

Medi Asia 2010

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The Asian Conference on Media and Mass Communication

Official Conference Proceedings 2010

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Narrative motion on the two-dimensional plane: The “video-ization” of photography and characterization of reality

Murat Germen

Sabancı University, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Visual Art and Communication Design Program, Istanbul, Turkey

Abstract

"Art is not truth. Art is a lie that enables us to recognize truth" Pablo Picasso

Time, as known to many, is an indispensable component of photography. Period(s) included in “single” photographs are usually and naturally much shorter than periods documented in video works. Yet, when it comes to combining photos taken at different times on one photographic surface, it becomes possible to see remnants of longer periods of time.

Whatever method you use, the many traces left by different moments, lead to the positive notion of timelessness (lack of time dependence) due to the plural presences of time at once. This concept of timelessness sometimes carries the content of the photo to anonymity, the substance becomes multi-layered and hierarchy disappears.

This paper focuses on creating photographic narratives within the two-dimensional world. The possibility of working in layers with transparency within the computer environment enables us to overlay succession of moments seized from time on top of each other, in order to create a storyline spread in time that is otherwise not possible to express in a single photograph, unless properly staged. Truth with the capital T is not taken as the departure point in this article; on the contrary, personal delineations of temporary yet experienced smaller realities is suggested.

1. Introduction

Time, as known to many, is an indispensable component of photography. Period(s) included in “single” photographs are usually and naturally much shorter than periods documented in video works. Yet, when it comes to combining photos taken at different times on one photographic surface, it becomes possible to see remnants of longer periods of time. There are different ways of doing this: German photographer Michael Wesely extends exposures up to unbelievably long durations like two years, during which it is even possible to see remarkable and unique traces of the sun’s course at various seasons of the year.



Figure 1: *Michael Wesely: Open Shutter at The Museum of Modern Art. November 20, 2004–June 27, 2005*

An alternative to this, only possible digitally in the computer environment, is to perform time lapse photography on a tripod and instead of making a stop-motion video using the resulting photos, superimposing them using layer transparency in order to obtain a composite image as a durational pattern. This article will discuss the particular advantages of this latter method since it offers more control to play with time slices and what they contain.



Figure 2: *Vigilance, 2008. Photo by Murat Germen, exhibited in Fotografie Forum Frankfurt, 2008.*

Whatever method you use, the many traces left by different moments, lead to the positive notion of timelessness (lack of time dependence) due to the plural presences of time at once. This concept of timelessness sometimes carries the content of the photo to anonymity, the substance becomes multi-layered and hierarchy disappears: There is not one central element to the whole, all elements are relatively equal parts to the whole, as the concept of rhizome reminds us.

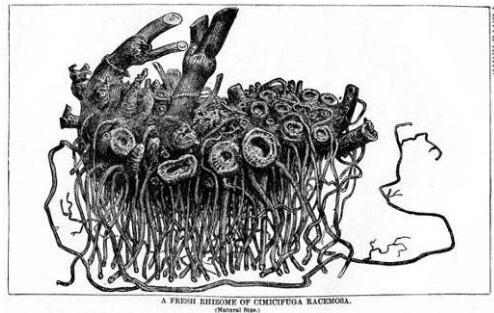


Figure 3: *Rhizomatic formation. Image captured from <http://www.sevensixfive.net/informatix/index.html> on December 6, 2008.*

The lack of a hierarchic system in rhizomatic structures has become one of the main themes in Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy: "A rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo. The tree is filiation, but the rhizome is alliance, uniquely alliance. The tree imposes the verb 'to be,' but the fabric of the rhizome is conjunction, 'and . . . and . . . and' This conjunction carries enough force to shake and uproot the verb 'to be.' Where are you going? Where are you coming from? What are you heading for? These are totally useless questions." [DG87] The same conjunction also takes us to old days when multi-layered content would exist on a palimpsest, with the particular dictionary meaning of "an object, place, or area that reflects its history" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/palimpsest>, taken on 31st of October, 2008).

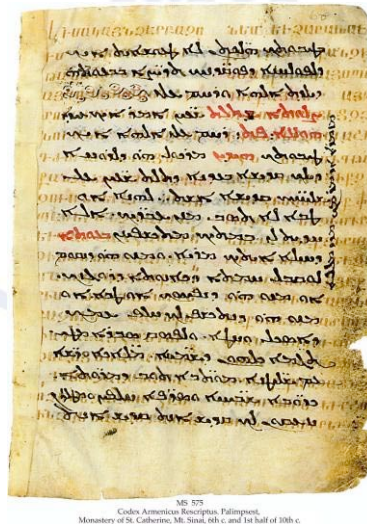


Figure 4: *A palimpsest was created when an old vellum was erased and recycled and a new text was placed on. Image captured from*

<http://analepsis.wordpress.com/2008/04/24/this-is-a-palimpsest/> on Dec. 6, 2008.

2. Non-linearity

The particular sequence of the above mentioned multi-layered structure reminds the very actual notion of "non-linearity" very popularly present in multimedia processes and connects photography to new media.

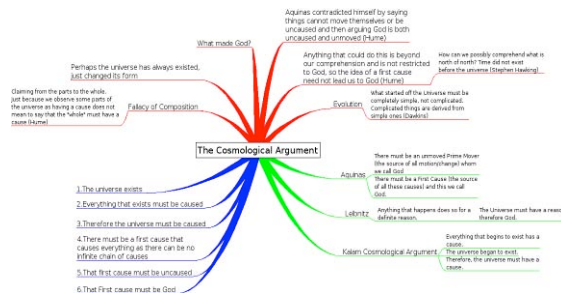


Figure 5: A mind map is a diagram that represents semantic or other connections between portions of information in a radial, non-linear graphical manner. Image captured from <http://www.ltu.se/tfm/fpd/research/tools/mindmaps?l=en> on Dec. 6, 2008.

Though a single photograph was previously perceived as the strict symbol of a moment in linear time, now it is possible to conceive it as a “disrupter” in time's linear flow. In order to be able to bring alternative characterizations of reality, it is crucial to escape linear time and end up with nonlinear narratives. For instance, including the same object several times within the same stage may give you a narrative potential: Describing various states, giving a sense about the big picture by joining the different phases of our experience, emphasize one detail in the content of the photographic artwork, attract attention to a particular mood, bring alternative approaches to the perception of people-space relationships, giving clues about the “before” and “after” by introducing a sequence and finally create impossible states within time.

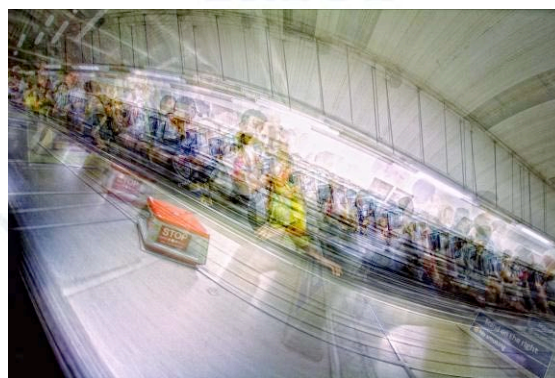


Figure 6: Different images taken at various levels of an escalator combined in one layer. Photo: Murat Germen, 2008.

Vilém Flusser’s following statement sustains a similar viewpoint: “As the scanning glance travels over the image surface, it grasps one image element after another: It establishes a time relation between them. It may return to an element already seen, and thus it transforms ‘before’ into ‘after.’ This time dimension, as it is reconstructed through scanning, is thus one of eternal return.” [Flu00]

Talking about reconstruction; there is no way that the representation, image, description or photograph of an object / subject can thoroughly convey what is experienced. The reason is that representation is yet another act of creativity. The particularity of the expression is what matters, not what the particular event that took

place there. Depiction, more or less, always includes exaggeration; especially if the narrator has been praised by the audience previously: All what you hear after the applause is a performance to be appreciated and it is to your advantage to be suspicious about what is being told. The narrator starts to solo, in other words improvise; the “real” experience is replaced by the beautified and / or comical anecdote and representation becomes the parasite of experience, exploiting it incessantly.

3. Reality vs. construct

Going back to photography from the latter statements that negates the notion of an ideal truth, Mark Kingwell asserts that “photographs are not multiple depictions of some single reality, waiting out there to be cornered and cropped, and somehow regulating, even in the cornering and cropping, how / what the image means. Rather, photographs offer multiple meanings. The presented image is not a reflection, or even an interpretation, of singular reality. It is, instead, the creation of a world.” [Kin06] The concept of objectivity, similar to the above mentioned illusion of single reality, is also criticized by Flusser: “The apparent non-symbolic, ‘objective’ character of technical images has the observer looking at them as if they were not really images, but a kind of window on the world. He trusts them as he trusts his own eyes. If he criticizes them at all, he does so not as a critique of image, but as a critique of vision; his critique is not concerned with their production, but with the world ‘as seen through’ them. Such a lack of critical attitude towards technical images is dangerous in a situation where these images are about to displace texts. The uncritical attitude is dangerous because the ‘objectivity’ of the technical image is a delusion. They are, in truth, images, and as such, they are symbolical. [Flu00]

Since we deal with symbols at this point, the notion of representation comes in. As Fritjof Capra states in his *Tao of Physics*; “representation of reality is so much easier to grasp than reality itself, we tend to confuse the two and to take our concepts and symbols for reality.” [Cap75] This is also very much in parallel with Jean Baudrillard’s statements in his philosophical treatise “*Simulacres et Simulation*” where he asserts that simulated copy has superseded the original object, therefore representation has replaced the reality it illustrated. Since representations are personal definitions of particular personal experiences and perceptions, it becomes rather problematical to talk about objectivity when reality is concerned. The denial of objectivity can be taken as the acceptance of multiple subjectivities. This approach leads us to the theory of perspectivism, which “is the philosophical view developed by Friedrich Nietzsche that all ideations take place from particular perspectives. This means that there are many possible conceptual schemes, or perspectives which determine any possible judgment of truth or value that we may make; this implies that no way of seeing the world can be taken as definitively ‘true’, but does not necessarily propose that all perspectives are equally valid.” (Wikipedia definition of perspectivism)

Once we accept the presence of multiple subjectivities we can start talking about the notion of construct. Let’s first start with the bigger picture: “Construct” is a temporary process that exists for a while and finally transforms itself into an end “product”: A building, a culture, a society, an idea, a freedom, a dogma, etc... Not only buildings and structures are built; the major components that constitute the spine of the society we live in, such as tradition, culture, religion and identity can also be constructed. Societies, nations that perceive life in longer terms take this “immaterial” construction process

very seriously and get the outcome of their action plans slowly. Even a sublime merit like freedom of speech can sometimes be exploited as part of this construction method. People who express themselves freely within this frame often end up revealing themselves to the public and get indexed in the name of security; the system that allows a freedom within certain limits only determines your “color.” In addition, it can control how these colors can be mixed / separated and how different tones of colors can be “latently” adjusted with the help of propagation tools like TV, cinema, press and such. Everybody expresses his / her ideas freely yet nothing changes: Power exploits poverty, arms continue to be sold, oil or other sources of energy remain as the main cause of wars... The powerless “vassals” never give up being robots that never question and they let others define (i.e. construct) their own freedom: You (think you) are free within boundaries set by others. This freedom is actually a purchasable commodity; in other words, the “thing” presented as freedom is mostly the freedom of consuming till you drop dead.

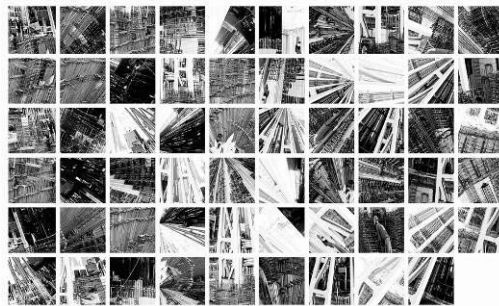


Figure 7: *Deconstruct #1* from “Construct” series. Photo: Murat Germen, 2007.



Figure 8: *Reconstruct #1* from “Construct” series. Photo: Murat Germen, 2007.

If we take this “big brother” type of global construct aside and focus on the personal scale, we can see personal “micro” constructs are actually what save us on the individual scale and they protect us from the hypnotizing Hashasheen type “macro” constructs. Therefore, instead of trying to reach a Western type of deterministic definition of the truth with the capital T, i.e. the Truth; it makes more sense to concentrate on a more indeterminate, undifferentiated, honest yet flexible, enduring yet momentary individual elucidation of diverse instances of reality. Mark Kingwell puts it clear: “The image is made, not found, and the making is inherently personal, rooted in prejudice. The important truth is to recognize and acknowledge bias openly, not least in the essential decisions around framing the image.” [Kin06]

4. Relationship of still image (single) to moving images (multiple)

Vilém Flusser states that “No single photograph, but only a series of photographs, can show the photographer’s intentions.” [Flu00]

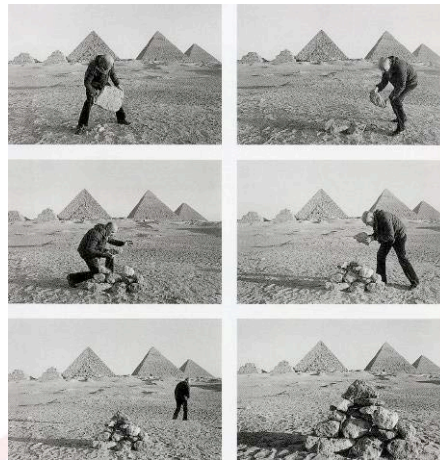


Figure 9: *I build a pyramid, 1978. Photo series by Duane Michals.*

What was previously discussed in this article on ‘reality vs. construct’ may suggest an alternative view that the sum of multiple subjectivities carries more potential of telling more than a single layer of objectivity. A proof for this fact are the motion studies by Eadweard Muybridge and Étienne-Jules Marey motion studies which reveal phases of movements that are otherwise not possible to be seen by neither naked eye, nor single still image, nor video.

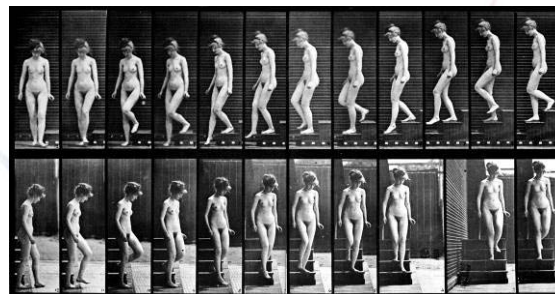


Figure 10: *Woman walking downstairs, late 19th century. Photo series by Eadweard Muybridge.*

On the other hand, a simple succession of photos in the right intervals (avoiding a “slide show” aesthetics), with the support of masterful sound effects and narration, can be more than enough to stimulate the feelings to be expectedly instigated by movies proper, that have much faster frame rates. *La Jetée* (English: *The Jetty or The Pier*), dated 1962, is a perfect example for this: It is a 28-minute black and white science fiction film by Chris Marker that is constructed almost entirely from still photos which remain on the screen for relatively much longer periods of time, as compared to the real movie rates like $1/24^{\text{th}}$ or $1/30^{\text{th}}$ of a second. Telling the story of a post-nuclear war experiment in time travel, the film constitutes a clear source of inspiration for Terry Gilliam’s 1995 movie “12 Monkeys.”



Figure 11 & 12: Screenshots from *La Jetée*, 1962. Film by Chris Marker.

