a mileage allowance whenever he use his own transport.

Standard allowances are paid to all members of certain grades or classes though, the rate might not be same. All these allowances can lead to significant increases in pay, motivation and in the total cost of employment.

3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study used simple survey research designed to look into the impact of monetary incentive on job performance among employees in the Nigerian Broadcast industry, using OGBC and Rock City in Abeokuta as a case study. The investigative survey was based on simple random sampling. The variables involved in the study were labeled as sex, age, marital status, title of present job and academic qualifications.

3.2 SAMPLE

The total questionnaire returned by the respondents and eventually were used 210. They were received in the following order.

OGBC   -   140
Rock City F.M   -   70
                         201

3.3 MEASURING INSTRUMENT

The data for this study was collected through questionnaire which was modeled after the Likert attitude scale (Likert, 1932). The ruling scale was made up of job satisfaction rating scale and a scale on job performance developed by these researchers. The scale on the job satisfaction has a reliability coefficient of 0.94 while that of performance has reliability coefficient of 0.78. in the questionnaire, preference were on monetary incentives to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each of the items. Five (5) denotes most effective, while one (1) means least effective. 5 (five) was assigned to Strongly Agree (SA), 4 was assigned to Agree (A) 3 was assigned to Undecided (U) 2 was assigned to Disagree (D) 1 was assigned to strongly Disagree (SD).

3.4 PROCEDURE

Questionnaires were administered to randomly-selected workers of the two broadcast stations chosen for the case study. Three hundred (300) questionnaires were administered in all. Out of the hundred administered, only 250 were returned. This figure represents about 83% of the total questionnaire administered. 40 of the questionnaire returned were used for the analysis and this represents 70% of the total questionnaires administered. The questionnaire was designed to keep the respondents anonymity, hence the researcher sought and assured the respondents frankness and honesty in completing the questionnaires.

The data collected from the study were subjected to one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and T. Test.

HYPOTHESIS I

Employees who are motivated in the monetary incentives will perform better than employees who are not motivated with monetary incentives.

TABLE 4
The summary of the data analyzed

OPTION	RESPONDENTS	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE (%)
	OGBC	Rock City F.M	
Not motivated	65	32	46%
Motivated	75	38	54%
Total	**140**	**70**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2004

Table 1.1: T-Test showing the impact of incentives on job performance

Group	N	X	S.D	DF	E	P
Not Motivated	97	12.97	3.31	208	13.22	<.05
Motivated	113	18.79	3.06			

The hypothesis that predicted that employees who are motivated with monetary incentives was supported t-13-22, df = 208, p =<0.5, t-tabulated equal to 1.97. we accept the null hypothesis where the t-tabulated is greater than T-calculated.

In essence T-calculated is 13.22 at the degree of freedom 208, p<.05, t-tabulated equal 10 1.97, thereby the null hypothesis is accepted. Moreso, as examination of the same table (Table 1.1) revealed, that employees who are motivated with monetary incentives (X = 18.79). Therefore the hypothesis is supported.

HYPOTHESIS II
Junior staff will be more motivated towards greater job performance with monetary incentives than intermediate and senior employees.

TABLE 2
One-way Anova table showing the impact of job title on job performance

SOURCE	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Between Groups	2	9.34	4.67	0.25	>.05
Within Groups	207	3859.56			
Total	**209**	**3868.90**			

Table 1.2 above received that there is no significant difference between the impact of monetary incentives ion Junior staff and intermediate and senior staff, F (2, 207) – 0.25, P>.05, f-tabulated equal in table 1.3 below show there is no significant who are motivated with monetary incentives (X=16.23) therefore, the hypothesis is supported.

TABLE 3.1

Mean table showing group differences on performance

Variable Incentive	Levels	No	X
	Low	97	12.97
	High	113	18.79
Job Title	Junior	62	15.77
	Intermediate	58	16.24
	Senior	90	16.23
Marital Status	Single	88	15.72
	Married	122	16.38
Academic Qualification	O/L, GCE, NECO	49	16.67
		71	15.89
		90	15.96

Source: Field Survey, 2014

Employees with lower qualifications will perform better with monetary incentives than employees with higher qualification.

TABLE 1.4

T-test showing the influence of education on job performance embryo the Rock City FM staff who received high incentive.

Qualification	N	X	SD	DF	T	P
Low	32	18.91	3.29	68	46	>.05
High	38	19.26	3.17			

Hypothesis III was supported as shown in table 1.4 above, t = 0.46, df = p >.05, t-tabulated equal. An examination of table 1.3 further showed that there is no significant difference between the influence of monetary incentives on employees with lower qualification (X = 15.89) and employees with higher qualification (X = 15.89). Therefore, hypothesis III is accepted.

4.2 DISCUSSION

The statistical results of the first hypothesis confirmed that employees who are motivated with monetary incentives will perform better than employees who are not motivated with monetary incentives.

This agreed with the work of Taylor (1914), that man is an economic animal who responds directly to financial incentives. In the work of Gould Throupe et al, (1973) it was found that workers have refused alternative jobs with better status and responsibility among others for the dehumanizing and tasking work of the assembly line, because of the high importance attached to money.

The result is also in line with the work of Walker and Guest (1952). That found out that out of 180 works interviewed, 126 "gave pay" as an important reason for liking their job. Dydycha and Naylor (1966) also found that higher value is placed on financial incentives than other conditions of service.

Some studies were also carried out in Nigeria which further confirmed hypothesis one, among them Mare Eze (1981), Yusuff (1982). Monetary incentives have become so important because of the state of economy and poverty. With all these, it becomes obvious that the importance of monetary incentives cannot be over-emphasized with the level of poverty currently experienced in Nigeria.

The findings of the study however failed to support the second hypothesis that junior staff will be more motivated towards greater job performance with monetary incentives than senior employees. The result obtained from the statistical test of the second hypothesis shows that there is significant relationship between job performance and job title. Hypothesis three which states that employees with lower qualifications will perform better with monetary incentives than employees with higher qualification was also confirmed.

