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Abstract
The study analyses whether, in the context of Chile’s concentrated media ownership, the press shows trends towards a uniform framing of viewpoints in news about the actions of the government, political parties or civil society. A content analysis isolating positions of the sources and the media themselves regarding the framing of their quotes, will permit to establish the tendency towards a homogeneous or diverse behavior of six reference papers studied, especially the two leading newspapers, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*. The research is based on the perception of unfairness with their audiences, because the Chilean press is considered dramatically homogeneous and subject to monopolistic practices, which would reduce the social actors represented in it, and consequently limit the diversity of approaches and perspectives on important social events presented to the public. Our earlier studies with editorials detected that Chilean newspapers tend to be very similar when judging responsible parties, always balancing acceptance and rejection and always less critical of the government than of civil actors. Methodologically, the study also allows to test if the generic frames proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), which are already validated in other countries and cultural contexts, serve the purpose of empirically analysing Chilean media. Like numerous international studies on framing, the analysis of the data shows that when dealing with political news in Chile, journalists mainly use the frames of attribution of responsibility and conflict. However, the use of the generic frames analysed here is surprisingly low in the Chilean press as a whole.

Keywords: framing, news sources, Chilean printed press, political and governmental news
Introduction

There is a progressive repetition of the premise that the global phenomenon of concentration of media ownership is not only restricting the plurality of the media available, but is also generating a homogeneous treatment of journalistic content.

In Chile, this situation has been considered especially perceptible in the written press owing to the duopoly conformed by El Mercurio SAP and Copesa SA, the two companies that publish nearly 80 per cent of the newspapers in the country (Mönckeberg, 2009; Sunkel & Geoffroy, 2001; Couso, 2011), which has also been called an “ideological monopoly”, because their owners follow the neo-liberal economic model and believe in value-based conservatism (Sunkel & Geoffroy, 2001).

Should this homogeneity be confirmed, it would validate the current questioning of the press which, according to the majority of communication researchers addressing the issue, should empower citizens and contribute to democratic development, monitoring economic and political powers, especially in the government and in the political class¹, through the diffusion of diverse representations that enrich public discussion on debatable political and government issues (Schudson, 2008; Aladro, 2013; Baum & Groeling, 2008).²

These antecedents validate the relevance of this project³ that analyses the journalistic contents of six Chilean reference newspapers so as to establish the existence of the above mentioned homogeneity. In order to do this, it works with an approach that is still relatively unexplored in Chile, which is the analysis of the framing the media have used in political and government news, so as to detect if there is a persistent repetition of the approaches or perspectives used to inform public opinion of socially relevant events.

The methodological tools of framing and its definitions of generic frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Vreese et al., 2001; Elenbaas & de Vreese, 2008), are used in a content analysis of the following: El Mercurio and La Tercera, the flagship newspapers of the two principal media companies in the country, Publimetro, the free commuter newspaper, which is the only significant newspaper published in the capital that does not belong to these companies; the popular newspaper La Cuarta, and two reference regional media, Concepción’s El Sur and La Serena’s El Día.

The starting point here is that the frames analysed in this work have been outlined in previous studies as the most recurrent items in political news. The general objective is then to determine the frame that the medium attributes to the statements of each

¹ Research Fondecyt Project 1110306, which precedes this one and studied the inter and intra media homogeneity of editorial stances, established that the most important social actors in terms of the criticism and responsibility attributed to them in socially relevant issues are government authorities and the political actors and political organisations.

² The following were consulted, among other authors: Sjøvaag (2010); Whitten-Woodring & James (2012); Ortega (2003); Hallin & Mancini (2008).

³ Project financed by Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Científico y Tecnológico de Chile FONDECYT, Project N°1150217 (2015-2018) [the Chilean National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development]. Our thanks to our coders from the Communication Department, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile: Daniela Pradel, Monserrat del Pino, Valentina Valenzuela and Piedad Vergara; and research assistants: Victoria León and Paz Vásquez.
source and to the contributions of the journalist in political news items in Chilean newspapers. This is done to establish the eventual existence of trends in the use of frames that might explain the perception of homogeneity in journalistic contents.

Theoretical framework

This research investigates the Chilean press because the reference newspapers and the papers with largest circulation in the country, including their digital versions, are the most frequented spaces for accessing political and government news (Godoy & Gronemeyer, 2012). Lochard and Boyer (2004, p. 89) argue: “despite the enormous competition of the audiovisual media, the written press has known how to maintain a leading position in the media system, demonstrating its great capacity to adapt to extremely changing historical circumstances”. Porath’s studies of presidential campaigns (2007a, 2007b) also show the reference press’s capacity for agenda setting in this process, which goes far beyond that of television, where the human factor is predominant (Porath et al., 2009).

The press is expected to contribute to the “adequate understanding” of the environment, which implies knowing the preferences of politicians and their options regarding values (Schudson, 1995). Carpentier (2007) points out that news companies should influence the sociopolitical context with their discourse. And the majority of communication researchers agree with this requirement because they believe that the media are capable of influencing the priorised social values, attitudes and aspirations of a community through the ideas, opinions and political stances they present to public debate (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009; Chià & Cenite, 2012; Harp et al., 2010; Javier Mayoral, 2005).

The relevance of sources

The ascendancy of a journalistic text is related to its sources of information and the statements provided by these sources, but always subjected to selective editing in the news building process (Neuman et al., 1992).

In the case of controversial or debatable issues, sources of information can contribute to public debate with a plurality of voices and nuances. Apreza (2005, p. 66) specifies that media pluralism does not necessarily imply more information media, but rather “the greatest number of opposed sources of information available to the public or to different publics”. For this reason Casero and López (012) conclude that the use of sources is a relevant indicator of journalistic quality, and as Carlson has stated (2009), “in epistemological terms, sources represent an essential form of evidence”. For Aller (2012), a newspaper with no sources is mere propaganda.

Nonetheless, the recurrent opinion is that the media mainly print official sources without contrasting them, reproducing their statements from the viewpoints and experiences of governments and the political class (Villamarin, 2013; Romero, 2013).

In this sense, Sunkel and Geoffroy (2001, p. 5) state that in Chile “the establishment of a society whose access to information guarantees pluralism and diversity has been scarce in these past decades” and Maria Olivia Mönckeberg (2009, p. 13) radically states “in few countries in the world does it acquire such extreme forms, where
diversity is conspicuous by its absence in the written press and is strongly limited in television”.

The frame as a tool of analysis of contributions from sources

In order to provide empirical data to these perceptions of homogeneity in the Chilean press, this paper has its methodological base on the analysis of a frame given to a textual content, which Entman (2007, p.164) redefines as “the process of selection of a few elements of perceived reality and the editing of a narrative that enhances the connections between them to promote a specific interpretation”.

For example, research by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), de Vreese (2004), de Vreese et al. (2011) and Matthes (2012) has established that framing can increase or reduce the relevance attributed to the event when the audience forms its own political judgment. And Matthes (2007) proves that the recurrent repetition of a frame probably has an impact on the perception of an event.

The experience and accumulated knowledge examined leads us to believe that framing tools, which are described in detail in the chapter on methodology, are functional when it comes to establishing the eventual existence of a tendency to a homogeneous focus on the statements that sources of information have made on political issues, using the same frames to reproduce their interventions. And that this homogeneous trend could be replicated in the medium’s contribution to the news item.

This proposition applies the five categories of generic framing used and validated by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in their studies on communication media and politics. Nevertheless, as opposed to the many studies on framing that analyse a key event, for example immigration or a military conflict, this work analyses trends in the use of these frames in political and government news in general, in different years, and in what are considered to be “normal” periods. It also innovates in the sense that the units of analysis are not complete articles, but the statements of each of the information sources quoted. This research looks for the frame that specifically contains the statements of each source quoted in a text as a way of establishing the tracks that they leave in the public sphere – it is understood that by the medium’s decision – so as to see if they cover the same pathways when passing from one source to another. This analysis contributes to determine if the media analysed tend to use the same frames for different sources, which, if true, might influence the public perception of uniformity in Chilean newspapers.

Research questions

The following research questions arise from the discussion above:

Q.1. Which are the most frequent frames in the six newspapers analysed when reproducing statements by their sources in political and government news items? Are there any significant differences according to year?
Q.2. When comparing the six media analysed, is there a significant variation in the use of frames for statements issued by sources, according to type of source?
Methodology

In order to answer the research questions, the following newspapers were selected for analysis considering the gravitation of their news spaces and their high levels of circulation: *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, the two principal papers belonging to El Mercurio SAP and Copesa SA, the two largest news companies in Chile; *Publimetro*, the most read commuter paper from Monday to Friday\(^4\), independent from the two large news consortiums; *La Cuarta* one of the two tabloid or popular newspapers in Santiago that covers political events with a less spectacular focus and for which it could be compared with *Publimetro*. In the regions, the choice was the two reference papers of the capital cities of their respective region: *El Sur*, published in Concepción (Region VIII in the south of Chile) and *El Día*, published in La Serena (Region IV in the north of Chile). *El Sur* and *El Día* permit the observation of a newspaper belonging to one of the two newspaper chains (*El Sur* belongs to the regional chain of El Mercurio SAP) vis-à-vis an independent newspaper.

The study sample was obtained from newspaper items published in two constructed weeks in 2007 and 2015, that go from the end of March to the beginning of May (to avoid the impact on the media of the presidential address of 21 May) and between October and November. These two constructed week samples, which consider “normal” periods, are the recommended sampling method for estimating the content of each year of newspaper editions (Riffe et.al.; 1993; Hester & Dougall, 2007).

The key events are relevant for forming public opinion, for which it is important to analyse the frames of topics with social impact (de Vreese, 2003). Although many investigations into frames have been circumscribed to a specific news event at a given time, in this work the choice was to measure trends in the use of the frames of events that have a social relevance in general. The key topics here were those which were given simultaneous news coverage in the two national reference newspapers. Furthermore, the way in which these events were covered by the other two Santiago newspapers was analysed.

The texts of the four Santiago media correspond to political and government news covered both by *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* in the days of the constructed week. By extension, these were also the notes selected from *Publimetro* and *La Cuarta*. For the regional papers, all the news published in the chronicle section during the constructed weeks was analysed. The objective of this was to see which news items are being addressed by the regional media, provided that they have a different agenda from their counterparts from the capital.

By government and political news we mean the articles, reports, interviews and their corresponding boxes, published in the national or political news sections of the six newspapers under study that address information on and decision making regarding matters pertaining to the government or to the executive, the political class or political parties, or movements and social actors that apply pressure for changes in public policies.

A total of 866 chronicles was collected: 260 from 2007 and 606 from 2015. The practically twofold increase of 2015 chronicles is due to the fact that that was a year

\(^4\)Valid, 2nd semester 2013
in which important cases of corruption were discovered in political and government institutions, which received ample news coverage.

**Unit of analysis and categories of analysis**

The unit of analysis for the study of the frames of source statements in the news sample was the quotation or set of quotations – both direct and indirect – of a same source within a same journalistic text.

Indexing of the material included context variables of the news articles, like date, medium, title of the news item, classification of sources and word count of the quotes, among others.

The 17 categories that had been used in source classification in previous research were used here, and they were later recoded into seven categories: government, official public, official private, political parties, testimonial / documentary / expert sources, unidentified, undefined and own medium. The “own medium” category was created for this study and all information contained in a news item that is not provided – directly or indirectly – by a source, was attributed to it. A total of 3,514 sources were indexed: 1,103 from 2007 and 2,411 from 2015. We should remember that the doubling of 2015 sources has been caused by the extensive media coverage of the cases of corruption exposed that year.

The analysis of the source content frames used five validated categories of studies on communication media and politics (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; de Vreese et al., 2001; Elenbaas & de Vreese, 2008). They correspond to generic frames, which are applicable to a wide range of topics (de Vreese et al., 2001): ‘attribution of responsibility’, is a frame that makes a government, individual or group responsible for an event or issue; ‘conflict’, alludes to controversies between individuals, groups or institutions; ‘human interest’, offers the human aspect or emotional angle of events or issues; ‘economic consequences’, approaches an event from its economic consequences for an individual, group, institution, region or country; and ‘moral judgment’ places the event or issue within a framework of religious acceptance or ethical mandate. Each category is accompanied by indicators or questions pertaining to the frames, which are measured by a dichotomous scale ranging from 0 (not present) to 1 (present). Igartua and Muñiz (2004) propose a Spanish adaptation of the Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) categories, which in this research was tested and adjusted to the Chilean context. This procedure does not compel the framer to decide which is the predominant frame, but only answers ‘yes’ and ‘no’ to all indicators. A subsequent statistical analysis determines the prevailing frames.

**Coding processes and analysis of intercoder reliability**

As suggested by Krippendorff (1990), in order to improve the reliability of the instrument, the quantitative indexing was carried out by a team of three coders that are independent from the principal and co-researcher in this project. A code book operationalises the categories of analysis and, successive training sessions were held with the indexers prior to the indexing itself.
During the coding process, a sub-sample was selected and subjected to an intercoder reliability test. In the case of the 2007 sample, a reliability test was applied to a sub-sample of 120 randomly chosen cases (10.9% of the total), with the participation of the three coders.

Considering the average of the five indicators that comprise the attribution of responsibility index, the index of coincidence (Holstí Index) was 0.832; 0.925 for the four indicators of the human interest index; 0.839 for the four indicators of conflict index; 0.920 for the three indicators of moral judgment index, and 0.943 for the three indicators of the economic framing index.

Similarly, for the measurement of the 2015 intercoder reliability, 257 cases (10.7% of the total) were selected and the average indexes of coincidence for each index were: 0.766 for attribution of responsibility; 0.909 for human interest; 0.868 for conflict; 0.895 for moral judgment and 0.931 for economic framing.

Findings

If we consider the bibliography discussed above, the differentiated analysis of the statements made by each of the sources that comprises a complete chronicle shows a low level of application of the analysed frames on the part of the Chilean print newspapers (Table 1). Even the highest values observed here are far below the mean values reported in other researches, with the exception of the human interest and moral judgment frames (for example, Semetko and Vakenburg, 2000). We must consider the fact that the frames studied here have been identified in international research papers as the most recurrent in political news. This is in fact an interesting point that might contribute to describe a particular journalistic treatment of political and government news in Chilean reference papers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Attribution of responsibility</th>
<th>Human interest</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Moral judgment</th>
<th>Economic framing</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.231</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.254</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.202</td>
<td>.134</td>
<td>.240</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.218</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.206</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>.166</td>
<td>.236</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANOVA: F (1, 3512) 3.070 20.365 30.602 .317 .001

p < 0.000 < 0.000 .574 .981

Even then, in this general Chilean context and coinciding with the findings of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) on political news, the frames that are most often used to frame statements by sources are those pertaining to conflict and attribution of responsibility. In Chile, the other three frames are used at practically insignificant levels. When observing changes from one year to another, we see that the conflict frame diminishes, while the attribution of responsibility frame remains unchanged, and therefore becomes the most important. Furthermore, the use of the human interest frame increases from 2007 to 2015.
Analysis of frames separated according to media and years

The general trend in the use of frames is repeated in almost all the media in 2007 (Table 2). In five media analysed, the conflict frame is the most recurrent, followed by attribution of responsibility. The exception is the regional paper *El Sur*, where the order of priority is inverted.

