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## *A Contentious Genre: Defining the Historical Film*

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### **Abstract**

On its surface, the historical film genre appears easy to define as a film that depicts historical events. However, after many decades of research into the film and history discourse, a concrete definition of what constitutes a historical film continues to elude film scholars. There is no singular answer as to what defines a film as ‘historical’, as nearly every notable film and history theorist, such as Robert Rosenstone, Natalie Davis and Robert Burgoyne, have their own proposition as to what defines a historical film. Elements such as the amount of accurate history contained in a narrative, how many years in the past a film has to be set, and whether the term ‘historical’ should be used in the genre’s description, have fluctuated between theorist to theorist. While the function of the historical film is understandably contended, the lack of definition regarding what a historical film actually constitutes is a major deficit in the film and history discourse. Yet in order to find this singular definition, it must first be known why this definition has not yet been found. Using South Korean historical cinema as key examples, this paper seeks to not only answer why a singular definition has not yet been determined, but also, through the examination of the works of notable film and history theorists, aims to propose an alternative way of classifying films as historical.

Keywords: Film, Historical Film, Film and History, South Korea, South Korean Cinema

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## Introduction

Since the 1980s, numerous film and history theorists have contemplated the position of the historical film genre as a source of reliable historical information (Rosenstone, 2006, p.7). Over decades of this research, the film and history discourse has become vast. As the historical film is at the heart of this discourse, it would be safe to assume that what makes a film historical has been explicitly defined. However, within the majority of the discourse's literature the historical film curiously lacks a singular definition utilised by all theorists. Much of the research that is conducted into film and history does not define the historical film and instead builds its research around a layman definition, specifically that the historical film is any film that is consciously set in the past. Yet this simplistic definition does nothing to separate the historical film from a film that is merely set in history. However, there are efforts made by notable film and history theorists, such as Robert Rosenstone, Natalie Davis and Robert Burgoyne, that do attempt to define the historical film in an effort to clearly separate the films that have legitimate historical information from those that 'add nothing to our comprehension of the past' (Ashkenazi, 2014, p.293). These theorists outline when historical films should be set, what their narratives should depict and whether or not the term historical should be used in the genre descriptor. However, the definitions offered by these theorists are often significantly different from each other and are regularly contradictory. While the function of the historical film is understandably contended amongst theorists, the lack of cohesion regarding how historical films can be defined constitutes a major deficit in the film and history discourse. However, it can be argued that a singular definition of the historical film has not yet been agreed upon as it can artificially restrict the type of research conducted into the film and history discourse whilst also alienating research that has already been conducted. Using South Korean historical cinema as a case study, the arguments presented by notable film and history theorists towards historical film definition will be distilled to their core concepts to explore how and why a singular definition can potentially limit the film and history discourse. Furthermore, an alternative method of delineating the historical film will be proposed.

## The conflicting definitions of the historical film

The definition of what can be considered as a historical film has evolved significantly since the early stages of the film and history discourse. In the 1960s, the narrative historical films made during this decade, such as the South Korean films *Five Marines* (Cha & Kim, 1961), *The Sea Knows* (Kim & Kim, 1961) and *Nameless Stars* (Lee & Kim, 1959) were not considered as historical films, but were instead referred to as 'fictional films' (Ferro, 1968, p.46), 'reconstructed films' (Ferro, 1968, p.47) or 'costume reenactments' (McNeill, 1968, p.389). These historical films, that contained a cinematic reconstruction of the past and a fictional narrative inspired by history, were said to 'simply invite disaster' and that these types of films 'should be left to the entertainment industry' and out of historical scholarship (McNeill, 1968, p.390). This position was maintained due to the belief that the fictional nature of these films rendered its historical details false and superfluous. Nowadays the historical film is acknowledged to be historical fact fused with fiction and the genre has become synonymous with fictionalised

narratives with imagined dialogue and actors portraying historical figures. Where the film and history discourse of the 1960s created a clear division between the entertainment industry and historical scholarship, as the discourse matured these two opposing elements combined so that the intertwining of historical information and fictional storytelling devices became the central focus of historical film definition.

As many films are set within a historical setting, for instance the Japanese Occupation of Korea, World War II or the Korean War, it is important to have a clear definition of what constitutes a historical film in order to differentiate between the films that contain legitimate historical information and those that do not. However, after decades of historical film theory this central definition still remains elusive amongst film and history theorists. As stated by Constantin Parvulescu and Robert Rosenstone, '[o]ddly enough, for all the scholarship on the topic, attempts to define the historical film have been few and far between' (2013, p.1). Numerous film and history texts do not provide a definition of the historical film instead relying on the layman definition, specifically that a historical film is any that cinematically recreates documented eras or cultural events such as the Joseon Dynasty or the Second Battle of Yeonpyeong respectively. However, the theorists that do attempt to define the historical film frequently contradict each other, offering numerous different approaches to defining the genre. As a result, a definition that clearly outlines what a historical film consists of does not exist.

Despite decades of debate regarding film's place as a receptacle of historical information, Parvulescu and Rosenstone posit that it is still too early within the historical film discourse to be entirely accurate and comprehensive (2013). Consequently, this stubborn view has meant that the definition of the discourse's key concept remains vague (Peacock, 1991, p.11). However, Parvulescu and Rosenstone do offer a definition of the historical film genre, but it is one that aligns with the layman definition, stating that the historical film is any film that is 'consciously set in a past, some time before the production of the specific work itself' (Parvulescu & Rosenstone, 2013, p.1). Therefore, a historical film is any that has a narrative which takes place before the year of the film's production. As a result, films such as *Taegukgi* (Lee & Kang, 2004), a film set between 1950 and 1953, and *Northern Limit Line* (Jung & Kim, 2015), a film set in 2002, are considered historical as they were set before the year of the film's production. This sentiment is expanded upon by Marcia Landy who states that media practitioners who create historical content, including filmmakers and authors, recreate, interpret and re-examine historical crises in their craft and invest these events with 'great importance' (2001, p.1). Through this idea the function of the historical film becomes clearer, namely that these films cinematically recreate a crisis event from history. These crisis events can either be major, such as the Korean War, or minor, such as the Battle of Incheon, which the film recreates by interpreting it into a narrative to re-examine what truly transpired, and invests the event with emotion through themes and characters. Essentially, the amalgamation of the definitions provided by Parvulescu, Rosenstone and Landy, positions the historical film as any that recreates a historical event which took place before the year of production, and retells it through a fictional narrative.

While the aforementioned theories are a feasible definition of the historical film, for many theorists, such as Natalie Davis and Robert Burgoyne, it is too broad. For many scholars a historical film cannot simply be set in the past, but has to actively engage with the historical discourse. According to Davis, the historical film's narrative has to be either based on documented historical fact or have historical events play a centralised role within its story (2000, p.5). Under this requirement, a film such as *Private Eye* (Han & Park, 2009), which details the struggles of the Korean citizenry against the Japanese Colonial Government in the 1910s, would be considered a historical film as it details the factual struggle between these two factions despite not including any documented historical events or figures in its narrative. Burgoyne expands upon this definition by arguing that the historical film needs to be built upon 'documented historical events' and have direct references to relevant historical incidents (2008, p.4). Burgoyne elaborates that the 'events of the past constitute the mainspring of the historical film, rather than the past simply serving as a scenic backdrop or a nostalgic setting' (2008, p.4). Through this definition, films that faithfully recreate documented historical occurrences, such as *May 18* (Yoo & Kim, 2007) which recreates the Gwangju Uprising of 1980, would be considered historical as it 'draws its authority from recorded history' (Oscherwitz, 2011, p.44). However, as Davis and Burgoyne argue that historical events only need to play a centralised role in the narrative, the plot that surrounds these events can be fictionalised. For example, the film *Ode to My Father* (Stojáková & Youn, 2014) contains imagined characters who interact with factual historical occurrences. The film's fictional protagonist, Yoon Duk-soo, endures numerous documented historical events such as the Hungnam Evacuation of 1950 and the Vietnam War. Yoon and his actions within these events are fictional, but the events themselves are based on documented fact. As a result of this, the historical film becomes a hybrid of factual events and fictional storytelling devices (Kremmer, 2015).

While theorists like Davis and Burgoyne assert that the historical film has to reflect documented historical events, Robert Rosenstone widens the genre into two distinct types of filmic representation. The narratives of the first type can ask critical questions about history such as 'how and why political decisions [were] made in different historical regimes' as, in accordance to Davis and Burgoyne, its characters, plot and thematic content are filtered through documented historical events (2006, p.25). The second type of historical film does not focus on this historical evidence and instead uses the historical setting as a backdrop to frame its imagined narrative and characters in order to provide insights into past cultures through the depiction of day-to-day life and family dynamics. These narratives use filmmaking techniques such as a 'realist mise en scene [...] seamless narration and continuity editing' (Oscherwitz, 2001, p.53) to create visual images of past societies. Within these images the social environment of this historical culture, such as the interactions and reactions of average citizens to themselves, others and their possessions, are displayed naturally and spontaneously, resulting in a diegesis that reflects the reality of living in this specific historical era. However, this second type of historical film is constructed from speculation and invention, where historical evidence is repurposed to serve a fictional narrative (Kremmer, 2015). As Rosenstone states, 'the past on the screen is not meant to be literal [...] but suggestive, symbolic, metaphorical'

(2006, p.30) and as a result, the presence of this imagined narrative allows the film to explore a past culture without being tied directly to the historical discourse.

Despite the differences in historical film definition outlined thus far, no theorist has attempted to limit when a narrative has to be set in order for it to be considered historical. For instance, a film can either be set in the modern day or during the Stone Age, and still be classed as a historical film. By extension of this idea, several theorists posit that every film can be classified as a historical film. The theorists Michael Martin and David Wall argue that while the expected function of the historical film is to present a cinematic representation of historical events, people and locations, the historical film's second function is their documentation of 'the historical and cultural moment from which they emerge' (2013, p.448). The historical film is therefore a document in and of history (2013, p.448). Through their fictionalised narratives and cinematic depictions of past eras the historical film is a representation of history. However, by existing the same film is an artefact in history. The reason for this occurrence is that the process of constructing the historical film's representation of history imbues the text with the concerns and anxieties of the society that produced it (Burgoyne, 2008, p.6). As these concerns inevitably change, the representation of the past within each subsequent cinematic representation changes with it, resulting in an ever evolving history of the same event or era. For example, the 1961 film *Five Marines* reflects the staunch anti-North Korean stance South Korea's government held during this period through its repositioning of the Korean War as a holy crusade against the North. Yet, fifty years later *The Front Line's* (Jeong & Jang, 2011) representation of this conflict contained sympathetic characterisations of the North Korean infantry to reflect the humanitarian stance the South Korean government had towards the North during the 2000s. As stated by Deborah Cartmell and I. Q. Hunter, 'ideology shape[s] our perception of the past, and transform[s] raw facts into stories with causation and meaning.' (2001, p.1). This meaning is shaped by the concerns of the film's present context, and as such they can be studied to understand the culture that produced it. In this way, the first films that cinematically represented an event, such as the Korean War, were the 'first draft of history' as they contain the cultural concerns of the society that was temporally closest to the event (Westwell, 2013, p.384). This 'draft of history' is revised and rewritten through subsequent cinematic representation resulting in a history that is in near constant flux (Pramaggiore, 2013).

Amongst the debate surrounding what constitutes a historical film, there is also contention surrounding the title of the historical film genre. For some, the term historical film is not accurate and instead propose alternative terms. Two decriers of the term historical film are Thomas Keirstead and Marcia Landy. Keirstead proposes the alternative title 'period film', limiting the genre to the films set in a documented past, identifying the films that depict the Japanese Edo period as an example (2013). Likewise, Landy proposes the term 'heritage film', in which the past is reflected through the intricate detail of period reconstruction (2001). Under these reclassifications, the only films deemed worthy of inclusion within the historical film genre are those that are set within a past that is both temporally distant from modern society and requires a total physical recreation of antiquarian period details such as clothing, tools and buildings. As a result, films set in the 1930s, such as *Assassination* (Shen & Choi, 2015), would not be

deemed historical as the 20th century is not far enough in the past. Also, films set during the 1990s, for example *The King* (Han & Han, 2017), would not be considered historical because they do not require the total recreation of period details. In a discourse that is already characterised by much contention, the debate regarding the genre's title works as a microcosm of the contested nature of historical film definition.

### **The issue with the conflicting definitions**

The debate surrounding the definition of the historical film is expansive and the aforementioned theories are only a minute example of the arguments surrounding what does and what does not classify a film as historical. As Hayden White states, 'there is no such thing as a single correct original description of anything', and the contention surrounding historical film definition is an example of this (1978, p.127). The scattershot approach of film scholars towards defining the historical film has characterised the genre as inconsistent as films that are defined as historical by some, would not be by others. Consequently, in the film and history discourse any film can be considered historical depending on which definition is used. Yet these definitions not only dictate which films are historical, but also how the film's historical content is viewed and studied. For example, the film *Once Upon a Time in Corea* (Kang & Jeong, 2008) is an amalgamation of factual evidence and fictional narrative devices. The film's narrative concerns a diamond heist that occurs in the mid-1940s. While documented historical events and movements are included in the narrative, such as the Korean Independence Movement, the Japanese Colonial Government and the liberation of Korea from Japan in 1945, the main characters do not influence these historical occurrences. The usage of the mid-1940s as a narrative backdrop reflects the definitions of Landy (2001) and Rosenstone (2006), as the film recreates and repurposes historical crises to construct its narrative and reflect the culture of the Occupation period through its realist aesthetic.

However, the film assumes the audience has a knowledge of this historical period as the narrative's protagonists and antagonists draw their animosity from the documented tension between the Korean Independence Movement and the Japanese Colonial Government. As a result, the film also embodies the theories of Davis (2000) and Burgoyne (2008) as its narrative is intrinsically linked with documented historical fact. The film uses the Occupation period as a backdrop to its fictional narrative, but the dynamics of the characters are based firmly in history. As a result *Once Upon a Time in Corea* embodies the contradictions of historical film definition. It is a film that contains a fictional narrative, concerning itself with the reconstruction of period antiquarian details, while also using documented history to influence the dynamics of its characters and recreate historical events such as the liberation of Korea. The film can be viewed under both Landy's (2001) and Rosenstone's (2006) definition as equally as Davis' (2000) and Burgoyne's (2008). However, if only one of these definitions are used while studying the film, the historical focus of the definition that is not used is potentially ignored and, as result, this historical information can be lost. For instance, if the definition sways research towards how the historical culture is represented, there will be a lack of focus towards how the film recreates the historical event. Instead of studying both ideas equally, one is potentially ignored due to the definition chosen. This is the main issue with the



differing and contradictory definitions of the historical film. To frame historical texts under one of these definitions is doing a disservice to the discourse as it is needlessly rejecting other facets of vital historical research.

### **Possible reasons behind the inconsistency**

Since the 1980s countless research has been conducted into the film and history discourse using a variety of historical films to analyse certain facets of history (Rosenstone, 2006, p.7). During this period the historical film has remained undefined, resulting in a discourse that has built its research off of a core concept that is largely subjective. Yet while the issue with the multitudes of differing and contradictory definitions has been outlined above, there appears to be two main reasons why this concept lacks a central definition, namely to keep the historical rhetoric fluid and to not alienate past research from the discourse. The historical film's lack of a central definition keeps the film and history discourse both wide and deep. In fact, it is the widespread use of the layman definition which keeps the discourse from stagnating. Under the layman definition, countless films can be classified as historical. As a result, any film that depicts a certain historical era or individual can be studied as a part of the film and history discourse. The layman definition of the historical film has been utilised by theorists to adapt their theories and topics, such as genre theory and class representation, into the discourse. As a result, the only limitation placed on film and history scholars is deciding what historical film will best complement their research. The layman definition of the historical film is both open and flexible allowing theorists to discuss any topic in any multitude of historical films. If a complex, central definition of the historical film was to be applied to the discourse, under the likes of Davis, Burgoyne, Rosenstone and Keirstead, this flexibility will be greatly reduced. As a result, the theorist may no longer be able to pick a historical film that best represents their chosen topic, but will have to pick a topic that best fits into the films that are firmly defined as historical. Therefore, if a singular definition was to be applied, the discourse would narrow significantly and limit the research that could be conducted into the historical film.

The narrowing of the discourse leads into the second reason the historical film remains largely undefined, as this precise hypothetical definition may eject the majority of film and history research from the discourse. If a central definition of the historical film is eventually agreed upon, the layman definition will no longer be valid. Consequently, the films that were considered historical under the layman definition, and do not meet the requirements of the new central definition, would stop being characterised as historical films. Therefore, as these films are not considered historical, the research conducted into them would not be a part of the film and history discourse. For instance, research that frames its theories through the textual analysis of specific historical films, such as Chris Berry's 'All at Sea? National History and Historiography in Soul's Protest and Phantom, the Submarine' (2005), may no longer be considered research into the historical film, as the films they are analysing would cease to be considered historical. However, works like Hayden White's 'Historiography and Historiophoty' (1988a), that detail how the historical film constructs its representation of history would still be included in the discourse as this research concerns the function of the historical film and is not based

upon the analysis of a specific historical film. In turn, the film and history discourse will inevitably divide into two separate discourses. The first will be the traditional film and history discourse that examines the films that can be defined as historical, and the second will contain the research conducted into the films that are merely set in history.

The fluidity and inclusivity of the current film and history discourse clearly demonstrates why a central definition of the historical film has not yet been agreed upon. A central definition will limit the academic freedom of film and history scholars, artificially shrink the pool of knowledge that the discourse offers and irreparably divide film and history theory. In order to keep the discourse open and not alienate past and future research it is reasonable to conclude that a central definition never will, or should, be agreed upon.

### **Possible solution to the historical film issue**

Initially, a centralised definition of the historical film appears desirable. Theoretically, this definition would focus the discourse by concluding definitively what films are and are not historical. It is evident though that such a definition is as close to being found today as it was back in the 1980s. Yet the reasons dictated above demonstrate that the introduction of a central definition could prove detrimental to the discourse. However, as exhibited through films such as *Once Upon a Time in Corea*, the absence of a concrete definition creates issues when studying a film for its historical content, as depending on the definition of the historical film used to frame the research, artificial limitations restrict the study of important historical information. The historical film therefore faces a dichotomy. The current diverse range of historical film definitions, along with the hypothetical central definition, both actively limit the research potential of the historical film. However, a possible solution to this issue can be proposed after distilling the ideas of notable film and history theorists down to their base concepts. Rather than defining what type of history a historical film needs to depict, assessing a film's historical focus allows scholars to clearly separate the films with valid historical information from those without it. The research conducted by theorists such as Davis, Landy and Rosenstone reveals the three main foci of a historical film, namely the film's adherence to historical accuracy, its depiction of a past culture and its commentary on the culture that produced it.

The first focus assess the film's adherence to historical accuracy. This is in regards to whether the information contained within the primary sources of historical information, such as the correct names and personalities of historical figures, and the essential dates and outcomes of historical events, are maintained within the film or if the film's narrative relies on anachronism as a driving force. The second focus concerns the film's visuals. By analysing the film's mise en scene and iconography in regards to the era's tools, costumes and buildings a visual image of a historical culture begins to form. Then by studying why and how certain items are used and ignored, and how primary and background characters interact with each other, the film can visually depict the rituals, religion, government and social hierarchy of that culture. Unlike the first focus, this cultural study does not need to be contained in the narrative, but can be viewed in the background of scenes through actor performance. Finally, the historical film's third focus

is how the concerns and anxieties of the culture that produced the film are imprinted onto its narrative content. For instance, the positive or negative representation of war can reflect the political climate of the country that produced the film at that time, as reflected by the Korean War films produced by South Korea before and after the nation's democratisation. Using metaphor and themes, the contemporary anxieties of the film's present context is always somehow depicted in the film, such as how the American war film *M\*A\*S\*H* (Ericksen & Altman, 1970) used the Korean War as a metaphor for the Vietnam War through its thematic depiction of childlike soldiers, an ineffectual military bureaucracy and the frustration of mandatory conscription (Donald & MacDonald, 2014, p.232). As the definitions outlined by numerous film scholars can be categorised into at least one of these foci, it can be argued that if a film that depicts a historical period contains all three, including any potential subversions, it can be considered to be worthy of studying under the film and history discourse. As a result, the aforementioned definitions of what constitutes a historical film becomes secondary as long as the film or films being studied in some way embody these historical foci.

## **Conclusion**

The desired function of the definition of the historical film is to clearly differentiate the films with viable historical information from those whose narrative is merely set in a historical era. However, as demonstrated throughout this paper, this definition remains elusive. The existing definitions of the historical film range from a layman definition, which states that any film set in the past can be considered historical, to numerous strict definitions that can only be applied to a small subset of films. This paper has demonstrated that a singular definition of the historical film has not been agreed upon as it artificially alienates past research and restricts the type of research that can be conducted into the film and history discourse. The proposed three foci of the historical film genre are a potential solution to this issue, yet this is still far from definitive. After conducting decades of research without a central definition it is easy to conclude that the historical film will forever remained undefined by a single clause. Yet, through understanding the repercussions such a definition can bring to the discourse, it is understandable as to why the historical film is best left without a central definition.

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***The Social Mobility Perception of Chinese International Students in the U.S.***

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**Abstract**

This study explores the transitional identity of the youngsters who experience dual mobility—the horizontal mobility (geographic relocation) and the potential, upward mobility—in the process of pursuing higher education overseas. While individuals' identity dynamics have been examined in multiple mobility forms such as migration, nomadism, and short-term travel, the identity project of international students has been underresearched even if these globally mobile youngsters represent a unique mobility form in which often only one country is deliberately selected for a motivated, fix-term, and voluntary relocation. While studying abroad can be simply viewed as an act to convert economic capital into the globally-recognized cultural capital, the interview data collected among international students from China reveal that the informants were aware of their capital loss as much as their capital gain. As a result, they developed an alternative framework to interpret their mobility experiences. This study illuminates the emerging market youngsters' motivation to pursue higher education overseas when it no longer guarantees traditionally-defined upward mobility, and brings insights into the scholarship of youth culture regarding the youngsters' value to define their social positions and to build social class boundaries.

Keywords: identity; social mobility; international students; capital; China

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## Introduction

This study explores the identity projects of the international students who experience cross-border, cross-cultural mobility, paying particular attention to how these youngsters interpret their capital possession in this process and how they reproduce their social positions in mobility. While one's social position is often defined by external demographic variables, such as income, occupation, and education (Mihic & Čulina, 2006; Hunag et al., 2017), some studies have evidenced the effectiveness of subjective socioeconomic status in terms of predicting one's psychological functioning and well-being. For example, Huang et al. (2017) indicate that the well-being perception of the rural-to-urban migrants in China is determined not only by how much they actually gained in the mobility (objective socioeconomic status) but also how much they believe they have gained (subjective socioeconomic status). As such, taking individuals' mobility experiences and their subjectivity into consideration could add considerable complexity to the discussion of how social class is lived in the everyday context.

This study grounds the discussion of individuals' subjective social class identity in the context of social mobility, hoping to illuminate how people's social mobility experience affects their perception of social standing. This inquiry echoes an emerging research agenda of the "new mobilities paradigm," which "brings together some of the more purely 'social' concerns of sociology (inequality, power, hierarchies) with the 'spatial' concerns of geography (territory, borders, scale) and the 'cultural' concerns of anthropology or communication research (discourses, representations, schemas), while inflecting each with a relational ontology of the co-constitution of subjects, spaces, and meanings" (Sheller, 2014, p. 3).

Individuals' identities in cross-border mobility have been widely examined with empirical data gathered among the migrants and travelers (e.g., see Mehta & Belk, 1991; Bardhi, Ostberg, & Bengtsson, 2010), and the findings, as Bardhi, Eckhardt, and Arnould (2012) suggested, often anchor such potential identity dynamics to either the home or the host context. This study is a departure from the mainstream accounts as it addresses a less explored mobility form, the international student mobility. The international student mobility is a unique form of cross-border, cross-cultural mobility for three reasons. First, it is neither as permanent as migration, nor as temporary as short-term travel. Instead, it is a motivated, voluntary, and fix-term relocation in one foreign country based on deliberate choices. The mobility experience of these international students should thus be differentiated from that of migrants, highly-skilled mobile professionals, global citizens, global nomads, sojourners, and travelers.

Second, the international student mobility is almost exclusive for the millennial generation, who, thanks to the global consumer culture, is often assumed to subscribe to a homogenized worldview (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006; Stein, 2013). Studying the identity project of youngsters who travel across the borders should bring new insights into their acculturation processes and their nuanced identity dynamics, which may help reveal some potential variations in a seemingly globalized youth culture. Third, given the implication for "upward mobility" that has been attached to higher education (Kupfer, 2012), the international students embody dual mobility trajectories—geographically outbound mobility as well as potential, upward mobility. The international students' identity may thus become even more elusive to define and



requires more scholarly attention to explore how social mobility is perceived by these youngsters.

International students from China who are currently studying in the U.S. are selected as the empirical focus to examine how youngsters' global mobility experiences affect their identities. The rationale is that in this second largest economy (Barboza, 2010) and the largest consumer market worldwide (Ro, 2015), overseas education is deemed a new fad among urban-dwelling, consumption-oriented, new middle class in China (Larmer, 2016; Yang, 2016). According to the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 544,500 Chinese students went abroad to study in 2016, and 91.49% among them were self-funded. While most Chinese students opt for English-speaking countries as their destinations, the U.S. is the most popular choice. According to the Institute of International Education (IIE) in the U.S., in the academic year of 2015-16, about one-third of the 1,043,839 international students in the U.S. were from China, which constituted the largest international student population in the U.S. by country-of-origin, followed by the students from India, as there were 165,918 Indian students in the U.S. in the same academic year.

The large-scale movement of Chinese youngsters as international students has been an established theme in the literature regarding human capital, which explores whether and how their foreign credentials could be turned into advantages for job-seeking in both host societies and the home country (Hu & Cairns, 2017; Zweig, Chen, & Rosen, 2004). However, these accounts tend to emphasize the international students' capital acquisition, paying relatively scant attention to their capital loss in the relocation process and to how these youngsters deal with their capital change.

According to Bourdieu (1986), people use three forms of capital to pursue distinction in social life: economic capital (financial resources), cultural capital (socially rare and distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices), and social capital (relationships, organizational affiliations, networks) (Holt, 1998; Henry & Caldwell, 2008). Longhurst and Savage (1996) argue that Bourdieu's perspective "allows him to relate consumption processes to the traditional emphases of mainstream Marxist and Weberian sociologists—class, status, social closure—whilst at the same time reframing these theoretical ideas in ways sensitive to the complexity of cultural media and the specificity of different cultural fields" (p. 274). In this account, self-funded international students are usually perceived as converting their economic capital (the capability to pay for the tuition) into cultural capital (college degree; knowledge). In general, it is believed that the upper class is more capable to enact such capital conversion to expand their overall capital volume than the lower class who have little resources (Blasius & Friedrichs, 2008).

However, scholars have applied Bourdieu's theoretical framework in various contexts to argue that one's capital does not always operate in predictable ways based on the holder's social standing. For example, in the context of cross-border mobility, Bardhi et al. (2010) argue that one's cultural capital may "decrease" when traveling to other countries of different cultural backgrounds (e.g., from the U.S. to China). In their study, travelers' consumption of food abroad can reveal a low cultural capital mode, which is different from their high cultural capital status in their home country. For example, travelers may turn to Western fast food restaurants to "feel like home" when they lose interest in experimenting with local food after the first few days of travel,

meaning that they no longer perform a cosmopolitan taste, a feature of high cultural capital holders (Bardhi et al., 2010).

Therefore, the international student mobility may not be merely about how a group of privileged youngsters accumulate more cultural capital that is recognized worldwide to reproduce their advantages. On the contrary, capital loss or other unexpected capital operation may involve in the relocation process. In this sense, the international students may not perceive studying abroad merely as beneficial drive for upward mobility, which is often define by the accumulation of multiple forms of capital, say, better salaries (economic capital) and more resourceful peers (social capital). Specifically, this study aims to answer two research questions:

First, how do international students interpret their capital possession in the relocation?

Second, how do international students interpret their mobility experiences?

To answer the research questions, in-depth interviews based on a qualitative approach were conducted with twenty-seven first-generation international students from China, who were funded by their parents to pursue an undergraduate or a master's degree in a major university in the U.S. As indicated by Seidman (2006, p. 9), at the root of the in-depth interview "is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience." The informants' parents, and/or the elder members in their core families, do not have long-term overseas experiences of either education or employment. For a manageable scope of data analysis, only self-funded international students were recruited. This is not only because they are more representative of the Chinese international student group when 91.49% of outbound international students from China in 2016 were self-funded. The sampling also ensures that the informants' overseas study is a motivated, determined, voluntary decision, which is not affected by factors such as generous scholarship and corporate sponsorship. First-generation international students were recruited to exclude situations like "global citizens" who simply travel due to the relocation of the whole family. The informants' profiles can be found in Table 1.

## **Findings**

The data reveal that the informants stress their capital loss as much as their capital gain, believing that their non-citizen status and restrained social networks will impede their job-hunting in the U.S., and that they do not have the acute sensibilities and *guanxi* to succeed in the job market in China. Therefore, the informants do not associate their study-abroad decision with the traditionally-defined upward mobility that is largely determined by career advancement and salary increase. Instead, they develop an alternative framework to define their upward mobility through their outbound mobility, meaning that they "get ahead" because of some immaterial, inner changes that are gained in their transnational relocation. The findings are discussed in detail in the following section.

### ***Capital loss***

According to Kim (2011), a major motivation for youngsters to pursue a higher degree overseas is career development. It is conceivable that studying abroad is

perceived as an opportunity for upward mobility if it means not only more education but also more incomes and a better career. However, with the growing numbers of Chinese international students and returnees, a foreign degree is no longer as valuable as it used to be. Karen, one of the informants of this study, believes that the returnees are increasingly “undervalued.” Another informant, Elsa, also feels that her overseas experience may not significantly differentiate her from her local peers if the status is evaluated by external variables.

*Elsa: “I think 10 years ago, returnees were considered outstanding in China. Maybe even 5 years ago people still looked up to returnees. But at the time when I obtain my degree and work for a few years and then return home, the returnee status will be no longer valuable because there are so many people studying abroad. I am fine with the fact that eventually I may go home to do the same job and receive the same salary as my local peers. The result seems to remain the same. But personally, I have gained a broadened vision and more experiences, which cannot be accessed if I stay home all the time. I am proud that I have such experiences, I think it is truly a valuable fortune in my life.”*

As Elsa said, in general, the informants talked about studying abroad less as an effort to pursue distinction and to “stand out,” but more as an act to follow the trend to seek an opportunity for self-fulfillment. As studying overseas is no longer a rare case in the informants’ communities, they do not expect their international experiences to bring a drastic, beneficial change to their material well-being and career development. Instead, they emphasize much about how the degree may not be as helpful as it is assumed, which means that the process of studying abroad involves potential capital loss and the difficulty to convert their capital into another form. For example, one of the informants, Jeff, no longer believes that studying abroad would bring “mobility capital,” i.e., the power of foreign academic qualifications to facilitate job-seeking in China (Hu & Cairns, 2017; Wang, 2012).

*Jeff: “You cannot bring your social networks home after graduation, the lessons your learned here are not applicable to the Chinese society...we heard of news about how returnees became scam victims, it is because that they don’t have enough social experiences in China...Honestly, your English proficiency aside, there is little about a returnee that employers would value.”*

Jeff’s sharing implies that, in China, one needs to be immersed in the local context for a long time to figure out the social norms. Therefore, the informants sometimes worry about how their away-from-home period may weaken their sensibilities that should have been sharpened through a socialization process in China. According to Warren, Dunfee, and Li (2004), following some social norms, such as *guanxi*, is crucial if one wants to do business in the emerging markets, where business does not yet operate according to institutionalized rules and regulations.

Meanwhile, although the informants anticipate some difficulties in their job-hunting in China, they also understand that they are not “Westernized” enough to succeed in the U.S. job market. Many informants mentioned their non-citizen status as a major weakness because when they need an employment visa to legally work in the U.S., it means uncertainty for the employers. For example, Stanley believes that what impedes his job-seeking is his non-citizen status rather than his capability.

*Stanley: "So I got a phone call the other day, a company is interested in me and they like my resume, they asked whether a sponsorship is required for my status. They said they will think of it, but they never get back to me. I think I lost the opportunity because of the (non-citizen) status."*

Besides the non-citizen status as a major hurdle for job-seeking, the informants also find it difficult to accumulate useful social capital because all of their cultural capital that used to help expand their social networks does not work in the U.S. For example, although Hannah's language proficiency is good enough to address her academic needs, she finds it frustrating to make friends with local students because they often have different extracurricular interests.

*Hannah: "I have no idea about how to chat with my friends, they talked about super bowl or local games and TV series, I have never watched them and I have no idea, we don't have a topic in common to talk about, deep or superficial or entertaining. I am like the black hole, sitting there and said nothing...my roommate said that I am socially inept. When I was in China, I have abundant language resources to tackle this problem, I can express myself, but this does not work here, there is no way to cover my weakness when we chat in English."*

Hannah's sharing reveals that even if some international students perform well in class, they may lack the skills and understanding of local culture to confidently interact with local students and thereby expand their social networks, which are crucial for job-seeking in addition to high GPAs. As a result, most informants tend to make friends with other international students from China. As Bonnie said, even if she seems to have all the chances to meet new friends and expand her social networks, it is easier to make friends with other international students from China.

*Bonnie: "About 90% of the students in my department are from China...I make friends with those who take the same class with me, and those who live in my neighborhood, and my roommates, it is a small circle and all my friends here are from China, and my life is all about interacting with other Chinese...I would say this is not ideal, I am also thinking of other ways to expand my social network. But I think the Westerners do not actively make friends with us even if they would not reject such an opportunity, I think I have not found a way to build a steady friendship with them."*

Given how the informants perceive their capital loss, one may assume that they do not expect their overseas education to bring upward mobility and that they came to the U.S. merely for experiential purposes. After all, for some new middle class families in China, paying for their children's overseas education is just like another luxury brand purchase (Larmer, 2016), meaning that it is for the "consumption" purpose rather than for the "production" purpose, i.e., securing a better position in the system of production. However, the data reveal that the informants' study-abroad decision is not simply experience-driven. Instead, they believe that these experiences would bring some internal, immaterial changes so that certain personal propensities will be developed to help them "get ahead." In other words, the informants perceive upward mobility and horizontal mobility (geographic, transnational relocation) in an overlapping manner, which is elaborated in the following section.

### ***Capital gain and mobility perception***

Despite the capital loss discussed above, the informants believe that they are gaining some valuable characteristics that differentiate them from their peers who have no international experience, such as a broadened vision, the familiarity to multiple culture forms, the capability of critical thinking, and the propensity to be more independent, inspired, and informed. Such tendency echoes Wang's (2012) argument that the motivation for privileged youngsters to pursue overseas degrees is often associated with the accumulation of cosmopolitan capital, which is defined as "bodily and mental predispositions and competence which help to engage confidently in globalizing social arenas" (Weenink, 2008, as cited in Wang, 2012, p. 3). For instance, when Rosa talked about how she is privileged if compared with her parents' generation, the comparison is based on personal characteristics rather than career and financial achievement.

*Rosa: "I am not interested in acquiring power and prestige to fit into the upper class, I will live in the way I like, and eventually I may become someone just like my parents. I will be in a position just like theirs and I am fine with it. But I have the overseas experiences...compared to my father, I think I am more open-minded, I understand that there are different ways to live, while my father is not comfortable with other lifestyles that do not fit his value...I think I also dare to take risks...my parents lived under economic pressure, but I don't, so I don't have as much concern as they do. I am willing to take challenging tasks and I don't care about economic rewards. I want to experience something special, and I care about self-fulfillment."*

Similar to Rosa, Jeff also describes the intergenerational upward mobility based on something personal, domestic, and "trivial." For him, the upward mobility is carried out in intangible changes in his thoughts, attitudes, and value.

*Jeff: "So people tend to evaluate things by the outcomes rather than the processes. If I end up holding a position similar to those for people who never left China, my overseas education may be considered as a disappointing deal. But I don't think of it this way. While studying abroad, I have been trained to think critically and independently...I mean you need to ask "why" to everything...for example, my mother would forward some postings in her social media to me, and I find them annoying. I tried to explain to her that she should not believe in whatever she reads. Whenever she forwards something to me, I need to do some research to decide the extent to which I should believe in this message, which is a waste of my time. This is a typical example of not performing independent thinking."*

In this regard, the informants tend to define their upward mobility through their horizontal mobility, i.e., geographic relocation. The informants' overlapped interpretation of upward mobility and outbound mobility could be explained by Berg's (2011) argument that individuals would develop subjective definitions of "getting ahead" if the mainstream socioeconomic valuation is not applicable to their cases. In Berg's (2011) research, Moroccan migrant women in the Netherlands define their upgraded social position by practices such as informal education (self-learning) as well as newly-acquired characteristics such as self-reliance (autonomy, emancipation), since commonly-used indicators of formal schooling and paid work are not realistic to them. In a similar sense, there are three potential reasons for the

informants to adopt such alternative account to heavily associate upward mobility with international relocation.

First, while the politically correct discourse of the “two-class” structure in China may no longer account for the current social stratification after the rapid economic growth, occupational shift, and privatization (Guo, 2008), individuals may subscribe to an ambiguous social class consciousness (Miao, 2017). When people holding diverse economic positions tend to universally categorize themselves into a similar, “middle-class” economic position (Miao, 2017), they may not feel that they have moved upwards to another economic bracket even if they have gained significant income increase. Therefore, the informants may turn to other evaluations that would acutely reflect their advantages in pursuing distinction.

Second, most informants come from privileged backgrounds as their parents have white-collar occupations or hold managerial positions, earned college or postgraduate degrees, and have enough discretionary incomes to fully sponsor their children’s overseas education. The informants may find it neither realistic nor feasible to expect to surpass their parents by moving upwards to another social class. In other words, the intergenerational mobility is not possible if it is measured by traditional evaluations. In addition, because the informants were economically secure in their upbringings, they may not value economic capital that is concretized in conspicuous forms as much as those who used to suffer from economic deprivation (Chipp, Kleyn, & Manzi, 2011). In this sense, the informants may rely on other traits that are popular among the younger generation, such as the exploratory experiences away from home (Weinberger, Zavisca, & Silva, 2017), to evaluate their social positions and to signal social class boundaries. According to Weinberger et al. (2017), the privileges of middle-class young adults are embodied in how they voraciously consume exploratory experiences that are varied, novel, challenging, and nondomestic, a pattern that is not observed among working class young adults. Such lifestyle variations may in turn be used to explain how experience-seeking individuals are perceived to hold better social positions.

Third, as previously mentioned, for the informants, studying abroad does not always mean an accumulation of various forms of capital. It does not imply a more useful social network or a more lucrative occupation. Therefore, the informants may tend to stress their immaterial, internal changes to justify their costly study-abroad decision. While the returnees are not perceived more valuable than their local peers in the job market, the informants strategically interpret their overseas education to stress how it facilitates personal growth, which does not need to be associated with a successful career or monetary rewards.

## **Conclusion**

Through 27 in-depth interviews, this study presents how Chinese international students define their upward mobility through outbound mobility, meaning that they move to a better social position because of some immaterial, internal changes that occurred during their transnational relocation. In particular, the informants do not associate overseas education with traditionally-defined upward mobility, which is measured by better salaries, occupational advancement, and higher education. Instead, they value how their international experiences have brought them a broadened vision,

the familiarity to multiple culture forms, the capability of critical thinking, and the propensities to be more independent, inspired, and informed. The findings are expected to contribute to two scholarly fields in particular.

First, while the economic growth in China may weaken the “pulling power” of other industrialized, developed countries since the growing Chinese market means more employment opportunities, business niches, and the access to material well-being, a constant increase of outbound students from China is observed. In other words, the Chinese youngsters pursue overseas degrees with the awareness that they may eventually return to China and their career paths may not benefit much from their overseas education. While such trend can be explained by multiple factors, this study illuminates that the large-scale, outbound movement of international students from China may be related to how the youngsters have developed an alternative framework to define distinction, i.e., they view themselves as “getting ahead” when they have experienced more horizontal mobility (geographic relocation). Therefore, this study sheds light on the socio-cultural drive of international student mobility in the contemporary economic reality.

Second, the findings inform the scholarship of youth culture by showing how the youngsters’ values are shaped by macro-societal changes. Growing up in affluent and one-child family backgrounds, and at the same time witnessing the economic growth and the newly-developed business sectors, the Chinese youngsters adopt an alternative framework to define success. Such perspective may reveal an eclectic account in terms of how the youngsters on the one hand pursue social status in order to be recognized in a collectivistic culture, while on the other hand follow the global youth culture of the middle class young adults to stress individuality and self-fulfillment (Weinberger et al., 2017).

In addition to the theoretical contributions, this study also comes with a few limitations that can be addressed in future research. First, the “two-class” discourse in China is unique as it is different from, say, the westward framework that stresses personal endeavors and the caste system in which social class boundaries are pre-determined. Thus, the findings of the present study may not be applicable to other societies to explain how their youngsters’ social mobility perception might have changed along with the macro-societal reform. Second, while the sample is overrepresented by female informants, the researcher may overlook some gender-specific perspectives. In the traditional Chinese culture, the expectation to the next generation is gendered, i.e., men and women are expected to fulfill different roles in the family as well as in the society (Liu, 2006). As such, how the youth picture their future career may also be gendered. The findings regarding how the informants are less concerned about the traditionally-defined success may be due to how such evaluation is less associated with female stereotypes. Future studies may further examine whether the social mobility perception of youth varies across genders.

Table 1: The informants' profiles

	Pseudonym	Degree level	Hometown	Age	Gender	Major
1	Annie	Bachelor's	Xian	22	F	Economics
2	Carol	Bachelor's	Peking	23	F	Advertising
3	Elaine	Master's	Peking	23	F	Advertising
4	Gabriel	Master's	Anhui	25	M	Advertising
5	Hannah	Bachelor's	Shandong	22	F	Chemistry Psychology
6	Iris	Bachelor's	Fujian	20	F	Natural Resources and Environmental Sciences
7	Jeff	Bachelor's	Fujian	24	M	Computer Science
8	Karen	Bachelor's	Shanghai	23	F	Economics Mathematics
9	Lara	Master's	Shanghai	26	F	Bioenergy
10	Monica	Master's	Shanghai	20	F	Computer Engineering
11	Natalie	Bachelor's	Shandong	21	F	Finance Accountancy
12	Olivia	Bachelor's	Shanghai	21	F	Accountancy
13	Pam	Bachelor's	Guangdong	20	F	Communication Psychology
14	Rosa	Master's	Guangzhou	22	F	Accountancy
15	Stanley	Bachelor's	Sichuan	22	M	Civil and Environmental Engineering
16	Tracy	Bachelor's	Nanjing	18	F	Mathematics
17	Vincent	Master's	Hangzhou	24	M	Architecture
18	William	Bachelor's	Chengdu	20	M	Material Science and Engineering
19	Anna	Master's	Dalian	23	F	Accountancy
20	Bonnie	Master's	Guangzhou	22	F	Statistics
21	Cindy	Master's	Peking	22	F	Computer Science
22	Deborah	Master's	Shanghai	22	F	Accountancy
23	Yvonne	Bachelor's	Changsha	22	F	Statistics Computer Science
24	Elsa	Bachelor's	Guangzhou	20	F	Advertising
25	Faye	Master's	Zhejiang	22	F	Advertising
26	Gina	Bachelor's	Fujian	19	F	Psychology Industrial engineering
27	Hailey	Bachelor's	Guangzhou	21	F	Physics



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## *History of Conflict Between Interest and Law*

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### **Abstract**

What happened on May 1998 attracted many attentions since there was a conflict among any interests which could not be solved by the law in charge. Thus, jurisprudence of interest tried to see advantages which could be gained from interests looking because all existence interest needed certain law to protect them. Furthermore, law functioned as a tool of social engineering where it supposed to protect state's, society's, and individual's interest. That theory, in fact, had been applied by the government in Soeharto's era to rule the country. At a very first time, the government applied the law properly, but then the situation changed where law only functioned as a supplement to support government's acts, while the government functioned as a tool of social engineering. This explorative descriptive research is trying to captured those acts. The acts led to any protests and demonstrations conducted by some groups of society and any college students' communities because they are disagreed with the government. Even, any conflicts among some people with the policemen which happened at that time could not be avoided anymore. Literature studies showed that Surakarta, started from its beginning has already become a city in where many interests conflict happened, a city which always been issued as a public barometer, and one of the victims in the national tragedy happened on May 1998 with a great loss. This research conclude that law was considered fail to protect individual's, society's, nor state's interests since there were many provocateurs who tried to make the situation getting worse. Any conflicts related to law application should be ended in the court, but at that time, it was ended by a chaos.

Keywords: law, interest, conflict, history, society

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## **Introduction**

The riot in Mei 1998 in Indonesia is a culmination point, from the reformation movement that caused the fall of the Orde Baru leader regime. The mass violence as a form of protest from a social group or university community to the leader, because the leader is considered to be unable to take care the problem of the nation, in fact that all of them has already written in the law products like regulations and another written laws lie under it. How the Orde Baru government used law as a means to manipulate the people to protect all of the interest (the interest of individual, society, and the nation) in the end caused the people to do reformation.

The Orde Baru regime was too show up the nation's necessities more than the interest of the other parties (like the needs of society and the needs of individual), the leader showed the arrogance, the refusal of changing, the lateness in taking proactive action, the tendency in underestimating reformation claim, and often do the repressive action (torturing and violating) to the action of protest. Those broadly were the violation of human rights which supported the growth of open opposition phase and the struggle in social politics

Surakarta since its early age, historically always related to the conflict of interest from the government elite (the Mataram Kingdom and the Dutch colony) that led into mass violence in the form of rebellion or war. While in Orde Baru and the pre reformation time, there were interest conflicts between the nation, the individual and the society that became stronger day by day and led to the mass violence. This city has always been issued as the short wick and the barometer of the national politics. This paper will discuss about how is the science of interest law, the law theory where law as a tool of social engineering, the violence theory, the radicalism theory and the conflict theory describe the law problems and the interest in the May 1998 tragedy in Indonesia, especially in Surakarta. (Wignjosoebroto, 1994: 224)

## **Methodology**

The result of this research is hoped to give contribution for the development of law theory, the science of interest law and the ideas of law construction in Indonesia, and also view for the other researchers, gives information and input for the government and society about law and interest in the relation with the riot in May 1998.

The informant determining for the field study was done by snowball sampling technique, where the informants were obtained through the information from the other informants (reference) until a certain amount and criteria are fulfilled according to the researcher. Dividing the informants by certain criterion from an informant source that really understands the problem observed. Participant observation and indepth interview are used simultaneously to get the data. The things that are hard to be obtained through interview are context and situation, will be obtained through direct observation (Marzuki, 2005: 126). Through deep reference study, the law and interest problems are studied related to the riot in May 1998, because most of the data are already documented. The descriptions

of the problem are based in the interest law science, the law theory of law as a tool of social engineering, violence theory, radicalism theory, and conflict theory. All of the obtained data are analyzed qualitative using interactive model of analysis, where the process of analysis starts since from the beginning of the data collecting by three activity steps, they are: data reduction, data serving, and conclusion making (Marzuki, 2005: 202)

### **Law as A Tool of Social Engineering**

In the early governance of Orde Baru, the law theory of law as a tool of social engineering (Roscoe Pound) was adopted. That means the law has the functions as a means to do social engineering and to protect all of the interest (the nation, the people, and individual interest). In its history, the government was begin to do deviations by having government as a tool of social engineering, while the law is merely a complement of the misery or the servant which should follow the interest and the needs of the government. By the reason of safety or national stability and the economics development for restructurization, the Orde Baru regime manipulated the people by using law as a means of its interest. The *social engineering by law* is replaced by *social engineering by government*. The people (social group and university community) who have different views were eliminated and kidnapped.

The action of the government in surpressing its people was included in the violation of human right, which produced the embryo of struggle from the people to conduct reformation movement. This movement was like a tsunami washing away everyone who stand in front of it, that the leader of the Orde Baru should put away its position. When the will of reformation comes into a reality, the world was shocked considering that the second president of Indonesia had ruled for a very long time.

The dynamics work of the law in Orde Baru was not taking side of the people, because the politics of the ruler was coloring the whole law (law is a product of politics) (Moh. Mahfud MD, 1999). The interest law since studies law and interest because both of them have close relation, the law exist to protects all interest in balance and the looking for interest should have a use or benefit. Furthermore, the law theory of law as a tool of social engineering is basically made to make the law protects all of the interests, but law in the hand of the ruler became a tool to protect his interest. The carpet of law was made for those needs, so all of what the government does is right and it is legal according to the law manipulated by them. There were many deviations that can be seen by the people as a suppress, and crime of the ruler. (Wignjosoebroto, 2002). The violence theory, the radicalism theory, and the conflict theory are the theories that describe the riot in May 1998, before and when the tragedy was happened.

### **The Violence Theory**

The violence theory of Johan Galtung highlights the structural violence that was done by the ruler to the people that is known as vertical violence. The action of the Orde Baru government caused the reaction from the social group and students community, that the physical clash could not be avoided. The role of the provocateurs in the riot in May 1998

made the great tragedy come faster. (Santoso, 2002: 5-6). The radical or mobilization approach is focused in the structural changing in the society, and John Friedmann identifies this problem in four parts; the first, the existence of emancipation value; the second, base it on the conflict rather than harmony model in the society; the third, commitment to bring specific forms from the structural changing in the society; and the fourth, the society are integrated on the ruling of the domination by some people (Friedman, 1987: 256). People through social group and student community wanted a changing on the status quo kept by the ruler. The different interests of the government and the people become a conflict that turn into a riot in May 1998.

The riot that caused bad damage to the palace of Paku Buwono II is called as Geger Pecinan. The moving of the palace from Kartasura to Surakarta was done in 1746, thus the name of Sala village was changed into Surakarta Hadiningrat. In the colonial period in the XIX and XX century, the area of Surakarta and Yogyakarta were the places of four kingdoms that “stand alone” under the ruler of Dutch Hindia. The Kasunan and Mangkunegaran Kingdoms are located in Surakarta, while the Kesultanan and Pakualaman are located in Yogyakarta. Even the four kingdoms admit themselves as the heirs of the Mataram Kingdom, a Javanese dynasty that in the past time had massive power, but they are the products of the Dutch colonial, that laid the land of the governance under two rulers, they are Surakarta and Yogyakarta. All of that area was called as *Vorstenlanden* (the land of kings) to differentiate from the other areas of Java, that is ruled directly by the Dutch Hindia government.

In 1743, Paku Buwono II was stated by the Dutch as the king, after he was stated by his enemies through a rebellion. After that, he moved the kingdom from Kartasura to Surakarta, and gave all of the Java area to VOC. This was the history of the Kasunan kingdom in Surakarta, and in the same time marks the beginning of the Dutch colonial penetration to the core of the Mataram kingdom, because since that time the chief minister of the king had the responsibility in taking care the region and worked for the need of the VOC and the *sunan*. After that, another rival kingdom was built in Yogyakarta through Perjanjian Giyanti in 1755, they are the Kesultanan with Sultan Hamengkubuwono I as the half ruler of the great nation and Mataram. Two years later, Mangkunegara Kingdom as another rival kingdom was built in Surakarta through Perjanjian Salatiga with Mas Said as its founder. He kept his promise to be loyal to Sunan, VOC, and Sultan and got the title Pangeran Adipati Mangkunegara. Dutch that had known by its VOC governance did the violence to the nation to its colony, like what they did to Mataram Kingdom by exploiting war in internal crash out (politics of *divide et impera*), wars and riots was done to get broader colony and bigger power in colony economy and politics. What the colonial government did to the people and the kings in the colony produce the empathy embryo, resentment, hatred, and in the end caused mass violence in the form of war to move away the colonial. Because of the *divide et impera* politics done by the Dutch to the Mataram Kingdom and the revenge done by the people and the kings, there was Diponegoro war. The effect for Surakarta is before, in early time and after the held of this city in the colonial age it experienced many mass violence (Mulyadi, 1989).



In the movement period from 1908 to 1945, there were many political parties appeared in Surakarta like Sarekat Islam (SI). The radicalism movement was happen not because of the local people's struggle with the ruler (the Kingdom or the government of Dutch colonial), but the struggle happened because of economics and political motive with the riot between the King Sing Jawa and Kong Sing Cina. Then the society was fed up with the attitude of the kingdom ruler, the Dutch Hindia governance, and the Dutch private farm companies, that produce radicalism in the society around 1918 to 1922 that we had H. Misbach and Tjipto Mangunkusuma. Around 1922 until 1927, there were Surakarta communist movements that caused the appear of the social revolution that caused the fall out of the traditional governance which the power lies in the hand of the kingdom bureaucrat to the national republic government. (Mulyadi, 1989)

The mass riot in Surakarta at the first time was marked by the "bloody action" in May 14<sup>th</sup> 1998 in Muhammadiyah University located in Kartasura region. The history observer relates this problem with the rebellion of RM Garendhi (Sunan Kuning) that is known as Geger Kartasura, that caused Pakubuwono II separated the center of the government from Kartasura Kingdom to Sala Village that later known as Surakarta Kingdom. Historically, they who like to observe the events in the past time state that "the history is repeating"

Since the early time of Surakarta until the riot in May 1998, there were seven "historical riots" in this city. The first was the moving of the capital of Mataram Kingdom in Kartasura Hadiningrat ("Bedah Keraton Surakarta") to Surakarta Hadiningrat in 1745, which was marked by the "Road Malaka" Batavia event, and then got broader to the Mataram Kingdom, where there was a riot known as *geger pecinan*. The second was the killing of the Chinese ethnic in Diponegoro period or known as *perang Jawa* (1825 – 1830). The third was the period of Serikat Islam Lama (1911 – 1912). The fourth was the Sarekat Islam in 1916. The fifth was pasca G-30 S/PKI in 1965. The sixth was the riot in November 1980. The seventh was the riot in May 1998 that destroyed this never sleep city. (Soeratman, 1989)

### **Radicalism Theory**

Radicalism and violence are always made as means to take care conflict. Legally, the interest conflict happened can be resolved through court like what is done by the United States of America, where the theory of law as a tool of social engineering was born. Even Roscoe Pound, the protocol of this theory structured the catalog of interest that needs to be protected by the law. The riot in May 1998 occurred in Indonesia, actually was a conflict of interests among the nation, the people and individual that was taken care in violence way, radical, triggered by provocator, so the great tragedy occurred and ruined this nation.

The use of law by the Orde Baru regime as a tool to manipulate the people to protect all interests were misused just to protect the interest of the ruler, and this made the people do reformation. The soul or spirit of *law as a tool of social engineering* is not only to manipulate the society but also protect many interests, such as the interest of the nation, the interest of the people, and the interest of the individual. The function of the law was

changed because it is taken side by the government. As a result, the regulation of law in the history of the development of the Orde Baru government had become a control power in the hands of the legitimated government (in formal jurisdiction), and did not reflect the justice concept all the time, moral values, and the real ideas of wise, that in fact, life in law awareness of the civil society. In the kind of situation, the underground movements were trying to be heard better and louder than in the period of the glorious moment of the ideas of revolution law in early 1960's (Mody, 1987: 6)

The people in the society that had any different ideas with the Orde Baru regime were considered as the opposition, they always got pressure and oppression in the form of violence (tortured, kidnapped, and even they disappeared like they had never been exist before). The violence the country did to its people called as vertical violence (from the upside to downside), while the struggling of the rebellion done by the people of the society, from demonstration to the action of violence called as vertical violence (from downside to the upside). In the riot in May 1998, the violence happened in the tragedy were vertical violence, both what was did by the nation to the people or vise versa.

The radical planning has four parts. The first is the value of emancipation. The radical approach specifically gives attention to the worker society that have no influence to the direction of the people and the suppressed and exploit the capitalist. This social movement was directed to free them the minor position in the society. The second, history is a contradictive process where the direction of the social development is opened. Because of that, the radical approach is based on the conflict rather than the harmony model in the society. The third, commitment to take the specific forms of the structural changes in the society. The fourth, the unity between theory and practice. Knowledge is seen more as an ideology rather than as a stock of sources. The groups that are involved in the political struggle are learning from the practices and the reality of the changing (Friedman, 1987: 256). The riot in May 1998 seen from the perspective of radicalism contained the four criterions mentioned above that is giving attention to the people suppressed and exploited, the existence of the contradictive process in the direction of social development.

### **Law of Interest**

Law of interest (jurisprudence of interest) is the science of law that study the interest. The problem of interest is having close relation to the use (the benefit related to human necessities). It is related to Roscoe Pound's theory, *law as a tool of social engineering*, where law is not merely a tool to manipulate the people but also protect the interests. If there are interest conflicts, the solution can be found through court. Differ from Indonesia, where solution was taking by doing mass violence.

The nation's crime without any responsibility is a nation's disgrace because the violence done by the nation through its apparatus to its citizen caused any reactions from the society by doing action in the form of demonstration and physical contact that changed into riot in May 1998. The violence of the nation was expressed in many ways like repression done directly by the apparatus, trained the paramilitary to did dirty jobs,

trained hoodlums to did a riot, created horizontal conflict between social group of different ethnic/religion. By those ways, the nation (the ruler and its apparatus) had transfer the violence to the society. The political criminalization and criminalization politics pushed the society to did violence like what the state had done to them.

The restructure planning like what had done by the Orde Baru by the name of national interest and neglecting the aspiration and the interest of the society was felt as a radicalism action from the government. The social groups and students community fought for it by having demonstration and physical contact with the apparatus. The Orde Baru regime was a powerful group that tried to keep its status quo, while the society was the group that wanted to do the changing. The different interest of the ruler and the people caused conflict that lead to changing. If the conflict is in great level, so the changing will be in radical form. While, if the conflict is along with the use of violence, the structural changing will be more effective.

### **The Conflict Theory**

The conflict theory proposed by Ralf Dahrendorf stated that every society is always in the process of endless changing, conflict is a symptom that gives contribution for the disintegration and the social changing, and people is integrated by the use of domination by some people upon others. (Ritzer, 2002: 21-28). The fall of the Orde Baru was an interest conflict between the ruler who wanted to keep its status quo and the people who wanted to do changing. Sociologically, people are always in the changing process (dynamic) and inside it, there are conflict seeds that can blow anytime if their interests are abandoned or suppressed. (Dahrendorf, 1959: 162). The ruler did not aware of this or they were in purpose not to take any concern about this, too arrogant and mesmerized by the massive power they had, supported by the military force, the large budget from the outsiders that entered Indonesia, great economics development (in fact it was getting worse), so in turn this authoritative regime took the natural selection and was forced to get down from the politics stage.

At first, law science of interest studies the balance between the interest, in order to make the conflict does not happened. If the conflicts are still appear, it can be solved through court of law. Manipulating society by using law as its tool by the government, does not mean that the ruler can do anything, but it is about how to use the law protects all interests. The catalog of interest includes the interest of nation, the interest of the people, and the interest of the individual. Those interests are not same among one another or it is different, so they have potential to be conflicts among them. The second, the non-law theories like the theory of violence, the radicalism theory, and the theory of conflict are served to give contribution for the law theory and the science of interest law in describing the riot in May 1998. *Law as a tool of social engineering theory* from Roscoe Pound is having the focus on the balance of the interest between the interest of the nation, the people and the individual. If there is a conflict of interest, so the solution is through law court. In Indonesia, *law as a tool of social engineering* is changed with *government as a tool of social engineering*, then the *social engineering by law* was changed into *social engineering by government*, where the government did crime (government crime),

because they were butchering, suppressing, and even kidnapping they who were having different ideas or unsupported the government.

## Conclusion

The conclusion of this research is that the happening of the mass violence that came into its culmination point in May 1998 is the form of protest or demonstration from the social group and the students community to the government, because they were considered as unable to solve the problem of the nation and the country that made the people in suffer. The life and the living of the running of the nation has been stated in the law products in the form of regulations and other ordinances that in hierarchy are lied under it. The Orde baru used law as a tool to manipulate people, which should be used to protect all of interests (the interest of the individual, the people, and the nation). In fact, the law only protected the interest of the government (nation), by the reason of development and economics growth and the need of security stability.

Surakarta since its early time, historically was always related with the conflict of interest form the government elite (The Mataram kingdom and the Dutch colonial) that changed into mass violence in the form of wars. In the governance of Orde Baru and before the reformation, the conflict among the interest of the nation, the people, and the individual were getting stronger and led to mass barbaric action. This city was always issued as a short wick (easy to make a riot) and the barometer of national politics since there was always a tight relation between Jakarta and Surakarta. This could be seen from the politics of the riot in May 1998 in Jakarta that accelerated the tragedy in Surakarta.

The jurisprudence of interest described the riot in May 1998 as an interest conflict between the nations, the people, and the individual. In order not to make a conflict to happen, there should be a balance protection for all interests. The law theory as a tool of social engineering actually has close relation with the theory of interest that is become the central point of Roescoe Pound's theory where law protects all of the interests. The tragedy in May 1998 happened because the government only protected all of the interests of the nation, while the interests of the people and the individual were oppressed, nor even obeyed. The history of Surakarta was full of interest conflicts started from the conflict between the Mataram kingdom and the Dutch colonial to the Chinese ethnic with the native people's conflict which cause this city easy to be triggered by the mass brutality. The social jealousy was appear in the Orde Baru era because the Chinese etnic who had got facilities, while the native people didn't get anything and abandoned by the government. The riot in May 1998 in Surakarta was seen from the science of interest, the law theory of *law as a tool of social engineering*, the violence theory, radicalism theory, and the conflict theory because there were the conflicts of interest among the ruler, the people, and the individual, where the problem of the native society and the non-native give a big contibution in it.

The riot in May 1998 was a national tragedy that could make the large nation like NKRI broke out into small nations, that maybe appeared based on the cultures, tribes, religions, or the feel of similarities. The learning that can be obtained from the riot in May 1998 is

the taking of this tragedy to the law laboratory, observe it, find the factors of the causes, testing and describe it with the existing theories to see objectively, what kind of law that run in the society. The method used should be holistic, comprehensive, and futuristic, so the solution produced by the law laboratory can be useful and successful

The shift of concept paradigm of the nation of law nation of regulation is need to be studied once more, put it back to the early paradigm. The regulations and the other products of law that in hierarchy are lied below it should be based on Pancasila as a source of all source of law in Indonesia and protect all interests. As a nation of law, everyone who do wrong things, even the nation apparatus, should be processed by the law, and the sanction put to them should reflect the sense of justice from the people. The authoritatian law should be changed into responsive law paradigm, and move as a progressive law, protecting all interests, in order that Indonesia can run well in taking its step to gain its purpose of life.

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*McDonaldization Advertising in the Context of Electronic Colonialism Theory*

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**Abstract**

Food is an important element in defining culture and can be seen to be the oldest global carrier of culture. According to William Gould's book *McDonalds: Business in Action*, "before the introduction of McDonald's overseas, fast food was almost unknown. McDonald's was the first company to try to export America's love of fast food and changes in eating habits of other nations." When taking a look at food from a cultural perspective, it should be understood how drastic changes on beliefs and consumptions of food could actually diminish some of the traditional beliefs of an entire culture. In fact, the replacement of non-traditional food over traditional food has the most detrimental effects on third-world culture traditions.

This study shows how globalized western advertising - in this case McDonald advertising - has affected the Indonesian social life and values. This study also present the benefits and also the threat of value changes to the society. An important discovery of this work is the willingness of the audience to accept the changes in their social life and values.

Keywords: mcdonalds, advertising, globalization, communication

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## **Introduction**

McDonalds has become a symbol of American cultural power and imperialism to the world outside the United States. The message of globalized McDonalds is clear: "If you eat like us, you are going to be like us." When in fact by eating like Americans people around the world are only being prone to look more like American's in regards to obesity. But yet, McDonald's, like many American corporations, have convinced themselves that despite its flaws, American culture is superior and therefore its influence is only beneficial to other, "lesser" cultures.

Food is an important element in defining culture and can be seen to be the oldest global carrier of culture. According to William Gould's book *McDonalds: Business in Action*, "before the introduction of McDonald's overseas, fast food was almost unknown. McDonald's was the first company to try to export America's love of fast food and changes in eating habits of other nations." When taking a look at food from a cultural perspective, it should be understood how drastic changes on beliefs and consumptions of food could actually diminish some of the traditional beliefs of an entire culture. In fact, the replacement of non-traditional food over traditional food has the most detrimental effects on third-world culture traditions.