Thus, the result obtained from the statistical analysis of the third hypothesis shows that there is no significant relationship between academic qualifications and job performance.

It rather shows that academic qualifications tend to be static variable that does not have any significance in the performance of employees, if motivated with monetary incentives. This implies that both employees with lower and higher qualifications equally value monetary incentives as important to job performance.

5.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From the result and discussion of this study, it can be concluded that monetary incentives can actually motivate Nigeria workers to better job performance considering the present peculiar situation in Nigeria Broadcast Industry. With the current value placed on money, it will not be out of place to say that monetary incentives constitute primary motivation to most Nigerian worker. Poor monetary incentives is an obvious reason for mass resignation of many broadcast professional for greener pastures. Lack of monetary incentives make employees burn out quickly and become less productive. While monetary incentive are far from providing a total answer to man's complex needs it is undoubtedly a basic motivating factor especially in Nigeria. Fredrick Taylor's classical theory further confirms this by stating that "people work for money and they will work harder, if they can earn more money" (Fulner, 1977:139). This theory is predicated upon the belief that a worker would follow which ever course was most financially rewarding to him. Therefore, this study will afford Nigeria employers in both private and public sectors of the media industry and beyond, the opportunity of discovering what actually motivates their workers for maximum productivity.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study proffers solutions to the problem of labour turnover due to perceived inadequate salary paid to employers. One method is that hard work and good job performance should be reciprocated with good reward system in form of money. In this case, a minimum wage for an average Nigerian should be such that it will at least be able to make ends meet for workers.

Secondly, employers should try as much as possible reduce employees feelings in equally by ensuring that employees are given salaries that are commensurate with their position, qualifications work experience and other factors which are necessary for equitable pay.

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Social Media as a Voice to the Voiceless: The Nigerian Experience

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Abstract

Social media as a communication tool has some advantages over the traditional media because of its ability to bridge the gap between the privileged and the less privileged. The study looks at how the social media was used to give voice to the voiceless especially in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria which led to a change in administration. The study focused specifically on how comments on some social media like WhatsApp and Twitter was used in the campaign for change among the youths in Nigeria. Anchored on the Agenda setting theory and technological determinism theory the study adopted a Survey research method. Some youths from three tertiary institutions in Kogi State were used for the study .Findings revealed that over 95% of the Nigerian youths were sensitized for the election through social media; that it was actually through the postings on the social media that created awareness for them to desire for change. The study recommends amongst others that the human right activists, the media and the government should sensitize the people more on the need to use social media to express themselves, claim their rights, and expose the ills of the government and that of the society. The freedom to give and receive information is vital for the development of any nation consequently the use of social media should be viewed as a fundamental instrument for social change and development in Nigeria.

Keywords: Nigeria; Public Opinion; Social Change; Social Media; Youth.

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Introduction

Social media have become part of the twenty – first century society. Virtually everything in the society today has been affected by social media. Businessmen and women use it to advertise their products, religious organizations use it to spread the gospel, and most frequently, politicians use it to sell their political ideas and achieve their political objectives. Social media has changed the way we view and interact with the world and it has given power to individuals and small groups.

The potential impact of social media in electoral campaign was evident in the 2008 United States (US) presidential election. President Barack Obama's campaign included the use of social media platforms such as Facebook, MySpace and YouTube. Others included podcasting and mobile messaging. The election, dubbed by many, as the 'Facebook election', saw nearly 70% of the vote among Americans aged 25 years and younger going to Obama.

During the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria, social media was greatly used by different people irrespective of their social status. Politicians greatly used it to canvas for votes. Social media allows candidates to communicate directly with citizens, keeping control of the content, distribution and timing of their messages, as well as reducing their dependence on traditional intermediaries. It also provides a way for politicians to monitor what is happening in the public sphere during an election campaign (Omowole 2015).

Commenting further on the important of social media to politics, Omowole (2015) writes, "Nigerian politicians who are not integrating active social media campaign into their arsenal may miss the opportunity to connect with the 45 million internet users in Nigeria. Their social media campaign should include Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn and Google Plus, among others".

Beyond the use of social media by politicians is the fact that most people who could not afford to pay to air their voices through the traditional media like radio, television, newspaper and magazine found solace in the social media. People freely use it to express their political opinion about political parties and their candidates. The instrument of social media unarguably became a voice to those whose comments would not have passed the criteria for judging news values by traditional media.

Objectives of the Study

1. To discover what motivated the youth to participate more in the 2015 presidential election compared to the previous elections.

2. To discover which media was used more by the Nigerian youths during the 2015 presidential election.

3. To discover what informed the choice of one media and not the other.

Literature Review

The Use of Social Media for Election

Social media are internet based applications put together on the principles and technological fundamentals of Web 2.0.

Nwanton, Odoemalamn, Orji-Egwu, Nwankwo and Nweze (2013) define social media as those internet-based tools and services that allow users to engage with each other, generate contents, distribute and search for information online. Popular social media include Facebook , Twitter, LinkedIn, Whatsapp YouTube, Flikr, among others.

Social media have become veritable campaign tools in the hands of politicians globally. Social media have elicited different studies from different scholars especially as they regard political participation.

For example a meta study by Boulianne (2015) on "Social media use and participation: A meta-analysis of current research," analyzes 36 studies on the relationship between social media use and everything from civic engagement broadly speaking to tangible actions such as voting and protesting. Some focus on youth populations, others on social media use in selected countries. Within these 36 studies, there were 170 separate "coefficients" — different factors potentially correlated with social media use. Boulianne notes that the studies were all based on self-reported surveys, with the number of respondents ranging from 250 to more than 1,500. Twenty studies were conducted between 2008 and 2011, while eight were from 2012-2013.The study's key findings include: Among all of the factors examined, 82% showed a positive relationship between social media use and some form of civic or political engagement or participation. Still, only half of the relationships found were statistically significant. The strongest effects could be seen in studies that randomly sampled youth populations. The correlation between social-media use and election-campaign participation "seems weak based on the set of studies analyzed," while the relationship with civic engagement is generally stronger. Further, "Measuring participation as protest activities is more likely to produce a positive effect, but the coefficients are not more likely to be statistically significant compared to other measures of participation." Also, within the area of protest activities, many different kinds of activities — marches, demonstrations, petitions and boycotts — are combined in research, making conclusions less valid. When studies do isolate and separate out these activities, these studies generally show that "social media plays a positive role in citizens' participation."Overall, the data cast doubt on whether social media use "causes" strong effects and is truly "transformative." Because few studies employ an experimental design, where researchers could compare a treatment group with a control group, it is difficult to claim causality.