In fact, of the six media analysed, this is the medium that makes less use of the conflict frame. *El Sur* is definitely the paper that differs most from the rest in terms of use of the other frames, although, as we have already said, the application of three of the five frames is, in general, scarce. *El Sur* tends to apply more human interest and economic frames than the rest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Attribution of responsibility</th>
<th>Human interest</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Moral judgment</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>El Mercurio</em></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.251</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.294</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.194</td>
<td>.104</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>.132</td>
<td>.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Publimetro</em></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.205</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.270</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.205</td>
<td>.122</td>
<td>.247</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Tercera</em></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.277</td>
<td>.058</td>
<td>.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.188</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.152</td>
<td>.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Cuarta</em></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.218</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.261</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.172</td>
<td>.110</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>.130</td>
<td>.220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>El Sur</em></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.264</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>.194</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.212</td>
<td>.177</td>
<td>.220</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td>.248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>El Día</em></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.204</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>.228</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.211</td>
<td>.136</td>
<td>.236</td>
<td>.122</td>
<td>.164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANOVA</td>
<td>F (5, 1097)</td>
<td>3.058</td>
<td>6.655</td>
<td>5.226</td>
<td>.656</td>
<td>18.864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>&lt; 0.000</td>
<td>&lt; 0.000</td>
<td>&lt; 0.000</td>
<td>.657</td>
<td>&lt; 0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2015 (Table 3), *El Sur* continues to be the newspaper that shows the greater difference from the rest in terms of the more or less intensive use of the five frames. But some changes are seen in the general trend. This time, the two regional media (*El Sur* and *El Día*) stand out for their use of attribution of responsibility and human interest frames. Nonetheless, there is a difference as regards the use of the other three frames by these newspapers. *El Día* is the paper that applies the conflict frame less and *El Sur*, is the medium that uses moral judgment more.

The popular newspaper *La Cuarta* is also the most removed from the general model, as it presents its own profile. The frame it uses most is attribution of responsibility, followed, at a similar level, by conflict and human interest. In fact, this is the medium
that most clearly resorts to the human interest frame and that definitely does not make use of the economic frame.

The two national reference media, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, have a very similar profile, which is also partly shared by the commuter paper *Publimetro*. These media tend to use the conflict frame, followed by attribution of responsibility. Despite the fact that in 2015 there was an increase in their use of the human interest frame, it should be pointed out that they are the media that make less use of this frame. The only difference between these three newspapers is the greater use that *Publimetro* makes of the economic frame.

![Table 3: Frames separated according to media and year; 2015](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Attribution of responsibility</th>
<th>Human interest</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Moral judgment</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Mercurio</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.187</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.220</td>
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<td>.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.198</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.128</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Publimetro</td>
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<td>.083</td>
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<td>.093</td>
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<td>Standard deviation</td>
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<td>.154</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>.173</td>
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<td>.214</td>
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<td>El Sur</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.219</td>
<td>.168</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.157</td>
<td>.176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Día</td>
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<td>.254</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>.166</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.226</td>
<td>.158</td>
<td>.222</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analysis of separated frames, according to type of source**

This is a comparison of the six media in the years 2007 and 2015, to establish which are the most frequently used frames for the quotes of the seven categories of analysed sources. In general, it is seen that the trend is also repeated for each type of source for each of the years studied. The basis for 2007 (Table 4) reveals that in the sources classified, the conflict frame index has the highest value, followed by attribution of responsibility. The most notable exception is government sources, whose statements are reproduced with a higher value for the attribution of responsibility index and an evidently lower value for conflict.

On analysing the index variation within each frame—in other words, its use—between the categories of sources used, we observe that this changes significantly in each case. In other words, the same frame is used to a greater or lesser degree for each type of source. For example, attribution of responsibility is used more in government sources and less in testimonial sources. The conflict frame is used far more when reproducing
statements issued by official public sources and political parties, and far less in the case of government sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of source</th>
<th>Attribution of responsibility</th>
<th>Human interest</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Moral judgment</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>N</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>.099</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.197</td>
<td>.148</td>
<td>.243</td>
<td>.160</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified / Undefined</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.187</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.238</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.171</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>.233</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testimonial / Documentary / Expert</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.157</td>
<td>.132</td>
<td>.203</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>.214</td>
<td>.123</td>
<td>.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own medium</td>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>.071</td>
<td>.213</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.194</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.206</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>.043</td>
<td>.182</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
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<td>.110</td>
<td>.222</td>
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<td>.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official public</td>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>.335</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.192</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>.252</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.275</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.222</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.259</td>
<td>.180</td>
<td>.110</td>
</tr>
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<td>&lt; 0.000</td>
<td>&lt; 0.000</td>
<td>&lt; 0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2015 (Table 5), the situation is in general similar to what has been described up to now. The use of the conflict frame is reduced in various types of sources, such as unidentified, testimonial, government, official public and political parties, originating the general reduction that has already been described in Table 1.

As regards the research question on the variations in the use of frames according to type of sources, the reply is that, in effect, their application varies significantly according to type of source, and that the 2007 pattern is partially repeated.

For example, attribution of responsibility is more used in government sources and to a lesser degree in testimonial / documentary / expert sources, and also in unidentified sources that year.

The conflict frame is used much more when reproducing statements by official public sources and political parties, and much less in the case of government sources, and this year, once again in testimonial / documentary / expert sources. As regards the human interest frame, its most visible use is in testimonial / documentary / expert sources and it is practically not used for political party sources. Regarding the economic frame, in a context of reduced use, it is most frequently seen in contributions from the own medium, and less frequently seen in political party statements.
Table 5: Frames separated according to type of source and year; 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of source</th>
<th>Attribution of responsibility</th>
<th>Human interest</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Moral judgment</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Mean</td>
<td>.237</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td>.294</td>
<td>.089</td>
<td>.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.209</td>
<td>.172</td>
<td>.257</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified / Undefined</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.169</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.178</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.178</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.225</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testimonial/ Documentary/ Expert</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.165</td>
<td>.148</td>
<td>.158</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.177</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.218</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>.186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own medium</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.193</td>
<td>.114</td>
<td>.190</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.181</td>
<td>.183</td>
<td>.208</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.305</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.142</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.259</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>.204</td>
<td>.169</td>
<td>.146</td>
</tr>
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<td>Official public</td>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
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<td>.133</td>
<td>.258</td>
<td>.161</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.200</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.257</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
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<td>.091</td>
<td>.262</td>
<td>.139</td>
<td>.139</td>
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<td>&lt; 0,000</td>
<td>&lt; 0,000</td>
<td>&lt; 0,000</td>
<td>&lt; 0,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**El Mercurio and La Tercera frames according to type of source**

As seen in tables 2 and 3, El Mercurio and La Tercera are similar in the index values of the five frames, and in our theoretical discussion we addressed the generalised criticism made in Chile to their uniformity. For this reason, and for the fact that these are the two most relevant national media, we analyse the sources used by both in 2015, the most recent year of our study.

A general overview shows that El Mercurio and La Tercera apply different frames to the statements of different types of sources. Not all sources have the same index value. This 2015 analysis (Table 6) refutes the central presumption that these two reference Chilean newspapers tend to a homogeneous approach to the statements of those sources in political and government news, using the same frames to reproduce their direct or indirect quotations in a same timeframe.

Depending on the type of source, both El Mercurio and La Tercera present different index values in each of the five frames analysed. Nonetheless, the most interesting observation is whether their pattern is relevant.

For example, in 2015, in El Mercurio, the attribution of responsibility frame is used significantly more often in direct quotations and indirect references by the government sources, and much less often by testimonial / documentary / expert sources.
Similarly, in this same medium, the human interest frame is used more frequently in interventions by the own medium, and practically never in the statements of official public sources and political parties. On the other hand, the conflict frame is applied when reproducing the statements by official public sources and partly, in the case of private sources, and very rarely in the case of testimonial / documentary / expert sources. Moral judgment maintains low levels of use in all types of sources, with official public sources using it most and the own medium being the source that less uses this frame. Finally, the economic frame is used most by El Mercurio in its own texts, and to a lesser degree by official private sources. It is almost never used when reproducing statements by official public sources and political parties.

This permits the establishment of a profile of the frames provided by each type of source. In the case of El Mercurio, government sources stand out above the average by their contribution to the attribution of responsibility frame; official public sources for their greater contribution to conflict and moral judgment frames and for their absolute lack of contribution to the human interest and economic frames.

Political party sources tend towards an average contribution, although they also contribute practically nothing to these last two frames. The own medium contributes significantly to the human interest and economic frames, and almost not at all to the moral judgment frame. In general, the other three kinds of frames tend to an average contribution, although testimonial / documentary / expert sources contribute less to the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames, while official private sources tend to contribute to the conflict and economic frames.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Type of source</th>
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<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Moral judgment</th>
<th>Economic</th>
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<td>.209</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>.077</td>
<td>.165</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Testimonial / Documentary / Expert</td>
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<td>.110</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Own medium</td>
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<td>.137</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>.063</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.016</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.250</td>
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<td>.025</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>.220</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.068</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ANOVA $F$ (6,585) $p$ < .000

La Tercera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Type of source</th>
<th>Attribution of responsibility</th>
<th>Human interest</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Moral judgment</th>
<th>Economic</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>.308</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.232</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.069</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ANOVA $F$ (6,503) $p$ < .000

In the case of La Tercera, in 2015, the attribution of responsibility frame is used significantly more in direct and indirect quotations by official public and government sources, and much less by testimonial / documentary / expert sources.

In that same medium, the human interest frame is used more in quotes from testimonial / documentary / expert sources, although it also has an important impact.
on the texts included by the own medium, and is practically not used when reproducing the statements of the political parties. The conflict frame is clearly used in the text supplied by the own medium and also in the case of official private and public sources. Finally, the economic frame is most often used in its own texts, and is almost not used when reproducing the statements issued by official public sources.

When comparing *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, in general there is a greater similarity between both media in the greater or lesser use of a same frame applied to the same types of sources, but with some significant differences. For example, if we consider the attribution of responsibility frame, both assign it a lower value when quoting testimonial / documentary / expert sources and a high value in the case of contributions by the own medium. But, in *La Tercera*, the highest value is seen in official public sources. Both assign a higher value to the conflict frame in the statements of official public and private sources, but *La Tercera* stands out because it gives great weight to this frame when it provides its own comments on an event. In the case of the conflict frame, there are definitely significant differences between both media. In the case of the human interest frame, both *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* assign it a low value in the case of government, official public and political party sources; in fact, this is the lowest value in the case of *La Tercera*. Besides, *La Tercera* uses this frame less in the case of unidentified sources.

In *La Tercera* the most frequent use of the human interest frame is seen when it quotes testimonial / documentary / expert sources and, in *El Mercurio* when the contribution comes from the own medium. The moral judgment frame is similar in the sense that it is practically not used in texts provided by the own medium, and there is a more intensive application in the case of quotes by official public sources. But *La Tercera* makes an even greater use in the case of official private sources. As regards the economic frame, both media are similar in that they make little use of it for official public sources, but *El Mercurio* also uses it less for political party sources. And another similarity in the use of the economic frame occurs when both newspapers frame the texts supplied by the own medium.

**Discussion**

In general terms, from the findings shown here, the first thing we notice is the scarce use made in Chilean political news of the five frames analysed, and which, according to the literature, are recurrent in international studies on communication and politics. It should be remembered that, as opposed to those works that focus on specific studies, in this study the focus is the general journalistic coverage in the political and government area over a period of two years, and that the use of frames is measured from specific elements in the text: the direct and indirect quotations of each source of news.

There were changes in the years analysed - 2007 and 2015 – but they did not have a dramatic influence on the general trend observed, which shows that the most frequently used frames in Chile are also conflict and attribution of responsibility, although there was an increase in the human interest frame. Despite the fact that Chile saw extremely mediatic cases of corruption in 2015, there was no change in the general tendency to use the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames, although there was a reduction in the use of the human interest frame.
The use of the five frames acquires more or less intensity according to type of medium. In 2007, the application of frames in the regional media is clearly distinguishable from that of the Santiago newspapers. And in 2015 there are also news media in Santiago that differ from *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, especially the popular newspaper *La Cuarta*.

Finally, there is a significant variation in the value of the frame according to type of source. The sources analysed in seven categories tend to provide different frames. For example, there are clearly frames that give more value to the human interest index, while others give more value to the economic index. In addition, these differences are reproduced when making a detailed analysis of *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, the two national reference papers that are supposed to be very similar. It is this suspicion that sustains the thesis of homogeneous content treatment in both media. This paper reveals that in spite of being similar, there are also significant differences between them.
References


Abstract
“Often ignored in media coverage of the Egyptian revolution is how protests led by labor unions—many of them women based labor unions in the manufacturing cities of Egypt—catalyzed the revolution,” says Nadine Naber. Women are at the heart of every social movement that happens in Egypt and the Arab world. Nevertheless, the local media keeps portraying women as submissive or oppressed, which directly and indirectly feeds into the continuing practice of street violence and sexual harassment against women in Egypt. With the alarming statistics documented by local women’s NGOs of violence against women in recent years, this research attempts to document the nature of local media portrayal of violence against women, outline its reasons and repercussions, and figure out the possible solutions to improve women’s image in the Egyptian media. Through conducting in-depth interviews with NGOs, experts, media professionals and renowned figures it aims to find ways to counter the unfair socially-accepted justifications, and thus help limiting the actual violence exercised against women.

Keywords: Egypt, violence against women, harassment, sexual harassment, media representation
Introduction

Since more than a decade ago, Egypt has witnessed alarming levels of violence against women and girls with rising numbers of sexual harassment incidents and mobs’ sexual assaults. Women’s rights NGOs’ involvement in countering this phenomenon has propelled the media to cover physical and sexual violence against women, especially since the uprisings of January 2011 and June 2013. Nevertheless, the mainstream media coverage of violence against women remains occasional and limited to significant incidents of sexual harassment, while violence also extents to exclusion and stereotyping in political life.

Violence against women in Egypt is a socio-cultural political phenomenon, due to a male-dominated culture and a patriarchal authority, as well as the deteriorating economic conditions, and the widening gap between social classes and categories. It is also integral to the wider context of political violence, the struggle over power as well as the violence against women. So, we can safely argue that violence against women is used in politics to strangulate women’s participation in all politics and political events. According to a UN Women study in 2013, sexual violence and harassment reached 53 percent of Egyptian Women, political violence aimed at stereotyping and exclusion from political life 27 percent and domestic violence 20 percent (Badran, 2014). Twelve percent of women do not report harassment in fear of societal attacks (Egyptian Center of Women Rights). In addition, Egypt is ranked the 6th in the 10 most unsafe countries for women in the world (wittyfeed.com, 2016).