The purpose of this study is to show the impact of McDonalds "Sate Burger" advertising on changing the family life styles and values of Indonesian consumers. This study also examines the influence of advertising – the benefits and the threat – to the society. Thus, this research is align with UPH's strategic planning "fish bone" in creative industry, specifically in audience studies.

## **Methodology**

This study focus particularly on McDonald advertising "Sate Burger". To watch how McDonalds tries to replace "nasi" (which is typical Indonesian) with "burger" (which is typical western) to eat sate with.

Methodology that will be used is qualitative. Qualitative content analysis will be used to analyze the advertising content. Meanwhile, to provide analysis of the impact of McDonald advertising on changing the cultural values of Indonesian consumers, focus group discussions will be used. The respondent for the FGD would be at least 12 participants to ensure the richness of the data.

Finally, to investigate the influence of advertising to the society, in depth interview will be conducted with McDonald Management, Advertising practitionairs and experts, and also Government body (Dirjen Menkominfo) officials.

## **Focus Discussion Group**

A method for collecting qualitative data through a group interview on a topic chosen by the researcher. A focus group typically consists of a tape-recorded discussion among six to eight participants who are interviewed by a moderator. As a method for collecting qualitative data, focus groups emphasize learning about the thoughts and experiences of others. When the participants in a group interview share an interest in the discussion topic, their interaction can provide information about how they relate to

the topic and to each other. The group dynamics in these participant-centred conversations allow researchers to hear how people explore the discussion topic. Hence, the most effective focus groups consist of participants who are just as interested in the topic as the researchers are, which helps to produce a free-flowing exchange. When the participants are mutually interested in the discussion, their conversation often takes the form of sharing and comparing thoughts about the topic. That is, they share their experiences and thoughts, while also comparing their own contributions to what others have said. This process of sharing and comparing is especially useful for hearing and understanding a range of responses on a research topic. The best focus groups thus not only provide data on *what* the participants think but also explicit insights into *why* they think the way they do.

One particularly powerful strategy in focus group research is to bring together participants with a common background with regard to the discussion topic. This homogeneous group composition makes it easier for the participants to engage in sharing and comparing. It is important to note, however, that this strength depends on careful recruitment procedures to ensure a group composition where the participants share a common set of experiences or beliefs with regard to the discussion topic. Another advantage of creating groups where the participants share similar interests or experiences is an increased ability to carry on their own conversation, with less active guidance from the moderator. Such groups are frequently termed ‘less structured’ since the participants are free to pursue their own interests in their own ways. This style of focus group is especially useful for exploratory research where the goal is to learn the participants’ perspectives. It is less useful, however, when the research team has a strong set of predetermined objectives.

In that case, a ‘more structured’ approach would emphasize the role of the moderator as a discussion leader, who would use a fixed set of research questions to guide the group’s conversation. Taken together, these two dimensions of ‘group composition’ and ‘interview structure’ generate a variety of research design options for focus groups. This flexibility makes it possible to use focus groups for a wide range of purposes throughout the social sciences. Compared to other qualitative methods, it is the interaction around a predetermined topic that makes focus groups unique. Although individual qualitative interviews also concentrate on well-defined topics, they do not provide the group interaction that is the source of data in focus groups. In particular, the process of sharing and comparing in focus groups often leads the participants themselves to explore the topic in ways that the researcher did not anticipate. Compared to participant observation as a means of collecting qualitative data, focus groups have the advantage of providing concentrated observations on the topics that are of most interest to the researcher. In particular, a focus group with questions that generate lively exchanges can provide information about a range of experiences and opinions that might be difficult to observe outside such a discussion.

Focus groups also have a set of corresponding weaknesses, which lead to situations where other methods of collecting data would be preferable. Individual rather than group interviews would be preferable when there is a need for greater depth and detail about personal experiences or beliefs, because one-on-one conversations allow more time to generate richer narratives. Collecting qualitative data through participant observation would be preferred over focus groups when there is a need to understand behaviour in context. In addition, focus groups and other types of interviews provide

only verbal and self-report data, so they are no substitute for observing how people actually behave in realistic settings.

Finally, focus groups typically follow other qualitative methods in relying on small, purposefully chosen samples that generate theoretical insights, which makes survey research preferable for studies that require generalizability. In just two decades, focus groups have moved from being almost unknown in the social sciences to become a popular method for collecting qualitative data. This widespread use clearly demonstrates their value. At the same time, however, this relative newness also means that focus groups have substantial, unexplored potential. This suggests a future for focus groups that builds on well established procedures at the same time as it uncovers new uses for this method. (Jupp, 2006: 121-122)

### **Cultural Imperialism**

Cultural Imperialism is the extension of influence or dominance of one nation's culture over others, through the exportation of cultural commodities (OED, 2008). Culture is defined as "The distinctive ideas, customs, social behavior, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people or period." Essentially, culture is something that is shared, learned or acquired, and constantly evolving and non-static. (OED, 2008). Imperialism is the extending of a country's power and influence through colonisation, use of military force or other means (OED, 2014).

Cultural Imperialism is closely related to global communication, which can be defined as the communication practice occurring across national borders, social, political and cultural divides (Thussu, 2010). The need for global communication has increased due to the expanse of globalisation. Schiller defined Cultural Imperialism as "The sum of the process by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system (Schiller, 1976). He argued that media is instrumental in this penetrative process, and referred to the idea of the USA exerting cultural influence over the rest of the world, particularly over developing countries (Schiller, 1976).

This type of Cultural Imperialism could be seen in US brand name products, like McDonalds, and media, like Hollywood and Disney. Ogan describes this as the process whereby the West produces the majority of media products, makes the most profit from them, and then markets these products to developing countries at lower cost than those countries would have been able to produce domestically (Ogan, 1988). Thereby creating a dependence and imbalance. Language is an essential aspect of Cultural Imperialism; in the past, Latin was the lingua franca and today English is the lingua franca of global communication (Goldhill, 2006). In global communication today, Cultural Imperialism manifest itself mainly through media, especially mainstream and mass media. As mentioned earlier, this is one-sided, meaning that the affected culture's media is not exported to the influencing culture (McPhail, 2014). Cultural Imperialism has taken both 'traditional' and modern forms. In past centuries, the church, educational system, and public authorities played a major role in inculcating native peoples with ideas of submission and loyalty in the name of divine or absolutist principle. While these 'traditional' mechanism of cultural imperialism

still operate, new modern instrumentalities rooted in contemporary institutions have become increasingly central to imperial domination (Petras, 1994).

The mass media, publicity, advertisement and secular entertainers and intellectuals play a major role today. In the contemporary world, Hollywood, CNN and Disneyland are more influential than the Vatican, the Bible or the public relations rhetoric of political figures (Petras, 1994). The U.S. flavor of globalization stems from the culture of possessive individualism and consumerism that has its most radical embodiment in American Society. The current world of consumer goods has an American face, even when goods and services are produced outside the United States. To that extent, the globalizing of the profit-driven culture of consumerism is identical to Americanization (Elteren, 2003). The principle target of cultural imperialism is the political and economic exploitation of youth. Imperial entertainment and advertisement target young people who are most vulnerable to US commercial propaganda. The message is simple and direct: 'MODERNITY' is associated with consuming US media products. Youth represents a major market for US cultural export and they are most susceptible to the consumerist-individualist propaganda. The mass media manipulates adolescent rebelliousness by appropriating the language and channelling discontent into consumer extravagances. Cultural Imperialism focuses on youth not only as market but also for political reasons: to undercut a political threat in which personal rebellion could become political revolt against economic as well as cultural form of control (Petras, 1994).

However, there are many critics of this, especially those that argue that Cultural Imperialism underestimates the free will, choice, and agency of the target audience (Tomlinson, 2001). It doesn't acknowledge a person's ability to process information and interpret that information differently based on their individual background and personal frame of reference (Ogan, 1998).

### **Electronic Colonialism Theory**

McPhail relates Cultural Imperialism to the theory of Electronic Colonialism – the dependency relationship established by the importation of communication hardware, foreign produced software, and engineers, establishing a set of foreign norms and values, which may alter the domestic culture (McPhail, 2014). Culture is basically an attitude, it is also learned. Now with ECT a new culture has emerged that is global phenomenon driven primarily by large multimedia conglomerates. They control, reproduce, and spread the global flow of words, images and sounds. They seek to impact the audiences' minds without regard to geography (McPhail, 2014).

Electronic colonialism Theory (ECT) focuses on how global media systems influence how people look, think and act. The aim of ECT is to account for how the mass media influences the mind. It is aimed at influencing attitudes, desires, beliefs, lifestyle and consumer behaviors. As the citizen of developed and developing nations are increasingly viewed through the prism of consumerism, influencing and controlling their values, habits and purchasing patterns becomes increasingly important to multinational firms. US life, culture, education and community (McPhail, 2014). However, one must note that although Cultural Imperialism is mostly used in pejorative sense, there are positive effects of it – like the exportation of women's rights values and other values like racial equality (Said, 1994).

## **Result and Analysis**

Expected results from this research are a description of eat culture in Indonesia and description of the McDonalds' impact "Sate Burger" advertising on changing the family life styles and values of Indonesian consumers. This study also examines the influence of advertising – the benefits and the threat – to the society.

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***Rugby Nation: Youth and Sports News Reinforcing National Identity***

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**Abstract**

News is an important area where the nation turns to, looking for an understanding of national and world events and to place it in a historical context. Arguably, the quality of this information can only be obtained when there is a diversity and plurality in media offerings. Modern commercial music radio is now in a state of disruption with increased competition from digital arenas, pressure to maintain financial performance and audience ratings. One method to keep audiences listening has been the service of providing sports news. With sports being a large part of the national psyche, and intimately tied into the historical identity of being a sports mad nation, what coverage are they presenting and what are the ramifications of this coverage in reinforcing a mythical national identity? An investigation into the diversity of sports news will be one avenue in which to examine whether news organisations are delivering a range of content that mirrors the range of sports being participated and excelled at locally and internationally. Looking at two youth radio stations over a similar month in 2013 and 2016, does their sports news coverage provide justification of assertions that they are providing a service for the public good? Cross media comparisons demonstrated the continuing history of marginalization of women's sports and focus on just a few major sporting codes. Utilising agenda setting theory and content analysis, there may be unintended consequences of a limited service that reinforces the way the country sees itself.

Keywords: Diversity, News, Radio, Sport, Youth, Identity

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## Introduction

According to Sport New Zealand, the government agency responsible for sport and recreation policy and funding “74% of adults (2.5 million people) take part in sport and recreation in any given week” (2015, p.4), with younger adults<sup>1</sup> amid the highest participants. Just like sport, the media also commands a lot of New Zealanders’ leisure time with a similar proportion of 18-34 years olds (79%) tuning in to radio on a weekly basis (Venuto, 2016). Radio has an important role as a major source of information about social, economic and political processes. It also reflects and reinforces the way a country sees itself. One of the major responsibilities of the press in a democracy is that of guaranteeing citizenship, by making it possible for citizens to arrive at an informed decision with consequences on issues of governance and accountability. Arguably, the quality of this information can only be obtained when there is a diversity and plurality in media offerings so that citizens have a choice. Commentators believe that the “proper role of the press is to provide editorial content that responds to the interests of the public, not the public plus advertisers” (Baker, 2002, p. 24).

New Zealand is a self-confessed sports-mad nation, and overseas is frequently known for our rugby fanaticism. One avenue where an assessment of the commitment to diversity and plurality is found is in the delivery of sports news, as it is an integral part of the fabric of the country’s culture. “Sport has become big media business as well as remaining such a feature of the country’s sense of national identity” (Harvey, 2002, p. 96). Since the country’s identity is tied in with a strong sporting culture, and that radio is still widely consumed across most demographics, there is space to research how well New Zealand commercial radio is providing a news product that fits the needs of the populace. Looking at how it might influence the critical 18-34-year-old market becomes the focus due to their dominant role as players, and roles as supporters and fans. An investigation into the diversity of sports news will examine whether media news organisations are delivering a range of content that mirrors the variety of sports being participated in and excelled at locally and overseas, and how this plays a role in the normalisation of national culture.

### News and the New Zealand radio market: A background

Following deregulation of the radio industry in 1989, enhanced competition brought changes to New Zealand’s radio news services. In 1994 public broadcaster Radio New Zealand (RNZ) was the dominant news provider and owned both commercial and non-commercial stations. The only competition was in the form of Independent Radio News (IRN), established in 1986 to provide network news and sports bulletins to other commercial stations. However, IRN was “fledgling in comparison, [to RNZ] both in its scale of operation and in the number of clients served” (Norris & Comrie, 2005, p.175).

In 1996, the commercial arm of RNZ became The Radio Network (TRN) and expanded its brief by purchasing Prospect Media Limited and acquiring frequencies in major cities to roll out network brands. TRN also bought IRN, later absorbing it into network news brand Newstalk ZB, which supplied news to TRN stations nationwide

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Sports New Zealand survey, young adults are aged 16-24 years.

as well as non-TRN stations such as the Rhema (Christian) radio network and other independent radio operators. Opposition commercial radio network RadioWorks, a client of IRN, was uncomfortable paying its competitor for its news service and set up its own in 2000. This was known as Global News after Canadian company CanWest acquired RadioWorks in 2001 (Norris & Comrie, 2005, p.182). News brand Radio Live took over the bulletins from Global News in 2005 for MediaWorks' network of radio stations around the country. New Zealand now had competing commercial radio news networks, as well as news from public broadcaster RNZ.

In addition to the plethora of rival music formats, TRN and MediaWorks both launched specialist sports radio networks. TRN's Radio Sport began broadcasting from the country's biggest city, Auckland in 1998 and was "the first radio station in this sports-mad nation to broadcast sporting commentaries and sport talk, all day, every day" (Shanahan, 2005, p. 138). In 2007 RadioWorks launched dedicated sport and (horse) racing network BSport. BSport was re-branded as Live SPORT in 2010 to complement news brand Radio Live, but ceased broadcasting in 2015 following the sale of MediaWorks to an American hedge fund, with its frequencies relegated to the more profitable music formats. The target audience of both sports networks is older and predominantly male.

The networking of content and the inevitable centralisation of programming to the main centre of Auckland saw the number of independent stations and local programmes diminish. This had a flow-on effect for news and sport with less opportunity for local coverage.

Local input to radio stations decreases as companies try to run profitably in very crowded markets. Increased coverage areas, networking, automation and associated uses of digital technology are changing the nature of work in radio and the medium itself, away from its local community orientation and involvement and towards the production of multiple brands of a similar product to position themselves for consumers. (Wilson, 1994, p. 62)

The networks have launched similar and competing multi-platform digital news services in recent times. In 2014, TRN and APN News and Media formed new entity New Zealand Media & Entertainment (NZME.), combining radio, print and digital; and in early 2016, MediaWorks launched Newshub, combining television, radio, and digital services (MediaWorks, 2016). Both digital brands have a national focus.

### **The importance of radio and sport for younger audiences**

Despite the move to online, traditional media choices - radio and television - still deliver the largest audiences in New Zealand. According to research conducted in 2014 and followed up in 2016 "more New Zealanders tune in to these media, more often, and for longer than any alternatives" (Colmar Brunton, 2014, p.3; NZ On Air, 2016, para. 4). However, with the concentration of networks and competition for the same audiences, there is less diversity in programme formats. Just as the two commercial radio networks have competing music brands targeting the same audience demographics, news bulletins are market driven and tailored in style and content to these audiences. Radio news editor Kevin Hercock sees radio as having to serve a wide range of different stations as clients, with different clients receiving different

products, “shorter stories for the commercial youth stations, with longer ones for the more traditional audiences” (Norris & Comrie, 2005, p. 182). Both of New Zealand’s major radio networks have stations targeting the younger-end of the market, 18-34 year olds, with Pop or Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR) being the format of choice for this age group (Nielsen, 2016). This is also a key demographic for radio, and in 2013 “[New Zealand] commercial radio reached 74 percent of all people aged 18-34 years” (Fahy, 2013, para. 3). According to a 2013-14 Sport New Zealand survey, this is the same percentage of New Zealanders aged 16 years and older who participate in sport on a weekly basis (2015).

The correlation between media coverage of sport and participation is well documented (Dawson & Downward, 2009; Saini, 2015; Hardin & Greer, 2009), and the importance of youth participation and sport even more so. “The power of the sports media – especially for an emergent sport – can have the effect of profoundly influencing its developmental direction and, for example, turning it from a relatively inexpensive, causal, pleasure-oriented pastime into an expensive, high-tech, performance-oriented pursuit” (Rowe, 2015, p. 151). How it affects culture is more contested. National identity is considered to be a “fluid process, a constantly shifting and evolving concept” (Said, 1994, p. 84). It comes about through cultural construction and maintenance. This is due in part to the influence of the law, the education system and the media. Former Minister of Broadcasting, Hon Marian Hobbs reiterated the importance of media for the creation of our national identity. “Radio and television can, of course, be vital media for our own narratives and images. They have an extraordinarily pervasive presence in our lives, conditioning for better or worse the way we see our country, and the opinions and values we hold” (Hobbs, 2000).

However, how much sport content targets younger audiences, and is radio delivering a diverse range of sports? How will this reinforce identity? A content analysis of sports news coverage on New Zealand’s top two commercial music stations was conducted twice over the period of four years to attempt to answer these questions.

## **Methodology**

New Zealand’s two highest rating, networked commercial music stations were chosen as the basis for this study - The Edge and ZM. Both target the lucrative 18-34-year-old market. In a country that has no dedicated publicly funded youth network or youth-specific commercial music network such as Australia’s Triple J, these could be considered the closest New Zealand has to youth-targeted radio. In both 2013 and 2016, The Edge was the number one station nationally for cumulative audience for 18-34 year olds and ZM number two. These two stations were also the top two online commercial radio stations (Nielsen, 2016).

The research spanned two periods. The stations were surveyed from early October to early November 2013 and duplicated in 2016. These periods were purposely chosen as they were outside of the build up to or execution of major international sporting events such as the Olympics, Rugby World Cup or America’s Cup. The research was conducted at the same time of year to see if there were any changes in the intervening

period, but retaining any seasonal sporting bias for consistency<sup>2</sup>. Two random bulletins were selected daily from each station during peak listening times of 6am to 5pm. Bulletins dropped off at 6pm, coinciding with a known decline in listenership (NZOA, 2016, p.28); weekday bulletins were chosen as this is when newsrooms are typically fully staffed. Sports stories that featured as part of the bulletins were placed in to categories by sporting code utilising content analysis.

## Results

176 news bulletins were sampled over the two research periods. There was a public holiday during both sample periods and therefore no news on The Edge for this day. Overall, news bulletins were short in nature with sports news typically relegated to the end of the bulletin.

*Table 1: Average number of sports stories per bulletin*

Station	2013	2016
The Edge	1.9	2.2
ZM	1.4	2
Combined	1.65	2.1

In 2013, on average both stations presented two or fewer sports stories per bulletin and nearly one-third (36%) of bulletins featured just one sports story. There was a small increase in the number of sports stories per bulletin on both stations in 2016, and only 11% of bulletins featured just one sports story.

## Top Sports

Top sports have been those defined as reaching double-figures with the total number of stories presented across both stations.

*Table 2: Top sports 2013*

2013	Total # of stories (both stations)	% of total stories
Rugby	44	31%
Rugby League	25	17%
Cricket	21	15%
Netball	10	7%

In 2013, just four sports made up 70% of the stories broadcast on both stations from 14 different sports covered. The four sports - Rugby, Rugby League, Cricket and Netball - were ranked in the same order on both stations. The only female-dominated sport to make the list, Netball, did not make double-figures on either station with just

<sup>2</sup> October-November is a transitional period for two of the most prominent sports in New Zealand - Rugby and cricket (and therefore not favouring either one). As most major sports are played nationally and internationally, there are events throughout the year and it was impossible to avoid some sporting meets. There was one Australasian fixture of note during the 2013 calendar period, a Bledisloe Cup (Rugby Union) game between New Zealand and Australia in Dunedin on the 19th of October.

four stories on The Edge and six on ZM. Female sports were categorised based on the sporting code (e.g. netball), team, or if a female player was the subject of the story (e.g. Lydia Ko for Golf).

**Table 3: Top sports 2016**

<b>2016</b>	<b>Total # of stories (both stations)</b>	<b>% of total stories</b>
Rugby	55	29%
Cricket	30	16%
Rugby League	19	10%
Football	18	9%
Netball	17	9%
Basketball	11	6%

In 2016, six sports made up 79% of the stories broadcast across both stations from 18 different sports. Rugby and Cricket were first and second respectively on both stations. Once again Netball was the only female-dominated sport to make the list and was ranked 5<sup>th</sup> overall; third equal on ZM (with Rugby League) and fifth on the Edge.

**Table 4: Top sports 2013 and 2016**

<b>2013-2016</b>	<b>Total # of stories (both stations)</b>	<b>% of total stories</b>
Rugby	99	34%
Cricket	51	17%
Rugby League	44	15%
Netball	27	9%
Football	25	9%
Basketball	18	6%
Golf	16	5%
Tennis	12	4%

Overall there were just 20 different sports included in the bulletins. Only eight sports made double-figures with the number of stories broadcast. From a total of 292 stories, two thirds of the top stories broadcast over the two research periods came from three sports - Rugby, Cricket and Rugby League - with over 50% of the total stories attributed to either Rugby or Rugby League. Netball and Football both scored 9% of the total number of stories broadcast. Golf and Tennis sat just outside of the top lists in 2013 and 2016 respectively.

In 2013, the Edge had more of a focus on football, and in 2016, ZM had an increased coverage of Golf (with most stories about New Zealand professional golfer Lydia Ko). Apart from these two anomalies, there was little difference to the attention paid to the same standard sports in news coverage by each of the stations. In terms of unique sports, Equestrian and Hockey only appeared in 2013. In 2016 AFL, Baseball, Cycling, Racing, Martial Arts and Olympics featured and were sports not covered in the previous research period.

## Discussion

The range of sports New Zealanders participate and excel in is vast, from adventure racing to yachting. From local sports teams to individuals winning on the world stage, New Zealand has a love affair with champions who can beat the odds and deliver incredible results from just two islands of 4.5 million people.

In 2013-14 Sports New Zealand noted a number of high performance results: New Zealand crowned best rowing nation; shot-putter Valerie Adams became the first woman to win four individual gold medals at the Commonwealth Games; golfer Lydia Ko turned professional and won her first title, and swimmer Lauren Boyle became the first New Zealander to win three medals at a single Pan Pacific Championships (FairFax, 2013).

The following sporting achievements were highlighted in 2016: sailors Peter Burling and Blair Tuke won gold at the 49er in Rio; Joseph Parker claimed the WBO heavyweight boxing title, and basketballer Steven Adams secured an NBA-contract extension (Hinton, 2016).

According to Sport New Zealand, people participate in over 130 types of sports and recreation activities annually (2015) and are competitive in many of them. However, if you were to listen to commercial music radio, you would be forgiven for thinking there were only a handful worth knowing about. In total, just 20 sports made it in to sports news bulletins in 2013 and 2016 combined. During the 2013 research period, with only four sports making double-figures across both stations, there was a large gulf between this group and the remaining 11 sports. During the 2016 research period, 18 different sports were represented, and there was a small increase in the number of sports to make double-figures across both stations with Football and Basketball added to mix.

Rugby and Rugby League topped the tables in both 2013 and 2016 and are (arguably) the highest profile sports in New Zealand. In 2017, New Zealand is listed as number one in world Rugby rankings, and number two in Rugby League and these sports received the most news coverage. In part, this is due to the globalisation of sport that has seen many sports being active nationally or internationally for much of the year. For example, rugby covers most of the calendar year in New Zealand, with the international season running from July to November, and the Southern Hemisphere rugby competition from February to July. Impossible to avoid, it was no surprise to see rugby top the sports news list for both stations and in both years.

However, the notion that this coverage mirrors appeal is under threat. "Rugby and league are experiencing a major downturn in appeal according to a survey that aims to identify New Zealand's prime sporting interests and how they have changed since 2010. Rugby had dropped by 17 per cent to lie second with 34 per cent, and interest in league had fallen significantly, down 22 per cent to 21 per cent" (Herald, 2016). The overwhelming coverage of the top male sports also cannot be attributed solely to their success. The national club teams in the Australasian league and football competition have traditionally had a poor winning rate, with football's Phoenix coming second to last in 2016 (Hyundai A-League Tables, 2016), and league's Warriors finishing 10th. (Brady, 2016).

Importantly, the historical institutionalised rationale to devote journalists' time to these two sports impacts audience engagement and contributes to a country's sense of understanding itself. Sports covered by the media have important ramifications for visibility, leading to increased participation, funding, and the creation of celebrities, which are attractive to sponsors and can contribute to increased gate takings leading to stronger financial positions for sports organisations running as a business. "Consistent, ongoing media coverage can promote the profiles of various sports...The media also have the capacity to promote positive role models...and develop increased spectator appeal for various sports" (Amezdroz, Dickens & Hosford, 2004, p. 495). Sport New Zealand directly invests more than \$100 million in to the sport and recreation sector across a variety of sports (Sport New Zealand, 2014) and believes that, for young people in particular, "developing a love of sport at an early age is more likely to encourage a lifelong participation habit" (Sport New Zealand, n.d., p.6).

The focus on just a few sports plays into accusations of reinforcing a narrow view of what it is to be a sports fan in New Zealand. When there is overwhelming coverage of just one sport, it falsely amplifies the importance of that sport to an impressionable youth market, and despite falling participation rates, it continues to present a façade of universal appeal.

### **Radio programming and the diversity of sports coverage**

The media has an important role to play in informing audiences, and in New Zealand traditional media (radio and television) still delivers the biggest audiences (Colmar Brunton, 2014, p. 13). The Edge and ZM were selected for this research as they are the two highest-rating commercial music stations in New Zealand. In addition to similarities in music genre (chart-based/pop) and presentation (e.g. multi-person breakfast and drive shows), the presentation of news and sports is also similar. Bulletins are placed at the top of the hour across the day with generally no bulletins in the evenings. This is in keeping with the Colmar Brunton survey audience which found that "Radio and newspapers...typically start New Zealanders' day, and TV takes over at 6pm" (2014, p. 3).

Fewer bulletins and a reliance on only a handful of sports stories to fill them is, in part, due to the way that radio has evolved to compete for listeners' attention in an intensely competitive environment. Commercial time constraints mean that radio is much more selective than print and affords much less sense of the relative importance of the items it does include, due to the time dedicated to stories. Reporters traditionally report stories emanating from their assigned round and in the case of high profile sports such as Rugby, League, Cricket, Netball and Football, a major news outlet will assign a reporter to cover the round almost to the exclusion of other sports. One result of the news 'beat' or assignment system means that sports that do not share the spotlight get sparse coverage at best. In a professionalised sports universe, minor sports such as hockey and swimming will generally only get significant airtime during Olympic or Commonwealth Games campaigns when there is a dedicated reporting team. There is a media perception that the sport must be major league to merit serious time, or even inclusion. The argument for the structuring potency of routines is a compelling one, because one can well understand the



difficulties for journalist and producer faced with the basic need to ‘get out’ a programme every hour.

Sport New Zealand’s 2013/14 Active New Zealand Survey results cited that “on average, young adults participated in more activities than all other age groups” (2015, p. 30), and were more likely to be competitive. Of the over 130 sports and recreational activities listed in the survey, the most popular were still Golf, Football, Tennis, Netball, Cricket and Touch Rugby (2015, p.7). Interestingly, cricket and rugby did not make the top 20 sports for women in the Sport New Zealand survey and yet both of these sports featured highly in this research. This is ironic when you consider that both The Edge and ZM both have a female-skewed audience.

Cricket, Rugby, Rugby League and Netball were the most consistently-covered sports over the two research periods and there is evidence to suggest that radio may simply be reflecting the most high-profile and well-resourced sports. Sport New Zealand’s Annual Report shows that there was increased investment in Netball, Rugby, Rugby League and Cricket in 2013-14. “These sports were chosen because they were either mass participation and/or recreational sports” (2014, p. 19). Netball, Hockey and Gymsports (gymnastics, aerobics and trampoline) were the other recipients of increased funding that year with only the latter failing to make the research list despite the National Gymsports Championships being held during the research period. High-performance sporting results listed in the report for world-class achievements during the 2013-14 year highlighted a dozen sports, however just four made it to air during the research period.

### **Men’s Rugby and New Zealand’s national game**

Centralisation has made it more difficult to target niche markets and has resulted in a homogenisation of content across all brands. The results of this survey have confirmed that the most popular and high profile sports are favoured with men’s Rugby topping the sports table with its (seemingly) universal appeal for all audiences. The success of New Zealand’s national rugby team over many decades has also contributed to the growth of the game financially, professionally and at the grass roots level. The expansion of the public relations machine has led to an increase of its profile and this is something the media is complicit in promoting. Easier access to the players and the success on the sporting stage goes hand in hand with the never-ending desire for content from the media machine. The power of sports coverage cannot be underestimated. Radio’s focus on a narrow range of results has important ramifications for participation, funding and national identity. This is understood through the media effect model of agenda setting. McCombs and Shaw’s 1972 argument that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences, is still highly relevant today.

A focus on just a few elite sports becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. More funding is given to top sports, which attracts more sponsorship money, with better resourcing arguably leading to a better chance of success and therefore more media coverage. And media coverage has been proven to affect the next generation of sport participants as “a broad complementarity is identified between sports participation,

and viewing sports either live or via the media as live or recorded activities” (Dawson & Downward, 2009, p. 21).

### **Sports news and youth**

Radio is still a medium of choice, commanding an hour and three quarters of listening time per day (Colmar Brunton, 2014, p. 12). Radio is also where audiences hear about new music (NZ On Air, 2016), with youth the biggest consumers. While there is no doubt that the two radio stations examined are primarily music stations, they recognise that the youth audience consumes news and information and provides it by way of daily news and sport bulletins. The format of bulletins is in keeping with the entertainment mode; soft, dramatised news-for-entertainment. The time span of the broadcasts, 2-3 minutes, suggests that it is not a particularly highly regarded part of the show with a great deal more time per hour dedicated to commercials. A studied informality surrounds the presentation of the bulletins; personal identification with the presenter is invited. The bulletin then flows without pause into the next bracket of commercials. The implication seems to be that it is simply another commodity to be consumed like all others and is a frequently commercially sponsored feature on commercial radio. The position and sequencing of the bulletins places it clearly in the entertainment frame.

According to Higgins and Moss, news and sport should assist people in;

Developing a sense of history, of community and of nation, yet it persistently manipulates reality, equating news value with entertainment value, making it simply part of the show, it plays a significant part also in the manipulation of consciousness, in robbing people culturally and in preventing them from growing wise in their own ways. (1982, p. 99)

The sports news presented over the research period was limited in scope and short by nature, doing little to inform its audience or challenge hegemonic ideology. For clubs and organisations to thrive, there is a need for youth to be exposed to and participate in the wealth of sports and recreational activities a healthy culture should encapsulate. Narrowing the range of activities presented on radio to youth has the potential to focus attention onto the popular to the exclusion of many others. This lack of coverage has very real ramifications for participation and reinforces a mythical historic narrative about national identity.

### **Conclusion**

News has an important role to play in our culture. Stories signal the appropriate ways of interpreting events, and sports stories have the potential to enlighten audiences to activity happening all around. However, because of frequent repetition of the same sports such as Rugby, certain historic cultural stereotypes are produced and maintained. It reinforces a worldview that shields us from alternative viewpoints through bias confirming news. It is therefore the drama and entertainment of the news broadcasts that distorts and cushions the full ideological significance of news - and a diversity of news - for the audience.

The bigger question remains in that is this democratic potential what we really expect of an entertainment medium? The problem remains that for many popular media there is no purpose to inform or enlighten. Often the primary aim of mass media is neither to transmit particular information nor to unite a public in some shared expression of culture, belief or values, but simply to catch and hold aural attention. In doing so, radio attains one economic goal, which is to “gain audience revenue (since attention = consumption, for most practical purposes), and an indirect one, which is to sell (the probability of) audience attention to advertisers” (McQuail, 2000, p. 72). Reductions and reconfigurations of news structures are part of an ongoing dynamic response of media managers to the competing pressures of continued demand for local news and the cost of its provision in various markets. The pressures are manifested in decreasing sound bites, and as Atkinson (1994) suggests, the *morselisation* of news content. Bulletins are getting shorter, reports barely scratch the surface and news values favour only the items that are simple to cover and popular.

Radio as a medium of public communication has both strengths and weaknesses, and the routine elevation of capacity for conveying some kinds of information can lead to the corresponding neglect for others. Populism is built into the notion of good journalism as good story telling which is relevant to the expressed needs of its audience. The problem stems from making a working distinction between what an audience wants and what it needs. What listeners are prepared to accept as measured by audience research is said to be what is most relevant to their needs and concerns, and this in turn is said to be what they ought to be given. Easy to source stories are presented with a focus on brevity and the superficial. The narrow range of sports reporting is contributing to a generation with a narrow worldview, and with the ongoing understanding of the news as a profitable commodity, there appears to be no end in sight.

It will be interesting to revisit this study in the future to measure what impact the converged media companies and integrated newsrooms have on news services for these commercial music brands. Will the more well-resourced newsrooms recognise this imbalance and proactively pursue stories that counter accusations of bias, or will the commercial time pressures and journalistic apathy continue to present a continuation of the historic ideology of only the most popular sports are worthy of reporting. Rugby’s continued dominance would suggest that it remains in the box seat, however most marginalised sport administrators would hope it is a game of two halves.

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***Developing a Novel Using Storytelling Technique as a Communication Tool  
to Enhance the Effectiveness of Communication***

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The Asian Conference on Media, Communication & Film 2017  
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**Abstract**

The purposes were to 1) develop a novel using storytelling technique as a communication tool 2) examine the effectiveness of communication after applying a developed novel. The purposive sample group was 27 undergraduate students. The research instruments were 1) a developed novel 2) a questionnaire collecting expert opinions towards appropriateness of a developed novel 3) a questionnaire towards the effectiveness of communication. Statistical methods used were content analysis, mean and standard deviation. The research results were summarized as following:

1) The developed novel consisted of seven chapters with 63 pages covering knowledge of instruction subject. There were six main steps to develop a novel. First, the topic was chosen. Second, key concepts were used as content knowledge to communicate. Third, the plot and theme were planned. Fourth, the scenes were set. Fifth, the characters were introduced. Sixth, the story was written in a form of a novel. It was then verified by experts as appropriate ( $\bar{X} = 4.58$ , S.D. = 0.44) at a very high level in its content, structure and presentation and was tried out with non-targeted group of students with high effectiveness of communication at  $\bar{X} = 4.07$  and S.D. = 0.21.

2) The effectiveness of communication was at a high level ( $\bar{X} = 4.23$ , S.D. = 0.56). Targeted students found it as a good, new, modern and interesting way to communicate content knowledge.

In conclusion, a developed novel using storytelling technique can be used as a powerful communication tool in teaching and learning process to communicate content knowledge to students, which resulted in enhanced communication effectiveness.

Keywords: Novel, Storytelling, Communication Tool, Effectiveness of Communication

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## Introduction

Fundamental to teacher and student success is the teacher's ability to communicate effectively with students. Without good communication skills, teachers disable the learning process. Teachers must have the ability to communicate their subject-matter expertise to facilitate classroom learning and participation. When a teacher fails to communicate effectively with students, their comprehension level drops, and they eventually lose grasp of the subject matter (Mayhew, 2017). As a result, with ineffective communication, students did not succeed in learning the subject matter. Content knowledge given may be thrown away.

Therefore, communication is critical to successful teaching and learning of subject matter. There are many communication tools that teachers can use to communicate their subject-matter expertise for best learning process and success. Storytelling technique was one of communication tools that can be used because effective communication uses stories and effective communicators uses stories (Gargiulo, 2006). In addition, the effectiveness of storytelling as a communication tool has been supported by evidence from several disciplines including nursing, social science and psychology (Greenhalgh, 2001).

Also, it has been used for centuries as a powerful vehicle for communication. Regardless of medium, stories are enjoyed by everyone as they have appeal because they capture interest and attention, enable recall of details by association, and bring facts to life by putting them in personal scenarios (Davidhizar & Lonser, 2003). It has proven to be an effective teaching pedagogy and learning process (Eck, 2006). According to Vanichvasin (2017), she used storytelling technique with a novel-based approach as a knowledge management tool to promote student learning and her research demonstrated that student achievement was higher significantly after using a developed novel. Furthermore, students were satisfied with the novel-based teaching and learning approach at a high level.

There are three functions of stories that are central to communication. First, stories empower the speaker and help him or her create an environment. Second stories are efficient encoders of information as they can be used as containers for values and other types of information. Third, stories acts as tools for thinking. (Gargiulo, 2006)

Therefore, this research then aimed to develop a novel as a medium using storytelling technique to enhance the effectiveness of communication due to its functions of creating learning environment, being efficient information encoders and acting as tools for thinking. It was anticipated that the results of this research would be useful for establishing storytelling technique as an effective communication tool for best teaching and learning of subject matter.



## Research Methodology

The novel using storytelling technique intervention was developed from documentary review on theories and related researches. Instruction subject-matter was chosen due to its complexity and must-know knowledge for students. Their comprehension of the subject matter was essential for application of the content knowledge when entering field experience. A six staged process from documentary review was applied. First, the researcher chose the topic. Second, the researcher used key concepts as content knowledge. Third, the researcher planned the plot and theme. Fourth, the researcher set the scenes. Fifth, the researcher introduced the characters. Sixth, the researcher wrote the story. The developed novel was then examined by three experts with a variety of professional and personal background for its content, structure and presentation. It was also reviewed by non-targeted samples of 10 individuals who studied storytelling. After revising from comments of experts and feedback of non-targeted samples, the researcher then posted a developed novel using storytelling technique online for class learning and participation with duration of four weeks to 27 targeted samples who enrolled in an undergraduate course where storytelling served as content knowledge of subject matter. The researcher then evaluated the effectiveness of communication with effective communication questionnaire.

## Results

1. The developed novel consisted of seven chapters with 63 pages covering content knowledge of instruction subject. There were six main steps to develop a novel. First, the topic was chosen. Second, key concepts were used as knowledge to communicate. Third, the plot and theme were planned. Fourth, the scenes were set. Fifth, the characters were introduced. Sixth, the story was written in a form of a novel. It was then verified by experts as appropriate ( $\bar{X} = 4.58$ , S.D. = 0.44) at a very high level in its content, structure and presentation and was tried out with non-targeted group of students with high effectiveness of communication at  $\bar{X} = 4.07$  and S.D. = 0.21.
2. The effectiveness of communication was demonstrated in Table 1.

**Table 1** Means and Standard Deviation of Effective Communication

Student Satisfaction	n = 27		Interpretation
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	
1. A developed novel helps understanding in its content	4.11	0.51	High
2. A developed novel helps communicate appropriate content	4.07	0.47	High
3. A developed novel helps communicate the content clearly	4.04	0.52	High
4. A developed novel makes the content accessible	4.22	0.80	High
5. A developed novel uses easy to read and appropriate language	4.37	0.79	High
6. A developed novel is written in sequences and the whole story is related	4.30	0.54	High
7. A developed novel helps stimulate interest	4.11	0.80	High
8. A developed novel helps lessen the complexity of content to an easy to read content	4.26	0.66	High
9. A developed novel helps motivate students to read	4.30	0.61	High
10. A developed novel helps retain knowledge gained from the content	4.52	0.51	Very High
Total	4.23	0.56	High

The data analysis in Table 1 showed that mean was 4.23 and standard deviation (S.D.) was 0.56. This meant that the communication was effective at a high level.

Results from open ended answers were that students found a developed novel as a good, new, modern and interesting medium to communicate content knowledge.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, a developed novel using storytelling technique can be used as a powerful communication tool in teaching and learning process to communicate content knowledge to students for better comprehension of the subject matter, which resulted in enhanced communication effectiveness.

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***Online Cinema Ticketing Industry: Impacts and Opportunities for Transformation  
in the Chinese Film Industry***

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**Abstract**

In recent years, China's film market has been growing rapidly. The magnet effect brought about by growing box-office sales has captured the attention of new electronic businesses and internet industries. These entities possess large capital and powerful information processing capabilities, creating major change in the structures and systems within the Chinese film industry. As electronic business and mobile networks flourish, service providers have begun to take advantage of the attention and online traffic that the film industry generates. To remain competitive, service providers have invested greatly in ticket subsidies, film financing, marketing and distributing, and film-showing hardware and architectures, becoming in and of themselves a major driving force in the highly-competitive, quickly-transforming Chinese film market. The purposes of this research project were, first, to examine how online ticketing has been involved in and continues to influence the related industries of film development, production, distribution, and exhibition. Furthermore, by use of economic principles of new media, such as platform model and network effects, this project examines how online ticketing industry factor into the value chain of film as a whole and what innovations within the industry they bring. Through conventional concepts from the film industry and principles of contemporary new media operations, we assess whether China's online ticketing services are a mere product of the booming Chinese film market, a fad induced by government policy of "Internet plus", or a potential shift in the upgrading and transformation of the Chinese film industry altogether.

Keywords: online ticketing, internet plus, platform model, network effects, film marketing, industrial innovation.

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## 1. Introduction

Recent years have witnessed the rapid growth of Chinese movies, which has become a phenomenon attracting the attention of the global film industry. In 2014, China overtook Japan to become the world's second largest film market, second only to the United States, and so the craze of surpassing Japan and catching up with the United States has swept across the film industry. This magnetic effect created by the box office of movies has attracted the participation of emerging e-commerce and Internet. These causes with considerable capital and remarkable information processing capacity have contributed to major changes in the ecology and structure of the Chinese film industry. Under these dramatic changes, the impact of online ticketing on the film industry is particularly noteworthy. The total box office in 2016 stood at CNY 45.71 billion, and the market only grew by 3.7%, substantially different from the growth rate of 49% in 2015 (Lee and Liu ed., 2017). In 2016, China's movie market growth was not as fast as expected, partly because of the slowing mechanism for subsidies for ticket prices in the online cinema ticketing system.

In the past, ticketing in the film industry used to be a window for selling tickets in theaters, and an online ticketing system was just an alternative service to buying cinema tickets. However, with China's e-commerce and mobile networks on the rise, service providers are noticing that movie events can bring great attention and traffic to online ticketing. Therefore, in order to ensure market competition, aside from huge subsidies, they are participating in movie marketing by getting involved in the development of movie themes, funding investment for film production, and actively investing in the competition of building more movie theaters. Consequently, this study explores the following: the position of online cinema ticketing, as a new platform business model, in the value chain of film industry, and how it affects the operating mechanism of the film industry, and how to follow the trend and promote the transformation and upgrading of the industry when current Chinese movies are facing the new technology of mobile networks. The study employs a platform business model, network effects, and other concepts for in-depth discussions.

## 2. Literature Analysis

The online cinema ticketing service has become quite a unique scene in the development of the Chinese film industry, which is closely associated with the development of China's economic, social, and cultural conditions and the era. First, China's use of cellular networks has fully adopted mobile Internet access (Ma, 2017). According to the statistics released by the China Internet Network Information Center (2017), as of the end of December 2016, the total number of China's Internet users reached 731 million, with a network penetration rate of 53.2%. Specifically, 95.1% of Internet users (695 million) access the Internet via mobile phones. Consequently, mobile Internet access has become the primary platform for China's network development (CNNIC, 2017). On this basis, the services of related application software have sprung up as a result to become an important popular application basis for online cinema ticketing.

Second, the strong support for national policies has contributed to the rise of services concerning online ticketing. Since 2012, private enterprises have been actively promoting "Internet Plus", hoping to find a new way out for traditional industries. In

2015, the State Council of the People's Republic of China published the Guidelines on Actively Promoting "Internet Plus" Action, and so the Internet has become a new tool for China's public entrepreneurship and innovation, giving new momentum and advantages to the country's economic development. Fueled by this "Internet Plus" policy, the Internet has been rapidly adopted by the film industry. Jin (2016) suggested that "Internet Plus" could bring forth an unprecedented new pattern for movies, including online ticketing, big data mining, social network marketing, and film-related merchandising, with the first three aspects related to online ticketing. As a result, online ticketing has become a significant breakthrough point for "Internet + Movies" (Jin, 2016). In 2015, the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television of the People's Republic of China (SARFT) supported the policy "Internet + Movies", specifically approving the license for e-business platform movie distribution and permitting online ticketing platforms' qualification for joining the film industry. Consequently, these online ticketing enterprises can join the channel of the movie distribution business in an imposing manner.

China's film industry is now facing a wide transformation. The era of cinema has long gone, and China's film production processes have been fully digitized. In recent years, China's movie industry is booming, with over 8,000 screens increasing each year, rendering the traditional film production, distribution and exhibition system unnecessary for the times. New businesses are presently rising from e-commerce, social network and search websites, including Baidu, Alibaba, and Tencent, which are nicknamed BAT as the three major network companies. These companies broke into the film industry with sufficient funds, high-speed information processing capacity, and huge network traffic. In particular, the most important issue is online cinema ticketing. In respect of the current four major online ticketing operators, Alibaba once invested in "Maoyan Movie" and later established "Taopiaopiao"; Baidu owns Baidu Nuomi, specializing in online ticketing; Tencent's Weiyang owns "Wepiao" and "Gewara". The three major network companies all take online cinema ticketing as a breakthrough, and look to reform the traditional film industry with its advantages in network, digital marketing, and big data, while also opening up opportunities for the film industry's transformation.

The rise of China's mobile economy, the policy of "Internet Plus", and the impact of BAT's breaking into the film industry have given rise to a brand-new operation model of film industry - that is, the platform business operation mode encouraged by network effects. The platform model is a brand-new business operation pattern and uses an interactive ecosystem, connecting people, organizations, and resources to create and exchange great values. "Product" was information, valuable information in any business about consumer demand, price fluctuations, market supply and demand and trends ("Parker, G. Geoffrey, Van Alstyne, Marshall W., & Choudary, S. P., 2016").

The platform model basically connects two particular groups, suppliers and consumers, and provides both parties with infrastructure and rules to facilitate transactions by bilateral users. The platform benefits from such products or services, and the key to its success or failure is the network effects. Network effects refer to the impact of the total number of users on creating values for individual users. When the users of a certain product (service) increase, their values to users will increase. The network effects created by the platform model are a new economic phenomenon

driven by technological innovation and a model breaking away from traditional commercial pipeline production. The key to enterprise profit is no longer the service and operation of the platform, and thus seeking the potential network effects on the market is the key to the platform's future development and profitability (Eisenmann Thomas, Geoffrey Parker, and Marshall W. Van Alstyne, 2006) (Chen and Yu, 2013) (Parker, G. Geoffrey, Van Alstyne, Marshall W., & Choudary, S.P., 2016).

From the perspective of the traditional film industry, cinema ticket sales were seldom of concern by people in the past. The ticket offices of theaters are the first avenue to test the success of movies and market reaction. At the same time, they are also the first window of operating revenues after long-term production and distribution of movies. Regarding the channels, ticket offices were of great importance in the past, but had always been controlled by theater owners. The online cinema ticketing service used to be an auxiliary system of buying tickets to the theaters. However, in China, under the intensive intervention of e-business and network operators, cinema ticketing is being operated by the platform model that connects both cinemas and audiences. The scale and scope of the platform have been constantly expanded from a theater, to the theaters chain, and to all of China's metropolitan areas. The audience does not need to spend time queuing for tickets in theaters, and instead they can use network services for low-cost group buying, online seat selection, and online payment. Watching movies has become an easy and convenient activity, which is accessible with only one finger. As a result, network effects emerge, attracting more audiences to use online ticketing systems and hence driving China's movie box office to steadily increase. Therefore, the development of the current online cinema ticketing in China is an extremely typical example resulting from the platform model and has gradually changed the value chain system of China's film industry. Next, this paper shall explore how the current online cinema ticketing impacts the original structure and value system of China's film industry.

### **3. Structural Impact on China's Film industry**

In 1999, Beijing Huayi Yangguan Culture Media Co, Ltd. was established, launching the marketing of online performance ticketing and engaging in online ticketing business. In March 2001, "www.piao.com" was registered and incorporated and became China's first electronic ticketing company. At the beginning, ticketing companies sold tickets to performances, sports, movies, and attractions via the Internet. In 2009, the number of mobile phone users grew rapidly, driving the rise of mobile applications (APPS) (Kuo, 2016). In terms of online cinema ticketing, in 2010, "www.gewara.com" (referred to as Gewara) introduced online selection service in Shanghai. At that time in 2009, the U.S. film "Avatar" was released in China and the audience stayed up late and queued for tickets, highlighting the advantages of Gewara's online sales of movie tickets. The ticket sales stood at CNY 14 million in 2010, soaring to CNY 470 million in 2014, with an amazing growth rate. At that time, "Himovie", "JVIN", "Spider", and many other movie booking sites appeared in Shanghai (Yu, 2013). In 2012, "Meituan", which had already made a fortune by offering group buying, launched group buying activities for movie tickets and began to be involved in the online cinema ticketing business. In 2013, this operation project was renamed "Maoyan Movie", bringing new competition to China's online cinema ticketing business.



In 2013, the movies "Lost in Thailand", "Journey to the West: Conquering the Demons", and "So Young" achieved unprecedented box office results in the movie market and also fueled the development of online cinema ticketing. The online box office totaled CNY 4.86 billion, representing 22.3% of the annual box office (Analysys, Annual Comprehensive Analysis of China's Online Cinema ticketing 2017, 2017). In 2014, some movies like "The Continent", "Breakup Buddies", and "Gone with the Bullets" used online ticketing for pre-sales of movie tickets and later changed the film release system with the success of pre-sales, attracting the attention of the film industry. Among them, "Breakup Buddies" was the most representative. Maoyan Movie played the role of a joint producer, connected all theaters around the country during National Day, and conducted pre-sales half a month in advance. Finally, "Breakup Buddies" became the most popular movie with a box office of more than CNY 1.1 billion, turning into a watershed for online ticketing in film distribution. In 2017, the box office of online ticketing jumped to CNY 13.57 billion, accounting for 45.8% of the whole market (Analysys, Annual Comprehensive Analysis of China's Online Cinema ticketing 2017, 2017).

For China's film industry, 2015 was the climax of the movie market boom. The annual box office reached CNY 44.07 billion, up 49% year on year. This growth was partly vigorously driven by online ticketing. That year, BAT was heavily involved in the cinema ticketing market, which extended from ticketing sales to movie joint distribution and production. The "Entgroup" survey pointed out that in 2015, online ticketing platforms were involved in distributing nine out of China's top ten popular domestic movies, except for one movie named "Wolf Totem", which nevertheless was pre-sold and promoted via Gewara (Entgroup, 2016). In this way, the box office of annual online ticketing totaled CNY 31.76 billion, taking up 72.1% of the annual box office and making online ticketing an important link for China's film industry that cannot be neglected.

Although the number of Chinese cinemas continued to grow in 2016, the annual box office was CNY 45.71 billion, or only rising 3.7% (Fu, 2017). This is partly because the subsidy measures for ticket prices of online ticketing decreased. After the previous year's intense competition and obtaining market share through great subsidies for ticket prices, the online ticketing industry merged and made investments that year. The annual box office traded through online ticketing stood at CYN 33.64 billion and the box office share was 73.6% (Analysys, Annual Comprehensive Analysis of China's Online Cinema ticketing 2017, 2017). In addition, according to the statistics of Entgroup, this year, network agency sales service fees alone reached CNY 3.57 billion, but such fees were not included in the statistics of annual box office sales. Starting in 2017, online service fees will be included in the figures of annual box office (Fu, 2017). Therefore, China's online cinema ticketing has maintained a share of more than 70% for two consecutive years, and the Chinese movie audience has developed the habit of buying movie tickets via the Internet, which also means that the market is nearly saturated.

The operation mode of online cinema ticketing can be divided into four types: first, ticketing franchise: with the core of online seat selection services, the major operators include Maoyan Movie, Wepiao, and Taopiaopiao; second, group buying e-business: with the business model of e-business group buying ticketing, the major operators include Baidu Nuomi and Dianping; third, social movie network: with social network

of movie information, introduction to movies, and resource sharing of movies, the major operators include Douban Movie and Mtime; fourth, proprietary ticketing of theaters : theater chains provide services such as online ticket purchasing and discounts to their members or users, and the operators include Wandafilm and Stellar Ticket (Sinolink Securities, 2016). According to the Research Report on 2016 China's Online Movie Ticket Market published by "Bigdata Research", among these operation modes of online ticketing, online seat selection accounted for 52.6% of the ticket issuance volume, followed by group buying e-business (25.1%) and social movie network (only 9.3%) (Bigdata Research, 2017).

Gewara began to run online ticketing in 2010 on the rise of e-commerce, staging cutthroat competition in the online ticketing market, from numerous battles in the period of group buying to the present blossoming of online ticketing. In 2015, BAT fought for the market with huge funds and resources. For example, in the first quarter of 2017, from the share of ticket issuance, Maoyan Movie was dominant among the four major operators of online cinema ticketing market, representing a 26.41% share, followed by Taopiaopiao (20.06%), Wepiao (17.49%), and Baidu Nuomi (13.74%). These four operators constitute approximately 80% of the market share (Analysys, 2017). As a result, online cinema ticketing services basically form the competitive state of "Maoyan Movie + BAT".

Maoyan Movie became independent from Meituan group buying in 2013 and was involved in the movie joint distribution business for coping with the ticketing of "Breakup Buddies" in 2014. In 2015, it founded a wholly-owned subsidiary named "Maoyan Culture Media Co., Ltd." and integrated the related businesses of the movie channels of Meituan and those of Dianping. In 2016, after Beijing Enlight Media Co., Ltd. became a shareholder and made an investment, the deficiencies of the production field of Maoyan Movie in the industry sector were cleared up.

Taopiaopiao was formerly known as Taobao Movie and was founded by Alibaba in 2014. It had to rely on Gewara, Mtime, Wangpiao, and other platforms to provide online seat selection services in the beginning. After Alibaba acquired "Yueke Software Engineering(YKSE)" and could directly be connected with the cinemas' ticketing system in 2015, Taopiaopiao won independent development space. In the same year, Alibaba incorporated two major online platforms, Taobao Movie and Yulebao, into Alibaba Pictures, integrated Alibaba's movie platforms including film production, fundraising, distribution, and ticketing, and worked with Tmall to develop markets for related film products. In 2016, Alibaba Pictures produced movies such as "Soul Mate" and "See You Tomorrow". Since the box office was not as good as expected, its annual loss reached CNY 976 million, mainly resulting from marketing expenses of Taopiaopiao (Alibaba Pictures, 2017). Recently, Alibaba re-integrated its cultural and entertainment undertakings, established the "Major Entertainment Sector", heavily invested in the business of Taopiaopiao, and acquired "Damai" specializing in performance ticketing in China and India's second largest online ticketing platform -Ticket New.

Wepiao, formerly known as WeChat Movie Ticket, was unveiled in December 2013, expanded its capital in 2014, introduced investment from Tencent and Wanda Group, and founded Beijing WeYing Technology Co. Ltd. In 2015, it was renamed as "Wepiao", acquired the film distribution license approved by SAPPRFT, and acquired

Gewara at the end of 2015. In respect of ticketing operations, in addition to running the business of movie tickets, it also engaged in selling tickets for performances, sports competitions, concerts, and other related activities. Its huge online ticketing business primarily came from four major aspects, including WeChat Wallet, "Movie Tickets", QQ Wallet, "Movie Performance Tickets", "Wepiao" APP, and Gewara. In 2016, it established Next Entertainment, engaging in businesses related to film production and distribution. It also set up "Weying Galaxy LLC", devoted to investment in overseas movies and agency foreign movies, including "xXx: The Return of Xander Cage" (xXx: The Return of Xander Cage, 2017), "Ghost in the Shell" (Ghost in the Shell, 2017), and "Transformers: The Last Knight" (Transformers: The Last Knight, 2017).

Baidu Nuomi was formerly known as Nuomil.com, a website under "www.renren.com" specializing in group buying, and put into operations in 2010. Baidu became a shareholder of Nuomil.com in 2013 and renamed it Baidu Nuomi in 2014. Baidu Nuomi depends on related resources of Baidu's Baidu Search, Baidu Post Bar, Mobile Baidu, Baidu Map, Baidu Knows, Baidu Wallet, Baidu Takeaway, and iQiyi. Its advantages include undertaking the huge network traffic from Baidu and then transforming and directing it to online cinema ticketing platforms and even the promotion of theaters and shopping mall.

The above operators have grown from online movie ticket sales, and are able to have more control of movies, participate in film distribution business, or even get involved in the profit sharing of movies in the name of film producers or investors. In fact, the online ticketing business is an industry with exceedingly light profit and probably gains service fees of less than 10% of the ticket price. The profitability of such low fees under the fierce competition of subsidies for ticket prices is minimal. As a result, the current online ticketing service is in the red. For instance, Alibaba Pictures lost CNY 976.1million in 2016 (Alibaba Pictures, 2017). Despite the intense competition and difficulty in gaining profits, the majority of these online ticketing operators are supported by important movie enterprises or BAT, which means that online cinema ticketing plays a vital role in the film industry, e-commerce, and network undertakings. This is because the platform business model of online ticketing can bring ground-breaking innovation for traditional movies and can bring greater traffic and network effects to these e-businesses and network companies.

#### **4. Platform Model and Industrial Transformation**

The market share of China's online cinema ticketing has so far reached more than 70%, and audiences are now accustomed to such a convenient movie-going experience. What impacts or innovations will it bring to a film industry that has one hundred years of history? First, online ticketing redefines the role and meaning of movie ticket sales. Movies were originally delivered to theaters, and the audience paid at the ticket office and watched the movies in theaters, where the long-term creative production process ended and the movie's operating revenues started (Vogel, 1994). In the past, ticket offices of the cinemas were the only entrances for movie economic activities and cash income. Today's online cinema ticketing system re-assembles the audience and introduces online payment systems, so that that movie ticket sales are no longer just at the ticket office in front of the theaters in the traditional sense. The current online cinema ticketing channel has gotten involved in film distribution and

promotion, and even in film financing activities.

Second, online ticketing has redefined the industry positioning of movie ticket sales, which also means that it will bring a more dramatic industrial shock - that is, the restructuring of the whole film industry value chain. The innovation of the platform business model has bypassed monopolists of traditional industry, information blockers, and false high costs, eliminating obstacles, driving industrial restructuring, and promoting industrial innovation (Chen and Wang, 2016). In the past, there was a gap of monopoly and information barriers between movie distributors and exhibitors. Their contracts contained profound ideas and details, which general outsiders found difficult to understand. Sometimes for the purpose of publicity, the movie distributors and exhibitor even distorted box office figures (Vogel, 1994). The online cinema ticketing system now has become a platform business model, linked theaters and audience to a bilateral market, gotten involved in the film distribution business, broke intermediate links in the traditional film industry (such as the opaque, inefficient, and high-cost state of distribution and exhibition), transformed into a new intermediary based on network platform operations, created higher fluency and efficiency for industrial processes, and re-constructed the industrial value chain system.

Under the high involvement of online cinema ticketing, movies' viewers are no longer just the "audience", but have turned to the "user" concept of a network platform (Wang, 2016). In the past, the film industry claimed that it shot movies for the audience through such links as film production, distribution, and exhibition. However, their understanding of the audience was vague and based on past practical experience. Online users are no longer just a passive audience, but now active users. After watching movies, they make online comments on them, score them, and form online reputations that can control the movie box office and can summon "fans" to "locking the showings" for movies that star their idols, so as to ensure the scheduling ratio of such movies in theaters. In recent years, China's 3-tier and 4-tier cities have continued to increase theaters, and marketing has appeared to become the key to the success of movies. Mobile networks are the most effective channel to develop the potential audience of such cities (Ma, 2017). With the help of widespread subsidies for ticket prices, online ticketing has motivated younger audience in these cities to enter theaters, thus becoming an extremely unique group in the course of China's film development - "township young people" (Sun, 2017). As a result, the original essence and definition of movie audience have been subverted under the excessive pull and popularization of online cinema ticketing.

The online cinema ticketing platforms is the matchmaker between cinemas and audience, and this media platform is composed of software system and data about bilateral market interactions (David S. Evans and Richard Schmalensee, 2016). All viewing data and tastes, online consumption patterns, and all online activity records of these "movie audience" transformed from Internet users are collected on these ticketing platforms, eventually becoming exceedingly complete and rich big data that can be utilized by marketing and promotion. These online ticketing operators depend on the big data about audiences, allowing them to get involved in movie distribution and marketing and participating in movie investment and production. Perhaps it is difficult to notice the significant impact in the short term, but in the long run the big data accumulated from these online cinema ticketing users will promote an industrialized and standardized production process of Chinese movies (Hsin and Hu,

2017).

## **5. Conclusion**

In the past, the ticket office was not a concern of the film industry; but at present, the booming of China's movie market, the popularity of mobile Internet services, and the government's "Internet Plus" policy have fueled the current huge development into online cinema ticketing. Online ticketing is redefining the role of movie ticket sales, replacing the traditional film distribution and exhibitions' functions with the platform's business model, transforming the movie audience into users of mobile networks, constructing big data that is more precise than that outlined audiences in market surveys, and bringing a new look to the century-old film industry.

Cinema ticketing has become a place of strategic importance for the film industry and e-businesses and presents the current competition of "Maoyan Movie + BAT". These operators are convinced that the ticketing link controls the income of the film industry, box office, users (audience), as well as distribution and marketing hubs. Furthermore, in order to gain more predominant power and take part in more upstream movie investment and production, they are seemingly extending the whole industry chain and entering the field of film production, but most of them in fact focus on profit sharing only, or to gain more control, and cannot really enter the essence and core of the film industry - that is, the movies' creative and aesthetic values. The core value of movies, as a creative industry, is the professionalism of movies' creative and production process. If there are no creative and professional production teams to produce impressive movies, then distribution and exhibition are in vain, no matter how excellent they are. This is exactly what those tycoons from e-business firms cannot achieve at one go with just their funds and Internet traffic.

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## ***Blue Documentary as a Tool for Marine Life Conservation***

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### **Abstract**

Human activities, including over-exploitation, food consumption, tourism, and many other economic related activities are found to have significant impacts on the ocean. In Malaysia, it is considered as a major contributor to marine life extinction. Therefore, our responsibility is to ensure the continuity of a sustainable marine ecosystem while preventing any possible extinction for the future generations to enjoy. Scholars through previous research claim that lack of information has led to ignorance amongst the public about the importance of marine life. Therefore, a number of studies have been carried out to analyse a documentary's role in promoting species conservation awareness, which consequently leads to actions being taken. Following that, this study asserts that blue documentary (BD) plays a crucial role in providing information about environmental degradation, particularly marine life extinction. It also changes public's perception and stimulates conservation action. Following that, this study discusses and analyses the pedagogical functions of blue documentary that could foster positive relationships between human and non-human, and become a mechanism to grab people's attention while changing public's perception on the marine life. In addition, it can also be an additional learning source, a platform for knowledge dissemination on scientific discoveries, a vehicle for multiple parties' collaboration in highlighting the complex issue of the marine life, and device to push policy makers to sanction biodiversity conservation plans. It is therefore undeniable that knowing the truth about the condition of local marine life from a documentary can be a driving factor for viewer's pro-conservation actions.

Keywords: Blue Documentary, Marine Life Conservation, Pro-conservation behaviour, Environmental Awareness

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## **Introduction**

Broadcasting is a central means in interlinking the global communications industry, and a determinant in shaping a knowledgeable society (Meier 2003). As part of the broadcasting programs, documentary has yielded a rich literature in film studies for its educational function across all discipline; in social, political, economic, cultural, as well as the environmental perspectives (Hughes 2011; Druick 2007; Dong & Li 2005; Dingwall & Aldridge 2006). Since the Griersonian era, documentary has been known as one of the most popular, powerful, and influential social means in the Western countries (Warmington et al. 2011; Druick & Williams 2014) in imperializing propaganda, instilling awareness, as well as representing the reality of controversial events and contemporary social issues to the masses (Frank 2013; Matthew et al. 2013; Stoddard 2009; Bratic & Schirch 2007; Bradshaw et al. 2007; Vivanco 2002; Kolker 1999; Beck 1942).