Social media have been greatly used for elections and studies have shown that this influences voting in some way. A study conducted by Pew Research Centre (2015) report that 66% of social media users (39% of American adults) have engaged in one of eight civic or political activities with social media,38% of those who use social networking sites (SNS) or Twitter "like" or promote material related to politics or social issues that others have been posted, 35% have used social networking sites to encourage people to vote,34% have used the tools to post their own thoughts or comments on political and social issues, 33% have used the tools to repost content related to political or social issues that was originally posted by someone else,31% have used the tools to encourage other people to take action on a political or social issue ,28% have used the tools to post links to political stories or articles for others to read, 21% belong to a group on a social networking site that is involved in political or social issues, 20% have used the tools to follow elected officials and candidates for office. The problem with this study is that Pew did not give details on the methodology, the population and sample among others.

A study by Smyth and Best (2013) on "Tweet to Trust: Social Media and Elections in West Africa" is thus become relevant to this argument. The researcher conducted a set of 27 semi-structured interviews in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria and Monrovia, Liberia. Data collection took place over a 2-week period in May/June of 2012.using qualitative

method of data analysis, the researchers focus on the general elections in Nigeria and Liberia in 2011. Participants suggested that social media help to overcome previous scarcity of information during the electoral process, leading to increased transparency and reduced tension. Furthermore, social media based monitoring shows encouraging signs of robustness. The choice of qualitative method of data analysis by the researchers made it difficult to describe the result statistically.

In Nigeria's 2015 presidential election, the use and effectiveness of social media for electoral campaign was clearly manifested. The main opposition party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) is probably the biggest beneficiary of the value social media bring to the table. Elections may not be won on social media but perceptions are shaped.

Social Media as the Voice for the Voiceless.
Social media have become the power of the masses. They are the instruments of the masses and the only media where the citizens can freely air their minds.
With little or no capital, the citizens can use the social media in communicating their ideas, feelings and even mobilize for mass action. A good example of the use of social media as the voice for the voiceless is the revolution in Egypt.
The 2011Egyptian Revolution, was inspired by a similar revolution in nearby Tunisia,which sawthe overthrowing of the long time Tunisian president.
Thousands took to the streets in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities in Egypt to protest poverty, unemployment, government corruption, and the autocratic rule of 30 year president Hosni Mubarak (Kanalley, 2011).The primary demands from protesters were the end of Hosni Mubarak's regime, the end of emergency law, and a call for freedom, justice, a responsive non military government, and management of Egypt's resources (Madrigal, 2011). The protests in Egypt were inspired by the successful revolution in neighbouring Tunisia, which saw the overthrow of dictator Zine El Abidine BenAli. The protests began after a 26-year-old fruit vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, set himself on ablaze to protest the injustices of life under Ben Ali. A Facebook page in his honour made him a national martyr and led to massive protests (Yaffa, 2011). Soon, Facebook played a continuing major role in the protests, as activists used the site to sharevideos and information when many other sites were blocked by the Tunisian government. The videos, pictures, and information about protests spread like wildfire, and Tunisia had several hundred thousand new Facebook users in a few days, with average time spent on the site doubling.(Sheedy 2011).However, this was not without the government's notice, and online activists began to have run-ins with Ammar, the name Tunisians had given to the authorities that censor the Internet. Thousands of passwords were captured by the government using the country's Internet Service Providers to log information and delete profiles (Madrigal, 2011).In this case, Facebook took action. They routed all Tunisian requests for Facebook to an https server, which encrypts information so that it's not susceptible to the key logging strategy the Tunisian government was using They also employed a system that required users to identify their friends in

photos in order to log back into their account (Madrigal, 2011). Neighbouring Egypt watched the YouTube videos, read the tweets, joined the Facebook groups, and watched as Ben Ali was overthrown. "The riveting images beam ed into millions of Egyptian homes of the Tunisian uprising appear to have led to a shift in the public consciousness" (Murphy, 2011).

Prior to the 2015 presidential election, young Nigerians used to congregate on social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp,2go etc to express their anger against the government. They used the platforms to organize protests like "Enough Is Enough" in April of 2010 to campaign for the then-Vice President Goodluck Jonathan to be made Acting President, a move that eventually led to the "doctrine of necessity" that got the National Assembly to name him Acting President. The force of Nigeria's young people rose to a crescendo with the #OccupyNigeria movement in January of 2012. That anger has since been sustained and indeed spread to other young people who would ordinarily not be interested in politics. (Omojuwa, 2015) The scenario above gives insight into the power of social media as the voice to the voiceless.

Theoretical Foundation
This study is anchored on two theories; **Agenda setting** and **technological determinism**.

Agenda Setting Theory
Agenda Setting theory holds that the media; most especially the news media, dictates what issues (agenda) to be considered most important by the society. The theory was proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972/1973. Asogwa& Esimokha (2015:97) remarks that the agenda-setting theory implies that the media predetermined the issues that are important because the level of attention given to an issue in the media determines the level of importance the public assigns to that issue. The theory is relevant to the study because through the instrument of social media, the citizens were able to set the political agenda during the 2015 general election in Nigeria.