“Street sexual harassment is an endemic social problem that harms women both physically and psychologically and violates their basic rights to safety and mobility,” (Towards a Safer City, HarassMap.org). According to UN Women, 99.3 percent of Egyptian women say they have been subjected to sexual harassment at least once in their lives, 49.2 percent of them say it happens daily and 48 percent of them say it happens more since the 2011 uprising. In addition, there are 500 reported cases of mob sexual attacks in Tahrir Square, since January 2011 (Keeping Women Out, 2014). If we linked them to the violence by political forces in 2005 and 2010 elections, we find that street violence against women has been systematic to halt women’s political participation and stereotype them to a limited number of roles where they do not compete with men (Guenena, 2013). The predominantly state-controlled mainstream media plays a crucial role in stereotyping women as well.

Especially after the fall of the Mubarak regime, attacks against women participating in the demonstrations have been on the rise. Then, in early days of SCAF (Supreme Council of the Armed Forces) rule, women protesters were arrested and forced to undergo “virginity tests” and reports of rape by mobs in Tahrir square emerged. The media was completely silent about this until reports of international NGOs were published in the foreign press that they had to admit it had happened. Then, under Mohamed Morsi’s presidency, sexual attacks were continuously reported during Tahrir protests. Witnesses and survivors reported:

Tens of men surrounded the survivor tore off their clothes and groped their bodies. Some were raped by multiple perpetrators, who were often armed with sticks, blades and other weapons. Security forces failed to intervene to protect
female protesters, prompting citizen movements to set up their own security patrols, (Keeping Women Out, 2014).

With the alarming statistics documented by local women’s NGOs of violence against women in recent years, this research argues that the negative and unfair media coverage of violence against women feeds into the systematic societal and state violence exercised against women. By consulting the current and contemporary status of mainstream media coverage, conducting in-depth interviews with media experts, women’s NGOs, and social psychologists, this research attempts to counter the unfair socially-accepted justifications for such phenomenon by outlining its roots, and figuring out ways to delimit its growth through the media, the state and the NGOs.

Media Coverage of Violence against Women in Egypt:

The mainstream media coverage of violence against women in Egypt has always been biased against women holding them responsible for this violence in direct and indirect ways. Despite that fact the mainstream media negatively reports on sexual harassment against women at work and in the street, the media discourse on the issue of political involvement of women is divided between supporting and opposing women in politics (Abu Youssef, p.1).

Violence against women in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, issued in December 1993 (resolution 48/104), adopted by the UN General Assembly, is defined as “any act of gender-based violence [that] results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life,” (Article One). Article Two specifies that “Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

a. Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation, and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;
b. Physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women, and forced prostitution;
c. Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs,” (Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women,1993).

Looking into those three criteria, a comprehensive study of print and broadcast media coverage of violence against women indicates biased, sporadic and superficial coverage. The print media discourse does not reflect in-depth coverage or regular campaigns combating different forms of violence against women. Rather, most coverage was in response to particular incidents or as part of coverage of public events, not a newspaper’s initiative to combat violence as a social phenomenon. Print
media tackles issues of domestic violence hesitantly and neglect issues considered taboo and not to be addressed (Abu Youssef et al, p.20).

Analysis of the coverage of community violence confirmed that print media discourse has contributed to creating a type of psychological violence against women. This happens by demeaning women’s image in discussions of crime-related issues, diminishing them through caricatures, or objectifying them as mere bodies or sex advertisements. Commenting negatively and denigrating the image of women when reporting on community violence brings into question the journalists’ awareness of the forms of violence against women. As a result of the sporadic and insufficient awareness of violence against women, the journalistic discourse is very general and does not reflect unique environments or social classes (Abu Youssef et al, p.20).

The print media coverage was also primarily oriented to the elites, the upper class, and upper segments of the middle class, with rare exceptions. As a result, forms of violence that are prevalent among the poorer social classes, such as sexual harassment in factories and fields, incest in slum areas, and trading of girls through so-called summer marriages, are absent from the print media discourse agenda. The print media did not offer solutions to issues of either domestic or community violence against women addressed (Abu Youssef et al, p.21).

Television, the most important means of affecting awareness among the Egyptian population, addressed issues of violence only periodically, and avoided discussions of critical issues such as domestic violence, the last on its agenda of interests. Egyptian television programs typically opposed community violence, and addressed domestic violence as a result of the general spread of violence, unemployment, and disintegration of the family. They did not suggest solutions to these problems nor encourage society to combat violence. Moreover, radio and television drama on family conflict depicted women as solely responsible for family disintegration. Moreover, they suggest that the best way to reform a woman is to reproach or hit her, and such violence is always presented in a justifiable manner that will appear to viewers as the appropriate solution (Abu Youssef et al, p.25).

**Effort to Combat Violence against Women:**

1- **Grassroots Effort: Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs):**

NGOs play the most part in combatting all forms of violence against women in Egypt, but their role remains limited in the absence of a clear media strategy and effective legal frame. Various NGOs conduct large-scale awareness campaigns, but their biggest challenge remains in rural and slum areas, and indigenous communities, where people are deeply insecure and feel suspicious towards any development effort. Those campaigns, conducted by various anti-sexual harassment movements, track harassment cases, via social media and send organized teams of volunteers to intervene in mob assaults to protect women from harassers in public places. According to Mosleh (2015), they encourage people to use social media to expose harassers, employing a number of hashtags—among them #AntiHarassment and #ExposeHarasser. The goal is to speak out against the daily sexual harassment they witness or experience, breaking the silence surrounding these crimes.
NGOs also use mobile technology and alternative media to spread awareness of women’s rights and improve women’s image: Two significant cases are HarassMap and ACT-Egypt. HarassMap, launched in 2010, make use of digital media technology to spread awareness and collect data via crowdsourcing means. Taking the advantage of social media and the widespread of smart phones in Egypt, HarassMap encourage women and men to report incidents of sexual harassment as they experience or witness them. The website “maps” the reports online and in real-time. HarassMap.org is an “interactive mapping interface for reporting incidents of sexual harassment anonymously and in real time.” According to Grove (2015), the project uses of “spatial information technologies for crowdmapping sexual harassment.” Trained volunteers encourage people in public places to take a “zero-tolerance” approach towards sexual harassment.

Another alternative medium counter the lack of awareness of conventional media is to convey equality and present women as capable human beings is the project developed by ACT-Egypt and produced a film “In the Mirror,” which exposes this lack of awareness. The film tells the story of a woman in her 50th birthday searching for her “true” self after having lived her life seeing her reflection through a “mirror” called “media.” She remembers her life since childhood, and goes through the changes that happened in Egypt, and compare and contrast them to the women’s image in the media during the same period. Featuring interviews with media experts, and specialists in psychology, sociology, advertising and celebrities to explain women’s image in each historic era, the film analyzes the nature and characters of filmmakers, to illustrate how to illustrate how their ideologies and social and political attitudes influence their vision of women’s role, and in re-enacting this vision through the media (Media and Gender Justice, 2014).

“In the Mirror” has been adopted by some human rights and women organizations as “an advocacy tool” to fight violence directed towards women through media. Some independent filmmakers expressed intention to begin a series of productions and deliberations with media monitoring organizations. overall, there is a now a core of civil society organizations, academics and writers who take the issue of gender-focused media monitoring more seriously as seen through their work (Media and Gender Justice, 2014).

2- Political Violence and the Anti-Harassment Law:

Sexual assaults against women protesters in Tahrir Square put the issue of political violence against women into the public and media spotlight. It has been a long-standing and systemic problem in Egypt representing a major obstacle to women’s participation in politics and political events. According to the report Keeping Women Out, these crimes have been constantly met with “almost complete impunity,” with successive governments failing to address the crisis. Violence targeting women protesters is “aimed at silencing women and preventing them from participating in protests. Many of the survivors and witnesses interviewed believed that attacks are coordinated and seek to break the opposition.”

While the Keeping Women Out report documents numerous cases of harassment over the last few years, no one was ever brought to justice since March 2014: “no investigation has been opened.” Impunity by both the state and society contribute to the continuation of such crimes, as the perpetrators know they will not be held
accountable. Labelled as an “epidemic” such violence is met with absolute impunity a climate of tolerance.

In addition, the lack of legal definition of sexual harassment, which covers a wide range of actions, from flirting to rape, also contribute to this. NGOs who work on raising awareness report that women do not know what constitute harassment; verbal and visual harassment, such as name calling or sexual invitation, are not recognized as so. There is a social tendency to downgrade the actions, so that the survivor reports, for example, sexual assaults and rape as sexual harassment (Keeping Women Out, 2014). This minimization of such crimes, by the state and the predominantly state-controlled media, makes them invisible and socially accepted.

The state failure to address the violence against women, according to the report Keeping Women Out, is well reflected in the widely spread discriminatory political and religious discourse reflected in the mainstream media, which blames the survivor and imply that women should not be in public places. While several religious clerks blamed women for their own harassment arguing that they wear provocative clothes intentionally to be harassed. In the meantime, there is an increasing number of youth, males and females, volunteering to prevent sexual harassment, protect survivors, expose perpetrators, and document incidents. The factors fueling this persistent violence include, the lack of security, blaming the survivor with shame and stagnation, the climate of impunity and the lack of accurate data and statistics (Keeping Women Out, 2014).

In June 2014, and in the day of the inauguration of the current president nine women were raped by mobs while celebrating in Tahrir square, with one assault caught on video causing widespread outrage as it went viral online. Sisi visited the woman who was assaulted while she was in hospital, and made a public commitment to tackling impunity towards sexual violence and harassment in Egypt, which was widely praised by the predominantly pro-government state-controlled media (Sexual Violence, 2014).

This act that was met with large skepticism from the women’s rights campaigners and activists, as just a media show more than anything else. First, the issue was politicized by the media “to imply that the sexual violence has solely been perpetrated by the Muslim Brotherhood during the post-revolutionary period since 2011, rather than an epidemic in which the police, the military, and the judiciary (through widespread failure and willingness to prosecute) have all been complicit.” Second, Sisi was responsible for the forced ‘virginity tests’ when he headed the military intelligence during the SCAF period in 2011 (Sexual Violence, 2014).

The law introduced in 2014 that criminalized sexual harassment for the first time, was criticized by anti-harassment activists for “not going far enough in its sanctions against harassment, and not being practicable.” Activists were concerned by “who will be prosecuted under the new law: namely, that it will be deployed to make sexual harassment and sexual assaults ‘apolitical’, by punishing the crime when it is committed by civilians but not providing oversight to ensure apparatus of the state such as the police and the military do not, themselves, also commitment sexual violence and harassment,” (Sexual Violence, 2014). A deep-rooted cultural problem cannot be resolved by just a law that is applied by the same people who reportedly committed this crime repetitively.
Research Outcome and Recommendations:

To figure out solutions to the endemic issue of violence against women and in specific sexual harassment, in-depth interviews were conducted with 15 of media professionals, media figures, human rights experts, women rights activists, which included the following recommendations:

◦ The media should use positive terms, such as survivor not victim
◦ Not to ask or use information that imply ethical judgments that held the survivor socially responsible, such as, what she was wearing or what time in the night.
◦ There should be a balance between the audience right to know and the survivor’s privacy.
◦ Sexual harassments are not individual incidents; they are part of socio-political/cultural context. This must the reporting context.
◦ The media should be able to provide the survivor with information of rehabilitation or legal centers that can help them.
◦ The media should not downgrade the violence, and report rape as harassment and harassment as flirting and so on.
◦ The media should stress the principle of equality between men and women designated in the constitution.
◦ Ethically the media should be on the side of the survivor not the criminal. This does not negate the principle of media objectivity.
◦ To combat the problem, the government, the media people should synchronize efforts with anti-harassment NGOs, Women’s NGOs, rehabilitation and legal centers to raise awareness at grassroots level, and to report accurately and regularly on the issue.

Conclusion

To conclude, this study demonstrates the strong correlation between media-aided state violence and societal violence. Societal acceptability and justification of violence against women is backed by the systematic violence exercised by the state along with the favorable mainstream media coverage for such crimes. To counter this, the state must adhere and enforce the anti-sexual harassment law and the penal code to prevent violence against women, and raise the societal awareness about women’s rights in equality and freedom.

NGOs and civil society organizations are exerting its utmost effort to combat violence against women in various formats, through documenting violence on their websites, conducting awareness campaigns as well as training teams of volunteers to combat street sexual harassment. Those teams act as body shields for women in large gatherings and social celebrations, such as the two Islamic feasts. NGO members bring into attention the amount of violence exercised against women by reporting and documenting it on social media. The availability of such information in social media and making them available the public sphere, forces the mainstream media to cover such news, invite them to speak and thus, spread awareness on a wide scale when there are grand violations.

In addition, NGOs use of alternative media, such as HarassMap using crowdsourcing technology to gather and map accurate and up to date information to document violence. At the same time, they encourage women to report what they come across
anonymously. ACT Egypt, also, has produced a film that grabbed significant attention towards the amount of violence to which women are subjected.

All such effort, however, will not be effective enough in combating this phenomenon unless there is a concerted effort from the side of the government, to enforce laws protecting human rights, along with the mainstream media, together with the NGOs to improve the status of women and the image of women, and thus the level of awareness in society.
References


Badran, Mona (2014) Violence against Women. UN Women Egypt


Media and Gender Justice: Alternative Media to Fight Violence against Women in the Media (27 August 2015) VAAC, http://www.waccglobal.org/articles/alternativemediatofightviolenceagainstwomeninth medias


Appendices:

Civil Society organizations combating sexual harassment and assaults:

- El Nadeem for the Management and Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence and Torture
  https://www.facebook.com/elnadeem/?fref=ts

- Egyptian Centre for Women’s Rights (ECWR)
  http://ecwronline.org

- Task Force for Combating Sexual Violence

- Harassmap
  http://harassmap.org

- Basma (Imprint Movement)
  https://www.facebook.com/Imprint.Movement.eg

- Operation Anti Sexual Harassment (OP Anti-SH)
  https://www.facebook.com/opantish

- Tahrir Bodyguard

- “Shoft Taharosh (I Saw Harassment)"
  https://www.facebook.com/Shoft.Ta7rosh

- “Against Sexual Harassment”
  https://www.facebook.com/Ded.Ta7rosh

- “Expose Harassers”
  https://www.facebook.com/efda7.mota7resh

- Banat Masr Khat Ahmar (Egypt’s girls are a red line)
  https://www.facebook.com/banatmasrkhata7mar

- Initiative for Female Egyptian Lawyers

Contact email: rousha@aucegypt.edu
The Examination of Adolescents’ Motives, Relational Maintenance, and Intimacy in their Communications with Parents

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Abstract
The widespread and mobile access to new technologies has affected adolescents’ daily lives. Prior studies have attributed the influences of emerging technologies to the negative effects of adolescent behavior, while little attention was given to the results of family relationships. Drawing from the perspectives of media uses and gratifications and family relationships, this study develops an empirical model by investigating the connections between adolescents’ communication motives and their perceptions of relational maintenance and intimacy with their parents. The uses of media technologies, family communication patterns, and the parents’ roles are also included to explore the multiplicity of the relationships.