Another way of sequencing still images together is superimposing them on one plane, remembering the palimpsest notion mentioned in the beginning. Superimposed composite photos almost “play” the many frames taken at various days in a very fast manner to the point it freezes stories in time as one moment: Though the resulting palimpsest is still, the eye tends to see it animated. While the photo reincarnates what’s not on the stage, the eye manifests what is not in the photo: The truth to be conveyed by the uniquely sequenced photo becomes richer in definition and soul, and therefore more “real.” Any photographic depiction closer to what one personally perceived is more real and any manipulation that takes you to this point is legitimate. To reach this state of mind, one must be ready to fight ideologies that are supported by photographic iconographies. Mark Kingwell puts it this way: “Our investigation must entail a special kind of refusal: a refusal to take the taken-for-granted for granted. It follows that the responsible image is the one that makes that refusal necessary, unavoidable, insistent. That is the truth in the image though perhaps not the truth we thought to find. It follows, too, that the best documentary photographs, which is to say the most compelling and arresting ones, are therefore ontologically unstable. They seem, at first glance, to offer simply a record of ‘what was there.’ But they also manage to indicate just how contingent, and constructed, their revelation is. Though clearly the residue of choice and subjectivity, they spill beyond the chosen frame, indicating a series of relations with what lies outside the image: time, circumstance, events. The documentary is a special kind of fiction, a fiction predicated on an exploded concept of truth. [Kin06]

5. Conclusion

This paper focuses on creating photographic narratives within the two-dimensional world. The possibility of working in layers with transparency within the computer environment enables us to overlay succession of moments seized from time on top of each other, in order to create a storyline spread in time that is otherwise not possible to express in a single photograph, unless properly staged. Truth with the capital T is not taken as the departure point in this article; on the contrary, personal delineations of

temporary yet experienced smaller realities is suggested. The photos that belong to the author and included here are created with the motivation of generating a richer definition of reality as an accumulated entity that is the result of a particular witnessing at a particular time. A final quote from Mark Kingwell will back this aim: “The truth of the image is the truth of time: not its metaphysical essence, whatever that might be, but its presence; its inescapability. A photograph, I want to say, is a machine for making worlds.” [Kin06]

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Appendix (Author's Artworks)



Figure 13: *Cigarette break, 2008, Frankfurt, Germany. Photo by Murat Germen.*



Figure 14: *Dancing with time, 2008, Gandia, Spain. Photo by Murat Germen.*



Figure 15: *Break before the last supper, "Way" series, 2007, Alexandria, Egypt. Photo by Murat Germen.*

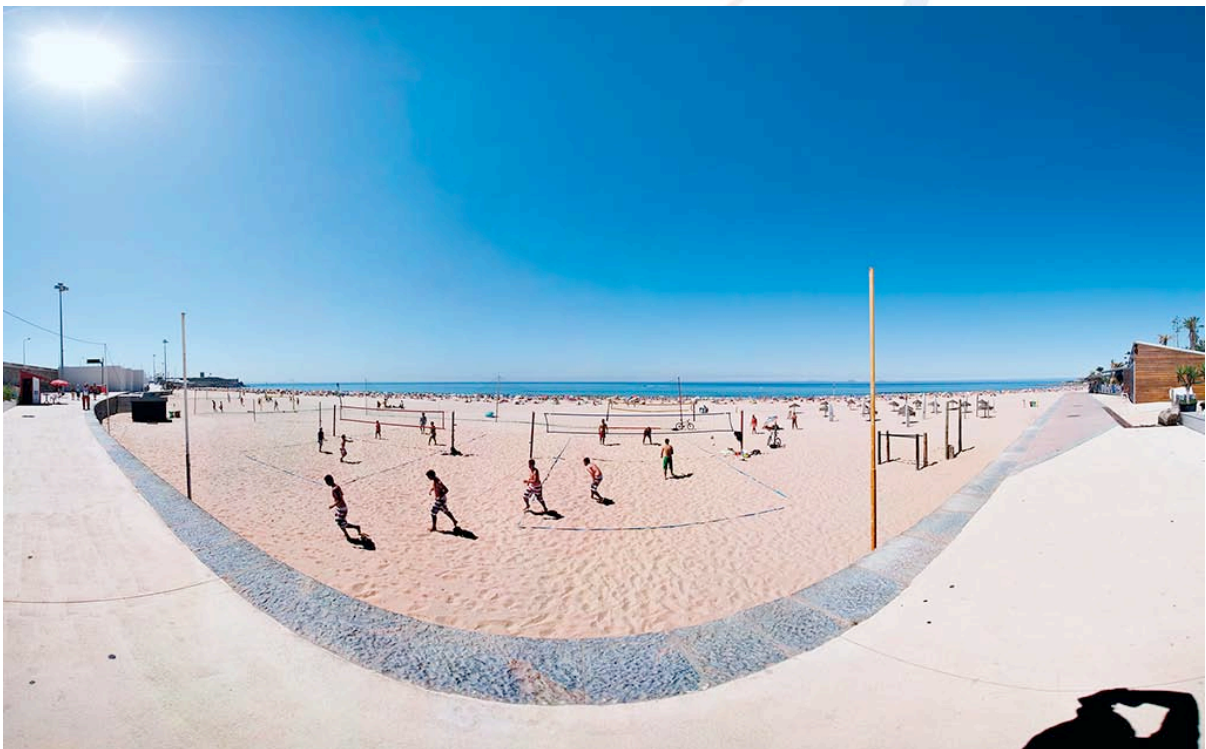


Figure 16: *Frustration, 2008, Lisbon. Photo by Murat Germen.*

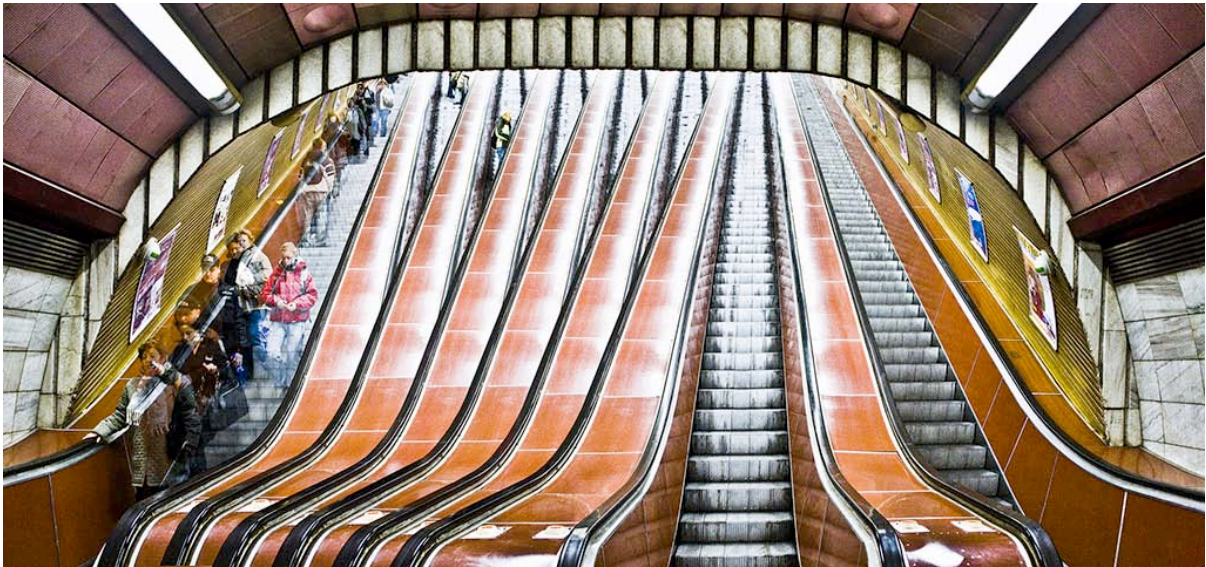


Figure 17: *Trap, “Way” series, 2008, Prague, Czech Republic. Photo by Murat Germen.*

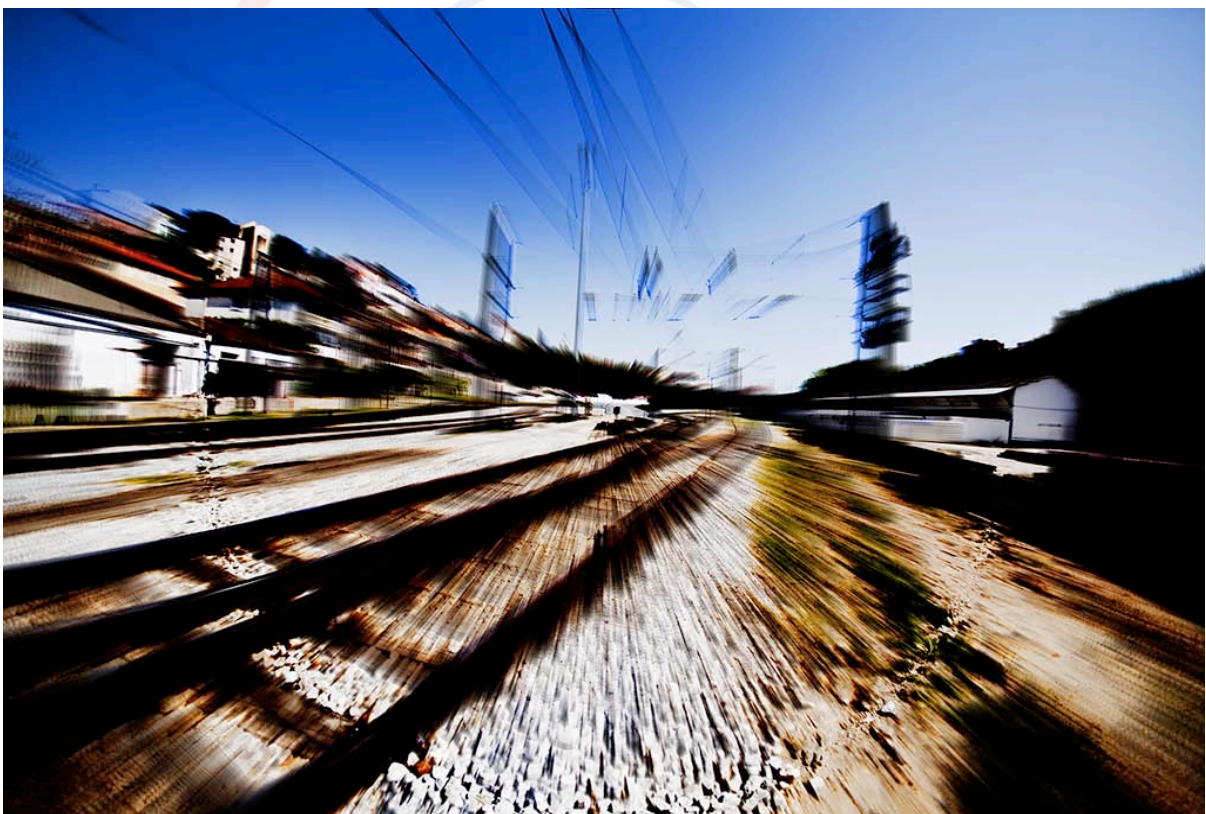


Figure 18: *Photo taken with a Sigma 15mm diagonal fisheye lens, corrected in steps and saved as different versions using Lensdoc Photoshop plugin, and finally superimposed using Photoshop layers. Photo: Murat Germen, Lisbon, 2008.*



Figure 19: *Untitled, “Way” series, 2008, New York, USA. Photo by Murat Germen.*

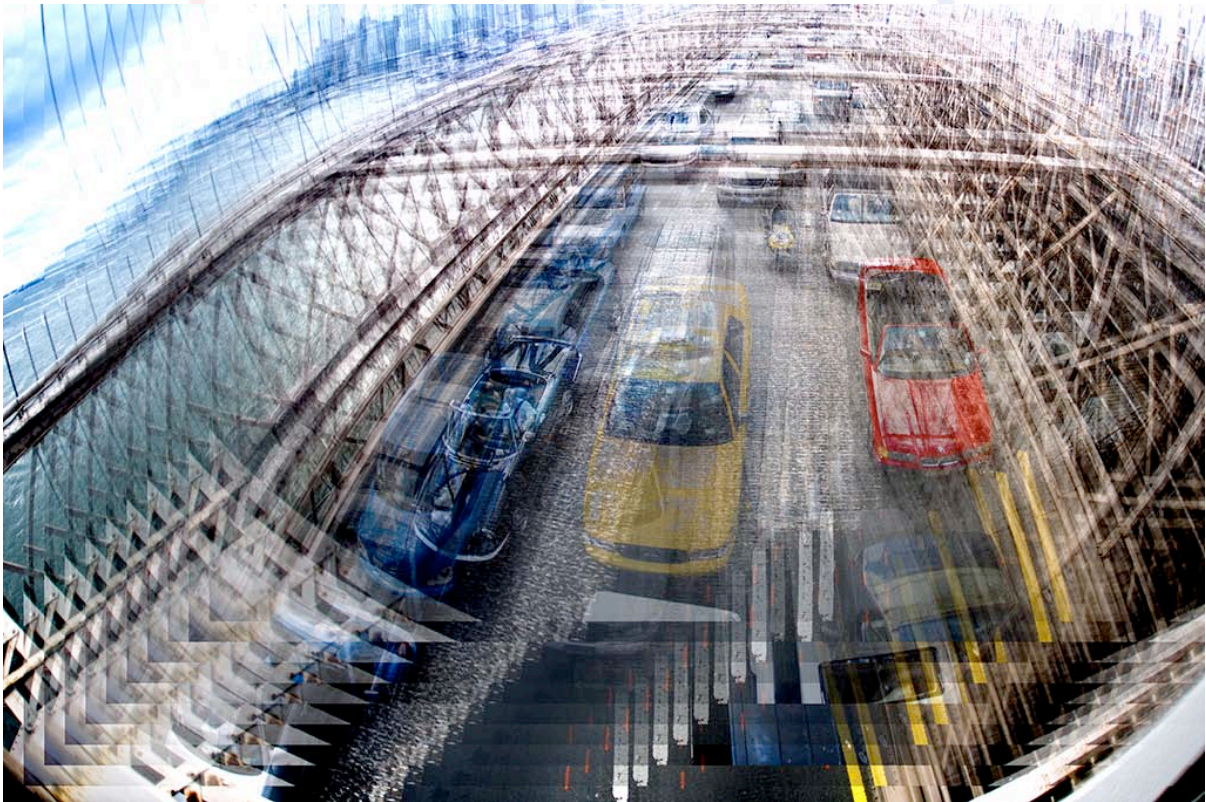


Figure 20: *Untitled, “Way” series, 2008, New York, USA. Photo by Murat Germen.*



Figure 21: *Untitled, “Way” series, 2008, Paris, France. Photo by Murat Germen.*

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Title:

Cultural characteristics, social and political significance of online relationships in China

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Theme of submission:

Brave New World: Challenges and Opportunities

Title: Cultural characteristics, social and political significance of online relationships in China**Authors: Dr. Olga Bailey, Yann-Ling Chin****Affiliation: College of Arts and Science, Nottingham Trent University****Introduction**

With the support of a research group led by Professor Werner Zorn from Karlsruhe University in Germany, Professor Wang Yunfeng and Doctor Li Chengjiong sent out the first email from China to Germany on 20th September 1987. The email title was "Across the Great Wall we can reach every corner in the world" (Jing, 2007). Since the Internet service became publicly available in January 1995, the number of netizens in China has grown from less than 40,000 to 420 million as of June 2010 following the government's investment in infrastructure development and incentives for its adoption (CNNIC, 2010). China is now the country with the largest Internet population in the world, albeit under strict government control on contents.

Although the digital divide remains an issue for those who "have", the Internet has had a profound impact on various aspects of their daily life, especially in terms of leisure and entertainment, communication and socialization, news and information resources (ibid). In fact, Chinese netizens seem to embrace the Internet more extensively and forcefully than their US counterparts as shown in a study comparing Chinese and American youths' attitude towards the Internet, conducted by IAC and JWT in 2007. Less than a third of Americans (30% out of the 1079 American participants) agreed with the statement "The Internet helps me make friends", significantly lower than the 77% of the 1104 Chinese participants. 61% of the Chinese surveyed said they have a parallel life online, compared to only 13% of the Americans. Most striking is that although Americans are generally known to be more sexually liberated and open, only 11% of the American respondents compared to 32% of Chinese respondents willingly admit that the Internet has broadened their sex life.

Shanahan, Poynter and Ho (2008) suggested that the one-child policy could be behind the extensive adoption of Web 2.0 in China. Moreover, under the cultural influence of Confucianism, Chinese value personal relationships and social harmony (Ong, 2005). The society has long been operated within the notion of 'guanxi', whereby established social connections are used to facilitate interpersonal exchanges of favours -fundamentally a classic form of social networking (Chan et al., 2006). The Internet has opened up tremendous networking opportunities for Chinese youth today, compared with earlier generations who relied on face-to-face interactions in close proximity. At first glance, it appears that the Internet has brought about a brave new world for Chinese people by affording them abundant opportunities to pursue the relationships of their choice, liberating them from physical, social and cultural constraints. However, it would be too simplistic and naïve to focus only on this utopian dimension of social life online.

In this paper, I would like to highlight the challenging aspects of online relationships, by which I mean relationships initiated through the Internet. I focus particularly on the impact of norms and traditions in governing the realm of personal relationships even when the relationships are conducted online, and the challenges posed by the state's increasing online presence and interference. The paper begins with a discussion of the contemporary practices of Chinese people in using the Internet to pursue their love affairs and sexual desires which seem liberating and undermining of the social conventions. This is followed by a critical analysis that questions this simplistic celebratory account. I conclude that just by going online does not necessarily empower and liberate netizens as new possibilities are often accompanied with new constraints.

Doing relationships online

The Internet provided Chinese with unprecedented amounts of choices for friendship, love and sex, either locally or transnationally. In an online survey of 154,386 Chinese netizens' marriage and dating behaviour, 45.5% had used dating and social networking sites, and 32.6% of them had developed romantic relationships online (Han, 2008). Although forming relationships with someone met online has become a ubiquitous social phenomenon, especially among adolescents and young adults (Wang and Yu, 2007), general public reactions and media representations of online relationships are largely negative and sensational. These reports function as cautionary tales to warn the public against the dangers of seeing someone met online (Chou and Peng, 2007). Despite the stereotypical representations making friends online, romantic or not, became an integral part of many netizens' online experience. Chou and Peng's study of Taiwanese adolescents showed that 46.30% of them have through the Internet formed new relationships with others met online. Most of them have three online friends, and one third of them (32.6%) have met with their online friends face-to-face.