Technological Determinism theory
Technological Determinism simply put, is the idea that technology has important effects on our lives. Asogwa & Esimoka (2015) says that technological determinism is the "idea that media technology shapes how we as individuals in a society think, feel, act and how our society operate as we move from one technological age to another". The theory was propounded by McLuhan in 1962. Just as expressed by the theory; the new technology has determined the change in communication pattern in society among different people. The political agenda that was hitherto set by only politicians has changed as ordinary citizens now play a critical role in determining the political agenda. The political space has become more competitive and people are now more conscious of their right to communication and information more than ever before.
Though technological determinism as a theory has been widely criticized by scholars who opine that the relationship between technology and society cannot be reduced to a 'cause and effect' formula, the researcher finds this theory very relevant to this particular study because the social media use has made a landmark in the history of Nigerian democracy. It is has furthered the cause for a more authentic democracy in a developing nation like Nigeria.

Method

The Survey research design (questionnaire) was used for this study. There are seven tertiary institutions in Kogi State (Kogi State University, Anyigba ; Federal University, Lokoja; Kogi State Polythechnic, Lokoja; Kogi State College of Education, Ankpa; Federal Polytechnic, Idah; College of Education Technical, Okene and Salem University, Lokoja.) , we purposively decided to use three tertiary institutions (1 university, 1 polytechnic and 1 college of education) in Kogi State to represent others.

Thus the following: Kogi State University, Anyigba, Federal polytechnic, Idah and, College of Education, Okene. This criterion also meets the regional demarcation of Kogi State as a tertiary institution was picked from each of the three major zones.

Table 1: List of Selected Institution

Institutions	Population
Kogi State University, Anyigba	13, 583
Federal Polythecnic , Idah	6, 039
Federal College of Education, Okene	3,852
Total	23,474

Using the Fischer statistical formula we arrived at the sample size of 384.
The Fisher formula as cited in Ibrahim (2009), state thus:

$n = z2pq /d2$
Where
n= desired sample size where the population under study is more than 10,000
z= standard normal deviation = 1.96
p= proportion of target population estimated to the practical characteristics from a previous similar study.
Where none exists, p= 50% or 0.5
q= 1-p
d= degree of accuracy = 5% or 0-05
For this study therefore, the sample size is:
$(1.96)2 (0.5) 1- (0.5)/ (0.05)2$
$1.96 \times 1.96 = 3.8416$
$3.8416 \times 0.5 \times 0.5/0.0025 = 384.16$
n=384.16 or 384 approximately.

This study employed a multiple stage sampling; at the first instance purposive sampling was used to select the three tertiary institutions used for the study. At the second stage the quota sampling technique was used to ensure equal distribution of the questionnaires among the three selected institutions as is evident in table 2 below.

Table 2: Selected Institutions population and sample

Instituions	population	percentage	Sample size
Kogi State University, Anyigba	13, 583	57.9%	222
Federal Polythecnic, Idah	6,039	25.8%	99
Federal College of Education, Okene	3,825	16.4%	63
Total	23,474	100	384

At the last stage the simple random sampling technique was used to determine the faculties/ departments / classes and the respondents selected for the study. We used only students that have access to Social media for the study; this was achieved by asking the students if they have access to social media before administering the questionnaire. Tables of frequency and simple percentages were used to analyze the data gathered.

Findings of the Study

Three hundred and Eighty four questionnaires was administered in three selected institutions and amazingly 380(99%) questionnaires was returned and 4(1%) not returned.

On the demographic aspect, we discovered that all the respondents are between 16 and 30 years of age, it was equally discovered that the majority of the respondents are male with a total number of 222 while female is in minority with a total of 158 female.

Of course as earlier mentioned in the selection of respondents, all of them have access to social media.

Table 3: Participation in the 2015 presidential Election

Did you participate in the 2015 presidential Election?	Yes	No
Total	380	0

It can be deduced from the above that all the respondents participated in the 2015 presidential election.

Table 4: Respondents distribution by how they participated in the 2015 presidential election.

How did you participate in the 2015 Presidential election	No.	Percentage(%)	
a. Sending and receiving messages through Twitter	160	42	
b. **Sending and receiving messages through WhatsApp**	200	53	
c. **Sending and receiving messages through other social media**	20	5	
d. **Sending and receiving messages through traditional media**	0	0	
e. **Other Way, Specify**	0	0	
TOTAL	**380**	**100**	

From the above data it is evident that 160(42%) of the respondents participated by sending and receiving messages via twitter; 200 (53%) participated by sending and receiving message via WhatsApp while 20(5%) participated using other social media network, none of them used the traditional media.

Table 5: Reasons that motivated them to Participate

What motivated you to participate?	No.	Percentage (%)
a. High level of corruption in the country	13	3.4
b. The messages received by the social media spurred me	362	95.3
c. I am interested in politics	2	0.5
d. Desire for change of those in power	2	0.5
e. others, Specify (Lack of job opportunities for the youth)	1	0.3
Total	380	100

13(3.4%) were motivated due to the high level of corruption; 362(95.3%) were motivated by the messages received by the social media; 2(0.5%) were motivated because they are interested in politics; 28(0.5%) were motivated because of their desire for change of those in power and 1(0.3) was motivated due to lack of job opportunities for the youth.

Table 6: Reason for using social media instead of traditional media

Why did you use the social media instead of other traditional media	No.	Percentage (%)
a. It was cheaper and more accessible	202	53.2
b. The traditional media supported the government in power	3	0.8
c. It is very difficult to access the traditional media	12	3.2
d. The youth can be reached in the social media than the traditional media	153	40.2
e. The pattern in which the message was packaged is interesting	10	2.6
Total	380	100

202 (53.2%) respondents used the social media instead of the traditional media because it is cheaper and more accessible; 3(0.8%) used the social media because the traditional media supported the government in power; 12(3.2%) used the social media because it is very difficult to access the traditional media; 153(40.2%) used it because the youth can be reached in the social media than the traditional media; 10(2.6%) used it because the pattern in which the message was packaged is interesting.

Table 7: Respondents distribution by the type of social media network used

Which social media network did you use during the campaign?	No.	Percentage (%)
a. Twitter	168	44.2
b. Facebook	30	7.9
c. WhatsApp	175	46
d. 2go	2	0.5
e. Instangramm	1	0.3
f. Others	4	1.1
g. Total	380	100

168(44.2.) used Twitter, 30(7.9%) used facebook; 175(46%) used WhatsApp; 2(0.5%) used 2go; 1(0.3%) used Instangramm and 4(1.1%) used other social media networks.