A group of 307 adolescents were surveyed and analyzed by statistical methods. The results show that adolescents prefer using instant messaging to communicate with their parents, which motivates them to express their feelings and assurances. In addition, geographical location and family communication patterns affect adolescents’ perceptions of communication motives, relational maintenance, and intimacy. Finally, the empirical model is proved to not only compare the adolescents’ perceptions of using different media in family communication but also reveal the consequences that correspond to the parent–adolescent dyads relationships. The implications are expected to help social workers and parents to consolidate relationships with adolescents through the complement of new communication media.

Keywords: adolescence, family relationship, new communication media, uses and gratification, intimacy
1. Introduction

The widespread and mobile access to new technologies has affected adolescents’ daily lives. They are labeled as digital natives or the n-generation. Prior studies have argued that most adolescents squander their time in online communities and have reduced the amount of time spent in communicating with friends and family members in person, and thus created negative effects such as Internet addiction, relational isolation, and family conflicts. The phase of adolescence in the process of human development is normally fragile and sensitive and it requires much attention from parents to understand the importance of communication technologies in family relationships.

In addition, within the field of media effect, in recent years scholars have continued to investigate the influences of new media technologies on the development processes of adolescence, ranging from TV, personal computer, to Internet and mobile phones. However, the communication contexts and content vary when compared to face to face and online communication. The conclusions are not capable of explaining the effects derived from new technologies and the consequences of adolescence, such as the levels of relational satisfaction, intimacy and behavioral patterns. The family relationship of adolescents, measured by the frequency and duration of using the new technologies does not explain the interrelations of the family members, technology uses, and adolescents’ behavior. Different results have been published based on constant evaluations of adolescents’ access to various technologies (Blackshaw, 2009; Boase, Horrigan, Wellman, & Rainie, 2006; Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, & Smith, 2007; Macgill, 2007). According to a survey by Pew Internet Project in 2013, over half of adolescents use smartphones and spend more time online than with their parents (Madden, Lenhart, Duggan, Cortesi, & Gasser, 2013). Other studies also show both adolescents and parents’ use of technologies are subject to the differences in gender, age, family income, and parents’ education (Brown, Childers, Bauman, & Koch, 1999). More parents and adolescents regard new technologies as a tool to communicate with others (Boase et al., 2006; Lenhart et al., 2007; Macgill, 2007; Madden et al., 2013; Schwartz, 2004), which motivate us to explore this topic in detail.

The conclusions of the impact of new technologies on adolescents tend to be more negative than positive. Scholars argued that adolescents are overly immersed in virtual communities based on the conditions of time and frequency and lack of communication and relational development with the physical world (G. S. Mesch, 2003; Nie, Hillygus, & Erbring, 2002; Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008). In contrast, the lack of physical cues might yield more benefits for people to express their inner thoughts and emotions by avoiding physical contact with others (Riva, 2002). Schwartz (2004) offered some advantages of computer-mediated communication between children and parents, such as eliminating tensions, more organized thoughts, or new ways of communication by filtering the non-verbal cues. Acknowledging the pervasive debates between the intervention of new technology and the impact of family relationships, the aim of this study is to develop an empirical model to understand the intention of communication technologies utilized by adolescents, which results in their motivations and perceptions of relationships with parents.
2. Literature review

Family communication is critical to the adolescent development stage. The effectiveness of family communication is associated with positive development of adolescents’ capabilities in different perspectives, such as attachment, social comprehensions, and abilities of cognition and emotion (Vuchinich, Ozretich, Pratt, & Kneedler, 2002). Olson (1993) defines positive adolescent–parent communication as when either adolescents or parents can utilize the communication skills to maintain the family relationships and increase the adaptabilities and cohesion of family members, and thereby establish a healthy family environment. Most family studies explored the connections between communication media and results of relationships rather than interactive processes and behaviors. Their scopes of exploration are also limited to a specific family group, such as spouse, sibling, and adolescents rather than the dyads relationship between adolescents and parents. Vogl-Bauer (1999) considered whether the adolescents’ or parents’ strategies of relational maintenance would influence how they communicate with each other and the consequences of their relationships.

2.1 Adolescent’s use of new media technologies

Like other generation, scholars consider the uses of new technologies, such as the Internet, are mainly for communication and maintaining relationship with others. Hence, most studies argue that adolescents would seek support and relational ties through online communications with peers (Gunuc & Dogan, 2013; Lee, 2009; Lenhart et al., 2007). New relationships and communication can be established by the emergence of new technologies that people use, which also make prior studies adjust their framework based on the use contexts of new technologies (Lenhart, Lewis, & Rainie, 2006).

Lee (2009) summarized the related works on Internet use by adolescents and concludes with four principles: substitution, reinforcement, consolidation, and social compensation. Prior studies that support the principle of substitution argue the time spent on new technology has occupied the time span on social life and directing the feelings of individuals (Gunuc & Dogan, 2013; Kraut et al., 2002; G. S. Mesch, 2003; Nie et al., 2002). In contrast to the viewpoint of substitution, the scholars who support the principle of complement believe that people can expand new relationships and intimacy with others, which are irrelevant to their usage on the Internet. According to their findings, adolescents’ feeling of family communication and social support increase along with the increase of online usage. (G. S. Mesch, 2003). Following the principle of consolidation, scholars conclude that adolescents’ online relationships can be consolidated in combination with their existing social network. In other words, adolescents may feel a stronger need to contact with peers after online communications with the same groups. Finally, the principle of social compensation is attributed to the adolescents’ personality. Adolescents who are introverted and socially anxious can gain help from the applications of new media technologies, such as E-mail and instant messaging, to expand their peer communication and relationships. Hence, researchers are in consensus that the adolescents’ usage of new technology and development in their personal relationships are complex. Insights of connections between technology usage and adolescents’ relationships can be
comprehended by comparing different communicative users, technologies, level of relationships, and results (G. Mesch & Talmud, 2006).

2.2 The motivations of interpersonal communication

To further understand the determinants that family members communicate with each other, prior studies applied theories from social psychology, such as Motivation Theory (Dweck & Leggett, 1988) or Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) (Ajzen & Madden, 1986) to understand how individuals create motivations through the needs of cognitions and provide an overall assessment based on the surrounding environment and personal abilities toward generations of human behaviors. Meanwhile, individuals are inclined to utilize tools or resources to satisfy their needs, which are assumed to be goal-oriented. Hence, it is crucial to understand the individuals’ motivations and perceptions in order to explain their behaviors in the use of new technologies. Originated from Motivation Theory, Schutz (1966) and Rubin (1988) incorporate the needs of others and develop the scales for measuring the individuals’ motivations of interpersonal communication. Schutz (1966) believes that people interact with each other because they want to satisfy their needs from others. Hence, he believe there are three motivations that initiate from interpersonal communication.

1. Inclusion: inclusion refers to the purpose of interpersonal communication, which is to achieve a satisfactory engagement and partnership with others.
2. Control: the purpose of interpersonal communication is to maintain individual power and influence others.
3. Affection: the purpose of interpersonal communication is to maintain love, worship and passion between each other.

Later, Rubin et al. (1988) added three interpersonal motives:
1. Pleasure: interpersonal communication is to be happy.
2. Escape: the aim of interpersonal communication is to cancel or avoid further communication.
3. Relaxation: it is easy to be relaxed through communicating.

According to the original scales of interposal communication motives by Rubin et al. (1988), six dimensions are illustrated as pleasure, affection, inclusion, inclusion, escape, relaxation, and control. The measurement of interpersonal communication motives are also verified by other scholars to achieve both reliability and validity (Barbato & Perse, 1992; Graham, Barbato, & Perse, 1993; Martin & Anderson, 2009; Myers, Brann, & Rittenour, 2008).

2.3 Relational maintenance

The initiation and termination of interpersonal relationships is gradual development evolved with different time spans and formats of interactions. Altman and Taylor (1973), in their theory of social penetration, use the profile of an onion to show the width and depth of personal relationships. The process of interpersonal relationships is involved with relational establishment, reinforcement, maintenance, delusion, and termination. Through message communication and self-disclosure, individuals are capable of increasing or maintaining relationships with others. It is also critical to verify the causal links between interpersonal communication and relational...
maintenance. The applications of such connections can be also applied to specific groups of communicators, such as spouses, friends, and relatives (Canary, Stafford, Hause, & Wallace, 1993; Dindia & Canary, 1993). Unlike the subjects in prior studies, adolescence is a stage of human development with huge transitions in both physical and psychological aspects. Hence, the adolescents’ relational maintenance with parents is requires further attention (Thorton, Orbuch, & Axinn, 1995). Stafford and Canary (1991) propose the development of relational maintenance in two dimensions: the phases of relationship, referred to as the four stages of human relationship, and the relational strategy, which people utilize to connect with the others. The composition of relational maintenance consists of five dimensions—positivity, openness, assurance, social network, and task sharing. Synthesized from prior works of relational maintenance, most studies emphasize friends and intimate partners. Little research was found that portrays the maintenance of family relationships, especially the relational maintenance between adolescents and parents (Caughlin, Koerner, Schrodt, & Fitzpatrick, 2011). In addition, the intervention of new media technologies, such as the Internet, led to the various comparisons between individual relationships in online and offline environments. Most research topics are surrounded by friendship maintenance and are not extended to the scope of new technologies and relational maintenance between adolescents and parents.

2.4 Intimacy

The definition of intimacy in general refers to the level of disclosure and mutual share of personal thinking, feeling, common interests or even imagination. As mentioned above, the phase of adolescence is when children begin separating from their parents’ protection and control and gradually evolve to establish intimate relationships with others. Researchers have compared adolescence with other stages of human development and concluded that the relationships between adolescents and parents are full of tensions and contradictions. The adolescents may hold different opinions to their parents and are expected to generate family conflicts that affect their development of personal relationships at school and further expand into society (Roming & Bakken, 1992). Solomon, Warin, Lewis, and Langford (2002) hold the belief that intimate conversation between children and parents is associated with family communication and benefits maintaining a good family relationship. Hu, Wood, Smith, and Westbrook (2004) revealed the connections between personal uses of instant messaging and intimate relationships, but their study was limited to exploring new relationship between friends and was not extended to intimate relationships between adolescents and parents. Meanwhile, Subrahmanyam and Smahel (2011) believed that individuals’ perceptions and consequences of intimacy are determined by different communicative partners. Few studies has been conducted to explore the connections between relational maintenance and level of intimacy during the intervention of new communication contexts and further attention should be given to this (Parks & Floyd, 1996).

The intimacy of interpersonal relationship is regarded as a multi-dimensional construct. Miller and Lefcount (1982) examined how social intimacy affects individuals’ relational satisfaction. Tolstedt and Stokes (1983) further divided the concept of intimacy into intimate relationships in terms of verbal, affection and physical contact. Moss and Schwebe (1993) explored the marriage relationship and
pinpointed that the intimacy of loving partners exists within cognition, affection and physical contact, including both physical and psychological commitment.

2.5 Family Communication Patterns (FCP)

Family communication is regarded as a long-term and crucial indicator in human relationship development. With the advent of TV into family life, the media uses and family relationship becomes a central subject among communication studies (Brown et al., 1999; Chaffee, McLeod, & Atkin, 1971; Lull, 1980). The model of A-B-X, proposed by McLeod and Chaffee (1972), regards the family communication patterns as oriented by the effects from social and conceptual origins. Acknowledging the importance of family communication patterns toward personal relationships and media choice, Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2002) extend the concept of McLeod and Chaffee (1972) and propose two major patterns, conversation-oriented and conformity oriented. The conversation orientation describes a family scenario where every family member can freely discuss and participate in all kinds of topics, including sharing individual activities, thoughts and feelings on family occasions. In contrast, the conformity orientation emphasizes the homogeneity of each family member’s attitude, value and beliefs in a family. The principle of family communication is determined by harmony, conflict avoidance and interdependence. In traditional family contexts, children often follow the suggestions and decision making from their parents. Based on this anatomy, family communication patterns can be further categorized as consensus (i.e., high conceptual and high social) and pluralistic (i.e., high conceptual and low social), protective (i.e., low conceptual and high social) and laissez-faire (i.e., low conceptual and low social) (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002). It is shown to be a reliable tool to understand and evaluate the impact of family communication on the development of personal relationships, such as psychological responses, conflict management and relational quality. Marketing researchers consider how the patterns of family communication would affect individuals’ motivations in media use and interpersonal relationships and further affect their social learning and decision making, respectively (Moore & Moschis, 1983; Moschis, 1985). Researchers attempt to evaluate the impact of family communications on other aspects, such as parent–adolescent relationships and peer relationships. Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990) pointed out that the communication patterns between father and mother are varied in their communication with children. Ledbetter (2009) believed that family communication patterns directly affect adolescents’ peer relationship and level of intimacy. Barbato, Graham, and Perse (2003) believed that family communication patterns are associated with communication motives. As the subjects of family communication patterns were previously examined in western countries, Zhang (2007) believes that the effects of Confucianism and structure of Asian family should be also taken into account.

2.6 Communication reticence

Reticence is defined as individuals avoid communicating with others as a result of believing that the more they talk the more mistakes can happen. They choose to remain silent (G. M. Phillips, 1984). Researchers show that the evaluation of students’ reticence is helpful in finding students’ problems of verbal communication ability (G. M. Phillips, 1991). Past studies also revealed that they tend to use computer-mediated communication if they are shy, silent, and preferred thinking (Kelly & Keaten, 2007; Kelly, Keaten, Larsen, & West, 2004; Stritzke, Nguyen,
Durkin, 2004). The measurement of reticence, developed by (Keaten, Kelly, & Finch, 1997) includes six dimensions—anxiety, knowledge of communicative topics, time control, organization of thoughts, memory and reticence. Reticence is applied to compare the students’ differences in the use of various communication media, such as E-mail (Kelly, Duran, & Zolten, 2001), instant messaging (Kelly, Keaten, Hazel, & Williams, 2010) and collaborative learning systems (Sherblom, Withers, & Leonard, 2013). The extant research has never applied the measurement of reticence in the effects of adolescents’ communicative motives, relational maintenance and perceived intimacy toward communicating with parents.

2.7 External effects

The relationship between adolescents and parents is genetic-bound and cannot be forced to be separated by any mean. The intervention of new media relied on the long-term and mutual interactions between both parties. Other factors associated with psychological determinants should also consider their effects respectively, such as adolescents’ gender, age, family background, communication media, and family communication patterns.

2.7.1 The gender of adolescents and parent’s role in the family

Males and females are shown to be biological different in using technologies and dealing with their relationships with others (Lin & Yu, 2008). Stafford and Canary (1991) concluded that gender is one of the determinants affecting the relational maintenance. Gender is also found to influence adolescents to develop intimate relationships and family cohesion (Roming & Bakken, 1992). Gender also shows different patterns in the uses of technology in terms of usage and content on the Internet Gross (2004). Furthermore, the parent’s role in the family also plays a part in influencing the children. For instance, the mother has more authority than the father in a family as they always influence the children’s behavior based on the standpoint of protection and nursing care and are more often to be rejected by her children (Golish, 2000). The dyads relationships between parents and adolescents are also worth of further examination. Martin and Anderson (1995) explore fathers’ communication motives, self-disclosure and relational satisfaction with adolescents. Repinski and Zook (2005) revealed the level of intimacy based on children with different age groups, including adolescents. Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990), in their measurement of family communication patterns, also studied children with different age groups and examined the relationships based on different communicators in the family. Hence, the association of gender between adolescents and parents should be verified in detail.