In mainland China, dating before the age of 18 is referred to as 'premature love'. It is considered a deviant form of behaviour, not only detrimental to the adolescents' psychological and intellectual development, but also posing a potential threat to social stability (Farrer, 2006; Tang and Zuo, 2000). Adolescence is identified as a distinct and crucial age group. Forming a 'correct' outlook on sexual matters at this stage is not only vital to the individuals, but also important to ensure the nation's development and stability (Evans, 1997). Adolescents are seen as immature and inappropriate to engage in dating and sexual activities, vulnerable and susceptible to degenerate behaviours and irreversible damage. These concerns are used to justify the state's direct intervention into adolescents' sexuality and they are taught to be self-vigilant in sexual matters, especially adolescent females, who are generally believed to be at greater risk of involvement in premature love due to their affective nature. Rejecting premature love is also presented as a mechanism to resist the traditional gender roles that confine women domestically and in the emotional realm, but this discourse simultaneously reaffirms the importance of female chastity (ibid).

Dating students, together with their parents are usually called in for counselling by the school authority. Despite the official constraints, youths have developed their own standards of permissiveness with affection to resist the school policies (Farrer, 2006). Recourse to the discourse of natural emotional and biological needs is a powerful rhetorical device in a society that believes in and prioritizes scientific truth (Evans, 1997). The Internet provides them with an alternative avenue not only to conduct their relationships safely, but also to tell and share their romantic stories with one another primarily based on the code of romance. Recourse to such a code equips many with an ethical standpoint to criticize and resist the school policies

Not only is dating among adolescents prohibited, but college students who are found to have sexual intercourse can be expelled (Farrer, 2002). Only since March 2005, have the authorities allowed college students to marry while still pursuing their higher education (Jin, 2009). In recent years, public opinions towards college students' dating behaviours have changed from the initial outright objections to implicit condoning. However, the dominant discourse still discourages dating activities among the college students. Students are urged to pay full attention to their study and made believe that they are too young to try dating (ibid). Online dating becomes an important alternative for them to explore and satisfy their emotional needs.

In a study conducted in 2007, 18% of the 4811 students from 10 universities in China admitted to having one or more online lovers. 38% of them know other classmates who have online relationships. The majority of them (88%) assert that online romance can help to fulfil emotional needs, providing solace which is lacking in their everyday life. Nearly half of the respondents neither agree nor disagree with online romance, only 11.6% openly rejected online romance (Wei et al., 2007). An earlier study involving 516 students from six universities in Beijing showed that 44% of them think that it is possible to have a successful online romance, compared to 29% who do not, 28% were not sure about the prospects of the relationships (Han, 2004). It seems that significant numbers of netizens possess an ambivalent attitude towards online romance. This could possibly be due to the confusing and inconsistent definition of online romance in China.

Online romance has an ambiguous definition in China. For some, it refers to romantic relationships conducted exclusively online without any offline contact. Others conform to the mainstream understanding of romantic relationships initiated online and gradually expanded into the offline world. In the study mentioned earlier, 38% think that it is possible to expand the relationship offline and 23.5% conceived of online romance as a relationship that is confined exclusively within cyberspace. Another key metaphoric conceptualization of online romance (chosen by 35.3% of the participants) is it represents a relational game or play that does not require commitment and responsibilities (Wei et al., 2007). Similarly, Zeng (2004) also postulates that there are two types of online romance; one is romantic relationships that exist virtually, from initially meeting to falling in love and even marriage, all conducted exclusively online. Couples remain distant and anonymous to each other in everyday life. This type of online romance is often called, "Platonic relationship". The second type of online romance utilises the Internet as a means to conduct relationships with the ultimate goal of meeting in person and ideally cumulating in marriage in the actual world. Online romance

that happens as a result of netizens' deliberate efforts such as those happening via dating sites belong to this latter category and represent a growing business in China. Dating websites are becoming more popular as a result of highly mobilized and busy lifestyles. The increasing use of online dating and improved public attitudes towards the use of online dating sites could be attributed to the efforts of these sites to collaborate with other traditional channels such as television and to organize offline activities regularly for the members to participate. Some of the agencies also have bricks and mortar to provide customer services. By including more offline elements into the online services, these sites successfully increase their services' reliability and credibility (CNNIC, 2009a).

In an anthropological account of global correspondence relationships between US men and Chinese and Filipino women through dating agencies, Constable (2003) focuses on women's and men's experience and diverse motivations in using the Internet to pursue their transnational love affairs. She challenges the stereotypical mass media portrayal of "mail-order brides" as either passive, obedient and innocent, or conniving and devious who intend to use marriage to obtain a green card to live in the US for a better life. She documents the experiences of Chinese women who are motivated to use online dating agencies because of their dim marriage prospects with local Chinese men. These women are mainly well-educated, professional and close to thirty, or middle aged and divorced with child. The latter has the worst prospect of remarriage because of the stigma of divorce. Furthermore, local Chinese men generally prefer younger women, and are uncomfortable marrying a woman who has a higher socioeconomic standing than them.

For those aged 50 and above who have never contemplated the idea of marrying a foreign partner, the Internet has also provided them an opportunity to reconnect with other singles who are living in the country. A search of "online romance" using Baidu (a Chinese search engine) yields result mainly consisting of news reports of online romance that turned sour or deceptions that victimized the women. But reports involving senior citizens who fall in love with someone they initially met online are surprisingly more approving, if not positive than those involving adolescents or young adults. For example, in a report dated 25 October 2007, after citing two local examples of marriage between elderly people who met through the Internet, the report proceeded with an analysis by a counselling psychologist who suggested that online romance can help the elderly to overcome the stigma and embarrassment of finding a partner as traditionally senior citizens are supposed to remain ascetic as sexual activities are thought to be detrimental to their health (Evans, 1997). Finding a companion during old age is now increasing acceptable. In the news report, the senior who found his love online argues that online romance is indeed more suitable to their generation than the young. Their age makes them more experienced and capable of discerning genuine love from scam. They are also more likely to be serious and sincere in finding a life partner rather than playing around. The following section deals with a unique Chinese online phenomenon that is closely related to online romance- cyber-marriage, or also called virtual marriage (wang hun).

Cyber-marriage

The idea of getting married online was introduced by the Tianya bulletin board in 2001, from where it has expanded to other domains such as online games and social networking sites.

Until 2005, tens of thousands of mostly students and young working adults had at least one cyber-marriage experience with another online user (The Beijing News, 2008 [online]). Cyber-marriage allows players to experience the usual rites of dating, marriage, raising children and even divorce and remarriage all within the realm of cyberspace. Many of the existing studies of online romance tend to define it as a form of online game involving avatars and overlook the original text-based form of cyber-marriage taking place in discussion forums. For example, McLaren (2007) argues that “digital games are popular amongst youthful players, and include one game that is possibly Chinese, called web marriage [wanghun] or virtual marriage [xuni hunyin]... commercially driven sites for entertainment, pleasure and networking ...” (p.409). Similarly, Zhong (2006) is also concerned about the monetary and psychological cost of immersion in this “online game” by adolescents. In my participant observation at Tianya BBS, I focus on the forum dedicated to cyber-marriage where cyber-marriage is still being conducted in asynchronous text-based format normally involving people who really like or are in love with one another.

Cyber-marriage can involve either couples who met online and later fall in love with one another, or actual couples in the offline world. To the former, cyber-marriage is a way for them to celebrate their love. The latter may perceive cyber-marriage as an extension of their courtship in everyday life. Cyber-marriage allow couples to show commitment to one another, sometimes also as a symbolic means to fulfil their desire to get married when in reality, they are faced with insurmountable obstacles that prohibit them from marrying each other, such as financial difficulties, physical separation, family or social disapproval. Although Tianya started the practice of cyber-marriage with a serious intention to promote the growth of genuine online romantic relationships, this does not prevent others from trying out cyber-marriage simply out of curiosity. McLaren’s study also showed that some are using it as a domain for self-expression, flaunting their constructed persona through their literary and rhetorical skills.

Tianya has stipulated a comprehensive set of rules and regulations to govern the online marriages. The rules mirror the legal marriage in China, such as freedom in marriage and choosing one’s partner. Forced or arranged marriage and bigamy are not allowed. However, it permits same-sex couples registering for marriage online. It also explicitly warns those who have already married or are in a committed relationship offline not to engage in this act with anyone other than their spouse. Members are also advised to refrain from registering with someone who is known to be already engaged with another offline. The virtual marriage relationship will automatically become invalid if any of the parties is found to be already married or have a partner offline, or be guilty of bigamy. The cyber-married couples can also apply for divorce and the grounds to file for divorce and compensation is similar to the actual Marriage Law.

Playing being married provides emotional satisfaction for some players in which social and economic constraints make it difficult to partner or marry offline (McLaren, 2007). Tianya’s decision to allow same-sex cyber-marriage also has a positive impact of encouraging tolerance towards homosexuality. Nevertheless, most of the cyber-married couples are cross-sex. Although the rules of cyber-marriages largely reflect traditional norms, Wu et al.’s (2007) study of cyber-marriage in online games demonstrated how players deconstruct the

significance of legal marriages and challenge heterosexual normativity in the spirit of play. These studies illustrate the Internet's empowering and liberating potential in the Chinese context. However the latter discussion also argues that the possibility that the Internet might subvert social norms in the actual world is rather limited.

The cyber-marriage forum itself becomes an open discursive place not only for the "married" spouses to conduct their conjugal life publicly, but also a space for others to engage in the discussion of the practice of cyber-marriage. This in turn generates even greater public interest and discussion fosters a sense of connectedness. In fact, Tianya, together with several other major Internet portals have forums dedicated to the discussion of issues related to online romance. This is where personal stories of online romance, concerns, problems encountered and others' opinions towards online romance can be heard and shared. The Internet not only renders these private narratives public but also helps to create communities of support among members who identify with each others' experiences and feelings, functioning as counter-stories to the sensationalized news reported in the mass media. The online communities, together with the stories told online and by the mass media collectively shape the public discourse of online relationships. The Internet also helps to reconnect others who have similar sexual desires which transgress the government approved monogamous heterosexual marriage – the practice of swinging or locally known as spouse swapping.

Spouse swapping

Swinging is another recent manifestation of the Chinese 'opened up' society. This pursuit of mere sexual pleasure mainly among married couples is greatly facilitated by the Internet. There are several sites catering to the needs of this community where they can join particular groups defined by geographical areas, profession or relationships status, participate in forums to discuss their swinging experiences, place advertisements for upcoming events, conduct cybersex, or look for sex partners, or organize events such as sex orgies or a holiday together with other spouses. Collectively, they redefine the boundaries of private sexual freedom, generating sets of new shared vocabulary and practices.

Consistent with previous studies of swinging (Denfeld and Gordon, 1970; Ramey 1972), participants of this sexual practice claim that it revitalizes their stale family life, helping to sustain the couple's marital relationship. The practice is based on the premise that there must be a collective consensus among all the parties involved. Members can register as single or as married couples, but some of the events organized are strictly restricted to married couples. Members are constantly reminded not to reveal any offline contact details in any of their messages and to other members unless trust has been established. Due to the fact that spouse swapping is an illegal practice, members are advised to be cautious when engaging in these activities. The sexual stories they tell online nevertheless render the voice of these communities visible albeit marginal and risk apprehension.

In sum, the Internet is especially important in facilitating connection and relationship formation for people with limited options (see Cooper et al. 2000; Ross, 2005; Yao and Flanagin, 2006). The greatest attraction of the Internet is the ease of finding others in a

similar situation and with shared interests that are unlikely to be closely matched locally and safely. Although the Internet may have broadened the avenue of romantic and sexual pursuit for Chinese netizens, they are however not completely free from the norms and social constraints when exploring their sexuality and conducting their private relationships online.

Traditions in the present day

Engaging in online romantic and sexual relationships may seem liberating and empowering to the participants by allowing them to challenge social conventions and undermine traditions governing the realm of interpersonal relationships, but as pointed out by Gross (1992) the disappearance of tradition in the modern world, though is happening has often been exaggerated. Many traditions survive at the margin of everyday life and others are refashioned into new forms and continue their influence in a subtle manner. Thompson (1995) makes a similar argument by emphasizing the role of mass media in sustaining traditions. To survive, traditions reconstitute themselves through mediated forms of communication and are increasingly detached from their mooring in particular locales, in other words delocalised.

Respect for traditions is one of the virtues under Confucianism, China's most venerable ethical philosophy. One should learn from the past and changes must be based on past practices (Levenson, 1958). Since the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established the New China in 1949, the party under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong spent its initial three decades trying to eradicate the influence of Confucianism which was deemed to be feudal and hindering the nation's progress. Confucian tradition was also accused of not representing Chinese tradition but merely the gentry's tradition. When Confucianism is redefined as upper class tradition, it becomes incompatible with the communist ideology (ibid). Despite Mao's effort to extirpate the roots of Confucianism, many Confucian values remained important and inform the general public's ways of life, especially those regarding family ties and ethics (Bell, 2008).

According to Bell (2008), the 1990s marked the end of Marxist ideology in China and the moral vacuum is being filled by Christian sects, Falun Gong and extreme forms of nationalism. The party state considers these as undesirable alternatives that run the risk of threatening hard-won social and economic stability. As a result, the state has encouraged the revival of Confucianism which prioritizes social harmony above all else. The general idea is that when everyone knows his or her roles, obligations and duties, and plays their part, social hierarchy and order would be retained, and there would be peace and harmony in society (Ong, 2005). For the state, there are several advantages in the promotion of Confucian values. Confucius's calls for obedience and self-discipline help reinforce the status quo and legitimate the party's ruling power, in Foucault's terms, constructing subjectivities of 'docile body'. However, the resurgence of interest in Confucianism in the past decade is not merely a state-initiated effort, the renewed interest is also driven by academics; the assumption is that better training in the humanities improves the virtue of the learner. Chinese are now taking pride in their own traditions for thinking about social and political reform (Bell, 2010).

As a result of the resurgence of Confucianism, family as the fundamental social unit in Confucian ideology has now re-emerged as the primary structure shaping Chinese people's subjectivities, family and social relations, instead of class and political affiliations (Erwin, 2000). This argument is confirmed by Li and Xu's (2007) study of ordinary peoples' notion of love based on their personal understanding and past experience. Two thirds of the respondents defined love as related to social responsibilities and norms. The authors conclude that to most ordinary people, love is more than romantic passion. Love also provides the couple with a micro normative social structure for them to exercise each other's rights and responsibilities in maintaining the social order. The implication of this study is that Chinese peoples' notion of love is tied up with social and family responsibilities, not merely as private emotions. In other words, although romantic love has now become a precondition of relationships, love to most Chinese people is also deeply entwined with social responsibilities and family value.

In contemporary Chinese society, getting married and having children continues to be an integral part of one's life, even among highly educated adults (Zhou, 2008). This family tradition and desire to get married manifests itself even in the online world in which netizens could act freely in a sexually liberated and uninhibited way, as seen in the practice of cyber-marriage. Cyber-married couples willingly re-enact the marriage institution and subject themselves to patriarchal power relations and gender roles. This is indeed an example of what Thompson (1995) called "mediation of tradition" (p.180). As Lo (2009) argues in his critical analysis of cyber-marriage, this practice perpetuates the traditions of marriage and reproduction, implying a return to the neo-Confucian public morality and hierarchical society based on monogamous family units.

Although Tianya stipulates the rule of monogamy, this does not prevent those who are already married in the actual world from having cyber-marriage with another partner or having multiple cyber-marriages with different partners across various sites. This may on one hand seem undermining to the monogamous practice sanctioned by the state, but those accused of being guilty of infidelity defended their online acts as merely an inconsequential game. Cyber-marriage is in fact reported to have caused marriage breakdown as the disgruntled spouse refuses to accept that it is just a game. Subsequently, there are calls for the government to intervene and outlaw this online practice (McLaren, 2007). However, up until now, the state has not banned cyber-marriage and this controversial practice is being condoned because the virtual act of marriage does not constitute bigamy or polygamy from the legal point of view (www.39.net). Similarly, same-sex cyber-marriage is allowed mainly under the guise of sheer play. As a form of entertainment, cyber-marriage functions as the safety-valve that allows people a temporary leisure escape online. As netizens pursue and satisfy their transgressive desires online, they actually reaffirm the routine social order of everyday life when they return to the actual world. In other words, cyber-marriage actually helps entrench monogamous heterosexual marriage.