Table 8: Reason for the choice of Social network

What informed your choice of one Social network instead of the other?	No.	Percentage (%)
a. More enticing messages and pictures in the site	152	40
b. More factual messages in the network site	160	42.1
c. More people in the network site	38	10
d. Accessibility of the network site	28	7.4
e. I just like the network Site	2	0.5
Total	380	100

152(40%) used one social network instead of the other because it has more enticing messages and pictures; 160(42.1%) because it has more factual messages; 38(10%) because there are more people in the network site; 28(7.4%) because the network site is accessible and 2(0.5%) because they just like the network site.

Summary of findings
From the data gathered it is evident that many Nigerian youths participated in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria and that majority of them participated through sending and receiving messages via the social media. That many of them were motivated to participate due to the messages they received through the social media. All of them used the social media mostly Twitter and WhatsApp and none of them used the traditional media. That the major reasons why they used the social media are because it is cheaper and accessible and many youths can be reached there.
What majorly informed their choice of one network instead of the other was because the network had more enticing messages and pictures and more factual messages.

Conclusion/ Recommendations

This study has clearly demonstrated that social media is the easiest way to reach the voiceless in the society especially the youth as it is much more cheaper , easier to access and people have the freedom to express themselves freely. Thus the following recommendations:

1. The youths should be directed (by their parents and teachers) on how to use the social network sites positively to change situations rather than negatively.
2. The media professionals should not see the social media as being in conflict with the traditional media but rather encourage those who cannot use the traditional media for varied reasons to use the social media.
3. The media professionals should device means of controlling the social media to ensure that the social media messages are reliable.
4. The human right activist should encourage the less privileged to use the social media to express themselves.
5. Those in power should visit the social media network to discover the feelings of the masses and if possible should also use the social media in reaching the people instead of only traditional media.
6. Every politician who wants to go far in Nigeria's new democracy should be present in the social media.
7. The social media should be viewed as an instrument of change rather than a play ground.

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Deconstructing Gender: Laurence Anyways and the Mise-En-Scene of a Transition

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Abstract.

Basing the analysis on Xavier Dolan's third full-length film **Laurence Anyways**, and its *mise en scene* of the main character's odyssey to become a woman and the struggles she had to overcome in order to find his true identity; the intention is to unveil the relations between the film, its context and some gender theories [specially **Judith Butler's**], touching subjects such as the need for freedom to the individual in order to reach empowerment, freedom only possible under the others acknowledgement of the difference. All the above trying to remark the importance of questioning the hegemonic- binary divided society at all fields: politics, education and art.

This short dissertation is an analysis of how the film propose both aesthetically and plastic portrait of the transgression of the rule, not only by portraying a character who refused to follow the binary division between men and women, male and female, but also, by proposing a transgressive and rebel poetic in various and complementary levels such as its narrative, tale and frame composition. By stylizing a bygone era- the nineties- with flamboyant ballroom dancing scenes, and sequences that looks more like music video-clips inlaying into it's almost three hours of length, the film main value it to put the spectator in the obligation to see, acknowledge and understand the painful reality that those in this condition have to go through, questioning his moral about difference.

Keywords: Laurence Anyways, Xavier Dolan**,** Judith Butler, Mise-en-scene, Gender, Transition, Transsexuality.

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Can one's writings, therefore, be great enough to exempt one from the rejection and ostracism that affect people who are different? One who, in another time-space, could be you or me?

Introduction

Can the cinema contain the rejection and ostracism that suppose the no representation of the difference?

In 2013 Xavier Dolan presents his third full-length film: *Laurence Anyways*. The movie is set in the nineties and narrates the history of a man, Laurence, who in the course of ten years accomplishes the transition to become the woman he was meant to be. The film is interwoven between the vicissitudes, difficulties and emotional pains of his transformation, taking as a transverse axis his relation with Fred, with whom the difficulties are the center of the plot.

From this film, there are multiple and different points for the analysis. For instance, we can examine its cinematography and the rejection to the norms and standard procedures established in the conventional cinema of the 20th century. Or, we can go deeply into its narrative, the time and the strategy used to tell the story; since it is through an interview to Laurence (carried out in Montreal in 1999 on the occasion of his new book) that the story is weaved. In this narrative the ellipses of time are given not only by means of a title "2 months later" or "Île au Noire, 1996" but also by means of elements of the cinematographic language such as the length or the cuts of the hair of the characters, the showing of calendars or the dialogs.

Although we can continue to scrutinize the cinematographic, aesthetic and narrative elements that the movie offers us –the non-diegetic elements falling from the sky for example, an usual device in Dolan's work– this story forces us to involve other disciplines, to establish a dialog between the cinematographic theory and gender studies, between art and social sciences, between art and humanism, because is the exploration of that what makes us human beings, and is perhaps one of the most pertinent starting points.

This article will look closely at the interiority of Laurence as a human being, his deep and complicated love relationship, the suffering that for someone like him represents life, the tension that he experiments for being in a body that he doesn't recognize, for transforming it and for questioning the sex-genre-desire system in which he doesn't have a place. In other words, we wonder in what way the movie *Laurence Anyways* proposes a representation of the transgression to the gender normativity, in an aesthetic, narrative and plot dimension, by an analysis of the non-hegemonic performativity of gender.

The first part will center in the question of the binary order and the break of the normative made both by the movie and by Laurence. The second part approaches the transformation of the order by *other* performativities. In both, the essential issue is the definition and performance of gender, identity and representation.

1. The question of the binary order and the break of the regulation

The order and the question of an order

In 1990 Judith Butler publishes *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*, considered the foundational book of queer theory and pioneer in the development of a gender performativity theory. As his authoress indicates in the preface of the 1999 edition, "I sought to counter those views that made presumptions about the limits and propriety of gender and restricted the meaning of gender to received notions of masculinity and femininity". Butler questions the idea of the gender as constructed in correspondence with sex and desire, and also questions the naturalness of the sex and the body.