2.7.2 The choices and uses of communication media

The theory of media effect can be divided into media choice and media usage behavior. Rice (1993) proposed the theory of media richness to evaluate the capacity that a medium can transmit and be comprehended by individuals. Compared with face-to-face communication, individuals can communicate via computer-mediated communication in different time and space, which is assumed to affect interpersonal relationships generated online and offline (Parks & Roberts, 1998; Walther, 1992; Walther & Parks, 2002). Meanwhile, the choice of communication medium should be
determined by both senders and recipients (Table 1) and is regarded to affect their relational behavior and level of intimacy (Ramirez & Broneck, 2009).

Table 1. The characteristics and communicator of new media technologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>One to many</th>
<th>One to one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asynchronous communication</td>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>E-mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synchronized communication</td>
<td>Video chat</td>
<td>Instant messaging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Walther (1996)

Synthesized from the literature above, this study incorporates the constructs of interpersonal communication motives and media modality to understand the determinants that drive adolescents to interact with parents from the interventions of new communication technologies. The interactive process and consequences of such communication can be revealed by including the constructs of relational maintenance and perceived intimacy to develop an empirical model. In addition, the adolescents’ family situation and the intervention of technologies are varied; it is also crucial to take the influences of external factors into account. For instance, the wide applications of family communication patterns can be used to verify that adolescents in different family styles may be varied in their family relationships. In summary, this study applies four external factors to examine adolescents’ communication motives, relational maintenance and intimacy. The hypothesized framework can be illustrated in Fig. 1.

3. Research methodology

This study explores the related literature associated with the uses of technology by adolescents and develops an empirical model by examining the connections among adolescents’ communication motives, relational maintenance and intimacy with their parents. Meanwhile, we also examine the external effects by family communication patterns, choice of media technology, communication reticence, and individual differences toward the adolescent–parent relationships.

‘Adolescent’ in this study is defined as teenagers aged from 12 to 18 years old with experiences in using new communication devices or applications to communicate
with their parents. The survey was complete in June 2014 and administered by a professional company, InsightXplorer, to deliver the online questionnaire. The respondents of the adolescent sample are not only collected from different regions in Taiwan but also by different ages and school types, such as students from different grades within several high and vocational schools. The data collection was conducted from May 20 to June 15, 2014. The respondents were randomly selected by school authority and completed the questionnaire in the computer lab. After excluding samples who did not use any mobile devices or online applications to communicate with parents, a total of 352 valid responses was collected. The online questionnaire consisted of three sections. The first section asks adolescents about the medium technology and usage frequency they use to communicate with their parents. The second section asks about adolescents’ perceptions of using new media technology, such as motivation, relational maintenance, and intimacy in comparison with face-to-face communication with parents. Other self-report psychological scales were also included, such as family communication patterns and communication reticence. The third section asks for the background information and family situation of the adolescents, such as gender, age, residence, parents’ education, and number of family members.

The media usage behavior by adolescents was evaluated by a seven-point Likert-type scale and measured the frequency of new media technology that adolescents use to communicate with their parents (i.e. every day, two to three times per week, four to five times per week, once per week, at least two to three times in two weeks, once per two weeks and at least once per month). The measurement of psychological factors, such as communication motives, relational maintenance, intimacy, family communication patterns, and communication reticence were all measured by a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from extremely disagree to extremely agree. However, for the adolescents to comprehend the meaning of questionnaire, the original scales were translated from English to Chinese. Based on the principle of cross-culture study, this study followed the principle by Breslin (1970) and conducted back translation with the assistance of two communication scholars and one native English editor to check the comprehension of translation is equal to the original one. In addition, a pretest was performed by selecting ten high school students to verify anything unclear in the survey questionnaire. The results showed that both reliability and validity were achieved and enabled us to proceed to the next phase of data analysis (Churchill, 1979).

4. Analytical results

In 352 valid samples, most adolescents use instant messaging and social networking sites to communicate with parents (87.2%). To avoid a few cases affecting the stability of statistical results, we excluded respondents who use E-mail, microblog, and VoIP phone, and 307 samples are included in the data analysis.

Participants were 62.9% female and 37.1% male; and most were in high school (77.9%). Apart from face-to-face communication, the majority of adolescents use instant messaging to communicate with their parents (71.3%), followed by social networking sites (28.7%). Comparing to another samples in our study, a similar proportion is shown in both parties, further inferring that both adolescents and parents may have similar preferences in their choices of communication medium.
were collected from southern Taiwan (47.6%), northern Taiwan (31.9%), and central Taiwan (0.2%). Due to a larger proportion of female respondents, the number of daughter–mother communication is higher than other groups (Table 2).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of respondents’ characteristics (N=307)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice of communication</td>
<td>Social networks</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instant message</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family communication</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>97(26.4%)</td>
<td>96 (31.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterns</td>
<td>Pluralistic</td>
<td>90(24.5%)</td>
<td>50 (16.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protective</td>
<td>69(18.8%)</td>
<td>56 (18.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>laissez-faire</td>
<td>112(30.4%)</td>
<td>105 (34.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1 Model testing

The questionnaire was completed by an adapted version of the interpersonal communication motives scale (Rubin et al., 1988), the relational maintenance scale (Canary & Stafford, 1992), and the intimacy scale (Hu et al., 2004). The measures were adapted so the subjects were reporting why and how they conduct dyad communication. The revised 26-item interpersonal communication motives scale consists of six individual motives. Coefficient alphas for the motives in this study were: 0.96 for affection, 0.92 for pleasure, 0.92 for escape, and 0.95 for relaxation. The 22-item relational maintenance scale was adapted from original measures for maintenance behavior, which consists of two dimensions. Coefficient alphas for the dimensions in this study were: 0.98 for positivity and 0.96 for shared task. The revised 14-item perceived intimacy scale consists of four dimensions. Coefficient alphas for the dimensions were: 0.94 for verbal, 0.96 for affective, 0.90 for virtual, and 0.86 for social (Table 3). The instrument is assessed for achieving the accepted threshold reliability above the value of 0.7 (Nunnally, 1978).

Table 3. The mean values, standard deviations and reliability of research instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication motives</td>
<td>Affection</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pleasure</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Escape</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relaxation</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational maintenance</td>
<td>Positivity</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shared tasks</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimacy</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affective</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virtual</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the literature, the interpersonal communication motives (Barbato et al., 2003), family communication patterns (Ledbetter, 2009), family role (Martin & Anderson, 1995), and communication reticence (Kelly et al., 2010) have resulted in their connections with adolescents’ motivation, relational maintenance strategies, and perceived intimacy. Unlike other studies which attribute the factors of family communication patterns, family role and communication reticence to be the determinants of adolescents’ attitude and behavior, we use them as moderators to verify their effects to the model indirectly.

There are two approaches to verify the existence of moderators. The first one is to verify the interaction effects between moderators and independent indicators (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Another approach is to reveal the group differences, such as a Sobel Test (1986) to assess the effects of moderation. Considering the characteristics of family communication patterns, family role and communication reticence are treated as categorical variables, this study applies the second approach to verify the moderation effect.

This study took adolescents’ demographics, choices of communication medium, parents’ marriage, and family roles in a group comparison with their communication motives, relational maintenance and perceived intimacy in communication with parents. The results show that adolescents would use different communication media to chat with parents when they need to relax (p<0.05). Parents who live together or are divorced may have different effects on adolescents’ sharing motivation. This result might be worth noting as adolescents who live with their parents are more willing to share interesting information with parents via new communication media. In contrast, new communication media may have limitations in bridging the communication gap for adolescents with divorced parents. Gender and age did not show significant effect on adolescents’ motivation, relational maintenance and perceived intimacy (Table 4).

Table 4. The cross-analysis between adolescents’ information and psychological factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Parents’ marriage</th>
<th>Communication medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>−0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasure</td>
<td>−0.08</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxation</td>
<td>−0.23</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positivity</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimacy</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>−0.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.05

To identify the effect of individual situations, we use one-way ANOVA to verify effects of individual groups among adolescents’ communication motivations, relational maintenance and intimacy in the communication with parents (Table 5).

Table 5. The cross-comparison between external indicators and psychological factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Communication</th>
<th>FCP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The above results show that adolescents’ residences have significant influence on adolescents’ communication motivation, relational maintenance, and intimacy. A further analysis was conducted using the method of Scheffe to locate the differences. The adolescents in southern Taiwan may have a stronger escape motivation, hold a positive and mutual sharing attitude and higher level of intimacy to communicate with parents than adolescents residing in other regions. This result may contradict the general opinion that adolescents in northern Taiwan live in a higher density of metropolitan area where people frequently use new communication technologies to talk with each other. A possible explanation is that adolescents in southern Taiwan are more adapted to use new communication channels to interact with parents. The school adolescents attend is more far away and this requires more opportunities for family contact when they are traveling back and forth from school and home. Further evidence is required to provide insights for this result. In addition, adolescents’ family communication patterns show significant effects when comparing adolescents’ perceptions with communicating with parents via new communication media. The results show adolescents from consensus families have stronger motivations, relational maintenance and intimacy to use new media tools in communicating with parents. In contrast, adolescents from protective families only show significant differences in the expression of their intimacy with parents.

To test the hypothesis that adolescents’ motivation and relational maintenance influences the subsequent level of intimacy, we conduct regression analysis to examine the model fitness and the strength of relationship among variables. After four rounds of model testing, the model explained 69.4% of the variance. The result can be described in the following formula.

\[
\text{Intimacy} = (0.345) (\text{Affection}) + (-0.239) (\text{Pleasure}) + (-0.025)(\text{Escape}) + (0.106)(\text{Relaxation}) + (0.289)(\text{Positivity}) + 0.421 (\text{sharing tasks})
\]

We also conducted path analysis to examine the direct and indirect effects among communication motivations, relational maintenance and intimacy (Table 6). The results show their relationships are positive. The relational maintenance plays a mediating role between communication motivations and perceived intimacy and is attributed to be partial mediated based on the comparison of unstandardized regression weights and statistical significance.
Table 6. The results of path analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication motives → Relational maintenance</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication motives → Intimacy</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational maintenance → Intimacy</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***p<0.001

According to the results of the regression analysis, the reason for young people to use new communication technologies to communicate with their parents were mainly derived from affection, pleasure, positivity and sharing tasks. Overall, adolescents perceive affection to be the strongest motivation that they communicate with parents. The sharing of emoticon and funny moments could be the activities that adolescents want to share with parents when they are in a joyful mood. Regarding the their status of relational maintenance, adolescents believe that sharing tasks and positive assurances can help them to maintain strong ties wherein they are assisted by the new communication media, which further complements the level of intimate relationships with parents.

5. Conclusion

Evidence shows that more parents have attempted to become friends with adolescents through Facebook or instant messaging. Hence, new communication technology is certainly an issue that adolescents need to resolve when communicating with parents. Some adolescents consider using new technologies to report their daily routine as convenient (Kornblum, 2011) while others reject their parents as the deadline of personal privacy. This study shows that the affection and relaxation are the motivations that drive adolescents to communicate with parents by means of new communication technologies. Adolescents may also regard positive assurance and task sharing as their strategy to consolidate their relationships and intimacy with parents. The results have broken through the limitation of prior research within the study of the same peer group (e.g., loving partners or friends) or implications from a single result from communication (e.g., relational satisfaction or closeness) and reveal the dynamic structure of communication between adolescents and parents. Both adolescents and parents should have an open mind to discuss or share information online with each other, which also reflects the assumptions by Solomon et al. (2002). They argue that parents used to direct the access to media use in the family. However, the emergence of new communication technology not only equalizes the power structure between children and parents, but also create an open space for self-disclosure and sharing in the family.

The effects of family communication patterns have been regarded as determinants that directly formulate the adolescents’ relationships. This study took a different approach by categorizing adolescents with different family communication patterns and observing the changes in their communication motives, relational strategies and perceived intimacy, correspondingly. Compared to the study of Chinese family communication patterns by Zhang (2007), this study also shows the family communication patterns in adolescents’ communication strategies with parents has shifted from conformity to consensus. The best communication strategy for a consensus family is collaboration rather than escape. For a pluralistic family, it is
suitable for competition rather than collaboration. The communication motives, relational maintenance and intimacy between adolescent and parent in the use of new communication technologies are varied and thus each type of family should adjust their communication strategy to improve the level of intimacy in their relationships.

The communication between adolescents and parents is worth more attention as more technology tools are pervasive in our daily life. Little research has been found that explicitly discusses the impact of communication technologies on family relationships (Rudi, Walkner, & Dworkin, 2014). Some studies specified the intervention of certain mediums, such as Facebook (Kanter, Afifi, & Robbins, 2012) and the Internet (Williams & Merten, 2011), to evaluate the intervention of computer-mediated communication toward family relationships. This study compared the adolescents’ use of two communication technologies—instant messaging and social networking sites—in communication with parents and concludes that the preferences and uses of specific communication medium may have a moderate impact on the interaction process and consequences of adolescent–parent relationship. The stage of adolescence is critical to the development of interpersonal relationships and social cognition. The finding of this study may provide useful guidelines for social workers and parents to provide appropriate assistants with healthy communication and solid relationships.
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Evaluating Turkish Media Coverage of Results for the November 2015 Elections

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Abstract
It is obviously seen that the Turkish general election of November 2015 will be a political phenomenon for the Turkish Political History to be discussed and studied in coming years. One of the most important factor that makes the November election important is that it is the result of a snap election period which is assumed as the repetition of the election in June. The second factor that makes the election in November important in terms of Turkish political history is the result of the election itself. Even though there were just four months between the elections, the results became significantly different.
In the election of June 2015, Justice and Development Party lost its 12 year long majority and power but after 4 months in November with the early general election AKP succeeded to gain its power and majority in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The historic change between these two elections were highly discussed by the public.
In this study, the editorial and broadcasting policies of Turkish media during and after the two elections were analysed. Within the scope of the study, the Turkish newspapers “Cumhuriyet, Yeni Şafak and Hürriyet” which have different political ideology were examined. The news which were published in the first pages of the chosen newspapers were examined by content analysis method and the news headings and spots were analysed within the context of Turkish political history.

Keywords: Turkish general election of November 2015, Print Media, Ideology
Introduction

The general elections held on the 1st of November 2015 was the 19th free political election after the first one held on the 21st of July in 1946 and demonstrated a large number of the first things to the public opinion. It was also the 25th election of all the elections held from the beginning of the history of Turkish Republic (Eroğlu, 2003: 35-37). Both of these political elections caused a great deal of controversies.

In this context, the political election held on the 7th of June in 2015 should be remembered because it had forced the November elections. Those elections caused political balances in Turkey go astray and pushed the country into to a hard period. Turkey got stuck in troubling days of social, religious and ethnic segregations and a spiral of violence in the same period of time.