Furthermore, as pointed out by Sigley (2006), any calls for the government to police the personal affairs of citizens would legitimize the state's power to interfere into citizens' private realm in the name of maintaining social order and protecting family. This can have a devastating implication on personal liberties and individuals' privacy. Whilst cyber-marriage

is condoned, the Chinese government has recently in May, for the first time invoked the law that prohibits group licentious to prosecute 22 adults who practiced group sex and spouse swapping. One of them is a university professor, Ma Yaohai, 53 who has been sentenced to three and a half years imprisonment. The law prohibits any sexual activity between three or more people even when happening in a private place and between consenting adults. In her blog, Li Yinhe (2010), a prominent Chinese sexologist and activist criticizes the law as “the last draconian law left over from the Cultural Revolution” and calls for its abolition. Ma was the only one who pleaded not guilty and insisted that his victimless private sex life should not be criminalized. In earlier interviews, Ma told Chinese reporters that he joined the swinging subculture in 2004 after meeting with a 23-year old woman from the Internet who was a member of swingers club. In 2007, Ma started an Internet chat room in which more than 200 swingers participate (Wong, 2010).

When online netizens might perceive that they are in better control of their privacy, but in reality their privacy is compromised because of extensive state surveillance. Like Erwin's (2000) study of the sex hotlines counselling service in Shanghai, online discussions of private relationships and sexual affairs allow the state to easily monitor netizens' discursive practice of personal desires and fulfilments and to understand the reconfigured family and social relations. This is often followed by intervention either legally or through counselling and re-education, or imposing social sanctions. The Muzimei incident in 2003 is an example of how an initial sense of online liberation and empowerment has in the end subjected the individual to greater state monitoring.

In June 2003, Muzimei, a journalist and magazine columnist published her sexual adventures with multiple partners on her blog causing a sudden Internet frenzy. Her stories were viewed by millions online and developed into a national controversy. In an interview, she once said: "I do not oppose love, but I oppose loyalty. If love has to be based on loyalty, I will not choose love." In contemporary Chinese society, romantic love has become the moral standard for engaging in sexual behaviours, together with marriage and procreation, they become the legitimate and acceptable reasons for sex (Farrer, 2002). Sex independent of love though is not uncommon, especially among men (Pan, 2006), however the sexual double standard rendered Muzimei an amoral figure. "If a man does this," she said, "it's no big deal, but as a woman doing so, I draw lots of criticism." She also became a hot topic of debate in various chat rooms and discussion forums. Some admired her as a liberated woman, others reviled her as 'shameless hussy'. Eventually in November, the state intervened and criticised Muzimei's behaviour as morally corrupting and accused Sina.com, the portal hosting her blog as being socially irresponsible in giving her prominent featuring. In the end, Mu voluntarily took down her blog and resigned from her job. Her book was also banned by the government (Yardley, 2003).

Conclusion

Following the economic and social reforms in the 1980s, the government no longer openly represses and directly intervenes in the private lives of citizens. Nevertheless, this should not be taken as a triumph of private consumption over the state as is commonly assumed, such as in the following account:

“The party, which once controlled cradle-to-grave existence, with even sex for pleasure seen as bordering on the counter-revolutionary, has since narrowed its focus, aiming to keep a lid on only the most politically sensitive issues ... when it comes to matter of the heart, the government has long since abandoned its self-appointed role.” (AFP, Shanghai, 2003).

Heterosexual monogamous marriage remains the only officially sanctioned model of relationship. The Internet, although presenting netizens with abundant opportunities in pursuing their love affairs and sexual desires, also simultaneously poses new challenges. “The fostering of extensive public discussion of sexuality should therefore be understood as a means by which the subjectivities of Chinese urbanites are redefined in relation to family, sexuality, and private consumption, rather than the outmoded ideals of the Maoist era. This redefinition poses not just new freedoms in sexual familial domains, but... also new constraints structured by family relations and obligations” (Erwin, 2000:169). Instrumentalisation of tradition reinstates the party-state’s moral authority to govern citizens’ private life (Gross, 1992). The state’s increasing online presence and control is yet another constraint facing netizens. Liberation and empowerment are not given but have to be negotiated by netizens.

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The Decline of Pakistani Cinema: The Government, Pakistan Electronic Media Authority (PEMRA), and the Interjection of VCRs, Pirated DVDs, and Cable Channels

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The Decline of Pakistani Cinema: The Government, Pakistan Electronic Media Authority (PEMRA), and the Interjection of VCRs, Pirated DVDs, and Cable Channels

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The film eras of Lahore, the Lollywood, are clearly divided into three: silent films from 1924 to 1934, Black & White (B&W) talkies from 1932 to 1970, and color 1961 onwards. The cinema that survived the 1947-Partition of Pakistan and India was fully matured by the 70s despite the stealing of its talent and intellect by television in the 60s. It is perceived that Zia’s Islamization shied the audience away from entertainment in the 70s. However, a process of decay and decline began with the interjection of VCRs, pirated DVDs, and cable TV channels in the 80s and 90s. The illegal broadcasting of foreign films maximized the pace of the decline because of Musharraf’s tremendous expansion of the electronic media at the advent of the new millennium. The audience no longer wishes to compromise the comfort of home viewing of the latest Indian and American blockbusters at minimal costs. The revival awaits the enforcement of the intellectual property rights and governmental support for the production of popular commercial and parallel films that mark the audience division in Pakistan. The low audience turnover has caused a steep decline of the cinema industry as compared to the past decades.

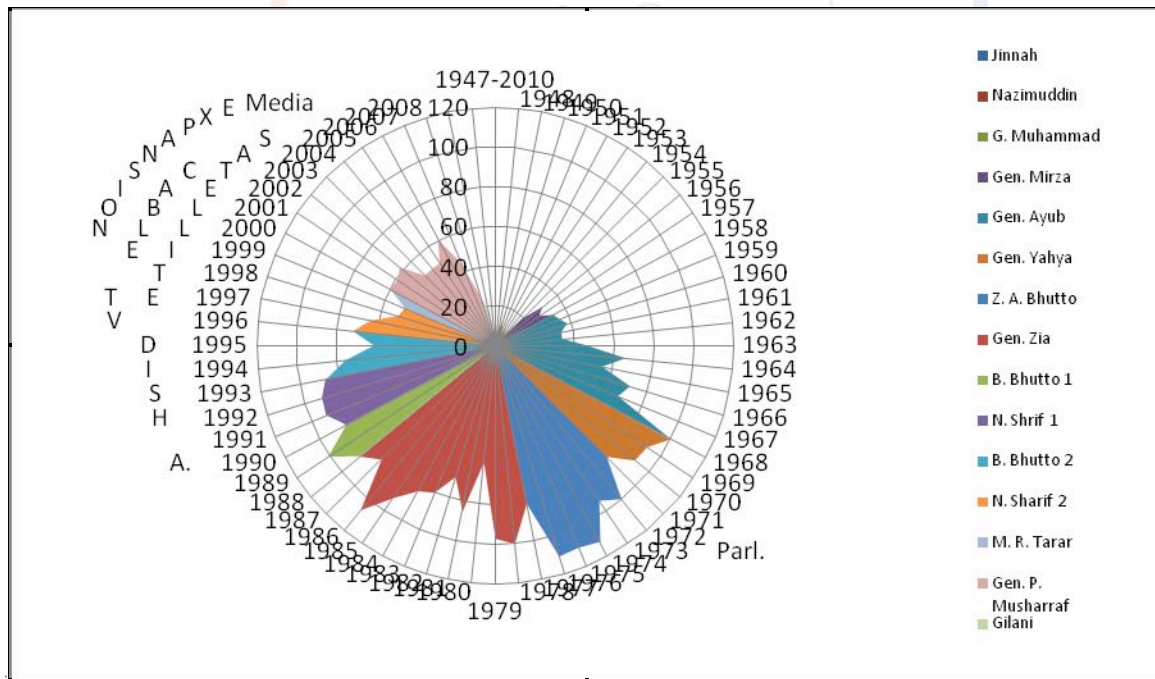


Fig. 1a Annual film production under different forms of state power, 1947-2010

Governor-Generals: Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Ghulam Muhammad, Maj. Gen. Sahibzada Sayyed Sikander Ali Mirza.

Presidents: Maj. Gen. Sahibzada Sayyed Sikander Ali M trip irza, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Muhammad Rafiq Tarar...

Chief Martial Law Administrators/Presidents: Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, General Pervez Musharraf.

(Semi)martial law regimes: General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, General Pervez Musharraf.

Parliamentarian Prime Ministers: Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif...

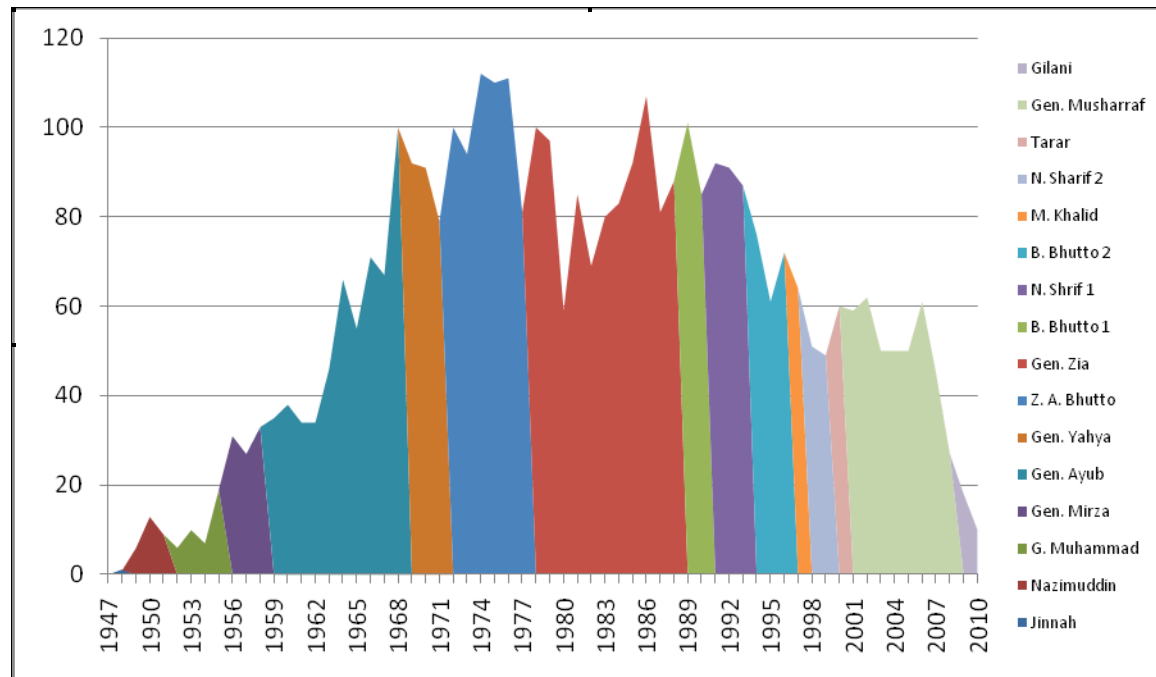


Fig. 1b Film during presidential, parliamentary, and (semi)martial law regimes

The decades reflect a cinema that has survived without the state sponsorship for over half a century (Fig. 1a & Fig. 1b). Although the first one thousand post-Partition films were produced in about 25 years (1947-1972), the Pakistani cinema excelled tremendously over the ten years that followed (Fig. 2). In the second decade, during General Ayub's martial law regime (1958-1969), the average annual film production rate was increased from approximately 11 to 48 per year. These figures were maintained at nearly double in the following years except the new millennium. Ironically, the highest numbers of annual films, about a 100 per year, were produced during the martial law regime of a legally declared traitor, General Yahya Khan and the postwar period of the executed President cum Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Despite the prisoners of war (POW) crisis of 1971-72 that marks the beginning of the Bhutto's period, the average annual film production rate sustained at 114 films till his decline. This increase was compromised to 79% (about 90 films per year) during General Zia's (semi)martial law regime, and Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz's democracies under Ishaq and Laghari, but was further reduced to 50% during Tarrar/Nawaz and Musharraf's periods (Rizvi, 2008; Garija, ca. 2003; Gul, 2001; Slote, ca. 1987).

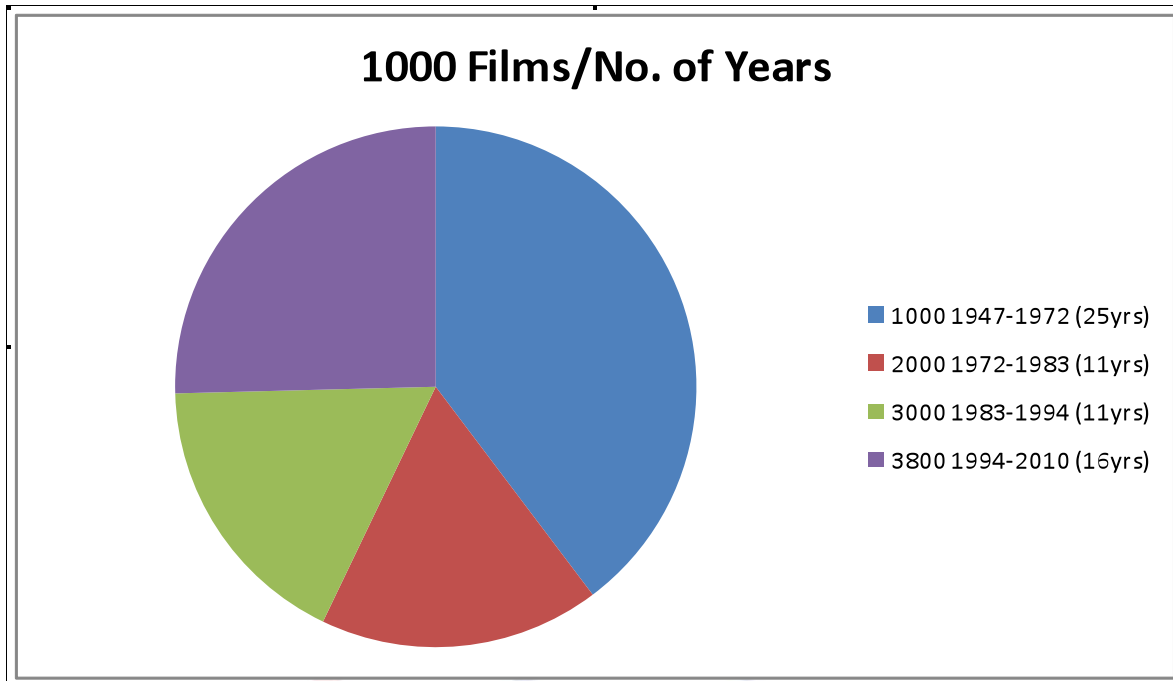


Fig. 2 The comparison of film production rate for about 3800 Pakistani films (1947-2010)

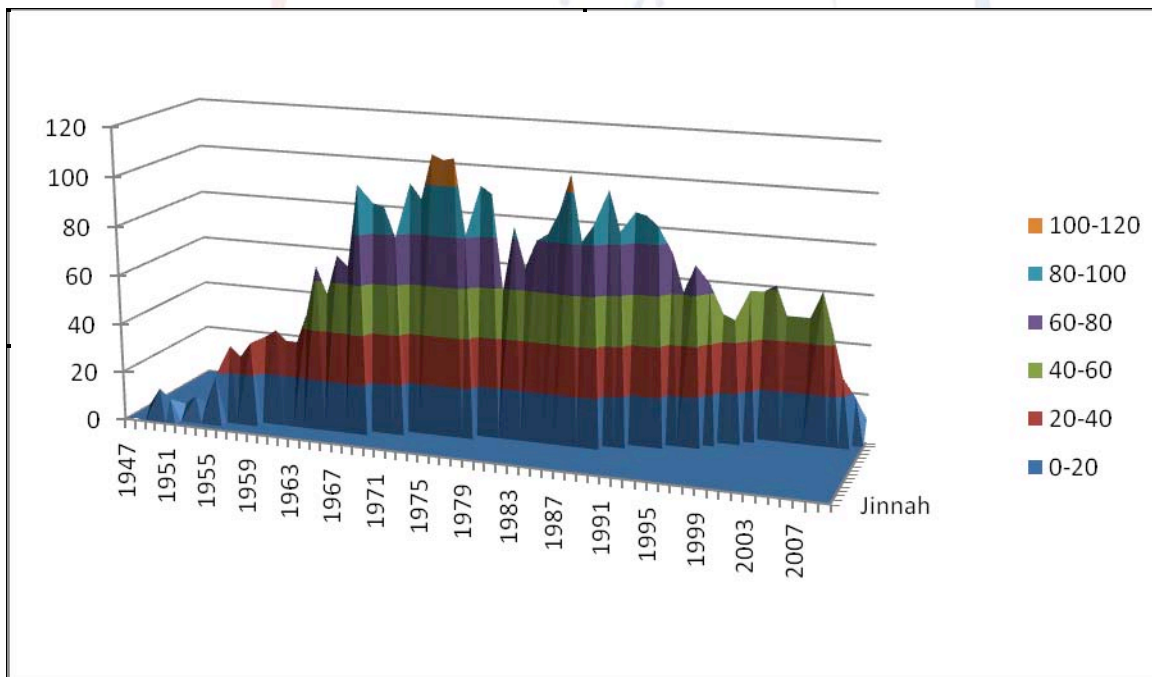


Fig. 3 The incline and decline of Pakistani films 1947-2010

Musharraf’s film decline nearly duplicates 60s figures during the first decade of the new millennium. In contrast to Ayub’s 60s that mark over 400% increase in the annual film

production rate as compared to 50s, Musharraf's new millennium shows a 48.5%, 57%, and 50% downfall respectively as compared to Yahya, Bhutto, and Zia's periods. The production rate was only 46%, 39%, and 50% of the three respectively. This rate equals 94% of the rate in Ayub's regime, but that also implies that Musharraf's regime positioned the Pakistani cinema half a century behind. Its culmination reflects further downfall to the figures of 1957 in 2008, and 1955 in 2009 just because of the cable (Fig. 3). Clearly, the cinema declined, but media flourished in Musharraf's period and Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) was formed to control and regularize the performance of illegal cable TV channels (Fig. 4).