Therefore, a number of studies has been carried out to analyse a documentary's role in providing information, promoting awareness of the environmental controversial events and changing people's perception for marine life conservation, which consequently leads to actions being taken (Fortner 1985; Hughes 2011; Janpol & Dilts 2016). At present, the controversial issues of marine endangered species are gaining greater attention in environmental studies particularly among environmentalists and activists (Kottak & Costa 1993; Jamie 2010; Castillo & Egea 2015), as they attempt to find ways to prevent these species from extinction. Since the 1980s, it has been argued (Marcus & Stoddard 2009; 2007) that, the increased number of documentary films being used as pedagogical tools by teachers validates their contribution in the learning process to educate, inform and promote environmental awareness, surpassing other communications medium such as newspapers or magazines. This is further strengthened by Marcus & Stoddard (2009), asserting that a documentary film is a powerful instrument to present and discuss controversial issues in the classrooms. Similarly, Holbert, Kwak & Shah (2003) also claimed that nature documentaries effectively promote green knowledge that lead to conservation actions by the citizens. Hence, it is important for the present study to look at the role of documentary film as a pedagogical tool for environmental education, in communicating and presenting the state of the marine life endangered species worldwide. Following that, it is therefore crucial to have a deeper insight on what a documentary film, particularly the blue documentary can do to change the perception, persuade, and raise public environmental awareness pertaining marine life conservation.

## **What constitute a Blue Documentary?**

There has been growing interest in documentary studies on environmental themes due to the severe problems of global warming, climate change, and species extinction. The emergence of the environmental movement began in the 1960s when the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) increased the public knowledge on the environmental issues, which in turn has driven the publics to take the necessary actions (Hughes, 2014, p. 25). However, prior to the initiation of activist movements

by the United Nations, the surface of the independent or activist filmmakers' formation or third cinema films in the colonial era were the actual beginning of a twisting and difficult road being traveled in the consumer societies by the mass organizations (Solanas & Getino, 1969). These documentary activists demanded to express themselves freely rather than being tied to political power; through which they discover their own language (eco-documentary).

As a result, environmental documentaries (eco-documentary) or later known as the green documentary (Hughes, 2014, p. 8) secure an outstanding base in the 21st century; later eminent in environmental film festivals and environmental documentary production. According to Blewitt (2010), cited in Hughes (2014, p. 7), the effects of a severe discrepancy between the experience of the remote and its representation have become a significant field of research, circling around the issues of documentary representation. Thus, a documentary is significant in representing the truth, as one of the edges to preserve endangered species. As a mechanism to voice out the interests of others; independent organizations or activists have utilized the documentary as a tool to highlight species sustainability, in representing the nature who cannot speak for themselves.

The marine eco-system extinction has become a central issue in sustainability studies. Excessive human activities such as the illegal fishing industry and industrial practices have indirectly become the major causes of marine life extinction, more than what the natural disaster is capable of. The development of green documentary has increased citizens' awareness to preserve the environment. Ecological conservation via the mechanism of media such as television, documentaries film and the Internet demonstrated in many filmmaking; responded to the need to expose the threatened 'wildlife habitats and animal species' (Hughes, 2014, p. 25). However, from Hughes's definition, the 'wildlife habitats and animal species' here are focused on the land-living animals rather than the ocean life. Having said that, the researcher believes that eco-documentary is quite general and does not specifically represent the marine eco-system.

Therefore, filmmakers' needs specific term on its own to represent while emboldening the public awareness towards marine eco-systems. This has led to the coining of the term 'blue documentary'. This has been followed by a series of questions; what is a blue documentary? Where is the origin of the term? When has it been used? In order to respond to all those questions, we need to scrutiny the theory and previous research that lead to the coining of the terminology.

Primarily, a blue documentary explicitly focuses on ocean life or marine eco-system preservation; as the sustenance for the Blue Marine Foundation movement as well as to support Mission Blue's philosophy initiated by Dr. Sylvia Earl to preserve and protects the ocean.

*“Mission Blue is an initiative of the Sylvia Earle Alliance to ignite public support for the protection of Hope Spots- special places that are vital to the health of the ocean... through the creation of a global network of marine protected areas to safeguard 20% of the ocean by 2020.” — (Mission Blue, 2016)*

Therefore, the term ‘blue documentary’ will be used in this study on a more specific subject of the marine life, as well as forming a sub-genre of the environmental documentary. However, it is important to note that the term is exclusively for ocean conservation. Thus, the term blue documentary is coined by conservation organizations for new documentary studies. Following that, the significance of blue documentary as well as its purposes for marine life conservation will be discussed in this paper.

### **Functions of Blue Documentary for Marine Life Conservation**

Blue documentary can contribute to marine life sustainability by encouraging not only individuals, but also organizations as well as the community in educating and encouraging conservation actions. This is evident in the involvement of the different walks of life in sustaining marine life. The discussion in this paper revolves around the six functions of Blue Documentary for marine life conservation.

### **Encouraging positive relationships between human and animal**

Firstly, a blue documentary film encourages positive relationships between human and animal. Elkington & Maher 2015 believe that the audio-visual contents contained in a blue documentary are effective pedagogical medium in triggering audiences’ excitement, and act as a ‘bridging material’ between factual contents and the audiences. Visual aids are crucial for the audience’s reception and interpretation of conservation messages, and as a result, various perceptions may be formed. This can be shown through the film frames in a blue documentary in which it can alter the audiences’ pro-environmental attitudes to be more positive by increasing their knowledge towards preserving the marine life. For example, Hughes (2011) claimed that film frames can create a mutual cognitive environment, and it is an effective way to raise awareness on environmental issues. Based on the documentary analysis conducted by Hughes, the images of Stewart swimming with the shark portrays the shared environment between human and animals in the media, while rejecting the idea of shark as a dangerous species in many fiction films. This has become a strong factor for the development of positive relationships between human and animal. Hence, based on the Relevance, Communication and Cognition theory by Sperber and Wilson, the concept of mutual cognitive environment has been clearly presented in the ‘Sharkwater’ film frame, and the delineation of the space can be used to demonstrate this relationships between the objects represented within the frame (Hughes, 2011).

### **A mechanism to grab people's attention and change public's perception**

Meanwhile, the onscreen representations of endangered marine life species by highlighting animals suffering in a BD can be seen as another potential vehicle to drive marine life conservation. This strategy is a way to grab people's attention, and change people's perception of human immoralities towards marine species which subsequently will motivate viewers to take the necessary conservations actions (Fortner 1985; Holbert, Kwak & Shah 2003; Sisson & Kimport 2016; Janpol & Dilts 2016).

Despite animals suffering, anthropomorphizing of animals is also significant way to capture viewers' attention. With regards to this, Evans (2015) claimed that nature documentaries have moved towards 'entertainment-focused programs that anthropomorphize animals to create an emotional connection with the viewer and it has become the norm in the last decade' (p. 266). In view of this fact, the anthropomorphism elements as 'a means of placing animals into an understandable human cultural and social context' in conservation documentary film is found to be effective in making the animal species more appealing and closer to the public (Adcroft 2010, p. 5), in triggering their empathy towards the current extinction issues and wanting to become part of the nature. In support of this, she argued that it is crucial in the filmmaking process to humanizing the non-human objects from the real nature into reel nature; as the anthropomorphically triggered empathy and raised awareness that influenced the growth and support for species conservation (p. 16). By bringing out recognizable and identifiable human characters within the animal's behavior; such as by highlighting the ideas of a happy family, an aggressive male and a maternal female for instance, as well as reinforcing the concepts of class and gender that exist in the dominant human culture; a deeper empathy towards the animal can be instilled amongst the viewers (King 1996, Bousé 2000, Pierson 2005, Porter 2006). This is exemplified in the anthropomorphic elements found in *The Blue Planet* (2001), *the March of the Penguins* (2005), *the Oceans* (2010), and *the Planet Earth Series* (2006), which have elicited empathy from the audiences and simultaneously allowed generations of audiences to form a good general understanding of the natural environment while increasing their willingness to associate themselves in the efforts towards a better nature (Adcroft 2010, p. 18).

### **An Additional Learning sources**

A blue documentary is also becoming a crucial instrument for additional resources of learning, and can substitute other forms of pedagogical tools to represent complex issues on a specific theme in science education. Ouimet & Kopnina (2015) asserted that human and non-human species relationships are 'too complicated to be generalized and in practice will likely need to be addressed on a case-by-case basis' (p. 325). In support of this, Doyle (2011) cited in McAuliffe et al. (2014), claimed that due to the fact that documentary allows the presentation of complex information in audio-visual form, it contributes to a greater edification, perhaps even creativity, in representing the information, data, and evidence of the current environmental controversial issues, as compared to mere images, written texts (textbooks), other

media medium and teachers, in raising public conservation awareness (Pereira & Carneiro 2014). For instance, the establishment of the Documentary Educational Resources (DER) in the year 1968, which is still in function until now, is very much attributed to the objective of making their films accessible as pedagogical tools for teachers in promoting ‘thought-provoking documentary film and media for learning about the people and cultures of the world’ (Macdonald 2013, p. 146). As cited by Shin & Cho (2015), Hartzler (2000) and Hinchliffe (2011) on the other hand argued that, through words, a learner’s experience could be completely different from what is intended by the instructor, while Andresen et al. (2000) asserted that learning is a holistic process in which a learner experiences an integrated meaning-making from learning materials.

To further strengthen this notion, Frank (2013) suggested that educators and philosophers of education should recognize the educational function of documentary film as a learning material in representing the unexperienced world that cannot be reached by people without having the required qualification and expertise. Hence, it can be concluded that the small screen production of blue documentary can visualize the unreachable species of the marine life in the deep ocean, surrounded by countless phytoplankton as shown in many blockbuster conservation documentary films (Sharkwater, Mision Blue, An Inconvenient Truth), while allowing viewers to learn about other species, which can be considered as a privilege, as they cannot experience it in real life. They can contentedly watch these species in their personal space (living room, classrooms), or in open spaces (cinema, film festival), while gaining new knowledge about the unreachable species. Thus, the complex issues are presented through the audio-visual filmmaking process, with well-equipped broadcasting technology (underwater camera), enabling the viewers to embark on a visual tourism of the habitat beyond geographical boundaries without imposing environmental impacts caused by the travel industry or displacing animals into different habitats as what is done by zoos and aquarium industry (Mills 2010).

### **A Knowledge Dissemination Platform**

The easy access to blue documentaries allows them to be the platform for knowledge dissemination to the audiences all over the globe. Marcus and Stoddard (2007) claimed that the global accessibility through various websites for film viewing facilities enables viewers to watch these documentaries without any restriction, while the advanced broadcasting technology used in wildlife documentary film with great aesthetical, societal and educational values, encourages viewer’s participation in global environmental movements (Mills 2010). As Mills studied the BBC wildlife documentary series, the Nature’s Great Events (2009), he contended that wildlife documentaries’ role is vital in informing and engaging citizens in environmental debates, and it fits the global agenda of many conservationist objectives particularly concerning the present-day environmental issues of marine pollution and habitat extinction. Apart from that, the establishment of the Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) as a tool for marine protection is seen as crucial. On the other hand, Watson et al. (2015) rejected the passive educational approach (signages, leaflets) which is adopted as part of the Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) enforcement acts, as it has been proven

to be ineffective in ensuring that the rules are adhered to as well as to stimulate changes in the stakeholder's behaviour (Watson et al. 2015). Due to those circumstances, it was suggested that the alternative approach for enforcement is through the Community Based Natural Resource Management, as this approach is common in reefs conservation. It was found that in order to educate the people (stakeholders, spectators, management bodies) on marine conservation, a reliable educational platform is needed so that the information can reach a greater target audience. Therefore, in order to comprehend and strengthen the MPAs enforcement, it is crucial to circulate the information to the public and spectators so that they gradually understand conservation policies (Watson et al. 2015). Hence, it is essential to recognize the importance of blue documentary transmission in distributing its environmental messages to the masses, an effort which has been made in developed countries for ages. Generally, the function of blue documentary as a means of promoting environmental protection and initiating actions to preserve marine life, has been highly acknowledged in the West, and is evident in the increasing number of blue documentaries production as well as the various environmental film festivals in the world (Prnjat 2016).

### **A Platform for Collaborations**

Apart from that, the collaborations between different parties in blue documentary filmmaking, which usually involve filmmakers, oceanologists, environmentalists, conservationists, activists and non-profit organizations, can be a way to avoid future damage to endangered marine species. As has been asserted in a number of studies, a documentary is considered as a capable product in representing different opinions, while retaining 'a sense of unity' among the people, and is an effective medium to transmit information on marine life to the community and raise conservation awareness among the spectators (Levinson et al. 2016). In support of that, Morara & Peterlicean (2012) stated that the degradation of biodiversity requires environmental education in order to raise public awareness, and by making documentaries to represent marine contemporary issues to the society particularly the youth, future damages to the environment can be avoided.

Hence, Sherrow (2010) proposed five principle opportunities in preserving endangered marine species, namely; (i) recognizing and encouraging conservation project and conservation education into research, (ii) encouraging the publications of conservation education into mainstream journal, (iii) having dedicated experts or scientist to become conservation educators or conservationist, (iv) developing partnership collaborations across typical boundaries, and (v) collaborating across studies, discipline and continent to share the possible actions needed. It can be concluded that these five strategies can be achieved through documentary production in order to encourage conservation education by avoiding a single party's opinion.

In support of that, it has been proven a collaboration of interdisciplinary fields of expertise in the Sharkwater (2006) can balance the two different entities between the scientists, oceanologists or conservationists with the filmmakers or industry players' perspectives in representing the marine content of conserving sharks species. Thus, in

order to represent the relationship between sharks, the ecosystems, people, institutions, and art; across and below the blue expanses of the planet, Rob Stewart, the director of the 'Sharkwater' collaborated with the conservationists by joining the crew of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society's boat, the Ocean Warrior, to investigate the shark poaching as he tries to find out why people are killing these creatures (Shewry 2013, p. 49).

On the other hand, in a content analysis study conducted by Evans (2015) based on the 55 episodes of the Shark Week program by the Discovery Channel, which were aired between 2001 and 2012, it was found that after partnering with scientists and a marine conservation foundation, more science frames have been incorporated into this program with some alterations of its narrative elements. This initiative was taken following the Discovery Channel being criticized for the unrealistic narratives in their program. According to Eilperin (2012) as cited in Evans (2015), it was asserted that:

*"In 2010, in the wake of criticism from conservationists and scientists that Shark Week presented an unrealistic narrative about sharks that could damage efforts to save sharks from extinction; the Discovery Channel partnered with conservation organizations and announced that it would revamp some of its programming to reflect a more accurate portrayal of sharks". — (Eilperin 2012 cited in Evans 2015, p. 267)*

Hence, it is clear that human and nature are pre-requisites of each other and the collaboration between different interest groups in representing marine life conservation is vital in blue documentaries narratives, to avoid fabricated information from being delivered to the spectators.

### **A Mechanism to place pressure on policy makers**

Finally, as an effective educational tool in raising public awareness and changing people's attitudes towards environmental issues (Holbert, Kwak & Shah 2003; Janpol & Dilts 2016), a blue documentary may also exert the pressure for policy makers to revise their rules and regulations in accordance to appropriate environmental circumstances. Whiteman (2004) has conducted a case study on the political impact of documentary films by activists, and it was found that documentary films may to a certain extent be the cause of a change to the government policy based on the issues raised. For example, documentary videos, namely the Living Conditions in Public Housing (1993) by Maxcine Mitchell; From the Ground Up (1992) by Rob Danielson; and The Uprising of 34' (1995), have been the driving factors for roundtable discussions to take place at various legislative level for the reversal of government policies on housing, mining suspension, and building magnificent statues. Even though these documentaries were not specifically related to the marine environment, however, it shows that with a relatively minimum cost, documentary filmmaking can become the tool and a success reason for activist groups to achieve their production objectives in influencing important political decisions based on three factors; namely the producers and production organizations, the selection of medium to present the documentary by the activist group, and the distribution strategies.



On the other hand, blue documentary film can put pressure on policy makers and political power by presenting to them the devastating impacts of marine life exploitation. Shrew asserted that the documentary, *Sharkwater* (2006) frames the hidden economy activities of the shark finning industry by revealing the qualities of illegality, secrecy, corruption, violence, and moral unacceptability of the capitalist economy and corrupt state governance, that lies behind the plight of sharks (p. 49). Shewry mentioned that:

*“In Costa Rica, while under house arrest for an incident in which they clashed with an illegal long-lining boat in Guatemalan waters, the film crew escapes to investigate the private docks of the “Taiwanese shark fin mafia”. Stewart later frames this incident by saying that they “uncovered” the shark fin industry. He also illuminates the corruption that underpins shark fishing, exploring how this industry overlaps with the Costa Rican judicial system and with the politics of Taiwanese aid to Costa Rica. Finally, he shows the violence of illicit fishing: a hook hacked out of a turtle’s mouth; a whale dragged on board a boat; a dead baby shark held in someone’s hands; a fin slashed off a living shark”. — (Shewry 2013, p. 49)*

The ‘*Sharkwater*’ used narratives elements to put pressure on the policy makers, by exposing the urgency of the responsible parties to take action on the marine species exploitation for the sake of economic gain. Through his documentary, Stewart has also made public the malpractice of the government institution by closing an eye to illegal marine life exploitation, even though there are existing infrastructures like marine sanctuaries to protect the oceans (Shewry 2013). This can be seen in one of the dialogues in *Sharkwater*: “I don’t know of any governments or institutions that are doing anything to... solve any of these problems” (p. 51). This shows that the narratives strategy is used to alert the government institutions as the responsible agency on this marine species exploitation, while at the same time directly putting pressure on the policy makers to amend their institutions’ practices.

## **Conclusion**

As a conclusion, the capability of a blue documentary that has been discussed is seen as an important mechanism for the film industry, particularly in Malaysia, to uncover the reality of the endangered marine species by disseminating the knowledge of the scientific data that has been discovered by many expertise (academics, scientists, oceanologist, conservations) to decrease environmental impacts, and while at the same time, protect marine life. This is highlighted by Muhammad & Fatimah (2015) who claimed that the Malaysian government encounters difficulties in accomplishing the national objectives of ‘vision 2020 as a developed nation’, due to marine park communities failing to meet the obligated education level (p. 143), as compared to the people in the mainland.

Despite its crucial function in promoting environmental protection and initiating actions to preserve marine life (Prnjat 2016), these initiatives are not being taken seriously in Malaysia, albeit most parties are aware of the importance of the marine

eco-system sustenance, in ensuring the continuation of human life. Across the board, it can be said that the Malaysian government and most of its citizen are not motivated to take preservation action in response to the environmental degradation, due to lack of knowledge and information about the issues (Lee 2010), particularly on marine life. These practices become less visible to the Malaysian audience because of the limited research carried out, and exposure on how to educate the Malaysian masses, particularly those living near the marine life protection areas (Lee 2010; Muhammad & Fatimah 2015). Hence, in the context of this paper, it is suggested that future research on local produced documentary about marine local species for local target audience is significant, and can contribute to a new study on the educational implications for political and social context of a nation in raising marine conservation awareness.

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*Narrating War in Wartime Manchukuo: A Textual Analysis of Propaganda Films  
Screened in Rural Areas of Japanese-Occupied Northeastern China*

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**Abstract**

This research examines how propaganda films made by the Japanese colonial authorities and screened in rural areas of wartime Manchukuo portrayed the war and daily life. The focus is on Manchurian Films produced by the South Manchuria Railway Company and the Manchuria Film Association. Numerous previous studies in the field of media studies have discussed films screened in urban cinemas, which facilitated the emergence of a colonial urban culture. What has received less attention is the rural context of film screening. Manchurian Films were screened by mobile film projection units active in rural areas. Reflecting the propaganda campaigns in rural areas, the text of the films tends to describe a peaceful and prospering puppet state through portrayal of the daily life of Manchurian people. This research analyzes data from internal publications of the Manchukuo government, PR magazines, as well as video copies of actual films, and argues that Manchurian films fit within Japan's propaganda scheme by targeting Chinese audiences with a narrative of a prosperous Manchukuo as an achievement of the war.

Keywords: Manchurian Films, mobile film projection units, Manchukuo

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## Introduction

Japan's Kwantung Army occupied northeastern China and founded the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. In order to govern the ethnic minorities of this land, the Japanese authorities tailored their propaganda methods to appeal to the variety of ethnic groups, including through film screening tours in rural areas. Drawing on the propaganda experience of the Manchukuo Concordia Association, films were the most popular and impressive propaganda method directed at illiterate rural people (Okita 1939). The Manchurian Films<sup>1</sup> shown in this propaganda campaign of film projection were produced with the intention of promoting national propaganda, and were presumed by Japanese authorities to disseminate the Manchukuo ideology to communities of multiethnic people who lived far away from urban areas (*Talking About Culture Films in Manchuria*, 1939). Meanwhile, film projection activities were regarded as a tool for both propaganda and entertainment in rural areas of Manchukuo (Otsuka, 1944).

There are two categories of previous studies about Manchurian Films. One focuses on the context of production by clarifying the policies of national propaganda and the institutions of film production such as the Manchurian Film Association and Film Production Unit of the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu) (Sato, 1985; Yamaguchi, 1989; Hu, 1990; Yamaguchi, 2000; Kato, 2003; Koseki, 2004). The other focuses scrutiny on the film text of particular Manchurian Films (Sato, 1932; Choi, 2005; Liu, 2010; Furuichi, 2010; Ikegawa, 2011; Li, 2014). This previous research neglects the existence of the variety of Manchurian Films screened in rural areas, which were selected by local administrators. Local administrators would negotiate with the Manchuria Film Association to request the production of films containing certain contents, language and titles. However, Wang (2017) points out that the Japanese filmmakers altered the text of Manchurian Films based on audience feedback in rural areas that was collected by Chinese and Japanese projection staffs. Thus, it is necessary to further discuss how the text of these films changed, as well as the chronological characteristics of these texts in different periods.

This paper aims to clarify the characteristics of film texts in different periods of wartime Manchukuo through analysis of actual films that have been released in a VHS-cassette series entitled *Film Testimonies: Documents of Manchuria* (1995) and a DVD series entitled *Documentary Film Series of South Manchuria Railway Company* (2005). Specifically, analysis focuses on *The Capital Surges Forward* (Film Unit of Mantetsu, 1937), *Agricultural Manchuria* (Film Unit of Mantetsu, 1937), *Concordia Youths* (Manchurian Film Association, 1938), *Manchurian Empire: the National Conscription Act* (Manchurian Film Association, 1940), *Lice Are Awful* (Manchurian Film Association, 1943), and *Heroes of Mining* (Manchurian Film Association, 1943). Each of these films can be reasonably connected to propaganda film projection activities based on remaining records, and have been documented by screening

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<sup>1</sup> This paper defines Manchurian Films as the films produced by the institutions located in Manchuria, which specifically refers to Film Production Unit of South Manchuria Railway Company and Manchurian Film Association.

organizers as either having been shown or having been intended to be shown. Detailed analysis of scene composition in documentary films that were produced in order to promote governmental policy and ideology is intended to elucidate the reality of propaganda film projection activities in wartime Manchukuo.

This paper proposes the following approach to analyze documentary films that appear in screening tour records, based upon the hypothesis that films depicting daily life in agricultural communities are more appealing and easier to understand for farming audiences. To elucidate farming audiences' reception of a film's content, we will consider whether it elicited the audience's empathy and emotional response. To this end, the paper will focus on methods of "cultural positioning" and "cultural patronage"<sup>2</sup> that occur in films, with an emphasis on film imagery, in order to analyze how traditional "Manchurian" elements and imported "Japanese" and "modern" elements come to be united. Additionally, we will consider how the films are used to explain previously foreign concepts, as well as how ideological concepts are explained in the absence of imported elements.

## 1. The foundation of Manchukuo as seen through the Empire's gaze (1932-1937)

### *The Capital Surges Forward (Film Unit of Mantetsu, 1937)*

This film portrays the formation of urban space in the capital Shinkyō and the private life of urban citizens. Except for Japanese subtitles, there are no Japanese elements or Japanese images in the film, and all characters are Manchurian people, including lower-class laborers, as well as wealthy people. In the opening scene, the rising camera focuses on laborers working on a construction site and an unfinished building. Japanese subtitles appear gradually over the background of half-naked laborers.



Fig.1.1



Fig.1.2



Fig.1.3

This Japanese text contains a phrase in the first person, "our capital." Because the capital of Manchukuo is discussed in the first person, the subject that "our (we)" in this Japanese phrase refers to is unclear. This Japanese text exposes the ambiguous

<sup>2</sup> Perry, Elizabeth., *Anyuan Mining China's Revolutionary Tradition*, 2012, University of California Press, pp. 4-13. Cultural positioning refers to a strategy deployment of a symbolic resources (religion, ritual, rhetoric, dress, drama, art and so on) for the purpose of political persuasion. Cultural patronage means that influential government agencies rewrite cultural records to reconstruct a collective memory and history for strengthening political legitimation.

identity of the storyteller in this silent film. Despite the film's focus on conflict between an entirely Manchurian cast of characters, the first-person phrase in the Japanese language reveals a contradiction that is also present in *Agricultural Manchuria*.

After the lower-class laborers, the film depicts in detail the private life of wealthy Manchurian people living in the capital Shinkyō, such as families living in an upmarket district, girls having a boat trip in a suburban park, and boys playing basketball on a playground.



Fig.1.4



Fig.1.5



Fig.1.6

In the sequences that portray modern life in a developed urban area, all modern or Western elements are represented by Manchurian characters. However, the ending of this film stands out by foregrounding Manchukuo and discretely representing Japan in order to clarify who constructed this environment of modern life.



Fig.1.7



Fig.1.8



Fig.1.9

The racecourse is a device that embodies the slogan of Manchuria, "Gozoku-kyōwa (cooperation among five ethnic groups)". The racecourse functions as a kind of social space where people from each ethnic group gather and form a temporary human relationship (Yamazaki 2010). A Japanese woman dressed in a kimono standing at the front of the crowd is the central subject of the camera. She is the only Japanese character in the film and appears for just ten seconds. This image shows that not only Manchurian people, but also the Japanese in the state capital are fully enjoying the cultural life of "Gozoku-kyōwa," with the national flag making an appearance behind the subtitle "Great Manchurian Empire" on the final screen. This subtitle seems to suggest that all the modern or Western elements depicted in the film have been introduced by "Manchuria" instead of Japan.

### *Agricultural Manchuria* (Film Unit of Mantetsu, 1937)

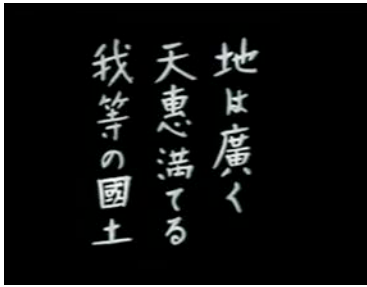


Fig.1.10



Fig.1.11



Fig.1.12

Similar to *The Capital Surges Forward*, a Japanese-language subtitle of "our country's land" appears at the beginning of this film. The entire film depicts no Japanese people or Japanese elements, but rather only the landscape of rural areas of Manchuria and lives of farmers. Subjects include new cultivation methods employing modern machines, the land of the continental plain, farmers' work, and recreation in nature. By this time, the film unit of Mantetsu has already determined a uniform pattern of representation of rural life in Manchuria. This representation of continental agricultural landscapes and farmers is reflected in an ideological slogan that appears as a subtitle in the last scene, similar to *The Capital Surges Forward*.

The question of who the country of Manchukuo, referred to as "ours," belongs is raised but never clarified. In the final text of the film, instead of praising the regime directly, the metaphor of "paradise (rakudo)" and "heaven (ten)" emphasize nature's gifts. However, this subtitle contains a latent abbreviation of Manchukuo's ideological slogan "The Land of Paradise (Oudo Rakudo)."

## 2. The Vision of a "Peaceful Age" as Narrated by the Manchurian State (1938—1940)

### *Concordia Youths* (Manchurian Film Association, 1938)

In the opening section of this film, Chinese text first introduces the Concordia Association's intentions of establishing a training school for the recruitment of younger schoolboys. Short installments depict life in a training school, which is portrayed as an institution providing a chance for success to middle- to high-class youths.

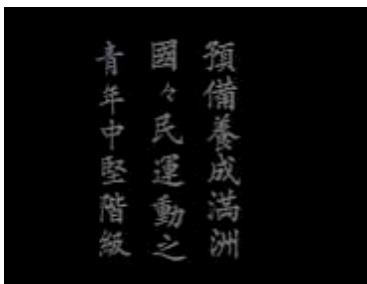


Fig.2.1



Fig.2.2

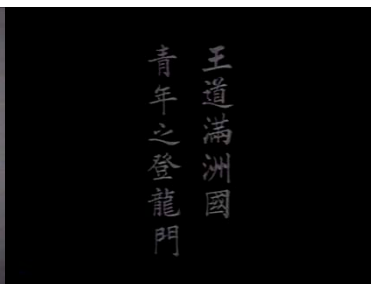


Fig.2.3

In such installments, the parts containing the producers' primary ideological messages are represented as expressions of national policy thought. The success of these attempts to promote national policy depends on the circumstances in which these images are perceived. This film's important characteristic is the leading role played by the Concordia Youths, a Manchurian element that is directly united with the Japanese elements.

Various scenes allow us to witness how the young Manchurian protagonists are being thoroughly Japaneseized, restrained and controlled by the school's Japanese-style regulations, or how they are actively supporting Japanese rule. For example, in a scene after the Manchurian national flag is raised in a morning ceremony, the boys worship the eastern direction, bowing deeply and politely towards the Emperor residing in Japan. Another scene depicts the boys before a meal saying "Itadakimasu!" as they press their palms together and nod, just as the Japanese do, while another scene captures the boys practicing Japanese kendo during outdoor activities. However, the hoisting of the Manchukuo flag in the morning, as well as playing the two-stringed instrument *erhu* during the break after the meal – the traditional Manchurian elements – are represented as intertwining with the above-mentioned Japanese-style actions, thus showing acceptance and support for Japanese rule.



Fig.2.4



Fig.2.5



Fig.2.6



Fig.2.7



Fig.2.8



Fig.2.9

The film's last subtitled scene displays the following message regarding the establishment of the Concordia Association's training schools: "In the historical process of building the Manchukuo state, we must not divide Japan and Manchuria. It is important to believe in faithfulness and honor, retain harmonious relations with our close Eastern neighbor Japan, and to stick to the principle of minds and hearts united. The Japanese-Manchurian friendship is in the heart of the Concordia Youths." The text makes it clear that the training schools were institutions founded by the

Manchukuo state, and also implies the answer to the question of whose country Manchuria actually is. As a continuation of the South Manchuria Railway Company's early documentary films with their Japanese-language subtitles referring to "our country," the Manchuria Film Association's middle-period productions with Chinese-language subtitles separate Japan and Manchuria and clearly position Japan as the eastern neighbor. But is "our country" that is not "Japan's Manchuria" necessarily the country of its various native peoples? In any case, these films illustrate that Manchuria's future depends on the Japanized youths who carry the responsibility for maintaining Japanese-Manchurian friendship. The cultural films made by the Manchurian Film Association, while gradually reflecting the consciousness of Manchurian independence, also focused on the different minority peoples living in Manchuria.

***Manchurian Empire: the National Conscription Act (Manchurian Film Association, 1940)***

In this film, all the representations of the Japanese elements are united within images of the "friendly nation" and the Japanese army's fighting strength. In contrast to *Concordia Youths*, there is no deliberate interlinking of the Manchurian elements, represented by the Manchurian protagonists, with the Japanese elements. The idea that Manchukuo is a state for the Manchurian people can be perceived through the contents of Chinese-language narration and subtitles that firmly establish Japan as a "friendly state." This is the result of growing consciousness of Manchurian independence within the films.



Fig.2.10



Fig.2.11



Fig.2.12

Taking lessons from allied Japan's experience, this propaganda film that starts off in the documentary genre employs numerous dramatic sequences based on Manchurian people's lives in order to explain the stipulations of the National Conscription Act. The fact that this Act, enacted by the Japanese colonial ruling class, is interpreted by the Japanese filmmakers through dramatic sequences depicting the daily lives of Chinese people is an indication of the original cultural positioning that occurs in the film.

In the explanatory parts of the *National Conscription Act* film, there are three types of sequences that employ the technique of cultural positioning. First are static and dramatic scenes. These scenes are mainly dramatic representations visualizing the act's conditions of application and recruitment qualifications. The actors shown on the

screen barely talk or move, and are instead merely shown standing as the background for the narration and subtitles used to explain the legal stipulations. These scenes visualize legal information through subtitles that directly provide information to the audience.



Fig.2.13

Fig.2.14

Fig.2.15

The second type of sequence is dramatic interview scenes. Judging from the characters' unnatural way of speaking, these are not genuine interviews, but dramatic reenactments. At the beginning and end of the film's four interviews, a subtitled text of the legal clauses is provided with a short commentary. Four people of different professions are introduced in the interview sequence, all of whom have the qualifications necessary to enter the army. A journalist becomes the narrator and takes interviews in a street setting. The interview technique not only clarifies the unclear sections of the act (such as a requirement to "lead a stable life" in Manchukuo), but also adds human context to the legal discussion, showing ordinary people in their everyday surroundings.



Fig.2.16

Fig.2.17

Fig.2.18

The third type of sequence is a skit scene. There are no text subtitles used during the skits. The purpose of explaining relatively simple clauses in this form might be to better visualize abstract terms as well as to make the film more enjoyable.





Fig.2.19

Fig.2.20

Fig.2.21

The film illustrates how the consciousness of Manchurian independence had grown stronger, and employs a variety of techniques to express difficult legal concepts in a manner that is easy to understand and enjoyable, even for illiterate peasants and lower-class urban audiences.

### 3. The Image of Assimilation in the Pacific War Period (1941-1945)

#### *Lice Are Awful* (Manchurian Film Association, 1943)

Propaganda documentary films produced after 1942 by the Manchuria Film Association reflect an increasing focus on depicting increased production and control of the national spirit (Ishii 1942). *Lice Are Awful* is an educational animated film intended to promote hygiene. The story conveys the necessity of killing the lice that carry a pathogenic bacteria and cause infectious disease among laborers at Fushun Coal Mine. In this film, the lower-class laborers are featured as the main characters. Under the supervision of Japanese doctors, laborers have been transformed into modern, sanitary workers who voluntarily try to understand the significance of the hygiene campaign.

The entire film is composed of dramatic sequences that explain the message solely through the lines of the characters and voice of the animated lice without any Chinese narration. Firstly, it is notable that the Japanese characters are represented as becoming Manchurian.



Fig.3.1

Fig.3.2

Fig.3.3

The first shot centers on a close-up of a Japanese army surgeon's face. He speaks loudly in fluent Chinese as he runs around the town. "Today is a day of cleaning! Typhoid has been spreading in our coal mine, so we must exterminate the lice that carry the bacteria that causes the disease. Everyone, begin cleaning! Everyone, begin

cleaning!” This film differs from other films in which the Japanese characters maintain their independence and distance from Manchurian elements and the Manchurians are the only characters to encounter extraneous elements. In *Lice are Awful*, we see for the first time Japanese characters who can speak Chinese and actively serve the Manchurian people, that is, a representation of Japanese who assimilate to and embrace Manchukuo.

### ***Heroes of Mining* (Manchurian Film Association, 1943)**

*Heroes of Mining* is another example that depicts a fusional Japanese character. The entire film is a narrative performed by professional actors. The production was intended to serve as “an image of a model coal mine where Japanese engineers supervise Manchurian laborers with the goal of achieving increased production.”

At the Fushun Coal Mine, Japanese manager Tashiro, who speaks Chinese fluently, supervises laborers from the Republic of China and rural areas of Manchukuo. When a new laborer named Zhang tosses his shovel away and crouches down in refusal, manager Tashiro picks up Zhang’s shovel and continues his work without any words of scolding. Zhang is so moved by his manager’s actions that he is compelled to go return to his work. Afterwards, when Zhang is promoted to be a team leader, he imitates Manager Tashiro and works in front of his entire team to educate the new laborers. In the final scene, Zhang is honored as a model laborer while saying quietly, “This labor gives rise to a county in which all forty millions of us may be happy” (Takahara 1944).

The important features of this film include not only Japanese supervisors who can speak Chinese, but also Chinese narration that links together all sequences and Japanese subtitles that parallel the Chinese narration. One method of imbuing the entire film with a Manchurian appearance is the use of segments that show laborers’ hometowns and recreation in the coal mining town, revealing that the workers from the Republic of China and Manchuria enjoy purely Chinese and Manchurian cultural traditions.



Fig.3.4

Fig.3.5

Fig.3.6

As is shown in Fig. 3.4, Fig. 3.5 and Fig. 3.6, Japanese subtitles explain that the laborers are from the Republic of China and rural areas of Manchukuo, while the scenes show their entertainment is full of activities reflecting Manchuria’s traditional festivals. Manchurian laborers in this film, as in *Lice Are Awful*, are “rescued,

educated and remade” (Liu 2013) by a Japanese military surgeon and supervisors in the coal mine. Rather than the laborers’ culture, the objects of “rescue, education and remaking” are their methods of healthcare and work, which directly correlate to the goal of increasing production at the coal mine.



Fig.3.7

Fig.3.8

Fig.3.9

In the films portrayal, “rescue, education and remaking” depends upon mutual interaction between the Japanese supervisor and Manchurian laborers. Manager Tashiro speaks in Chinese and explains the benefits of work in the coal mine to new laborers: “The work inside the coal mine is tiring at first, and dangerous. But if you follow your instructions, it can be safe and easy to learn. If you become skilled, you can earn more money and be promoted. Think of how you can support your parents and family and do your best.”



Fig.3.10

Fig.3.11

Fig.3.12

In the final sequence, Zhang is awarded a prize for achieving an increase in production. “Japanese supervisors warmly pay attention to our safety and health. Their enthusiasm and kindness reminds us of our parents and helps us to find a way forward.” Zhang’s Chinese narration is meant to speak for all the Manchurian laborers he represents. The establishment of mutual communication between the colonizer and colonized is represented in the Chinese lines and narration of Zhang and the Japanese supervisor, who has proactively assimilated to Manchurian language and society.

## Conclusion

This paper has examined the features and evolution of Manchurian Films propaganda movies produced in different periods. Early-period Manchurian Films are defined by the following characteristics: first, the absence of representations of Japan and Japanese people. Representations of Manchuria are primarily divided between agricultural villages and cities. Modern elements are absent from the images of farming villages and agriculture, which depict endless fields sprawling across the plains and rich harvests of agricultural products. Representations of cities and industry portray modern and Western elements such as high-rise architecture, transport systems, and citizens engaging in Western-style living practices. Explanation of these representations of Manchurian elements occurs entirely through narration and text subtitles that extoll the Manchurian state.

Another characteristic of both films for Chinese audiences and for Japanese living in Manchuria is the voicelessness of the people appearing on screen. Indeed, the images of Manchuria in early Manchurian Films representative of the South Manchurian Railways documentaries that are intended to spark audience interest reflect the perspective of the producers from the colonial ruling class. Moreover, the films do not provide a clear answer to the question of whose country Manchuria is.

Middle-period Manchurian films produced after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War display the following three characteristics. First, middle-period films demonstrate a strengthened consciousness of Manchurian independence from Japan. In *Concordia Youth*, the Chinese-language subtitles create distance between Japan and Manchuria, with Japan clearly positioned as a neighbor to the east. But is “our country” that is not “Japan’s Manchuria” necessarily the country of its various ethnic groups? In *Manchurian Empire: the National Conscription Act*, Chinese-language narration and subtitles make clear that Manchuria is a country for and of Manchurians, while Japan is defined as an ally. This reflects the stronger consciousness of Manchurian independence within the film.

Secondly, the films no longer contain Manchurian characters in the process of becoming Japanese or Western, but instead show Manchurians who retain their traditional appearances and speak for themselves within the films. In *Concordia Youth*, the protagonists are the Manchurian Concordia Youth who are Japanized and unable to speak for themselves. However, in *Manchurian Empire: the National Conscription Act*, the Manchurian elements of local people are intentionally kept from fusing with the Japanese elements. The Chinese-language narration and interviews give voice to the Manchurian characters that appear in the film.

Finally, middle-period films showcase the unique cultural positioning propaganda methods employed by the Manchurian Film Association. Dramatic sequences based on Manchurian daily life are used to explain the clauses of the National Conscription Act in *Manchurian Empire: the National Conscription Act*.

The films produced under conditions of total war after the outbreak of the Pacific War are notable for how the Japanese characters have voluntarily assimilated to Manchuria. Not only can they speak Chinese, the assimilated Japanese who are cast as leaders proactively engage in mutual communication with Manchurians, constructing a certain image of fusion.

The manner in which the Japanese who have assimilated to Manchuria “rescue, educate, and remake” the Manchurian laborers demonstrates that the colonial ruling class proactively sought to construct a new image of Japanese leaders who had “fused with Manchuria” in the films. That image of the “fused” Japanese leader was disseminated through film projection to audiences of Manchurian workers and coal miners, thereby encouraging support for a policy of increasing production in a regime of total war. In short, this image of Japanese leaders’ “fusion” is a manifestation of “cultural patronage.”

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## *Wayang Kulit and Its Influence on Modern Entertainment*

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### **Abstract**

*Wayang Kulit* is one of the oldest forms of puppet based performances, originating from Java, Indonesia. A form of shadow puppetry, *Wayang Kulit* is traditionally performed behind a white cotton screen illuminated with an oil lamp by a *Dalang*, the puppeteer of a *Wayang* performance. These performances usually last throughout the night, serving as both a spiritual ritual and source of entertainment in Java. An ancient art, *Wayang Kulit* has been performed for centuries, and is still being practiced in modern society. As many scholars and articles pointed out, the younger generation are not as interested in *Wayang Kulit* as compared to people in the past. Fadjar (2013) noted that this is caused by a few reasons such as the language used by the *Dalang*, the duration of the performance and the heavy themes surrounding the story. *Wayang Kulit* may have adapted to the times in order to ensure it does not perish along with the people's lack of promulgation within the community. This paper aims to look into how *Wayang Kulit* is performed in the past and how it adapts in modern society. Through these observations, this paper hence seeks to inform how *Wayang Kulit* may have influenced modern artists who later included elements of the ancient performance art form in to their work.

Keywords: Wayang Kulit, Modern, Influence

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## Introduction

*Wayang Kulit* is a form of theatre that employs light and shadow. The puppets are crafted from buffalo hide and held up behind a piece of white cloth during the performance. A light source casts the puppet's shadows on the screen, telling the stories through these shadows (Cliff). In modern times, *Wayang Kulit* is more often performed as a cultural performance for tourists than a form of entertainment or spiritual teaching. A typical *Wayang Kulit* performance takes place at night till morning, taking around eight hours to perform. A *Dalang* is not only required to capably animate and voice every character well, he is also expected to be able to command the *Gamelan*<sup>1</sup> ensemble (usually made up of twenty to forty musicians) to play music specific to each scene and able to tell jokes while giving the audience advice. To the Javanese, the *Dalang* plays many roles, from puppeteer and story-teller to orchestra conductor and spiritual teacher (*The Role of the Puppet Master (Dalang) in Indonesia*).

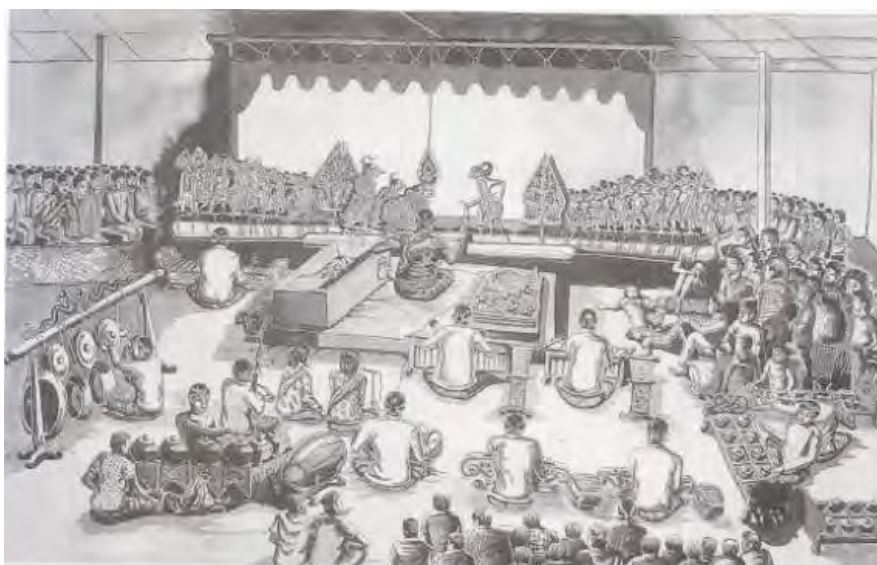


Figure 1: *Wayang* Performance.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 2: *Wayang Kulit* puppets<sup>3</sup>

In the past, *Wayang Kulit* performances were held for religious occasions or for a ceremony. Depending on the occasion, the *Dalang* may cater the story to suit the

<sup>1</sup> Gamelan – Traditional instrumental ensemble in Java and Bali

<sup>2</sup> Keeler, Ward. (1992). *Images of Asia: Javanese Shadow Puppets*. Singapore. Oxford University Press.

<sup>3</sup> *Wayang Kulit* puppets. Retrieved from <http://mpunasilemak.blogspot.sg/2015/10/types-of-wayang-kulit.html>

mood. Through his performances, A *Dalang* aims to teach the audience lessons on morality and that good will always triumph over evil. The *Dalang* may also comment on issues faced by the audience and voice political views of common people through the use of jester-like characters. Over the years, Indonesia has changed rapidly and has affected the practices of *Wayang Kulit*. As *Wayang Kulit* performances are slower paced than most modern forms of entertainment, the younger generation are less interested in *Wayang* than people of older generations. To ensure that the practice of *Wayang Kulit* does not die out due to lack of interest, modern *Dalang* have been trying to find ways to add innovations within the practice to attract the younger audience. Originally *Wayang* performances were performed in High Javanese, a dialect which is rarely used now in Indonesia. To cater to younger audiences, some performances are now given in Bahasa Indonesia, which is what most Indonesians learn and use (Jones).

This study aims to look into how *Wayang Kulit* may have influenced modern forms of entertainment, more specifically modern animation. While it is a very old art form, it is believed that many modern forms of animation borrow elements from *Wayang Kulit* or shadow play in general. Many animators draw influence from shadow puppetry, one example is German animator Lotte Reiniger. Reiniger is known as the pioneer of animation, and she did silhouette animation using cut-out puppets from 1918 to 1979. Her works were inspired by shadow puppets, and in turn have gone on to influence modern animation.



Figure 3: *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*<sup>4</sup>

This study also aims to discuss if puppetry is considered animation, a debate that is still on-going among many animators even till this date. Independent animator Tess Martin noted that as separate art forms, Animation and Puppetry have different sets of skill sets, history and context. She compared an animator performing with straight-ahead techniques with a puppeteer. The animator performs in extreme slow motion, breaking every action into twelve or more pictures per second, forming an illusion of

<sup>4</sup> *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* – Lotte Reiniger. Retrieved from <http://basvanstratum.nl/the-adventures-of-prince-achmed-lotte-reiniger-1926/>

movement when the frames are put together afterwards. On the other hand, a puppeteer's skill comes from being able to effectively move all parts of the puppet at the same time, as their puppets are moving in real-time. She firmly believes that bringing something to life would not always make it an animation, as it would mean an actor bringing his character to life in a play would also be considered animation. However, in her E-mail discussion with director Kevin McTurk, whose work entered the same festival as Martin's, McTurk considers puppetry as animation as the characters are being animated in real-time by a human performer, and because of this it can be considered as animation.

### **History of *Wayang Kulit***

*Wayang Kulit* is believed to have been imported from either India or China, due to records of shadow puppetry in their long cultural histories. The first recorded instance of a *Wayang* performance is dated 930 CE, and is still practiced to this day (Rodney). Despite being a largely Muslim country, *Hindu* epics such as *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are usually re-enacted for *Wayang* performances. Muslims banned the reproduction of the human form, so the characters in the plays are made to be ugly and grotesque to avoid bearing resemblance to them. (Dalton, "*The Mysterious, Phantasmagoric World of Javanese Wayang Theatre*"). Apart from its entertainment value, *Wayang* performances were also used to educate the audience. Most stories portray good triumphing over evil, but never fully destroying it. It takes lessons from Hinduism, where good and evil are necessary and must exist in equilibrium (Ingersoll). The designs also help the characters to display features that represent them, like their status in society and their psychological states. The characters are designed differently from normal humans, this allows the character to move away from reality and religious controversy ("*Islamic Elements in Traditional Indonesian and Malay Theatre*", 87). This would allow the *Muslim* community to accept *Wayang Kulit* better, as the stories do not include *Hindu* and Indian values in them despite having origins from *Hinduism*.

*Wayang Kulit* performances are usually held at night and last till the next morning. Most of the guests invited to a *Wayang Kulit* performance are male and attendance is by invitation only. The Javanese believe that women should not be staying out all night to watch a performance as many men thought it is disgraceful for women to watch one. It was also believed that women were not interested in *Wayang Kulit* performances ("*Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*", 240). Javanese believe that women are incapable of concentration and self-control and are unable to appreciate the significance of *Wayang Kulit* and assume that they are disinterested and unable to appreciate shadow plays ("*Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*", 240). Javanese women are said to enjoy *Kethoprak*<sup>5</sup> instead. As *Kethoprak* features live actors unlike *Wayang Kulit*, it was said that it is easier for Javanese women to understand the performance. *Kethoprak* also can be watched at any time of the day unlike *Wayang Kulit*, so women do not have to stay up all night just to catch a performance. ("*Javanese Shadow Puppets*", 39-46).

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<sup>5</sup> Indonesian folk drama

## Adapting *Wayang Kulit* to Modern Entertainment

Over the years, Indonesia has changed rapidly, affecting the practices of *Wayang Kulit*. These changes in the performance can be seen with the availability of education and electricity for the people in Indonesia. Most Indonesians are taught Bahasa Indonesia in schools, while *Wayang* performances are performed in Javanese. However, one does not necessarily need to understand Javanese in order to comprehend a *Wayang* performance. It was stated that it is quite difficult to understand what a *Dalang* was saying during a performance, so even people proficient in Javanese would face issues in trying to understand him. In spite of this, the language barrier is still an element driving many young Indonesians away from a *Wayang* performance (“*Javanese Shadow Puppets*”, 66). Access to electricity meant that other forms of entertainment are available to Indonesians, specifically television programmes. As television becomes available to more families, people were able to watch shows on television almost instantaneously, especially *Kethoprak*. The key aesthetic difference between *Kethoprak* on television and *Wayang Kulit* is in the pacing of each performance. *Wayang Kulit* moves at a slow pace, as the *Dalang* has to individually animate each puppet while still giving cues to the *Gamelan* orchestra. In television, scenes switch quickly due to the presence of camera cuts and other filming techniques. With youths used to instant gratification, they lose interest quickly in *Wayang Kulit*, where information is being presented slowly and poetically.

While *Wayang Kulit* is a respected art form, the newer generation is not interested in it enough to appreciate it. This notion of instant gratification is reiterated by Jade Chan in her article “*Engaging with the young is essential in keeping Wayang Kulit relevant (2016)*”. She quoted Prof Hatta, speaker of a seminar which looks into elevating the art of shadow puppetry, stating that changes in lifestyle, behavior, environment and socio-economy are reasons that *Wayang Kulit* needs to adapt to keep it relevant. He also mentioned that having too many choices for entertainment in modern society is also a reason why *Wayang Kulit* has to adapt to appeal to the Younger Generation. To attempt to appeal to younger generations, some *Dalang* explored possibilities for *Wayang* to cater to the younger generation. One example of how *Wayang Kulit* adapted to modern society is *Wayang Hip hop*, an art form which combines traditional *Wayang* puppets with more modernized elements such as hip hop and uses a less polite tone for dialogue compared to traditional *Wayang Kulit* performances. Traditionally, *Wayang Kulit* performances have a comic interlude that takes place in the middle of the performance, known as the *gara-gara* scene<sup>6</sup>. This is probably the most liked part of the performance since it is full of jokes. Most jokes are easily relatable to the audience since the *Dalang* tries to address problems faced by the audience in this part of the performance (Varela, 495). *Wayang Hip Hop* is considered a self-contained *gara-gara* scene because it focuses on the interactions of the characters as they discuss issues. The scenes other than the *gara-gara* scene are omitted from *Wayang Hip Hop*, allowing it to be short and enjoyable to the audience. Unlike traditional performances which take around eight hours to perform, *Wayang Hip hop* usually lasts not more than two hours. This is to cater to the younger generation who are looking more into instant gratification and would not appreciate a full *Wayang* performance (Chan). As Varela wrote, there are a wide range of activities

<sup>6</sup> *Gara-gara* scene – a part of the traditional *Wayang* performance where *Punakawan* (Jesters or clown servants) give advice to the audience through humour.

for young people to be interested in and take part, so there is little reason for them to want to spend too much time on a monotonous show that they do not understand. On the other hand, as Hip-hop is part of youth culture, it appeals better to the younger generation.



Figure 4: *Wayang Hip-hop*<sup>7</sup>

Practices that attempt to modernize *Wayang Kulit* are received with mixed opinions. A common criticism is that *Wayang Hip Hop* does not convey the same values when compared to the traditional *Wayang Kulit*. Some older *Dalang* say that there are no moral messages to be conveyed to the audience during the *Wayang Hip Hop* performances. In one example, two characters who originated from *Mahabharata*, Gatotkaca and Werkudara, speak to each other in an impolite form, which is never used in a traditional *Wayang* performance. This led people to think that *Wayang Hip Hop* is encouraging young people to question aesthetic and ethical norms which are still followed, but might not be relevant any more. Some critics also criticized the shortened performance of *Wayang Hip Hop*, noting that the shortened length of the performance takes away a large portion of *Wayang Kulit*'s appeal (Varela, 501).

Some modern *Dalang* who practice *Wayang Hip Hop* are aware of, and agree to these criticisms. However, they think of it as a necessity in order to make sure the art of *Wayang Kulit* does not just die out because of a lack of interest. Some believe that instead of competing with *Wayang Kulit*, *Wayang Hip Hop* encourages young people's interest in the traditional art form, ensuring that *Wayang Kulit* is still relevant even though it is faced with a population of uninterested youths.

### ***Wayang Kulit* and its influences on Animation**

Shadow puppetry is an ancient form of storytelling with a long history in parts of Asia, in places such as Indonesia, China and India. *Wayang Kulit* is one of the earliest

<sup>7</sup> *Wayang Hip Hop*. Retrieved from: <http://thesecretsofwayang.blogspot.sg/>

forms of silhouette animation. As puppets are usually shown as shadows, the audience can only see the silhouette of the puppets, as well as details carved on them.

In Kelantan, Malaysia, Tintoy Chuo and Teh Take Huat created a modernized form of *Wayang Kulit* known as *Fusion Wayang Kulit*. *Fusion Wayang* re-creates popular titles like *Star Wars* and tells the stories through *Wayang Kulit* puppets which are made to look like the title's characters. In an interview with the New Straits Times (2014), Tintoy Chuo stated that young people did not get to experience the art form of *Wayang Kulit* and hence are not aware of the beauty and craftsmanship behind it. This being his reasoning behind starting this project, with the help of a famed *Dalang*. He was, fortunately met with overwhelming response (NST). In another article, Chuo stated that there are people who are against the idea, but he firmly believed this is one of the best ways to revive the dying art (Krich, Nikkei Aisan Review). Eddin Khoo, founder of Pusaka, an organization that documents and conserves Malaysia's traditional performance arts, calls the project to include *Star Wars* elements into *Wayang Kulit* "gimmicky". He believes that *Wayang Kulit* is constantly adapting to the times and is bothered by the idea of "reviving" or "modernizing" *Wayang Kulit*. They believed that stories are already adapted to serve different functions. In one given example, Khoo explained that while Rama was worshipped as a deity in *Hindu* versions of the stories, his Kelantan counterpart Seri Rama was actually despised by the people due to his personality. This was due to the fact that the story was made more human so it could be more relatable to the audience, and Seri Rama was given flaws to achieve that. He stated that people in Kelantan actually sympathize with Ravana's counterpart: Maharaja Wana, who became the story's main focus, due to his sincere love for Siti Dewi (Sita's counterpart in Kelantan). This shows one example of how *Wayang* performances are already changing and adapting with the times and also depending on who tells the story (Ding. Slate).



Figure 5: Fusion *Wayang Kulit*<sup>8</sup>

Animators at *Walt Disney Studios* introduced Disney's twelve principles of animation. The principles are adopted and followed by most animators even till this date, as seen in both traditional hand-drawn animation and computer animation. Ghani and Ishak

<sup>8</sup> Fusion *Wayang Kulit*. Retrieved from: <http://2016.vax.asia/fwk/>

came to a conclusion that Disney's twelve principles of animation have a basis in *Wayang Kulit* practices (Ghani and Ishak, 177). They believe that fundamental principles of traditional animation could be learnt from *Wayang* performances, from the movements of the puppets to the staging. *Wayang* was not simply seen as a theatre form but also an animation involving features of performing arts. They also compared the similarities of an animator and a *Dalang*. They show that both Animators and *Dalang* hope to entertain the audience through characters brought to life in a story, as well as being in charge of designing, crafting and staging the scenes. As *Dalang* are required to give each puppets their individual personalities and personal traits, we can see how it is similar as how animators give each characters their personalities, and it affects their actions by extension. The principles may indeed have been inspired by *Wayang Kulit* performances, as the principles of animation can all be clearly seen from the performance. Although the entire performance is made using the same stage with minimal props, *Dalang* probably used careful placements of props and characters to make the setting clear.

Ming-Hsin Tsai, associate professor of Asia University's Digital Media Design faculty, worked with Andi Tenri Elle Hapsari to study how the twelve principles were applied in *Wayang Kulit* (Usage of 12 animation principles in the *Wayang Kulit* Performances). One example they gave was Disney's animation principle of 'Squash and Stretch', in which a character is stretched or contracted to give it flexibility and weight. Tsai pointed out that this principle is practiced in *Wayang Kulit* by bringing the puppet's shadow higher or lower than how it looks at the scene. Ward Keeler pointed out in his book that good *Dalang* will perform using shadows that are dark and shadowy, instead of clear, bright ones ("Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves", 230). By controlling the size of the shadow projected by the puppet, a *Dalang* can cause a 'Squash and Stretch' effect to occur. Another point Tsai pointed out was the use of exaggeration to enhance animation. Animation usually turns to exaggeration as having an exact imitation of reality can make actions seem dull; hence the reactions tend to be exaggerated to give the actions more life. In *Wayang* performance this principle is also applied, especially in fights. The example Tsai provided shows that a character would react as if he has been hit multiple times when he has only been hit once by another character. He believes that the exaggeration of the actions of the puppets were one of the most interesting aspects of a *Wayang* performance.

### **Possible influences of puppet plays on modern animation**

Asian shadow puppetry may have influenced many artists, for example, German animator Lotte Reiniger. Reiniger is known as the pioneer of animation, and she did silhouette animation using cut-out puppets from 1918 to 1979. Her works may have been influenced by shadow puppets, and her works in turn have gone on to influence modern animation. One example is a sequence in the movie: '*Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows, part 1*' (*Harry Potter*, 2010), a short cut scene of "*Tale of the three brothers*" is told through the use of shadows and silhouettes. In an interview with the sequence's director, Ben Hibon, he stated that the decision to use silhouette animation was due to being influenced by Lotte Reiniger's animation style. Hibon also mentioned that he is fascinated with Asian shadow plays and puppetry (Desowitz, AWN), which probably also influenced him to direct the sequence. Closely following the style of Asian puppetry, they manage to make a silhouette puppet animation using



programs like Zbrush and Maya. In another interview, Hibon stated that the characters in the sequence are made to mimic the style of silhouette animation is to help put emphasis on the performance. As he mentioned, the limited movements of the puppets allows the audience to be drawn to every detail of the characters (LATimes).



Figure 6: *Tale of three brothers*<sup>9</sup>

As character silhouettes are unable to portray facial expressions well, the character's emotions are conveyed through body language, much like in modern animation of any medium. Some modern films which use cutout animation style similar to Lotte Reiniger's show this in their animation. In "*The Mysterious Explorations of Jasper Morello*", the characters are black silhouettes and are unable to show any facial emotions, but the audience can read the character's mood and what he is experiencing. As D.Myers point out, in one scene where the main character finds out that a mad scientist is nourishing a monster by letting it suck blood from his wrist, the character's feeling of fright and disgust can be seen clearly. By slowly distancing himself from the mad scientist, his actions conveyed his sense of fear and disgust without the need of facial expressions. D.Myers also mentioned that the absense of facial expressions not only goes un-noticed, it also allows the audience's attention to be focused entirely on the performance and staging in the scene (D.Myers). This is applied not only to silhouette animation, but to other mediums of animation as well.



Figure 7: *The Mysterious Explorations of Jasper Morello (2005)*<sup>10</sup>

The design of the characters are also equally important when it comes to silhouette animation. Much like puppets of Wayang Kulit, the design of the character will affect how the audience percieve as the character's personality. The ending sequence of

<sup>9</sup> TheIllustrationArt, 2011. The Tale of the three Brothers. Retrieved from [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bN1\\_h\\_eGitE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bN1_h_eGitE)

<sup>10</sup> Monsterdistributes, 2008. The Mysterious Explorations of jasper Morello. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vORsKyopHyM>

“*Lemony Snicket's A Series of Unfortunate Events (2004)*” is made using a combination of silhouette animation and cut-out animation. Count Olaf is presented as only a silhouette, but one can see that he has angular features and crooked noses, similar to the evil sorcerer in Lotte Reiniger’s *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*. This is because audience usually associate characters with such characteristics as evil and wicked, much like the personalities of these characters, hence they know right away that these characters would likely play the villain’s role (D.Myers).



Figure 8: Evil Sorcerer<sup>11</sup>



Figure 9: Count Olaf<sup>12</sup>

### ***Puppetry considered as Animation?***

Puppet plays such as *Wayang Kulit* have been widely considered as one of the earliest form of animation, with modern forms of animation using mediums such as computer-generated imagery (CGI) and stop-motion. Despite puppetry being seen as an old form of animation, there has been a long debate between animators on whether puppetry can still be considered animation.

Most characters in animation are either drawn from frame to frame or animated using computer generated models, meaning that the characters do not actually exist in reality. However, puppets exist and move in real time, being controlled by actual puppeteers to create movement and carry out a performance. Some argue that animation is supposed to bring about an illusion of movement, rather than actually causing something to move. One animator on a forum stated that puppetry should not be considered animation because they are actually made to move by someone during a performance, unlike in animation where it seems as though the character moves by itself in an actual animation (“*Is puppetry a form a animation?*”).

As animator Tess Martin said, animators and puppeteers use different set of skills in their craft. Animators make their characters perform by breaking down movements into pictures per second, so they are performing in extreme slow motion, taking time to draw the character’s pose in every frame. However, no objects are actually moved while animating the scene. The frames are later stringed together to form an illusion of movement. Puppeteers on the other hand move their characters in real time. Unlike animators who perform in extreme slow motion, puppeteers learn ways to effectively move all the parts of their character at the same time. As puppets move in real time, it

<sup>11</sup> The Art of lotte Reiniger: The Adventures of Prince Achmed (1926) Retrieved from <https://thelastdrivein.com/2017/03/27/the-art-of-lotte-reiniger-the-adventures-of-prince-achmed-1926/>

<sup>12</sup> FilmBuff1211, 2013. Lemony Snicket's A Series of Unfortunate Events title sequence Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JoBnHYKcCRU>

takes significantly less time to complete a puppet performance as opposed to an animation, which can take as long as months or years to create, depending on the technique used and how complex the animation is (Puppetry is Not Animation).

Steve Tillis (1990) added that puppets are seen as closer to live-action actors rather than animated characters due to how they are being seen by the audience. He stated that unlike most performing objects, it is imagined by the audience to have life, as the puppeteer or *Dalang* gave it life during the performance. A puppet is similar to an actor in a theatrical performance, and that was when the puppets come truly alive in their own theatre. However, it is still perceived as an object rather than an actor, as the puppet merely deploys the signs of life as an actor would, but the puppet itself does not have actual life so it cannot be perceived as a real actor. He quoted Alexandre Bakshy in his thesis, saying that “The puppet can never live unless it acts. The man can never act unless he lives” (161-172). From his statement we can see that while a puppet is not a living actor, it is easily perceived as one due to the similarities it has with a live actor more than an animated character. As a result, an animated puppet would give the audience an illusion of an actor performing live on stage, making it closer to a live action performance rather than a piece of animation.