In this work, the contents of three Turkish newspapers from three different ideological background called Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet ve Yeni Şafak during the week just after the early general elections on the 1st of November were analyzed. In Turkey the printed media is of a great importance in terms of processes of political communication. It is also an important weapon since it is seen as a means of both educating and shaping the public opinion (Bektaş, 2013: 130). The periods of general political elections are so important from the angle of political communication and the newspapers gain a great deal of importance in those periods of time. So particularly the printed media was examined and analyzed in this study.

The headlines, the news and picked news photos on the front pages of newspapers introduce lots of data with regard to their ideological stance. Thereof the front pages of those newspapers were examined and a discourse analyses was done on the basis of data obtained from them. In this work, all of those elements were handled and analyzed through the method of content analysis.

The results of the analysis were turned into the quantitative data and then into the tables. The news contents of those newspapers were analyzed through a method of interpretation. Besides, some columnists who wrote in this respect in those newspapers during the election were included in the work.

The General Elections of June 7, 2015

The 24th Turkish government was established after the general elections held on the 12th June in 2011. It was declared on 22nd October in 2015 that 25th parliamentary elections would be held on June 7, that at the end of the four years’ term of the government (Milliyet, 2014: ) The same decision was affirmed by Higher Election Commission and was published in the Official Gazette (Resmi Gazete, 2015: ).

None of the political parties gain enough number of seats of 276 to come to power at the end of the parliamentary elections at issue. The table of seats according to the political parties in parliament is as follows:

In this case, it was clearly understood that Turkish people didn’t give the power to a specific political party, on the contrary it wanted all of them to come to an agreement for a broad coalition government.

The most important political results of the parliamentary elections of June 7, 2015 can be summarized in a few sentences:

• AKP lost an election for the first time since 2002 in which it was established and came onto the political scene.
• The new distribution of seats in parliament made a broad-based coalition inevitable.
• Four different political parties surpassed the obligatory dam of 10 per cent vote throughout the country and came into parliament.
• HDP that had always came into parliament with independent candidates gained 80 seats in normal ways for the first time in Turkish political life.
• KONDA, a well-known opinion poll company in Turkey, made the following explanation after the elections:

“This parliamentary election has produced interesting results. For the beginning, the political inclination symbolized by AKP has not changed dramatically. The small political parties went on to get smaller. The surprise of the election was HDP, which is known as an ethnic Kurdish political party, became a part of the parliament gaining 80 seats in normal procedure. So, four political parties based on different ethnic or religious identities located in parliament (Konda, 2015: ).

After the elections in question, a lot of social, economic and political incidents happened and Turkey had to hold a new parliamentary election on November 01, 2015. At the end of the new election, political table has changed to a large extent in favour of the present government of AKP. Harsh controversies among the three political parties out of AKP in the following weeks of the previous election directed the public opinion to AKP and it came to power with a great majority again on 1 November of the same year.

The incidents of terror in five months’ period of time between the two elections have increased a lot throughout the country. The process was summarized in Alican Uğurlu’s article published in the daily newspaper Cumhuriyet in the following way:

11 June 2015: KCK ceasefire was blocked.
17 July 2015: The president R. T. Erdoğan declared that he didn’t recognize Dolmabahçe Agreement.
20 July 2015: A live bomb exploded himself in Suruç, a township of Şanlıurfa and 33 people were killed.
22 July 2015: Two policeman were shot dead by PKK terrorists while they were sleeping in their home at night in Ceylanpınar, another township of Şanlıurfa.
23 July 2015: ISIS opened fire from the other side of Syria and killed a military officer in Kilis and PKK killed a police officer in Diyarbakır.
24 July 2015: War planes of Turkish Armed Forces bombed the ISIS’s headquarters in Syria and PKK’s headquarters in the mountain chains of Kandil. The police forces had an operation on the cells of the terrorist organizations such as ISIS, PKK and DHKP-C.
11 August 2015: President Erdoğan explained that the Process of Solution with regard to Kurdish problem was put in the fridge.
16 August 2015: Speaking at the funeral of a martyr, President Erdoğan said: “How happy is the one who became a martyr and how happy is his family!”

17 August 2015: People attacked the Kurdish citizen’s shops and workplaces in Alanya after the news of martyrs spread out in the mass media.

20 August 2015: The explosives which had been replaced under the highway were blasted while a military vehicle was passing nearby in Lice, a township of Diyarbakır. Eight soldiers were killed during the explosion.

22 August 2015: Lieutenant Ali Alkan was killed in a terrorist attack in Şırnak and his elder brother Lieutenant colonel Mehmet Alkan protested the government’s war policies at the funeral.

5 September 2015: A curfew was declared in Cizre, a township of another Kurdish populated city named Şırnak in the South-eastern Turkey.

6 September 2015: 16 soldiers were killed by an attack by PKK in Dağlıca on the border of Iraq.

8-9 September 2015: 13 policemen were killed in another attack by PKK in Iğdır.

20 September 2015: The prime minister Davutoğlu said in a meeting in the city centre of Van that terrorist mobs would start walking around in the south-eastern region of Turkey if AKP had to leave the government Office.

10 October 2015: Two suicide bomber attacks killed 102 people during a great meeting for peace in Ankara. (Uğurlu, 2015: ).

All of those incidents dragged the whole society to an awful chaos of mind and atmosphere of fright. People who saw the horrible face of terror and political ambiguity because of the fact that the three other opponent political parties couldn’t come to an agreement for a broad-based coalition kept silent before the government decision for an early general election and the majority of the voters endorsed the government’s position to a great extent in the ballot box on 1 November 2015.

The results of the early general election on 1 November in 2015 are as follows: AKP 49.5 %/317 seats, CHP 25.3 %/134 seats, MHP 11.9 %/40 seats, HDP 10.8 %/59 seats (Seçim.haberler, 2015: ).

According to the table available, AKP increased its rate of vote at the level of 8.6 points. So it gained 59 new seats. CHP increased its rate of vote at the level of 0.4, but it gained only two new seats. MHP lost 4.4 point of its previous vote and its 40 seats at the same time. On the other hand, HDP lost its previous vote of rate at the level of 2.4 and its 14 seats as well (ntv, 2015: ).

This result was considered as a victory of president Erdoğan because he organized lots of meetings before the elections in favour of AKP.

Political polarization for decades rose again between those two elections. The pivot of that polarization has been the well-known segregation and clash between secularists and Islamists from the last decades of Ottoman Empire to the beginning of the Republic. (Findley, 2011:5-8). When the election success of the Kurdish separatists’ is added to those problems, the elections of 1 November gained a greater importance in terms of the recent history of Turkish Republic.
The well-known journalist Murat Yetkin’s article entitled “Erdoğan-Davutoğlu Stratejisi Kazandı” (Erdoğan and Davutoğlu’s strategy has won) published in the daily newspaper called Radikal explained some important facts in this matter:

“Our prime minister Davutoğlu had said “We took the message.” at the night of 1 June. In other words, both Erdoğan and Davutoğlu had begun to believe that the voters of AKP wanted the party to return to its roots. Hence Erdoğan decided to push his chance to take the country to an early election so as to reach at his dream of presidential system by getting enough seats in parliament through his former party. Now it is understood that voters of AKP really took the message. They gave the prime minister Davutoğlu not only enough power to establish the government alone but also endorsed his way of working in harmony with president Erdoğan. (Yetkin, 2015: ).

Another journalist Serpil Çevikcan wrote in her article entitled “AKP’s victory” in the newspaper Milliyet that AKP von a brilliant victory in the last elections. It is the only winner of the last election because it gathered nearly half of the voters in Turkey again. On the other hand, it should be confessed that MHP and HDP are the losers of the election. CHP stayed at the place where it was and it can’t be considered as a success (Çevikcan, 2015: ).

As Murat Yetkin wrote, the winner was the AKP after the period between June 7th and November 1st. However, Serpil Çevikcan from the Milliyet newspaper draws attention to this issue in her article entitled "AK Party's victory". The AK Party gained a great victory in the November 1st elections. As in the 2011 elections, it put back again what he lost on June 7th taking the vote from one of two voters. It would not be wrong to say that the AK Party is the only winning party of November 1st. That the losers are MHP and HDP is very clear... Since it is not possible to evaluate CHP’s going around in circles as "success", it will not be constraining to write that the main opposition party is making no progress and it is not an alternative of the government.. Alone. The analysis made for the AK Party went between coming to power alone by a narrow margin or forming a coalition by a narrow margin again. The result: it came to power by a wide margin. What has changed compared to June 7th and the AK Party got back its 10-point vote it lost? One of the important factors is that a coalition government couldn’t be formed after June 7th. (Çevikcan, 2015)

The evaluation of election period and political results emerging after November 1st by the author, renders us important data from the viewpoint of Turkish media. Hurriyet columnist Ahmet Hakan, one of the widely read and discussed columnist of the Turkish media, writes in his article entitled ‘How did the AKP win’ he wrote after November 1st :

"- Our community voting for the opposition with 60 percent in June 7th tended towards the AKP by saying "We’ve voted with 60 percent, you’ve messed up, you haven’t set up a government."–The feeling of "The government cannot be established, everything is getting worse, a chaotic atmosphere has occurred," prevailed among our society. Therefore, they tended towards the AKP. – The MHP voters were affected by nationalist discourse of the AKP and the MHP’s not being able to explain itself properly. Votes passed from the MHP to the AKP. - The votes of alliance between the Saadet Party and the Büyük Birlik Party flowed towards the AK Party. AK Party's religious campaign having been committed clandestinely was very effective. "(Hakan, 2015)
While the three authors from whose articles we’ve cited have been evaluating the election results as a political victory for the AKP, it has been interpreted especially for the opposition parties as a failure occurred after the success of June 7th. The main idea of the article entitled ‘Keep going whatever the election results are’ written by Nuray Mert, columnist of the Cumhuriyet newspaper, who says the political tension and polarisation experience in our country will not end regardless of election results, is briefly as follows: "I had written an article entitled ‘Whatever the election results are’ before the election results became clear. In summary; I said that we wouldn’t get rid of the political crisis whatever the result of the election was. I tried to explain my reasons saying "Because, before anything else, we are talking about a community living on both sides of a large power line. Moreover, there are other power lines behind them. The people meeting within this line almost hate each other. It is a kind of polarization in which they won’t be full up even if they eat each other. Moreover, since the conservative-Islamic wing that is holding the power currently is at the point of being “the state party” beyond being an ordinary democratic government, they aren’t full up even if they eat the people against themselves. Furthermore, the part holding all state power opportunities in their hands uses all the opportunities unconditionally to offend the other party. Then, they are astonished at the situation saying that everyone was united in ‘hostility’ in front of President Erdogan who is at the top of this pyramid. Even the AK Party members were probably surprised by the election results. Actually, I thought the AK party would come to power alone but I didn’t expect this vote rate. "(Mert, 2015)

What draws attention in the assessments of some columnists writing in Turkish Media after November 1st early elections is that especially the result arising from the 5-month period is quite different from the result on June 7th. This result is both surprising and confusing in terms of Turkish political history. This political picture changing in 5 months will lead to important debates in many different areas out of the political arena. In this study, the news concerning the election and its results after November 1st elections in the Hurriyet, the Cumhuriyet and the Yeni Şafak newspapers were examined in a weekly period with the content analysis method. The Cumhuriyet newspaper, among the selected newspapers, is Turkey's oldest daily newspaper which began to be published by Yunus Nadi on May 7, 1924 in accordance with the personal request of Mustafa Kemal (Karaca, 1994: 33). It is an Ataturkist newspaper publishing the most powerful anti-AKP articles. The Hurriyet is known as the 'flagship' of Turkish media. It is the first newspaper which carried out mass journalism in Turkish media. It started its publication life by Sedat Simavi in Çağaloğlu, Istanbul on May 1st, 1946. The newspaper (Hurriyet) taking part in the centre represents a liberal line. The Yeni Şafak newspaper has been publishing in an Islamist-liberal line close to the AKP government. It is an Istanbul-based national newspaper published by Albayrak Group in 1995. (Albayrak)
Examination of the publications the Cumhuriyet, the Hurriyet and the Yeni Safak newspapers made after November 1st Early Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nov.1 2015</th>
<th>Nov.2 2015</th>
<th>Nov.3 2015</th>
<th>Nov.4 2015</th>
<th>Nov.5 2015</th>
<th>Nov.6 2015</th>
<th>Nov.7 2015</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cumhuriyet</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news in the newspaper</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant number of news</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hürriyet</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news in the newspaper</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yeni Şafak</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news in the newspaper</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant number of news</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of news in the newspapers</strong></td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>305</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relevant number of news</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Showing the Total number of News used on the First Pages of the Cumhuriyet, Hurriyet and Yeni Şafak newspapers and News related to November
1st Early General Elections between the dates of November 1st, 2015-November 7th, 2015

Between the November 1st - November 7th, 2015, the total number of news on the first pages in three newspapers examined is 305. The total number of news related to the subject of the study is 122. Especially November the 2nd, the first day after the election, covers all the news of all three newspapers. It appears to be a decrease of the news related to the subject in numerical terms in the process that took place from November 1st towards November 7th. For example, on November 7th, the number of news about the subject in all three newspapers is only 4. This number points to the lowest figure of the week.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The positions of the relevant news in the pages</th>
<th>Cumhuriyet</th>
<th>Hürriyet</th>
<th>Yeni Şafak</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subheading</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headline</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top left</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom left</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Top right</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bottom right</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left center</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right center</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom center</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Showing the page positions of the News related to November 1st Early General Elections on the First Pages of the Cumhuriyet, the Hurriyet and the Yeni Şafak newspapers between the dates of November 1st, 2015 - November 7th, 2015
After November 1st, the newspaper using the most subheadings in one week is the Cumhuriyet newspaper. The newspaper has used 10 subheadings. The total number of subheadings in three newspapers is 20. News about the subject in all three newspapers are located at the bottom left and bottom right of the page mostly with the number 22.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continue pages</th>
<th>Cumhuriyet</th>
<th>Continue pages</th>
<th>Hürriyet</th>
<th>Continue pages</th>
<th>Yeni Şafak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Page 2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Page 2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page 4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Page 9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Page 3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Page 5</td>
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<td>Page 7</td>
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<td>Page 16</td>
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<td>Page 6</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Page 9</td>
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<td>Page 17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Page 10</td>
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<td>Page 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Page 18</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Page 12</td>
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<td>Page 19</td>
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<td>Page 12</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Page 21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Page 14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Showing the continuation pages of the News related to November 1st Early General Elections on the First Pages of the Cumhuriyet, the Hurriyet and the Yeni Şafak newspapers between the dates of November 1st, 2015-November 7th, 2015

The Cumhuriyet newspaper has given the most continuation pages with 11 news on the 4th page. The Hurriyet newspaper has given the continuation of 22 news on the 20th page, the Yeni Safak newspaper has given the continuation of 11 news on the 15th page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The number of relevant photos used in Newspapers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cumhuriyet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hürriyet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeni Şafak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Showing the News Photographs related to November 1st Early General Elections used on the First Pages of the Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Yeni Şafak newspapers between the dates of November 1st, 2015-November 7th, 2015

The number of photographs used in the relevant pages of the newspapers is 109. While 41 of those have been used by the Cumhuriyet newspaper, 33 of those have been used
by the Hurriyet newspaper and 35 of those have been used by the Yeni Safak newspaper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cumhuriyet</th>
<th>Hürriyet</th>
<th>Yeni Şafak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
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<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime minister</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recep Tayyip</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Erdoğan</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmet Davutoğlu</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Davutoğlu</td>
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<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Showing the digital data of the featured words in the News related to November 1st Early General Elections used on the First Pages of the Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Yeni Şafak newspapers between the dates of November 1st, 2015-November 7th, 2015

The Cumhuriyet newspaper has used the word ‘Erdogan’ most. The Newspaper has used the word ‘Erdogan’ 23 times. We see the word ‘AKP’ 30 times in the Hurriyet newspaper. ‘AKP’ is the word the Hurriyet newspaper used most. Like the Hurriyet, the Yeni Şafak newspaper has also used the word ‘AKP’ 30 times in its news.