In other words, this means that the sex is a social product which is affected by gender normativity; this is to say that the body is only known by its gender appearance and through a social imaginary. Butler distinguishes between the material dimensions of the body and the process by which the body carries cultural meanings; the previous to affirm that the body is always an incarnation of possibilities simultaneously determined and circumscribed by the historical convention.

> Consider that there is a sedimentation of gender norms that produces the peculiar phenomenon of a natural sex, or a areal woman, or any number of prevalent and compelling social fictions, and that this is a sedimentation that over time has produced a set of corporeal styles which, in reified form, appear as the natural configuration of bodies into sexes which exist in a binary relation to one another. (Butler, 1988, p. 524)

Besides denaturalizing the idea of sex, Butler emphasizes that gender is not a fact but a repetition of acts instituted by the stylization of the body and enforced through certain modes of punishments and rewards. Hereby, Butler breaks the naturalized correspondence between sex and gender. And she continues: "Gender is, thus, a construction that regularly conceals its genesis (…) The authors of gender become entranced by their own fictions whereby the construction compels one's belief in its necessity and naturalness" (Butler, 1988, p.522). In this way, masculinity and femininity ideals are constructed, ideals configured as allegedly heterosexual, which suggests an alignment between sex, gender and desire.

Now then, departing from Laurence's story, what does it mean to transcend that alignment between sex-gender-desire, not only because Laurence doesn't recognize the materiality of his body and intervenes in it in order to transform it, but also because he doesn't execute the distinction of gender according to his body's materiality, and also because even as a woman in a man's body he feels attracted by Fred? How does the society react and handle this situation?

The other and the look

Butler's work proposes a discussion on the *other*: that that is intelligible, illegible, impossible, unrealizable, unreal, illegitimate, inhuman, and incoherent; that that doesn't fit into the dominant codes and order. It is also a reflection on power relations

because there is an implicit division between what is acceptable and what is not. This implies that in certain cases the *other* is not considered as a human being, and the *other*'s life is not considered worth of being lived, being wept, being felt. At last, it is a question about the panic that the unthinkable generates.

We might say that the first sequence of the movie, supported by a non– diegetic music, stages the society's regard to Laurence. The first sequence is composed by foregrounds of young people, women, mothers, elders; they look directly to the camera and they seem to follow Laurence, as she is walking in front of them. We can identify a similar sequence after Laurence's first appearance dressed as a woman at school (40:20). Laurence crosses the halls of the school and a subjective camera capture the fixedly looks of the students and teachers. Once again, those looks follow him, although in this opportunity there are middle-ground, short cut and *raccourci* shots. Both scenes stage the look to the different and illegible from the normative genre codes.

The movie is fulfilled with stylistic and aesthetic choices that connote by analogy the social horrors to which the different is submitted. We identify, for example, references to the classic art. One of these occurs when Laurence writes in the blackboard "Ecce Homo" (1:02:00) after he is fired from the school. The paintings that refer to the moment of Jesus' crucifixion are usually identified with this expression. Laurence writes these words after being 'crucified' by the school council for his gender/sex conversion, for being different. In the same way, we can observe the images of grotesque paintings –i.e., horrible faces who seem to be judging– after Laurence was hit by a man in the bar for looking different, while walking through the street looking for help (1:06:04).

Even though, perhaps the scene that more explicitly shows the tense relation between the society and what is different, occurs at the restaurant. The waitress who is attending them makes unpleasant and annoying comments on Laurence's looks. Fred, very upset stands up and answers:

> -"You stupid old bag! Who the fuck do you think you are? What's with the stupid fucking questions? Don't talk to me. Don't ask questions. […] Do you walk in my shoes? Do you live my life? You and your questions, stay out of my life! You have no right over me! You don't have the right to talk to us! Serve coffee, bring food, pick up your dollar and shut the fuck up!"- (1:16:50)

This is one of those sequences where the film seems to address directly to his audience, as its narrative – Fred's speech- more than its aesthetics, puts the spectator facing what comes as a furious and weary response to the pressure Laurence and Fred are facing all through Laurence transformation.

The recognition of the difference

The present time in the movie is the interview to Laurence in Montreal in 1999. The movie is narrated in a not lineal way and it is the interview the one that spins such circularity. The movie finishes with the beginning of the story that is about to tell: the time in which Fred and Laurence meet back in 1987; and it begins moments before the interview with the journalist, that marks the end of the story that unfolds the

movie: i.e. the culmination of the relationship between Laurence and Fred, and Laurence's accomplished transition into a woman. That's why we can affirm that the *A-Z woman* (Fred and their relationship) is the best vehicle to mobilize his journey to transformation.

Throughout the movie, Laurence and the journalist have an interaction that comes and goes between cordiality and rebuff. In most part of the film, this conversation occurs exclusively in voice-off, the spectator can only hear them speak and narrate. The woman, elegant and refined, has an attitude towards Laurence that seems to represent what a western conventional and conservative spectator feels towards such a discord with the normativity Laurence embodies.

In the last part of the film, it is understood that during part of the interview, the journalist did not dare to look at Laurence in the eyes. She didn't admit her through the inclusion of the sight, which supposes being aware of the presence and existence of someone else. Even if she is respectful, it is clear her discomfort, her bewilderment and curiosity. The snub seems to happen at the beginning of the conversation, and the *reconciliation* seems to have place not long after Laurence and the journalist meet – although it is shown at the end of the film.

The film positions this character as a mirror of the spectator. In other words, the viewer is the interviewer as, it is not only throughout her that we found out what happened, but also, she asks what the spectator wonders; and the *mise-en-scene* reinforces this illusion because Laurence looks directly at the camera when she is talking to her, so it seems that she is talking directly to the spectator (us).

The viewer is placed on the skin of the journalist through the camera. Laurence is facing the camera, looking at us, winking at us, and after hearing the entire story we are obliged to accept the existence of his difference when the woman agrees to look at him into her eyes. The film seems to say at this point: these almost 3 hours of film should not be in vain, you should now understand that the difference exists, acknowledged it, and that gender norms are as ridiculous as the idea of an exclusively binary world.