Chow writes in his book that apart from differences in technologies and practices, another difference between Animation and Puppetry is their contrasting origins. Puppetry has a long history in several cultures, such as in Indonesia and China. There are always deeply entrenched legends around the art form as most stories performed with puppetry are myths and legends. Animation is seen as something born out of nineteenth-century European optical toys such as the zoetrope. It seems to be something which is created after drawing inspiration from puppetry. In his book he quoted from Lotte Reiniger’s book *Shadow Theatres and Shadow Films*, which compare the two arts. She notes that the figures used in the two media are similar, and the same shadow puppet can be used by an animator to create an animation when set on a lightbox and shot with an overhead camera. In another example, Chow writes that puppeteers are performers and spectators at the same time. As he is performing for an audience, he is also looking at the images to adjust the scenes and movements. This allows him to maintain an illusion of the puppet’s movements throughout the performance. Chow noted that this is very similar to how animators working on computer animation manipulate their characters: The way a puppeteer moves strings or rods in a puppet performance is very similar to how a computer animator moves parts of his characters. To him, an animated character is like a digital puppet, as the methods used to deliver a performance are almost similar. (*Animation, embodiment and digital media: Human experience of technological Liveliness*, Chapter 5).

One may argue that puppets perform in real-time and is actually moving, unlike in animation where the movement is an illusion made by piecing frames together rather than making something move, which makes it more like a theatrical performance more than an animation. However, like a computer-generated character model, a puppet is lifeless when not animated, it is only when an animator or puppeteer interacts with the character that it was given a life of its own. In both cases, we are making a lifeless character seem capable of moving without the need of physical interaction and an illusion of movement is created. A character model on the computer is made to move by moving the individual joints on the character to form a pose, similar to how a puppeteer manipulate a puppet’s strings or rods to get the desired

pose for a scene. While the computer generated model may not be able to move in real time the same way a puppet can, the animator is able to see a rough outline of the character's movements as he animates the scene. This allows the animator to manipulate the character to fine-tune his actions for the scene, in a very similar way to how a puppeteer tweaks his performance to show a better pose. Because of the similarities of puppetry and animation, this paper believes that puppetry can be considered a form of animation, each telling stories through a different medium and to a different set of audience. While modern animation may appeal more to children and general audiences, puppetry seems to be more common for religious and mythical performances, but in general both involves telling a story by manipulating a non-living object to fit into a narrative.

## Conclusion

As an ancient form of story-telling, *Wayang Kulit* has influenced many modern forms of entertainment in various ways. It may have been the origins of silhouette and cut-out animation, which draws similarity to how *Wayang Kulit* puppets are made and animated. The way the puppets are designed and animated may also have influenced modern animation, as many design and animation principles still follow what was being done in *Wayang Kulit*. However, the ancient art struggles to stay relevant in the modern age of instant gratification, as the younger generation no longer have the interest or time to follow a long *Wayang Kulit* performance throughout the night. Many modern *Dalang* have been looking for ways to cater *Wayang Kulit* for the younger generation, while some methods have succeeded in making people interested in the art, there are people who believe that *Wayang Kulit* is best left as it was performed traditionally.

While this paper mostly compares *Wayang Kulit* to animation, some people see puppetry as having more similarities to live-action theater performance, because of how the puppet is manipulated physically in real time rather than giving off an illusion of movement. This paper tries to disagree and state that puppetry is animation due to the similarities in how they are performed, and because both use non-living objects to tell stories. With techniques which blend puppetry with animation such as stop-motion, the two seem share more similarities than in the past. Given their influence on modern animation, this paper hopes to pose a question to whether ancient forms of puppetry such as *Wayang Kulit* can be considered some of the earliest forms of animation. Although the way these puppet plays are traditionally performed similar to theatrical plays, would the use of lifeless puppets bring them closer to animation rather than live-action performances?

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*Exploring the Conflict of National Narratives in Taiwanese Film from Cultural Politics and the Market of Popular Culture*

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**Abstract**

Policy of Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) is often integrated to cultural policy. However, cultural policy involves symbolic interaction and is entangled to politics, industries, social consciousness and resistance. This paper explores the results of Taiwan's policy of CCI in the past decade through perspectives of cultural studies by examining Taiwan's film production, power, resistance, consumption, and identity. Through the integration of cultural politics and popular culture market, this study examines the development of Taiwanese film industries by analyzing the multiple conflicts between Taiwan's history and geopolitics, film ideology, market and economic interests. This paper argues that the main reason of the failed development of Taiwan's film industries as CCI is its failure to serve Taiwanese's collective identity. However, the result might be successful to serve politics when film industries are tangled in cultural politics, citizen identity and consumption demands.

Keywords: film, national narratives, cultural politics, popular culture

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## Introduction

Scholars have identified complicated relationship and contexts of popular culture with hegemony, ideology, power, and economy (Fisk, 1989; Storey, 2006). When Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) is considered by governments as an approach to boost economy and develop a nation's culture, film as a flagship business in CCI turns into a cultural arena. The content of local film turns into symbolic interaction among moviegoers. At first, Taiwan-made local film turned prosperous when *Cape No. 7*, screened in 2008, marking the beginning of a revival in a market that had long been depressed (Taiwanese Film Industry Survey 2015). *Cape No. 7* and more Taiwan-made local film such as *Monga*, *Seediq Bale*, *You Are the Apple of My Eye*, *David Loman*, *Beyond Beauty - Taiwan from Above*, *Kano*, *Café*, *Café·Waiting·Love*, and *Our Times* listed as the yearly Top 10 movie box office from 2008 and 2010 to 2015. If the popularity of these national narratives in Taiwan film is related to changing Taiwanese identity, this study aims to explore whether failing CCI policy in Taiwan film industries is related to the result of cultural politics. *Our Times* hits a record high global box-office as 2.4 billion NT Dollars for Taiwan-made local film. However, when *Our Times* reached its peak, Taiwan-made local film made a deadly turn in local market. There are no more Taiwan-made local film listed in Top 10 movie box office from 2016 to 2017. In fact, Taiwanese government invests more money in this CCI business. This phenomenon makes Taiwan a good place for scholars to apply cultural studies to explain how the conflict of national narratives in Taiwan film may influence the market of popular culture.

## Cultural politics and the local market of popular culture

After China opened markets for Hong Kong film industry by "Hong Kong-China co-production", Wu (2011) describes that the "success" in "Hong Kong-China co-production" is questioned by many people. He finds that that after closer integration with the Mainland China Market, the Hong Kong film still retains the attributes such as Cantonese culture and urban landscape but the content of elements presents hollow and "pan-Chinese" culture fills in (Wu, 2011). Signs of Taiwan film industries show that what happen in Hong Kong might appear in Taiwan. Based on Ma (2010), images and identity of Hong Kongese are changing when the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to China proceeded and later Hong Kong is under the rule of one country two systems. With unification of political pressure from China, Taiwan's film industries encounter the similar dilemma whether to target movie funding and market in China. The answer of that might draw different opinions from moviegoers and movie industries and that implies the conflict of national narratives in Taiwanese film from cultural politics and the local market of popular culture. More than 50 percent of citizens consider themselves as Taiwanese when the answer of that was 17.6 in 1992 (See the green curve in Figure 1). In the KMT's dominant ideology, it was "cultural geography" which showed the phenomenon as Mainland China was "absent presence" when Taiwan was "present absence" (p.20). Chen (2017) analyzes Taiwan-made movies listed annual top 10 box office from 2008 to 2015 and finds that consumers search for new knowledge and ideas about



their favorable identity and representation which might be ignored by traditional movie producers and social elites in Taiwan.

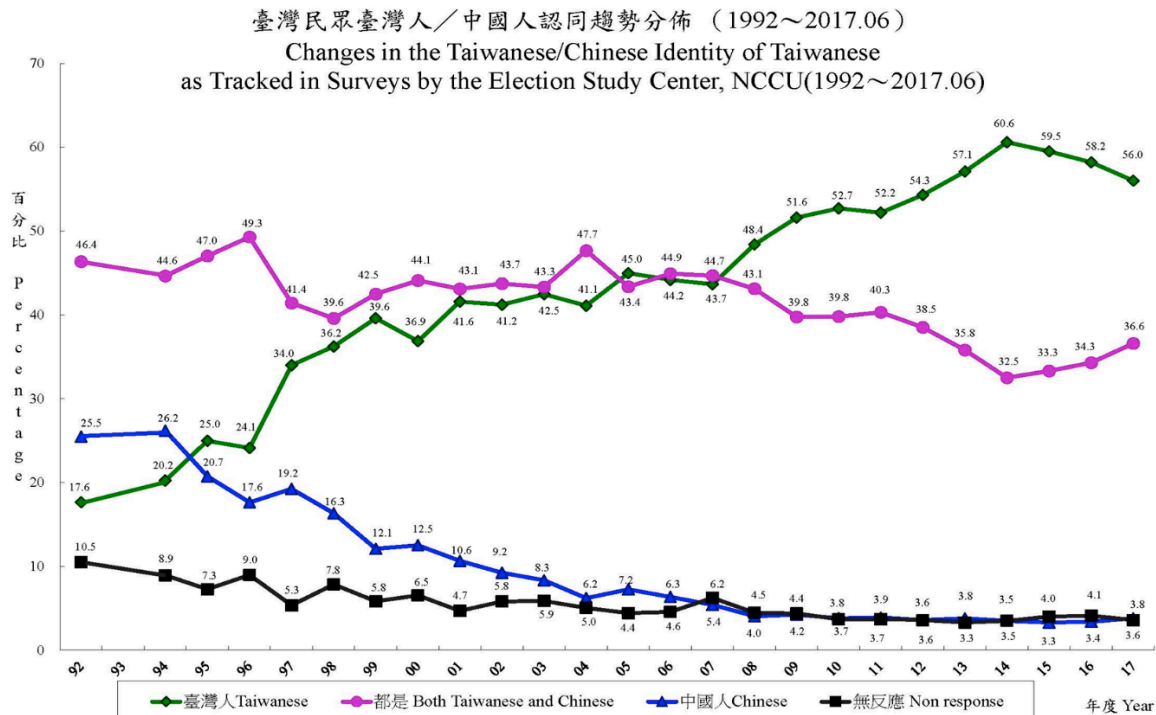


Figure 1. Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese from 1992 to 2017, retrieved from <http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/app/news.php?Sn=166>

The popularity of local movies is now decreasing. There are fewer admissions per capita for Taiwan-made film down from 0.26 in 2011 to 0.17 in 2015; in addition, Taiwanese don't support Hong Kong and/or mainland China film, down from 0.12 in 2011 to 0.03 in 2015 (Taiwan Film Survey 2015). In contrast, Taiwanese support other foreign film, especially Hollywood movies up to 1.26 from 1.00 in 2011 (See Table 1). From Table 2, it shows the Hong Kong and/or mainland China film approved for screening in Taiwan maintain from 4.71 to 8.25% of all films approved for screening in Taiwan. In Table 3, the data shows that the percentage of box office receipts in Taiwan-made film can be 6 times higher than that in Hong-Kong and/or Mainland Chinese film. When tracking attractions of Taiwan-made film, in fact, study finds that Taiwan-made film may hit mainland China Market very well even listed as an import movie in China. *Our Times* was successfully made into a talking point and hit a Taiwan-made movie new high in China; in addition, local comedies and romances are quite popular in Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia (Taiwan Film Survey 2015).

Table 1: Admissions per Capita in Taiwan, 2011-2015

Year	Taiwan-made film	Hong Kong and/or mainland Chinese film	Other foreign film	Total
2011	0.26	0.12	1.00	1.38
2012	0.16	0.05	1.00	1.21
2013	0.19	0.04	1.07	1.30
2014	0.15	0.03	1.09	1.28
2015	0.17	0.03	1.26	1.46

(Reprint form Taiwan Film Survey 2015, p.12)

Table 2: Domestic, Hong Kong, mainland China and other foreign films approved for screening in Taiwan, 2011-2015

Year	Domestic film		Hong Kong and/or mainland Chinese film		Other foreign film	
	No.	% of films	No.	% of films	No.	% of films
2011	65	13.18%	37	7.51%	391	79.31%
2012	76	14.93%	42	8.25%	391	76.82%
2013	101	16.19%	50	8.01%	473	75.80%
2014	76	11.55%	31	4.71%	551	83.74%
2015	94	13.84%	43	6.33%	542	79.82%

(Reprint form Taiwan Film Survey 2015, p.13)

Taiwan-made local movies had the highest market share 18.65% in 2011 (Taiwan Film Survey 2014, See Table 3); in contrast, it hit a lowest record as 0.1% of year's box office in 2001, the year the Motion Picture law was revised to meet WTO demands (Lin, 2007)<sup>1</sup> This study explores what changes in Taiwan's film policy when the government plans to develop the CCI to increase economy but fails to consider Taiwanese citizens' needs for collective identity.

### Strategies of CCI and the conflict of collective national narratives

Chen (2017) finds that consumers search for new knowledge and ideas about their favorable identity and representation which might be ignored by movies produced by traditional social elites in Taiwan. Based on discussion above, movie fans cross-straits have different collective needs for their identity. To serve the Chinese market, it might produce movies that Taiwanese fans would not support. For example, *Double Trouble*, a co-production with mainland China, causes complaints of fans because this film shows negative images of Taiwanese when they went to theater with an aim to support local film. Although Taiwanese have shown their choices, the Taiwanese government, film experts and social elites still promote the idea that to prosper the film market, Taiwan must target mainland China's film market or co-produce more film with mainland China. Taiwanese government planned to produce more co-production with mainland China from 12 movies in 2010 to 36 movies in 2014 and aims to make Taiwan movies reach market share of mainland China from 4.6% in

<sup>1</sup> 林文淇, 台灣電影 retrieved from [http://www.comm.hkbu.edu.hk/cmr/Event/2071026\\_Linwenchi.html](http://www.comm.hkbu.edu.hk/cmr/Event/2071026_Linwenchi.html) in 2012.

2010 to 6.9% in 2014 (Report of Government Information Office, 2009) . If the prosperity of Taiwan-made movies is related to satisfy some needs of

Table 3: Market share in Taiwan, 2010-2014 (Taipei City)

Year		Taiwan-made film	Hong Kong and/or mainland Chinese film	Other foreign film	Total
2010	No. of films screened	38	38	352	428
	Box-office receipts (NT\$)	225,582,606	164,647,888	2,696,736,145	3,086,966,639
	Percentage of receipts	7.31%	5.33%	87.36%	100.00%
2011	No. of films screened	36	38	406	480
	Box-office receipts (NT\$)	712,506,985	100,549,646	3,006,441,597	3,819,498,228
	Percentage of receipts	18.65%	2.63%	78.71%	100.00%
2012	No. of films screened	51	41	343	435
	Box-office receipts (NT\$)	430,433,697	152,531,257	3,035,000,680	3,617,965,634
	Percentage of receipts	11.90%	4.22%	83.89%	100.00%
2013	No. of films screened	54	44	389	489
	Box-office receipts (NT\$)	529,863,483	131,789,464	3,134,963,327	3,796,616,274
	Percentage of receipts	13.96%	3.47%	82.57%	100%
2014	No. of films screened	54	28	416	498
	Box-office receipts (NT\$)	427,833,400	91,164,192	3,188,665,367	3,707,662,959
	Percentage of receipts	11.54%	2.46%	86.00%	100%

(Reprint form Taiwan Film Survey 2014, p.14)

Taiwanese collective identity as Chen (2013) had shown, the government's several policies may have discouraged similar production of previous popular local movies by cancelling bonus incentives for excellent box office in 2013, encouraging co-production with mainland China, not releasing timely information of box office, funding production companies not in an open way, failing to encourage more local blockbusters, and funding art movies without commercial values when local film market is still weak. These strategies mix with the CII's approaches and create weaker production infrastructure for Taiwan-made movies. From Table four, it is obviously to find that although average production cost 51.46 million NT dollars in 2015 is higher than that in 2011(47.91 million NT dollars), the percentage of production costs for the development process and the postproduction process are both in a down trend. For the development process, it is down from 6 percent in 2011 to 2.64 percent in 2015. In addition, for the postproduction process, it is down from 30 percent in 2011 to 18.77 percent in 2015. These indicators show a possibility that fewer preparation for story rights, screen writing fees and fewer postproduction fees for better quality or special effect.

Table 4: Average production costs for Taiwan-made films, 2011-2015 (excluding promotion and advertising)

Time period		2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
Average production costs (NT\$ million)		47.91		63.59		57.37		61.11		5.146	
Production process		% of total costs									
Development	Story rights/ screenwriting fees(%)	6	6	2	2	4	4	2.51	2.51	2.64%	2.64%
	Personnel(%)	23		21		42		44.45		44.77%	
Production and shooting	Equipment and facilities (%)	64	20	83	34	77	16	72.94	11.44	78.59%	13.11%
	Costumes and properties (%)		6		20		12		7.86		11.14%
Time period		2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
	Sundry expenses(%)		15		8		7		9.19		9.57%
Postproduction	Development, printing, editing and sound recording(%)	30	27	15	10	19	9	24.54	8.32	18.77%	10.47%
	Sundry expenses(%)		3		5		4		6.59		3.46%
	2D VFX(%)		—		—		2		0.79		1.65%
	3D VFX(%)		—		—		4		8.84		3.19%
Total(%)		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100%	100%

(Reprint form Taiwan Film Survey 2015, p.14)

In Taiwan, multiculturalism is supported by the government. Hakka Affairs Council and Council of Indigenous People are listed as governmental branches. Public Television Service are funded by the Taiwanese to protect cultural rights of minorities. Hakka, languages of indigenous people are listed as official languages in Taiwan.

With a background of dominant Chinese ideology, Mandarin dominates official language. Four ethnic groups in Taiwan, “Hoklo” people is counted about 70 percent of Taiwanese population and is the group asking for the subjectivity of Taiwan with the most affirmative action. However, the culture of this group is suppressed and their language was forbidden once. It is easy to observe that the dominant popular local movies usually present some favorable images of “Hoklo” although their children usually fail to use their mother language. When positive “Hoklo” images are usually ignored by traditional movie producers, local fans are also decreasing. In fact, there are more tradition, memory, history needs to be explored and those might be a political taboo if local movies are aiming at Chinese markets. Therefore, for America and Korea, they use the idea of “arm length” to keep away government’s funding to interfere movie content. It is the popular market that make people to resist the dominant ideology and gives moviegoers their right to express their opinion about their culture. Chinese market is huge; however, it is not easy for Taiwan producers to compete with Hollywood and Chinese film companies. In terms of consumption, there are personal identity and social identity to stimulate consumers’ needs. Collective needs are local people’s motives to watch a local movie. In contrast, meeting moviegoers’ personal identity needs is harder for local movie producers when high production funding of Hollywood movies is considered. If Taiwanese government keeps aiming at producing more movies with mainland China and use this nation’s office film award to promote Chinese film, it is easy to predict that local people’s collective needs are hard to get satisfied by these movies. Korean popular culture turns into a success not because they produce products mainly to target other nations’ fans. In fact, for Korean’s movie charts, their highest grossing film of all time are majorly Korean-made movies. Miller (2002, p.35) vividly described Alexis de Tocqueville’s eulogy to early nineteenth-century life in the United States:

“(The Ethos of Democracy)...forcefully rejected European ruling-class accounts of civilization and how to stimulate it.....a widespread belief in the US that equality militated against artistic transcendence.”

Content of popular culture is an arena for people to contend their attention to issues they care. Hartley (2006) uses citizen consumers to describe creative industry is a plebiscitary business and it is related to identity politics. R.O.C. in Taiwan is listed in a divided nation. Whatever shown in local popular movies turns into flow as power to define history, tradition, knowledge, and collective memories. This paper argues that the main cause of the failed development of Taiwan's film industries as CCI is its failure to serve Taiwanese collective identity. In contrast, it may serve politics better with a vague Taiwanese collective identity when the government might face the issue of reunification with mainland China. Even after political party rotation in Taiwan’s government, film industries are still tangled in cultural politics, citizen identity and consumption demands.

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***Searching Cultural Practices of Consumer Citizens and Modernity through  
Popular Local Movies as an Imagined Community***

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**Abstract**

Exploring meanings of daily life from popular culture implies a possibility of resistance against representation structured by powerful elites. This study uses textual analysis to interpret public and social meanings of local movies listed as most popular movies in local markets. From perspectives of cultural studies, annual top 10 movies produced by Taiwanese in the recent decade are analyzed through concepts of subjectivity such as redefinition of tradition, history, memories, language, knowledge, and class. The results show that consumers search for new knowledge and ideas about their favorable identity and representation which might be ignored by movies produced by traditional social elites in Taiwan.

Keywords: consumer citizens, popular culture, Taiwan film market, cultural and creative industries

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## Introduction

In the background of the dominant development of globalization and WTO, the world seems to be more connected. Citizens or consumers who cannot get supply or information from local idea market or market can learn or buy from foreign products. Consumers used to be as the opposite side of citizens who focus more local issues about public, moral or ethics; in contrast the former focus more on life style, entertaining or personal values. Consumer citizens are discussed academically since some scholars promote the idea that popular culture not only could empower people for their resistance but also can relate collective identity to political/social groups which further is related to cultural politics. Consumers create popular culture by participation and send messages to a society. This study applies a Robertson's model (1992), he uses self and humankind to connect national societies and international societies to explain globalization. Four kinds of relativization appear: Self-identities from selves to humankind or vice versa, societies from national to world system or vice versa, societal reference from selves to world system of societies or vice versa, citizenship from national societies to humankind or vice versa (Robertson, 1992, p.27). From this model, consciousness of self or ethnic could have a more open perspectives. In addition, problems of individual-societal level and political-humanity level can be identified in this model. Exploring meanings of daily life from popular culture implies a possibility of resistance against representation structured by powerful elites. This study uses textual analysis to interpret public and social meanings of local movies listed as annual Top 10 Box Office. From perspectives of cultural studies, annual top 10 movies produced by Taiwanese in the recent decade are analyzed through concepts of subjectivity such as redefinition of tradition, history, memories, language, knowledge, and class. The study explores what fans of Taiwan film will search as their new knowledge and ideas about their favorable identity and representation which might be ignored by movies produced by traditional social elites in Taiwan.

## Literature Review

Taiwan is listed as the 16<sup>th</sup> International Box Office Market in 2016 (MPAA,2016) although its population only ranks number 56 in the world.<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, Hollywood-movie-style storytelling is commonly accepted in Taiwan. However, while Taiwanese moviegoers enjoy and support Hollywood movies strongly (See Table 1), they fail to support movies produced locally. For example, there is no Taiwan-made movie listed as TOP 10 movies in 2017. In fact, for the worst year for Taiwan cinema, Taiwan-produced film could take away only 0.1 of year's box office in 2001, the year the Motion Picture law was revised to meet WTO demands (Lin, 2007).<sup>2</sup> Several nations' local film productions are impacted seriously by WTO demands; however, several nations such as Korea and Japan use strategies to put more investment to rebuild fundamental structure for their movie industries. Korea and

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<sup>1</sup> Taiwan population. Retrieved from <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/taiwan-population/>

<sup>2</sup> 林文淇, 台灣電影 retrieved from [http://www.comm.hkbu.edu.hk/cmr/Event/2071026\\_Linwenchi.html](http://www.comm.hkbu.edu.hk/cmr/Event/2071026_Linwenchi.html) in 2012.



Japan successfully keep their local-made film market share above 50 percent of their film mark (Chen, 2014).

Table 1: 2016 TOP 20 International Box Office Market – All Films (US \$ Billions)

1.	China	\$6.6	11.	Italy	\$0.7
2.	Japan	\$2.0	12.	Russia	\$0.7
3.	India	\$1.9	13.	Spain	\$0.7
4.	U.K.	\$1.7	14.	Netherlands	\$0.3
5.	France	\$1.6	15.	Indonesia	\$0.3
6.	South Korea	\$1.5	16.	Taiwan	\$0.3
7.	Germany	\$1.1	17.	Argentina	\$0.3
8.	Australia	\$0.9	18.	Hong Kong	\$0.3
9.	Mexico	\$0.8	19.	Poland	\$0.2
10.	Brazil	\$0.7	20.	Turkey	\$0.2

From 2016 Theatrical Market Statistics Report - Motion Picture Association, p.7.

Retrieved from [https://www.mpa.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/MPAA-Theatrical-Market-Statistics-2016\\_Final.pdf](https://www.mpa.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/MPAA-Theatrical-Market-Statistics-2016_Final.pdf)

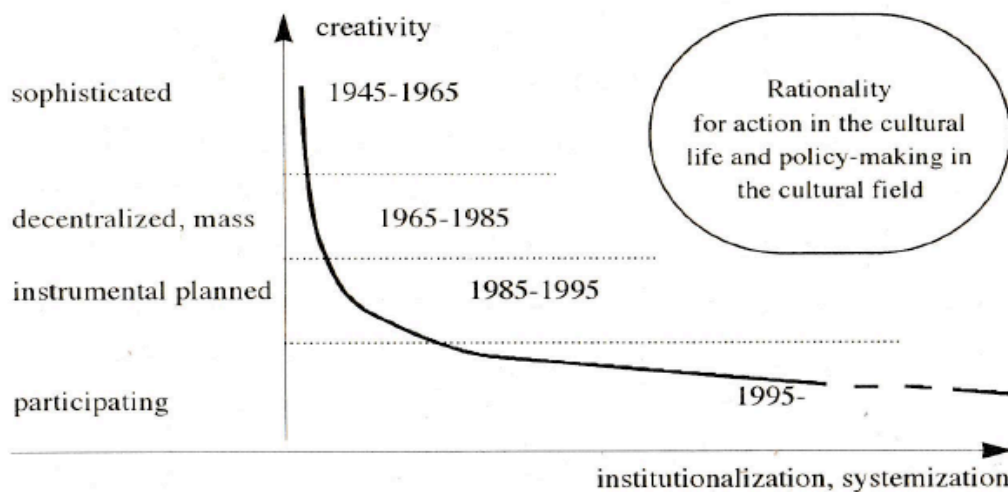
Taiwan-produced local movies rose to a new record in 2008 when Cape No. 7 miraculously created a box office of 5.3 hundred million NTdollars. Taiwan-made movie made a comeback from 2008 and 2010 to 2015. This is a time period that Taiwanese movies can compete with foreign movies in its box office. This study argues that if culture is defined as a way of life, meaning production, signifying and mobilizing social meanings as Storey (1989) described, these popular Taiwan-made movies from 2008 to 2015 can be treated as consumers's choices for their collective identity. Therefore, local popular movies tuned into a medium through which movie goers imagine their community and learn information from other nationals with ethnicities, background, historical encounterment, and historical knowledge. These movies are directed by 8 directors Te-Sheng Wei, Doze Niu, Giddens Ko, Kai Feng, Li-Kwan Chiu, Yu-Hsun Chen, Po-lin Chi, Yu Shan Chen. Te-Sheng Wei directed 4 movies among these 12 movies. Giddens Ko directed 2 movies among these 12 movies. Genre of these movies are either drama or comedy and only one is documentary.

Director Te-Sheng Wei is good at narratives about Taiwan history and his fans gave him a strong support for his genre production. Another director Giddens Ko, also a writer, is good at romance, comedy, and drama especially for campus love for college students. The other similar style about campus love is *Our Times* protagonists of which are high school students. Another genre is related to gangster relevance such as Monga, David Loman. One genre is related to specific jobs such as local chef or Din Tao. In fact, the two movie titles are the two job titles in the language of Taiwanese: Din Tao : Leader of the Parade and Zone Pro Site. Both genre is categorized as

comedy. Among these 12 movies, *Beyond Beauty - Taiwan from Above* is a documentary; however, its narratives are full of drama and brings retrospections to his fans about the issue of pollution in Taiwan.

When a strategy of CCI (Cultural Creativity Industry) is applied to develop cultural economy, this means cultural values will be utilized to develop the purpose of market and profits. While CCI is to serve both the purpose of culture and economy, markets need to be carefully designed for the values of culture. Throsby (2001) explains characteristics of cultural values: aesthetic value, spiritual value, social value, historical value, symbolic value, and authenticity value. The target audience of a movie should be aimed by connecting the values they care to them while they struggle and competition through modernity. Three kinds of audience: model of transmission, model of ritual, and model of attention are specified by McQuail (1997). For the model of ritual, he focuses on sharing and normative commitment and the idea that audience as participants to express common belief and values. As for the rational mode of cultural decision-making, Lin explains that rationality for action in the cultural life and policy-making now emphasizes participating (2002). Public sphere is a key theory which explains how possible citizens can engage each other by communication and express public opinion to give pressure to legitimation of government (Habermas, 1989).

Table 2: The Rational Mode of cultural Decision-Making



Original Table is from 文化政策新論: 建構台灣新社會, Hsin-hwa Lin, 2002 p.87. Lee (2004) explains public sphere by specifying six elements as forum, private people, coming together, public opinion, public authority, and legitimation. Lee explains that openness and equality are the keys to participate in the forum in a rational way. As for private persons, Lee emphasizes similar experience of intimate relations among family members and subjectivity coming from the experience of family caring; therefore, different demands of humanity can be explored. In addition, he explains that forums can be a coffee shop, a community center, or call-un radio talk show in which issues are discussed and penetrated into different levels of society; as a result, private persons held the idea that people are “intersubjective” to each other. When opinion is expressed in this way, these opinions turn into public opinion to ask the

government for response; however, if the government failed to respond public opinion to a certain degree, the legitimation of authority of a government will be examined and criticized (Lee, 2004. pp.3-12). This study argues that popular art as movies can be public sphere for citizens to discuss public issues through private experience in public. For example, Schudson (2008) has argued that the invention of the American newspaper as popular art to gain the independence of news content. Media as public forum reflects the idea that directors of local popular movies are willing to produce movie content about and for local people which the local audience rarely can get from foreign movies.

## Method

Twelve movies are analyzed from 2008 to 2015. Twelve movies are selected because they listed as yearly top 10 box office and is produced by Taiwan. They are *Cape No. 7*, *Monga*, *Seediq Bale*, *Seediq Bale II*, *You Are the Apple of My Eye*, *Din Tao: Leader of the Parade*, *David Loman*, *Zone Pro Site*, *Beyond Beauty - Taiwan from Above*, *KANO*, *Café-Waiting-Love*, and *Our Times*.

## Results

It's interesting to find that IMBD Users' ratings of these 12 local movies are from 4.1 to 8.0 (See Table 3). Top highest ratings accordingly are *Beyond Beauty - Taiwan from Above* (8.0), *KANO* (7.9), *You Are the Apple of My Eye* (7.8). The three movies with lowest ratings are *David Loman* (4.1), *Café-Waiting-Love* (6.6) and *Zone Pro Site* (6.6). The box office in Taiwan for these 12 movies range from 2.2-5.3 hundred million NT dollars.

This paper argues that citizens who watch popular local movies is an action to participate in an imagined community. Through this process, movie goers as consumers turn into citizens because they search for cultural practices by learning and sharing knowledge about their nationals and the problems they encounter. Comedy, romance, drama, and history are Taiwanese audience's favorite genre. This study finds that characteristics of these twelve movies which are special to Taiwanese.

Table 3: Taiwan-made Movies ranked as Top 1 Cape No. 70 in Yearly Box Office and analyzed in this Study

Year	Movie Titles	Genre	Director	IMBD Users' ratings	Box Office in Taiwan/ Hundred Millions
2008	<i>Cape No. 7</i>	Comedy, Drama Music	Te-Sheng Wei	6.8	5.3
2010	<i>Monga</i>	Drama, Gangster	Doze Niu	6.9	2.6
2011	<i>Seediq Bale</i>	Action, Drama, History	Te-Sheng Wei	7.5	4.72
2011	<i>Seediq Bale II</i>	Action, Drama, History	Te-Sheng Wei	7.2	3.18
2011	<i>You Are the Apple of My Eye</i>	Comedy, Drama, Romance	Giddens Ko	7.7	4.25
2012	<i>Din Tao : Leader of the Parade</i>	Comedy, Drama	Kai Feng	6.7	3.17
2013	<i>David Loman</i>	Comedy	Li-Kwan Chiu	4.1	4.3
2013	<i>Zone Pro Site</i>	Comedy	Yu-Hsun Chen	6.6	3.1
2013	<i>Beyond Beauty - Taiwan from Above</i>	Documentary, Drama	Po-lin Chi	8.0	2.2
2014	<i>Kano</i>	Biography, Drama, History	Te-Sheng Wei	7.9	3.2
2014	<i>Café·Waiting·Love</i>	Comedy, Drama, Fantasy	Giddens Ko	6.6	2.6
2015	<i>Our Times</i>	Comedy, Romance	Yu-Shan Chen	7.4	4.1

Firstly, stereotypical images shaped by ideology are redefined. For example, in *Cape No. 7*, an old mailman turns to be a confident and smart person and completes his dream to perform his old-style music in a popular music concert. In addition, a

township representative who asks private favors from business to let his stepped son to perform in a music concert turns to be a positive strategy for local people.

Secondly, different languages are used in a way of challenging dominant ideology. Examples are in *Kano*, *Seediq Bale*, *Monga*, and *David Loman*. *Kano* uses Japanese as its major language which draws criticism as this is a foreign movie. This reminds local people what really happens in the Japan's colonial era when Japan bought the major modernity then to this island. For *David Loman*, the main protagonist who mainly speaks Taiwanese but often confuses Mandarin with Taiwanese is the main attraction of fans of this movie. It reminds how Taiwanese are bilingual to communicate in a funny perspectives when no plots show discrimination against the use of the language of Taiwanese.

Thirdly, knowledge influenced by power is challenged. In *Kano*, characters in this movies show a different story about what Taiwanese learn from their textbook. Several Japanese treat Taiwanese nice and bring science and technology such as agricultural farming and engineering to Taiwanese. The plots, showing that Taiwanese earned glory by cooperate together with Japanese, make locals angry who share the dominant background of Chinese ideology and later criticize this movie supporters as people of Japan Empire. Aesthetics, life style, happiness, and modernization in Taiwan are shown through plots in *Kano* during the time period ruled by Japan

Fourthly, Plots challenge the idea that Taipei as their dreamland. In *Cape No. 7*, *Din Tao : Leader of the Parade*, and *Zone Pro Site*, all protagonists in three movies are shown as losers trying to survive in Taipei, a metropolitan city, but ends to fail their dreams. In contrast, when they return to hometown and get parents' help, all three movies have good endings. This shows Taiwanese young people's bad experience when living expenses are too high for them but still expect a chance from their hometown.

Fifthly, challenges of ethnocentrism. In *Seediq Bale*, the plots show Taiwan indigenous people stood against Japan's occupation in the colonial time period by demonstrating their excellent fighting strategy and bravery.

Sixthly, signification of geological Taiwan with an aesthetic perspective. Taiwan has a nickname as Treasure Island; however, images of this beautiful islands are not usually seen as beautiful when compared to other developed nations. In *Taiwan from Above*, *Kano*, and *Seediq Bale*, rivers and mountains are shown a magnificent view and landscape as beautiful as sightseeing spots.

Sevently: Taiwan's local perspectives of love and caring. Three movies, *You Are the Apple of My Eye*, *Café-Waiting-Love*, and *Our Times*, remind local people about their youth love and caring. It's related to Taiwanese collective experience. Especially, in *Our Times*, the protagonist stood out against her instructors from military and that specifies a special time period when ideology was controlled and the school education was an experience of brain wash in Taiwan.

## **Discussion**

The results show that movie fans as consumers search for new knowledge and ideas about their favorable identity and representation which might be ignored by movies produced by traditional social elites in Taiwan. Exploring meanings of daily life from popular culture implies a possibility of resistance against representation structured by powerful elites. Generally speaking, national narratives of Taiwan-produced movies in TOP 10 Box Office are different from other movies endorsed by government funding. Except for the analysis of the results, one perspective is not included and that is their production cost were extremely high compared to those of previous local film. The investment was usually collected by directors or producers who are willing to focus on the market of Taiwan. Therefore, the views of Taiwan-made movies are not influenced by values of mainland China. This demonstrates that values of cross-strait subjectivities are quite different.

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## *Urban Landscape and the “Disinhabitation” in Japanese Cinema*

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### **Abstract**

Postwar Japan continued the wave of modernization and industrialization as an inseparable element of the Japanese “miraculous” economic and social rebirth. One of the symbols of this renewal is the new middle-class embodied by the *salaryman*, the very new face of bright future and success. However, postwar intellectuals such as artists and filmmakers quickly stated the emptiness of promises symbolized by this fallen idol, even more especially through recent years of great depression like the 1990s, accompanied by terrible and tragic events like Kobe’s earthquake or the attack in Tokyo’s metro, both in 1995. Consecutive events figure modern and urban landscape as the reflection of a growing social and identity insecurity. The great city of Tokyo becomes an unsafe place, potentially hostile, unraveling the underside of its symbols of success through evaporation as a consequence of “disinhabitation” of places made uninhabitable and unlivable. As a symbol of prosperity, the *salaryman* used to be associated to a comfortable way of life pictured by the new modern residential complex, known as *danchis*. However, in their own way, many filmmakers from the 1960s to the 1990s exposed such places in the very exact opposite of what they are meant to be. In this way, this presentation will draw a comparative analysis of “disinhabitation” through Ozu Yasujiro’s *A Hen in the Wind* (1948), Teshigahara Hiroshi’s *The Face of Another* (1966), Tsukamoto Shinya’s *Tokyo Fist* (1995) and *Bullet Ballet* (1998) and Kurosawa Kiyoshi’s *Tokyo Sonata* (2008). These movies share the picture of insecurity as a result of a modern society built on the ashes of war and defeat. This picture is especially highlighted through the representation of both places made unlivable and people no longer able to dwell those places, leading them to wander in uncertainty.

Keywords: Japan, cinema, Tsukamoto, Kurosawa, Ozu, Teshigahara, disinhabitation, modernity, dwelling, evaporation

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Martin Heidegger established a connection between environment and inhabit by pointing that dwelling is “the basic character of Being”<sup>1</sup> and that “man’s relation to locales, and through locales to spaces, inheres in his dwelling. The relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling, thought essentially”<sup>2</sup>. Japanese philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro based his *fûdo* concept on Heidegger’s *dasein* but focused more on the importance of the individual that shapes and is shaped back by the space he dwells in a process of self-dependency and self-identification. “When we feel cold, we already ourselves inhabit the coldness of exterior air. To relate ourselves to cold is none other than being out there in the cold”. From this kind of example, Watsuji concludes that “by being-outside, we face ourselves”<sup>3</sup>. Augustin Berque, geographer and Orientalist who led the edition of Watsuji’s works, highlights this philosophy of *fûdo* in his book *Le Sauvage et l’Artifice*, by attesting that “the structural occasion of human existence is milieu”. As a result, “history only becomes flesh through milieu”<sup>4</sup>.

Through the way he materially invests a space, an individual illustrates the way he inhabits this space. Which is why the way he invests space is the way to illustrate the crisis between him and his environment, that is the crisis of inhabit. Japanese filmmaker Teshigahara Hiroshi’s *The Face of Another* (1966) focuses on a man named Okuyama whose face was burnt during an industrial accident. Consequently, he is forced to cover his head with bandages. This condition deeply upsets his relationship with his wife. In the same time, his doctor and psychiatrist proposes a special offer to him: to affix an experimental artificial mask to replace his disfigured face in order to find his place back in society. Teshigahara illustrates a parallel between facial reshaping process and the postwar rebuilding of Japan, especially through a shot framing Okuyama looking at a construction site from the window of a café (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Okuyama (*The Face of Another*, Teshigahara Hiroshi, 1966)

<sup>1</sup> Martin Heidegger, *Building Dwelling Thinking*, in *Basic Writings: from being and time (1927) to the task of thinking (1964)*, HarperCollins Editions, 1993, p.362

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p.359

<sup>3</sup> Watsuji Tetsuro, *Fûdo le milieu humain*, Paris, CNRS Editions, coll. « Réseau Asie », 2011 [1935], pp.41-42

<sup>4</sup> Augustin Berque, *Le Sauvage et l’Artifice. Les Japonais devant la nature*, Editions Gallimard, coll. NRF, 1986, p.53

At some point, Okuyama looks for a place to hide the “mask” and in that way, rents two *manshons* under his two separate identities. The movie plays the two scenes in identical ways, frame by frame (Figure 2). The repetition of the same action under two different faces illustrates the schizophrenia of a society of the Same through Okuyama’s, a society made of interchangeable people and places. Okuyama considers these places not as dwelling but as temporary which reflect the dehistoricization, dehumanization and artificiality of this type of modern buildings raised on the ashes of a Japan whose history has been wiped out by war bombings. An explanation to this crisis appears in the conclusion drawn by Heidegger that is, “the *proper plight of dwelling* does not lie merely in the lack of houses” but “is indeed older than the world wars with their destruction”. It “lies in this, that mortals ever search anew for the essence of dwelling, that they *must ever learn to dwell*”<sup>5</sup>.



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<sup>5</sup> Martin Heidegger, *Building Dwelling Thinking*, op. cit., p.363



Figure 2: Doubling (*The Face of Another*)

Modern buildings complex as *danchi* or *manshon* overruns Japanese spaces. It establishes a reflection of the side effect of the excessive consumerist urges of postwar Japanese miracle which eventually gives birth to an urban desert gradually turned into desolated places improper to dwelling. It is certainly not a coincidence if Teshigahara frames Okuyama and his brand new face walking in some mall after renting his new place.

In more recent movies, Kurosawa Kiyoshi's *Tokyo Sonata* (2008), focusing on a Japanese modern family, illustrates how such a plight of dwelling still endures in contemporary Japan by depicting Japanese traditional house as a space of disruption. During a dinner scene, Kurosawa frames the family through a banister which isolates the family's members from each other in fragmented spaces (Figure 3). Fragmentation of spaces into isolated cells depicts familial place as a disrupted world, especially through the desecration of the father authority whose representative character, Ryûhei, remains mostly invisible in this scene, hid behind the newspaper he reads. This desecration is emphasized at the beginning of the movie with Ryûhei quitting his job but refusing to admit it to his family. So he continues to pretend he is going to his office every day. This is how he embodies "a being filled with the nothingness of his post ideological world elaborated like a performance". This nothingness fills him and eats him at the point of the unleashing of irrational violence<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Raphaël Josset, *De l'individu au dividiu*, in Michel Maffesoli & Brice Perrier, sous la direction, *L'Homme postmoderne*, p.97



Figure 3: The family in shattered spaces. On the left, Midori and Kenji. On the right, Ryuhei and Takashi (*Tokyo Sonata*, Kurosawa Kiyoshi, 2008)

When Ryûhei learns that his son Kenji takes piano classes without his consent, he refuses to let him continue only in a futile way to express his responsibility as the father authority. His action tends to look even more pathetic as he tries to keep control on his son and family by force. However, this performance fails when Megumi admits to him that she knows about his unemployment situation. Kenji comes back from his room and throws to his father his piano keyboard he used to practice. Ryûhei runs after Kenji at the second floor, which results in the son brutally falling down the stairs (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Fall of a model, home becomes a hostile place (*Tokyo Sonata*)

This fall echoes Ozu's *A Hen in the Wind* (1948). The film sets on a postwar Japan still struggling with the scars of the war. As a parallel, a young mother struggles for her ill 4 year-old son. As she is on her own, still waiting for her husband, Shuichi, to come back from the war, she is eventually led to prostitution in order to pay his treatment.



Figure 5: The burden of postwar legacy (*A Hen in the Wind*, Ozu Yasujirô, 1948)

When Shuichi finally comes home, he eventually finds out what his wife has done. In spite of understanding what she's been through, he cannot help getting upset at her. As Tokiko tries to keep him, Shuichi accidentally pushes her in the stairs (Figure 6). As Shuichi admits he is also wrong, the two end by reconciling each other.



Figure 6: Fall unravels family as a play (*A Hen in the Wind*)

In a book dedicated to Ozu, Japanese filmmaker Kijû Yoshida writes the duality of the depiction of family. On one hand, only crisis can create a consciousness of the family as such. On the other hand, the more actors play their role, the more they appear as strangers for each other<sup>7</sup>. This double aspect frames the characters of the movie as none but characters stranger to the space they invest such as familial house. In the same way, family depiction is framed like none other but a depiction of family, which reinforces the artificiality of the family depicted on screen: Ozu is not showing a family, he is showing the play of a family crisis and the family crisis as a play. He doesn't show the crisis of a couple but the crisis of people who are strangers to each other and to a space they invest but fail to dwell, to inhabit as they don't know how to dwell. Something that both Teshigahara and Kurosawa depict in their own movies.

Something similar that occur in Tsukamoto's movies like *Tôkyô Fist* (1995) and *Bullet Ballet* (1998). Both movies focus on characters played by the filmmaker himself. In the first movie, the quiet life of a *salaryman* named Tsuda and living with

<sup>7</sup> Kijû Yoshida, *Ozu ou l'anti-cinéma*, Arles, Institut Lumière/Actes sud – Arte Editions, 2004, p.83

his fiancée, Hizuru, becomes upset with the intrusion of an old classmate from high school named Kojima. As a rivalry grows between them along with Hizuru leaving Tsuda, the figure of the *salaryman*, often associated to bright futures as well as professional and personal success, is heavily desecrated. This downfall is accentuated through Tsuda's home that is some apartment in some *danchi* like the ones he visits at the beginning of the movie (Figure 7).



Figure 7: *danchi* (*Tokyo Fist*, Tsukamoto Shinya, 1995)

Even before Kojima's coming, the apartment is depicted as a cold and dehumanizing space in which the couple barely shares conventional discussions at the cost of the expression of true emotions and warmth. The failure of the *salaryman*'s aura of success occurs in the same time than this "home" gets gradually emptied of its occupants: Hizuru first who runs away from his partner's abusive and oppressive behavior; and then Tsuda who goes to lose himself by wandering in Tokyo's suburbs (Figure 8).

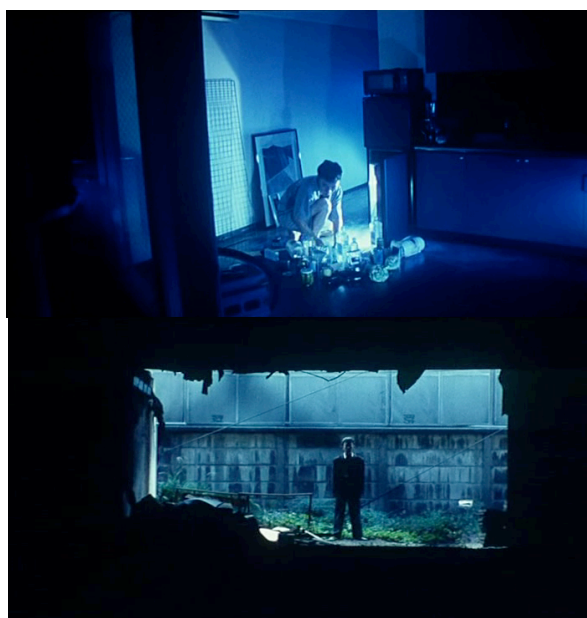


Figure 8: Living places are revealed unlivable and get empty as their occupants disinhibit them to lose themselves and evaporate (*Tokyo Fist*)

*Bullet Ballet* portrays a similar situation in the first minutes of the movie. As Goda, the character played by Tsukamoto, goes home, the police inform him of his girlfriend's suicide with a gun. From there, Goda spends time to get a gun on his own

in order to understand how his girlfriend felt before her death, leaving his apartment at the favor of nocturnal wanderings (Figure 9).



Figure 9: Evaporation as a reflection of a meaningless existence (*Bullet Ballet*, Tsukamoto Shinya, 1998)

In both movies, the character's home associated to the Japanese brand and modern life gets "disinhabited" by its occupants only to emphasize the crisis of dwelling between people and space. The filmmaker doesn't portray the process of a home becoming a strange place: he portrays the process of a consciousness, the realization of a home as a strange place all along, realization even more highlighted through the artificiality of the cinematographic media. This reminds the spectator that the movie he's watching is not the reality but a manufactured vision made of scattered pieces of reality.

Facing the "disinhabitation" of space through the disinhabited, desolated home, the characters portrayed by Teshigahara, Ozu, Kurosawa and Tsukamoto wander in temporary places such as streets or malls, investing spaces but unable to dwell any of them as well as their own home. Crisis of dwelling doesn't occur through the lack of space but the mutation of this space in which people fail to build an identity. This process of "disinhabitation" highlights the loss of stable milieu, of a strong human existential identification through dehistoricized and dehumanizing spaces. But more important is that through their artificiality and their manufactured structure, cinema itself as a representative of modernity creates a disruption effect between people and the spaces they invest. Cinema wipes out the reality it frames at the favor of a rewriting of the space in which the characters build themselves in a present of action, which deprives them of any history and structural occasion of human existence. War sounds more like a reminder of the modernization of a society that wiped out its history such as the Japanese traditional house at the favor of sterile and dehumanizing buildings made of glass, steel and concrete.



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*Animated Tale of Pirates: Tale of the Unspoken*

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**Abstract**

Historians have been trying to trace back many evidences from Southeast Asia's maritime history to answer the question: how did pirates and piracies shape Southeast Asia's maritime history? Many historical evidences have answered the question of how, but some of them went further to try to answer the question of: why did they become pirates? The main idea from this ongoing research aims to build a content using animated movie to visualize how colonization contributed to the rise of piracy in Southeast Asia—particularly around Celebes Sea region-Indonesia—according to perspectives from three selected historians. The goal of this research paper is to build conclusion from the perspective of three selected historians about piracy phenomenon in Celebes Sea region through the frame of colonization. The research was conducted by studying literatures about historical data given from three selected historians. Non-participant observation on Celebes Sea region is also conducted to get local story insights from the original place. The result is an interpretation situation based on perspectives from selected historians and local story insights, which will be used as the basic content for the ongoing animated film project.

Keywords: pirates, Celebes Sea, colonialism, 19th century

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Image 1. Map of Indonesia region and Celebes Sea (circled).

## Introduction

With 62% of maritime spaces, Indonesia is often referred as the world's largest archipelagic country. Waters connect 17,500 islands of Indonesia, span from Sabang to Merauke, to the extent of around 5,100 kilometers, with 60 millions from 258 millions of populations are living on coastal area (Explore Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d). Major populations who live on the coastal area of Indonesia are categorized as subsistence, and most likely are isolated from other community as well. This happens due to primary developments in Indonesia are usually centered on the main islands, leaving thousand of small islands and maritime spaces and cultures neglected for years (Octavia, 2016).

Orang Laut is one of a tribe that categorized as subsistence community in Indonesia. The Orang Laut tribe consists of many different ethnics who have the same style of living—using small ships for housing as well as vehicle. They usually live in the outermost of the coastal area, and can also be found on some parts of the water region of the small islands around Indonesia. Back in the colonial era in Indonesia, Orang Laut had been suspected to be involved with piracy that often happened around Celebes Sea region around 19<sup>th</sup> century (Lapian, 2009). Regarding this, some historians have searched for any evidences of connection between Orang Laut and pirates to explain the phenomenon of piracy around Celebes Sea region.

Pirates are viewed as criminals in most civilization. They rob ships, kidnap or even kill the ship crew. In many popular stories, they are positioned as villain as well, who put others as victim. Interesting point of view came from three historians who gave a different perspective; they connected piracy phenomenon in Southeast Asia—

particularly in Celebes Sea region with colonization that dominated this area for centuries.

Nowadays, after previously been neglected for years by the former governments, maritime issues has been brought up to the surface by Indonesian's recent government. This opens the possibility to build a visual content about Indonesian maritime history—especially regarding piracy phenomenon. The main idea from this ongoing research is to build a content using animated movie to visualize how colonization contributed to the rise of piracy in Southeast Asia—particularly around Celebes Sea region-Indonesia—according to perspectives from three selected historians. The goal of this research paper is to build conclusion from the perspective of three selected historians about piracy phenomenon in Celebes Sea region through the frame of colonization. The research was conducted by studying literatures about historical data given from three selected historians. Non-participant observation on Celebes Sea region is also conducted to get local story insights from the original place.

### **The Three Perspectives**

Lapian, Tarling and Wright are three historians who studied about how colonialism affected the socio-culture of people of Southeast Asia, including the piracy phenomenon in this area. Lapian (2009) sees 'Bajak Laut' (translated as 'Pirates', in English) as part of the local maritime powers that balances the power of 'Raja Laut' (king of the sea) in Celebes Sea region. Tarling (1963) argues that 'pirate' is a label that given intentionally by colonizers to local maritime powers whose activities is thought similar with piracy. The third historian, Wright (1975) concludes that pirate phenomenon in Celebes Sea region happened as an impact from the deterioration of the local maritime powers due to colonization.

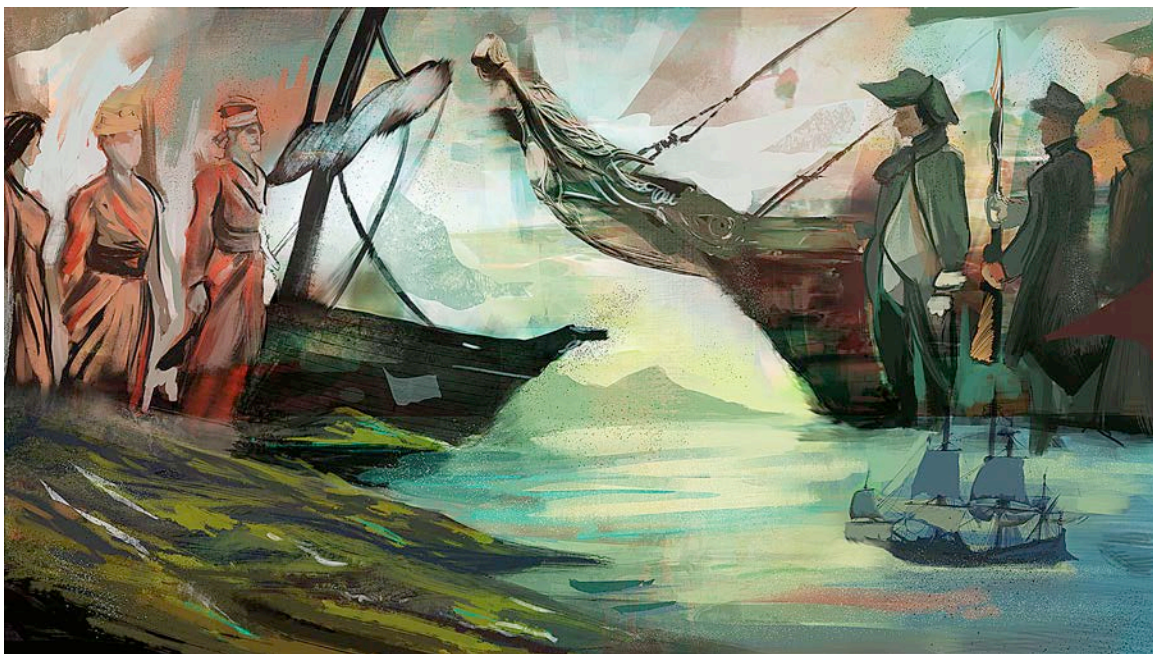


Image 2. Visual concept of colonization versus local maritime powers

Bajak Laut and Orang Laut shared the same style of living, even though they are different in the terms of attitude. They spend most of their activities around waters and are skilled sailormen. Through studying the colonial archives, Lopian (2009) found out the existence of some Orang Laut had been an annoyance for colonizers. Colonial archives recorded many assault incidents on colonial vessels around Celebes Sea region—water region that happened to be the Orang Laut's territory for centuries.

Lopian also added, there were no significant changes from the Orang Laut's lifestyle for centuries. They always stay near water region or floating on waters with their relatively small ships. Due to the size of the ship, it seems impossible for them to carry things more than their basic needs. Their lifestyle is very much similar to the earlier stage of human civilization; where the main activity is to suffice basic needs. The only difference is that Orang Laut mostly doing their activity on water region, with ship functioning as their home as well as vehicle.

As they presume the water region as theirs, the Orang Laut treat the water region as a hunting ground. They operated under traditional law called "adat tawan karang" (customary law of find)—an unwritten law that regulates the activity of hunting and gathering food. This law also provided them an authority to exploit (and assault) what is stored in their claimed water territory; be it fish, other animals, treasure, ship or vessels, even humans as casualty of a sinking ship. From their perspective, assaulting in the hunting ground counts as legal, especially if the object is considered as preys. In the perspective of colonizers, the attack of their vessels; usually following by robbery, kidnapping and killing; is categorized as piracy, and the attackers are categorized as pirates.

Instead of trying to understand the socio-culture of their colony, the colonizers opposed the local powers by categorizing them as piracy (Tarling, 1963). Opposing the local power and put them into the position of criminals were considered the winning way since the colonizers had more access to technology and to the outside world. Fighting the pirates-criminals enabled colonizers to position themselves as hero by putting the opponent into category of villain.

In his dissertation, Lopian explained about how power is distributed in the maritime socio-culture before colonial domination. For centuries, the maritime ecosystem in Celebes Sea region was dominated by local sea powers. They are Raja Laut (king of the sea) as legal power and Bajak Laut as counterbalance of legal power, while the Orang Laut served both powers. Colonial domination did not only interfere the balance of the power, but put down the ecosystem (Wright, 1975) by leaving the local sea powers under two difficult choices; surrender under colonial's domination or fight against colonizers by taking position as illegal power; Bajak Laut (Lopian, 2009). The high number of assaulting case in colonizers' vessels that recorded in colonial archives, give assumption that most local sea power might took position against colonizer rather than living under their domination.

## Analysis

The perspectives from these three historians gave a different view in seeing piracy phenomenon that happened around Celebes Sea region in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Rather than viewing pirates as pure criminals, these perspectives see them more on victim side. They are community who committed to the ancient laws, but then framed differently in a more contemporary civilization. Changes are adapted very slowly in this community, that gives assumption they might isolated themselves from progressing world and chose to live their own way rather than to adapt.



Image 3. Visual concept of Bajak Laut as victim who transform into villain

Nowadays, colonial domination is over in Celebes Sea region, but the Orang Laut still remain with their style of living. Their activities—including fishing and trading—often crossing the border of other countries' water region and cause disputes in between Indonesia and the neighborhood countries. As colonizers tried hard to eliminate piracy around Celebes Sea region during their domination, now piracy and armed robbery against ships in this area is still a big issue. In the period of January – May 2017, RECAAP (2017) recorded 15 actual incidents and 5 attempted incidents that can be categorized as piracy around Southeast Asia's tri-border area—the waters shared by Indonesia, Philippines and Malaysia—where Celebes Sea region is part of this area.

Living their way, isolated from bigger civilization doesn't kill the existence of Bajak Laut. Many big changes that happened during colonial domination, post-colonial domination until recent government, the Bajak Laut still stand as an illegal sea power that confront legal governments. They use their power in their own territory at will, choosing their prey and hunt them. Instead of fighting against them by categorizing

Bajak Laut as ‘pirates’—as villain and criminals, colonization moreover helped them to define and clarify their position.

To build visual content from piracy phenomenon in Celebes Sea region, the data conclusion from three historians’ perspectives showed the importance to present Bajak Laut as the center of the story. While other pirates are often portrayed as villain, the Bajak Laut of Celebes Sea region have two sides of appearance of victim as well as villain. They are the victims of the culture construction, while at the same time surviving by transforming into villain.

During observation around Celebes Sea region, we found out a growing local myth of Coelacanth; a species of ancient fish that only live around Celebes Sea region. This kind of fish survived from extinction by living around coral reefs that makes them invisible from the predators and fishermen. Similar with Bajak Laut’s portrayal, the Coelacanth is a living artifact from ancient times in a contemporary ecosystem. Both of them share the same properties; both originally from the same place, and are the artifact from an ancient life; the life that most of us know through stories and tales. Both of them, the Bajak Laut and the Coelacanth survive their own way to get into the contemporary world. The connection opens an opportunity to create tale—a fictitious story that imaginatively recounted to make a meaning of what happened in the past.

Rather than producing documentary content, by putting Coelacanth as the growing local myth, there is a tendency in mixing historical content and fictitious content. Considering the choice of narration and content, presenting them in animation medium seems more suitable rather than live action. The use of animation medium can give certain visual experiences that open possibilities in constructing the meaning of a past condition.

## **Conclusion**

Different from stereotype perspectives that view pirate as pure criminals, the perspectives from three historians offered different way in understanding piracy phenomenon in Southeast Asia, particularly Celebes Sea region-Indonesia. These perspectives portray pirates as victim as well as villain. Together with the finding of Coelacanth as a growing local myth, the portrayal of Bajak Laut of Celebes Sea region is generated as a basic content for an ongoing animated film project.



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***Media Consumption and Self-care Behavior among the Elderly in Sisa Chorakhe  
Noi Sub-district Administration, Samutprakarn Province***

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**Abstract**

The objective of this study is to explore the relationship between the elderly's media consumption behavior and their self-care behavior. The study employed survey questionnaire as its methodology. A sample comprising 295 seniors aged 60 or over was selected based on stratified random sampling. Data collection was conducted during October 12-19, 2016. The collected data were grouped according to personal factors and analyzed using Mann-Whitney U and Kruskals-Wallis Tests. Results of group differential study show that self-care behavior differs across groups of seniors of distinct education levels ( $p$ -value = 0.000). Spearman's rank correlation was used to explore the relationship between the elderly's media consumption behavior and their self-care behavior, which was found to be positively correlated ( $r = +0.626$ ,  $p$ -value = 0.000). Findings of this study provide a better understanding on the relationship between the elderly's media consumption behavior and their self-care behavior, which could be used for the development of media and media channels on self-care for the elderly.

Keywords: personal factors, media consumption behavior, self-care behavior, Thailand

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## Introduction

The number of aging population around the world has been increasing dramatically to a level that can be easily considered aging society. The proportion of aging population in Thailand reached 11.9 percent in 2010, surpassing “aging society” threshold, and is expected to more than double in size, with the proportion of senior citizens expected to reach 25 percent, in 2030. Particularly, the proportion of the elderly aged over 75 to all senior citizens will rise from the current 22 percent to a 26-percent level, an increase of 18 percent, in 2020 (Thanawatananont, 2016, p. 3).

The developing situations concerning the elderly have a wide-ranging impact on the public health, the economy and the society as a whole. In response, the government has put the preparedness of individuals to achieve quality aging as one of the key strategies in its Second National Plan on the Elderly (effective 2002 - 2021). Self-care is considered to play an important role in later-life transitioning. Although aging is a major cause of physical deterioration among the elderly, it has a less impact on achieving a happy life, as physical aging is easier to cure than a mental one. For the elderly, “mental aging” could ruin a happy life however robust their physical strength is. The elderly are, therefore, advised to always maintain their mental well-being (Learning Materials Committee on Adulthood and Elderly Development, 2015, pp. 8-14).

An effective public health communication is considered to be indispensable to enhancing information exchange capability in this information age. To compete for the common share of interest against traditional commercials for goods and services, media production concerning public health must take into account target audience, diverse communication channels, customized message contents that attract attention, stimulate awareness and impact long-term memory (Phromponlamuang, 2012). Research on media exposure and accessibility among the elderly found that TV and personal communication were major channels for gaining access to knowledge, boosting morale and entertainment, whereas mobile phone, with its perceived versatility, was used to converse with their children, grandchildren and relatives (Khleechaya, 2012). An interview with an official to Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration revealed that the elderly were exposed to actionable health-related information through reading, media exposure to a variety of information sources, periodical self-monitoring, annual health examination, and socialization through the membership of clubs and associations (Y. Phoomrueang, personal communication, September 3, 2016). A study that sheds light on the relationship between health-related media consumption among the elderly residing in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration and their self-care behavior would certainly benefit future media policies that take the elderly locals as its target audience.

## Research Objectives

1. To study self-care behavior among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration.
2. To understand whether self-care behavior among the said group of elderly differ across demographic variables.

3. To explore the relationship between media consumption behavior and self-care behavior among the said group of elderly.

### Research Hypotheses

1. Self-care behavior among the elderly differs across gender.
2. Self-care behavior differs across marital status.
3. Self-care behavior differs across education levels.
4. Self-care behavior differs across income levels.
5. Self-care behavior differs across living conditions.
6. Media consumption behavior correlates with self-care behavior.