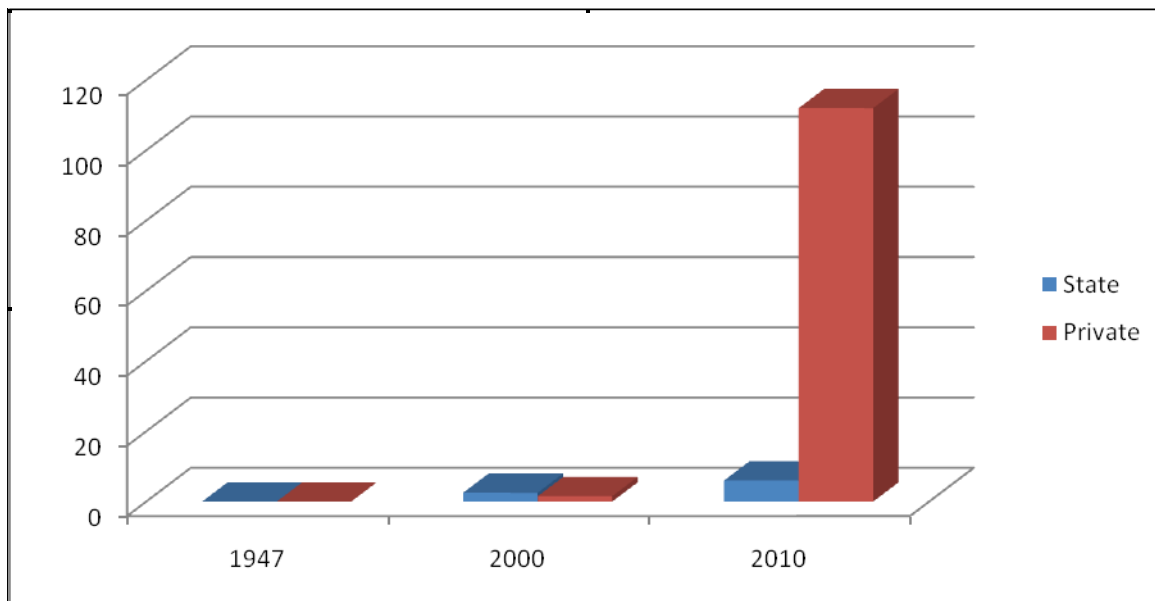


Fig. 4 The comparison of state owned and private TV channels since 1947

These channels entered a race for broadcasting pirated versions and camera prints of basically new Indian releases in addition to American software. Software misuse was no more just an individual's affair; rather, it was taken over by the channels on a larger scale. Both aspects of this scale promote private viewership of films at convenience. The history of this convenience and software piracy escalation can be tracked back in the 80s as is reflected in the print media articles of the period. Presumably, the decade had surfaced VCR that gave a blow to film viewership at cinemas; however, the spread of cable TV put a last nail into the cinema's coffin during the 90s. These two factors: the overwhelming interest of the Pakistani public in the Indian software followed by software piracy by cable operators sourced the decline of Pakistani cinema that encouraged cinema owners to import Indian films.

This importing is heavily contested by the film producers and directors as well as the members of film association who believe these imports will permanently damage the cinema industry. Here, we see a direct clash between the interest of the cinemas and the cinema industry. Pakistan

stands at a point where a superficial decision in favor of its national cinema will first cause the disappearance of the cinema buildings and ultimately the disappearance of both as the fate of one is bound to the fate of the other. Historically, the banning scenario of the Indian software import has not helped Pakistan's cinema industry but the cinema buildings. These buildings can only be maintained through funds generation via exhibition of films whether from Hollywood, Bollywood, or Lollywood.

TABOOED PUBLIC INTEREST

Lollywood neither offers hope nor support to cinemas. Where the cinema industries have flourished across the world, the Pakistani cinema has lost its beauty to scarcity of form: moral, mental, and physical over a period of six decades. Here, aging no longer means maturity but disintegration. The story of this backward journey is well explained by Ramzi (2005) who says, "There was a time, a few decades ago, when Lollywood held as much appeal for cinema-goers as Hollywood, and Urdu cinemas were as packed as English ones," but Pakistani cinema "seem[s] to be a pathetic form of entertainment today" (Ramzi, 2005). The entertainment values are compromised for poor form, monotonous content, lack of aesthetics and technical quality. For these reasons, it hardly constitutes towards popular cinema of Pakistan unlike old days.

In old days, Lahore was the center of culture. After Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, it was the fourth major film center of South Asia. A shortage of professionals in the areas of music, theatre, and films was never felt. Rather, film got plenty of attention from the public, professionals, and intellectuals. Malik says,

In the pre-Partition secular cultural society of Lahore, one area that attracted greater attention of creative people was the then emerging glitzy world of entertainment ...

About half a dozen film studios existed in the city in 1947... [that were known for] creative ingenuity and production values (Malik, 2003).

This glorification was made possible with the joint efforts of Hindus and Muslims. The first provided the funds and the studios and the second, according to Malik, the "ebullient artistic talent" (2003). Viswanath and Malik say, "Mainstream cinema has been deeply affected by Partition" (2009, p.61). While some talent remained in Pakistan, the Partition completely drained the funding by the rich Hindu financier from Lahore's cinema. Malik says

the cinematic personality of Lahore ... suffered much at the dawn of independence, due to communal riots and the mass exodus of non-Muslim financiers and studio owners to India. Half of [the] film studios of Lahore were completely gutted.... For a year or two, film industry in Lahore remained almost at a standstill ... [Many] Muslim artistes [who] had returned ... from Bombay... [started to use] theatre as a mode of their creative expressions (Malik, 2003).

This shifting primarily took place because of a tremendous shortage of filmmakers and financiers who could provide sufficient work to Lollywood artists during the first decade after Partition.

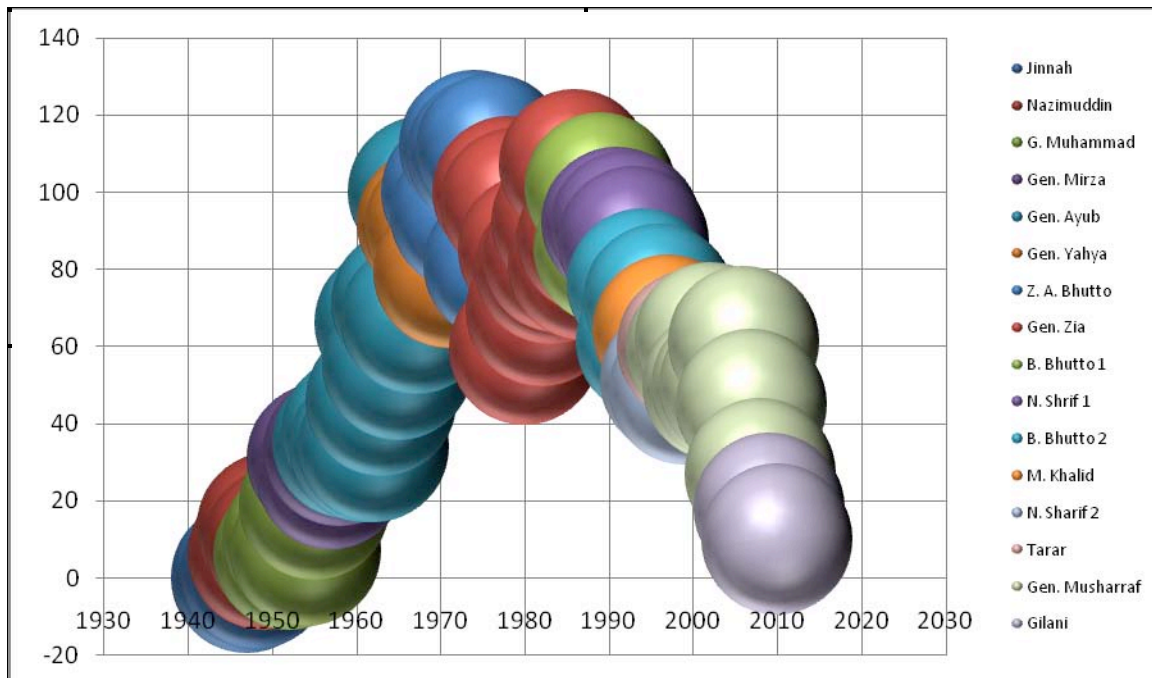


Fig. 5 An overview of Pakistani cinema over the decades

Mandviwalla (ca. 2007) divides the growth pattern of Pakistani films into five periods. These periods depict a picture of inconsistency and high instability due to such factors as government's negligence to cinema's needs, price control, entertainment taxes, lack of funds, smuggling and piracy, East Pakistan separation, and banning of Indian films that caused loss of bigger markets to construct its decline.

Monopoly years from 1947 to 1966: Pakistani cinema was the only medium of audiovisual entertainment.

Golden era from 1966 to 1977: Following a ban on Indian films, two parallel film industries matured in Lahore and Karachi that focused on Punjabi and Urdu films respectively. This glory is shaded with deficit pointing to the progression of price cutting practices that shaped copying trends and a compromise on originality and quality due to the loss of Indian and East Pakistan markets.

Disaster years from 1977 to 1988: NAFDEC's monopoly, unchanged ticket prices, heavy taxes, and the induction of VCR with pirated films for home audience phase gradual shutting down of foreign film cinemas. The big budget English and Hindi films reached every viewer, causing the failure of low budget Urdu films.

Deregulation and privatization from 1988 to 2001: NAFDEC was deregulated and film imports privatized. However, the introduction of satellite TV in 1990/1991 facilitated film piracy and eventual collapse of Punjabi cinema because of the cable TV networks.

Dying years from 2001 through 2010: The pirate market upgraded their facilities by introducing 8CD, VCD and DVD manufacturing plants. The combination of the inexpensive, unregulated technologies facilitated home viewing of foreign films, causing 90% downfall of audience attendance at the cinemas.

The Partition slug finally shaped into the composure of cinema during Ayub, Yahya, and Bhutto regimes. It is perceived as the golden era of Pakistani films that remained the most popular form of entertainment among youth till Zia imposed martial law in the mid-1970s (Fig. 5). Malik says the new medium of films ... create[d] enduring impact on the minds and lifestyles of the people ... The youth in Lahore spent their holidays in movie theatres to absorb... every conceivable gesture, line and action and the turns in the plots of the films. They relished spending the remainder of the week practicing "their repertoires" in the living rooms, street corners and school and college grounds in the provincial metropolis (Malik, 2003). During these two decades, film as a medium was equally important for the common and the elite. Malik says the Pakistani film had a "poignant effect" on some of the finest minds in Lahore ... Poets, writers and intellectuals were sucked into its enchanting and absorbing vortex ... Lahore's old and new studios ... worked round the

clock until mid-70s, brimmed with activities related to cinematic arts ... Despite paucity of resources and a limited market, a few astonishingly good movies came out of Lahore film studios during that period, which won popular acclaim for the artistes, kudos for the producers/directors and substantiated cultural identity of Lahore and vivacity of its citizens (Malik, 2003).

Such monopoly was maintained for about ten years after the advent of television in the country. Pakistan Television Network “took a fair chunk of the audiences away from films” as well as “some of the best talent” (Malik, 2003). In the years that followed, the VCR waft facilitated the home screening of Indian films. To cut it short, the VCR took away the audience and the television took away the creative ingenuity from films. Malik says

the present day Lahore is less than magnanimous in lending its best people to the cinematic arts. Consequently, the surviving ... film studios are today flooded with dubious kinds of individuals (especially the financiers), who, to say the least, do not enjoy good reputation (Malik, 2003).

These factors leave a negative impact on production quality and cast choices. Hence, the overall reputation of the cinema industry is tabooed.

Taboo reflects violence and sexual innuendos that have replaced human images and creativity. Malik says filmmakers have replaced “a rich tapestry of swirling images from many masterpieces of yore” with violence, terror, brutality, and “libidinous allowances” (2003). Noorani quotes famous film and TV actor, Qavi Khan, who says “things were not that bad in the cinema of the fifties and the sixties, but then came the deterioration. The atmosphere in the Lahore film studios is not congenial to creativity. Uneducated and unsophisticated people are calling the shots there” (2006). Film actor, Shaan, blames the damage on Zia’s (semi)martial law regime. “It gave the wrong people a very loud voice [that] killed art for the next generations” (Isani, 2005).

The generations witnessed the birth of the Punjabi villain, *Maula Jutt* (Bhatti, 1979), in reaction to martial law (Adeeb, 2010; Hashmi, 2010). The likes of this diehard villain destroyed, what Ahmad calls, “the cinematic culture of Urdu movies” (2006). Raffat says “the fake-hero of Urdu cinema faded against the spellbinding and charismatic personality of Mustafa Qureshi and Sultan Rahi” who remind the archetype of the Punjabi folk hero, Jugga, the great dacoit. The hero no longer fought the establishment but the ruthless villain (n.d.). The vulgar comedian joined him to pitch his show in the Punjabi tradition of bhaands (Raffat, n.d.) who often opt for topical humor. The trio of villain and comedian was completed with the induction of dirty dancer. Sehbai says the terrifying villain, vulgar comedian, and dirty dancer “make the great triangle of our get-real culture ... The trio rules the other Pakistan that lies subliminally under the mainstream display of art and culture” (Ahmad, 2006). This trio compromised the beauty of cinema, but persists against the will of the elite and the critics. Their annihilating effects have shaped the decline of Pakistani cinema. It constitutes, what Mumtaz calls, “over-the-top cinema, ranging from the cringe-worthy – think *Haseena Atom Bomb* [Gorgeous Lady Atom Bomb] (Jahangiri, 1990) – to those that have achieved cult status such as *Maula Jutt* which starred the unparalleled Sultan Rahi” (2007). He has “670 films to his credit” (Gazdar, 1997, p. 1) and his replicas continue to fight the establishment through films since Zia’s martial law.

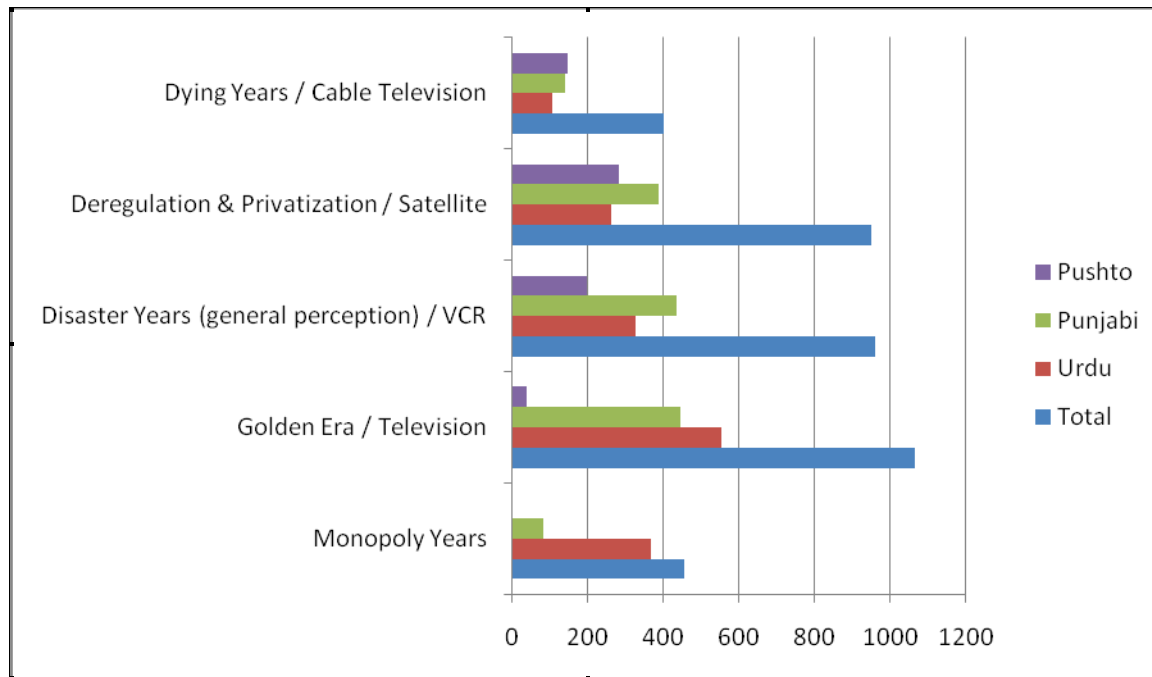


Fig. 6 Film production chart (1947-2010)

The Indian film was completely banned during the golden era of Pakistan films (1965-1977). It was legally available during the monopoly years and illegally available during all other periods. The table includes the names of the mediums that were breaking into film's monopoly during these periods.