At this point, it is pertinent to go back to the subject of the look. After being questioned by Laurence about not looking at her directly, the journalist says: "Do looks matter to you?" To which she responds: "And you? Does air matters to your lungs?"(2:25:30). This phrase shows the need for recognition by the look, to recognize its difference and if it is admitted under our consistent look, marginalization fades-out. In other words, the look is important because we are not accepting the difference when trying to do it without seeing it, without looking at it, by ignoring it. It is only really accepted when viewed and acknowledged.

Another important *mise-en-scene* of this argument is the relationship between Laurence and her mother. She, at first, partially *accepts* Laurence's announcement about his transition, but warns him that her door will be closed whenever he is dressed as a woman. For example, after being dismissed by the board and after the violent fight at the bar, Laurence calls his mother on the phone asking for help. His mother tells him she cannot leave the house. Laurence insists on a meeting, but she refuses and tells him: "You disappear from our lives, suddenly you show up at the office, you call out of the blue, did I ask you to?" Laurence replies: "I stayed away from you

because I didn't want to see you... until I'd be honest! […] Until I was myself!". However, over time their relationship changes. At a meeting in a cafe by 1995 the mother tells Laurence: "You could change your sex, I can change my address" (1:51:04) and laughs. And later she adds: "I never saw you as my son, but I can tell you that I see you as my daughter now" (1:53:32). This change demonstrates the final recognition of the difference and its acknowledgement.

2. Other performativities: to transform the order

The political character of gender

By deconstructing sex and gender, Butler introduces a political character in her theory, because she undoes and redefine the restrictive normative concepts of sexuality and gender; because she thinks the gender beyond the masculine-feminine binaries; because she reformulates the question about the human; because she refers to the existence of real people that experience the rejection and the violence for being different, i.e. by their sexual orientation; because she opens a gap for social transformation. Gender norms are subjected to re-negotiation, since they are unstable and depend on a stylized repetition of acts.

There is a prevalent violence against LGBTI community around the world. For instance, in Colombia, from 2006 until today, 433 cases have been reported. "This includes situations as homicides, sexual violence, intra-familiar violence, threats, forced displacement and forced disappearances" (Martinez Hernández, 2015)

This frames us in another way of understanding power and power relations. Power does not limit to coercion or physical repression, because it also encompasses the production of meanings, of subjects, of speeches, of orders, of identities and of representations. Hereby, power becomes manifest in the representation, and also by imposing a determined organization of the word, by categorizing the human beings, by supporting a symbolic and social order that rejects the difference. And, in consequence, Laurence transition to become the woman he was meant to be has to be considered as a dispute: a dispute of the human being in the world, a dispute of the order of the things, in order to achieve control of one's own life and to question the normalized representations. Butler writes:

> The point was not to prescribe a new gendered way of life that might then serve as a model for readers of the text. Rather, the aim of the text was to open up the field of possibility for gender without dictating which kinds of possibilities ought to be realized. One might wonder what use 'opening up possibilities' finally is, but no one who has understood what is it to live in the social world as what is 'impossible,' illegible, unrealizable, unreal, and illegitimate is likely to pose that question (Butler, 2001, p. 8)

This implies producing new possibilities for experiencing gender and "constructing a world in which people could live and breathe inside the sexuality and the gender they already live" (Belgrano Rawson, 2009). Gender is extra-moral and is it not appropriate to speak of *good* or *bad* genders (Birulés, 2008). Nevertheless, it is imperative to be careful of not falling into radical determinism or radical voluntarism.

In other words, we are not totally determined because there is a margin for practices of freedom and resistance. But simultaneously, we are located in a social, economic, cultural and political context that restricts and limits the horizon of possibilities.

The Transition

At the end of 1989, after turning 35 years old, Laurence confesses to Fred his real identity. "Why didn't you tell me you were gay?" Fred asks. Laurence answers: "I'm not gay, Fred! It's not that I like men. I'm just not made to be one. It's different." (00:23:19).

The first allusive image of the transition on the movie happens in the classroom. The students take an exam, Laurence sits in front of them, and we can see on the end of each of his fingers a paper clip that emulate long nails. The journalist on the interview asks him: "Was the transition… an overnight thing? Or a slow process? And from a professional standpoint? 'Cause that will be the central topic". To which Laurence answers: "Strutting out in a fabulous skirt wasn't enough, I had to go all the way. Dive right in" (00:37:21)

From this point Laurence undertakes an odyssey. The film shows the character crossing a deserted park in winter and before a bifurcation in the way, we see him take a decision and going until the end. This is how Laurence begins his process to change his body and his appearance. He begins to wear make-up, nail polish, to put on earrings and necklaces, to wear skirts, dresses and heels; he begins electrolysis to eliminate the body and facial hair and to take hormones.

In the part of the movie titled "Trois-Rivières 1995", some years after the separation from Fred and that she built a home, we can see that Laurence now has breast implants and long hair. It is important to notice that in this instance Laurence is still in transition. When they meet again, Laurence arrives to Fred's house wearing very masculine garments: No make-up on, no nail-polish, wearing trousers, shirt and man's shoes, with a sweater and gabardine. When Fred is about to touch him, Laurence seems to be uncomfortable and tries to hide his breasts with his arm. It is like if for Laurence, Fred represented a setback to his transition, and his wish to please her was bigger –at that point- that his will of being a woman.

It is in the present time of the movie, i.e. the interview with the journalist and the last meeting with Fred in 1999, that we can glimpse Laurence's complete transformation, 10 years after beginning his transition. This is the non-hegemonic performativity to which we refer to.

The Five Roses and the Black Island

The film presents in two key and specific moments the possibility for its characters to fit in, the possibility to belong and get out of their marginality, even if these spaces are marginal themselves.

One of them is The Five Roses, A group of friends that Laurence meets after having been injured at the bar dispute, and in addition, being rejected by his mother when he asked for help and support over the telephone. The Five Roses represents in many

ways the rejection to the hegemony of gender, because it is a eccentric group of old women and drag queens who look after themselves, where none of them respects the norm. Laurence found a great emotional support in this social group.