### Research Methodology

Population of interest is defined as a total of 1,122 senior citizens aged 60 or over residing in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration. Assuming the acceptable sampling error of 5 percent, Taro Yamane's simplified sample size calculation yielded a sample size of 295. Stratified random sampling was employed to divide the population of interest into villages; simple random sampling from each village was then conducted through a draw—from a list of the elderly registered in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration—in a number proportional to the village's size when compared to the population. In the event that the sampled subject was found to be incapable of completing the survey questionnaire, a redraw with respect to that particular village was conducted to replace him/her.

Table 1: Sample size determined for each village in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration

Village No.	The Elderly Population			Sample Size		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	114	192	306	30	50	80
2	25	38	63	7	10	17
3	83	52	135	22	14	36
4	33	34	67	9	9	18
5	26	47	73	7	12	19
6	19	30	49	5	8	13
7	46	51	97	12	13	25
8	17	31	48	4	8	12
9	22	33	55	6	9	15
10	61	73	134	16	19	35
11	13	21	34	3	6	9
12	27	34	61	7	9	16
<b>Total</b>	486	636	1,122	128	167	295

## **Research Instrument**

The research instrument employed in this study was survey questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of three parts: Part 1 dealt with personal factors, i.e. gender, marital status, education, income and living condition; Part 2 involved media consumption behavior among the elderly—in particular, selective exposure, selective attention, perception and interpretation, and internalization aspects of media consumption; Part 3 concerned the four aspects of self-care, i.e. physical, mental, social and spiritual. The questionnaire items employed five-point rating scales with such anchors as “1 = least important,” “5 = most important,” etc. A total of 30 pretest questionnaires were administered in order to verify the survey instrument’s reliability through the analysis of Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient. A Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient of 0.7 was obtained from the pretest result, suggesting that the measures were reasonably acceptable.

## **Statistical Analyses**

This study employed inferential statistics approach, represented by Exploratory Factor Analysis, with the following analytical objectives:

- 2.1 To test whether the male sample differs from the female one with respect to self-care at a significance level of 0.05 using Mann-Whitney U test;
- 2.2 To test whether three or more groups formed according to marital status, education levels, income levels and living conditions differ with respect to self-care at a significance level of 0.05 using Kruskal-Wallis Test (Wanichbancha, 2011, p. 181), and to further conduct pairwise comparisons using Least Significant Difference (LSD) method;
- 2.3 To establish the relationships between personal factors, media consumption behavior and self-care behavior at a significance level of 0.05 using Spearman’s rank correlation.

## **Results**

The questionnaires were administered to 295 sampled seniors. The questionnaires were completed and all returned to the researchers. A preliminary investigation into the questionnaire’s reliability yielded a Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient of 0.708. The following detail five parts of data analyses and results.

**Part 1:** Personal factors of the sampled elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration

**Table 4-1:** A summary of the sample's personal factors (n = 295)

<b>Personal Factor Item</b>	<b>Number (persons)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	128	43.4
Female	167	56.6
<b>Marital status</b>		
Single	37	12.5
Married	210	71.2
Divorced	23	7.8
Separate	6	2.0
Others (widowed)	19	6.4
<b>Education</b>		
Primary school	209	70.8
High school	66	22.4
College/university	14	4.7
Others (vocational school)	6	2.0
<b>Monthly income</b>		
≤10,000	225	76.3
10,001-20,000	63	21.4
20,001-30,000	4	1.4
≥30,001	3	1.0
$\bar{X}$ = 8,337 baht , S.D. = 0.535 , Max = 40,000 baht, Min = 500 baht		
<b>Living condition</b>		
Living Alone	34	11.5
Living with family	251	87.8
Others (living with non-family members)	2	0.7

Table 4-1 summarizes the sample's information on personal factors as follow

Gender: Among those sampled, females accounted for 56.6 percent, males 43.4 percent, respectively;

Marital status: The majority of those sampled, 71.2 percent, was married, with seniors classified as single, divorced, widowed and separate accounting for 12.5, 7.8, 6.4 and 2.0 percent, respectively;

Education: The majority of those sampled, 70.8 percent, finished primary school, followed by high school (22.4 percent), college/university (4.7 percent) and vocational school (2.0 percent), respectively;

Monthly income: The majority of seniors sampled, 76.3percent, reported a monthly income of 10,000 baht or less, with those falling into the 10,001 - 20,000 baht income category accounting for 21.4percent;

Living condition: The overwhelming majority, an equivalent of 87.8 percent, reported living with their family, whereas those living alone accounted for 11.5 percent of the elderly surveyed.

**Part 2:** Media consumption behavior—composed of selective exposure, selective attention, perception and interpretation, and internalization aspects—among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration

**Table 4-2:** A summary of media consumption behavior among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration (n = 295)

Media Consumption Behavior	Percentage of Respondents			X	S.D.	Interpret As
	High	Moderate	Low			
1. Selective Exposure	149 (50.5)	109 (36.6)	37 (12.5)	2.41	0.49	High
2. Selective Attention	179 (60.7)	90 (30.5)	26 (8.8)	2.49	0.47	High
3. Perception and Interpretation	193 (65.4)	84 (28.5)	18 (6.1)	2.59	0.46	High
4. Internalization	178 (60.3)	100 (33.9)	17 (5.8)	2.55	0.44	High
<b>Overall Media Consumption Behavior</b>				2.51	0.36	High

Table 4-2 reveals that, with an overall average of 2.51, the sampled elderly were highly active in their media consumption behavior. More specifically, they were highly active in all the four aspects of media consumption, marking a score of 2.41, 2.49, 2.59 and 2.55 for selective exposure, selective attention, perception and interpretation, and internalization aspect, respectively.



**Part 3:** The physical, mental, social and spiritual aspects of self-care**Table 4-3:** A summary of self-care behavior among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration (n = 295)

Self-Care Behavior	Percentage of Respondents			X̄	S.D.	Interpret As
	High	Moderate	Low			
1. Physical Aspect	244 (82.7)	49 (16.6)	2 (0.7)	2.59	0.31	มากHigh
2. Mental Aspect	221 (74.9)	60 (21.0)	12 (4.1)	2.57	0.43	มากHigh
3. Social Aspect	249 (84.4)	41 (13.9)	5 (1.7)	2.65	0.35	มากHigh
4. Spiritual Aspect	244 (82.7)	48 (16.3)	3 (1.0)	2.65	0.35	มากHigh
<b>Overall Self-Care Behavior</b>				2.61	0.28	High

Table 4-3 indicates that, with an overall average of 2.61, the sampled elderly were highly active in their self-care behavior. More specifically, they were highly active in all the four aspects of self-care, marking a score of 2.59, 2.57, 2.65 and 2.65 for physical, mental, social and spiritual aspect, respectively. Interestingly, our by-item analysis indicates that exercise received the least average score of 2.27.

**Part 4:** Analysis of whether groups formed according to gender, marital status, education levels, income levels and living conditions differ with respect to self-care**Table 4-4:** Differences in self-care behavior among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration when grouped according to gender (n=295)

\*p-value &lt; 0.05

Personal Factor Item	Self-Care Behavior			Mann-Whitney U	Z	P-value
	n	$\bar{x}$	S.D.			
<b>Gender</b>				9,918.5	-1.06	0.288
Male	129	2.63	0.285			
Female	167	2.59	0.283			

\*\* Based on Mann-Whitney U Test

Table 4-4 shows that self-care behavior did not differ across gender groups at 0.05 significance level.

**Table 4-5:** Differences in self-care behavior among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration when grouped into different categories of marital status, education level, income level and living condition (n=295)

Personal factor item	Self-Care Behavior among the Elderly			Chi-Square	P-value
	n	$\bar{x}$	S.D.		
<b>Marital Status</b>				5.467	0.243
Single	37	2.54	0.34		
Married	210	2.63	0.28		
Divorced	23	2.57	0.25		
Separate	6	2.49	0.27		
Others	19	2.62	0.18		
<b>Education Level</b>				19.007	0.000*
Primary School	209	2.65	0.25		
High School	66	2.55	0.30		
College/University	14	2.36	0.35		
Others	6	2.40	0.23		
<b>Income Level</b>				0.498	0.919
< 7,000	148	2.59	0.26		
7,001 – 14,000	94	2.63	0.28		
14,001 – 21,001	46	2.62	0.29		
> 21,001	7	2.53	0.47		
<b>Living Condition</b>				0.495	
Living Alone	34	2.58	0.30		0.781
Living with Family	259	2.61	0.28		
Others	2	2.72	0.24		

\*p-value < 0.05

\*\* Based on Kruskal-Wallis Test

Table 4-5 shows that groups of the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration formed according to marital status, income levels and living conditions did not differ with respect to self-care behavior; however, those with different education levels exhibited statistically different ( $p < 0.05$ ) behavior with respect to self-care.

The researchers, therefore, sought to gain insight into these elderly groups classified on the basis of education by further conducting pairwise comparisons using Least Significant Difference (LSD) method.

**Table 4-6:** Pairwise comparison on the elderly groups classified based on education level using Least Significant Difference (LSD) method

Education Level	Self-Care Behavior	Pairwise comparison		
	Mean (S.D.)	High School	College/University	Others (Vocational School)
Primary School	2.654 (0.259)	0.100*	0.290*	0.254*
High School	2.554 (0.305)	-	0.190*	0.154
College/University	2.364 (0.352)	-	-	-0.357
Others (Vocational School)	2.400 (0.234)	-	-	-

\*p-value &lt; 0.05

Table 4-6 indicates that the elderly with primary school education had statistically different self-care behavior than those who completed high school, college/university and vocational school, whereas the elderly with high school education behaved differently than those who had a college/university degree. In all cases, the differences were statistically significant at 0.05 significance level. With respect to self-care behavior, those with primary school education scored the highest (average score 2.654), while those holding a college/university degree scored the lowest (average score 2.364).

**Part 5:** The relationship between media consumption behavior—composed of selective exposure, selective attention, perception, and internalization aspects—and self-care behavior among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration.

**Table 4-7:** The relationship between media consumption behavior and self-care behavior among the elderly in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration (n = 295)

Media Consumption Behavior	Self-Care Behavior		
	Correlation Coefficient (r)	P-Value	Degree of Correlation
1. Selective Exposure	0.755**	0.000*	High
2. Selective Attention	0.805**	0.000*	High
3. Perception and Interpretation	0.707**	0.000*	High
4. Internalization	0.661**	0.000*	Moderate
<b>Overall</b>	<b>0.626**</b>	<b>0.000*</b>	<b>Moderate</b>

\*p-value &lt; 0.05

\*\* p-value &lt; 0.01

As summarized in Table 4-7, the relationship between media consumption behavior and self-care behavior among the elderly can be described as moderate. Specifically:

- selective exposure was highly correlated with self-care behavior at 0.05 significance level ( $r = 0.755$ ,  $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ );
- selective attention was highly correlated with self-care behavior at 0.05 significance level ( $r = 0.805$ ,  $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ );
- perception and interpretation was highly correlated with self-care behavior at 0.05 significance level ( $r = 0.707$ ,  $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ );
- internalization was moderately correlated with self-care behavior at 0.05 significance level ( $r = 0.661$ ,  $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ ).

## **Discussion**

### **Hypothesis 1: Self-care behavior among the elderly differs across gender**

The results show that self-care behavior did not differ between male and female elderly groups, rejecting Hypothesis 1. The elderly males and females may not have presented stark differences in terms of lifestyle; this could also apply to the realm of self-care behavior. The results are consistent with a study by Siritwongpakhon (2013), which explored the relationship between media exposure behavior and self-dependence among the elderly in Bangkok. Siritwongpakhon (2013, p. 46) found no significant difference in self-dependence across gender. Furthermore, no gender difference was observed with respect to physical, mental, social and economic aspects of self-dependence.

### **Hypothesis 2: Self-care behavior differs across marital status**

The results show that self-care behavior did not differ among different marital status groups, rejecting Hypothesis 2. As a matter of fact, seniors in Sisa Chorakhe Noi sub-district administration routinely engage themselves in socialization with their peers through group activities, group meals or exercises, providing an opportunity to converse among themselves on subjects that matter to them—including self-care. Granted, the elderly living in couple tend to engage in more health talks, compared to those who never married, divorced, widowed or separate; but the fact that these seniors, regardless of their marital status, avail themselves of social interaction with their peers and others provides ample opportunity for talking health, in effect nullifying any major difference that might have been caused by distinct marital conditions. The results of this study are consistent with a study by Chantham (2011), which explored self-care behavior among the elderly in Tambon Kluai Kwang, Huai Thap Than District, Si Sa Ket Province. Chantham (2011) found no significant difference in self-care behavior among groups of the elderly classified based on marital status.

### **Hypothesis 3:** Self-care behavior differs across education levels

The results show that self-care behavior differs across groups of seniors of distinct education levels, supporting Hypothesis 3. Those seniors with primary school education demonstrated the most conservative self-care behavior, whereas those with a college/university degree presented the least. The results are in line with a study by Suthanya (2007), which investigated the relationship between self-care behavior and satisfaction in life among the elderly subjects sampled in Rommaninat Park, Bangkok. Suthanya (2007) found a significant difference in self-care behavior among groups of the elderly classified based on education level.

### **Hypothesis 4:** Self-care behavior differs across income levels

The results show that self-care behavior did not differ across different income groups, rejecting Hypothesis 4. As the majority of studied subjects is concentrated in the monthly income category of 10,000 baht or less, either in the form of elderly pension or pocket money supported by their children/grandchildren, income level therefore compromised its own differentiating effect on self-care behavior. The results are in accordance with a study by Phoomviset (2015), which shed light on self-care behavior among the elderly in Nonthaburi Province. In Phoomviset's (2015) study, no significant difference in self-care behavior was found among groups of the elderly having different income levels.

### **Hypothesis 5:** Self-care behavior differs across living conditions

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มีพฤติกรรมการดูแลสุขภาพตนเองไม่แตกต่างกัน ไม่สอดคล้องกับสมมติฐานข้อที่

5 The results indicate that self-care behavior did not differ according to different living conditions, rejecting Hypothesis 5. Potentially, food, exercise and mental well-being have more to do with self-care behavior than the fact that the elderly live by themselves or with their family. The results are consistent with the study by Siriwongpakhon (2013), which explored the relationship between media exposure behavior and self-dependence among the elderly in Bangkok. Siriwongpakhon (2013, p. 55) found no significant difference in self-dependence across living conditions.

### **Hypothesis 6:** Media consumption behavior correlates with self-care behavior

The results show that, overall, media consumption behavior—which consists of selective exposure, selective attention, perception and interpretation, and internalization aspects—moderately correlated with self-care behavior, supporting Hypothesis 6. The most correlated aspect was selective attention ( $r = 0.805$ ), while the least was internalization ( $r = 0.661$ ). The elderly could have been exposed to a variety of such health-related information sources as public communication, personal communication or periodical newsletter, paid close attention to the information exposed, interpret such information and formed a perception as a result. However, the perception formed or the resulting interpretation may not necessarily have been put into practice in their everyday life, as reflected in internalization being the least correlated aspect among the four. The results are consistent with the study by Siriwongpakhon (2013), which explored the relationship between media exposure behavior and self-dependence among the elderly in Bangkok. Siriwongpakhon (2013,

p. 63) found media exposure tendency—the elderly’s tendency to be open to news and information about their peers from such a variety of sources as TV, radio, printed media, the Internet, newsletter or personal communication—to be positively correlated with self-dependence.

### **Suggestions**

Our by-item analysis indicates that exercise was given less weight than other self-care items. To the benefit of the elderly’s self-caring efforts, health promoting activities and knowledge disseminating venues focusing on the-elderly-oriented exercises, such as walking, running, Tai Chi or Pétanque, should be regularly held as a means through which the elderly can associate themselves and exchange information.

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***Generation Y's Behaviors in Using Media: A Case Study of Bangkok Metropolitan Region, Thailand***

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**Abstract**

The paper presents results of a study on Generation Y's Behaviors in Using Media, Bangkok Metropolitan Region as a case study. The purpose of this paper is to find what we know and don't know about Generation Y's use of media – also giving a landscape of Generation Y's media usage. The paper describes Generation Y's behavior for understanding their media use. The research employs questionnaire survey technique and sample random sampling technique was used in this study. A sample size of 459 respondents was initially taken for the study and analyzed. The survey collections are conducted by using web-based questionnaires. It's targeted population is Generation Y whose ages range is between 16-35 years old. It's not surprising that the internet, particularly in mobile form, is driving this growth. The results showed that the highest use of equipment to access to the information is a mobile phone, followed by computer and television. The most frequency time to consume the information from media is 09.01 p.m. to midnight (74.7%), followed by 06.00 p.m. to 09.00 p.m.(73.8%). The result also showed the average daily time spent on media was more than 4 hours. The preferred of media platforms was an online platform, personal media, television, print media, and radio, respectively. The result also showed the reason why Gen Y consumes media was for entertain (83.7%), and news update (81.7%) and the most preferred content is news (57.5%), Variety (50.1%) and entertainment (49.5%), respectively. The most used of media was social media (91.3%), television (66.2%), website (63.8%) and print media (30.7%). On the other hand, the most media trust by Gen Y was a television (74.1%) followed by print media (55.8%), social media (16.6%) and website (14.2%).

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## Introduction

We follow Brodahl and Carpenter's (2011) categorization of generations, using the following birth dates. The Silent Generation (1925-45), the Baby Boomers (1946-60), Generation X (1961-81) and Generation Y (born after 1981). There is not widespread agreement on the start and end points for Generation Y (Gen Y). Since there is little research on children who have not yet entered high school (at about age 13), the material in this paper is primarily based on studies of Gen Y members born between 1982 and 2001. plus there are within generation differences. Hence, Gen Y's characteristics are sometimes discussed in overly broad, even sweeping, terms. Nevertheless, it is useful to briefly summarize the characteristics usually ascribed to Gen Y. A key formative characteristic for Gen Y is early and frequent exposure to technology, which has advantages and disadvantages in terms of cognitive, emotional, and social outcomes (Immordino-Yang et al., 2012). For example, they rely heavily on technology for entertainment, to interact with others -- and even for emotion regulation. Members have experienced long periods of economic prosperity (until the past few years) and a rapid advance in instant communication technologies, social networking, and globalization (Park & Gursoy, 2012).

These external events have shaped Gen Y and influenced their media use and buying behavior. Gen Y consumers have benefited from the increased availability of customized products and personalized services (Ansari & Mela, 2003; Berry et al., 2010; Bitner et al., 2000; Peterson et al., 1997). They "want it all" and "want it now," particularly in relation to work pay and benefits, career advancement, work/life balance, interesting work and being able to make a contribution to society via their work (Ng et al., 2010; Twenge, 2010). Service industries traditionally rely on younger workers to fill their customer-facing positions, leading to a growing interest in the work-related challenges of Gen Y (King et al., 2011; Solnet et al., 2013 (in press)). Research on generational groupings is grounded in generational cohort theory proposed by Mannheim in 1928 (Smelser, 2001). Generational cohorts within populations coalesce around shared experiences or events interpreted through a common lens based on life stage (Sessa et al., 2007), rather than conventional groupings based on social class and geography. Each generation forever shares a common perspective (Mannheim, 1952; Simirenko, 1966). As a generation matures, it develops characteristics that differentiate it from previous generations: personality traits, work values, attitudes, and motivations (Smola & Sutton, 2002). For example, a meta-analysis shows that narcissism (exaggerated self-perceptions of intelligence, academic reputation or attractiveness) in Gen Y college students is higher than in previous generations of students (Twenge et al., 2008), suggesting that this feature will endure.

Among the many demographic groups of consumers, Generation Y represents a young, technology-keen group. Having grown up in the digital era, Generation Y consumers are heavy users of media and technology, and media in general play a massive role in how they live and interact with others.

## Literature review

Over the last 500 years, the influence of mass media has grown exponentially with the advance of technology. First, there were books, then newspapers, magazines, photography, sound recordings, films, radio, television, the so-called New Media of the Internet, and now social media. Today, just about everyone depends on information and communication to keep their lives moving through daily activities like work, education, healthcare, leisure activities, entertainment, traveling, personal relationships, and the other stuff with which we are involved. It's not unusual to wake up, check the cell phone for messages and notifications, look at the TV or newspaper for news, commute to work, read emails, take meetings and makes phone calls, eat meals with friends and family, and make decisions based on the information that we gather from those mass media and interpersonal media sources.

The mass media refers collectively to all media technologies which are used for mass communication, and to the organizations which control these technologies. Since the 1950s, in the countries that have reached a high level of industrialization, the mass media consisting of cinema, radio, and TV has a key role in political power. The mass media plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions on a variety of important issues, both through the information that is dispensed through it and through the interpretations it places upon this information. It also plays an important role in shaping modern culture, by selecting and portraying a particular set of beliefs, values, and traditions (an entire way of life), as reality. That is, by portraying a certain interpretation of reality, it shapes reality to be more in line with that interpretation. The mass media consists of the internet, television, newspapers, and radio. The Internet is significantly more influential than any other media. It is nearly twice as influential as TV and eight times more influential than traditional print media.

The mass media is good for socializing and important in reporting people essential information and news, but it very often wastes people time and distracts their attention. The mass media has a huge influence on people of all ages but teenagers are exposed to mass media more than any other adults are. In lack of interesting places for socializing and leisure activities, people turn to social networks which are more available and cheaper than other ways for searching companionships. The internet is absolutely the winner when we talk about the influence of media on teenagers. The other media like TV and newspapers are less but also present in teenagers' proportion of daily activities. During this period of growing up, they try to talk, dress and behave like popular TV and music stars. They choose which group of people to belong to, and friends to hang out with. If you want to keep in step with modern technology, it is almost impossible to resist the need to join online platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. For example, teenagers ignore their studying and sports activities in exchange for sitting in front of their computers and smartphones. Teenagers' views on things, attitudes and opinions change a lot too. They copy styles of famous people and sometimes forget who they really are. They try to look like celebrities but they do not know how to get good marks at school. The internet imposes a model of style, behavior, attitudes, and fashion and that makes children look alike and act similarly. When you walk down the street, you can see many people wearing the same clothes. Rich children slur poor ones and that becomes very normal in teen societies. As we can see, the influence of media on Gen Y is very big and it probably goes in the wrong direction.

Millennial Generation or Generation Y is the first generations to have spent their entire lives in the digital environment; information technology profoundly affects how they live, work and actively contributes, consumers, searches, plays, and shares for content on various media platforms. Generation Y was interested in their consume behaviors on media because it may be a sign of how people will behave in the future (Bennett et al., 2008; Wesner & Miller, 2008).

### **Objective of the study**

The objectives of this study are specifically:

1. To investigate Generation Y's media use behavior.
2. To determine a landscape of Generation Y's media usage.

### **Methodology**

This study was conducted by questionnaire survey technique and sample random sampling technique was used in this study. A sample size of 459 respondents was initially taken for the study and analyzed. The survey collections are conducted using online questionnaires. It's targeted population is Generation Y whose ages range is between 16-35 years old.

### **Finding**

The result as presented in table 1 shows that the Gen Y are categorized according to their age group and occupation. Most of respondents 325 (70.8%) are male while 134 (29.2%) respondents are female. The highest number of respondents (54%) is in the age group 21-25 years old. The second highest number of respondents (37%) comes from age group 16-20 years old, following by 4.8% and 4.1% from group age 31-55 and 26-30 years old, respectively. As regards to Occupation, the highest number of respondents 327 (71.2%) are university students, while 55 (12%) are school students and 26 (5.7%), 23 (5%) and 6 (1.3%) of respondents work as an own business, private company, and government officers, respectively. The implication of the results is that the respondents are relatively young people who are aspiring, active and energetic with media and new technologies.

Table 2 indicates that the respondents used more than one equipment access to the information. The most frequency equipment that the respondents used is a mobile phone (427), followed by a computer (136), television (36) and print media (12), respectively. Table 3 shows the most frequency time that the respondents prefer to consume the information from media. 343(74.7%) of the respondents prefer to consume the media between 09.01-00.00 pm. and 06.01-09.00 pm. is the second preferred time of the respondents, followed by 09.01-12.00 am., 03.01-06.00 pm., 12.01-03.00 pm., 00.01-03.00 am., 06.01-09.00 am., and 03.01-05.00am, respectively.

Table 1: Demographic profile of farmers by sex, age occupation and income.

<b>Characteristics</b>	No.	%
<b>Sex</b>		
Male	325	70.8
Female	134	29.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Age</b>		
16-20 years	170	37
21-25 years	248	54
26-30 years	19	4.1
31-35 years	22	4.8
<b>Occupation</b>		
School student	55	12
University student	327	71.2
Own business	26	5.7
Private company	23	5
Government officer	6	1.3
Etc.	22	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2: The equipment to access to information

<b>Equipment</b>	No.
Mobile phone	427
Computer	136
Television	36
Print media	12

Table 3: The time that Gen Y consume the information from media

<b>time</b>	No.	%
06.01-09.00 am	128	27.9
09.01-12.00 am	197	42.9
12.01-03.00 pm	181	39.4
03.01-06.00 pm	192	41.8
06.01-09.00 pm	334	72.8
09.01-00.00 pm	343	74.7
00.01-03.00 am	133	29
03.01-06.00 am	25	5.4

Table 4: the average daily time spent on media

Average daily time	No.	%
More than 4 hours	216	47.1
3-4 hours	92	20
1-2 hours	117	25.5
Less than 1 hours	34	7.4

Generation Y' leisure time is stolen by the media. They spend too many hours being with media. Today when technology has rapidly progressed an average people must use modern devices because if he does not do that there is no future for him. Some boys and girls spend more than 10 hours per day being entertained by the media, which is, everybody agrees, too much. Some of them spend even more than 70 or 80 hours, which becomes their obsession. That might sound strange but examples like this really exist. In this study when the respondents were asked about the average daily time that they spent on media. The results from table 4 show that the most of the respondents spent more than 4 hours (47.1%) on media in a day. Followed by 1-2 hours (25.5%), 3-4 hours (20%) and less than 1 hours (7.4%) in a day, respectively. In my opinion that is too many hours for "socializing" with the media in a day. Gen Ys who waste their time doing this thing can find something more useful to them and their surrounding. Certainly, there can always be something that they can do instead and that can be useful. For example, Gen Ys can organize an association for helping the environment, or some groups of support, or go out and help people in need.

Table 5: preferred of media platforms

Platform	No.	%
Television	304	66.2
Radio	92	20
Social media	419	91.3
Web site	293	63.8
Newspaper	141	30.7
Magazine	64	13.9
Etc.	54	11.8

Table 5 indicates the most preferred platforms that the respondents used were social media (91.3%). Television (66.2%) and website (63.8%) were mentioned as the second and third platforms which the respondents preferred. Followed by print media (44.6%) and radio (20%). This in line with eMarketer (, 2011) said social media users 16 to 35 years old are more likely than older age groups to prefer social media for interactions with acquaintances, friends family and consume information. They are also more likely to value others' opinions in social media and to feel important when they provide feedback about the brands or products they use.

Table 6: the reason why they consume media

<b>Reason</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
News update	375	81.7
Go with the flow	276	60.1
Advertising	135	29.4
Entertainment	384	83.7
Etc.	89	19.4

The respondents were asked to describe the reason why they consume media. So, the table shows that the entertainment (83.7%) was mentioned as the first reason why they consume media. New update (81.1%) was mentioned as the second reason. On the other hand, 60.1% of respondents consume media because they want to go with the flow and 29.4% of respondents said advertising is their reason.

Everyone has his/her own activities and things he/she loves doing in his free time. There are too many types of content from media. They can consume entertainment, news, soap opera, variety show, cartoon, documentary, game show and etc. Table 7 shows that Gen Y prefers various types of content. The most preferred content. The results show that 57.5% of respondents affirmed that News was the majority of preferred content. The variety show was reported by 50.1% as its preferred content, 49.5% and 42.3% of Entertainment and Soap opera also were mentioned as the third and fourth preferred content. Followed by the game show (36.6%), Cartoon (35.9%) and Documentary (25.7%) as the lowest.

Table 7: the most preferred content

<b>Content</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Entertainment	227	49.5
News	264	57.5
Soap opera	194	42.3
Variety show	230	50.1
Cartoon	165	35.9
Documentary	118	25.7
Game show	168	36.6
Etc.	167	36.4

Table 8: media trust

Platform	No.	%
Television	340	74.1
Radio	50	10.9
Social media	76	16.6
Web site	65	14.2
Newspaper	256	55.8
Magazine	53	11.5
Etc.	65	14.2

The result is shown in table 8 that television was the trustiest media by the respondents, followed by the newspaper (55.8%). On the other hand, social media, website, magazine, and radio were mentioned as a lowest media trust by the respondents.

### Final Thoughts

In a digital era, media is a vital resource for all generations activities and there has no such a field of human endeavor wherein information is not component. The results of the present study infer a clear fact that the generation Y, especially in Bangkok metropolitan region area, is a digital active user, they can access and use various of equipment to access to information. Their average daily time spent on media is quite high for consuming entertainment in a day. Even the results show that not only entertainment content that gen Y consume but also news and documentary too. Although Gen Y is active digital user and digital native- they preferred to consume the information with a several of platforms. The highest is via social online platforms such as social media and website but when we asked about the media trust- 74.1% of respondents still trust in television while only 16.6% of respondents said they trust in social media.

I hope this paper will give more understanding of generation Y media use behavior and landscape of Generation Y's media usage. Gen Y's use of media will change the future such as the marketplace, the workplace, and society; it will ultimately lead to new business models, processes, and products that go far beyond the examples discussed herein. However, there are still many questions about how Gen Y's use of media will influence individual, firm and societal outcomes in different contexts.



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## ***Humor in Thai Political Cartoons Published During the 2013-14 Thai Political Crisis***

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### **Abstract**

Thailand in 2013-14 is a period of political instability. The protest organized by PDRC is one of the world's largest and longest political protests (Prasirtsuk, 2015). The purpose of the movement was to expel Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra's government. Eighty-seven political cartoons published during the period were collected from four newspapers: *Bangkok Post*, *The Nation*, *Thai Rath*, and *Daily News*. This study aims to investigate 1) how political cartoonists create humor in their cartoons; 2) what kind of humor political cartoonists used in their cartoons; and 3) what are the differences between political cartoons published in Thai and English newspapers. The analysis reveals that most of the cartoons published are one-framed cartoons. Cartoonists create humor by using image and text whose meanings so closely related to the situation and context dependent that none of the elements can be understood in isolation. Some of the cartoons do not contain humor. On the other hand, most multi-framed cartoons contain dialogues between two characters that generate humor by using incongruity and ambiguity that cause surprise, as well as flouting maxims of Cooperative Principle. There are two main differences between political cartoons published in English and Thai newspapers: 1) most English cartoons are one-framed while Thai cartoons are multi-framed; and 2) English cartoons present simple images and readers need only a little background knowledge on Thai politics to understand them, while Thai cartoons present complex ideas that need a great deal of background knowledge to understand them.

Keywords: humor, Thailand, political cartoons, newspaper

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## Introduction

Thailand is a country in Southeast Asia which has faced a number of political problems and protests for several decades which due to various complicated causes. Since the end of 2013, Thailand has embarked on a new phase of the political struggle between two competing forces that have destabilized the country. One force is widely known as the Yellow Shirt. It is a coalition of conservative, pro-establishment forces featuring old elite groups, military-bureaucrats, middle class Thais, and comparatively well-to-do people in the South. Many are royalists who identify themselves as people of the king. Another force is commonly known as the Red Shirt. It is represented by rural-based politicians led by the ousted tycoon-turned-politician and former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. Its solid constituency bases are grassroots, mostly in the North and Northeast (Prasirtsuk, 2015).

During the 2013-14 political crisis, there were protests against Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra's government from November 2013 to May 2014. The anti-government protests were organized by the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC), a political pressure group set up and led by Suthep Thaugsuban, former Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary General of the Democrat Party (Tan, 2014). The protest was ended on May 22, 2014 by a coup that removed the government and placed General Prayuth Chan-ocha as acting prime minister.

News about the crisis was presented in every mass media, like television, radio, the internet, and newspaper; however, newspaper is still the one which is used by a great deal of people to seek for information. Wright (1960) refers newspaper as "a tool for daily living" because when people missed their daily papers they were, in fact, missing a tool for daily living. Besides serious political news column in newspaper, there is political cartoon column in almost every newspaper. Greenberg (2002) argues that political cartoons have a temporary character. This is due not to the notion that an assertion or inference will lack meaning for some people, but that they will be more persuasive with people living under a particular set of social, historical, political, economic, and cultural circumstances.

In Thailand, there are political cartoons in every top-selling newspaper, both published in Thai and English languages. In addition, it is known that some of these newspapers tend to draw cartoons which support their favorite politicians and political party or groups, and against the others. Thus their cartoons were totally different in terms of the political and public opinions expressed during the 2013-14 political crisis. However, the cartoons in this study were published in the two top-selling English newspapers of the country: *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation*, and the two top-selling Thai newspapers: *Thai Rath* and *Daily News*.

## Literature Review

### *Political Cartoons*

Johnson (1937) argues that today is the day of the picture. The public these days has neither time nor wish for the great editorials which formerly did so much to mold political history. Thus the cartoonist is no longer just a commentator on the passing show and has become an editorial writer who produces a leading article in the form of a picture.

The political cartoon comprises of a very specific genre, with its own history, distinctive styles, conventions, and communicative purposes (El Refaie, 2009). Normally, it is an illustration in a single frame, published in the comments section or on the editorial pages of a newspaper. A current political issue or event, a social trend, or a famous personality, are commonly addressed by cartoons in a way that takes a stand or presents a specific point of view. Political cartoons are not always humorous, but they certainly contain an element of irony or at least something incongruous or surprising.

DeSousa and Medhurst (1982) state that cartoons may be considered a significant medium for the information of public opinion on important social or political issues and cartoons provide subtle frameworks for examining the life and political processes of a country. Abraham (2009) explains that cartoons are used as a tool to transform complex and obscure social or political events or situations into quick and easily understandable descriptions that promote comprehension of the nature of social or political issues or events or situations. In doing so, cartoons present the public with clear visual descriptions of deliberately exaggerated portions of reality with an aim to reveal the meaning and essence of social or political events. Moreover, Jabbar (n.d.) believes that the political cartoon is a visual language comprising verbal and nonverbal signs that are full of meanings.

### *Semiotics*

As cartoons are images drawn by cartoonists to convey meanings or ideas, it is necessary to consider them as signs. Means for studying signs is semiotics which is the study of signs. According to Saussure, a sign is anything that signifies, or has meaning(s) within a particular code and a given context. Thus content in all modern and contemporary media are certain data for semiotic analysis (Mazid, 2008).

According to Chandler (2013), in semiotics, denotation and connotation are the two terms used to describe the relationship between the signifier and the signified. Denotation refers to the definitional, literal, commonsense meaning of a sign which is a meaning that can probably be found in a dictionary. In contrast, connotation is defined as the sign relating to socio-cultural and personal associations, like the gender, class, age, nationality, or ethnicity of the person interpreting it.

Barthes uses the term ‘connotation’ in order to define what kind of ideology signs refer to. In addition, his theory of connotative meaning was basically influenced by the work of Saussure. However, much of Saussure’s work is primarily concerned with language system (first-order system of sign in Barthes’ terms) or denotative meaning, while Barthes’ work mainly focuses on myth (second-order system of sign in Barthes’ terms) or connotative meaning (Griffin, 2012).

Barthes (1972) explains the concept of myth that the sign is involved in a three-part relationship. There are three different terms in semiological system: the signifier, the signified, and the sign. A sign is the relationship between a signifier – a sound or mark – and a signified – a concept. The concept has two orders of signification. In the second order, the sign system of the first is inserted into the value system of the culture.

### *Theories of Cartoon*

Hempelmann and Samson (2008) explain that cartoons are understood as a humor-carrying visual/visual-verbal picture, containing at least one incongruity that is playfully resolvable in order to understand their punch line. The style of cartoons is most often characterized by simple lines, exaggerated features, as well as sketch-like and simplified figures.

In addition, there is a functional approach of political cartoons proposed by DeSousa and Medhurst (1982). They identify four main functions of political cartoons as follows:

1. An entertainment function derives from the ability of cartoons to make people laugh at individuals or situations.
2. An aggression-reduction function derives from the nature of cartoons to provide a symbolic channel for the public to express its frustrations against government, social leaders, politicians, and so on.
3. An agenda-setting function provides readers with a sense of the most notable topics or issues in society.
4. A framing function is the product of its spatial limitation and therefore its need to present complex social issues in a single frame that captures the essence of an issue.

Furthermore, semiotics can be applied to understanding how images work. It is essential to see that communication through icons, indexes, and symbols involves several kinds of inference. Communication is an abstract process involving several kinds of inferences. C.S. Peirce identifies three main kinds of inference (Oller & Giardetti, 1999) as follow:

The first inference is abduction which is the most basic form of inference that any given icon resembles a particular logical object. Thus abduction is primarily based on resemblances, and they are always grounded in the inspection of sensory signs. They deal with the perceptual present tense, because they are based on singular ongoing experiences (Oller & Giardetti, 1999 p, 95).

The second inference is induction. Inductive inferences take the material form of one or more abductions and apply it to subsequent abductions. Thus they involve associating a number of abductions (Oller & Giardetti, 1999, p, 96). Since associations require indexes to make the connections, inductive inferences are considered indexical in nature.

The third inference is deductions which are based on fully abstracted meanings found in conventional symbols and in their associated conceptualizations. As long as the meaning or the definition of the symbol is understood correctly, inferences that are based strictly on that definition will have all the validity of the symbol to support it. Thus pictures that contain printed symbols or iconic forms of symbols may help identify their meaning and enable higher levels of analytical communication. This may account for the predominant use of visual symbols that act figuratively and metaphorically in cartoons.

### *Theories of Humor*

Cartoons are considered as a picture which carries humor containing at least one incongruity that is playfully resolvable in order to understand their punch line (Hempelmann & Samson, 2008). Furthermore, cartoons are jokes told in a picture comprising one or only a few panels (Nilsen & Nilsen, 2000). However, in the case of political cartoons, they are not always humorous, but they certainly contain an element of irony or at least something incongruous or surprising (El Refaie, 2009).

Ross (2005) states that, for humor, the context is essential for determining whether a person finds something is funny or not. Furthermore, the features of language that have the potential to make people laugh can be examined. The incongruity theory focuses on the element of surprise. It is believed that humor is created out of a conflict between what is expected and what actually occurs in the joke. Thus much humor is composed of an ambiguity, or double meaning, which intentionally misleads the audience, followed by a punch line.

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines *incongruous* as ‘strange because of not agreeing with what is usual or expected.’ Ross (2005) argues that unintentional humor may be caused by some lapse in expression while deliberate humor is carefully planned, often to the exact wording and timing. Moreover, David Crystal comments in the Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language (1987) that ‘variations in self-expression are most noticeable in those areas of language use where great care is being taken, such as literature and humor.’

In addition, Ross (2005) identifies elements of humor as follows:

- There is a conflict between what is expected and what actually occurs in the joke.
- The conflict is caused by an ambiguity at some level of language.

- The punch line is surprising, as it is not the expected interpretation, but it resolves the conflict.

In addition, Rutter (1997) explains that incongruity is when jokes are examined by adopting the incongruity theory, in which two objects in the joke are presented through a single concept, or 'frame'. The concept becomes applied to both objects and the objects become similar. As the joke progresses, it becomes clear that this concept only applies to one of the two objects and thus the difference between the objects or their concepts becomes clear.

### *The Cooperative Principle and Humor Theory*

Paul Grice (1975) suggested that for society to function communication has to be oriented toward cooperation. He believes that conversation, or any other interactive social behavior, is guided by what he calls the Cooperative Principle. He explains that the principle instructs a speaker to make his/her conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which he/she is engaged. Grice suggests that his principle comprises the following four maxims:

- 1) The Maxim of *Quantity*
  - a) Give the right amount of information.
  - b) Make it as informative as is required.
  - c) Do not give more information than is required.
  
- 2) The Maxim of *Quality*
  - a) Try to make it true.
  - b) Do not say what you believe to be false.
  - c) Do not say something for which you do not have enough evidence.
  
- 3) The Maxim of *Relation*  
Be relevant.
  
- 4) The Maxim of *Manner*
  - a) Be clear.
  - b) Avoid obscurity of expression.
  - c) Avoid ambiguity.
  - d) Be brief.
  - e) Be orderly.

In order to create humor in conversation, one of the maxims needs to be flouted by one speaker. According to Grice (1975), there are several ways of flouting a maxim; however, the most important one is violation or flouting. Violation is a delicately covert breach of a maxim, where the speaker hides the breach from the hearer. It is obvious in the case of quality, where lies are not intended to be detected. Also, it could apply to quantity.



## Research Objective and Research Questions

By grounding cartoons within theories of cartoons and theories of humor, as well as semiotics, this study attempts to examine humor in political cartoons published in Thai – *Thai Rath* and *Daily News* – and English – *The Nation* and *Bangkok Post*. The newspapers were chosen based on their representation of the mass media that constantly scrutinizes and interprets political situations, as well as the audiences they serve. *Thai Rath* is the oldest newspaper and the best-selling newspaper in Thailand, claiming a circulation in excess of 1 million copies daily. *Daily News* is the second best-selling newspaper which has a circulation in excess of 0.9 million copies daily. *Bangkok Post* is the oldest English-language daily newspaper in the country with a history of more than 60 years. *The Nation* is one of two English-language daily newspapers in Thailand, besides *Bangkok Post*.

Thus this study examined cartoons involving with politicians, events, and situations, in the newspapers published during the protests of the PDRC from November 1, 2013 to May 22, 2014 (the day that the Royal Thai Armed Forces, led by General Prayuth Chan-ocha, Commander of the Royal Thai Army, launched a coup d'état). This period was chosen to reflect the beginning and subsequent development of the protests. The data were analyzed, in order to answer the following three research questions:

1. How do political cartoonists create humor in their cartoons?
2. What kind of humor political cartoonists used in their cartoons?
3. What are the differences between political cartoons published in Thai and English newspapers?

## Methodology

### *Steps in the Study*

The study followed the following steps:

1. The data were collected from the four newspapers during the period of November 1, 2013 to May 22, 2014.
2. The collected data were divided into two main groups: cartoons published in Thai language and the ones published in English language.
3. The data in each category were analyzed by theories of cartoons: DeSousa and Medhurst's four functions of political cartoons and Peirce's three main kinds of inference; theories of humor: the concept of incongruity and Grice's Cooperative Principle; and Barthes' theory of sign, in order to answer the research questions.
4. The data in each category were counted for frequencies and percentages.
5. The frequencies and percentages within categories were tabulated and compared.
6. The findings were analyzed, in order to find the conclusion of the study.

### Data

The total number of cartoons found in the four newspapers was 932; however, 149 were excluded because they were not related to the political crisis. Thus there are 783 cartoons remaining. The numbers of cartoons found in the newspapers are shown in the table below:

Table 1: Numbers of political cartoons found in the four newspapers

Newspaper (cartoonist)	Thai Rath		Daily News	Bangkok Post			The Nation
	Sia	Chai Ratchawat	Khuaid	Dinhin	Mor	Yoot	Stephane Peray
Numbers of cartoons	168	205	179	43	74	56	58
	373			173			
<b>Total</b>	783						

The data were divided into two main groups: cartoons published in Thai language and the ones published in English language. Since the number of the data is relatively large (783 cartoons), the cartoons from three periods – the first weeks, the middle week, and the last week of the political crisis – are chosen to analyze. The table below shows the numbers of data collected from the three periods.

Table 2: Numbers of data for analysis

Newspaper (Cartoonist)	First Week	Middle Week	Last Week	Total
1. Thai Rath (Sia)	6	5	6	17
2. Thai Rath (Chai Ratchawat)	7	7	7	21
3. Daily News (Khuaid)	6	6	6	18
4. Bangkok Post (Dinhin)	1	2	2	5
5. Bangkok Post (Mor)	2	3	3	8
6. Bangkok Post (Yoot)	3	2	2	7
7. The Nation (Stephane Peray)	4	3	1	8
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>84</b>

### Data Analysis

The following are some examples of analysis of cartoons published in Thai and English languages. The analysis started with the cartoons drawn by Sia and Chai Ratchawat (*Thai Rath*); Khuaid (*Daily News*); Stephane Peray (*The Nation*); and Dinhin, Mor and Yoot (*Bangkok Post*), respectively.

*Sia (Thai Rath)*

Figure 1: Cartoon drawn by Sia

In this image, Suthep is holding a flag with Thai cabalistic writing and a phrase, 'Good guy with privilege'. He says 'We're good guys. We have whistles.' Behind him, there is a grim reaper with the word '100 dead bodies'. In front of him, there are words which say 'lead a rally, overthrow the government, overthrow a case'. On the right side of the picture, there is a group of people who are probably relatives of the people who died during the protests against Abhisit's government. They are holding photographs of their deceased relatives and a poster with a message that can be translated into English, 'Do not forget the case of ordering the police to kill people'. At the right bottom of the picture, there are two mice who say, 'A bad guy wants to be a hero' and 'Karma will come'.

This cartoon suggests that Suthep, who has been viewed as a bad guy, pretends to do good during the protests, because he was accused of ordering the police to kill people rallied against the government while he was Deputy Prime Minister. In the cartoon, Suthep says, 'We're good guys. We have whistles.' means PDRC is a group of good people who have a whistle as a symbol for fighting with the bad government. He is also holding a flag which says 'Good guy with privilege' which probably means he is a good person who is assumingly supported by the military or the king's ministers. The cartoonist uses a grim reaper as a signifier of the signified, Suthep's order to kill people. The signification of this sign is Suthep's guilt of ordering the police to kill people in the past which goes after him everywhere even though he is trying to be a good guy by leading people to rally against the blanket amnesty.

*Chai Ratchawat (Thai Rath)*

Figure 2: Cartoon drawn by Chai Ratchawat

The dialogue can be translated as follows:

Police officer: Good new, Kam. Your grandson is going to be released from jail.

Old man: How come? He has to be in jail for many years, hasn't he?

Police officer: Now Thailand has democracy... If you want to be free from any charge, you can vote in the parliament. No court involves.

The image probably takes place in a countryside where the two people –a police officer and an old man – are talking in front of a house.

This cartoon suggests that politicians of Pheu Thai party have voted in the parliament to pass the blanket amnesty to free various politicians from charges, especially Thaksin who has fled abroad to avoid his punishment.

In terms of humor, when the police officer said 'Your grandson is going to be released from jail', it is breaking the maxim of quantity. The police officer gives fault information to the old man, because the old man's grandson is not really going to be released from jail but only some politicians and people who involve with political conflicts. What the police officer said is actually an irony.

*Khuaid (Daily News)*



Figure 3: Cartoon drawn by Khuaid

The dialogue can be translated as follows:

- Blue-shirt man: Pheu Thai and Democrat are both retreating.
- Pink-shirt man: Pheu Thai is pushing the blanket amnesty while Democrat is calling a rally against it. How could they be retreating?
- Blue-shirt man: Both parties are retreating towards an abyss.

The image probably takes place in an office where two employees – a pink-shirt man and a blue-shirt man – are talking to each other.

This cartoon suggests that the actions of both parties – Pheu Thai and Democrat – which against each other on the proposal of the blanket amnesty, are leading towards major conflict among people in the country.

In terms of humor, when the blue-shirt man said, ‘Pheu Thai and Democrat are both retreating’, it is breaking the maxim of quantity, because he gives too little information to the pink-shirt man to understand the true meaning. Later, he said the last part of the sentence so that the pink-shirt man is able to understand what he really thinks about the actions of both parties.

*Stephane Peray (The Nation)*

Figure 4: Cartoon drawn by Stephane Peray

In this image, a monitor lizard, a symbol of bad things for Thai people, is posing like the Statue of Liberty. He is holding the amnesty bill in one hand while another hand is holding a torch; however, there are feces in the torch. Moreover, the feces are surrounded by flies indicating that they are stinky. The flies in the image are used as an index for bad smelling because it is commonly known that flies like swarming around things with bad smelling. In addition, there is a red circle with a crossing line around the monitor lizard. It is generally used as a sign of prohibition.

This cartoon suggests that passing the amnesty bill seems to be a good act of the government in the name of freedom and democracy. However, the bill is hated and disgusted by the people and should not be passed.

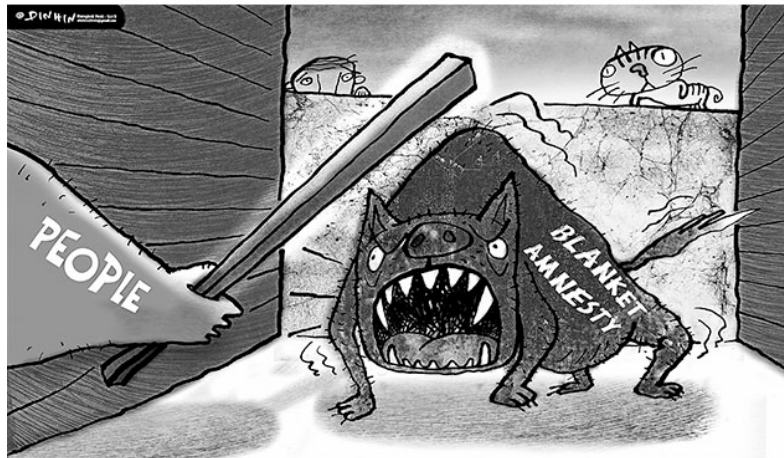
*Dinhin (Bangkok Post)*

Figure 5: Cartoon drawn by Dinhin

This image takes place in a dead-end alley. It shows a desperate dog facing a man with a wood stick in his hand. Behind the dog, there is a cat on the wall and a man looking from behind the wall. This image derived from Thai proverb ‘Sunak Chon Trok’ which can be roughly translated into English “a cornered dog”. The proverb means when you corner a dog into a dead-end alley, it would turn and bite.

In this cartoon, the cartoonist compares the dog in a dead-end alley with the amnesty bill proposed by Pheu Thai Party. The bill is opposed by many people, especially the anti-government groups and people who came out to rally with Suthep. In terms of semiotics, the barking dog is a signifier of the amnesty bill which is the signified in second-order system. The combination of the signifier and the signified is the signification of the amnesty bill which is being opposed by people. In addition, the big arm with a wood stick in the hand is a signifier of a signified or many people who strongly oppose the bill. Thus the signification of the hand with a stick is people who came together to rally against the bill.

*Mor (Bangkok Post)*



Figure 6: Cartoon drawn by Mor

This image shows two men are painting an exit sign. The whistle-head man on the left is painting an exit sign indicating to the left; however, the foot-head man on the right is painting the same exit sign indicating to the right.

In this cartoon, the cartoonist compares the situation during the protest of the PDRC and the Red Shirt that they want different things, so that there is no solution for the crisis. The whistle-head man represents the PDRC because whistle is their symbol. On the other hand, the foot-head man represents the Red Shirt because they use a clapping-foot toy as their symbol during the protest.

In terms of semiotics, the exit sign indicating both ways is a signifier of Thai political crisis which is the signified in second-order system. Thus the signification of them is that there is no way out for the crisis. In addition, the two men is a signifier of a signified or the two groups of protesters. Thus the signification of them is two groups of people who are trying to find a way of out for the situation but what they are doing is completely different and opposite from each other.



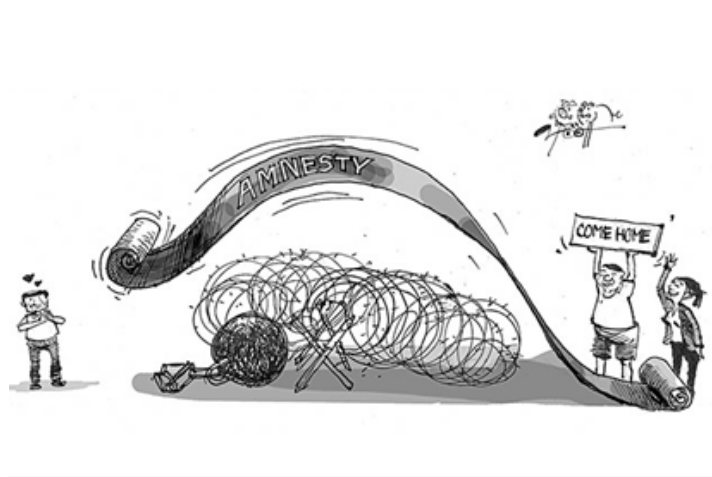
*Yoot (Bangkok Post)*

Figure 7: Cartoon drawn by Yoot

The man on the left represents Thaksin who is waiting happily for the woman on the right, Yingluck, to throw a carpet with the word, “amnesty”, over the barbed wires. There is also a man holding a board with the words, “come home” besides Yingluck. He represents the Red Shirt members who support Pheu Thai party. In this cartoon, the cartoonist compares the amnesty bill as a way for bringing Thaksin back to Thailand, as it would also pardon him.

In terms of semiotics, the barbed wires is a signifier of charges or guilt of Thaksin which is the signified in second-order system. In addition, the carpet is a signifier of a signified or the amnesty bill. Thus the signification of the carpet and the barbed wires is that Thaksin would be able to come back home if the bill is passed.

### Discussion

After the cartoons were analyzed, it was found that the cartoons drawn by the cartoonists were totally different in terms of the political and public opinions. The cartoonists tend to draw cartoons that support their favorite politicians, political party, or political groups. It is obvious that Sia and Chai Ratchawat are completely different in terms of their opinion, even though they are working for the same newspaper, *Thai Rath*. Sia always draws cartoons that attack or criticize actions of the PDRC, while Chai Ratchawat always draws cartoons that criticize the government or Pheu Thai party but his critics are more subtle and indirect like Sia’s. For Khuaid from *Daily News*, his cartoons are quite neutral; however, he criticizes the PDRC a little more than the government or Pheu Thai party. For the three cartoonists from Bangkok Post – Dinhin, Mor, and Yoot – their cartoons seem to be the most neutral because they are not too aggressive and they criticize both sides of the conflicts as well as the overall situations. In the case of Staphane Peray from *The Nation*, he seems to be a little on the PDRC’s side but his cartoons try to present the situations in the point of view of a foreigner who lives in Thailand.

Even though the cartoons of each newspaper and each cartoonist are completely different in terms of style, humor, and opinion, they help readers to understand the political events and situations more easily, in ways that cannot be found in political news column or any other columns of newspaper.

## **Conclusion**

According to the result of the analysis, it was found that most of the cartoons are one-framed (48 out of 84 or 57.14%) that show both text and image; however, there are some of them that contain only image. The others are two or three-framed cartoons which show sequences of situations or dialogues.

Noticeably, the cartoonists create humor by using image and text whose meanings so closely related and interdependent that none of the elements can be understood in isolation. Since some images in the cartoons are purely symbolic, without text to indicate what they represent, the readers would not know the meaning of them.

However, some of the cartoons do not contain humor, especially one-framed cartoons since there is no incongruity found. Due to the fact that the cartoonists merely intend to criticize or present their opinion on politicians or political situations, and they probably want the cartoons to look serious, instead of making fun about the issues. On the other hand, most multi-framed cartoons contain humor because they are comprised of dialogues between two characters that generate humor by using incongruity and ambiguity that cause surprise, as well as flouting maxims of Cooperative Principle.

In addition, there are two main differences between political cartoons published in English and Thai newspapers. First, most of the English cartoons are one-framed while the Thai cartoons are multi-framed. Second, the English cartoons present simple images but readers need some background knowledge on Thai politics, Thai language, and Thai culture in order to understand them completely. In contrast, the Thai cartoons present complex ideas that need a great deal of background knowledge to understand them. Thus foreigners who do not know about Thai politics and Thai language well, they would not understand any of the cartoons published in Thai language.

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## *The Wise: An Animated Adaptation of Thai Contemporary Literature*

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### **Abstract**

Most of animated adaptations in Thailand come from literary works. However, the animation's inventiveness has been inhibited by its fidelity on the literary source. Although fidelity discourse cannot be ignored in adaptation since it creates a strong connection to the original, I contend that not only similarities, but also differences, are essential for the dialogue between the source text and film. This paper investigates animated adaptations from literary work. It seeks to explore how literature and animation correspond and interact between their boundaries. Jorgen Bruhn (2013)'s concept of dialogical adaptation was contextualized and used as theoretical framework for my analysis. This concept has also been put into practice through my animated film, *The Wise*, based on Panu Trivej's short story *Nak Chalad Mue Archeep* (2006). The dialogical adaptation approach is adopted to examine how my animation project reinterprets and reconstructs the source text in another medium. Contra the traditional approach of a one-directional transformative process from the literary source to the filmic result, the study conveys adaptation as an intertextual process. This article offers some observations of the development of animated adaptation from contemporary literature, with attention to independent animators who work as an adapter, as well as an author. This paper encapsulates both practice and theory and the findings are applicable to animators who engage transposing literary work into animation. The case study could also expand the area of literature to animated film adaptation.

Keywords: Animated Adaptation, Animation

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## Introduction

Thai animated films are mainly adapted from Thai classic literature. For example, *The Adventure of Sudsakorn* (1979), the first Thai animated feature created by Payut Ngaokrachang was based closely on the classic literature *Phra Apai Manee* (1964) written by Sunthorn Pu; *Khan Kluay* (2006), the first 3D Animated feature from Kantana Animation Studio, was inspired by a historical war story and based some of its story on the historical source text; The animation *The Life of Buddha* (2007) paid homage to the biographical story of the Buddha and his early life as prince Siddhartha from the Buddhist scripture Tripitaka; The animated feature *The Story of Mahajanaka* (2014) transposed the book of the same name written by King Bhumibol Adulyadej (1999) into animation. These examples of animated adaptations share affinity in terms of adapting from the classic literature. These classic stories have already been well-known and popularized over and over in various forms such as books, comics and films. Even though many of the classic stories have proved to be enjoyable to wide audience, there are a plenty of contemporary literary work awaits to be explored and adapted. This paper, therefore, urges local animators to read and give attention to contemporary literature. This could open up a conversation about the possibility of variety of content for Thai animated film.

When working on adaptations, Thai animators face the challenge in reworking the source regarding the issue of fidelity. I agree with Stam's statement "fidelity in adaptation is literally impossible" since there is an "automatic difference" between novel and film due to the change of medium (2005, p. 17). Not only novels use words and film uses images to tell story, their ways of expression also work differently in details. For example, firstly, written text allows readers to interpret its layers at their own pace while film constructs a pace for its audience. Secondly, in novels, the narrator can explain and clarify the connection between characters, places or things. This is not always the case in film. It is the spectators who are required to make such connection of things in a shot. Thirdly, while film can show everything in a shot to give information of story and characters, book authors have to write out each element to describe a scene. According to these differences of the media, changes are necessary in order to transform one medium into another. Therefore, as John M. Desmond & Peter Hawkes noted, fidelity should be "used as a descriptive term that allows discussion of the relationship between two companion works" (2006, p.3). The idea of fidelity should not restrict 'new' possibilities the adaptation could offer.

Stam (2005) mentioned how critics focus on what is lost from the literary source rather than what is gained from the filmic adaptation. This issue of fidelity treats the source superior than the final result. Some animators even lack interest in working on adaptation because of the perceived notion that adaptation is secondary to the source text. Thus a question in their state of authorship remains. To free the perception that adaptation is secondary to its original source text, we need to consider the nature of cinema. As Dan Harries noted "from its inception, cinema arose out of a discourse of intertextuality by recycling, reconfiguring and borrowing from other modes of entertainment" (Dan Harries, 2000, p. 11). This statement affirms the idea that the process of adaptation has already been part of nature of cinema which involves an interrelationship between text – intertextuality. To the further extend, adaptation is a work process to all art forms and also the way we live our lives. Adaptation in this research context is thus defined as a process of transposing one medium into another,

not just a final product of an adapted source. This paper emphasizes adaptation with 'open structuralism' (Gerard Genette, 1997, ix). An open structure, as Stam noted, "constantly reworked and reinterpreted by a boundless context, the text feeds on and is fed into an infinitely permutating intertext, seen through ever-shifting grids of interpretation" (2005, P.15) Adaptation, therefore, is an interpretive approach to rework the source. Contra its old perceived notion as a one-way directional process from text to film, this paper emphasizes adaptation as 'a dialogic two-way process' (Bruhn, 2013, p.69) which focuses on an interaction between the literary source and the filmic result, as well as other cross-references in the transforming process.

Unlike academic paper which focuses on an analysis of text-to-screen adaptation, this paper looks for a model of how animated adaptation functions both textually and practically. Therefore, the following works discussed in this paper shall map out my practice context. The selected examples shall be analyzed as they could serve as cross-references to my work-in-progress film. My observations in the animated adaptations seek to discuss how animators rework literary texts in their films. I have divided the examples into three categories according to the approaches adopted in the adaptations.

### **Amalgamating Filmic and Literary Expression: *The Man with the Beautiful Eyes* (2000)**

Jonathan Hodgson's *The Man with the Beautiful Eyes* (2000) was based on Charles Bukowski's poem of the same name. The story is about children whose parents forbade them to enter a strange house. The children disobeyed and went to see the house. They found a man who they thought as a cool guy. Unlike what their parents had warned, the man greeted them briefly and nothing bad happened to them. Later the children went back to the house and found out it was burnt down. they never saw the man with the beautiful eyes again. The poem reflects fascination, fear, doubt and silliness of reality during childhood. Bendazzi stated "The film describes children's fascination about a man on society's margin, drunk and doped, yet real and free" (Bendazzi, 2015, p.72). Despite evenness of the poem's mood and tone, the last part of the poem expresses the children's fear which serves as a social comment to its readers:

“...and we were afraid then that all throughout our lives things like that would happen, that nobody wanted anybody to be strong and beautiful like that, that others would never allow it, and that many people would have to die”. (*The Man with the Beautiful Eyes*, 1992).

In the animated adaptation, one of the children in the story serves as a narrator who expresses his own fascination, thoughts, doubt and fear throughout the story. Hodgson has brought the narrator from the original poem into his animation to give the animated film a more "literary" feel. In this animated film, the animator employed simple camera movement such as zoom-in and panning as a transition to change images and time. Cuttings was also used but they are matched with the other transitions seamlessly. Hodgson also adopted typography and patterns in the animated film. This use of the typography and patterns serves as a hypermedia which distances the reader from the animated world. The eclectic mix of filmic images, texts, pattern and collaged graphic elements gives a contrast to the evenness of the narrative, as

well as to the smooth and calm voice of narrator. Moreover, the animator's interpretation of the original text has transformed into symbolic images. This can be exemplified by a shot where the viewer sees a man watering flower on a concrete side and the flower dies when the narrator said "our parents are shame that they were not like that man" (Bukowski, 1992). The frame in this shot splits between tile-patterned concrete path and grass which symbolize conformed man on the society's standard or the parents (tile-patterned concrete path) and the free, and natural man (grass). The flowers growing on the concrete side, which refer to children, die once the man carrying a toxic and dangers liquid tank on his back waters them. Both visual relations and the symbolic images create uniqueness to the animated adaptation. Despite the fact that the animation straightforwardly reads the original poem to its audience, Hodgson's *The Man with the Beautiful Eyes* (1999) requires its readers to read and interpret the relationship between the filmic images and the original poem. The animated adaptation possesses original quality in its own right while showing a strong relation to the source.

It should be noted that not only the Bukowski's poem that the animated film speaks to, the animation also connects its aware readers to other cross references. For example, the approach of using narrator and the use of transition to create literary expression have been done before in many other animated adaptations, for example, Caroline Leaf's *The Street* (1976) which transposed Moerdecai Richler's short story *The Street* (1969) into animation; Leaf's later animated film *The Metamorphosis of Mr. Samsa* (1977) which based on Franz Kafka's novella, *The Metamorphosis* (1915); Ishu Patel's *Top Priority* (1981) which adapted from short story of the same name. These mentioned examples share affinity to Hodgson's animated adaptation in terms of artistic expression of free flow images and transition. However, Hodgson emphasizes more use of symbolic images for the readers to interpret while Patel gives a straightforward translation, honest figurative images which fits his film content. *The Man with the Beautiful Eyes* (2000) also shares similarity in terms of artistic approach to Leaf's mentioned films, but it contains more variety of graphic elements. Moreover, Leaf expertises the use of morphing as transition throughout her story while Hodgson mixes and matches the transitions to create the flow to his animated film.