**Conclusion**

- November 1st Early General Elections held after June 7th General Election led Turkey to meet a different political picture compared to five months before. The most important result of this different picture is that the AKP who lost the ruling majority on June 7th elections emerged as a power again. News and comments in Turkish media are primarily related to this changing picture.

- The words ‘Erdogan’ and the ‘AKP’ have been involved most in news contents of the weekly publication of the Cumhuriyet, the Hurriyet and the Yeni Şafak newspapers after November 1st. While the Cumhuriyet has used the word ‘Erdogan’ 23 times, the
Hurriyet and the Yeni Şafak have used the word ‘Erdogan’ 30 times. If the election results are considered, Tayyip Erdogan and the AKP are seen to have set the agenda after November 1st.

- While all the news in each of the three newspapers was related to the election results on the first day after November 1st; as the time went by, election news in all three newspapers was seen to decrease. The change of the agenda along with the election results over time has also designated the news contents of the newspapers.

- All three newspapers have formed and published the news about elections in accordance with the newspaper ideologies. Their ideological attitudes towards elections have been decisive in the news presentation.
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http://survey.konda.com.tr/rapor/

KONDA_7HaziranSandikveSecmenAnaliziRaporu.pdf accessed: 1.05.2016

Mert Nuray (2015) “Seçim sonucu, ne olursa olsun yola devam”


Abstract
Cookies are small bits of data that are being sent from the websites a user visits, and downloaded to his/her computer. They appeared immediately after the introduction of the World Wide Web (WWW) and are now widely used. By using these particular pieces of information, websites have the capability to offer customized services covering the personalized needs of a particular user, aiming ultimately at the increase of their visitors and any kind of benefit this might bring. Media websites use cookies to personalize their content according to the needs of their visitors. This research attempts to provide an insight on how users of online services offer voluntarily data of their personal choices to the aforementioned services. It is considered to be right that websites provide visitors with the choice of selecting whether they accept cookies on their devices or not. The study is comprised of twenty media websites with the highest traffic in United Kingdom, Greece, Cyprus and Malta according to alexa.com. The results of this research highlight the current situation for the media websites regarding their cookie information policy. The main finding is that many media websites provide visitors with the choice of selecting whether they accept cookies or not on their device.

Keywords: Cookies, media websites, customized service, digital marketing, web policy
Introduction

The Internet plays a crucial role in daily communication. Connection and navigation of the Web can occur by using numerous media and tools. New applications and capabilities are being made available constantly, allowing anyone to create a website, even if he/she possesses little technological knowledge (Antonopoulos, & Veglis 2012). Of course, it remains to be seen whether these aforementioned websites are functional, personalized and easy to use (Aboud, Beale, Dix, & Finlay 2004).

The developments in the field of informatics, and more specifically the increase of data storage space, the improvement of speed in communications and the deepening of knowledge regarding human-to-computer communication, brought radical changes to the creation and development of digital applications and tools (Aboud, Beale, Dix, & Finlay 2004). With the spread of the Internet and the interconnection of users on a global level using the same tools of communication and interaction, a new digital world has emerged.

In this new digital world, users have started getting accustomed to innovative services and products that aim and cover their personalized needs. The use and creation of digital content by the users comprise a daily habit that media owners should adjust to and start taking into consideration (Antonopoulos, & Veglis 2013).

Regarding the website design, there are also some usability engineers who are interested in tools and technological aspects that users employ in order to communicate (Antonopoulos, & Veglis 2012), along with the continuous feedback of the systems. In addition, the opinions, personal preferences and beliefs of the users are considered to be very important factors (Antonopoulos, Veglis, Gardikiotis, Kotsakis, & Kalliris 2015), that are on a constant change. By taking these factors into consideration, engineers are able to develop a web presence that responds to the current online environment. The study of the opinion and choices of the users is deemed as one of high importance, because these users are the final recipients of the content every application provides.

Cookies are small bits of data that are being sent from the websites a user visits and downloaded to their computers. They appeared immediately after the introduction of the World Wide Web (WWW) and are now widely used, even though the majority of the users might not have realized it. The websites of media organizations use cookies to personalize the content according to the needs of their visitors.

This paper attempts to provide an insight on how users of online services offer voluntarily on the Internet data of their personal choices to the aforementioned services. By using these particular pieces of information, websites have the capability to offer customized services covering the personalized needs of a particular user, aiming ultimately at the increase of their visitors and their gain.

The results of this research highlight the current situation media websites in Cyprus, Greece, Malta and the United Kingdom are in, regarding the use of cookies. The main finding is that the media organizations use indeed cookies and most of them inform their visitors about their cookies policy.
Previous researches

In the field of informatics, cookies are tiny bits of code, used by websites as identifiers. A research published in 2012 by the Information Commissioner of the United Kingdom (McStay 2012) that deals with private data, reports that cookies can be separated in the following categories—regarding privacy:

• Cookies necessary for users to navigate and make use of the technological aspects of websites.
• Cookies that collect data for the choices and preferences of a website’s visitors.
• Cookies that store choices by website visitors and retrieve them when they visit again the same website.

Lastly, there is a categorization of cookies in temporary and permanent. There are cookies that get deleted after a visit on a website, while others require that the user deletes them. Except from these cookies that each website consciously activates (“first party cookies”), there are also the so-called “third party cookies” which come from other websites that are affiliated or interconnected with the visited one, like social media do. Third party cookies are defined by the policy and the goals that their provider wishes for (Google Privacy 2016).

The study of cookies has started drawing the attention of researchers during the past few years. In 2011, in order for the topic to be clearly understood, a paper was published that had to do with the information about users’ preferences that websites store using cookies (Wills, & Jelkovich 2011). In 2012, a public research took place, which focused on the new legal framework for cookies and commercials in the United Kingdom (McStay 2012). Also, a group of researchers from Yahoo and Google published the results of their research on the ways that data from cookies affect markets (Ghosh, Mahdian, Preston McAfee, & Vassilvitskii 2012).

Moreover, several other attempts have been made in the past by researchers to pinpoint the importance of cookies in today’s Web and online services. Jan Fernback and Zizi Papacharissi, almost a decade ago, had already mentioned the importance of cookies in online privacy matters, claiming that there is not efficient customer protection, whereas consumer data are being used by companies for profit (2007). Although these aspects are not the main focus of this research, they show that researchers consider cookies something worth examining. In addition, Niels Brügger has claimed that a research on the history of cookies (among other major components of the Web) helps to fulfill a better understanding of today’s Web and its services (2013).

Even tasks considered as simple are being stored and evaluated, intending to the offering of a more personalized content that aims at the preferences of the user. How many, though, have knowledge of these processes, even if information about them is posted and mentioned on websites we all visit?
Methodology and presentation of the sample

News websites are supported mainly by advertisements. These advertisements could be text, image, multimedia material or a combination of all them. Apart from the high traffic that these websites require in order to attract individual advertisers or advertising companies, they are also required to provide numerous viewings of their advertisements. Cookies, on their part, can contribute to a more targeted audience that could bring the desired results for advertisers, their agents, the websites and, of course, the visitors, since they will be able to find what they are looking for.

The websites that were included in our study were organized in four categories from alexa.com by country: Cyprus, Greece, Malta and United Kingdom. The reason we picked these four countries was because the Greek language is the official language of Greece and one of the official languages of Cyprus. The English language is the official language of the United Kingdom and one of the official languages of Malta. Also, although it has no official status, the English language is widely spoken in Cyprus as well. For this reason, we deemed as appropriate that our research focuses on these four countries of the European Union, because we are most acquainted with these languages, meaning that we can also be more precise in our research.

As “media websites”, we have defined news websites that are—frequently but not always—owned by media companies (portals, newspaper, radio, TV, etc.). In each country, five media websites were chosen, those with the highest rating based on their evaluation at alexa.com. Therefore, the final sample consisted of twenty media websites (five from each country) that had the highest traffic in each country on the 3rd of May 2016, the day we picked the sample. The research is based on experiential observation and listing of the data by the researchers, without being registered on the websites. The browser which was employed was Google Chrome in incognito mode. The issue under examination was whether each media website informs visitors about the existence and use of cookies, and, therefore, was limited to two answers, “yes” or “no”.

Table 1. The sample of the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Media websites with highest traffic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Sigmalive.com</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Fanpagr.gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Bbc.com</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results

The results of the evaluation are going to be presented based on the listing above.

A. Cyprus
Four of the five most visited media websites in Cyprus according to alexa.com, showed, while browsing, to offer information regarding the use of cookies. As it can be seen in figure 1, a message in Greek appears upon visiting, which translates to English as “Our website is using cookies to improve your browsing experience” and there is also a hyperlink stating “More information” for those interested. In that way, the visitor is notified, but also has the chance to get informed in case he/she doesn’t know what cookies are and how they function.

On the other hand, the website Ant1iwo.com, as we can see in figure 2, does not offer such information upon visiting.

Table 2. Cyprus cookies results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Media websites with highest traffic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Sigmalive.com Fanpage.gr Tothemaonline.com Ant1iwo.com Themasports.com</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookies information</td>
<td>YES YES YES NO YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Message informing visitors about cookies
B. Greece

Four of the five most visited media websites in Greece according to alexa.com, showed, while browsing, to offer information regarding the use of cookies. As it can be seen in figure 3, a message in Greek appears upon visiting, which translates to English as “This website uses cookies from Google to provide its services, personalize its ads and analyze traffic. Google shares the information of your use of this website. By using this website, you agree to the use of cookies”.

On the other hand, the website Dikaiologitika.gr, as we can see in figure 4, does not offer such information upon visiting.

Table 3. Greece cookies results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Media websites with highest traffic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Fanpage.gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookies information</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Malta

Two of the five most visited media websites in Malta—always according to alexa.com—showed, while browsing, to offer information regarding the use of cookies. As it can be seen in figure 5, a message in English appears that reads “We recently published a revised version of our Privacy Policy and Terms of Service. By using this site, you agree to these revised documents including the use of cookies to enhance your experience. We kindly ask you to take a few minutes to read and understand them”. In that way, the visitor gets informed and also has the option to read and learn what cookies are and how they function, by clicking the “Privacy Policy” and/or the “Terms of Service” hyperlink. However, the websites

Table 4. Malta cookies results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Media websites with highest traffic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cookies information</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Message informing visitors about cookies

Figure 6: Maltatoday.com.mt website

D. United Kingdom

Three of the five most visited media websites in the United Kingdom (as listed by alexa.com) offer information regarding the use of cookies. As it can be seen in figure 7, a message in English appears that reads “Welcome to the Guardian. This site uses cookies, read our policy here”. In that way, the visitor gets informed and also has the
option to read and learn what cookies are and how they function, by clicking the “here” hyperlink.

The websites *Bbc.com* and *Dailymail.co.uk* do not offer such information upon visiting.

Table 5. United Kingdom cookies results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Media websites with highest traffic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Bbc.com</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookies information</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Image of Bbc.com website](image1)

Figure 7: Message informing visitors about cookies

![Image of The Guardian website](image2)

Figure 8: Bbc.com website

The research was conducted with one basic research question: whether visitors receive information immediately and extensively on how (and if) these websites use cookies. Based on the data found by the research, it occurs that the websites under examination make use of messages informing visitors about the existence of cookies.
All of the websites we examined use cookies, but in the case of Cyprus and Greece, only one of the top five media websites (according to alexa.com) does not inform the users about the existence and use of cookies, upon visiting for the first time. In Malta, the media websites that do not inform about cookies are three, and in the United Kingdom, two.

**Conclusion**

Cookies are a decisive factor in the function of websites; they define the functionality, appearance and use of websites. It is also very important that these elements (functionality, appearance and use) can be personalized by the user. It is not an overstatement to claim that offered services and tools addressed exclusively to the needs of each and every visitor has never before existed at this rate in the history of commerce. This new economy based on advertising and buying and selling of information, products and services on a global level with users’ preferences and selections as the only boundary, is something totally new. Researchers, and all kinds of experts, that study the field of the human-computer interaction, statistics, digital marketing, advertising and communication in general, have shown (and still show) great interest in cookies and their functions.

It is unfortunate that both visitors and administrators of numerous popular websites still ignore their importance. Administrators should offer adequate information and visitors should obtain that knowledge regarding the existence and use of cookies. In terms of visitors, they could both ensure that they know how websites function (and therefore protect themselves by deciding which data to offer and which not) and adjust content according to their preferences. In terms of administrators, by acknowledging the importance of cookies, they would make sure their websites are complying with the global standards, and subsequently be able to offer better, personalized content to their visitors.

As a conclusion, the efforts of the media websites should be intensified due to the continuous development of the World Wide Web and they ought to follow the international advancements so that positive results can be the outcome for both users and media companies.
References


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Hindi Television News Media (HTVNM): An Inquiry about Domineering Studio Journalism

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The European Conference on Media, Communication & Film 2016
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
Hindi television news media is in a developing and growing stage. Although it might have been inspired or influenced from western TV media, but nowadays it has become an influential medium of mass communication among large Hindi speaking society of India. Studio Journalism is a prominent and critical characteristic of Hindi TV news media. Are abundance of talk shows, domination of anchoring over reporting, aggressive i.e. often quarrelsome discussions making society more argumentative and negative than constructive and creative? Does this Hindi TV news media is sensationalizing the issues disproportionately and making society more talkative and obsessively problem loving than solution seeking? Is this media ready to seriously bear social responsibility or is it only interested in getting TRP i.e. the way to earn money through advertisements from market? Studio Journalism as a main characteristic of HTVNM needs to be analyzed. Is the domineering studio journalism narrowing the role of HTVNM to excluding and limiting the issues among some arbitrarily chosen experts/panelists and audience? Is it also establishing the anchor as an authority to dominate and snub the participants in any discussion and manipulating the issue towards his/her own prejudices or preoccupations? Is this domineering also making media exclusive and arrogant than inclusive or people-friendly? The proposed paper will try to enquire into the above mentioned questions.