The Perceived Beginning of the Decline

It is allegedly believed that Zia's policies caused more harm to Pakistani cinema as compared to the neglect by different governments for over six decades. "The Decline" puts a direct responsibility on Zia regime for the decay of the cinema

when under the garb of Islamization anything even remotely connected to entertainment was declared off-limits for people. Ordinary Pakistanis were goaded towards a ritualistic narrow version of the religion under which enjoying oneself was frowned upon.

Consequently, state patronage of the arts and of related activities like cinema and film-making, which were already quite insignificant, disappeared. Subsequently, the VCR and satellite television and cable television that facilitated access of many Pakistani homes to the offerings of the prolific Indian film industry delivered a body blow to our film industry. All these factors have over the years shied audiences away from going to the cinema ("The Decline," 2002).

The policies of the successive governments helped in expanding the audience for Indian films in Pakistan. Few people go to theatres. Most watch Indian films on pirated DVDs at home. Others watch the latest Hollywood movies sometimes even before their release on DVD in the US. F. Jawaid and Jawaid say "pirated copies of new releases are freely available at local DVD stores as well as being played on cable channels within one week of the release of major titles" (2009). It is debatable if such piracy of all foreign, or just the Indian films, or the legal exhibition of Indian

cinema is causing more harm to the local industry. The apprehension of the harm spreads over decades that shaped an active demand for a ban on legal exhibition of Indian films by government officials, producers, and the farsighted. The officials demand a ban in the times of tension between the two countries. The producers fear the competition, and the farsighted fear a change in the cultural values of Pakistani society. However, the audience disagrees to the three of them.

Pakistani and Indian Film Audience

The audience like Rehman believe that people who demand a ban on Indian films on cultural grounds are “full of vague, unrealistic and fake alibis and dialogues regarding cultural reasons” because the people in the two countries share their roots and religions (2009). They share similar family structures, cultural artifacts, and emotional schemas that control their momentary appeals and needs for entertainment. Thus, the people, the cinemas, and the two countries share their origins regardless of perceptible civilizing differentiation. This sharing leads to the production of analogous thematic and emotional content in both the countries. One does so crudely and the other professionally. The Indian film professionalism results from loads of technological and professional means and venues for training, while Pakistani industry suffers from a lack of governmental support and tabooed public interest. Today, most Pakistani professionals and exhibitors are looking towards India for finding solutions to their problems and needs. The audience wants to watch Indian films, the exhibitors want to screen Indian films, the actors want to toil into Indian films, and the producers crave methodological and imaginative support from India and the opening of co-production, if probable and potential.

The potentiality is reflected in the consistent public demand for Hindi feature films despite repeated bans in the last forty-five years. Indian film and entertainment channels are very popular among a dominant majority of the Pakistani public. This popularity raises a concern in some minds, reflecting duplicity of opinions. According to an article, “Usurping,” a group of people considers it would be “futile to have these bigoted bans” as the people have their ways of getting what they want. The other group considers “it is the duty, and the moral responsibility” of the authorities, the “sensible farsighted public... and lobbyists to ensure that the finer values of Pakistani society [are] protected from all ‘alien’ values including [those projected by] the English language western channels ... [They insist that the local] liberal channels should also be restricted, if not altogether eliminated” (2003). Despite the conflict of such opinions, the Pakistani authorities have never banned the piracy of Indian and American software to favor either of the conflicting groups, or on ethical grounds. However, they have sufficiently experimented to save the local industry by putting bans on Indian films.

PEMRA: REVIVAL BY BANNING INDIAN FILMS

The Indian films were first banned during the 1965-war between Pakistan and India, eliminating the 1954-bartar policy for film export with India. As stated in “Usurping,”

There were then militant protagonists and equally passionate antagonists of Indian films ... in Pakistan. That divide ... [remains] despite the passage of four decades ... Both

public opinion and technology ... facilitated ... 'undoing of the ban' through the steady streaming of Indian audio-visual material into Pakistan (2003).

"Usurping" also points to the location of an "enormous complex [for the] sale of foreign cinema and video material at Karachi's Rainbow Centre". The Centre is one of a kind in Asia, but the sellers pay no heed to intellectual property right issues of the DVDs (2003). The marketer openly sells them to public and cable TV operators for home viewing either directly or via cable channels.

The cable operators are prohibited to screen pirated films, but Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) fails to implement the law. As mentioned in "Usurping," PEMRA ignores to enforce the law for the fear that the "cable operators will lose financially, and the public will switch over to Indian videos and films on cassettes and CDs" (2003). Considering the levels of piracy and Indian film viewership in Pakistan, the switching fear appears unjustified. It also points to the failure of frequent bans on Indian films to develop its national cinema. As stated in "Usurping," the "ban on Indian films has failed to develop Pakistani cinema, [or] the quality of the film industry, and [many] cinema houses have steadily closed down business" (2003). This closure points to serious quality issues with films due to business shortage, hence, budgetary constraints in the past decades. Rizvi and Mandviwalla explain: Ayub's 1965-ban on Indian films isolated Pakistan from the competition by closing six times larger Indian markets for its films (2010). The markets and film budgets were further reduced due to the loss of East Pakistan, the Fall of Dhaka in 1971.

Incidentally, the acclaimed golden era of Pakistani films (1965-1977) is shaded with deficit pointing to, what Mandviwalla calls, the progression of price cutting practices that shaped copying trends and a compromise on originality and quality (ca. 2007). This situation gave rise to the import of cheap, sex based films by 1974 that Z. A. Bhutto's government tried regulating through the formation of National Film Development Corporation (NAFDEC). During Zia regime, NAFDEC's monopoly, unchanged ticket prices, heavy taxes, and the induction of VCR with pirated films for home audience phase gradual shutting down of foreign film cinemas (Mandviwalla, ca. 2007). The big budget English and Hindi films reached every viewer, causing the failure of low budget Urdu films on the big screen (Fig. 5 & Fig. 6). The Indian film impact was so strong that the loyal audience kept away from the local and foreign cinemas, reducing the production of both Urdu and Punjabi films to bare minimum (Mandviwalla, ca. 2007). The collapse accelerated due to piracy and an inconsistent Entertainment Tax policy despite protests by filmmakers and exhibitors.

The exhibitors realistically oppose and the filmmakers religiously support the ban on Indian films from the platforms of different organizations. The artists offer divided opinions full of both patriotism, but also origin free love for films (Ramzi, 2004a; Ramzi, 2004b; Ramzi, 2007). Shaan, the enigma of Lollywood, seems "visibly displaced from the jhatkas and matkas [body movements and dances] of Lollywood" (Isani, 2005), but he performs for the man on streets who is happy despite strong disapproval of the present quality of Pakistani films by the legendary elite.

The elite and the regular cinema goers constitute two extreme ends of the Pakistani film audience. The common man has survived the ups and downs of the national cinema, which the elite neither owns nor visits but criticizes. The actors condemn people who abandon popular film, but criticize it for what it has become. Quraishi quotes Shaan on this issue who says “those judging and criticizing Lollywood have no right to take away the happiness or pleasure of a man on the street whose only avenue for entertainment and thrills is to watch a film in the cinema” (2004). He strongly condemns martial law, journalists, industrialists, and elite “who have given up on cinema ... [and believes that] as long as people are watching movies there is hope” (Isani, 2005). Shaan is pointing to the existence of a market for the present Pakistani films, playing oblivious to the fact that the tremendous shortfall in audience number cannot be blamed on the elite alone. The audience absence from the theatres has resulted from a general neglect of film, and the boom of pirated DVDs and cable television that have caused the demolishing of cinemas, decreasing their number.

THE FUTURE OF BIG SCREEN

The number of cinemas decreased from over 500 in 1970 (Ali, 2006) to 350 in 2004 (Ramzi, 2004c) and 135 in 2009 (F. Jawaid & Jawaid, 2009). Ramzi says, “With prices of property booming and movies not bringing sufficient returns to even cover costs, one landmark of Karachi after another in the shape of great movie halls has been demolished” for conversion into warehouses and shopping malls (2004c). The cinemas are not doing sufficient business or making sufficient profits to be able to maintain and upgrade facilities. According to Ramzi,

Some cinemas prefer to remain shut because they are not earning enough to even pay the fixed amount of weekly taxation. Many halls have not run their night show in ten years, and occasionally even the better halls have been forced to remain shut for the last show (Ramzi, 2004c).

The absence of Pakistani films of quality is causing the audience and business shortfall. F. Jawaid and Jawaid say the cinemas “need about 64 films a year, 50 at a bare minimum, and that is minus the regional releases” (2009). The local industry fails to provide minimum 16 pictures per screen per annum for the 135 leftover screens. Thus, the exhibitors consider foreign film import a solution to their immediate problems.

The problems rise because the number of foreign film importers has also dropped due to the audience shortfall for the mainstream. According to F. Jawaid and Jawaid the number of English film importers has dropped from 105 to only three or four since the 80s and “the English audience turnaround is [reduced to] 10 to 15 percent” and the piracy eliminates that too (2009). Neville says English film popularity was increasing ever since the advent of talkies in 1931 (n.d.). The current decrease in its popularity causes shortfall of the imports and the importers. This reduction affects financial returns and the livelihood of everyone in this business, making it too difficult to retain and maintain cinema buildings and highlighting inevitability of the permanent shutting down of the cinemas.

The shutting down threat pushed Pakistan Film Exhibitors' Association (PFEA) to call a strike to demand government's permission to exhibit Indian films in 2004. The exhibitors claimed that the government is wasting time on fruitless promises and exercises for cinema revival...

If there are no cinemas, where will movies run? [Therefore,] the Pakistan Film Exhibitors' Association demand[s] to exhibit the 100-odd old Indian films lying in stock with them, import latest Indian movies and make co-productions (Ramzi, 2004c).

Subsequently, the government relaxed laws for the screening of such Indian films that were produced and shot outside India, and had a Pakistani co-producer, or cast (Mazhar, 2007; "Karachi: Indian films," 2007). The strike pointed to government's failure to curb film piracy ("Karachi: Cinemas," 2007) that got in the way of legal exhibition of Indian films. In continuation to the above, the Pakistan Film Exhibitors' Association called for another cinema strikes in 2007. An article "Karachi: Film" covered the event, pointing to the closure of "more than half of the cinema houses in Sindh and Balochistan," while the remaining cinemas outnumber the figures of "movies being produced in Pakistan" (2007). As Pakistani filmmakers fail to meet the local requirements, the need for the legal import of Indian films and piracy control was stressed by the strikers.

The strike reflected both the PFEA concern and a strategy for managing the lazy home viewing audience. It reemphasized government's failure to curb film piracy. As described in the article "Karachi: Film," exhibitors protested "against the government's muddled policy towards the industry, which is based on double standards at the cost of the livelihood of all those [who] belonged to this business" (2007). The exhibitors held PEMRA responsible for muddying their business and the government for playing negligent to "the gravity of the situation" ("Karachi: Film", 2007). Despite the PFEA failure to resolve the piracy issues, 20 Indian films were legally screened in Pakistan from July 2007 to December 2008.

2008 ended with the echo of another cry for a ban on Indian films in the wake of the ongoing tension between New Delhi and Islamabad. According to Ahmed, the exhibitors underscored that the ban on the screening of Indian flicks would "ruin the cinema industry [as] the local industry is not producing enough films to meet the demand for cinemas in the country. Furthermore, the films produced here are formula movies and attract only a limited segment of society" (2008). These arguments again highlighted a jittery debate on the issue of ban on Indian films among different segments of society and film organizations.

Film Organizations and Distributors

The film organizations: Artistes Association of Pakistan (AAP), Movie Artists Association of Pakistan (MAAP), Pakistan Film Producer's Association (PFPA), Pakistan Cinema Owners Association (PCOA), and Pakistan Film Exhibitors' Association have endlessly debated the decline and revival issues of Pakistani cinema with the governments for decades. Their opinions co-vary on issues like piracy, copyright, and the screening of Indian films in the local cinemas. They clearly occupy oppositional stances on the issues of the interest of the industry, cinemas, and artists. According to Samdani, both AAP and MAAP aim at "restoring prestige and professionalism of the film industry of Pakistan and creating conditions conducive to the

production of quality movies” (2005). However, MAAP blames AAP for supporting the “import of Indian films” that it denies (Samdani, 2005).

As denials lack solutions, PFPA enters a direct clash with PCOA and PFEA over the issue of the import of Indian films. As stated in “cinema on the road,” the PFPA believes in the effectiveness of their three-point-formula for the revival of national cinema: the government support, the inherent strength that lies in Pakistani producers [for] making quality films, and a ban on the import of Indian films (2006). The PCOA rejects this formula, partially supporting PFPA for “the lack of government support in battling with the forces responsible for the continuing decline in investment, production, and exhibition of films” (Ramzi, 2007). According to Ramzi, the quality of Pakistani films has become so poor that “even on the first day, first show, no one comes to the cinema” (2004c). Apparently, the PFPA’s display of eligibility for a ban on Indian films pairs with ineligibility to meet the cinema needs. Therefore, the importers, distributors, exhibitors, and cinema owners counter PFPA’s three-point-formula for the revival of the industry with their own three-point-formula for the survival of cinemas: foreign film imports, ban on piracy, and the establishment of multiplex cinemas for smaller audience. The validity of the two three-point-formulas depends on the revival of film, which is bound to the survival of the cinemas/multiplexes.

The multiplex cinema owners and exhibitors aim at attracting home audience by screening fresh Bollywood movies if only the government can control the availability of pirated DVDs. According to cinema owners, the movie-going culture is dying in Pakistan as the local industry cannot meet its needs; the industry faces a whole generation of lost cinema goers; it shall screen foreign films to retain young audience who enjoys films; thus, piracy shall be controlled for the purpose of legally importing fresh releases in English and Hindi to reattract audiences to cinemas (F. Jawaid & Jawaid, 2009). It’s an audience who is eminently displaying a right to watch pirated films on DVDs, a factor which has changed the dynamics of the current market and audience taste over the last three decades.

CONCLUSION

The decades of film piracy have facilitated the decline of the cinema goers, and the industry. This offence is occurring under the nose of law enforcement agencies and the authorities. The government plays negligent and PEMRA does not want to crack down on the situation even for the sake of good local films that lose business at box office. The crisis reflects buildings’ survival and cinema’s revival issues, highlighting the fate of a dying industry from the two extremes. The screening of Indian movies and clamping down on piracy appear as solutions for the revival of film viewership to exhibitors, but not to filmmakers. As the banning of Indian films has not benefitted Pakistani film industry, Pakistan shall consider testing the viability of the exhibitors’ solution to revive film viewership. The audience return to cinemas conforms to the survival of the buildings, but not to the revival of the industry. Critics say “the Pakistani cinema industry is at zero” and the screening of foreign films “on the big screen doesn’t mean that the ... industry is revitalizing and drawing in big bucks” (F. Jawaid & Jawaid, 2009). In view of the prevalent situation, the government and the law enforcement agencies shall make decisions in

favor of the viewer and the industry by legally importing and exporting transnational film, both commercial and parallel. It shall pay serious attention to controlling film piracy and making films that negotiate its post-9/11 image before the international community. It shall invest in Pakistani film industry, film education and hands-on training. It shall provide basic infrastructure and financial support for filmmaking, and discontinue neglecting cinema as an industry.



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**Who's afraid of the Future?
Effects of Changes in Technology and Media Usage on the Competitive Landscape and
Strategies of the Media**

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Abstract

Based on Web 2.0 technologies users create and publish content or connect with friends in social networks, thus becoming significant elements in the media systems of the future. Their contributions can be either serious competition to or valuable extensions of the business models of established media. The effects on the external environment as well as the necessary changes on the strategic and organisational level of traditional media companies so far have received little attention in media research.

The paper explores the fundamental questions of how the established media systems and business models are affected by the new competition and thus, how to ensure long-term survival. Traditional media must adapt their business models to create competitive advantages from content ownership, including the exploitation of user-generated content. Besides, they have to counterbalance both the loss of readership and audience and the ensuing loss of advertising revenue. The major problem is the move from local monopolies to global platforms where competition is ubiquitous, and advertising therefore less lucrative.