### **N (2008): Cinematic Expression with Stylized Photographic Images.**

*N* (2008), a graphic video series, was adapted from a horror short story written by Stephen King. The animated series was drawn by artist Alex Maleev and colored by Jose Villarrubia. This animated adaptation was used to promote the Stephen King's up-coming collection. *N* was a nested story about related characters. The story began with a woman named Sheila wrote to her friend Charlie about her suspicion on the suicide of her brother Johnny or Dr. John Bonsaint. Dr. Bonsaint was a psychiatrist who committed suicide after his patient, referred as "N", killed himself. *N* was diagnosed as suffering from obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and paranoid delusion. He shared his belief to Dr. Bonsaint that a circle of stones in the Ackerman's Field was a doorway to another world. After *N*'s death, Dr. Bonsaint also suffered from OCD and he went to the Ackerman's Field. Driven to madness, he also committed suicide. The story revealed that Shiela later killed herself in the same manner to her brother and her friend Charlie was going to visit the Ackerman's field in Maine.



This adaptation shares a strong connection to the novel. The adapter, Marc Guggenheim, straightforwardly retold the novel with filmic expressions. The graphic video stylizes photographic images with outlining and coloring. The characters and setting in the novella are transformed via cinematic approaches such as cutting, panning and zooming to create filmic effects. The graphic artists make good use of camera angles. Many of jump cuts are used to express uneasy feeling of the character N. The order of sequences is clearly arranged. The timing is also sharp and able to build up the story pace into climax where Dr. Bonsaint was driven to madness. Despite its very limited animation, this adaptation effectively utilized cinematic expressions to retell the original source text.

The artistic direction of the adaptation, *N* (2008), shares similarity to the animated film trailer titled *The Morning Sun is Too Hot to Sit Sipping Coffee*. Chanon Treenet, an independent Thai animator, is developing this animated adaptation. Treenet chose the South East Asian Writer Award Winning Thai novel of the same name written by Jadet Kamjorndet (2011). The novel told a story of a new veteran who dreamed about opening a coffee shop near the railway with his friend. He also dreamed about a beautiful woman. The setting of the story was the southern Thai provinces where South Thailand insurgency was ongoing. Showing a contrast between the character's own dream and reality, Chanon chose water color as a medium to render his drawn animation. This animated trailer shares affinity to the graphic video series in terms of limited animation, as well as of filmic approaches, for example, the use of camera and image layering techniques. However, unlike the Stephen King's adaptation, the Thai animated trailer empties all dialogue. This could be a challenge or an advantage for Treenet to recreate the novel in animated film form.

### ***Nine* (2014): Shifting Genre**

In Thailand, although adaptations from the classic is much recognized, the short animated film *Nine* (2014) showed an attempt to retold a graphic fiction. The animation was directed by Chawalit Kaewmanee and Wanichaya Phraejunya from The Monk Studio. *Nine* (2014) is adapted from *Nine Lives* by Songsin Tiewsomboon. The animators selected the chapter "Live Forever" and based the animated world on the novel setting. In the original text, *Nine Lives* told a story of a grey cat who gave his heart to a devil in an exchange of immortality. He enjoyed his long live until he wanted to know how to love. He went to see the devil once again and tried to negotiate his heart back. The devil was dying since his immortality was given to the grey cat, for instead having a heart to love. Wondering about love, the cat lived forever.

The original fiction fits drama genre and illustrates serene mood and tone throughout the whole story. However, the animators chose to add more fantasy to the action and setting in the animation. The animated film, *Nine*, told a story about a grey cat who was chased by a herd of wild bulls. The cat accidentally entered a world of devil. The devil took the cat's heart. Once the cat woke up, he felt strength and conquered all of his enemies. The more victory, the more he took lives. Once he realized, the devil who took his heart disappeared. The grey cat became a devil himself. The animated adaptation shows an obvious relation to the original source in terms of the main characters and setting, as well as some decorative elements shown in the source

fiction. However, the animators explore another perspective which make the adaptation shift to action-fantasy genre. The animated film discards the dramatic and poetic feel presented in the original fiction. In contrast to tranquility of mood and tone presented in the original graphic fiction, the animated adaptation offers a mix of artistic styles to show a contrast between the sweet grey cat in the beginning of the film and the devil-becoming cat in the end. While the original fiction presents a lonely cat who wonders about love throughout the whole story, the adaptation offers the contrast – from an innocent to a monstrous character. Moreover, the story pace also significantly changes. In the original fiction, readers know it was ninety-nine years that the cat lived happily and enjoyed his longevity until he yearned for love. However, the animation significantly cuts the story time. Within a day and night, the weak, chased cat gained an extra power from the devil. These differences depart the adaptation from the source from where they have shared a strong connection. Discarding key moments in contemplating on life presented in the original fiction, the animated film offers action-fantasy narrative and the specific pleasures of its own version.

### ***The Wise* (Work-in-Progress, 2017)**

My project, *The Wise*, was adapted from a dystopian short-story, Nak Chalad Mue Archeep (2006), written by Panu Trivej. The story depicts a futuristic view of Thailand in the age of hyper-industrialization. The setting of this short story locates in Thailand's capital in the year 2143. In a totalitarian society, each of Thai people is required to learn only one thing. Freedom is so restricted that learning extra skills is prohibited. Gaining all knowledge is solely allowed to selected minority candidates under The Wise scheme. *The Wise* tells a story of Salika, who works as The Wise. She gives talk about knowledge in various fields depending on request or her own choice if there is no request from the audience. One day she was challenged with a question of how to boil rice by an anonymous man. The man is actually a rice chef working at a restaurant. Once she gets to know him, the two shares their stories and thoughts which reflects the society they are living in.

The original short fiction shows an influence from dystopian novels of the twentieth century. For example, the idea that the knowledge is solely kept within the minority and the act of learning extra skills is illegal in Trivej's story shares affinity with *Fahrenheit 451* (1953) by Ray Bradbury. Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) is also an obvious influential example. Salika life in Trivej's short story is similar to Atwood's main character – Offred, just in a better way. The underground group which the chef joins its community to learn extra skills in Trivej's story echoes The Mayday resistance, an underground network working to overthrow the government in *The Handmaid's Tale*. The secret relationship between Salika and the chef also reminds reader to the relationship between the commander and Offred in the Atwood's novel. This short story of Trivej interweaves a number of literary intertexts: the dystopian novel as mentioned earlier; the romance, implied in upcoming relationship between Salika and the chef; the bible, found in the speech Salika gives to her audience in the last act.

My adaptation maintains these literary cues such as the conventions of the dystopian novel, a touch of romance implied in the chef's visit, as well as Salika's final speech found in the bible. In addition, the adaptation elaborates filmic expressions, as well as

literary expressions. For example, *The Wise* comprises two artistic styles which I name a solid and fluid dimension. The solid dimension offers cinematic world where the characters are living and this takes most parts of the animated film. The fluid dimension employs free-flow transitions in order to present imaginative expressions. This stylistic direction is used when the characters share their own thoughts and ideas. In the animated adaptation, many of textual elements in the original source will be discarded, for example: a few scenes of Salika's given speech; characters of Salika's father and his adopted son; a scene of rice field where Salika and the chef go picnicking.

In *The Wise*, there is a specific interpretation of the literary source which raises three keywords - knowledge, questions, power. Altogether, the words form a sentence – “knowledge questions power”. This is not only the key message of this animated film, but each word also represents each character. “Knowledge” stands for Salika or the Wise. “Questions” represents the chef who is also an underground protestor to the government's scheme. “Power” is a symbol of the totalitarian society in which the characters are living. Some of the interpretation has a strong connection to the source text, for example, the word “knowledge” has already been described Salika as shown in the original story:

“Her job is not teaching or giving any knowledge. She herself is knowledge - a visible and tangible knowledge” (Trivej, 2006, p.108).

However, some of the interpretation departs the animated film from its source text. For example, the key message - “knowledge questions power” – serves as a read-between-the-line message from the animated film to its audience. This also opens up possibilities to reread the source text. In summary, *The Wise* is still an on-going project which serves as a model to understand animated adaptation, and to know how the animator reworks the literary source in practice. Since this animated film is not yet complete, it opens to changes and possibilities of re-discussion with the source text as well as other cross references. However, even at this stage of the film's pre-production, the source texts have already been through a series of operations: the process of selection and elimination, addition, concretization. This surfaces the important issues for adaptation which Stam once marked – “what principle guides the process of selection, what is the drift of these changes and alterations? What principles orient the choices.” (Stam, 2005, p.34) These questions await answers and should be discussed further.

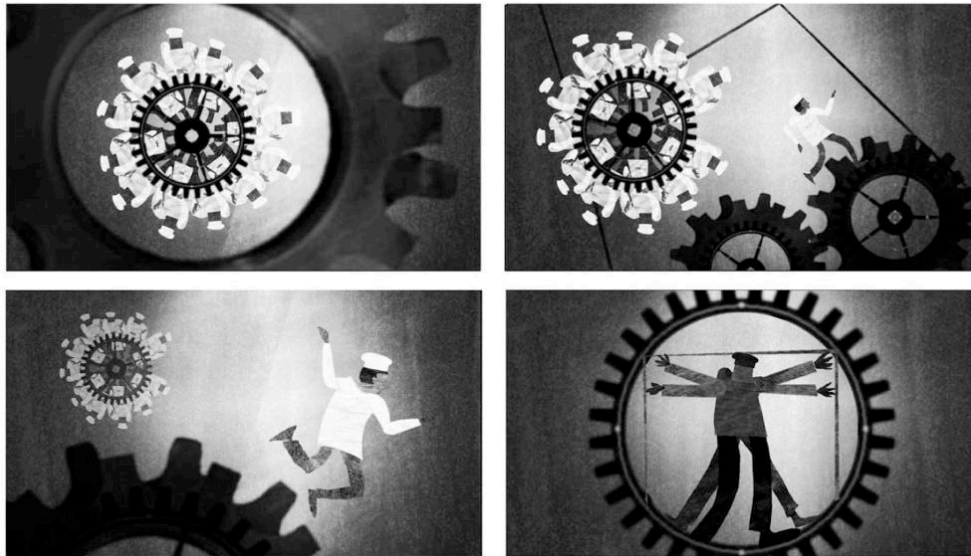


Figure 1: Storyboard from The Wise (Work-in-Progress, 2017).

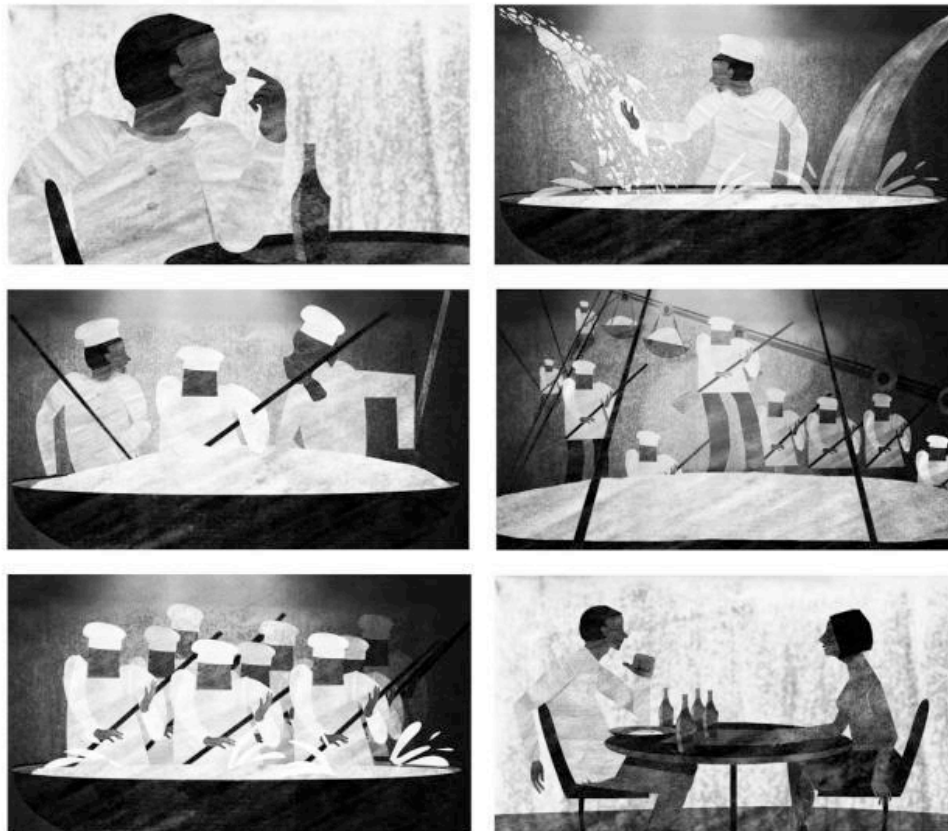


Figure 2: Storyboard from The Wise (Work-in-Progress, 2017).

## Conclusion

Animated adaptations from contemporary literature have constantly been produced internationally. Literature offers cultural values, ideas and perspectives of the time period. Therefore, animated adaptation from the contemporary literary work can reflect its present culture. Recently, according to the article *Filming begins on E4*

*thriller Kiss Me First* (2016), Lottie Moggach's psychological thriller book *Kiss Me First* has been adapted by Bryan Elsley for digital television channel E4. This series combines live action with Computer Generated virtual world sequence and it will be air in 2018. The adaptation reveals lives in social network. It tells the story of Leila, a lonely teenage girl who is addicted to a fictional online gaming site called Agora. Leila meets a friend named Tess in the game and they become friends in real life. However, Tess disappears and Leila is drawn into investigating her friend's disappearance. The adaptation maintains an idea from the original novel about virtual life and how teenagers live their 'other' lives in the online world. The content reminds its audience of the society in which they are now living. This is what contemporary literature can offer – a content in present time, as Graham Swift noted, "what's most current in our lives offered back to us in fictional guise" (Swift, 2011).

This paper thus encourages Thai animators to use contemporary literature as a source for animation. Adaptation is contextualized and used as an interpretative act of transposing medium from one to another. In this article, interrelationship between texts is emphasized while fidelity is reconsidered as an open relationship between the primary and the secondary text. Both of similarities and differences between the source and result are important for adaptation. The combination of fidelity and alterity<sup>1</sup> makes unique quality in adaptation. This article repositions adaptation and frees it from the hierarchical relations between the source text and the filmic result. In order to understand different approaches in animated adaptations, the examples of animated adaptations have been analyzed. The analysis also highlights filmic capacities which add specific quality to the adaptation. My own work-in-progress project, *The Wise*, is used as a case study of artistic correspondences between the literature and film.

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<sup>1</sup> The state of being other or different, diversity or otherness (Oxford English Dictionary, 2017).

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## *Changes of Japanese Female Characters in Chinese Films about WWII*

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### **Abstract**

World War II (WWII) is a significant topic for movie makers in China because of its unforgettable influence on Chinese history. The culture boom in China has served as a key driver of growth for the movies on World War II in recent years, however, studies on the role of females in the war are far from sufficient. This study summarizes movies on World War II created by Chinese directors, analyzes the images of Japanese females based on a chronological order, and discovers changes in the description of female characters in such movies. As a result, the analysis shows that more Japanese females are appearing in the movie works and the females' images are becoming much more enriched than previous. This implies that Chinese society has become more tolerant towards Japanese culture and the relaxing social and political mood in China has promoted the creation of such movie works. This study integrates the three factors -- WWII, China and females -- and functions as an addition to the previous study on WWII.

Keywords: Chinese films, WWII, Japanese Female Characters, social changes in China

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## Introduction

The film, as a product of the social process, is also an important device to reflect historical process. Every piece of art is an integration of society and culture; thus, it can be used as a source for historical study [1]. As argued by Marc Ferro, the film is not only “an agent and source of history”, but also reveals the interrelation between social changes and historical events. Thus, it is called the ‘spokesperson’ of history [2]. It plays a key role in awakening people’s mentality [3]. As a historical force or historical document, the film can affect people’s attitudes and behaviors in modern society [4]. The film tells about people’s past life. It has been widely accepted that films have the power to mobilize public opinion [5].

Even nowadays, World War II still exerts a great impact on people [6]. The sheer scale of World War II stories has always been a great source of inspiration for filmmakers [7]. In fact, the film world always has anything more to say on this topic. Since the World War II ended in 1945, many films about this the war have been made. However, screenwriters and directors constantly find new ways to tell the story.

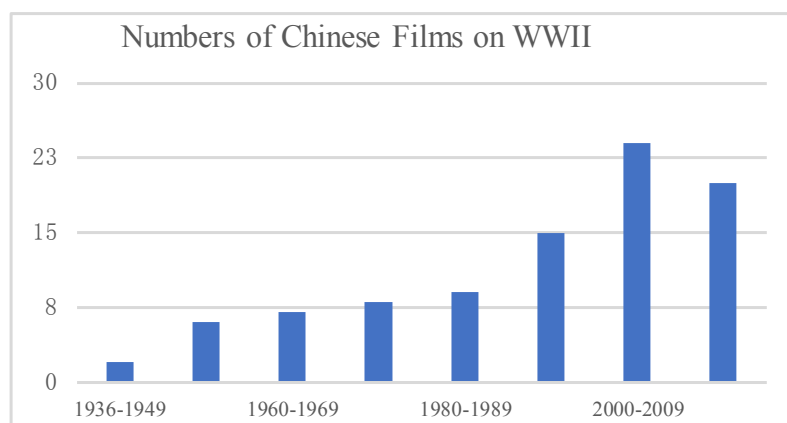
During the World War II, China’s confrontation with Japan in mainland China is one of the most famous battles, which is also called The Second Sino-Japanese War (July 7, 1937 - September 9, 1945). It is an unforgettable part of Chinese history and explains why WWII has become one of the most popular themes for film and TV drama creation in China. Chinese people are very eager to learn about the Sino-Japanese War and improve their understanding about this important historical concept through such artworks [8].

When it comes to war, male soldiers are the first image people tend to discuss. In fact, women also participate in the whole process and play an important role in the war. As men fight on battlefields, women are the major social power to maintain the normal life of the society. Many reports also address that it was the female labors who supported industries during the wartime. Females sacrifice the same as males during the war. Hence, their contribution should not be ignored. Females appear in films and TV dramas about World War II, but very few studies have ever focused on the role of Japanese female characters. The analysis of Japanese female characters in Chinese films on WWII will be a breakthrough to the field of film critics. It will also show the post-war changes in Chinese people’s cognition towards Japan and Japanese people.

**Table 1: Films about the World War II**  
 (Data Source: Based on Google and Baidu. Keywords: Film, WWII)

FILM	U.S. A	CHINA	JAPAN	UK	TOTAL
1936-1949	176	2	49	38	264
1950-1959	89	6	10	47	148
1960-1969	67	7	9	27	106
1970-1979	21	8	9	16	50
1980-1989	23	9	10	12	52
1990-1999	25	15	8	12	60
2000-2009	43	24	11	34	115
2010-2015	16	20	4	6	43
TOTAL	460	91	110	192	

Table 1 shows that many films and TV drama works related to World War II have been made in the United States, Britain, China, and Japan. U.S.A has the largest number of such films at the early stage. However, the number of films reduced in recent years. On the contrary, China’s films and TV works were much less at the early stages. But the number began to increase from 1990. This again suggests that Chinese movies about WWII have become more and more popular with Chinese audience.



**Figure 1: Numbers of Chinese Films on WWII**

This point is also addressed in (Fig. 1). The economic growth promoted the creation of Chinese films on WWII around 1990s. And the explosive growth from 2000 can be attributed to the fast spreading of multimedia and internet. It has been reported that although the film industry in China has been significantly affected by the sudden growth of TV dramas on WWII, the number of such movies has been growing, and their quality is much better than TV dramas.

## **Previous Study**

### ***A. Films about WWII***

Current studies of World War II film have focused on some very specific points related to this topic. Most of the studies about films on WWII discuss the relationship between films and history from a macro perspective, such as the influence of WWII on human society. They also investigate the relation between the film styles and WWII combat genres, as well as the historical and social change in those films. Many of such studies focus on the images of soldiers and heroes, and most of them are males.

Since the WWII, Japanese characters in Chinese films have been portrayed as “Devils”. To a great extent, it is the result of the propaganda in China about Japanese people. In fact, the Japanese images in Chinese films are affected by political and historical background as well as other factors. After the relationship between China and Japan began to improve, some new changes have been brought about to those screen images of Japanese [9]. With the prosperity of popular culture in China, Japanese images in Chinese films become more diverse. In fact, this diversity most directly reflects the Chinese people’s attitude towards Japan and Japanese people [10].

### ***B. Women in the War***

As far as the authors are concerned, very few studies have ever taken women as their research objects related to film critics. The three most remarkable studies include: (1) the women pilots in the WWII, (2) prostitute’s image in the WWII films, (3) the female agency during WWII in Hollywood [11]. There are very few reports on the changes of presentation skills and approaches for female characters in films about WWII. We intend to make this preliminary study to combine the three important factors – Chinese films, WWII and Japanese females – together and make a new attempt to examine changes of Chinese people in both film creation and social attitudes towards their past fighting partner during the war.

US researchers have conducted analyses on the role of women in the war from the perspective of military service and female labors. The surge in the employment rate of women functions as an important symbol of the improvement of women’s social status and roles at that time [12]. Women made an indelible contribution to America’s victory in World War II [13]. During World War II, many women continued to their involvement in society and started their new career after leaving the army. Because of their outstanding performance, US women obtain more and more recognition and support after WWII.

Generally speaking, most of researches on Japanese women are concerned about their social status within the country. Many of them discuss changes in their educational backgrounds and their role as workers in society [14]. This study serves as a good addition to gender study about Japanese females.

### C. Characterization

It is a very controversial issue as what point of views should be valued when researchers analyze a character image in films. Personally speaking, it is of great necessity to understand how an author creates a character and what he/she would like to present to the audience most. At current stage, there are still few researches on how to analyze film characters from a systematic perspective since the evaluation framework is far from being well established. This paper aims to build an analytical approach for film character images and make more exploration on this topic from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives.

They are developed by actions, speech, appearance, and the interaction between each other. Moreover, the actors/actresses' and directors' preoccupations, sense of values, lifestyles, preference, fears, aspirations as well as dreams have a strong impact on the characteristics of their roles. In most cases, the descriptions regarding a character are indirect and incomplete. Audience need to learn about the characters from the atmosphere and the environment. As remarked by Jenny Watson [15], the change in characterization is the key to understanding the plot of a film.

According to Trish Turner, there are eight methods of characterization which are generally used in films: physical description, name analysis, attitude and appearance, dialogue, thoughts, the reaction of others, action or incident, physical and emotional setting. As storytellers, actors/actresses "tell the story" through their characterization. It is of primary significance to create new elements out of the characterization of films [16]. WWII is an old topic for the world, needless to say China.

Many scholars have devoted to the analysis of the character images in these works and endeavored to discover more as the unique features. Although character analyses have been conducted as a major research approach, most of the researchers have established their arguments by using one specific method in their analysis, such as speech or personality changes [17]. In this study, the authors propose that critics on character images should focus on their group features. This proposed method integrates various elements in character creation and offers a more considerate perspective for the examination of the character images. Fig. 2 below shows the analytical method the authors use in this study.

Quantitative Perspective	Qualitative Perspectives
Number of characters of a specific identity group	a. Identity b. Positive and negative identity c. Storyline (Have/Haven't) d. Change of appearance (Clothes & Accessories) e. Changes in lines

Figure 2: Analytical Method

## **Methodology**

This paper analyzes Chinese films on WWII, which have been created since the foundation of People's Republic of China. Japanese female roles are the research target. Their appearance, occupation, background, action, speech and the interaction they have with the surrounding people are explored in detail. The authors observed all Japanese female roles in these films and intended to discover identical features of this group character. This study argues that the changes in Japanese female images in Chinese films on WWII embody the constant demand for objectivity in Chinese audience's cognition about Japan.

### ***A. Comparison with male roles***

According to Fig. 2, the number of characters is listed as the only method for quantitative study. It refers to the number of Japanese female characters appearing in each film. We believe that quantitative analysis should also be used for critical study on group characters. Although this is not a serious statistical method, it requires long-time of hard working. By adding this to the evaluation system, this study demonstrates one item in numerical form at the least. In order to make our explanation more convincing, we use the number of the Japanese male characters as a contrast.

As to the qualitative perspectives, identity lists on the top. It refers to the occupations of the Japanese female characters in the movie stories. Positive and negative identity denotes whether the identifications of the female roles in the movie ties are acceptable to general audience based on the Chinese sense of value. Thus, the positive characters are defined such as victims, wives, and mothers, while spies, military officers, lovers and prostitutes are considered negative. Some of characters don't belong to any of these two groups, such as ordinary people, waitresses, dancing girls, and passers-by. They are called the "Unbiased" group.

Independent storyline refers to the strength and impact of the role on the whole story. If the female role exerts a propelling effect on the story development, an independent storyline about her is recognized in this study. For example, if a waitress appears at the background of a shot, she is classified as a no-storyline character. However, if a female spy, an officer's wife, gets involved in the murder and promotes the development of the plot of the scene, she is labeled as a character with "independent storyline".

Change of appearance refers to the changes of costume, hairstyle and accessories. For the case of Japanese female characters, changes in their clothes between Kimono and suits are notable. Change in lines refers to the speaking chances of the female roles and the language they use.

### ***B. Two stages***

The history of China can be divided into two stages since its foundation in 1949. During the time 1949-1976, the government put a very strong emphasis on strengthening the power of Communist Party. Enhancement of its regime had the superior priority in people's daily life within the country, and all entertainments and

cultural activities were supposed to serve these political purposes. All artworks, including films, are supposed to create to fulfill the political purpose.

The most noticeable happening during that period of time in China is the well-known Cultural Revolution. It lasted for about ten years, 1966-1976. All films at that time must serve political purposes. Free creation of artworks was totally forbidden, and many artists were tortured and imprisoned.

At the early 1970s, the political situation in China became much more relaxing. The Cultural Revolution came to an end in 1976, and China started its economic reform and opening-up in 1978. With the booming of China's economic power, cultural activities and entertainment have realized great progress. There is one decisive historical happening, which has contributed enormously to the progress in the production of Chinese films on WWII -- the normalization of the diplomatic relation between China and Japan in 1972. For twenty-seven years, there were basically no official exchanges between these two countries. Chinese people are more willing to know about the truth related to this significant historical happening, and they also started to observe their past enemy country from a more humane and natural perspective.

This study selected those popular Chinese films on WWII from Baidu and investigates the changes of Japanese female characters in chronological order.

## **Discussion**

### ***A. Before Chinese economic reform and opening-up***

#### ***1949-1959***

This is the period right after the foundation of China. As explained above, the focus of the daily life for the whole country was to struggle with the power from opposition political parties. Films were employed as a tool for political propaganda. In the 1950s, there are six films about WWII where Japanese images appear in the scenes. All of topics are about the Sino-Japanese war and all of them are black and white. There are no Japanese female images in these films at all, not even a single. Moreover, the images of Japanese male characters are all soldiers or military officers. They are labeled as a special group, cruel and vicious, speaking Chinese with a strong Japanese accent. All Japanese male characters wear the army costumes and carry a samurai sword. Their outstanding mustache helps them to be recognized easily in any scene. In the film called "Guerrillas on the Plain" (1955), the Japanese officer characters show up in a film for the first time. The officer named Matsui likes to play an instrument. Compared with the previous films, this description has enriched the character and made a more full and round portrait for the audience.

Although there are no Japanese female images in these movies around that time, there are many Chinese female images. All of these Chinese female characters are described as kind, hardworking, loving and caring. Although they don't seem to have receive any education, but always take very good care of the male soldiers when they are in trouble and even protect them like their own sisters and mothers. In 1957, China made a film called "The Letter with Feathers" which takes children as the

heroes for the first time. This, again, intensifies the ignorance of Japanese female characters in these movies.

### ***1960-1969***

In the 1960s, five films on WWII are available and all the images of the Japanese characters are also only males. However, for the first time, in Chinese films, a Japanese male character wears other clothes rather than the determined military uniform. In the film “Struggles in an Ancient City” (1963), a Japanese officer wears a kimono. Moreover, a Japanese officer in these films speak Japanese, rather than Chinese with the strange accent. These small changes reflect the attempts of Chinese artists to present Japanese characters in a way closer to their natural being.

In the film “An Express Train” (1965), a Japanese officer Onokazu is very competent in sinology. He even shows excellent skills in Chinese calligraphy. This is the only film in the 1960s which shows different aspects of the Japanese characters rather than being cruel and vicious alone.

In 1963, Chinese female medic image firstly appeared in “Zhang Ga the Soldier Boy”. In 1965, a Chinese female character is the leader of the army in “The Tunnel Warfare”. Since then, Chinese female characters in films are no longer confined to the concept of ordinary villagers.

### ***1970-1979***

From 1970 to 1979, there are no female Japanese characters in Chinese films at all. The Cultural Revolution exerted far-reaching impacts on the education, science and cultural development in the country. There were almost no literature or documents which were newly created during that period of time. Film production is also blank, except for a cartoon entitled “The Little Hero in Ludang”. After the Cultural Revolution, it took China quite some years to resume its framework for education and cultural development in the whole country. Since most of the Cultural heritages were discarded or destroyed, many of the artists had to rebuild their career from scratch. Substantial support from the country was not possible before the national economy was recovered.



## A. After Chinese economic reform and opening-up

### 1980-1989

Table 2: Chinese Films about WWII in 1980s

Time	Title	Number of characters (female/male)	Identity	Positive/Negative	Story-line	Appearance	Lines
1984	One and Eight	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1985	Yellow Earth	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1986	Great Shanghai 1937	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1986	Battle of Taierzhuang	0/2	\	\	\	\	\
1987	Red Sorghum	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1987	Massacre in Nanjing	1/4	Geisha	\	No	Kimono	Chinese
1989	Female Ranger	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1989	The BoSe Uprising	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
Total number of female characters				1			
Average of female characters				0.125			

As shown in Table 2, in the 1980s, eight effective resources are found as films on WWII. In the film “Massacre in Nanjing”, Japanese female images appear for the first time. Although the number of Japanese characters is few, films tend to put a stress on the importance of the Japanese male roles. For example, Sasaki in “Great Shanghai” (1937) finally makes a duel with the protagonist. This scene indicates that Sasaki has certain quality of a hero judged by the Chinese moral value. Apart from the Japanese military officers, Japanese characters started to play various roles, such as the Japanese reporter in “Massacre in Nanjing”. Overall, this period becomes a transitional period and more challenges are shown in Chinese films to present audience with more convincing Japanese character images.

**1990-1999**

Table 3: Chinese Films about WWII in 1990s

Time	Title	Number of characters (female/ male)	Identity	Positive/ Negative	Story- line	Appear- ance	Lines
1990	The Meridian of War	0/soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1990	International Rescue	1/2	spy	negative	With	Kimono	Chinese
1991	Steel Meets Fire	0/1	\	\	\	\	\
1992	Lost Hero	1/1	waitress	unbiased	Without	Kimono	No line
1992	SanMao Joins the Army	1/ soldiers	passerby	unbiased	Without	Kimono	No line
1994	Tie xue Kunlun Guan	0/4	\	\	\	\	\
1995	Qiao Ben Miao Tao	0/1	\	\	\	\	\
1995	The Sorrow of Brook Steppe	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1995	Victory	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
1995	The Flying Tigers	3/2	Geisha	unbiased	Without	Kimono	No line
1995	The Lu Gou Qiao Incident	1/4	waitress	unbiased	Without	Kimono	No line
1995	Armed Villagers in Fighting Regions	0/1	\	\	\	\	\
1996	Bai Ma Fei Fei	0/1	\	\	\	\	\
1999	Grief Over the Yellow River	0/ soldiers	\	\	\	\	\
Total number of female characters		7					
Average of female characters		0.5					

In the 1990s (Table 3), Japan's female images begin to increase remarkably in films about WWII. Although some of the female characters, such as dancing performers or waitresses may not have an independent storyline, their frequent appearance shows that Chinese films begin to pay attention to Japanese female characters. At the same time, Japanese male roles have also come out of its past molding images and tend to be described as a normal figure. In all, the Japanese images became more enriched and natural. The stories also start to tell about the contradiction among various Japanese characters. They are being created through various scenes. As a result, more vivid aspects of a human kind are presented. Japanese male characters include reporters, music teachers, spies and so on. They get involved in independent story lines and no longer exist only as background information only. However, all of these characters are negative images. They wear uniforms, kimono, and suits. In the films "The Flying Tigers", "The Lu Gou Qiao Incident", and "Lost Hero", Japanese female characters appear in kimono. They are just service staff (e.g. geisha and waitresses) without independent story lines. In the film "International Rescue", Japanese girl Nami is a spy who hides herself in the folk.

**2000-2016**

Table 4: Chinese Films about WWII in 21st century

Time	Title	Number of characters (female/male)	Identity	Positive/ Negative	Story line	Appearance	Lines
2000	<i>Devils on the Doorstep</i>	6/3	Geisha	unbiased	Without	Kimono	\
2001	<i>Purple Sunset</i>	1/1	a prisoner of war	positive	With	Kimono/ School uniform	Japanese Chinese
2002	<i>Gada Meilin</i>	0/1	\	\	\	\	\
2005	<i>Qixia Temple</i>	0/4	\	\	\	\	\
2009	<i>The Sorrowful Soul of Tengchong</i>	1/3	Chinese man's wife	positive	Without	Cheongsam	Japanese
2009	<i>The Message</i>	1/3	Waitress	negative	Without	Kimono	Japanese
2009	<i>City of Life and Death</i>	1/2	Comfort woman	unbiased	Without	Kimono	Japanese
2010	<i>Taste of Spring</i>	1/1	Japanese business-man's wife	unbiased	Without	Kimono/ Casual clothes	Japanese
2011	<i>The Flowers of War</i>	0/3	\	\	\	\	\
2012	<i>Back to 1942</i>	0/3	\	\	\	\	\
2014	<i>The Land is So Rich in Beauty</i>	2/1	Hero's wife	positive	With	Kimono/ Casual clothes	Japanese Chinese
2016	<i>Wang Mao</i>	0/1	\	\	\	\	\
2016	<i>Railroad Tigers</i>	1/3	Officer	negative	With	Uniform	Japanese
2016	<i>The Wasted Times</i>	1/3	Spy's wife	positive	With	Cheongsam/ Kimono	Japanese Chinese
Total number of female characters		15					
Average of female characters		1.07					

Compared to the 1990s, the first ten years of the 21st century did not show great breakthrough in the story contents and characterization in Chinese films on WWII (Table 4). Nearly all of the Chinese films around that time didn't draw the attention of the audience and failed to gain reputation as much as those foreign films. As explained above, Chinese people started to travel abroad much more than before in the recent two decades. They have had more chances to experience foreign culture and are anxious to know more. The short stay abroad can't meet their needs so foreign films and drams offer them more information.

Around that time, "Nanjing! Nanjing!" was an exception among the national films on WWII. It is considered to be the most compelling and moving film on this topic. Besides the striking scenes, this film also makes a breakthrough in shaping the images of Japanese male soldiers. As invaders of Nanjing City, they have the right to enjoy their normal life without being much bothered. The unique point of "Nanjing! Nanjing!" lies in its storyline. The director Lu Chan didn't follow the routine way to construct the story. The film establishes its plotline based on the experience of a Japanese soldier named Kadokawa. The director aims to examine and judge the war from the perspective of an occupier. At the end of the film, Kadokawa eventually makes his choice: he sends two Chinese survivors out of Nanjing City and then shots himself. The director reveals the true good quality of a human nature. There is no exception even with a massacre. The Kadokawa image has thrown lights on Japanese characters and set off a heated discussion about characterization. Undoubtedly, this film has broken the traditional screen images of the audience about Japanese

characters. Since then, a trend in pursuing more humane qualities has become the mainstream for film production in mainland China.

### **Conclusion**

This study summarizes changes of Japanese female characters in Chinese films on WWII. It clarifies that these changes are strongly related to the social changes in China. As China becomes stronger in economy, people have more chances to learn about Japan through their personal experience. Thus, the description of Japanese characters in such films become more and more abundant. The films no longer vilify and exaggerate the cruelty of Japanese characters images, and more female characters are given an independent storyline. What is more, Japanese characters tend to speak in a normal tone and stance. More natural conversations are adopted in films. In some films, the importance of Japanese female roles is even highlighted.

The above changes reveal the changes in Chinese people's attitude and point of view about the war and Japanese people. These two factors interact and demonstrate reciprocity in the developing process of a society. The authors noticed the increasing popularity of Japanese culture with Chinese young generation. Japanese cognition has become more and more acceptable in China. Although there still exists dispute regarding historical and political issues, the influence of WWII is receding, and Chinese society has become more and more willing to accept the concept of current Japan as what it is. The openness and tolerance of such social changes are sufficiently embodying through those changes in Japanese characters in films. Chinese artists are making efforts to get rid of those stereotyped features of the Japanese characters in Chinese audience and to formulate more objectivity in their presentation and description of such characters. More focus is put on individuality of Japanese characters, rather than label them as an evil group. There is still limitation in the cognition of Chinese films about Japanese characters, but at the least, portraying the characters more as a normal human being has replaced the old stereotyped expression skills. With the enriching of Japanese characters on film screens, China will build a more open and relaxing society. The progressing of the social atmosphere will bright about more tolerance and acceptance towards Japanese country and its culture.

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## *China Daily's Western Type Framing of the Egyptian Arab Spring*

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### **Abstract**

Existing research has mainly focused on the role of the media in the uprisings against the regimes of the countries that were affected by the Arab Spring. However, we do not have a lot of information about the way of coverage that was conducted by well-known media organizations, especially for the online English news of Chinese news companies, which are believed to play a more vital role in the global agenda setting due to the extraordinary economic growth and active diplomacy of China that has transformed East Asia. This study examines the frames of a sample of 92 articles (the content of the videos of the examined articles was omitted) about the Egyptian Arab Spring and the resignation of the President Hosni Mubarak in the English-language websites of Al Jazeera English, British Broadcasting Corporation, and China Daily from 9 to 13 February 2011. For the extraction of the frames of each article, this study uses the free online version of Open Calais. The main finding is that China Daily's coverage differs from the previous researches on news coverage, as it is acting like a western-type news outlet.

Keywords: AJE, Arab Spring, China Daily, BBC, Egypt, News organizations, Framing

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## Introduction

Mass media role in providing frames and dominant interpretations to the audience is critical. Facts in journalism should be placed in a context in order to put emphasis on a specific angle or frame that could provide a “central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 143). According to Entman (1993, p. 52) “Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. Moreover, there is a constant communication between social movements, journalists and the prominent media. Those interactions and the provided frames are evident in the content of news. There is also frame setting, which focuses more on the individuals’ prior knowledge and predispositions and the influence that is caused by his communication with the media’s frame. This is one of the reasons why media framing can affect society and change attitudes and behaviours of each individual, leading to alteration of decision-making and political socialization (De Vreese, 2005). Media websites are evolving and expanding their services in order to attract more audience and influence the public (Antonopoulos, Veglis & Emmanouloudis, 2016; Antonopoulos, Veglis, Gardikiotis, Kotsakis & Kalliris, 2015; Antonopoulos & Veglis, 2013).

The Egyptian Arab Spring was a revolution for a more modernized country. Digital media organizations, such as Al Jazeera, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and China Daily covered this incident in their way because of the restrictions applied by the Egyptian state. The agendas and the different perspectives of the media revealed that there is no dominant narrative for the events that took place in that particular time in the Arab world.

In this context, it is important to examine also the impact of Chinese news organizations. Their importance has grown together with the extraordinary economic growth and active diplomacy of China that has transformed East Asia alongside with the will of the Chinese government to transform the domestic media into first-class international media outlets (Kenichi, 2011). The government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) thinks that this kind of expansion can provide the tools for spreading its messages around the globe. In July 2009, the most important television network in the country, China Central Television (CCTV), launched an Arabic channel that was followed in September by a Russian one. Furthermore, other Chinese media were trying to create new bureaus in abroad to gather more international news stories and inform better even their foreign audience. Another example of this process is the China Radio International (CRI), which founded in 1941. CRI's programme is available in 49 foreign languages. Its broadcasts are also available online and can be heard in all those languages, including six more languages (Ukrainian, Belarusian, Greek, Dutch, Icelandic, and Norwegian) that were added in 2009 and are exclusively provided via the Internet (Kenichi, 2011).

Online news organizations decided to frame according to their agenda the Egyptian Arab Spring and the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak. Based on the above, this study focuses on the English-language Al Jazeera, BBC, and China Daily websites



searching for useful input in relation to the ways the web media outlets can shape public opinion.

### **Literature Review**

During the Arab Spring, the English service of Al Jazeera achieved to 'mimic' CNN via creating its own 'effect'. Al Jazeera English (AJE) paved the way for the internalization of the movement. It brought harsh criticism to the Arab regimes and achieved to reform the movement. Moreover, its coverage attracted the interest of the American public, in spite of the fact that in the past the Americans had strongly opposed the news network. Tony Burman, Al Jazeera English's chief strategic adviser noted that the effect and the value of the Arab network are obvious, even to the eyes of the US government (Youmans, 2012, p. 63). Lastly, Howard and Hussain (2013, p. 99) contribute to this notion by saying that "it is Al Jazeera English that played a significant role in amplifying the distributed and diverse voices of the Arab Spring. Over the past several years, Al Jazeera English has grown rapidly in importance for mediating both transregional and international politics".

BBC also played an important role in the coverage of the Arab Spring. Specifically, in the case of Egypt, new technologies and social media networking contributed to the immediate and successful spread of the uprisings. Those that possessed mobile phones, which could be connected to the web and to immortalize the events, could report through Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. It was observed that less than 15% of the demonstrators had a smartphone (Duffy, 2011). However, they used their smartphones with great wisdom. Protesters had occupied Tahrir Square for 18 days until President Hosni Mubarak decided to resign. During all these days, there was a plethora of photo material and videos from the Square. This material was often being shared by well-known news organizations, including Al Jazeera and BBC, due to the limitations that had been applied by the Egyptian regime. There was no other way for keeping updated the public. For this reason, accounts of citizens in social media, who uploaded material of the demonstrations, gained many followers. Amongst their new followers were even professional journalists (Duffy, 2011).

As far as Arab Spring is concerned, China approached the uprisings in a rational way. It was involved to secure the life of its citizens and its interests in North Africa. In Libya there were 38,000 Chinese citizens along with a network of financial agreements that costs around \$18.8 billion. In Egypt, there were living 1,800 Chinese and 300 Taiwanese that needed to be saved. Parello-Plesner and Pantucci (2011) argue that the coverage of the Chinese media organizations was focused almost exclusively on the attempts of helping the PRC's citizens, but there were also some liberal media organizations like Caixin that published articles about democracy and social change.

As it is known, agencies such as Agence France-Presse (AFP), Associated Press (AP), and Reuters are providing news stories not only on a daily basis, but also all day long. Media companies tend to rely on their content. In 2016, Sharadga proved that news outlets could form the dialogue about politics. In the case of the Arab Spring, according to Galal & Spielhaus (2012), media companies played the role of news providers and participated in the uprisings by sharing information and explanations with their point of view.

In 2014 Bruce examined the Arab Spring and proved the arguments of Benson & Hallin in 2007, which state that in times of turmoil the western media outlets tend to rely more on the political authorities (western-type).

## Methodology

This study examines the frames of a sample of 92 articles (the content of the videos of the examined articles was omitted) about the Egyptian Arab Spring and the resignation of the President Hosni Mubarak in the English-language websites of Al Jazeera English, British Broadcasting Corporation, and China Daily from 9 to 13 February 2011. For the extraction of the frames of each article, this study uses the free online version of Open Calais (<http://www.opencalais.com>). Gangemi (2013) states that Knowledge Extraction (KE) tool, Open Calais, can detect the frames of a story and extract named entities with sense tags, facts, and events.

The sample was from 9 to 13 February 2011. The date February 9, 2011 was chosen because it resembles the peaking time of the uprisings that would lead to the Mubarak's fall. The date February 13, 2011 was chosen as the ending date because it was the second day after the resignation of the President of Egypt. Articles for this study were taken from the Google search engine for BBC and Al Jazeera website. As far as for China Daily the search was conducted from its own website search form. The articles were located by using separately the keywords "Egypt" and "Hosni Mubarak". All the English-language articles were read and included in the research as long as there was content, which was linked with the Egyptian Arab Spring. Open Calais located the dominant frames of the articles of the study in order to find if there is a western-type news media framing on the coverage of China Daily.

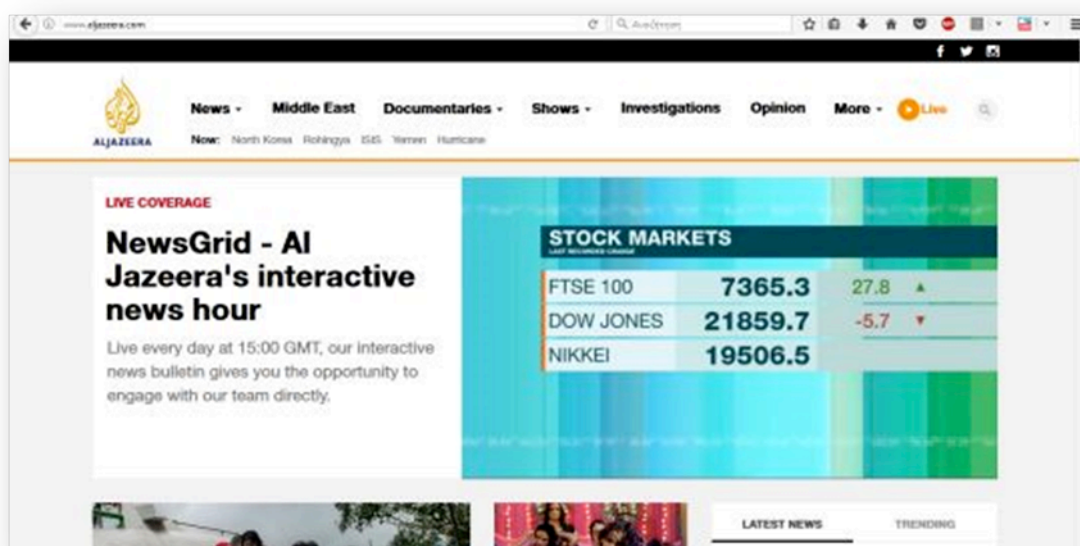


Figure 1: aljazeera.com website.

Table 1. The examined articles of Al Jazeera English

<i>Al Jazeera English</i>		
<b>Title of the article</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>URL</b>
Q&A: Syrian activist Suhair Atassi	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2lROGsD">http://bit.ly/2lROGsD</a>
Who's afraid of the Muslim Brothers	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uhThZE">http://bit.ly/2uhThZE</a>
Syria: 'A kingdom of silence'	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/1op4leB">http://bit.ly/1op4leB</a>
Egypt: Seeds of change	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uZQotP">http://bit.ly/2uZQotP</a>
Egyptian army 'torturing' prisoners	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uhA5uJ">http://bit.ly/2uhA5uJ</a>
The youth of Tahrir Square	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2v0qDtw">http://bit.ly/2v0qDtw</a>
The tool for revolution?	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tnCxbv">http://bit.ly/2tnCxbv</a>
The poverty of dictatorship	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tnDGmI">http://bit.ly/2tnDGmI</a>
Algeria moves to stave off unrest	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2sYYzW3">http://bit.ly/2sYYzW3</a>
Hosni Mubarak resigns as president	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2sYB2Ev">http://bit.ly/2sYB2Ev</a>
The resurrection of pan-Arabism	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2sYWPM9">http://bit.ly/2sYWPM9</a>
Mubarak's failed last stand	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2ureZKT">http://bit.ly/2ureZKT</a>
Egypt: An idea whose time has come	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2umUkH2">http://bit.ly/2umUkH2</a>
Profile: Hosni Mubarak	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2ui3Agc">http://bit.ly/2ui3Agc</a>
Watch: Mubarak's speech	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2sYzIHm">http://bit.ly/2sYzIHm</a>
Statement of Egyptian armed forces	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tRhXk3">http://bit.ly/2tRhXk3</a>
Bahrain doles out money to families	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2fZvDcW">http://bit.ly/2fZvDcW</a>
Triumph as Mubarak quits	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tU6Pri">http://bit.ly/2tU6Pri</a>
Egypt's military leadership	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2vl0chu">http://bit.ly/2vl0chu</a>
The rise and fall of Hosni Mubarak	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tnebBX">http://bit.ly/2tnebBX</a>
To Mohammad El-Sayed Said	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tTmBYF">http://bit.ly/2tTmBYF</a>
Egypt through Iran's 1979 lens	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tn6KL8">http://bit.ly/2tn6KL8</a>
Algeria protesters push for change	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2urhFsi">http://bit.ly/2urhFsi</a>
Iran opposition planning protests	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2vleTJ3">http://bit.ly/2vleTJ3</a>



Figure 2: bbc.com website.

Table 2. The examined articles of BBC

<i>BBC</i>		
<b>Title of the article</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>URL</b>
Internet role in Egypt's protests	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tRd0OG">http://bbc.in/2tRd0OG</a>
Profile: Egypt's Wael Ghonim	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/1FdivZx">http://bbc.in/1FdivZx</a>
Lone tourists make most of empty Egypt resort	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2umGSTR">http://bbc.in/2umGSTR</a>
In pictures: Egypt restores damaged treasures	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2urgn0g">http://bbc.in/2urgn0g</a>
In pictures: Egypt protests	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tnakER">http://bbc.in/2tnakER</a>
Egypt's Muslims and Christians join hands in protest	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2sYJvHE">http://bbc.in/2sYJvHE</a>
In pictures: Hopes dashed in Egypt	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2uqUZrZ">http://bbc.in/2uqUZrZ</a>
Egypt unrest: Full text of Hosni Mubarak's speech	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2sYtEsV">http://bbc.in/2sYtEsV</a>
Iran jamming BBC Persian Television	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tTvPiA">http://bbc.in/2tTvPiA</a>
Egypt crisis: Premature celebrations on Mubarak speech	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2v03Cqu">http://bbc.in/2v03Cqu</a>
Egypt unrest	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2uhFRwA">http://bbc.in/2uhFRwA</a>
Q&A: Egyptian protests against Hosni Mubarak	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2uhC3LV">http://bbc.in/2uhC3LV</a>
Egypt's revolution: Interactive map	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2taZs1C">http://bbc.in/2taZs1C</a>
Eighteen days that shook the world	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tQVtGb">http://bbc.in/2tQVtGb</a>
Did social media create Egypt's revolution?	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tTsqk0">http://bbc.in/2tTsqk0</a>
Moez Masoud: 'Pharaoh has let his people go'	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2uhB1zg">http://bbc.in/2uhB1zg</a>
Syria opens up to social networks	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2sYVZis">http://bbc.in/2sYVZis</a>
In pictures: Mubarak's presidency	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2uhCl5t">http://bbc.in/2uhCl5t</a>
In pictures: Tahrir Square clean-up begins	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2sYPJHv">http://bbc.in/2sYPJHv</a>
Egypt crisis: President Hosni Mubarak resigns as leader	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/1SYaZov">http://bbc.in/1SYaZov</a>
In pictures: Victory for Egypt's protesters	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2uhUqjP">http://bbc.in/2uhUqjP</a>
Hosni Mubarak resigns: World reaction	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2uZY1QV">http://bbc.in/2uZY1QV</a>
Egypt after Mubarak: A clean start	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2vkDMwD">http://bbc.in/2vkDMwD</a>
Demonstrators clean-up Egypt's streets	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tn6605">http://bbc.in/2tn6605</a>
Egyptian Museum: Cairo's looted treasure	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tb4yee">http://bbc.in/2tb4yee</a>
Hugh Sykes with his camera in Tahrir Square	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tReCrI">http://bbc.in/2tReCrI</a>
Ahdaf Soueif: Protesters reclaim the spirit of Egypt	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2tn8J1K">http://bbc.in/2tn8J1K</a>

Egypt's economy gets back on track	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2v1cExs">http://bbc.in/2v1cExs</a>
Egypt elections: Ambassador's assessment	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bbc.in/2v195HG">http://bbc.in/2v195HG</a>



Figure 3: chinadaily.com.cn website.

Table 3. The examined articles of China Daily

<i>China Daily</i>		
<b>Title of the article</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>URL</b>
Egypt 'has power transfer plan'	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2ui8SIp">http://bit.ly/2ui8SIp</a>
Egyptian govt to move forward with reforms	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tnrmTx">http://bit.ly/2tnrmTx</a>
US demands immediate end to Egypt's emergency law	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uhDcTE">http://bit.ly/2uhDcTE</a>
Al-Qaida in Iraq urges people to wage Jihad in Egypt	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2v0krSb">http://bit.ly/2v0krSb</a>
UN chief calls for 'order' in Egypt	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2vlnR13">http://bit.ly/2vlnR13</a>
IN BRIEF (Page 22)	9 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2urvVRx">http://bit.ly/2urvVRx</a>
Al-Qaida in Iraq urges Egyptian holy war	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2un7Drj">http://bit.ly/2un7Drj</a>
China supports Egypt's efforts to keep stability	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tnBhIQ">http://bit.ly/2tnBhIQ</a>
Obama urges 'immediate, orderly' transition in Egypt	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tbawM9">http://bit.ly/2tbawM9</a>
King warned Obama Saudi could fund Egypt	10 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tRyU4v">http://bit.ly/2tRyU4v</a>
Egypt unrest reminds investors of geopolitical risks	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2sYYPEu">http://bit.ly/2sYYPEu</a>
Mubarak hands over power to VP	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2v0uBCi">http://bit.ly/2v0uBCi</a>
PM says Mubarak may step down soon: BBC	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tRH4d0">http://bit.ly/2tRH4d0</a>

Mubarak transfers power to VP	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tS1GBX">http://bit.ly/2tS1GBX</a>
Minister: Israel must move ahead toward peace	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2vIDmpW">http://bit.ly/2vIDmpW</a>
Chinese FM: Leave internal affairs to Egyptians	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2sYMCjb">http://bit.ly/2sYMCjb</a>
EU presses Mubarak to open way to faster, deeper reforms	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2v0lWzN">http://bit.ly/2v0lWzN</a>
Obama calls for credible path in Egypt toward democracy	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uiawtR">http://bit.ly/2uiawtR</a>
Egypt's military to announce important statement	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tTV8Rt">http://bit.ly/2tTV8Rt</a>
Sarkozy woos popular support for reforms at home	11 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uhV2WI">http://bit.ly/2uhV2WI</a>
Uncertainty clouds jubilation in Egypt	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tbuK8O">http://bit.ly/2tbuK8O</a>
Protests end Mubarak's reign	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uiaz8J">http://bit.ly/2uiaz8J</a>
Arab League chief hails Egyptian revolution	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2sZtmls">http://bit.ly/2sZtmls</a>
Egypt to respect international treaties - army	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tRp16S">http://bit.ly/2tRp16S</a>
Behind Mubarak's exit: a military Coup	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uioV9k">http://bit.ly/2uioV9k</a>
Iran's leader to Egypt: Beware of US	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2urOm8G">http://bit.ly/2urOm8G</a>
Mubarak steps down, military in charge	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2vlpWtT">http://bit.ly/2vlpWtT</a>
China expects Egypt's stability restored at early date	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2to3Dm1">http://bit.ly/2to3Dm1</a>
Ex-Envoy: Israel in trouble	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tbs0YM">http://bit.ly/2tbs0YM</a>
Thousands of Tunisian immigrants land in Italy	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2uipbVQ">http://bit.ly/2uipbVQ</a>
Restore stability in Egypt	12 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tTP9MQ">http://bit.ly/2tTP9MQ</a>
Newsstand Roundup	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2urMYTI">http://bit.ly/2urMYTI</a>
Egypt cabinet to stay for transition period	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2unk0mY">http://bit.ly/2unk0mY</a>
Egypt's military council dissolves parliament	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2vlpvVX">http://bit.ly/2vlpvVX</a>
Israeli cabinet approves new army chief	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tntllk">http://bit.ly/2tntllk</a>
Protestors to form council to talk with military in Egypt	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2umRoKI">http://bit.ly/2umRoKI</a>
Egypt's future concerns world countries	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2vIJlpl">http://bit.ly/2vIJlpl</a>
Obama welcomes Egyptian military's commitment	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2tUi82S">http://bit.ly/2tUi82S</a>
Egypt prepares for a new era after Mubarak	13 February 2011	<a href="http://bit.ly/2v0eNj1">http://bit.ly/2v0eNj1</a>

The limitations of this paper were the number of the articles, which were collected from a five-day period of time (9-13 February 2011) and the use of Open Calais for their classification.

Via the research question, this paper tries to find if the framing of China Daily media website can be characterized as western-type.

## Results

The results show that the three news organizations did not focus on all frames equally. As shown in Table 4, Al Jazeera English, BBC, and China Daily emphasized the 'Public affairs' (42.39%), the 'Civil unrest' (41.3%), and the 'Human Interest' (13.04%) frame. The data show that 'Public affairs' and 'Civil unrest' were represented far more frequently than any of the other frames.

Table 4. The dominant frames

<b>Dominant Frames</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Public affairs	42.39%
Civil unrest	41.3%
Human interest	13.04%
Conflict	1.08%
Economic	1.08%
Sports	1.08%
<b>Number of articles: 92</b>	

For Al Jazeera English, the most common frames were the following ones (Table 5): 'Civil unrest' (66.6%) and 'Public affairs' (25%). For the British Broadcasting Corporation the dominant frames were: 'Public affairs' (41.37%), 'Civil Unrest' (34.48%), and 'Human interest' (24.13%). Finally, in the Open Calais's analysis of the articles of China Daily's website there were amongst the most prominent frame stories, an article that could not be categorised, as its context is related to sports. Apart from this fact, the other frames are 'Public affairs' (53.84%), 'Civil unrest' 30.76%, and 'Human interest' (10.25%).

Table 5. The dominant frames for each news organization

<i>Al Jazeera English</i>	
<b>Dominant Frames</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Civil unrest	66.66%
Public affairs	25%
Conflict	4.16%
Human interest	4.16%
<b>Number of articles: 24</b>	
<i>BBC</i>	
Public affairs	41.37%
Civil unrest	34.48%
Human interest	24.13%
<b>Number of articles: 29</b>	
<i>China Daily</i>	
Public affairs	53.84%
Civil unrest	30.76%
Human interest	10.25%
Economic	2.56%
Sports	2.56%
<b>Number of articles: 39</b>	

There were 92 articles included in the sample. The data reveal that ‘Public affairs’ (42.39%) and ‘Civil unrest’ (41.3%) were represented far more frequently than any of the other frames.

## Conclusion

China Daily website issued online the most news stories (39/92) of the examined media organizations revealing that its coverage shed light to many different opinions. Its dominant frame, ‘Public affairs’, shows that it is acting like a western-type news outlet (Benson & Hallin 2007). Furthermore, it is believed that KE tools like Open Calais may have the capability of improving journalistic objectivity via displaying the frames of the news stories. Moreover, the citizens can use this kind of tools in order to detect some key elements of the news outlets’ narratives that they want. In addition, the professionals of the field through these technological breakthroughs would be able to find a way even to restore journalistic credibility in the near future.

Overall, this study focused only on proving the different perspective of China Daily website. Additional researches for the Chinese or Asian news outlets may provide further results for the coverage that was conducted during the Arab Spring. Lastly, a quantitative research on the same sample of articles may display an even more useful insight for the understanding of the Egyptian Arab Spring.



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## *The Evolution of Social Media and Its Impact on Journalism*

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### **Abstract**

In the early years of social networking, users sent personal messages to one another, or a small group of family and friends based on the concept of “six degrees of separation” of connecting with friends, family and people you knew. This one-to-one communication method was a chief reason why social media was considered different from print or broadcast media, which had the power to broadcast a message to a mass audience. In July 2006, Twitter launched, introducing a newsfeed that could be seen by anyone and everyone. Twitter also allowed members to choose who to follow based on their content – somewhat like the way consumers choose to subscribe to a particular magazine or tune into a particular program. A few months later, Facebook introduced its own newsfeed, and other sites soon followed suit. Thus, the news feed gave the average user the power to attract an audience. This meant that social media could become a purveyor of news and information, much like broadcast and print media. Thus, the traditional paradigm of social media as a place for private conversations has shifted dramatically. The question for today’s journalist is no longer how or why social media impacted journalism, but how can journalists embrace social media to practice the latest and perhaps most effective way to practice journalism in the 21st Century? This paper shows educators how to give aspiring journalists and journalists in transition the skills they’ll need to compete in this new marketplace.

Keywords: social media, thought leadership, personal brand, journalism, communications, news, content

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Social media:

Forms of electronic communication (such as websites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (such as videos)

-- *Merriam-Webster*

In the 1990s, Instant Messengers such as ICQ, MSN, AIM and Yahoo! Messenger<sup>1</sup>, were among the first wave of social media, allowing its users to create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages and other content.<sup>2</sup>

In 1997, *Six Degrees* became the first social networking site by combining “personal profiles, instant messaging, friends lists and the ability to search other members’ friends lists.”<sup>3</sup> At its peak, the site had one million users.<sup>4</sup> It was based on the theory that “everyone is six or fewer steps away, by way of introduction, from any other person in the world, so that a chain of “a friend of a friend” statements can be made to connect any two people in a maximum of six steps.”<sup>5</sup>

Though it lasted only four years, *Six Degrees* became a predecessor for Friendster, MySpace, Facebook and LinkedIn and many other social networking sites based on the concept of “social circles,” or connecting with people who held some connection to your friends, family and colleagues.

Indeed, Facebook, which launched in 2004, has said it believes that everyone in the world is connected to “every other person by an average of three and a half people.”<sup>6</sup> The concept is similar for LinkedIn, which identifies the second- and third-degree connections of each member.

LinkedIn, launched in 2003, is one of the many social networks that were able to build a global membership base by encouraging members to continue building their network by connecting with people beyond their immediate friends or family. LinkedIn, which reached 500 million members in the first half of 2017, sought to set

<sup>1</sup> Matt Petronzio, “A Brief History of Instant Messaging,” October 25, 2012, *Mashable*, <http://mashable.com/2012/10/25/instant-messaging-history/#Hw2UJ4p.nPqP>, last accessed on July 16, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> “The Post Social Media Era and the Evolution of Social Networking,” <http://meshedsociety.com/the-post-social-media-era-and-the-evolution-of-social-networking/>, accessed July 7, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Sam Plymale, Eastern Michigan University Public Relations Student Society of American (PRSSA), May 26, 2012, <https://emuprssa.com/2012/05/26/a-forefather-of-social-media-andrew-weinreich-and-sixdegrees-com/>, accessed on July 11, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> The Oxford Math Center website, <http://www.oxfordmathcenter.com/drupal7/node/655>, accessed on July 11, 2017

<sup>6</sup> Smriti Bhagat, Moira Burke, Carlos Diuk, Ismail Onur Filiz, Sergey Edunov, February 4, 2016, “Three and a half degrees of Separation,” <https://research.fb.com/three-and-a-half-degrees-of-separation/>, accessed July 11, 2017.

itself apart from Facebook by calling itself a professional network, where members connected with like-minded professionals for business opportunities and jobs.

In the earlier versions of Facebook, LinkedIn and some other social networking sites, members communicated by sending messages to one another. This one-to-one communication method was a chief reason why social media was considered different from print or broadcast media, which had the power to broadcast a message to a mass audience. Thus, the early versions of social networking sites were not seen as a direct threat to media outlets. Indeed, online news sites and news aggregators were seen as bigger threats in the early years.<sup>7</sup>

In the early 2000s, social media, including Instant Messengers, began to shift from one-to-one communication to one-to-many. In 2000, an instant messaging system called Jabber<sup>8</sup> launched, acting as a “single gateway for users to chat with friends and access their buddy lists on all of the big networks at the time: AIM, Yahoo and MSN.” Apple created iChat in 2002 and Skype was founded in 2003, allowing users to communicate with others through video, voice and instant messaging. Meebo began as an instant messaging service in 2005, and was eventually acquired in 2011 by Google.<sup>9</sup>

In July 2006, a new company named Twitter introduced a newsfeed that could be seen by anyone and everyone. Twitter allowed users to choose whether to share tweets with connections, by “protecting” them, or make them public to the world. The concept was similar to what Flickr, an online photo management and sharing application<sup>10</sup> that was created in 2004 and acquired by Yahoo in 2005.<sup>11</sup> And unlike the “six degrees” concept of connecting with friends, family and people you know, Twitter allowed members to choose who to follow based on their content – somewhat like the way consumers chose to subscribe to a particular magazine or tune into a particular program.