The other space is The Black Island, a place to which Laurence travels with Fred once they meet again in 1996, and where Laurence hopes that when they meet with friends, who are a transsexual couple, Fred conceives the possibility for them. The Island represents a break from the norm and the freedom of being in a place away from the daily life (specifically the family that Fred has formed with his husband), and this sensation is reinforced by the sequence in which clothing falls down from the sky while they walk. The transgression proposed by the movie with this type of improbable sequences (clothing falling from the sky) is a clear sign of the rebellion against one of the golden rules of cinema: verisimilitude.

Both the Five Roses and the Black Island are places in where the difference is accepted, in where Fred and Laurence can be a couple, in where being different is a value. Nevertheless, they are marginal. In other words, the Five Roses live in a place where it seems as if they are the only ones accepted, a place hidden from society. Throughout the movie, we do not see the Five Roses outdoors, they are always indoors. They are either in the enormous theatre that shelters them and simultaneously protects them; or in Laurence's house for the Christmas of 1995. The fact that it is a theatre must not be overlooked, given that somehow, when we perform gender, we are on stage; i.e., that acting in one way or another at ease and convenience of society is putting on the mask that forces us to the convention of gender matching with our born genitalia. This space might represent the safe stage where paradoxically, when they act as they really feel, they shed from this imposed mask.

In the same way, the Black Island is a geographically remote place, and because it's an island it has no frontiers and it is covered in snow. The desolation of its remoteness serves as the perfect shelter to escape and it seems as if there are not many people living there, reinforcing the idea of a place without a society. However, it seems that the freedom these people seem to enjoy in both spaces is not real.

> When referring to freedom, I am not alluding to the idea of an individual subject, alone, since a subject is free to the extent that s/he is conditioned by conventions, norms and cultural possibilities that make freedom possible, though they do not determine it. They are the conditions of possibility of freedom. Who we are as subjects of freedom depends on non-voluntary forms of connection with others; I was not only born within a series of rules or conventions that form me, but also within a series of relationships on which I depend for my survival and which constitute me as an interdependent creature in this world. The questions of responsibility emerge in the context of this sociality, this interdependence. (Birulés, 2008)

We, as society, must fight for a freedom where the subject is not fastened and can get out of the box if it wishes to. This, without forgetting the need from the other's acknowledgement, as this too builds us; i.e. admitting our need to exist as others admits us as existent. It is not fighting for other boxes no matter how divergent they are from the conventional ones, because the disciplines that worry to define the new

boxes are powers that tie us, but rather to open all possibilities to live gender to its fullness. The movie succeeds to this extent, as they don't live at the Black Island, because this freeing acknowledgement from others is needed. The film is concerned to show this struggle, the constant back and forth between what it is and what it should be.

To Fred, the isolation in which Fanny and Alexander are living is not happiness. Later on in a discussion with Laurence she says to him: "Get real! Happiness! They live in a shitty shack! Baked as fuck on heap opium, surrounded by inbreed! They're buried here because over there, he'd be stoned to death!" (2:16:33). To refuse to live there, far apart, also implies wanting to transform the order but not through alienation and marginalization, but in society. And thus the importance of Laurence's return to Montreal, the relationship he establishes with the journalist and his mother, and going out on the street being what he always wanted to be.

Conclusion

Laurence breaks the limits that her environment imposes her in order to find freedom. He says: "I'm looking for a person who understands my language and speaks it, a person who, without being a pariah, will question, not only the rights and the value of the marginalized, but also of those who claim to be normal". (00:01:03). The movie takes Laurence to the place she wants to be, while she does everything to make her relationship with Fred resist; a relationship that though heterosexual at the beginning, breaks the mold by turning somehow into a form of lesbian love. Laurence transgresses the binary order and questions it with her body, because she can affect it by transforming it.

Laurence suffers, Fred suffers, her mother suffers, and not because her change towards the truth is bad, but because to the society the acceptance of the difference is difficult, especially in sexual matters. The movie does a portrait of the difficulties that represents one's change, clearly affirming the social position towards it, position that is precisely what makes it so painful and truncated.

> Today there are many people with modalities of gender that are considered unacceptable - the sexual or gender minorities - and who are discriminated against, considered abnormal, by the discourses of psychiatry or psychology, or who are the object of physical violence. These people are not being given the opportunity of having their lives recognized as worthy of being protected or helped, not even as lives that deserve to be mourned. I question the norms of gender that prevent us or make us incapable of recognizing certain lives as being worth living, and which stop us providing the material conditions necessary for these lives to be lived, to flourish. For these lives to be publicly recognized also means their being understood as lives whose disappearance would be felt as a loss. (Birulés, 2008)

By stylizing a bygone era—the nineties—with flamboyant ballroom dancing scenes, and sequences that looks more like music video-clips inlaying into it's almost three hours of length, the film represents the tension, the blows, the fights, the tears of the transition, showing that such a change is anything but pink and easy and sensitizes the public on how brave and valuable Laurence's decision is.

Laurence Anyways proposes both aesthetically and plastic portrait of the transgression of the rule, from a character who refused to follow the binary division between men and women, male and female. Indeed, Laurence Anyways is a film that proposes a representation of a character who transgressed the rules of gender, by building her own identity as a woman. At the same time, it is important to note that Dolan's film also violates aesthetic and stylistic norms of the current mainstream cinema, proposing a sometimes unconventional treatment of verisimilitude, passing over a certain hegemony enjoyed by the dominant narrative cinema.

The film is then rebel in various and complementary levels, but its value does not rest on such rebellion. It seems to have achieved the mise-en-scene of the urgent and absolute need for freedom, but the freedom that admits its condition by the society's acknowledge and institutions to exist, the freedom that seems paradoxical but viewed up close, it is not.

In other words, the value of the film rests primarily on the representation it makes of the struggle for freedom of a human being on her transformation into the woman that she was destined to be. All this by putting the spectator in the obligation to see, acknowledge and understand the painful reality that those in this condition have to go through, people who in another space-time could be you or me.

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