The key findings are that large potentials for the media lie in integrating the production and distribution of user generated content into their business models. The combination meets the requirements of converging technologies, an increasing mobility of readers and audience and their demands for personalised high quality content anywhere, anytime. New digital publication and consumption gadgets command specific content only to be realised through additional investment. Analogously, advertisers develop new generations of models to exploit the evolving consumption habits through advertising directed at specific consumers.

Keywords: Business Models, Strategy, Competition, Revenue Streams, UGC, Web 2.0

Introduction

The traditional business model of the news media was rather straight forward: collect, analyse, and bundle global, regional and local news, then enhance them with additional background and explanatory information. The outcome of this process, i.e. a print publication or a news broadcast, would be sold on a two-sided market to readers/audiences and advertisers (Wirtz, 2009). Significant competition consisted mainly in other news providers because the creation of news-based products was regarded as a high-skill domain to be served by well-educated journalists (Shirky, 2009).

According to Singer (2008) the news media find themselves at “a crossroads as an occupation, a business, a content form, and a public good” (p. 122). Pressure on the traditional business model comes from various angles. The economic downturn not only limits the access to capital on the financial markets it also affects the customers – audience and advertisers – who find themselves restricted on the financial side. Web 2.0 technologies provide ordinary citizens with the technological means to publish their own content such as videos, blogs, product reviews as well as news from their local area. Thus, citizen media emerge as competitors whose publication speed often exceeds that of traditional channels. The new digital publication and consumption gadgets require specific content forms which depend on additional investment in technology and/or staff. Consumer habits change induced by the digital transformation as users “seek more control over where, when and how they consume content and [expect] higher value from their (...) media choices” (PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), 2009, p. 11). Analogously, advertisers introduce a new generation of models to benefit from the evolving consumption habits through focussed advertising directed at a specific audience or readership (PwC, 2009).

Overall, the competitive landscape of the news media has become very fragmented and diverse displaying a multitude of business models. The first part of this paper examines changes in the competitive environment of news media, current challenges of their traditional business model and the existing changes in user habits and expectations. Based on the analysis proposed modifications for the strategy developments are discussed as well as necessary adjustments to the business model of and related organisational issues in news media organisations.

The competitive Environment of News Media

In the past, it used to be complicated and expensive to collect information and to distribute words and images from creator to consumer. In return for this, media organisations were granted considerable control over the media and allowed to extract extensive revenues from advertisers and the general public. Now that the cost of production and dissemination is much more accessible, the exclusive power to define newsworthiness is lost (Shirky, 2009).

The Project of Excellence in Journalism (2009a&b) identifies several transformations in the competitive environment of the news media. New competitors are exploiting online and mobile channels to set up their business in a way that withdraws readers and audiences as well as advertising revenues from established news media. Google grew to become an indirect but very potent competitor for advertising. Although Google news carries virtually no ads its business function is to attract users via the search. The advantage for advertisers lies in the distinctive targeting via the interests users display in their search choices (Russ-Mohl, 2009).

As Google is the most-used search site the large volume of searches makes the low ad rates viable (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009b). Other online competitors involve websites like Craigslist or Monster who make their money on classifieds which would formerly have been published in newspapers.

In some instances individual journalists have left legacy news organisations to set up their own news websites. They aim at extending original reporting to fill what they consider an expanding void in the mainstream news offer. Other journalists offer their contributions as free lancers to a variety of different online news sites, both legacy and citizen, to enhance their coverage (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009a&c).

Citizen news sites and blogs emerged as competitors for news provision but their number is still relatively low. The range of topics covered is narrower and the number of sources used is considerably smaller than that of traditional news organisations (Singer, 2008). Studies found that in many cases the level of transparency and user contributions was lower for citizen media than at legacy news sites. Consistency of news provision over time is not guaranteed because sites often remain dormant for months or suddenly close down (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009c). A notable exception in the blogosphere is the Huffington Post which consists entirely of blogs, although at first sight it looks like the main page of a traditional newspaper publication. Social networks and content sharing platforms also represent important means to distribute news well beyond the realm of social interaction and entertainment (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009c; Singer, 2008). In many instances breaking news across social networks or information sharing systems such as Twitter is faster if a user happens to be on the site of the event.

Challenges to the Business Model of News Media

The Project of Excellence in Journalism (2009a) points out that the news media have been lagging behind in adapting to the technological innovations and changes in user preferences while new competitors used the opportunity to exploit the situation. Only by 2008 serious business model changes were introduced but in some cases stalled by the economic recession. Although it is continuously claimed in various sources that the news media overall have suffered a serious loss in readership and audience, current studies reveal a more differentiated picture. Readers and audience still have a preference for traditional media brands when it comes to serious news, although individual publications and media channels have been affected differently. While newspapers see reductions in print circulation their online editions experienced a growing readership. Cable news has been growing considerably in their traditional realm; network news has a slightly reduced audience. Local stations are suffering, whereas audio platforms remain stable. Summarising it can be noted, that news organisations have no general readership or audience problem, but a critically growing revenue problem as they are not sufficiently able to monetise the shift towards online and mobile media (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009a).

Most notable is the loss in advertising revenue, a consecutive three year decline. Reductions result from the economic downturn resulting in lower advertising spending since the prominent advertisers (e.g. auto industries, retail) have been hurt by the recession. It also reflects the structural shifts caused by digital technologies allowing direct access to customers without news media as intermediaries (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009b). Beyond that, large parts of advertising have been lost to search providers like Google and, especially classifieds, to online competitors specialising in particular fields such as employment

advertising. For revenues from classifieds the forecasts even predict a worst case scenario for legacy news media of a complete loss of classifieds in the next five years (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009a).

Advertising expenditure is expected to be still below its 2008 level in 2013. With the more dominant manifestation of digital behaviours in consumption patterns, a new generation of advertising funded models will emerge, seeking to reflect and capitalise on the evolving consumption habits. This enhances the fragmentation of the advertising market and successful revenue generation will depend on the ability to use relevance and personalisation to address potential customers. A large part of advertising will also migrate from the traditional to the new media (PwC, 2009), but not necessarily to the news media sites.

Moving advertising from traditional media to online and mobile media involves particular challenges. On the one hand the current economic situation negatively affects advertising expenditure in general. Therefore, it is difficult to finance news content solely through advertising. However, even in the long run, when advertising expenditures recover, news media will have lower revenues as the rates charged for online ads are considerably lower than those for traditional channels (PwC, 2009; Russ-Mohl, 2009).

The economic downturn not only affects revenues but it increases the structural crisis already challenging the news media. Possible credit shortages add additional pressure forcing news media to address efficiency issues and identify potentials for cost reductions.

Changing Habits and Demands of the Customers

As the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2009a) states audiences are migrating to digital platforms at an accelerating speed. Online news consumption grew by double-digit figures in the past years while the traffic to news sites increased by almost a third in 2008.

Changes in consumer habits are driven by the demand for greater control over the content they consume (van Weezel, 2009). The consumer is no longer a passive receiver of content but an insistent participant in the selection process. Advances in digital technology such as mobile internet, online communities, content-on-demand and uploading self-generated content enable a new control. Growth in mobile access from any location through mobile devices drives the market penetration of high-end devices such as smart phones, the iPad and eBook-Readers which all combine access and mobility (The Media Consortium, 2009).

However, the changes do not only concern the way digital content is being consumed but extend well into social interactions and relationships. Online communities and social networks allow for an uncomplicated exchange of user-generated content across the internet. Communication platforms such as Twitter or instant messaging services have become components of everyday life. In the view of advertisers the huge collective buying power of the users of these interactive platforms makes them very attractive targets of marketing campaigns (PwC, 2009).

The assumption that media usage can be categorised based on age or education is increasingly misleading. The well-known classification into digital aliens, digital immigrants and digital natives (Perkins, 2001) conveys a notion of clearly distinguishable categories. The picture, however, is more diverse with different generations influencing each other on different levels. The continuously emerging Net Generation - youth that grew up digital - not only intuitively

uses new media technologies but also expects business models emphasising a more personal two-way relationship between themselves and companies. Furthermore, this generation exercises a vast influence on their parents and grandparents assisting them in their efforts to use the new media and communication platforms. This influence increases also because the older generations have become more value conscious with the difficulties of the economic downturn (PwC, 2009).

Consumers wish to decide for themselves, what content they want to consume, how and when they consume it. This includes the ability to “side-load”, i.e. consuming the same digital content on several different platforms. However, consumers do not just want greater control but they expect a value from the use of media products and services (Aris & Bughin, 2005). Increasingly, cost-benefit judgements drive the decision between alternative ways to consume media where users opt for low-cost or free alternatives, often in return for accepting advertising, or choose paying premium fees for high-quality content. The key issue in these decisions is the availability of substitutes of comparable quality (PwC, 2009).

Strategy Development

In the past strategy development of news organisations was merely reactive to alterations in the media ecosystem rather than driving changes as innovative forerunners drawing on clearly defined core competencies. News media are finally on their way, although yet at the beginning, to transform themselves into diversified publishing ventures on multiple platforms, trying to establish sustainable competitive advantages (Küng, 2009). The realisation takes hold that they have to sell personalised multi-platform services and not basically unrelated products. The previous mass approach is a dying model no longer acceptable for consumers and advertisers. Products and services must generate enough differentiation from free or low-cost substitutes for consumers to select these options (PwC, 2009), in order to provide a sustainable value proposition.

News organisations are revising their audience strategies in order to broaden their audience base on the one hand, but on the other to identify groups of audiences to be served specifically within their markets. Specialty products and services distributed to identifiable customers are of major interest to advertisers (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009b) both in traditional channels as well as online. However, at the moment the right metrics are not yet in place to fully exploit the potential (PwC, 2009).

Another strategic approach lies in getting more financial support from the audience or patrons who value the importance of news media for society. In this context the potentials of whether a non-profit ownership model or community investment groups could provide alternatives to ensure long-term survival are being discussed controversially. As yet the sustainability of these models still needs to be proven and the possible road to transition is less than clear. (Chase, 2009; Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009b; Russ-Mohl, 2009).

Cooperation with citizen news media is another strategic option provided participating citizens can produce content complying with professional journalistic standards. There are limitations to this strategy as non-professional citizen contributors often only want to follow their particular interests at a time that is convenient to them. The Project of Excellence in Journalism (2009c) points out that in many cases considerable investment by newsroom staff is required to train, coach, educate, confirm and edit citizen journalists to achieve publishable

results. Alternatively, citizen media can be used as regular sources by professional journalists. Especially for local news coverage this could be a viable supplement.

Successful strategies and derived business models rely on the ability to collaborate with partners, both legacy and citizen media. Such collaborations could involve two forms. First collaboration on revenues to open up new channels by pooling content from multiple sources, second cost-sharing to operationalise the shared profits (Project of Excellence in Journalism (2009a). A key to success is to share both the risks and rewards for mutual advantage while keeping consumers' cost-benefit balance in mind (PwC, 2009).

Necessary Modifications of the Business Model

There is an ongoing discussion with a vast variety of proposals on how the news media could react to the challenges to their business model and implement their long-term strategies. Most of the discussion takes place in online forums, some of it in media studies (e.g. Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009a; PwC 2009) and a smaller fraction in academic literature (e.g. Küng, 2008; Norbäck, 2005, Picard, 2005). Although it is not possible to present all proposals in detail some major categories can be distinguished. Before these are outlined, it is important to note that although the move towards digital publication will account for most of the growth in the news market, the majority of revenues in the next five years still derive from non-digital offers. However, news media companies need to retain their traditional sources of income while refining the business models including their product and service portfolios to participate in new revenue streams opened by digital technologies and consumer participation (Chase, 2009; Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009b). This means digital channels are considered an additional part of the portfolio not a complete substitute, although substitution (even cannibalisation) possibly happens in some areas.

For news media the availability of free alternatives over digital platforms poses a particular challenge, regardless whether these are provided by other legacy news organisations or citizen media. However, established news companies have strengths to open digital commercial opportunities, not least through their trusted news coverage and proven expertise in sorting and sourcing the highest-quality data. These activities amount to considerable trusted editorial and brand value. It is of particular importance to monetise content and intellectual capital on a multitude of platforms via the trusted brands. PwC (2009) even regards the medium as secondary to the brand if the portfolio is set up appropriately. The success of a news product lies in premium services that leverage strong brands and the value of intellectual property across media platforms (Norbäck, 2005), attaining revenues from a combination of online advertising, search-engine marketing, and e-commerce. It is also important to investigate the specific risks and opportunities digital migration opens for each particular segment of the value chain, investing in and managing assets across the portfolio to maximise overall profits (Picard, 2005).

Close investigation of consumers and their consumption habits is necessary to determine which users are to be addressed with what particular offer actually fulfilling needs expressed by those user groups. News must be regarded as a product plus related services not merely as a product (Bradshaw, 2008). This product-service bundle should involve the desired topics combined with the related accompanying services delivered on the desired platforms. Communities around the news organisations can be used to offer additional web-based services (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009a). Customer interactivity in the product/service selection process is another proposition. Trials in which readers could

compile their own newspapers with content from a variety of sources have been successful on a lower scale. Whether such an involvement model could be appealing for a large audience remains to be determined (Campillo-Lundback, 2009).

Other proposals to develop new revenue sources include the adoption of the cable model, in which a fee to news producers is incorporated into monthly internet access fees already paid by customers. Online retail malls could be built into news websites with products from medium and small enterprises allowing full sales transactions with news organisations receiving a point-of-purchase fee. The proposal to develop subscription-based niche products for elite professional audiences, with deep, detailed and up-to-the minute resources receives the highest acclaim regarding feasibility (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009a; Russ-Mohl, 2009; Singer, 2008).

Successful product and service portfolios - regardless of whether ad funded, subscription-based, a product-service bundle or a combination – must provide a content experience that cannot be duplicated elsewhere. Most important are also the convenience for the consumer (easy access and payment, e.g. micro payment from within applications), mobility and quality (e.g. electronic readers) (PwC, 2009). Sale of content with iPad, iPhone and smart phone applications is another way to leverage content in this context (e.g. Der Spiegel online app).

Overall advertising will become more effective and efficient if consumers can be targeted more specifically and with lower levels of waste. Therefore, an overall reduction in advertising expenditure may not mean that advertisers are neglecting previous customer groups but that they can achieve their goals more cheaply. This suggests there may be a structural reduction in global advertising spending (PwC, 2009), leaving news and entertainment media competing in a smaller market. In this context a successful advertising environment must provide specific targeting as well as relevance for consumers. For advertisers an accurate and transparent audience metrics is important, since the better the ad coincides with consumer interest, the more interesting it is to direct ad spending to this channel.

PwC (2009) points out that it is important to observe privacy regulations and customer concerns over the confidentiality and integrity of their own personal data. Problems occur through the wide differences in regulation for different countries, thus region-specific challenges vary.

Another approach to stabilise profit margins is the implementation of cost reductions on various stages of the value creation chain. Especially in the newsroom job cuts are an on-going measure. Synergies can be realised by combining newsroom and editorial staff for print and online while using shared services (content sourcing, IT) (Hess & Benlian, 2008; van Weezel, 2009). Besides, staff members in both journalistic and managerial functions are developed into multi-skill people providing more flexibility regarding particular job assignments. On the sourcing side there are potentials to include user generated content – crowdsourcing - on particular topics and connect them with the professional product/service offer.

Newspapers and news magazines have cut back space for news and even eliminated separate business and features sections from the print editions to counterbalance increasing printing and paper costs. In some cases the print publication, or at least home-delivery, is limited to certain weekdays or the print publication has ceased to exist with only the online version

remaining (Project of Excellence in Journalism, 2009b). Many news organisations discuss the requirement to own and run platforms or distribution networks or whether these can be spun-off. Sometimes transactions that have not been successful need to be reversed by divesting the units concerned (Alexander & Owers, 2009).

Conclusion

A vast number of proposals are being discussed as potential options for the news media to develop strategies and adapt their business models to current and future challenges imposed by new competitors. A closer investigation has shown that most challenges are the result of a general shift in customer behaviour and business opportunities created by new technologies. The structural changes have been made worse by the financial crisis but would have been unavoidable. Citizen media, among others, have used the opportunity to exploit technology and customer preferences, in fact proving the potential feasibility of some new business models. So far, none of the proposed strategic alternatives has been identified as a clearly defined road to success (Shirky, 2009). News organisations need to experiment with new business models moving from the generic models of the past to a multitude of models that are more diverse, more tailored and developed for the specific purpose and circumstances. This also involves the acceptance of failure, bringing news media closer to the hit-driven approaches persistent in entertainment media. Cooperation among legacy news organisations and with citizen media is an approach to share the risk of new ventures.