Keywords: Hindi Television, News Media, Inquiry, Domineering, Studio Journalism
Television

Television has emerged not only as a powerful medium but it is now established as powerful phenomenon by which anybody can become too close to the things, persons, happenings and events as much as far they are to him or herself. This phenomenon was identified several years ago as:

“Television means literally vision at distance. It is a complete word derived from the Greek tele – at a distance and the Latin verb video “I see” This mixing of Greek and Latin is repugnant to classical minds, and several letters have operated recently in the press objecting to its use. These objections however have come too late; the word ‘television’ is already part of English language and may be briefly defined as vision by telegraphy. With Television we see what is happening at a distance while it is happening.”

In the beginning of the era of economic globalization, the realistic approach to this medium was analyzed as below:

“We can call television an essentially realistic medium because of its ability to carry a socially convincing sense of the real. Realism is not a matter of any fidelity to an empirical reality, but of the discursive conventions by which and for which a sense of reality constructed.”

Television has created a wider platform and scope for interpersonal communication or conversation and its very capacity to make conversation visible and public has become a greater contribution to the process of making society democratized.

“We live in the age of conversation. It is one of the unquestioned goods of the moment and a normative ideal of how the media are expected to work in a democracy.”

On the other hand the Media is allegedly known for its very nature of being responsible for eliminating the power and scope of actual conversation in the society.

“If conversation is good thing, then its absence is a bad one. The notion that media have usurped our powers of conversation is one of the stock images of how the twentieth century went bad”. The above argument had also been understood more clearly as the following explanation:

“The quantitative pressure of modern knowledge has been responsible for the decay of oral dialectic and conversation. The passive reading of newspapers and newspaper placards and the small number of significant magazines and books point to the dominance of conversation by the newspapers and to pervasive influence of discontinuity, which is, of course, the characteristic of the newspaper, as it is of the dictionary.”

Television as visual medium has the power and capacity to represent real and artificial both simultaneously.

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“We must now consider television coverage of another phenomenon which contributes the actual and artificial, which is both a significant feature of real life and a kind of playful fiction: sport.”

And at last Television was considered as the power of socio-political change with certain ideological effects:

“We can enumerate some of the major ways in which thinking about television’s power has moved beyond the simple behavioristic conceptions:

1. From a focus on the effects of television in terms of changes in isolated aspects of individual behavior, attention has shifted toward ‘ideological effects’
2. Structuralist theory apart, the source of television’s power is no longer isolated to television’s message. Rather television works in conjunction with other forces, and derives much of its power from its socio-political context.
3. It is no longer considered appropriate to conceive of televisual messages as embodying isolated stimuli properties. Message are now treated as more complex phenomena, often as ‘coded discourses’
4. Again, certain structuralist accounts notwithstanding, it is widely acknowledged that individual audience members may variously interpret television’s coded discourses.
5. More theoretical attention is given to the fact that the individual is subject to a wide range of potential influences other than television and the mass media.
6. Attention has been drawn to television as a commercial enterprise, involved in, and integral to, the practices of capitalist enterprises.
7. Attention has been drawn to ways in which television serves the interests of the state and dominant groups by projecting a dominant ideology”.

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7 Page 29, studying the power of Television, “The Power of Television”, Conrad Lodziak,

Frances Pinter (Publishers), London.
Television in India

Television, the powerful medium of mass communication and socio-political change, has become a big industry in India. The terrestrial television had begun in India on 15 September 1959. Now 167 million households out of 234 million households of India have television sets. As per one data, India has a collection of over 823 channels of which 184 are pay channels. There are several 24 hour Hindi Television channels in India.

The prominent Hindi TV channels are:

1. Aaj Tak
2. ABP News
3. Zee News
4. DD News
5. India TV
6. NDTV India
8. IBN
9. News 24
10. Delhi Aaj Tak
11. India News
12. Sudarshan News
14. Live India.
15. Rajyasabha TV
16. Loksabha TV
17. Tez
18. Zee live.

Other than these, there are several regional channels also that are running as 24 hours Hindi Television News channels.

These five Hindi News TV Channels are being considered as the top five Hindi TV News Channels in India, as per BARC (Broadcast Audience Research Council, India) ratings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Channel name</th>
<th>Weekly ratings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sum Week 24 (2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Aaj Tak</td>
<td>70126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>India TV</td>
<td>66035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ABP News</td>
<td>46554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>India News</td>
<td>42324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>News Nation</td>
<td>38299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Domineering studio Journalism in HTVNM

Hindi Television News Media has rapidly changed its character from reporting based or field based journalism to Studio Journalism from its beginning. In the beginning Anchors or News readers were often experienced reporters or Editors but after some time this media replaced the experience and journalistic sense by so called glamour.

Actually the whole understanding of journalism is based on the dissemination of the information in order to represent, reveal, express or transmit the truth or reality to the public or masses. This understanding is challenged when the experience of HTVNM is being narrowed as providing prominence or dominance to studio activity in the place of searching, researching, smelling, sensing or getting the news directly from public or field. As far as the case specific observation about HTVNM is concerned, the role of reporters and editors has become least important and the dominance of anchoring has been established as the hard fact to be tolerated.

HTVNM is Talk show centric

It appears as if the obvious outcome of increasing dominance or prominence of studio journalism is shifting the paradigms of news media, as HTVNM has become talk show centric - the space of the news is being limited. Very often the news is read so speedily that not only the news becomes secondary, but it also challenges the audibility of audiences or receivers. Sometimes this kind of news slot in HTVNM is named as speed news.

The myth has become established among the media fraternity of HTVNM that talk shows are earning both- popularity and money, in terms of getting TRP. The need arises to examine the necessity, role and importance of these talk shows through which a myth has been created that media persons are more interested in convenient, comfortable, secure, soft and glamour full anchoring than inconvenient, insecure, hard, discomforted, glamour-less life of reporters. This need automatically questions the objective, perspective and purpose of journalism in the specific context of HTVNM.

Talk shows are Anchor centric

Initially, the talk shows were based on the issues and sometimes on the quality of discussion related to the panelists. Gradually they have become dependent on the name, persona and style of specific anchor. Now the fact applies on most of the Hindi TV channels that the talk

8 Punya Prasun Vajpayee (Well Known Anchor of HTVNM, presently working for Aaj Tak Channel), ‘Breaking News’ (Hindi book about HTVNM ), Page 64, Vaani Prakashan, New Delhi,2006
shows which are to be transmitted on their screen whether they are live or recoded, are Anchor Centric.

**Anchors are I-specialists**

The basic sense of journalism advises someone to refrain from using ‘I’ in writing and speaking, because the entire art or duty of disseminating information called journalism is only an art or duty of mediation. It needs more catalytic approach than a role of active and aggressive participant to hammer a position or a side as an advocacy.

Nowadays HTNVM is passing through a phase in which the anchors are using ‘I’ several times in the talk shows without any moral and technical hesitation. The fact which is more contradictory to the sense of mediation is that the talk shows are named after the names of particular anchors and the anchors are announcing proudly and prudently these shows as ‘My show’.

**Anchors are often preoccupied with their ideas, opinions or perceptions**

The observation of this writer is that almost all anchors are having their own ideological, political, social or individual preoccupations about the topic of the discussion during the talk shows. An anchor is only assigned a role to mediate or moderate the discussion (not to manipulate the issue or discussion as per his perception or opinion). Paradoxically, before applying make up to change themselves in the role of anchor they do not wash off their mental occupations, prejudices or dogmas but they knowingly or unknowingly misuse their role of anchoring in establishing or endorsing their own pre-occupations by manipulating the opinions or information during the discussions.

**Anchor Dominates**

The basic sense of journalism does not allow anchor to dominate the discussion or other panelists as the anchor is there only to mediate and moderate the discussion with modesty, honesty and objectivity, but anchors in HTVNM relish their dominance when they pose themselves as an authority on every issue. They usually carry judgmental approach as to give the last line about almost every issue, which they have chosen for their show. They usually relish the capacity to hold, turn or close (sometimes abruptly) the discussion as per their whim.

**Anchor Shouts**

Television is a medium which is generally used in households in India. It is a part of normal practice in Indian families that they often watch television with family members. It is a well known fact that in the recent times TV sets are controlled by remote control and every remote control has the capacity to control the volume of their sets. The TV viewers often observe that during the commercial break the volume suddenly increases and then they have to adjust the volume through their remote controls.

This family audience of HTVNM feels helpless when the anchors shout aggressively during talk shows. The whole household gets tense while they watch these shows collectively in their houses.
Anchor Snubs

The style of aggressive anchoring becomes more indecent and irritating when anchor snubs the invited panelists abruptly. This style of anchoring can be considered as the need or necessity of these talk shows as it is the responsibility of the anchor to create a balance among expressions of the opinions during the discussion, but often it happens without any reason or need but out of their habit to dominate the show. The psychological side of this behavior can be analyzed as an inherent weakness of a person who is in the role of anchor. This weakness may surface because of deficiency of genuine confidence which inhibits the anchor’s quality and capacity to moderate the discussion in nice and decent way. The writer of this paper is more convinced with the later than the previous analytical view after observing these kind of talk shows regularly several times with an objective view.

Anchor obstructs the natural flow of the discussion

The natural flow of any discussion implies spontaneity, freshness, openness, originality of ideas and freedom to discuss the issues in the complimentary manner. The conflict loving sense of modern media sometimes inherently compels the anchors to obstruct this natural flow instead of cherishing, nourishing and encouraging this very sense of purposeful and meaningful discussion towards the solution of the problem on which the particular discussion is going on. This obstructionist approach of any anchor may get appreciation from some sort of viewers or fans but actually this approach fails to create any satisfaction for the entire panel along with the anchor him/herself and also for the viewers in the long run. This very approach or behavior of an anchor to obstruct the flow of the discussion could create a conflict or quarrelsome atmosphere during the show among all participants or panelists which may attract the viewership temporarily but the long term effect of it is observed as negative as it defeats the whole perspective and purpose of duty and art of mediation.

Anchor behaves abnormally

A normal behavior with gumption and natural conscience is required from the anchor for an art of mediation. Contradictorily, it is being observed by this writer as a normal viewer that the anchors in HTVNM are behaving abnormally and are being dramatic, sarcastic and unnecessarily aggressive and offensive during the talk shows or discussion. It is known that anchors are not playing ‘other’s’ role during the shows as anchors but they are playing their own role. If it is so, then it is genuinely required that the best part of their personality or best version of their journalistic capability must be presented or expressed there. Unfortunately when they react in a dramatic and sarcastic manner then they themselves deteriorate from their own best qualitative expression then how can they enhance or upgrade the quality of the show or discussion?

Anchor Manipulates

Manipulation of the information is part of any media propaganda. The real purpose of media is to mediate only without any manipulation at all. Manipulation is a dangerous in the sense that it destroys objectivity of Media and makes it incapable to be received by all.
Unfortunately it is observed in HTVNM that anchors are manipulating the information and opinions as per their perception or may be as per their channel’s unsaid policy.

**Anchor curbs, concludes discussions arbitrarily**

It is also observed that as a general tendency the anchors in HTVNM often curb discussions when it goes beyond their expected ends or boundaries. When they feel that discussion is not turning as per their line of thinking, they take a break or they conclude the points, opinions and even close the discussion arbitrarily without giving any clarity to the audience. This kind of behavior makes anchors whimsical, arbitrary, arrogant, and more indecent, especially when they appear to take audience foe granted.

**Talk shows confuse the audience**

In HTVNM, the maximum part of the process of talk shows is engaged in making the whole atmosphere hot or quarrelsome or full of conflict and contradictions. The element of sensation gets priority in dissemination of information or inviting the opinions rather than doing an effort to get or search a rationale or an element of understanding from the discussion. The entire approach is based on the intention to make short-term influence or impact than on the objective to create long term clarity among audience about the particular issue.

**Talk shows orchestrates, manages public opinion**

The terminology which is being used in Talk shows in HTVNM is often posing these shows as real and authentic representative of the Nation. Sometimes they gather a group or a crowd as the representative audience in a studio or at the artificially constructed sets, and they pose that the entire representation of country is there in their shows. Often they ask invisible audience to send opinions through SMS and sometimes they also ask studio audience to give their opinions. Actually this type of exercise can be considered as orchestrated form or managed form of public opinion, because authenticity of this type of exercise cannot be checked or proved by any objective agency or institution. The Hindi TV channels are not feeling any moral or technical need of declaring or disclaiming anything about the authenticity or orchestrated nature of this kind of so called democratic exercises during the shows.

**Anchor behaves as celebrities**

The obvious outcome of these Anchor centric talk shows in HTVNM is that the anchor gets popularity due to their maximum onscreen visibility and automatically they start to behave like a celebrity. They hesitate in going to public places and become selective and cautious in interaction with common or ordinary people. They often show tantrums and attitude of arrogance in their public behavior. This kind of development, which is generally observed in the personality of anchors, cannot be considered as a responsible journalistic personality.

The above analytical study is based on the general observation of the writer of this paper about Talk shows and anchors in HTVNM. This study is presented here as the ‘Seed Thought’ to debate on this topic to examine and explore the basic sense of anchoring in terms of a wider perspective of journalistic duties and responsibilities to the entire society. This
observation based analysis is also as an initiative towards intense study and research about the domineering nature of studio journalism which is almost grabbing the space of field based journalism as far as HTVNM is concerned.

**Conclusions and Suggestions**

The study about domineering studio journalism could be summed-up with the following conclusions and suggestions:

1. The trend of domineering studio journalism is not a healthy or progressive step in the journey of HTVNM.
2. The role and scope of reporting must be explored and enhanced.
3. The quality of discussions in the talk shows must be sought and ensured.
4. The role of anchor must be improved as the moderators or coordinators of the discussions instead of manipulative, arbitrary, attention seeking, visibility centric, narcissistic, obsessively offensive, un-journalistic dramatic character as a ring leader of a talk show.
5. The panelists should be decided objectively and qualitatively as per the demand and scope of the issue.
6. Audience involvement in the discussion must be natural and unmanaged.
7. It should be coordinated well for the smoothness and decency of the discussion and must not be orchestrated or managed behind the screen.
8. The ‘sample size’ and limitedness of public opinion must be declared.
9. The ‘I’ specialist approach of anchors must not be acknowledged, encouraged or appreciated.
10. The parameters of judging a talk show must be improved from the flat standards of numbering of viewership as TRP.
11. Balance of the discussion, meaningful-ness and solution centric approach, quality of questions and sharing of ideas could be considered as parameters of a good discussion in place of aggression, snobbery, judgmental approach, prejudices and preoccupied adamancy and quarrelsome behavior of anchors.
12. The talk shows must gain/awake the confidence of viewers as the source of giving them new ideas, problem solving, solution seeking approaches and invitation-cum inspiration to participate in the socio-political and cultural life open-mindedly and with open eyes instead of making them closed, confused, prejudiced, intolerant, aggressive and sensation seeking.
13. The dominance and prominence of studio journalism in HTVNM must be checked, challenged and replaced by trustworthy, truth-seeking, effortful, hardworking, courageous, change- seeking, positive and affirmative reporting or journalism for which Hindi Journalism is known and famous.

This paper aspire a candid and critical examination to be continued about HTVNM in order to enhance and explore the potential, quality and capability of HTVNM as the agent of change in the diverse but diligent population of the biggest working democracy of the world i.e. called Bharat in Hindi.
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