Just a few months later in September 2006, Facebook introduced “an algorithmically generated and constantly refreshing summary of updates about the activities of one’s friends.”<sup>12</sup> Despite the fact that the news feed is now a standard part of nearly every

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<sup>7</sup> Jennifer Alejandro, “Journalism in the Age of Social Media,” Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper, University of Oxford, 2010, <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Journalism%20in%20the%20Age%20of%20Social%20Media.pdf>, accessed July 16, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> PC Encyclopedia, <http://www.pcmag.com/encyclopedia/term/45544/jabber>, accessed July 19, 2017

<sup>9</sup> Matt Petronzio, “A Brief History of Instant Messaging,” October 25, 2012, *Mashable*, <http://mashable.com/2012/10/25/instant-messaging-history/#Hw2UJ4p.nPqP>, last accessed on July 16, 2017

<sup>10</sup> Flickr about page, <https://www.flickr.com/about>, accessed on July 16, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Bobbie Johnson, “Facebook patents the ‘news feed’ - but was it really first?” *The Guardian*, February 26, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2010/feb/26/facebook-patent>, accessed July 16, 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Facebook, “Facebook gets a facelift,” Sept. 5, 2006, <https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook/facebook-gets-a-facelift/2207967130/>, accessed July 12, 2017.

social networking site, many Facebook members initially protested the news feed, calling it "overwhelming" and "cluttered." And some went so far as to demand its removal, likening the news feed to a form of "stalking."<sup>13</sup>

Zuckerberg acknowledged those early users' concerns, but insisted that the news feed was here to stay. "We're not oblivious of the Facebook groups popping up about this (by the way, [our news feed product manager] is not the devil)," he said in Mashable. "And we agree, stalking isn't cool; but being able to know what's going on in your friends' lives is ... This is information people used to dig for on a daily basis, nicely reorganized and summarized so people can learn about the people they care about."<sup>14</sup>

Within a very short time, most other networks followed suit, allowing members the power to choose to make their news feed, or even certain posts, public or private. In 2007, Tumblr, a microblogging and social networking site for multimedia and short posts, launched, and the site now hosts more than 356 million blogs<sup>15</sup> and has more than 725 million monthly unique visitors worldwide.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the news feed, in its gave the average user the power to attract an audience. This meant that social media could become a purveyor of news and information, much like broadcast and print media.

"For instance the news about the death of Michael Jackson in 2009, Facebook and Twitter users broke the story ahead of any major news network, the moment the UCLA Medical Center made the death announcement official," Jennifer Alejandro wrote in her 2010 Reuters Institute paper. "Social network sites, search engines and news websites reported heavy traffic volumes in the hour the story broke and some websites even crashed. That single story showed how news is consumed and disseminated in social media, how far it can reach and how fast."<sup>17</sup>

By December 2009, global users were spending more than five and a half hours on social networking sites<sup>18</sup>. In the United States, time spent on social networking sites continues to rise with the heaviest users being Generation X, people ages 35 to 49. According to the 2016 Nielsen Social Media Report, Gen Xers spend "almost seven hours per week versus Millennials, who come in second, spending just over six hours per week."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Samantha Murphy, "The Evolution of Facebook News Feed," *Mashable*, March 12, 2013, <http://mashable.com/2013/03/12/facebook-news-feed-evolution/#t2w.1X9UBPqD>, accessed July 16, 2017

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

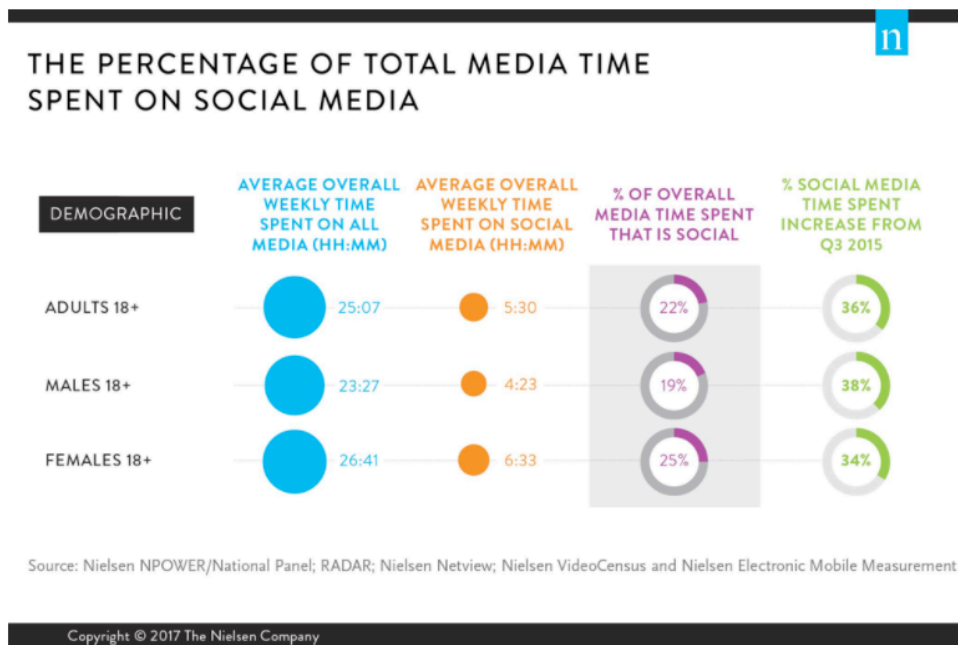
<sup>15</sup> Tumblr About Page. <https://www.tumblr.com/about>, accessed July 18, 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Statista, "Combined desktop and mobile visits to Tumblr.com from November 2016 to May 2017 (in millions)," <https://www.statista.com/statistics/261925/unique-visitors-to-tumblrcom/>, accessed July 18, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Sean Casey, "Nielsen Social, 2016 Social Media Report," January 17, 2017, <http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/reports/2017/2016-nielsen-social-media-report.html>, accessed on July 16, 2017.



With huge advances in technology, including the ease and affordability of using SmartPhones and other mobile devices, social networking sites evolved from a text-centric platform to one that featured a wide array of visual content, which is more than 40 times more likely to get shared on social media than other types of content.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, blogging platforms continued to evolve, incorporating the social aspect into their sites. In 2012, two co-founders of Twitter launched Medium, an online publishing platform. Like Twitter, Medium encouraged users to post content and develop a following based on content. Different from Twitter, users didn't have to worry about a 140-word character limit. Medium, to some observers, is considered social journalism because it consists of a "hybrid of professional journalism, contributor and reader content."<sup>21</sup>

Also in 2012, Twitter acquired Vine, a social network that allowed members to post six-second videos. Vine's videos were done by amateurs who often engaged others through slapstick humor, but it was based on the Twitter concept of connection based on content that could be seen by anyone and everyone.

Vine was so popular with teenagers and 20-somethings that many young people were able to develop a huge following of fans from all over the world. Some of these "Vine Famous" people went onto television stardom; some earned money and gifts through

<sup>20</sup> Liis Hainla, "21 Social Media Marketing Statistics You Need to Know in 2017," Updated June 28, 2017,

<https://www.dreamgrow.com/21-social-media-marketing-statistics/>, accessed July 16, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_journalism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_journalism), accessed July 19, 2017.

endorsements. Though Vine was considered a hit among young people, Twitter essentially shut it down in 2016.<sup>22</sup> Many of those who attained fame on Vine continue to create content and attract an audience on other social networking sites, such as Facebook, Instagram and YouTube.

YouTube, which launched in 2005. The open-access model has allowed many people to share content with the masses, thereby becoming “YouTube famous.” YouTube is considered the second biggest social networking site after Facebook,<sup>23</sup> garnering about 30 million visitors per day. An estimated eight out of ten people between the ages of 18 to 49 watch YouTube each month.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, YouTube and other video streaming sites have become so popular that it is predicted that half of viewers under 32 will not subscribe to pay-TV service by 2025.<sup>25</sup>

Instagram, created in 2010 and bought for \$1 billion<sup>26</sup> by Facebook in 2012, also allows its 700 million members to publicly showcase their work to the public, and grow the number of followers based on their content. The site, however, also allows members to remain private, and even engage in one-to-one communication through Direct Messages. Many people once famous on Vine can now be found on Instagram, which features videos up to 60 seconds long.

Video is arguably the king of content at the moment, and mobile video in particular is expected to account for 75 percent of the total mobile data traffic by 2020. One social networking site that is taking full advantage of this trend is SnapChat, which has more than 166 million daily active users.<sup>27</sup> Recent data shows that SnapChat members were watching 10 billion videos per day, up from 8 billion in just two months.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and other social networking sites now allow and even encourage members to post “live” video, meaning that a user can record video in real time, and broadcast it to one or many. Even journalists are using the “live” aspect of these social networking sites to share news and information. Instant Messengers continue to rise in popularity as well. Facebook, which launched its own Instant Messenger system in 2011, is one of the biggest Instant Messengers in the

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<sup>22</sup> Chris Foxx, “Twitter axes Vine video service,” BBC News, October 27, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-37788052>, accessed July 12, 2017.

<sup>23</sup> Dreamgrow website, “Top 15 most popular social networking sites,” <https://i1.wp.com/www.dreamgrow.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/top-most-popular-social-networking-sites-graph.jpg?ssl=1>, last accessed July 19, 2017.

<sup>24</sup> FortuneLords, “36 Mind Blowing YouTube Facts, Figures and Statistics – 2017,” **last Update – March 23rd , 2017**, <https://fortunelords.com/youtube-statistics/>, accessed July 15, 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Salman Aslam, “Instagram by the Numbers: Stats, Demographics & Fun Facts,” June 21, 2017, Omnicore, <https://www.omnicoreagency.com/instagram-statistics/>, last accessed July 15, 2017.

<sup>27</sup> CSD, Social Media Statistics, <https://chrisniderdesign.com/blog/resources/social-media-statistics/>, accessed July 18, 2017.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Roberts, “8 Social Media Statistics for 2017,” *Our Social Times*, <http://oursocialtimes.com/7-social-media-statistics-for-2017/>, accessed July 18, 2017.

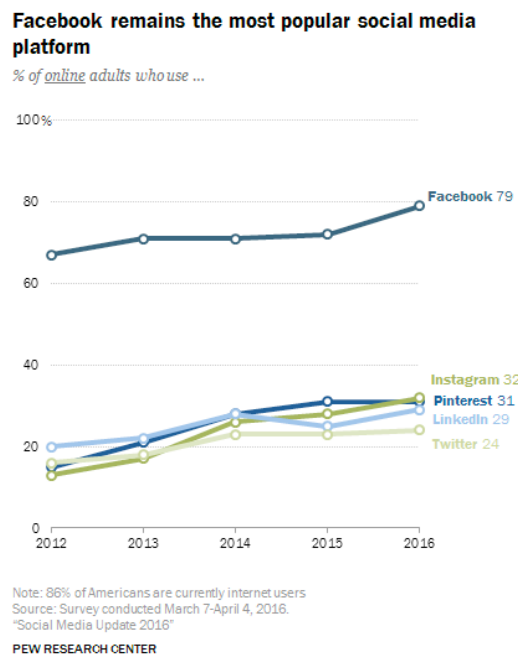


world with more than one billion members.<sup>29</sup> WhatsApp is the other big Instant Messenger with an equally large membership.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, the traditional paradigm of social networking sites and Instant Messengers as places for the exchange of messages through private conversations among friends, family and people you know has shifted dramatically. Indeed, social media has become just as powerful as broadcast and print media in many respects, relaying real-time images, video and other forms of news to a global audience.

As a result, social networking sites have become a key source of information for many consumers. In the United States, the majority of Twitter and Facebook members rely on “each platform serves as a source for news about events and issues outside the realm of friends and family,” according to a Pew Research Center survey of 2,000 people in March 2015. That share, the Pew study found, has increased substantially from 2013, when about half of users (52 percent of Twitter users, 47 percent of Facebook users) said they got news from the social platforms.<sup>31</sup>

The Pew survey also found that the rise of users getting news from their news feeds “cuts across nearly every demographic group.”



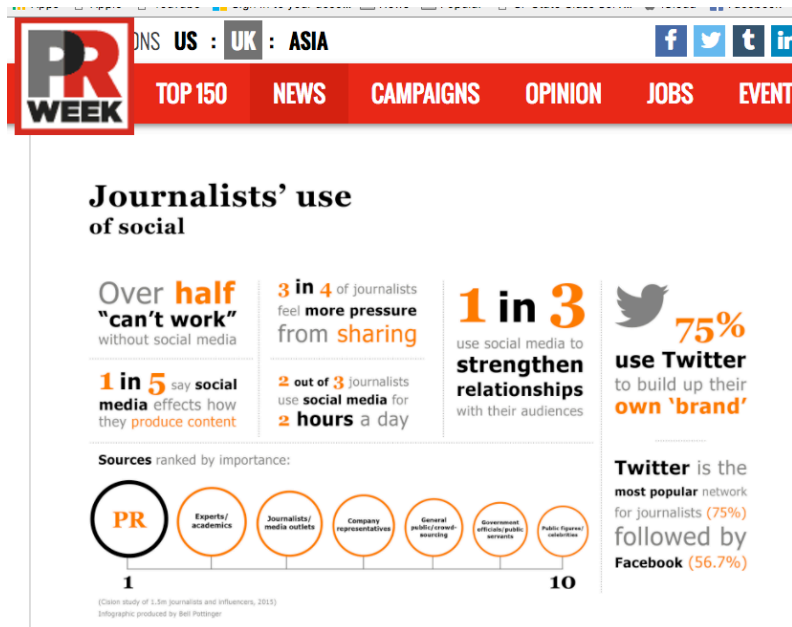
<sup>29</sup> Statista, “Most popular mobile messaging apps worldwide as of January 2017, based on number of monthly active users (in millions),” <https://www.statista.com/statistics/258749/most-popular-global-mobile-messenger-apps/>, last accessed July 15, 2017

<sup>30</sup> Josh Constine, “Facebook now has 2 billion monthly users... and responsibility,” June 27, 2017, Tech Crunch, <https://techcrunch.com/2017/06/27/facebook-2-billion-users/>, accessed July 13, 2017

<sup>31</sup> Pew Research Center, <http://www.journalism.org/2015/07/14/the-evolving-role-of-news-on-twitter-and-facebook/>

Indeed, journalists themselves are among the biggest consumers of information on social media. A Cision survey found that more than half of the 1.5 million journalists and influencers interviewed said they could not work without social media.<sup>32</sup>

In the United Kingdom, a study from Canterbury Christ Church University and Cision found that social media is now an “everyday tool for the media with 96 percent of UK journalists using it on a daily basis.”<sup>33</sup> The survey also found that 42 percent of UK journalists say that they would not be able to carry out their work without social media.”



“... All big news organisations are plunging into the world of social media, looking at its extraordinary newsgathering potential; its potential as a new tool to engage the audience; and as a way of distributing our news,” Kevin Bakhurst of the BBC said back 2011, during a speech given to the International Broadcasting Convention in Amsterdam.<sup>34</sup>

The fact that an increasing number of people are turning to social media for news, information, entertainment, products and services is perhaps the biggest reason that ad revenues are also going up.

“It isn’t surprising that Facebook dominated ad revenue in 2016, taking in 67.9 per cent of social media advertising spend,” Paul Rogers wrote in Our Social Times. “It was a rosy picture all round, with social media ad spend doubling worldwide over the past two years – rising from \$16 billion in 2014 to \$31 billion in 2016. Instagram is

<sup>32</sup> Cision website, <http://www.prweek.com/article/1354357/infographic-journalists-rely-twitter-pr-sources-pqZ4mwllX4PlyFKL.99>, accessed July 11, 2017.

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.coastcommunications.co.uk/coastlines/journalists-rely-on-social-media-study-finds>

<sup>34</sup> Kevin Bakhurst, “How has social media changed the way newsrooms work?”, September 9, 2011, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/theeditors/2011/09/ibc\\_in\\_amsterdam.html](http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/theeditors/2011/09/ibc_in_amsterdam.html), accessed July 12, 2017.

on track to generate \$1.53 billion in mobile ad revenue worldwide in 2016. That's an impressive year-on-year increase of 144 per cent.

Perhaps most significantly, though, it was predicted that digital ad spend in the U.S. would have surpassed television spend for the first time ever by the end of 2016.<sup>35</sup>

As journalists and other consumers use social media to gather information, others are using social media to disseminate news, taking the place of the traditional journalist or news outlet as the gatekeeper.

On June 13, 2009, millions of people in Iran protested on the streets and on Twitter after learning that incumbent Mahmoud Ahmadinejad had won more than 66 percent of the vote against popular opposition candidate Mir-Hossein Mousavi. As the Iranian government moved to suppress the protests, both on- and offline, Twitter delivered information in real time:

*Woman says ppl knocking on her door 2 AM saying they were intelligence agents, took her daughter*

*Ashora platoons now moving from valiasr toward National Tv staion. mousavi's supporters are already there. my father is out there!*

*we hear Idead in shiraz, livefire used in other cities RT*

Credit: Lev Grossman, Time.com

Less than a week after the Iranian protests, Journalist Lev Grossman surmised that Twitter's ability to broadcast the news far and wide made Twitter "practically ideal for a mass protest movement, both very easy for the average citizen to use and very hard for any central authority to control."<sup>36</sup> The same might be true of e-mail and Facebook, but those media aren't public. They don't broadcast, as Twitter does.<sup>37</sup>

Grossman also called Twitter the "medium of the moment."

"It's free, highly mobile, very personal and very quick. It's also built to spread, and fast. Twitterers like to append notes called hashtags — #theylooklikethis — to their tweets, so that they can be grouped and searched for by topic; especially interesting or urgent tweets tend to get picked up and retransmitted by other Twitterers, a practice known as retweeting, or just RT. And Twitter is promiscuous by nature: tweets go out

<sup>35</sup> Paul Rogers, "8 Social Media Statistics for 2017," *Our Social Times*, <http://oursocialtimes.com/7-social-media-statistics-for-2017/>, accessed July 18, 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Lev Grossman, Time magazine in partnership with CNN, "Iran's Protests: Why Twitter Is the Medium of the Movement," June 17, 2009, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1905125,00.html>, accessed July 14, 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

over two networks, the Internet and SMS, the network that cell phones use for text messages, and they can be received and read on practically anything with a screen and a network connection.

Thus, citizens have become journalists, giving rise to the term, “citizen journalism” or “participatory journalism.”

“The Internet gave average people the ability to transmit information globally,” veteran journalist Tony Rogers wrote in an August 30, 2016 blog post for ThoughtCo.com.<sup>38</sup> “That was a power once reserved for only the very largest media corporations and news agencies.”

Citizen journalists, however, are not the only ones changing the game for traditional journalists.

During the 2016 presidential election in the United States, President Donald Trump, who was then a candidate, often took his message straight to Twitterverse, bypassing news conferences, press releases and other traditional methods that politicians communicated with the traditional news media.

“When we look back on the role that sites like Twitter, Facebook (and Instagram and Snapchat and all the others) have played in our national political discourse this election season, it would be easy to spend most of our time examining Donald Trump's effect on these media, particularly Twitter. It's been well-documented; Trump may very well have the most combative online presence of any candidate for president in modern history,” Sam Sanders wrote in a piece<sup>39</sup> for NPR. “But underneath that glaring and obvious conclusion, there's a deeper story about how the very DNA of social media platforms and the way people use them has trickled up through our political discourse and affected all of us, almost forcing us to wallow in the divisive waters of our online conversation.”

As a result, social media should be seen both a complement and competition to broadcast and print media.

“The late 1990s saw the first blogs and web forums; 2004 gave birth to podcasting, where users could create online radio programs; 2005 saw the founding of YouTube, an online video host; and, 2006 saw the worldwide release of Facebook and Twitter, two of the most popular websites today, wrote Emory Paine in an Honors Theses for Salem State University.<sup>40</sup> “In the eyes of traditional journalism, these social media

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<sup>38</sup> Tony Rogers, “What is Citizen Journalism,” Thoughtco.com, August 30, 2016, <https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-citizen-journalism-2073663>, accessed July 12, 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Sam Sanders, “Did Social Media Ruin Election 2016?”, November 8, 2016, NPR, <http://www.npr.org/2016/11/08/500686320/did-social-media-ruin-election-2016>, accessed on July 12, 2017.

<sup>40</sup> Emory Paine, “The Next Step: Social Media and the Evolution of Journalism,” Salem State University Digital Commons at Salem State University, May 2015, [http://digitalcommons.salemstate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=honors\\_theses](http://digitalcommons.salemstate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=honors_theses), accessed on July 12, 2017.

directly challenged not only their profession, but the very definition of journalism itself.”

Paine also noted a decline in revenues that seem to correlate with the rise of social media in the mid-2000s.

The decline in ad revenues in 2004, Paine wrote, “correspond greatly to the introduction of various social media into the journalistic sphere – web forums and blogs in the early internet age, and Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and more in the year 2004 and beyond.”

So, what does this mean for today’s journalist?

“Often, the introduction of new technology into the media sphere has caused disruption, chaos, and bells tolling the end times of journalism,” Paine wrote. “And, each time, the news survived. Indeed, by swiftly converging with the new mediums and incorporating their values into journalism, the news did more than survive – it evolved. Social media represents the next occurrence of this cycle.”

This book shows focuses on the next big occurrence: Social media journalism, also known as Social Journalism. Though the terms are relatively new and the definitions can vary, social media journalism or social journalism can be defined as the ability to use social media and technology to report, gather, disseminate and promote news and information for the purposes of this book, which offers a step-by-step guide on how to gain the skills needed to work as either an independent journalist or earn one of the hundreds of new jobs being created by major news outlets.



***When a Media Entity Humanizes its Identity Politics of Representation in The Filipino Channel's Own Historiography***

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**Abstract**

The study is a critical discourse analysis of the 'auto-historiography' of The Filipino Channel (TFC) in the form of periodic station IDs and 20th anniversary audio-visual presentation. It looks into how TFC constructs a humanized identity of itself as a transnational Filipino, and why maintaining such an identity is necessary for longevity. Using the three-dimensional framework of Norman Fairclough (1995) and taking the suggestion of Greg Philo (2007), I did not only analyze the media texts, but also my interviews with other TFC proponents not seen or heard in the aired materials; how I recorded my auto-ethnographic observation; and the dominant, negotiated, and oppositional comments of viewers online (Hall, 1980). As I problematized politics of representation in media's mediation of itself, the following were revealed: that several voices are muted by the literal exclusion of soundbites that do not conform to the producer's mandate; that overseas Filipinos are essentialized as a race of heroes longing constantly for home, thus affirming their decision to migrate and convincing them to subscribe to TFC for many generations; and that more than empowering transnational Filipinos, TFC uses the power of naming them after itself as TFC: The Filipino Community Worldwide, thereby instilling loyalty that can prevent them from shifting to competition. Nonetheless, with TFC's global presence and interactive platforms, it can serve as a venue for transformative politics, where those it represents can negotiate their identities, offer their own versions of the past, or forge alliances for advocacies that require collective action.

Keywords: transnational media, identity politics, social lives of commodities, OFW

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## Investigating the Media Entity

The Filipino Channel, commonly known as TFC, is a product of the global business segment of the Philippine media conglomerate ABS-CBN Corporation. Envisioned by founder Eugenio Lopez, Jr., TFC aims to reach territories with a significant number of overseas Filipinos (ABS-CBN News, 2014, May 3). At present, TFC is available in several countries in North America, Middle East, Europe, Australia, and Asia Pacific via various media platforms such as cable, direct-to-home, internet protocol television, online, and mobile (ABS-CBN Corporate, “Business Segments,” n.d.).

It took sometime before scholars became interested in TFC. Vergara seems to be the only one who wrote about the channel in its infancy in 1996. He analyzed it as being “so far removed from the everyday lives of Filipino Americans” (p. 94) but, nonetheless, saw it as important, realizing that “the homeland has everything to do with their everyday life in America” (p. 95).

After a decade, researchers noticed how TFC could become a significant part of the day-to-day life (Paragas (2006) and cultural formation (Oreiro, 2014) of Filipinos outside the Philippines.

Although there were those who saw TFC as: one of grandmothers’ preferred pastimes (Kataoka-Yahiro et al, 2004, p. 115); source of Philippine election information on candidates and campaign issues (Paragas, 2006, p. 268); a means to keep oneself connected to the Philippines (Martinez, 2007, p. 69); essential in establishing the Filipino ethnoscape (Lum, 2008, p. 111); and helpful in re-connecting the youth to their homeland (Contreras, 2010, p. 134); there were those who critically saw TFC as media’s strategy to rationalize migration and increase profits, thereby framing content to satisfy this objective (Tolentino, 2009, p. 436; Cabalquinto, 2014, p. 52, 63; Brillon, 2015, p. 2215).

Taking off from the critical studies on TFC, this paper attempts to unpack the media entity and its products as commodities, provisionally defined by Appadurai (1986) as “objects of economic value” (p. 3). He proposes that “commodities, like persons, have social lives” whose “exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing, is its socially relevant feature” (p. 13). Appadurai agrees with Simmel (as cited in Appadurai, 1986) that value is “never an inherent property of objects, but is a judgment made about them by the subjects” (p. 3).

Specifically, this essay is a critical discourse analysis of TFC’s ‘auto-historiography’ as narrated via its media products: its periodic station identities (SIDs) produced during milestone years and played throughout the particular year within its 24-hour programming; and its 20th anniversary audio-visual presentation (AVP) aired as a special segment on its popular weekend variety show “ASAP.” This study investigates how TFC constructs a humanized identity of itself, and why maintaining such an identity is necessary for longevity.

To answer those questions, the three-dimensional framework of Norman Fairclough



(2001, pp. 129-134) was used, following these steps or stages:

Stage 1: Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect. Stage 2: Identify obstacles to it being tackled.

Stage 3: Does the social order (network of practices) in a sense ‘need’ the problem?

Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles

To enhance Fairclough’s framework, Greg Philo (2007) suggested that, in order to overcome the problems of text-based analysis (e.g. weakness in ability to capture the impact of external factors like media practice, and the actual meanings attributed to the texts by various audiences), simultaneous analyses of the processes of production, content, reception and circulation of social meaning must be performed. Thus, taking Philo’s suggestion, I did not only analyze the media texts, particularly TFC’s major SIDs from 1994 to 2014 and its celebratory 20th anniversary AVP, but also the following: my interviews with other TFC proponents not seen or heard in the aired materials; the way I recorded my auto-ethnographic observation; and the viewers’ comments that were posted online after watching the media texts.

### **Humanizing Media Identity for Longevity**

In ABS-CBN’s auto-historiography, it boasts of bringing television to the Philippines and introducing many firsts, e.g. “first color broadcast, first live satellite transmission, first coverage of an international event... in [its] drive to showcase the best of the Filipino” (ABS-CBN Corporate, “Our Story,” n.d., 1:20). The media conglomerate refers to itself as *Kapamilya* (family member); addresses its viewers and customers also as *Kapamilya*; and claims that “the inspiring story of the Filipino is what ABS-CBN is all about” (0:24).

ABS-CBN is among the top three broadcast media companies in the Philippines, along with GMA and TV5. These three have been assuming humanized identities that they themselves constructed: As ABS-CBN calls itself *Kapamilya* to impress that it is a member of the family who treats its viewers the same way (ABS-CBN Corporate, “Vision, Mission & Values,” n.d.), GMA, on the other hand, calls itself *Kapuso* to profess that it is “one in heart with every Filipino” (GMA Careers, “About Us,” n.d.). *Kapuso* seemingly works to counter ABS-CBN’s claim by widening the scope of GMA’s viewers and deepening its relationship with them to extend beyond blood relations. The third player, TV5, calls itself *Kapatid* (brother/sister) most likely to differentiate itself from its forerunners by pronouncing that it is “one with the [current] generation it serves” (TV5, “About Us,” n.d.).

The three have established their global presence by bringing their respective channels—TFC, GMA Pinoy TV, and Kapatid TV5—to Filipino households outside Philippine shores. As they compete locally and globally, they have written their own historiographies in the form of coffee-table books, SIDs, and/or AVPs that harp on their individual achievements, while assuming their parent companies’ respective humanized identities.

The humanized *Kapamilya* identity of ABS-CBN is assumed by its global counterpart TFC which (or ‘who’) is the realization of the company slogan “in the service of the Filipino worldwide.” The slogan and the handle *Kapamilya* is used in promoting TFC’s various media products.

In its periodic SIDs, TFC’s representations of itself have evolved from inanimate objects to a fully human identity. When it launched, TFC portrayed itself as a remote control and a home in “Switch on to the Philippines” (ABS-CBN International, 1994). After five years, it switched to more intangible ideas like “coming home” and “being at home” in “*At Home Ka sa TFC* [You’re Home on TFC]” (ABS-CBN International, 1999). Ten more years after that, in “*Dahil Tayo’y Filipino* [Because We Are Filipino]” (ABS-CBN Global, 2009), it became the voice of overseas Filipinos, championing them as unsung heroes possessing admirable character traits, then smoothly segueing to sharing the limelight with them. Ultimately, just a few years before its 20th anniversary, in “*Tayo ang TFC* [We are TFC]” (ABS-CBN Global, 2011), it assumed a fully human identity while reiterating praiseworthy qualities that the Filipino and TFC jointly possess.

In “*Tayo ang TFC*,” the acronym T.F.C. becomes The Filipino Community Worldwide. TFC names its audiences after itself as everyone in the SID, one after the other, declares... “*Ako ang TFC*; I am TFC; *Kami ang TFC*; We are TFC!”

Appadurai (1986) suggests that we track the exchange of the commodities as it is the circulation, the movement of the commodities, that enlivens them. In the case of TFC, it has been exchanged from a simple remote control to a very sentimental home until it became a very familiar person, who is one’s self. This exchange is what creates value, according to Appadurai and, quoting Simmel (as cited in Appadurai, 1986), he proposes that “economic value...is generated by this sort of exchange of sacrifices” (p. 4), wherein “one’s desire for an object is fulfilled by the sacrifice of some other object” (p.3). For TFC, its paying subscribers have found TFC as worth the hard-earned money they make abroad. By enlivening or humanizing TFC, its subscribers can continue to justify the money they spend on maintaining their subscription, somehow rationalizing that “a *Kapamilya* will not charge them an arm and a leg” or that “it is okay to pay; anyway, I am giving my money to a *Kapamilya*” (who, in the same breath, can refer to a *Kababayan* or compatriot in the home country to whom giving back is expected and is considered noble).

### **Politics of Representation, Diversion, and Conversion in Media’s Mediation of Itself**

Likewise, in its the 20th anniversary AVP, TFC humanizes itself as it narrates its history through the human experiences of high-ranking company officials and pioneer employees, who were particularly selected to represent the media company and its products.

The “TFC Retro AVP” (ABS-CBN International, N.A., 2014), presents company officials not just as men and women of ABS-CBN “in the service the Filipino

worldwide” but as common Filipinos, who, like their audiences, dream, survive life abroad, and “will bloom even in the desert” as the Chief Executive Officer Eugenio Lopez III said (7:46).

Appadurai (1986) argues that “what creates a link between exchange and value is politics” (p. 3). As TFC represents itself as home, its customers are reminded of their homesickness, which prompts them to purchase not just TFC but anything that reminds them of the Philippines i.e. all ‘home-related’ products that TFC can offer. Additionally, as TFC represents itself as a *Kapamilya*, it enjoins all overseas Filipinos who have realized their dreams of a better life for their families in the Philippines, to share their good fortune via TFC-branded remittance and cargo services. The *Kapamilya* representation goes further to touch the hearts of Filipinos as TFC gives them blow-by-blow reports of the devastation caused by calamities in places as familiar as their own hometowns. This prompts them to course their donations through ABS-CBN Foundation as advertised on TFC.

As I followed the movement of the exported product that is TFC, I was able to trace the politics of diversion and conversion, two of the many ways commodities flow. Such flow of commodities, says Appadurai (1986), “is a shifting compromise between socially regulated paths and competitively inspired diversions” (p. 17). In the case of TFC, diversion can be seen in two forms: diverting the path of a homegrown product from the Philippines to other countries to be sold for a higher price in the form of subscription fees; and diverting the attention of migrant Filipinos from the risks of migration (not to mention lack of government support in their home country and protection in their host country) to news and entertainment from back home that, in the past, were hard to come by.

Conversion happens when TFC is converted into the various currencies that affluent expatriate Filipinos can already afford to spend. In turn, TFC converts those monies into concerts, movies, studio tours, and face-to-face encounters with their favorite celebrities. Those experiences are further exchanged for increased patronage of merchandise as souvenirs, which serve as reminders not just of the event they attended but of the higher status they now enjoy.

The free-TV viewers back in the Philippines are now paying subscribers abroad.

As Igor Kopytoff (1986) opines, TFC as a commodity can move in and out of the commodity state. TFC’s historiography shows how it moved from the United States to the Middle East where the bigger market is. But in doing so, it almost moved out of the commodity state in that area because of the lower paying capacity of the Filipino contract workers there. To maintain its commodity state, TFC had to come up with a communal paying scheme in order to fit the requirements of commodity candidacy that Appadurai (1986) refers to as “the standards and criteria (symbolic, classificatory, and moral) that define the exchangeability of things in any particular social and historical context” (p. 14).

As TFC explored other territories with high concentration of Filipinos, the advent of

digital technology posed as a bigger challenge for TFC in maintaining the commodity phase of its career. To protect its status, TFC instituted its anti-piracy campaign to restrict access, barring unauthorized and therefore unpaid consumption of TFC content.

What TFC however could not easily overcome was the 2011 tsunami in Japan which forced the office to temporarily cease collection of subscription fees. Despite its humanized identity as a *Kapamilya*, it has not yet reached the state of pricelessness to make paying for the subscription a sensible exchange of sacrifice during that time. As Appadurai (1986) quips, “Pricelessness is a luxury few commodities can afford” (p. 19).

At best, what TFC could do to try to reach the pricelessness state is to represent overseas Filipinos as modern-day heroes, drivers of the Philippine economy. By assuming the humanized “*Tayo ang TFC*” identity, it claims to journey with the Filipino wherever s/he chooses to be, thus riding with the fame and socio-political life that s/he leads. For as long as the diaspora continues, TFC remains in the commodity state.

### **Silencing Some Humans**

In the interviews I conducted with the other TFC proponents who were not selected to give their testimonies for the “TFC Retro AVP,” what surfaced were the intimate details in TFC’s historiography that were omitted.

TFC’s history could be told differently if the narratives of the people who left the company would be taken into account. Unfortunately, the inclusion or exclusion of their voices in the “TFC Retro AVP” is dependent on the relationship they have maintained or severed with top management.

Former Chief Marketing Officer Carmencita Orlina’s observations did not make it to the “TFC Retro AVP.” She was not one of those sought to give her spiel. In my interview with her she said, “One of the challenges was the culture that pervades in a Filipino-owned company with a family controlling it. The showbiz environment made things worse because transparency and accountability were not in the company’s vocabulary” (personal communication, December 11, 2015).

Another excluded narrative was from former Advertising Communications Head Elizabeth Siojo, who stated, “It was difficult to address so many product offerings because there was no branding mindset yet. Marketing Communications was struggling to catch up with the demands of Sales” (personal communication, December 11, 2015).

The difficulty Siojo mentioned is shared by other employees but the latter’s versions of their histories with TFC gloss over the injustices they have experienced, including working long hours under minimal salary; more work as a reward for beating the deadline or doing the impossible; health risks due to frigid work areas more conducive for machines than for human workers; or the inequality in treatment

wherein celebrities and the leadership team are regarded as more important and therefore deserve more concessions.

Former production assistants recalled their experience of TFC rather fondly, despite the hardships: “We waited after [the stars'] tapings and live shows but, it turned out, they left exiting the backdoor,” said Joemalyn Serafica (personal communication, December 19, 2014). “Working late [came with] having fun, eating at the cafeteria, and squeezing ourselves in one table together with the bosses,” said Violeta Teodosio (personal communication, December 20, 2014).

There were those who mustered just enough courage to disclose some hidden truths in TFC’s history while requesting to remain anonymous, cognizant of the risks that their revelation would pose to their employment and/or immigration status. Two executives who specifically requested not to be named said:

Politics was FARTHEST from my mind and all I wanted was to help stage successful events at that time and for my team to be a hardworking, efficient support team to internal clients. But it was a time of great change - a sea change in the organization and its direction. So, there was an air of uncertainty, instability and insecurity (personal communication, January 16, 2015).

Office politics started to creep in when we expanded and more people are hired from the outside. I have managed to survive a couple of coup[s] d'etat launched by people who would like to push me out of the company. I don't know how I managed to hang on and stay, while those people who planned and orchestrated it have are not anymore connected with the company. One of them said before he left that I managed to hang on because I can sway like the bamboo or dance to the new music that the company propagates at any point in time. Probably.... probably. (personal communication, January 12, 2015).

On the other side of the globe, one of the staff has her own perspective of the same situation, “I have experienced a series of reorganizations. The challenge was to keep up with the expectations of different leaders... But the greatest challenge is to always be objective and set aside my personal interests” (personal communication, December 11, 2015).

Even if some of the employees had only pleasant memories to narrate about TFC, they were not given the chance to. On the other hand, even if the chosen employees were given the chance to be included in the AVP, they did not have enough time to say everything or their footage had to be cut for practical reasons. However, the selection of the spokespersons to either match the script or to do whatever is convenient, and the deliberate or seemingly inadvertent exclusion of soundbites, largely depend on the producers’ mandate. If the informants and the information they provide do not conform to such mandate, they and theirs will have to be silenced.

## Silencing the Self

Having been part of the creation of TFC, I was one of those selected to appear in the “TFC Retro AVP.” The few seconds of hugging the limelight did not help me critically write the historiography of the company that I worked for, for almost two decades. I initially retold TFC’s past with lack of interrogation. I just echoed the ideologies of the owners. My deep immersion into the complexities of showbusiness, both glamorous and scandalous, probably caused my ‘selective mutism,’ in a figurative sense. I silenced my own experiences of injustice.

In “TFC Retro AVP,” I was quoted for saying, “*Masaya kaming nagtatrabaho nang magkakasama at alam naming makabuluhan iyong ginagawa namin.* [We were happy working together and we knew then that what we were doing was meaningful.]” (6:56)

I did not mention that I had to set aside my work as a marketing services manager to serve as *alalay* (assistant/servant) or *yaya* (nanny) to the stars. I forgot about the unspoken rule that travelling to other territories was not regarded as a tool of the trade in order to understand the various markets but a privilege reserved for those who deserve it, based on the financier’s standards. I missed saying that despite the company’s claim of valuing its employees, top management was unprepared to present me with a clear succession plan, when my superior left to join the competitor. I did not realize that I was not exactly rewarded for my performance but for my length of stay that tells of how I have been enduring showbiz politics, until I did my critical analysis.

Although I did remember saying some things during the shoot that I knew were edited out, I let those pass. I asked the segment producer for a copy of the AVP but only to check how I looked, how I sounded, and make an overall evaluation of the material. After viewing the final cut, I might have expressed some of my thoughts and feelings about it, but only to those I felt safe with. I did not direct my complaints or inquiries to the scriptwriter or director as to why it lacked so many events, especially those that transpired in the Philippines, that I thought were as, if not more, significant, or why the people in the U.S. office had more exposure than other offices. I held back my comments and did not let those reach top management. At that time, I did not want to ruffle anyone’s feathers again, so to speak.

## Some Humans Choose to Speak

Some TFC SIDs are uploaded to YouTube for viewers around the world to watch. They are used as marketing materials to promote TFC to transnational Filipinos who are in various online platforms. Some of the online viewers took time out to comment. I used Hall’s (1980 in Durham & Kellner, 2012) encoding-decoding theory, to analyze the viewers’ decoding of the messages that are encoded and conveyed by TFC through its SIDs.

While there are those who accept TFC’s messages hook, line, and sinker, echoing the

lines from the SIDs, it is important to note that, despite TFC's attempt to name its audiences after itself and represent itself as a *Kapamilya*, there are those who viewed the messages with heightened awareness that TFC is still a business; that overseas Filipinos fuel the business; and that separating from one's family and working abroad is somehow encouraged to ensure TFC sustains its business.

One of the oppositional comments states:

Line 212: *inuuto lang tau mga ofw sa kantang ito. Pino promote lalo ang patuloy ng pag ka watak2 ng pamilyang Filipino. Dapat hikayatin nila tau mga ofw dalhin ang galing at talino sa bansa natin. siguro kung mag sama2 tau mas maginhawa pa tau sa ba[n]sang pinagsilbihan natin. Sabagay kung wala ng OFW hindi na kikita ang TFC nila* [We are being fooled by this song. It promotes the fragmentation of the Filipino family. They should instead encourage us to use our skills and knowledge in our country. Maybe, if we would come together, our country would be more prosperous than the ones we serve. But on hindsight, without OFWs, TFC will not sell] (ABS-CBN News, 2014, April 27).

Also, there are also those who saw both sides: TFC's illusory proclamations and its potential to promote patriotism, to encourage patronage of local products, and to motivate Filipinos abroad to give back.

Below is one of the negotiated readings:

Babeudoo: for the naysayers of this video, while it's true na *wala sa lahi ang pagiging magaling* [greatness is not determined by race] and pinoy pride might be an illusion, from someone who's living abroad nothing is perfect guys we just have to be the best we can be. Patriotic videos like these help instill love for our country and make us want to spend our dollars there than anywhere else and do more to help our people. It doesn't help to remember that the Filipino is his own worst enemy so let's just not go there. (ABS-CBN News, 2014, April 27).

### **From an Identity of Commodity to Utility Can Transnational Filipinos Utilize Transnational Media for Transformative Politics?**

As I problematized politics of representation in media's mediation of itself, the following were revealed: that several voices are silenced by the literal exclusion of their soundbites that do not conform to the producer's mandate; that overseas Filipinos are essentialized as a race of heroes longing constantly for home, thus affirming their decision to migrate and convincing them to subscribe to TFC for many generations; and that more than empowering transnational Filipinos, TFC uses the power of naming them after itself, thereby instilling loyalty that can prevent them from shifting to competition, and sustaining its state of commodity as it remains to be worthy of the exchange of sacrifice for several years.

TFC is a business that needs to remain in its commodity state. It has to continue collecting subscription and other fees in order to continue its operations. For as long as its subscribers see the value of TFC as commensurate to their sacrifice, they will keep exchanging that sacrifice with access to their *Global Kapamilya* via IPTV, cable,

satellite, mobile, and web. With the willing participation of transnational Filipinos in the exchange, TFC will most likely survive for two more decades or longer than it already has.

However, despite its obvious capitalist motivations to normalize migration and generate profits, the transnational media entity does possess the power to serve as a conduit for political action. With TFC's global presence and interactive media platforms, it poses as a fertile ground for transformative politics. TFC can potentially move from commodity to utility if and when transnational Filipinos would utilize it to gain agency.

The so-called second-generation Filipino youth, for instance, or those who were born and raised in other countries, can utilize TFC to initiate political or socio-cultural movements; TFC sees them anyway as an important market and seriously needs them for longevity. In its more youthful version of "*Galing ng Filipino*" (ABS-CBN Entertainment, 2015), TFC shifts the applause from the stereotypical overseas workers and migrants to the young Filipino global achievers. The shift shows that TFC needs fresh blood to enliven itself. TFC foresees that it will eventually 'die' together with its ageing customers if the *Kapamilya* spirit is not passed onto the next of kin. In TFC's website, ABS-CBN Global Chief Operating Officer Rafael Lopez professes that TFC, "is a purveyor of Filipino culture and values to younger generations, and through it [they] aim to promote a better understanding and appreciation of Filipino identity and pride" (The Filipino Channel, "About TFC," n.d.).

As TFC offers its humanized *Global Kapamilya* identity to them, the transnational Filipino youth can gain agency by utilizing TFC's humanized identity to their advantage. The avenues presented to them such as TFCU can serve as a platform for their advocacies. According TFC Global Marketing Head Pamela Castillo, TFCU is an outreach program meant to "connect Filipino American students to organize Filipino unity and pride on campus and beyond" (para. 5) The "U" stands for "University" because "it is when second generation Filipino Americans go to university," according to TFCU Project Head Troy Espera, "that they actively want to know more about their being Filipino" (para. 4). One of the events organized by TFC is called #TFCUTalks. TFCU core member Diana Vergara describes it as "like TED Talks. It's informational and inspirational. [They] talk about innovation, technology, and different things in the industry."

A transnational media entity such as TFC humanizes its identity to sustain its state of commodity but, like any identity that is dynamic and not static, plural and not singular, TFC can evolve or assume other identities. The transnational youth can see TFC as a channel for several opportunities such as for reconstructing and negotiating their identities, for offering other versions of their pre-colonial past, and forging strong alliances among themselves or with other nations for the Philippines' political, social, and/or economic transformation.

What is probably left in question is if they are willing and ready to imagine and



assume the identity of a Filipino culture bearer, interested in indigenous historiography and actively contributing to nation-building.

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This paper is inspired by unpublished studies conducted by the researcher on the subject. The researcher deemed it necessary to gather more data and analyze her own works with greater criticality after peer review and self evaluation. There are some information re-provided herein that are intentionally used for a different purpose.

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## ***Challenging the Narrative Rhetoric: Inscribing Her-Story into History***

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Official Conference Proceedings

### **Abstract**

Historically the media has been used for propaganda, and censorship to suppress creative expression. Recently the presence of censors in newsrooms and on editorial boards served to highlight its misuse of the media, so when Alankrita Shrivastava's film *Lipstick Under My Burkha* ran into trouble with the censor board, it raised the question of whether it was mere suppression of creative expression that censorship aimed at or was it control of meaning. Structuralist textual analysis involves a close reading of tangible signifiers and signifieds that present themselves extra-textually in the form of myths and counter-myths which in turn reflect the ideology of their culture. The understanding that power structures lie deeply embedded in signifieds likened the semiotic struggle for meaning to the struggle for personal freedom. The aim of this research paper is to examine the various interpretations of female sexual desire at play in the film *Lipstick Under My Burkha* and why this poses a threat to patriarchal Indian society. Film reinforces images of patriarchy and its philosophies via the structure of a binary hierarchy, women being considered the other. The multiplicity of images and experiences expressed in *Lipstick Under My Burkha* is, I believe an attempt to dismantle the binary hierarchy. By offering more than one woman's sexual experience, the film is a subtle refusal to be the other in the hierarchy. This research proposes to read *Lipstick Under My Burkha* as a site for struggle and negotiation between female resistance and patriarchal control.

Keywords: narrative, feminist film theory, female spectatorship, subversion

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“Who controls the past controls the future.  
Who controls the present controls the past”

George Orwell  
*Nineteen Eighty-Four*

Indian citizens live in the illusion of freedom/democracy. However, closer inspection will reveal that our basic freedom is curtailed on a daily basis. Regularly, political parties resort to moral policing, imposing curbs on the clothes we wear, the food we eat and sometimes even innocuous comments on the social media. Draconian laws have been revived, sedition and other laws have resulted in certain privileged groups taking the law into their own hands. The media readily covers these instances wanting to beat the others at breaking news to increase/boost TRPS often without verifying the veracity of the same.

Historically, the media has been used as a means of propaganda, and as far back as the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Soviet Cinema made use of films like *Battleship Potemkin*, *Strike*, *October* contained a political agenda. As a visual medium film transcends the barrier of language and possesses the political potential serving as an apt vehicle for ideological conditioning. As far back as 1915, D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* was criticised for the fact that although Griffith created, codified and demonstrated a language of cinema introducing certain techniques which have become indispensable to modern film making, the film actually dramatized and encouraged the attitude of racism in America making this iconic film at the same time America's pride as well as shame. The Orwellian commentary in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* on the role of media in society is a chilling take on the incredible extent to which individual and collective thought is shaped. The primary consequence of this media manipulation is the shrinking capacity to think critically. While *Nineteen Eighty-Four* presented a dystopian view of the media of the future, the fiction film is the one aspect of modern media which distorts images of women stereotyping them into believing that they are the inferior 'other'.

Few conflicts would have given rise to as many films as the Vietnam War shaping it into a compelling yet conflicting narrative. David Desser, Professor of Cinema Studies, wrote, 'Hollywood has made a significant effort to portray America's Vietnam Experience', in the *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*. Films on history as opposed to films set against a backdrop of history can be compared to bring out the difference between films that claim to reflect reality and fiction films that use a historical milieu.

Metafilms act as a critique of film making even as they record milestones in history. Haunted by the spatio-temporal finiteness of life directors subconsciously reflect the anxieties of each generation with films that document humankind's continual attempts to make a difference, to critique life within the brief span of time available. For example, Charlie Chaplin's films possess a strong political commentary while at the same time presenting a powerful critique of the introduction of sound into cinema.

The fiction film in today's world thus becomes a powerful tool to indoctrinate the masses even as it entertains. Mainstream Hindi cinema with its stereotypical roles reinforces patriarchal images of women. Strong female protagonists are few and far

between but rarely cast in a professional setting, directors choosing to portray them in a family setting. Female directors like Meera Nair and Deepa Mehta among others did make attempts to sensitively explore women's sexuality although sex as a topic was considered taboo and woman's desire non-existent: the female protagonist going from virgin to mother in one stroke. Set in Bhopal, a small town in India, *Lipstick Under My Burkha* (Dir Alankrita Shrivastava, 2017) is a female-oriented film that reflects the undeniable control patriarchy still has on Indian women. The characters, ordinary women who remain largely invisible in Hindi cinema, are seen boldly looking for sex and even enjoying it. That it ran into trouble with the censor board is therefore understandable, but what perplexed audiences more were the bizarre comments made by Pahlaj Nihalani, Chairman of the Film Certification Board. Describing the film as, 'lady-oriented', he denied permission for its January 2017 release because the film supposedly contained, 'contagious sexual scenes, abusive words and audio pornography.'

A mix of humour and pathos, the film deals with the efforts of four women attempting to escape from their pre-ordained captivity: **Usha Buaji** is a fifty plus woman who experiences a sexual awakening, **Shireen**, an accomplished saleswoman who hides her job from an overbearing and abusive husband, **Leela**, a beautician, engaged to be married carries on an affair with a photographer and **Rehana**, a teenage girl who lies to her parents in an attempt to be part of the 'in' scene at college. We laugh with these women but feel for them as they evince a longing for life beyond the one each is trapped in. Shrivastava avoids portraying the world outside as a paradise and chooses not to exoticize the four women, keeping the story real.

The question that needs to be asked would then be why do men find women's sexiness hard to handle. Perhaps it challenges man's sexuality and in turn their dominance. Or does the fact that films sometimes cater to and elicit the basest instincts in man, bother them? It would appear that the display of woman's sexuality appears to evoke the Id the patriarchal structure acting as a reminder that man is no longer in control. The fear that such signifieds would serve to instruct other women who are otherwise subjects of patriarchy and under its ideological control, is expressed in the form of righteous anger.

The film fails to evoke pity: it possesses a powerful dynamism that is hard hitting in its acceptance of life as it is and at the same time is a scathing indictment of a society that turns a blind eye to marital rape, but doesn't think twice about turning the elderly *buaji* out of her own home for reading romance novels and possessing a swimsuit.

Setting the film in Bhopal distances the action and the experiences of the four women from those of the Metropolises. It is not uncommon for women living in Indian cities to live dual lives, referred to in my paper *Indian Woman's Search for Identity* as flipped Jekyll and Hyde: a traditional *Bharatiya Naari* by night and a bold, modern woman with the freedom to choose her actions by day. Reporting on women in the Marwari community, one researcher describes the experience of catering to her family's every need by day and donning a pink bikini, enjoying a swim and sipping tequilas by the poolside in sheer bliss when away from the prying and judgemental eyes of the family and neighbours. Generally living in large joint families, young couples often entertain with alcohol and choice meat dishes when the elders are away at their 'village' or on a religious pilgrimage. Upon the family's return, they consume

only pure vegetarian food, prepared without onions and garlic. Consumption of alcohol is considered taboo. Mumbai boasts of a thriving massage industry; masseurs who service up-market women whose physical needs are otherwise unsatisfied. In small towns however, the situation is quite different because every knows everyone else and prying is an accepted social function.

Usha *Buaji*, the 55-year-old female character brilliantly played by one of Mumbai's best character actors, Ratna Pathak Shah, experiences a sexual awakening at this late stage in her life. Ironically though this is not the real thing but through the means of a sexual fantasy. Having just discovered the hidden world of physical pleasure through romance novels, she gets into a phone relationship with the swimming coach, who assumes that she is a young woman. The act of reading romance novels, described by Janice Radway in *Reading the Romance*, is a ritual wish to be cared for, loved and validated in a particular way. Whereas, in the West romance reading is considered an innocent means of escape, the reaction to it in the film shows that Indian culture is intolerant of such means of escape.

I have claimed in my article, *Peddling Fantasies: The Role of Bollywood Cinema in Coping with Reality with Reference to Madhur Bhandarkar's Fashion* that films with a strong female protagonist offer the possibility of a life without limits. This further becomes a fantasy that prevents women from attempting to find real redressal for the unfavourable conditions they encounter in the real world. On the contrary, *Lipstick Under My Burkha* juxtaposes the theme of women's subjugation against their attempts to break free, unknown to their families. Shireen who endures marital rape on a regular basis, is a successful saleswoman without her husband's knowledge. Married, with three children, Shireen's story is used by director Shrivastava to make a strong case for women's reproductive health. Advised by the gynaecologist to use a condom, Shireen doesn't let her husband down, instead she claims that in the heat of passion there is no time to think about using a condom. The reality is very different, the husband is carrying on an affair with an attractive, career woman but insists that Shireen learn to be the woman and allow him to be the man. Bold, outspoken career women protagonists have little hope of making a difference.

Leena the beautician is rejected by her fiancé Manoj when he finds videos of her engaging in the act of sex with her photographer boyfriend. Rihanna, the teenaged student from a conservative background breaks free by shoplifting for the kind of clothes she would rather wear instead of the *burkha*. She gets unwittingly drawn into an anti-jeans protest, auditions to sing in a rock band and gets drawn into having an affair with a fellow student. When her parents discover her alternate lifestyle, they resort to the simplest solution in their minds: they decide to stop Rihanna's education.

The *burkha* becomes a metaphor for oppression and the body becomes a contested site, the 'physicality of the body...frequently the only way for the subordinate to evade an ideologically constructed subjectivity' (87, Fiske). By opting to getting into a physical relationship with her photographer boyfriend, beautician Leena is making a conscious choice to deny her future husband her virginity. Woman's virginity in India is considered sacred and her family's 'izzat' or honour rests on it. Newlywed husbands have been known to reject the bride if she didn't bleed during intercourse on her wedding night. Marital rape becomes a way of subjugating women and Shireen silently endures this instead of fighting back. More than her placidity, is the shocking



response of the male spectators in movie theatres that screened the film. Most women I spoke to reported that male spectators actually laughed heartily during the rape scenes almost as if they approved of the same. These are not women who protest against patriarchy, they represent the growing band of women who accept the hand of cards life has dealt them but each finds a way of subverting it by living a dual life.

Film reviewer Ranjona Banerji criticises the film by calling it a feminist tragedy, given the fact that the four protagonists, 'do not speak one word to challenge the shackles of patriarchy'. Responding to this Sumanta Banerjee writes that though, 'their acts of protest will remain confined within the ambit of their personal lives and the secret chambers of a patriarchal society', their actions are perhaps the sole route to subvert the oppression of the prevailing system in their personal lives. I am inclined to support the latter's view believing that small acts of subversion create tiny pockets of resistance until finally the 'hundredth monkey effect' is experienced. Though Ken Keyes Jr's story of The Hundredth Monkey about social change has been challenged, it has been defended by Elaine Myers as a possibility when a large enough number begins to believe and follow certain ideas. *Lipstick Under My Burkha* signals the subtle shifting of boundaries and similar films will follow until society experiences a paradigm shift. In that sense the protagonists provide us with subjects, not in relation to the patriarchal centre but what the mainstream would consider decentralised problematics, the film succeeding in a narrative denial of female helplessness' creating a strong, transformative counter narrative. Increasing acts of violence against women bear witness to the increasing anxiety of man as more women, mostly in Metropolises are coming to terms with their own chance at freedom. It is because of this that I believe that, more than depicting strong female protagonists, films with women in subversive roles would help effect a shift in the way women see themselves and lead to their empowerment, albeit in a subtle way.

Structures are expressions of power and breaking these structures a form of resistance. Multiple protagonists with their own personal stories to tell are a subversion of the grand narrative and the structure of the film too is an attempt to break established film making structures. The actions of these women may be lying and conniving, but are much needed acts of subversion in order to retain their sanity. By their actions, these women appear to redefine the signifiers for themselves and others like them, thereby attempting to rewrite history which, in turn, will influence the future. By taking control of the present, perhaps women will take control of the past which in turn will bring about control of the future.

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***Issues and Information Management for Public Communication about the Willingness to Pay for the Forest Areas of the Bangkok Dwellers Project***

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**Abstract**

The research on public information management concerning the “Issues and Information Management for Public Communication about the Willingness to Pay for the Forest Areas of the Bangkok Dwellers Project” was designed to raise public awareness. The purpose of this research is 1) to distribute information regarding urban forests to the public through information management; 2) to study communication patterns to broaden the target group’s understanding of urban forest issues; and 3) to evaluate the results of communications that relate to urban forest issues. The methodology of this research comprises documentary analysis, in-depth interview, observation, and focus group discussion. The study involves creating a Facebook fan page named “URBAN FOREST” as a public space for the communication and exchange of knowledge about urban forest issues. The results demonstrated that information and knowledge about urban forest issues are driven by social media and mass media. Under the concept of media advocacy and setting agenda, information dissemination occurred through five activities with different communication patterns. The results showed that the participants were satisfied with all activities. To conclude, the overall success of communicating “urban forest” issues to the wider public includes the integration of social media, a Facebook fan page “URBAN FOREST”, as well as information distribution through mass media and media activities.

Keywords: Issues and information management, Public communication, Urban Forest

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## Introduction

Climate change is a threat of the 21st century. Global warming is not only affecting the ecosystem but also the economic development and growth of the country. It has already caused social problems such as benefit negotiation and conflict in resource allocation both at the local and national levels. Thus, there is a need for public communication to create understanding in every sector of society that will bring about mutual acceptance and responsibility in dealing with such problems.

Although there seems to be a general awareness of climate change threats in Thai society, a spirit of cooperation among citizens in coping with possible threats still needs to be encouraged. Both public and private organizations have integrated the environment dimension into their own contexts, especially corporate social responsibility and sustainable development. However, in the area of public communication, issues have been raised about how to communicate environmental concerns to the target audience in different contexts and cultures. Several research findings (e.g., Chongkolrattanaporn, 2011; Zia & Todd, 2010) show that communicating global warming issues more effectively requires the use of information that enables people to relate global warming impact to their daily living. Generally, people are less likely to link their behaviors to global warming and tend to think that global warming is other people's problems. This results in their low levels of awareness and participation. Therefore, communication has to take the audience's socio-cultural context into account.

Global warming research is one of the interest areas of the Thailand Research Fund. Despite a large body of knowledge in this area, there is still a communication problem of how to promote an understanding and use of research information to the public at large. The effective communication approach must consider the background knowledge of the target audience. Such an approach can capture the audience's attention and suits their contexts and lifestyles. *Willingness to Pay for Forest Areas of Bangkok Dwellers*, a research project conducted by the Faculty of Economics, Thammasat University is a significant work which highlights the issue of urban forests. Based on the knowledge in environmental economics, this research communicates the meaning of *urban forests* by using the following conceptual frameworks: 1) The management of urban forests which includes an ecosystem, a wooded area developed around human settlements in an urban setting with management system that generates economic values and creates a caring and sustainable society; 2) The urban way of life in forest areas which requires care and management of trees and plants to conserve forests as well as to provide benefits for dwellers; 3) The care and management of urban forests which is enhanced through the roles of public and private organizations and educational institutions.

In this project, issues on urban forests are communicated at the right time when city expansion aims mainly at developing economic growth. The government's policy in developing the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) has rapidly caused widespread of land clearing for large scale building construction, such as apartment buildings, condominiums, housing complexes, and shopping malls, which in turn has increasingly caused air pollution and rising temperature. On the other hand, there is no clear policy for urban forest management. Isra News Agency (2016) reported that General Prayuth Chan-ocha, the Prime Minister, during his talk over radio, ordered

government authorities including the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Transport to lay down appropriate measures to ensure that big trees are protected during road and pavement construction and to arrange for arborists to keep the trees in good condition. However, such a talk is seen as an empty rhetoric which may help appease stakeholders in a particular situation.

Efforts to preserve and increase the green area of the city are mostly initiated by some private and/or non-profit organizations and social advocacy groups. For example, in 2012 the PTT Reforestation Institute began to develop the *Metro-Forest Project* on the eastern fringes of Bangkok. Approximately 2 hectares of abandoned land was designed to create an ecological forest and recreation area. The project aimed to raise an environmental awareness and educate the public about local forest ecology. Within the Thailand Green World Foundation, a group of young professionals who are tree lovers initiated the *Big Trees Project* in 2010. The project has been organizing campaigns via a Facebook Fan Page BIG Trees to protect big trees from being cut down and save green spaces in Bangkok and other provinces. Despite such efforts, the overall urban environment situation reflects a general lack of knowledge in urban forest management in the public, private and social sectors.

In the present research, communication of urban forest issues is deemed essential and needs to keep up with social trends. This requires systematic public communication that creates accurate understanding about the issues in the same direction. The researchers must disseminate their research findings through appropriate channels to reach the target audience. A variety of channels include different collaborative and professional networks, social advocacy groups, personal media (e.g., academics, scholars and social activists), and activities that promote issues, concepts, and contents through mass media. It is crucial to explore new ways of communication that are being used by the target group such as social media, for instance, *Facebook Fan Page "Urban Forest"* is designed to suit media exposure among urban dwellers to increase their understanding of urban forest issues.

## **Objectives**

The three main objectives of this research are:

1. To distribute information regarding the *Willingness to Pay for Forest Areas of the Bangkok Dwellers Project* to the public through information management;
2. To study communication patterns that can create understanding of urban forest issues among the target group;
3. To evaluate the effectiveness of the communication patterns used in the project.

## **Target Audience**

### **1. Primary target audience**

The mass media plays a very important role as a driving force of the project by communicating information about urban forests to the public through the main stream media, such as broadcast media, print and online newspapers, and online news agencies. Therefore, the mass media, as gatekeeper and agenda setter, must have accurate knowledge and understanding of urban forest issues, and participate in the

project by presenting urban forest information in news reports, special reports, news scoops, and interviews.

## 2. Secondary target audience

The urban dwellers in Bangkok as well as other cities in Thailand are aware of the issues and understand the meaning and importance of urban forests from their exposure to mass media and social media, particularly *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest* in which information is presented in several formats, e.g., storytelling, video clips, infographic presentation, and short films.

## Operational Definitions

*Issues and information management for public communication* refer to methods and procedures information management of urban forest issues for public communication. A working group serves as messenger who sends message to the target audience which includes mass media and urban dwellers by using various media, such as mass media, personal media, networking media, activities, and social media, to make urban dwellers aware of urban forest issues.

*Urban Forest Project* aims to educate the public about benefits of urban forests and to create awareness of its importance which will lead to a collaborative management of urban forests for a good ecosystem. The project is conducted under the research project *Issues and Information Management for Public Communication about the Willingness to Pay for the Forest Areas of the Bangkok Dwellers*.

*Facebook Fan Page URBAN FOREST* refers to a social media space, Facebook, which is a driving force in sending messages about urban forests to people in the urban society to make them understand and aware of urban forest issues. Facebook is also used to build an online community for members to interact with each other by sharing news, information and ideas about the city, its dwellers and forests, or expressing public opinions.

*Communication driven by media advocacy* is a mass media and social media strategy used for public communication to create an understanding of urban forest issues. The understanding will develop social awareness and solidarity that empower individuals and groups to push for an effective policy in urban forest management for a good ecosystem.

*Communication process* means the approaches developed by this project to achieve the objectives by communicating information to the public through activities and social media strategy in the form of storytelling video clips.

*Communication process* comprises the following 7 steps: 1) raising awareness, 2) adapting to changing situations, 3) engaging the target audience on *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest*, 4) pushing forward urban forest issues; 5) joining forces with alliance networks, 6) engaging the target audience through activities, and 7) publicizing on Facebook.

*Network* refers to individuals, groups or organizations which collaborate with the Urban Forest Project. The collaboration involves communicating, sharing knowledge

and information, enhancing relationship, and conducting activities. The existing network includes the Big Trees Project, BKK Museum, the Seub Nakhasathien Foundation, Huay Kwang Community, the Thai Society of Environmental Journalists, and A Day Magazine. An additional network includes the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, and Chulalongkorn University.

### **Methodology**

This research is an action research. In collecting data, the researchers used the following methods:

- *Documentary analysis* involved analytical reading and reviewing documents and websites on urban forest topic.
- *In-depth interviews* were conducted with researchers in the field of urban environment.
- *Observations* and *focus group discussions* were conducted with mass media and civil society organizations that were engaged in environmental activities.
- *Social media analysis*, a type of online research methods was carried out by creating a *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest* as a communication space on urban forest issues. Contents communicated among members were reviewed and analyzed.
- *Media advocacy* (Jernigan & Wright, 1996) was the strategic use of mass media and social media to support the project's efforts to communicate three main issues to the target audience: 1) Research-based definitions of urban forests, and concepts of urban forest management; 2) Urban way of life in forest areas; 3) Care and management of urban forests.
- *Communication through collaborative networks* included the alliance of civil society organizations involved in environmental issues.

### **Conclusion and Discussion**

From research results, issues and information management of urban forests, using mass media and social media as a driving force and employing such strategies as media advocacy and agenda setting and framing through communication patterns in five activities can be summarized and discussed in the following dimensions:

#### ***Setting news agenda "Urban Forest"***

The urban forest research team reviewed urban forest issues with Associate Professor, Dr. Niramom Suthammakit and Assistant Professor, Dr. Pracha Koonnathamdee, the authors of the *Willingness to Pay for the Forest Areas of the Bangkok Dwellers Project*. Communication issues were summarized as follows:

- An urban forest is the management of green spaces or a collection of trees in the city, and the values given to trees as part of urban development.
- Benefits of an urban forest include 1) 2-8 Degrees Celsius temperature reduction, 2) Air pollution filter, and water flow control which improves the quality of water, 3) One tree absorbs 12 kilograms of carbon dioxide per year,

- 4) Spending time among trees lowers blood pressure and reduces stress, and 5) A forest area raises property values up to 20%.

The research team and the authors agreed to use three terms in pushing the issues forward: 1) urban forest, 2) forest in cities, and 3) more than trees. The three terms were used as the theme of the project, *Urban forest, forest in cities, and more than trees*, which signified a living place filled with trees, a human settlement and an ecosystem (e.g., good climate, shady areas, appropriate temperatures, and stress reduction).

After discussions with the authors, the research team set “urban forest” as news agenda, planned communication strategies, and identified mass media as the main target audience that would communicate the urban forest issues to the public through the mainstream media.

### ***Mass Media and Social Media as a Driving Force***

In the age of advanced technology, the media landscape is drastically changing because technology increases the speed of communication. The traditional mainstream media such as television, radio and newspaper, which once had huge influence on public opinion, is becoming obsolete in the face of new media. The emergence of digital media, especially the social media sites like Facebook has transformed the way people communicate.

According to the current statistics (January 2016-May 2017), it is reported that 47 million of Thais are Facebook users, 11 million are Instagram users, and 41 million are Line users (Coconuts Bangkok, 2017). It further explains that 47% of Facebook users are equivalent 70% of Thailand’s population, and that among the 47 million users, 27 million reside in Bangkok. The statistics confirms the project’s appropriate choice of urban dwellers as a target audience, and the use of social media site, Facebook. *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest* is designed to be a communication platform that both collects research information and disseminate information to the public. Research (Kenski & Stroud, 2006; Hargittai, 2007) has shown that creating a Facebook group enables rapid information flow and provides a space for interaction and participation; thus, members get updated information on specific issues of interests.

Wang and Ji (2005) mention that effective environmental information management requires organizing public forums. However, the design of such forums needs to be connected with the concept of knowledge society and information system by drawing the important issues to the attention of receivers in both physical and online worlds. As seen from the public communication process of urban forest issues, communication patterns in the form of activities had been carried out twice, targeting the mass media. The first activity was to organize a forum with news editors specialized in social and environment news. The second was to arrange a trip for a group of mass media people to study the management of forests in Nan Province. These two activities employed media advocacy strategy which comprised setting the agenda, identifying issues for discussion, and pushing forward the urban forest policy. The other process involved groups and organizations in the network in conducting



three activities. The first activity was to organize a forum on *Follow in the King's Footsteps and Create Urban Forests*. The second was to organize a forum on *Urban Forests and Sustainability towards Thailand 4.0*. The third was to organize a photo exhibition on *Forests, People, and Cities*. These activities employed agenda setting and framing strategy to bring urban forest issues to the attention of mass media and subsequently to urban dwellers.

### ***Mass Media as a Target Audience***

Mass media plays a role in the process of the social construction of reality and shaping public perceptions. Therefore, the activities for public communication in the initial stage of the project were designed to target the mass media. As mentioned earlier, the first two activities were organized to create public awareness and understanding through the mainstream media which served as a change agent. The mass media was expected to get the issues on the public agenda in the forms of news, articles special reports, TV scoop interviews with researchers who were experts of urban forests.

These two activities resulted in the dissemination of urban forest issues on television, radio, newspapers, and online media. Examples included Thai PBS Nightly News, Channel 3 TV, Nation Channel, TNN TV, and New TV; Radio 90.5 FM, Mcot Radio Network, and Radio 101 FM; online news agencies such as Isra News, Green News, and the Matter. The current estimated cost for such publicity, if paid, could reach over one million baht.

### ***Agenda Setting: Framing for Access***

The process of media advocacy is connected to the concept of agenda setting and newsworthiness. Successful media advocacy works through the mass media to put the spotlight on the issues so that the media can further stimulate the audience interests and mobilize public support. The forum on *Follow in the King's Footsteps and Create Urban Forests* was the first public event organized after King Bhumibol Adulyadej Rama 9 had passed away. This activity was designed to highlight the King's effort in forest management by inviting Dr. Wiwat Salayakamtorn, the President of the Institute of Sufficiency Economy and the President of the Agri-Nature Foundation to be the keynote speaker. To involve such a famous social leader in the public awareness raising activity was a step based on a communication principle of choosing a sender who has social credibility that can influence public perceptions. Along the same line, in organizing the activity, *Urban Forests and Sustainability towards Thailand 4.0*, the project team aimed to make a link between the project's activity and the national agenda, *Thailand 4.0* developed by the government as the key strategy for development. This was intended to attract the media attention which would stimulate debates and discussions to make the urban forest issues newsworthy.

### ***Personal Media in Communicating Urban Forest Issues***

To include research information about urban forest issues in agenda setting, it requires communication through personal media. Thus, the project team organized interview sessions in which the news media interviewed two researchers from the Thailand

Research Fund, Associate Professor Dr. Niramom Sutummakit and Assistant Professor Dr. Pracha Koonathamdee, who conducted the research on *Willingness to Pay for Forest Areas of Bangkok Dwellers*. The research, conducted in the field of economic environment, presents details and complexity of social problems, urban way of life, and the growth of the city in various dimensions. With such research experience and professional expertise, both researchers could offer accurate and reliable information about urban forest issues, handle complicated media questions, and clarify some issues of public interest such as tax management system, and management of big trees in the city.

The use of personal media also included groups of famous people who had gained public acceptance, such as leaders of environmental alliance organizations, the Editor of A Day Magazine, the Owner of BKK Museum, the Secretary-general of the Seub Nakhasathien Foundation, the Big Trees Project Director, Huay Kwang Community Leader. They were all engaged in environmental work. Each group acted as message sender who delivered contents on urban forest issues to various sub-groups.

The project team appreciated the strategic value of personal media as message senders because they provided accuracy, validity and reliability to the message, such as definition, meaning, and significance of urban forests in different contexts. Senders could be individuals, groups, working groups, agencies, organizations or institutions, but they need to have credibility in the public eye. As Pilanthaowat (2011, p. 123) points out, the main characteristics of a sender include competence and expertise, creditability, being a role model, and commitment to receivers.

Participants of the activity, *Urban Forests and Sustainability towards Thailand 4.0*, included representatives from public organizations, e.g., the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, the Director General of the Department of Environmental Quality Promotion, and the Director of the Environment Department, Bangkok Metropolitan Administration. There were also administrators from private organizations and educational institutions such as PTT Public Company Limited and Chulalongkorn University. These participants acted as senders to deliver messages about urban forests to the target audience. In addition, there were other personal media from different occupations who gave interviews on the issues so that the project team could produce video clips to be shown online through *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest*. Based on the advantages of the interview method (Puntavanun, 2001 as cited in Sriboonlue, 2006, pp. 20-21), the interviews provided understanding about urban forest issues through the exchange of knowledge and experiences and the question answer session.

### ***Message Strategy***

The message design in this project is to use research that presents rational and reliable information and deliver it through researchers who are the owner of research works, academic communicators of the project, and social activists who are the project's alliance and play an active role in urban forest issues. Thus, in organizing activities for the target audience, framing was prepared for senders in each activity to deliver the message as intended and increase the opportunity for public attention to the issues. The contents could be modified within the definition of urban forests to reflect the tangibility of work and the roles of each participating organization.

The message strategy in organizing forums provided the opportunity for senders to share experiences with each other, and presented useful information from the point of view of experienced speakers from all participating organizations. A trip to study an urban forest concept model in Nan Province, and the video clips presenting interviews with individuals who pioneer concepts of urban forest management promoted learning and sharing of information among urban dwellers. The mass media broadcasts and communication on social media with online sharing of contents enabled and enhanced interaction on urban forest issues.

### ***Media Strategy***

What has been mentioned above shows that traditional mass media does not have much power in shaping the public perceptions as it did in the past. Thus, the media strategy used in this project was a combination of mass media and social media. To take an advantage of the social media, the *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest* was designed to provide an online space to build a community of knowledge in which dissemination of research information, such as video clips and infographic presentation, took place. On this Facebook Fan page, various forms of communication occurred, e.g., news-sharing from mass media and participating organizations, communicating information about urban forest issues, and publicizing related events and activities. The application of Facebook Live as a live-streaming tool could broadcast live the public forums. As a social networking site, Facebook also offered the opportunity to the media consumer, who was interested in urban forest issues, to search for, ask about, and exchange needed information and share experiences related to the issues. Facebook, therefore, serves as a channel of information distribution for urban dwellers in the digital age.

As a subset of new media, social media, without being confined by time and space, can respond to the needs of information seekers more effectively than old media. New media refers to a communication system which is connected to global electronic networks (Kawamoto, 1997). The application of the *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest* as a communication space to create a community on a social network helped heighten awareness on urban forest issues of individuals in urban society. It also facilitated networking of social groups with shared interest in environment, for instance, BKK Museum, the Big Trees group, the Sueb Nakhasathien Foundation, the Facebook Fan Page NithesNIDA, and the Facebook Fan Page APDA. The Facebook Fan Page APDA was a community of amateur photographers that ran an online campaign to raise awareness of the issues and gained participation from members in sending their photographs for the exhibition on *Forests, People, and Cities*. It is evident that such a communication approach aims to encourage collaboration, mutual support, and information exchange for shared learning goals. The point is well supported by Kaewthep and Chaikoonpol (2012) who explains that the characteristics of online social networks include media convergence that facilitates real-time interactions, and one-to-many communication that disseminates information to different groups of people with shared interests, enabling instant access to and communication of information. The Urban Forest project, the Metro-Forest Project, and Urban Forest Thai are examples of social media groups who have a shared interest in increasing and managing the green area of the city.

The strategy of integrating mass media contents into public activities and the *Facebook Fan Page Urban Forest* has proved that the combination of traditional mainstream media and social media has the power in bringing the issues to widespread public attention. This corresponds with the media advocacy model used by the project team to involve the mainstream mass media in the public forum and the study trip in Nan Province. The mainstream mass media, e.g., the Nation Newspaper, Thai PBS, Posttoday Newspaper, Bangkok Business News, Isra News Agency, ThaiPublica Online News, Thai News Agency MCOT, Thairath TV, TNN Channel, etc. had continuously publicized the project's news and activities. Organizing two public forums, *Follow in the King's Footsteps and Create Urban Forests* and *Urban Forests and Sustainability towards Thailand 4.0*, and a photo exhibition on *Forests, People, and Cities* fostered the continuation of information flow through diverse use of personal media.

News presentation on every possible communication platform enabled public engagement and participation, i.e. exchange, sharing and disseminating of information via news reports, video clips, radio programs, infographic designs, Facebook Fan Page, network organizations' websites and magazines. Thus, the Urban Forest Project had achieved its objective in raising public awareness and gaining public support and participation.

#### ***Alliance Network of Environment Organizations and Pushing Forward Urban Forest Issues***

A network, as defined by Chareonwongsak (2000), refers to an extended group of individuals, organizations or institutions in which members have a connection with each other and work together as a system with shared objectives or an agreement, or collaborate to perform activities. Using this definition, the project team conducted a communication network analysis in several group meetings to review communication issues of the project and to identify individuals, groups, organizations, and institutions who were interested in the Urban Forest project. This analysis is based on the concept of communication network analysis described by Sthapitanonda and Thirapan (2003). According to Sthapitanonda, before conducting any project, the project team needs to understand the overall perspective of communication and networks, to find individuals and groups that will be part of network, and to identify the communication role of each network member. The analysis of communication issues determines the potential of the network in communication, which will lead to understanding of the overall perspective of the network. From such analysis, the project was able to identify groups and organizations that formed the alliance network, such as BKK Museum, the Seub Nakhasathien Foundation, the Big Trees Project, Huay Kwang Community, and the Society of Environmental Journalists.

Chareonwongsak (2000) also points out that an important factor of any network is a cooperation of groups or organizations with a common interest; for instance, a group with shared interest in environment of an urban city can form a connection between groups and among individuals who share a common perception, mutual benefit and interest. Therefore, alliance network organizations whose representatives served as speakers in the Urban Forest forums had complementary relationships. They were willing to do what was in the best interest to strengthen and sustain the relationship, i.e., to raise public awareness of environment problems, to save the big trees, to

restore rivers and canals, and to create a green urban environment as demonstrated by activities of the Big Trees Project, the Seub Nakhasathien Foundation, and Huay Kwang Community.

The alliance network organizations need to support the working process of one another for mutual benefit. Organizing public forums offered the opportunity for the alliance organizations to promote their working approaches to the public and to fill the gap that each organization needed. For example, joining the Urban Forest project helped some alliance organizations which had only human and financial resources to gain knowledge and experiences they lacked. The forum, *Urban Forests and Sustainability towards Thailand 4.0* allowed people in the environment network to meet, interact and learn from each other. For instance, after the forum, the Department of Environmental Quality Promotion used the research conducted by the project team to plan other research projects about urban society environment.

In addition, the alliance network organizations shared information from the forums and activities they had done together, including on Facebook Fan Page of each organization. The social capital of the alliance organizations also played a role in the information presentation as it provided public understanding of urban forest issues in diverse dimensions. And that helped heighten public awareness of the management of an ecosystem where mutually beneficial coexistence between people, forests, and cities could be sustained.

### **Recommendations for Further Research Development**

1. The present research shows that social media and mass media can create widespread public awareness in urban forest issues. So there is a need to analyze the approaches used in pushing forward the issues in the next phase that will lead to another major research question, i.e., an urban forest management system and appropriate communication approaches for the target audience.
2. The target audience of this project includes mass media and urban dwellers. If the project advances to the level of area management, the feasibility study of the project is required and the target audience needs to be identified in order to achieve tangible success.
3. To develop a research project in communication that emphasizes social innovation requires financial resources for media production. If the project team decides to take this approach, a detailed cost analysis is required.

### **Expected benefits of Research**

1. Research findings can be applied for public communication management in other organizations or institutions, and can also be used as a baseline study for social communication research.
2. Research findings can be used to develop appropriate approaches for the dissemination of research results to a wider audience and to make aware of the importance of communication factors in the digital age.

3. This research is useful for analyzing trends in communicating research information and for studying future research.

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***Mahori of Ayutthaya: Recording Video with Analysis and Musical Notations  
(Ayutthaya's Song Series: Recorded Digital Video Disc (DVD),  
Analytical Notes and Music Notation)***

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**Abstract**

Thai Traditional Chamber Ensemble called “Wong Mahori” has been first referred to as a song formed under the Ayutthaya period (During 1587-1767). This music was formally presented only to the King then for his solely personal entertainment and to lull him. This research project, which was intended to simulate this early Siamese original music by utilizing the facility and helping register the repertoire to a refined duplication and an analytical written musical score for wider appreciation. After the characterization of the music, these 73 songs. The performers has selected very skilled musicians under the appropriated costumes and the selected hall that fits for Ayutthaya style. We considered the use quality audio and video facilities to the best we can get to ensure quality whichever the work. After completion of recording the video has been divided to 3 discs set. Every song we translated their lyrics into English. In this precision of theory or for analysis into the book named, "Mahori of Ayutthaya". This content is all about “Mahori” since the early history and development. Moreover to be seen as a fully comprehensible, it scored in all of its parts. Lastly, will published on YouTube channel, "Prof.Pongsilp Arunrat". This project archive more further the aimed only for the upbringing these historical sound back to meet its own contemporary listeners. To reviving the past was preserving the present and the remain left as a continuously dialogue to any young upcoming.

Keywords: Traditional Thai Musical Arts and Culture , Mahori, Authentic Mahori Music, Ayutthaya Music, Thai Musical Instruments of Ayutthaya Period, Pongsilp Arunrat

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## Origin of the research questioning

Actually, Mahori, is not limited to the ancient ensemble of Thai traditional 4-instrumentalist as understood in the present. Mahori is a song or a Thai ensemble from the Ayutthaya period (C14-C18). Mahori consists of a 3-stringed fiddle, Thai aerophonic and a rhythmical-membranophonic instrument, with the theme of playing the lighthearted musician by calling its kind of music, "Mahori" that is performed with a chamber ensemble. It has the type of musical instruments on par to the western orchestra. The singer will sing along with the ensemble, which is played all together from the beginning until the song is finished. It is founded as a Classical concept of Thai historical sounding which passes and develops through the Ancient Siamese period to present-Thai. And, it is a culture, significant especially to the Royal Court as the High Arts Artisanship. For the music of the Ayutthaya period, a list of song verses and lyrics has left through time. These lyrical poems have spread to important ancient districts, the Major city under the Siamese State, such as Nakhon Si Thammarat. The Original Mahori has been forgotten for a long period of time. But in the year 1920, in the reign of King Rama VI of the Rattanakosin Period, His Royal Majesty has assigned his Royal Court Librarian which was under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab's supervision as the General in Chief to revive this music. The Court Council has started to collect all of these ancient left-behind documents. As any important inscriptions from the ancient period, it needs to have an ablation. Finally, it was printed into a book. The book included all original inscriptions and lyrics from the Ayutthaya period. The book is named, "the Complication of Mahori". It is divided into 6 parts. The first part is "The general description of Mahori". The second part is the "Song of Mahori". The third part is the Saluted poem to proper Mahori. The fourth part is the Saluted poem to proper Mahori. The fifth part is the poem from the major literature in the Rattanakosin period of 8 stories, consisting of an anthology of Phra Rodasen, Khaki, Inao, Ramayana: the story of Nangloy, Ramayana: the story of Intrajit and his Nakabasa (the magical arrows), and Ramayana: the story of Intrajit and his Prahmasastra (the magical arrows). The sixth part is a compilation of the 4 anecdotal verses for Mahori which is 1) the verse of ancient Mahori; 2) the verse written by Prince Bamrapporapak; 3) the verse written by King Rama V, including; 4) the verse for the King's (His Royal Majesty) Anthem.

There are 21 songs written consequently to be sung as Suite, amongst the fragmented 19 Ayutthaya Traditional composition of verses, 48 Peguan-styled verses and 6 Chinese-styled verses that added up to 197 verses. With reference to the music of the Ayutthaya period, this book is an introduction to the music of Mahori (Ayutthaya Chamber Ensemble), but was not thoroughly analyzed. It was later reprinted and further described by Sujit Wongthes, a Thai historical scholar, in 1995.

In 2010, Professor Pongsilp Arunrat thought of writing a book on the Mahori's Appreciation. Compiled and analyzed by his teaching experiences in "Theory of Mahori Music and Thai Traditional Soothe Music", the book is for lecturing in Thai Musical Arts Curriculum at the Faculty of Arts, Silpakorn University. By the way, it is the only course that has been taught in higher education in Thailand. It took his time to collect and compile the basic information for 7 years after inheriting the wishes of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab's who is dedicated to reviving the story of Mahori and hope to finish. At the beginning, his research was conducted by his own

funding and published on Chulalongkorn University Press. It has been distributed since 2010. Currently in progress is the 3rd edition.

The content of Arunrat's book, "Mahori's Appreciation", brought the important part of the initial book, the Compilation of Mahori, which has listed 21 verses, and brought 72 quelled lyrics. Under the researching process, all the verses had been completed only with 3 Suites, namely: the Songs of Tumkuan, the Sons of Phranakorn and the Songs of Dokmai. The rest have some missing lyrics; 6 verses were incomplete and there were 5 verses that are unidentifiable after the original compilation of Mahori's documentation was analyzed in the 1920's. Moreover, this research is intended to revive the pedagogical method and development of Mahori from the Ayutthaya period to the Rattanakosin period by a demonstration of a recorded video.

After the publication of the research was disseminated, there were many responses and from the Thai Traditional scholars as well. The publication has established a new knowledge that integrated the knowledge from the ancient. Binding with the Thai musical theory, it is a textbook for academic reference used by many university professors. Invited speakers, lecturers and demonstrations such as in Mahidol University on August 10, 2012 has shown an example of the music of the Ayutthaya period, and which can be watched at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nEhX8MRCH7Y>".

Under the anthology of reviving this historical Ayutthaya sound, the researcher has shown his creative artisanship in putting a melody on the 72 verses. These 72 verses are selected by ordering all verses in to the SUITE pedagogical of Court singing which can be analyzed as a series of Ayutthaya musical anthology of 61 verses and the 11 verses which cannot be categorized. By this anthology, the researcher has newly found the Ancient Suite complete with all verses by 3 suites as aforementioned. Both of these have been used as a demonstration of the Mahori Music in the book, including The Last Suite which has not been done before. In the tradition of Thai musical pedagogy. However, bringing them back again is possible because many melodies still remain in use as ritual songs or as music for the Thai Traditional Theatre. There are also some songs that still appear in the personal diaries of the Thai music masters. Also inscribed by Western Diplomats, which has recorded the lyrical verse in Latin with western notation, which the researcher has paid off the lyrics with the melody. This is the foundation of the Sri Ayutthaya soundscape which has the complete 73 songs in this research. The performance of "Mahori" is bringing back these songs again. For the researcher, it is like bringing the past to the present and preserving and sustaining this piece of art as a national heritage.

### **Research Objectives**

1. To conserve Mahori music on the proper methodology as a cultural heritage.
2. To revive the knowledge of Mahori music to the academic society internationally.
3. To create the case and the new methodology of the Thai Music Conservational Project

## Research Methodology

The researcher took these lyrics of Ayutthaya that we call the “72 unidentifiable original melodic verses”. After analyzing all the ancient documentation, it was found that we can add the 73th piece to the collection. There are two types of creative paths to finding those lost sounds: the first is the melody which has been written down as personal (secret) document of the Masters and as their personal notes from Phraya Pasanduriyasap (Paek Prasansap), the director general of Court Music and was written in 1933 and was accessed by Mr. Seaw Gultan, a descendant, and from Phray Bhumisewin (Jit Jitasavee), etc.

The first method is by using this founded melody composed on top of the lyrical verses. The second method, the researcher has to compose the melody to the remaining or still unfound verses, approximately 40 verses without melody. Those voices must be recomposed as sound that is very close to the singing melody of original Ayutthaya-style.

This program has selected Thai musicians who have mastered vocalizing and playing the music, with six instrumentalists, or as “the Royal Court Mahori”. The Original Thai Court Ensemble, which includes the Thai three-stringed fiddle, the Thai flute, the Thai Percussions and the Thai flute which is called “Rong-or Kalula”. It tones down lower than the normal Thai flute by about one pitch. The researcher performs the Thai three-stringed fiddle by himself and conduct the rehearsal to the fullest. Including appropriate costumes for Ayutthaya style for video and audio recording on the best quality location setting which is in the theater of Silpakorn University on the Sanam Chadra campus, a modernized theater. The theater was also selected for the expertise of recording and sound to make the work quality as best as possible.

## Research frameworks

The concept of creating music of Ayutthaya orchestra is two types: the first is to find the old melody and the second is the creation of a new melody that fits the lyrical versing of the music poetry of Ayutthaya. using the theory of bringing music that is melodious and in the same suite as the main creative idea, taking an example of the revival of the sound that has disappeared

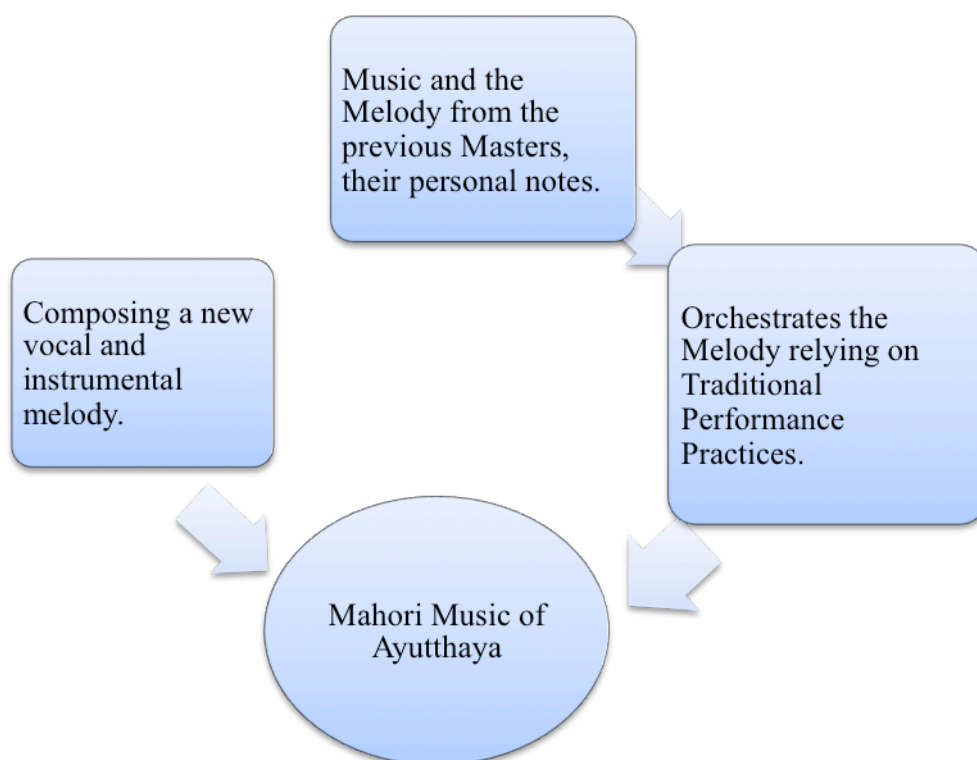
in the song of the Suite of “Orashorn,” which is comprised of small 8 songs or lyrical verse. Playing these songs or verses in order, namely: 1) Ora-shorn 2) Koo Ora-shorn 3) Sai Samorn 4) Patong Ot 5) Patong Pun 6) Patong Lakorn 7) Patong Huan.

With the complete set as a Suite, only four songs have been found with its own authentic melody under the research. But the fourth one, Sai Samon, appeared in the archives of Simon de La Loubere, writing both the lyrics in Latin and the melodious draft in the Siamese State.

These songs has been analyzed by many Thai Traditional Music Scholars because until now, it is only the source of Thai-Tone system that was derived from the exact Ayutthaya period. Montree Tramote has tried to translate this evidence into Thai as a practical song, but cannot unlock all the lyrical verses that were found.

So the creation of this song was based on the theory of the Suite performance. practising on Thai Traditional music, where the melody in the same suite often contains the same theme or musical phase. If Sai samon is the song that was used along with the other song as suite, the researcher has a reason to consider its phasing as lyrical melody for the verse-like. As well as being an important song, it was chosen as the first song to bring a melodious theme and then adjust the melody from “La Loubere’s document” to develop and form the structural sounding of a played Mahori. This method was disseminated in the seminar as part of the creative music research by the project of “Siam-French Relations Symphony” on 29 July 2016, so the creation of the Mahori of Ayutthaya is a difficult task but well-understood as Mahori. To create such songs back to play in a format that is closest to the Mahori of Ayutthaya.

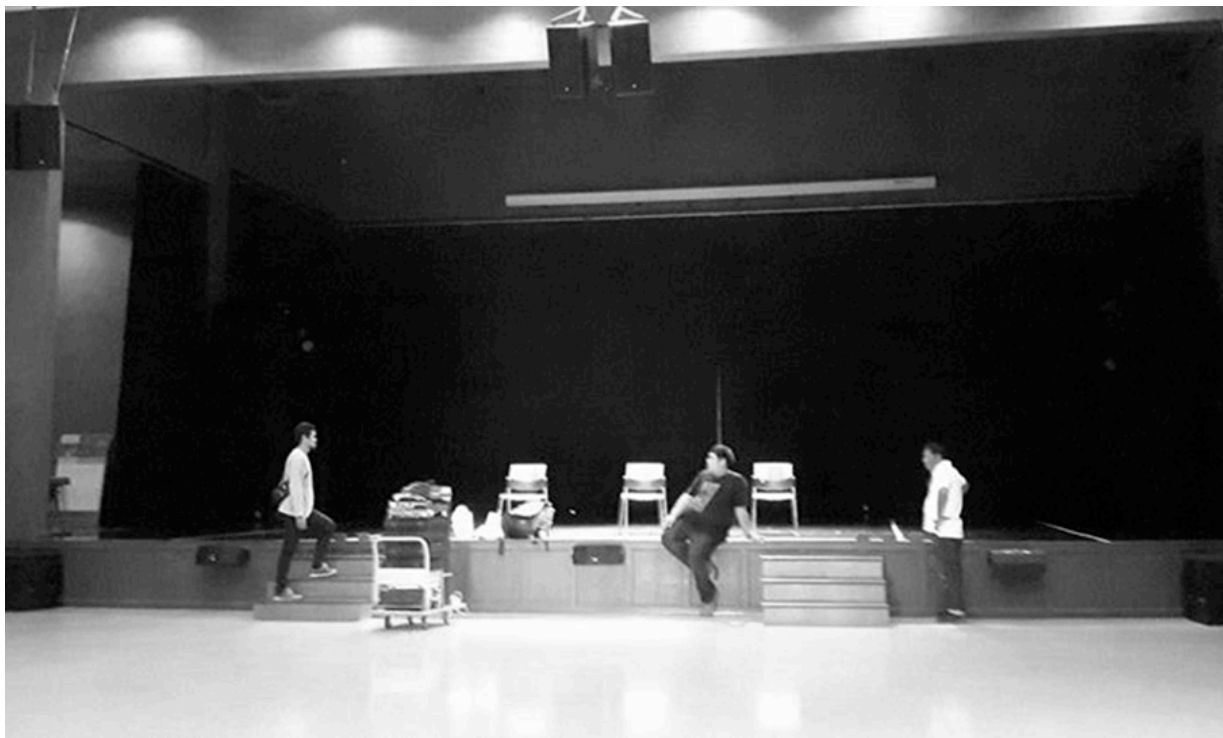
Picture1. The Principle for Creatively Sounding Mahori music of Sri Ayutthaya



Picture 2. Mahori 's Rehearsal



Picture 3. The theater of Silpakorn University on the Sanam Chadra campus



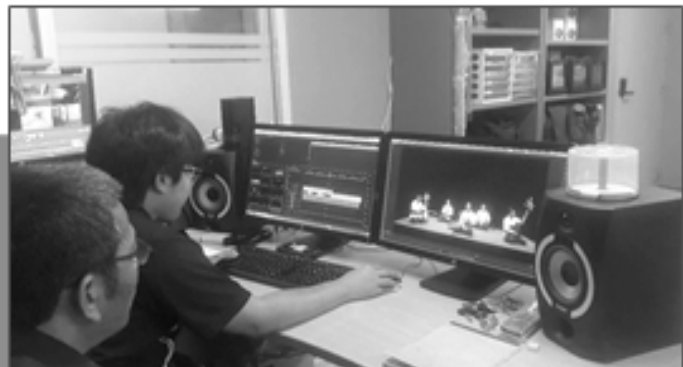
# COSTUMES IN AYUTTHAYA PERIOD



## TEAM PRODUCTION



## MIXED OF SOUND AND PICTURE





## THE FULL SCORE OF THE SONG AND THE INSTRUMENT

**สายลม**  
(Sai Samorn)

Professor Pongdipa Arunrat

The image shows a musical score for the song 'สายลม (Sai Samorn)' by Professor Pongdipa Arunrat. The score is written in Western musical notation and includes a vocal line (Voice/Tenor) and instrumental parts for Sarawad (Changeng/Adler), Rong or Khib (Thai Flute), Kajaypi (Thai Lute), Violin (V.), Viola (S.), Horn (H.K.), and Keyboard (K.). The tempo is marked 'Slowly (♩ = 65)'. The score is presented in a clean, professional layout with a dark background for the title and a white background for the musical notation.

### Research Output

After researching for one and a half years, this research can show a creative model on how to preserve the sound from the past as a cultural heritage. The 37 melodies of the songs were created to accompany those lyrical verses of Ayutthaya, which are still waiting additional proof to those sounds. The reconstruction or recomposed melody is as close to the melody of Ayutthaya as possible. Furthermore, this music is a national or public property to be appreciated by any of the next generation.

This research brings together the technology and innovation of recording and sound. To create new norms for the conservation of Thai musical knowledge in the future. Expert recording and audio recording experience are also considered in selecting the venue for the recording of a standard theater work, The result is a quality work of both audio and video. To make the digital video (DVD digital videodisc) for the series "Mahori of Sri Ayutthaya", a translation of the lyrics in English with English experts. Asst. Prof. Dr. Sasikarn Kongsak is a translator of contemporary English idioms with Ayutthaya. To make a good match between contemporary languages and make this work is widely known. It will be published on the website, <https://www.youtube.com/user/MrPongsilpa>.

The researcher has prepared for the dissemination of these major achievements, including the book, "Mahori Music of Ayutthaya" to analyze the history, development and identity of the music of Ayutthaya. The "Literature of Ayutthaya Music", which

was transcribed and notated to the full score of the song and the instrument by Dr. Francis Nuntasukon, a specialist in musical composition arts. In addition, a seminar was held to exchange and transfer knowledge of Thai Traditional chamber orchestral music, "Music of Ayutthaya", will be inviting experts in the history of Ayutthaya. The researcher performed the lecture on the demonstration of Ayutthaya. It also distributes research papers, DVD books, analysis books and notation to colleagues. All works will be distributed to libraries of academic institutions with instructions. This research will be significant for the present Thai Traditional Music to have more creative alternatives under the preservative discourse for other Traditional and Classical music as well as to address academic's problem, questions and/or issues in the near future.

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(All of these documents were written in the Thai language / translated into English only for further purposes of study)

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***Representing Inter-culturally on the Example of Indigenous Filmmaking of Colombia***

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**Abstract**

This paper investigates the idea that film has a potential to become an efficient way of intercultural communication and open dialogue between the nations. It uses a case study of indigenous filmmaking by a small Arhuaco community from Colombia, which emerged as a response to violence and displacement, and concluded in a golden era of the Arhuaco filmmaking in the region, with more far-reaching influence than initially expected. I examine the questions of the politics of representation, intercultural audiencing, the notion of the 'Other' and the question of 'translation' of concepts which are not culturally universal. I also explore the issue of 'reversed audiencing' where people who were traditionally the subjects for Western filmmakers turn to criticise these productions and use this impulse as an initiative to self-represent themselves. Ultimately, this paper proposes that film, using universal qualities of storytelling and narrative, has a potential to bridge the gap between the nations despite cultural divisions. As such, it encapsulates the most effective way of intercultural dialogue, regardless the diverse backgrounds and aims of the creators and the audiences.

Keywords: Indigenous, communication, Colombia, representation, other, intercultural

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## Introduction

Communication is a complex process which can be achieved using various tools, and it is undertaken for many different reasons. However, we can never assume equal distribution of literacy, and therefore the effectiveness of traditional modes of communication cannot be taken for granted. Two factors contributing to the success of communication are the relevance of the message and mutual understanding between the producers and audiences, reinforced by the willingness to participate in the process.

This paper draws on an extensive fieldwork conducted in 2015 and 2016 over the period of several months. Hidden on the picturesque slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in northern Colombia live four indigenous nations: the Kogi, the Arguacos, the Wiwa and the Kankuamos. They feel responsible for protecting us, the Younger Brother (as they call us) from the destruction we bring to the planet. They, as our Older Brother, possess a deep understanding of the spiritual word of nature, something we lost long ago (which made us the main culprit endangering the wellbeing of the planet). But the Sierra Nevada was also a place occupied by the guerrillas and paramilitaries involved in the internal civil conflict troubling Colombia for decades. Many indigenous people became involuntary victims of this struggle, often getting forcibly involved in the collaboration with the guerrillas or facing life-threats if they do not comply. This was the fate which disrupted a peaceful life of Amado Villafaña, an Arhuaco farmer and family man. His mother did not speak Spanish, and till then his contact with the non-indigenous world was minimal. When he refused to collaborate with the ELN guerrillas in 2002, his entire lifestyle was turned upside down. Forcibly displaced to urban dwellings, first to the nearby city of Santa Marta and then to Valledupar, Villafaña sought the guidance of a *mamo*, a spiritual leader of his community. The advice he got was to disseminate the knowledge about what happens in the region in order to gain understanding and support of external allies, but also to protect the community from any future persecutions. Villafaña, who never expressed the slightest interest in film or any other form of Western art during his quiet, rural life, found a supporter and adviser in the person of Colombian filmmaker and anthropologist, Pablo Mora. Together, they managed to secure funding for the initial training and equipment. A Collective Zhigoneshi was formed, consisting of the representatives of all four communities and focused on initiating first indigenous video productions from the region. In 2007, after five long years, they finished their first film, 'Yuawika sia: En el río del entendimiento' ('The River of Understanding').

However, adopting the new technology was not without challenges. It was not only a question of learning a tool which was previously unknown in the community, but also gaining the trust of the elders who eventually agreed to perform a ritual of the spiritual approval of the equipment to make it accepted by the community. Also, learning the film language was not enough to secure the successful application of the medium. An even more significant challenge was to 'translate' indigenous concepts into a more universal message which could be understood by the audiences which are not familiar with the Kogi or the Arhuaco world. It is not only the question of the language (the communities of the Sierra speak their own indigenous languages, with Spanish being used only by a small percentage of their society) but mainly the concepts which are fundamental to the indigenous cosmology and often have no

equivalents in Western philosophy. Finding a way around it and using correct analogies which can describe the often very complex ideas for the external viewers was identified by Villafaña as one of the biggest challenges of this endeavour. Additionally, in order to get themselves understood, Villafaña and his team made an effort to comprehend what Western audiences expect from films. As a result, they deployed into their productions a sophisticated film language backed up with a thorough understanding of the technical aspects of filmmaking, narrative and contemporary storytelling, reinforced by a perfect photography and traditional music. In many films, Villafaña recounts his personal stories and makes his children witnesses of the rediscovery of the Arhuaco history; other times he uses re-enactments of historical facts, archival photography, and the commentaries of various experts.



The first title was followed by eight others, with 'Nabusímake, Memories of the Independence' and the 'Resistance on the Dark Line' as the most influential ones. The film language in the subsequent titles got increasingly refined, and the content grew more sophisticated. Initially, the productions addressed the questions of violence in the region and served as a form to give evidence of the persecution which overshadowed the lives of the communities. They were a perfect tool to re-establish facts and give testimony of the recent traumas. However, the newly adopted tool inspired the Zhigoneshi communicators to dig deeper into their history and to address the pains of the colonial past, as well as the contemporary cultural persecution in the form of films made in the region by the external (European) filmmakers. The past encounters with external filmmakers proved traumatic for the communities of the Sierra - most of the time they were portrayed as an exotic 'Other' which can be 'discovered' and 'saved from oblivion' by European anthropologists or filmmakers (who, very often, made little if any effort to understand and align with the indigenous system of values and cosmologies). By making themselves aware of the role they played in these externally made films (the process I label 'reversed audiencing' - when the subjects become the audience of the films which depict them), they gained an agency and urge to self-represent themselves, to prove that they are a culture which

is very much alive and can speak for itself, without relying on external help. One of the most recent titles made by the collective, 'Sey Arimaku', is a highly self-reflective film contemplating the very idea of creating portraits of the 'Other' and touching on the subject of the spiritual dimension of indigenous filmmaking.



This journey into filmmaking and the surrounding politics of representation in the Sierra not only proved therapeutic but, unexpectedly, it also opened the door to participation in a much wider international dialogue with other indigenous nations and the non-indigenous world. Step by step, the voice of the Sierra started to be heard beyond the community, first in the academic circles in Colombia, and increasingly in the artistic ones beyond the border of the country and the Latin-American continent. At this moment, with a big push from Pablo Mora (who also collaborates with various film festivals), the work of the Zhigoneshi Collective is slowly reaching mainstream audiences. However, regardless of this success, the communicators from the Sierra never abandoned their own people, and they regularly screen their productions within their own communities. Years on, having attended a significant number of international film festivals and events, Villafaña and his team became a symbol of indigenous cultural resistance, not only for their region.

What makes this case study particularly fascinating is the realisation that this level of dedication and international involvement has been achieved out of deep necessity to respond to the situation of oppression and misinterpretation, rather than any particular artistic ambitions. Communication crossing the cultural divisions and the right to self-represent are at the core of the Zhigoneshi filmmaking. Against all odds, a far-reaching interest has emerged on international grounds in response to this call from a relatively small and isolated community hidden on the slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. The collective and their productions got multiple awards and travelled the world showcasing their work. They also managed to present some of their titles in commercial cinemas (just before the regular screening), and they made a film for a



local TV channel. In the end, the motivation behind reaching the non-indigenous audiences was not only to educate those who were or could potentially be the Arhuaco's and Kogui's perpetrators but mainly because the communication became the ultimate goal of their filmmaking. This also explains why they call themselves 'communicators' rather than 'filmmakers' or 'artists'. This is often of no consequence for foreign audiences, as they might still apply Western criteria for the reception of these works: they might look for an entertaining, educational piece of work with an interesting story and pleasant visual style. However, despite various expectations, what matters is that the 'message' reaches foreign audiences regardless of the cultural divisions. If this message is accepted, contested or ignored all together is a different question. What matters is the emergence of this unprecedented opportunity for the communities of the Sierra to communicate their ecological concern and engage into this intercultural dialogue which bridges divisions between the filmmakers and audiences, often coming from very different backgrounds.

The story of Villafaña and his team only proves that finding the right language and mode of communication is the crucial element of successful communication processes. The Arhuacos, in the vast majority, rely purely on oral communication in their native language. By using the film medium, they allowed for the original language to be registered and translated. The DVD set which they released included subtitles in English, French, and Spanish (as most of the films were recorded in the four native languages of the region). The translations allowed to bypass the language barrier. But even more importantly, film enabled them to 'travel' beyond the borders of their community lands, often reaching audiences on the other side of the globe.



These two factors proved critical to reaching the aim of raising the awareness of the situation in the region beyond their original environment. Except for the leaders (and now, the communicators), the community, in great majority rarely leaves their settlements. As a result, the direct communication beyond the community is

significantly reduced. The communities are also largely beyond the written communication circle. The internal communication within the Kogui and the Arhuaco world happens on a very participatory level in the form of assemblies attended by all the community members - elders, man, woman, children. They discuss the issues which concern them till all the community come to a common conclusion, without any time restrictions. Most of their activities are performed collectively, and the participation in the collective decision-making of the community is obligatory and rarely gets questioned. In the face of that, the perspective of initiating a dialogue with external partners and reaching foreign participants in this communication process might sound like a daunting task. The unexpected success of this endeavour might have surprised the makers themselves. What follows, the dedication applied to perfecting the technical skills of filmmaking and a thorough understanding of the needs and expectations of Western audiences served two purposes: to get understood by exigent non-indigenous audiences, but also to prove technical proficiency of the communicators from the Sierra in order to assure that they are treated seriously by the Western public. Unlike the Western films made in the Sierra, indigenous media, in turn, do not call for discrediting or criticising Western values. Instead, the only requests respect for the indigenous beliefs, without any ambitions to impose them onto the non-indigenous world.



## Conclusion

In summary, the situation in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta is an example of the emergence of strong self-representation initiatives of the traditional community which reached for a video tool which was alien to their culture in order to respond to the situation of violence and cultural misrepresentations. Having given evidence of their traumas and having re-established facts, the Zhigoneshi Collective created the archive and preserved memories for future generations. They also benefited from therapeutic effects of filmmaking, which cleared them from the heaviness of the situation and the impossibility to transcend the impasse. As an unexpected result of this situation, they gained a voice in international communication processes by their participation in academic events and international film festivals in various parts of the world. Having satisfied the initial reasons which initiated their filmmaking, they now moved onto more universal topics which no longer deal with traumas and repressions from the



past. They are at the stage where they refined their style and reached what I call a golden era of their filmmaking. The ambitions to self-represent themselves empowered the communities of the Sierra and gave them access to a tool which was the missing element for the success of their external communication.

We can conclude that communication undertaken with the right tools and enough effort to ‘translate’ and explain the culturally specific contexts has a potential to bypass the national and cultural divisions. Visual media offer an attractive option for communication and offer a promise of a successful intercultural dialogue. The question which follows is what we can do with this opportunity and if the filmmaking from the Sierra will remain yet another anthropologic curiosity or a genuine invitation to bridge the gap between the indigenous and non-indigenous world.



## Acknowledgements

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## *Cultural export of Japan: A Case Study of Japanese Men's Rhythmic Gymnastics*

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Official Conference Proceedings

### **Abstract**

Men's rhythmic gymnastics has been developed uniquely in Japan since late 1940s. It gains a certain amount of domestic reputation to be adopted as the main motif of the dance performance at the Olympics handover ceremony in Rio 2016, though it is neither recognised as Olympic sport nor competed in the world championships. At the ceremony, Japanese pop culture was represented in the video and at the venue Japan's prime minister played Super Mario and men's-rhythmic-led dance performance was delivered to the audience. This implies men's rhythmic is possibly one of 'Cool Japan' exports rather than just a kind of gymnastics. However, men's rhythmic once failed as an export. In the early 2000s, the committee sent coaches overseas with the aim of promoting men's rhythmic globally. World championships were held in 2003 and 2005 as a result, but since the project was aborted in 2006, men's rhythmic has not practiced in the countries with a few exceptions in Canada and Russia. In this study, the authors overview the reason why the coach dispatch project was not successful at least on a long-term basis, and then focus on an example in Canada where men's rhythmic is still practiced but as a slight different style, to describe what modifications the interviewees regard men's rhythmic needs to accomplish global success. Through these analyses, the authors consider men's rhythmic in terms of three pairs of concepts: spectacle – gymnastics for all, global – domestic, and sport – culture.

Keywords: Rhythmic Gymnastics, Sports and Globalisation, PAC Analysis

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## Introduction

In this study, the authors consider men's rhythmic gymnastics in terms of three pairs of opposing concepts: spectacle – gymnastics for all, global – domestic, and sport – culture.

Men's rhythmic as a separate form of gymnastics has been developed uniquely in Japan since the late 1940s. Women's rhythmic gymnastics and men's rhythmic have something in common, such as giving a performance to music, but rules, apparatuses and the floor are different. In individual competitions, Stick, Double Rings, Rope, and Club are performed along with dance and tumbling. Group competitions are without apparatuses and teamwork and synchronisation of all the six members are key components. Both competitions regard completeness and artistic quality as important as technique.

It is neither recognised as Olympic sport nor competed in the world championships. Still, it is grabbing international attention as a style of physical performance. Some highly respected entertainment companies such as Cirque du Soleil adopt men's rhythmic as a part of their shows. Also, it was adopted as the main motif of the dance performance at the Rio Olympics 2016 closing ceremony. At the Olympics handover ceremony, first Japanese culture was represented by Super Mario, Hello Kitty, and Doraemon (a well-known cartoon character) in the video, and then at the venue, Japan's prime minister played Super Mario and men's-rhythmic-led dance performance was delivered to the audience. This implies men's rhythmic is possibly one of 'Cool Japan' exports rather than just a kind of gymnastics.

Therefore, we consider men's rhythmic from the viewpoint of culture as well as sport<sup>1</sup>). Before the Olympic handover ceremony, men's rhythmic once failed to be globalised. However, there are a few exceptions, such as Canada, where men's rhythmic are still practiced. Through a case study of this, we also think about this sport from 'global – domestic' perspective. As for 'spectacle – gymnastics for all,' again we consider the case in Canada.

## Previous Research

Men's rhythmic gymnastics has not been researched with a few exceptions in sports medical science. Some research focuses on male gymnasts who practice women's rhythmic gymnastics such as Chimot and Louveau (2010) and Béki and Gál (2013).

Kamberidou et al. (2009) look at men's rhythmic, but in the argument 'the Japanese version of men's rhythmic gymnastics' is distinguished from 'men's rhythmic gymnastics' done in some countries in Europe. As Kamberidou et al. (2009) implies, there are differences men's rhythmic gymnastics in European countries from that in Japan. We focus on the latter in this presentation.

The previous research regard rhythmic gymnastics as female sport, and then focus on male gymnasts who do what women do. The viewpoints of the previous research are critical and fruitful in terms of gender studies; still, it is unnecessary to presume that rhythmic gymnastics (especially the Japanese one) is essentially feminine and male



gymnasts who do men's rhythmic offer food for thought for considering gender order in our society.

In particular, at least in Japan men's rhythmic gymnastics has been practiced not as feminine gymnastics but as a unique form of gymnastics. Therefore, in this presentation we don't look at Japan men's rhythmic under presumption that this sport is done by men even though it is not for men. Instead, we consider this sport from the three sets of concepts we already mentioned.

### **International Promotion by the Japanese Committee – Coach Dispatch Project**

Before showing the results, we overview what the Japanese men's rhythmic gymnasts did for promoting the sport, and how the project was aborted.

In the early 2000s, the men's rhythmic gymnastics committee of the Japan Gymnastics Association (MRGC hereinafter) sent coaches overseas with the aim of promoting men's rhythmic globally. Because there are not so many men's rhythmic gymnasts except Japan, men's rhythmic gymnastics has not been accepted as Olympic sport. Even in Japan, where men's rhythmic gymnastics has been developed for over fifty years, the existence of this sport has been endangered since around 2001, when global success came to be considered essential for every competitive sport. For all competitive sports done in Japan, it is a top-priority issue to be adopted in National Sports Festival (Kokumin Taiiku Taikai, KOKUTAI). Men's rhythmic had already been adopted, but it was always said to be jeopardised. In fact, this sport has been excluded from National Sports Festival since 2009. To bring this sport to more athletes and a wider audience, MRGC sent top men's rhythmic gymnasts to some countries from 2001 to 2006. As a result of this initiative, international competitions were held in Japan.

The coach dispatch project was interrupted in 2006 mainly due to insufficient operating expenses. MRGC carried out this project with the endowment fund, but the committee wasn't successful at increasing the number of supporters of the project. Some of the dispatched coaches also think that the project failed due to lack of planning. They think that they weren't fully informed about the objectives of the project or the missions of the dispatched coaches. World championships were held in 2003 and 2005 as a result, but since the project was aborted in 2006, men's rhythmic has not been practised in the countries with a few exceptions in Canada and Russia (Noda et al., 2017).

Other reasons why the project was aborted were assumed to be that men's rhythmic became excluded as a sport of National Sports Festival and that MRGC decided that they needed to spread this sport to all prefectures in Japan before exporting outside Japan. Men's rhythmic has not been practiced in some prefectures, and this has been made their top priority.

### **Case Study in Canada**

In Canada in particular, a unique program called MartialGym was formed. MartialGym consists of a combination of men's rhythmic gymnastics and Chinese martial arts. The representative of MartialGym is Mr Mario Lam, who the most

actively accepted the Japanese men's rhythmic coach dispatch programme. To prepare for the project, Mr Lam started MartialGym in 2002. Even after the project was aborted, Mr Lam has been continuing the MartialGym programme.

Currently, around 200 people participate every year. In classes for kids (the youngest is 5 years old), both boys and girls practice men's rhythmic gymnastics. The class for adults is more about martial arts. Each lesson is usually 1 hour long, or 1.5 to 3 hours for the advance, once a week. Kids attend lessons for fun, not for rigorous workout. For elderly people, lessons are more health-conscious. There are no championships of either MartialGym or men's rhythmic in Canada, so these lessons are more 'gymnastics for all' than competitive oriented sports. The quote below shows how Mr Lam regards competitive gymnastics and gymnastics for all.

"It is my view that competitive gymnastics is just one possibility or one stream. A lot of the details like toe pointing, extension is much needed to be at the high level. However, it is not relevant to normal ordinary folks. To encourage participation, we have to put some of the competitive aesthetic details as secondary. The primary being the foundations of movement / physical literacy." (Mr Lam)

'Gymnastics for all' in MartialGym means not just about practice levels but also about gender. Mr Lam pointed that as follows:

"We offer to both genders because as Canadians, we believe in the equality of genders. What is good for one gender should be available for the other gender. Just like karate, swimming, tennis and other sports. The rules can be different for competition, but as a sport offered to both." "It is the choice of clubs and gymnasts to decide if they want to train in the sport."

## **Methodology**

This study used the Personal Attitude Construct (PAC) method to analyse the interview data of a case in Canada. Two Canadian coaches were interviewed. Interviews were semi-structured, face-to-face interviews. Analytical procedures were carried out in accordance with the methods published by Naito (2003).

(1) The contractual relationship with subject was based on informed consent. Before interviews, subjects were briefed regarding the background and purpose of the study via e-mail, and were informed that they may freely terminate their participation in the survey at any time before and after the preliminary examination, regardless of cooperation/non-cooperation with the survey, without disadvantage to them. Subjects' personal information was handled in accordance with the study plan and interview schedule after informed consent was obtained. On interview dates, subjects were briefed regarding the same contents again in writing and informed consent was obtained through written signature.

(2) Regarding rankings of association and relative importance, the subjects were asked to write freely on notecards what they associate with men's rhythmic gymnastics and to then arrange them in order of importance. Each subject was also asked to describe the contents using the quantifiers plus (+), minus (-), and neither (0).

(3) To create a degree of similarity/distance matrix, subjects were asked to sort their notecards by importance to see the matrix of the cards and to describe the distance between all cards in a range of 1 (nearest) and 7 (farthest).

(4) Cluster analysis was performed using Ward's method in SPSS as a subordinate technique. The precipitated dendrograms are shown in Figs. 1 and 2. Numerals written on the right side of each card in the figure represent importance rankings. Regarding Interviewee A's cluster, it is assumed that the interval distance is divided into seven sections with the interval distance being approximately 2.5. Regarding Interviewee B's clusters, the interval distance was divided into seven as a draft proposal by the experimenter.

(5) Regarding subject interpretation and reporting, subjects were first asked to check the interval distance in the dendrograms. Next, subjects were asked what meaning/intention they had with each card, why they attributed plus/minus/neither quantifiers to each card, and what name would be suitable for a particular group of clusters, for each group of clusters. The subjects were then asked to think about the structure holistically. Audio was recorded using an IC recorder and transcriptions were also taken.

(6) Comprehensive interpretation was performed by two transcribers. In addition to interpretation by the subjects, we also interpreted the interview information such as importance rankings that the subjects themselves did directly elucidate.

## Results

The dendrograms are shown in Figs. 1 and 2. Numerals written on the right side of each card in the figure represent importance rankings.

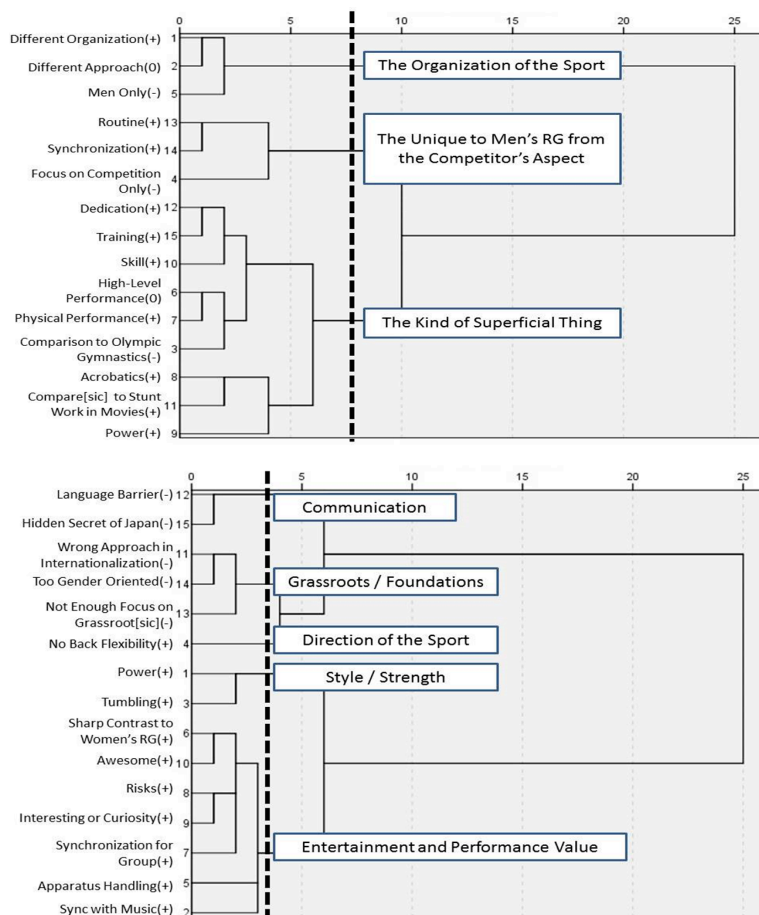


Figure 1: Dendrogram (Interviewee A)

Based on our results, it can be seen that Interviewee A strongly recognizes the identity of men’s rhythmic gymnastics. Cluster 1 and Cluster 2, in particular, were responses that emphasized the identity of men’s rhythmic gymnastics. The overall importance ranking also shows that the top three items account for the fact that men’s rhythmic gymnastics are different from other gymnastics. The uniqueness of men’s rhythmic gymnastics was recognised positively and the hypothetical situation that that uniqueness was lost and the content of the competition becoming more similar to women’s rhythmic and other gymnastics were negatively evaluated.

In the previous research (Noda et al., 2017), some instructors dispatched from Japan to overseas were concerned about changes in the sport and its rules as the sport was promoted abroad, and there were also some who believed that there was no choice but to accept changes even though they don’t want the sport change. Interviewee A’s viewpoint, which insists that the identity of men’s rhythmic gymnastics should not be lost, is a view that was shared by the Japanese instructors and no cultural differences were found based on this result.

Interviewee B's impression of men's rhythmic gymnastics consisted mainly of critical considerations regarding the dispatch of instructors from Japan during the 2000s. Unlike Interviewee A, Interviewee B's answer is more about strategically internationalising the sport than perceptions of each performance or the sport itself. This is presumably because Interviewee B's involvement in the sport is mainly as an instructor and a promoter, rather than as a gymnast.

Interviewee B also mentioned that he had great concern regarding the issues associated with the internationalisation of men's rhythmic gymnastics and that it would be necessary to spread the sport globally in a manner different from those utilised in the past. Regarding these different methods, Interviewee B offered the idea of opening the sport to both genders, and having a competition 'at the grassroots level'; that is, Interviewee B regarded the sport is at a little too extreme level.

Like Interviewee A, Interviewee B also recognized the great importance of the identity of men's rhythmic gymnastics and also recognized strength in being distinct from women's rhythmic gymnastics. As expressed specifically in cluster 4, men's rhythmic gymnastics have a strength component to Interviewee B.

### **Discussion (1) Spectacle – Gymnastics for All**

According to the results, both interviewees regard men's rhythmic gymnastics as a unique sport and they consider the sport to be independent rather than merged into other sports like women's rhythmic gymnastics.

They also think that grass-roots level practices need more attention. They consider more opportunities for beginner are necessary to develop this sport.

We already mention the recognition of men's rhythmic gymnastics as spectacle in some examples such as Cirque du Soleil and the Olympic handover ceremony. The interviewees don't underestimate those accomplishments the gymnasts and coaches achieved, but just suggest diversification of this sport. This implies that to be spectacle and to be gymnastics for all are not in conflict. At least for the interviewees, men's rhythmic can develop by including both concepts.

### **Discussion (2) Global - Domestic**

The Canadian interviewees have the idea of opening the sport to both men and women. Also, they changed the name of the sport into a new one. This doesn't mean that the essence of the sport is lost. They are really interested in and respect what has been done as men's rhythmic gymnastics in Japan, but they think the sport needs modification to be globalised.

Men's rhythmic gymnastics is only for men in Japan. This is because this sport is the counterpart of women's rhythmic gymnastics. To take a part in rhythmic gymnastics is necessary both for men's and women's rhythmic, because including both genders have importance for a sport to join national-level sports competitions such as the interscholastic athletic meet.

Although men's rhythmic and women's have very different rules, if men's rhythmic was positioned to be an independent sport, this would decrease opportunities for taking a part in competitions. This makes difficult for men's rhythmic to stress their originality and the difference between women's and men's rhythmic gymnastics. In a way, men's rhythmic becomes independent only after this sport was exported to another country. Changing names could mean changing the sport drastically. However, the modification can also make the sport independent, which was impossible when done under the Japanese organisation.

This example shows that globalisation might change the sport drastically and at the same time can realise the essence of the sport.

### **Discussion (3) Sport - Culture**

The Canadian interviewees think this sport should focus more on participants at the grass-roots level. On the other hand, because the sport is highly appreciated as amusing and spectator genre of physical performance, the Japanese coaches are likely to think that they should attract people with highly skilled professional performance.

When regarding the sport as a culture, or an art form, it is an effective way of making men's rhythmic survives to attract the audience with a skilled performance. On the contrary, as a sport, not only practices at advanced levels but also at introductory levels are necessary to be done to increase participants.

Here, we take another example from previous research by the authors (Hata and Noda, 2015).

According to the research, fans of men's rhythmic first knew the sport on TV. Watching TV might be an ordinary way to recognise a sport, but men's rhythmic is not the same as other sports because the fans watched not the sport programme but an entertainment documentary show which featured high school boys who practiced men's rhythmic.

Some said that they were attracted to the sport they never knew about, but there were many comments online that said they were attracted to the boys striving for their goal. This is because of the character of the show. Men's rhythmic was introduced in a section of the show, which features unique club activities at high school. In the show, men's rhythmic was rather an activity of boys than a sport. For the audience of the entertainment show, men's rhythmic might be more like a kind of cultural practice than just a sport. Championships and showcases of men's rhythmic hardly ever be broadcast on TV, thus it is a little difficult for most people to get to know about men's rhythmic as a sport.

However, developing as the sport by enhancing practices at different levels means desterilizing people's interests to this sport for the growth of this sport. If the grass-roots level was not well organised, people would not be able to join the sport even if they are attracted to this sport and become interested in doing this sport. Therefore, strengthening each level of the sport and emphasising its magnetism in its cultural practice are both not to be lost.

To be a sport and at the same time to be a culture makes men's rhythmic unique, attractive, and original.

### **Conclusion**

This study considers men's rhythmic gymnastics from the three sets of concepts: global – domestic, sport – culture, and spectacle – gymnastics for all. In conclusion, we describe the sport according to these three sets of concepts. Men's rhythmic gymnastics has been tried to be promoted to be a global sport, and in doing so, the characters of the sport can be supposed to change in tune with a global market. For example, as we look at a case in Canada, it is possible that the sport will be open to both gender and different levels of practitioners. Also, for both fans and gymnasts, men's rhythmic gymnastics is a kind of a form of physical performance as well as sport, and this characteristic makes men's rhythmic gymnastics unique, attractive and original.

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### **Footnotes**

1) Gymnastics is sometimes distinguished from 'sports', but the authors understand the meaning of 'sport' in a broad sense and position men's rhythmic gymnastics as a part of 'sport.'

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