Overall, the competitive landscape will become much more fragmented regardless of which models prove to be successful. A major challenge for news companies is to manage the transition costs effectively and efficiently. Citizen media and other competitors can be viable partners, albeit in limited areas, helping to release synergies and cost reductions. As there evidently is no escape from the new dynamics, news media are well advised to embrace the digital future leveraging their brands on multi-media platforms. The winners of the process will be those organisations driving the change and delivering real customer value for both consumers and advertisers.

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A BRAVE NEW WORLD: LIFE IN THE GLOBAL METROPOLIS

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In the new millennium, digital artists are questioning the nature of human existence within the global metropolis. As a case example, digital artist Marnix de Nijs' uses interactive, responsive and cinematic media to explore notions of alienation, diaspora, flux and dislocation within urban contexts. His installations examine globalisation's affects – and in doing so – provide new ways for us to respond to its 'brave new worlds'. In this paper I present digital media as a unique mode of expression, borne of globalisation's *zeitgeist* and uniquely situated to articulate its human impacts. Most critically, I explore how interactive digital installations can re-imagine human life within the global metropolis.

Marnix de Nijs is a Netherlands born artist who uses dynamic mixed media. His artworks explore interplays between human body and machine. De Nijs tests the limits of physical endurance and survival, within a world dominated by high-speed technology and saturated media. In reflecting upon his works, the artist observes that '[t]echnology must literally merge, become absorbed into the body so that it becomes a co-determiner of perception.'¹ De Nijs' interactive installation *Beijing Accelerator* (2006) physically engages the individual, transforming them from a detached art spectator (in a 19th century sense), to an active maker and user. This re-arrangement of roles challenges the traditional binary, separating the artists from their audience.

Beijing Accelerator invites the user to sit on a racing chair, which is fixed to a motorised frame.² The frame spins clockwise and anti-clockwise, with a joystick controlling the speed and direction. A 160x120 cm screen is fixed to the spinning frame, which sits directly in front of the user. A square target on the screen must be matched with the magnified image, in order to facilitate alignment. The user's objective within *Beijing Accelerator* is to align the speed of the projected image with the chair's spinning momentum. Once the speed of the imagery and chair are aligned, the user can clearly determine the panorama (which alleviates any nausea caused by the disjunction). However, this remedy is short lasting: soon a new panorama is displayed, which flows by at an even higher preset speed. There are 6 levels for the user to complete.

Beijing Accelerator builds upon notions of urban tempo and technological change explored in his earlier work, *Run Motherfucker Run* (2004). *Run Motherfucker Run* featured projected images of a dark and ominous urban landscape, which changed in size and saturation in response to the user's interaction with the treadmill. Like *Run Motherfucker Run*, *Beijing Accelerator* projects images of a metropolitan Beijing. The installation was created after the artist's visit to Beijing and 'realization of how quickly the dynamics of a city could transform into such apparent modernism.'³ De Nijs observed rapid changes to the urban landscape, including the proliferation of new media and dizzying tempo of life within this global city.

In conversing with these urban changes, de Nijs' notes that '[o]ne of the characteristics of a technological culture is that change is constant. Everyone who wants to keep pace is continually required to adjust; which does not happen automatically and can, in time lead to cultural-pathological anomalies.'⁴ He locates technological change in historical terms, noting that 'travellers had to get used to the first trains and aeroplanes. The introduction of such travel technology initially led to disorientation and required a new outlook.'⁵

1 Marnix De Nijs, *Artist Website*, <<http://www.marnixdenijs.nl/>>, (accessed 30 September 2010).

² Marnix De Nijs, *Artist Website*.

³ Marnix De Nijs, *Artist Website*.

⁴ Marnix De Nijs, *Artist Website*.

⁵ Marnix De Nijs, *Artist Website*.

Beijing Accelerator was featured in the Strozziina Gallery Exhibition 'As Soon as Possible: Acceleration in Contemporary Society' (Florence, 14 May – 18 July 2010). The exhibition explored the idea that high-speed media and pervasive technology have altered urban life.⁶ Within the global city, professional demands and expectations have become so amplified, that we are physically unable to keep up. In the wake of this heightened tempo, many individuals are left feeling like time-poor 'wage slaves'. The exhibition shows how this infiltrates almost all areas of urban life,

with such things as *speed dating* (for our love lives), *power naps* (for our health and exercise), *quality time* (for being with the family) and *fast food* (for staving off hunger). This desire to control and optimise every aspect of our lives is matched by a nagging feeling that we never have enough time.⁷

As De Nijs' *Beijing Accelerator* explores through its physical simulation of these affects, the new speed of existence has critical consequences for urban life: it can lead us to feel dislocated, alienated, and physically ill. This reflected by our degraded environment, which is unable to keep up with our demands, and 'by widespread anxiety and depression which are frequent indicators of the malaise of people living on the edge of their own potential in a high-speed world.'⁸

Cultural theorist Paul Virilio observes how technological speed and saturated media has significant affects upon urban life. As Rob Bartram writes, 'Virilio has long argued that dromology, time compression and visualizing technology are closely linked concepts that together have created a new ocular reality.'⁹ Bartram builds upon this thesis and posits 'that a new ocularcentrism has emerged in the last ten years that has reconfigured the way in which we view [the] world and dramatically changed the way in which we participate in it.'¹⁰ There is a strong sense of 'dromocracy', or as Virilio terms, 'the dictatorship of speed governed by the principle that "if time is money, speed is power"'.¹¹ This tension signifies a major shift in both the tempo and perception of metropolitan brave new worlds.

Marnix de Nijs's *Beijing Accelerator* engages with altered senses of space, speed and time within the modern metropolis. Through simulating spatial dislocation, heightened urban tempo, and physical disjuncture, his installation interprets macro change through the micro perceptions of individuals. In reflecting upon this idea digital theorist Marc Hansen writes that through 'placing the embodied viewer-participant into a circuit with information, the installations and environments they create function as laboratories for the conversion of information into corporeally apprehensible images.'¹² In his articulation of digital media,

⁶ No author, *Strozziina Gallery Website*, <www.strozzina.org/asap/e_index.php>, (accessed 30 September 2010).

⁷ No author, *Strozziina Gallery Website*.

⁸ No author, *Strozziina Gallery Website*.

⁹ Rob Bartram, 'Visuality, Dromology and Time Compression: Paul Virilio's New Ocularcentrism, *Time Society*, September 2004 vol. 13, no. 2-3, pp. 286.

¹⁰ Rob Bartram, 'Visuality, Dromology and Time Compression'.

¹¹ No author, *Strozziina Gallery Website*.

¹² Mark B.N. Hansen, *New Philosophy for New Media*, Cambridge Mass., MIT Press, 2004, p. 11.

Hansen writes that what it 'ultimately yields is less a framed object than an embodied, subjective experience that can only be felt.'¹³

Beijing Accelerator engages with this idea, through focussing upon physical encounters and subjective perceptions, which challenge static, framed, and macro assumptions about the global metropolis. Ultimately, *Beijing Accelerator* reflects De Nijs' concern for the individual within the city: the spatial, temporal or technological impacts upon their body and perception. De Nijs contends that the notion of perception pertains not only to how 'not external stimuli are interpreted by the five senses, but also the feelings that come from within the body itself, the information that is derived from one's own muscles and nerves (the technical term being proprioception).'¹⁴ In these ways, De Nijs' *Beijing Accelerator* provides fresh ways of understanding the global city, as a familiar but reconstructed realm.

¹³ Mark B.N. Hansen, *New Philosophy for New Media*, p. 14.

¹⁴ Marnix De Nijs, *Artist Website*.

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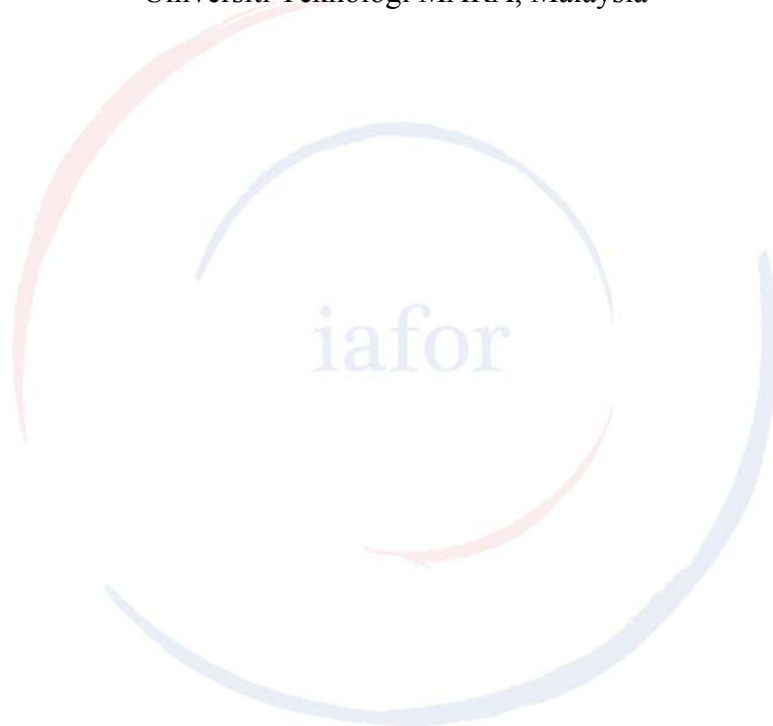
**THE RISE OF POLITICAL BLOGS: THE FRACTURE OF
MALAYSIAN HEGEMONY**

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INTRODUCTION

The political development of Malaysia can be classified as a multicoloured one. Besieged by various social issues ranging from the encounter and conflict on customs, religions and varied culture, the pursuit of reformation from the economical point of view and also the crisis of the political leadership have been the causes for the political leadership of this member of commonwealth nation.

Some sectors regard the year 2008 was illdisposed towards the administration of Abdullah Badawi, not as a miracle which he created in the year 2004. Abdullah was looked upon as a very complacent political figure as such he was unable to withstand the onslaught of the political tsunami or appropriately termed as reformation of the political system which started at the end of the administration of Malaysian maverick – Mahathir Mohammad. The situation in Malaysia was vastly different when it was under Mahathir’s administration.

For example, the miracle of Malaysia was largely centered upon the ability of Mahathir to maintain the “status-quo” when confronted by the crisis on politics and economy at the end of 1990s, Mahathir continued to steer the nation until the year 2003 eventhough being pressured by the group which championed on the significance of good governance, transparency, accountability, abolition of nepotism and also to create a kind democracy which was not a quasi one.

The bare truth was that, eventhough the transfer of power from Mahathir to Abdullah which took place on 30th October 2003, nevertheless it did not change the media lannscape in Malaysia. Media continued its role as a medium which upheld the ideology of the government and became the foremost voice in dissiminating information to the public. This practice had fulfilled the concept of amicable relationship between the government and the media. The irony was eventhough the press was either directly or indirectly controlled by the government, it nevertheless failed to contain forceful current of political tsunami which altered the political landscape of Malaysia.

This working paper is aiming to highlight the role of new media specifically the political blogs which caused the fissure in the governmental hegemony of the national front under the leadership of Abdullah Badawi. The main reason here is to deliver a preliminary assessment of the Malaysian political blog and how it contributed to the fracture of the hegemony eventhough the mainstream of the most mass media was owned and controlled by the government. Research carried out by this paper was infact a closed-up approach on the qualitative analysis of the Malay and English language of the political blogs.

ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNET COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

The development of Internet technology that exists today was actually started in 1969 with the existence of ARPANET. Apart from the ARPANET there existed also other computer networks such as Usenet (1979), BITNET (Because It's Network Time) (1981) dan NFSNET (National Science Foundation Network) (1986). One which is certain was that during its initial stage of operation it only contained words without any graphic elements, animations, sounds or video. Internet Transformation became more vigorous with the introduction of World Wide Web by the Centre for European Nuclear Research (CERN) in Switzerland. Beginning from the year 1995, it was extensively being used especially in the commercial field.

In the context of the development of Internet technology in Malaysia, its experience was essentially different from what that happened in the America. Internet was started in Malaysia for the purpose of research through Computer Networks of Malaysia (RangKom) that was initiated by Malaysian Institute of Microelectronic System (MIMOS). Its evolution continued when in the year 1997 it was further expanded and known as "Joint Academic Research Integrated Networking (JARING) (S. Mastura, 1997; Yeow Leong Swee, 1997). Towards 1998 it was reported that users of Jaring increased tremendously reaching the figure more than 200,000 in which 10,000 them were made up of clients from the organizations which have Internet connections (Adnan, 2000). The related disclosure will not be completed without the support of data indicating the increase of Internet penetration especially in Malaysia. Since 1997 until 2004, data provided in Table 1 clearly indicate the increase of the Internet use in Malaysia

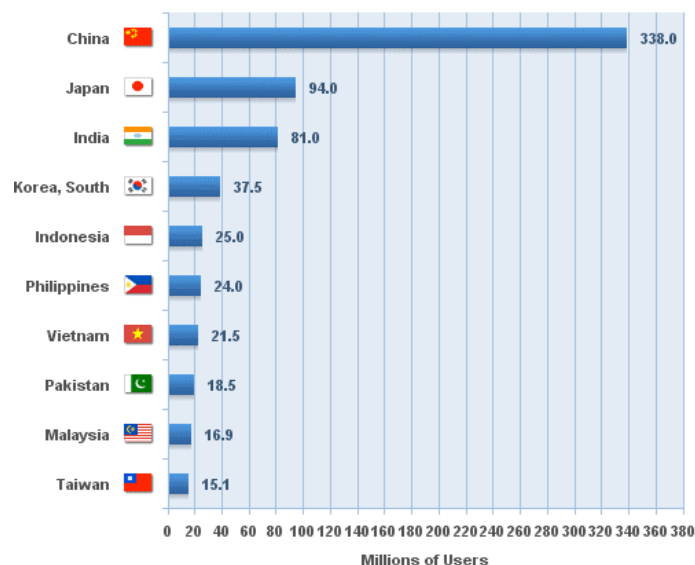
Table 1: 1997 – 2004: Ascending Figures of Malaysia's Internet Users

1997	137,400
1998	600,000
1999	1,500,000
2000	3,700,000
2001	5,700,000
2002	7,800,000
2003	8,600,000
2004	10,040,000

Sources: (Matrade 2004; IWS 2005)

To date there are about 16,902,600 Internet users in Malaysia as compared to 3,700,000 in the year 2000. The increase of percentage from the years 2000 to 2009 was about 356.8%. In Figure 1, it shows the Asia Top 10 Internet Countries – 2009:

Asia Top 10 Internet Countries - 2009 Q2



Source: Internet World Stats - www.internetworldstats.com/stats3.htm
 Estimated Asia Internet users 704,213,930 for 2009 Q2
 Copyright © 2009, Miniwatts Marketing Group

It is a truism that since 1990s, the Internet has remarkably gained lots of attention especially its impact to the economic, social and political realms. There are a numbers of extensive research, books and articles that focused their discussion on the impact of Internet on political participation, civic engagement and democracy (Hague and Loader, 1999; Locke, 1999; Baharuddin, 2008) until today increase in the use of Internet through out the world still continues as shown in the following data:

Table 2: World Internet Usage And Population Statistics

World Regions	Population (2009 Est)	Internet Users Dec, 31, 2000	Internet Users Latest Data	Penetration (% Population)	Growth 2000-2009	Users % of Table
Africa	991,002,342	4,514,400	67,371,700	6.8%	1,392.4%	3.9%
Asia	3,808,070,503	114,304,000	738,257,230	19.4%	545.9%	42.6%
Europe	803,850,858	105,096,093	418,029,796	52.0%	297.8%	24.1%
Middle East	202,687,005	3,284,800	57,425,046	28.3%	1,648.2%	3.3%
North America	340,831,831	108,096,800	252,908,000	74.2%	134.0%	14.6%
Latin America/ Caribbean	586,662,468	18,068,919	179,031,479	30.5%	890.8%	10.3%
Oceania/ Australia	34,700,201	7,620,480	20,970,490	60.4%	175.2%	1.2%
WORLD TOTAL	6,767,805,208	360,985,492	1,733,993,741	25.6%	380.3%	100.0%

Sources: compiled from data available at <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>

It is undeniable that many countries especially in the East Asia have taken proactive steps in ascertaining that each country will enjoy benefits acquired as a result of being attached to the Internet. According to Safar Hashim (2000) that each country in connection has already made preparations in order to face challenges posed by communication technology in the near future. The countries are:

Table 3: National ICT Plans

Indonesia	Nusantara 21
Malaysia	Multimedia Super Corridor
Singapore	SingaporeOne
Thailand	Software Park
Phillipines	Philippine network Foundation (PHNET)
Brunei	Brunei Information Infrastructure (BII)

Under the administration Mahathir Mohamad, Malaysia has greatly emphasized the importance of IT in expediting its social and economic developments. The commitment shown by Malaysia not only involving its financial aspect but also has gone far beyond that such as in making laws for supporting the propagation of communication technology of the nation. Various initiatives have been taken such as:

- a) National Information Technology Council
- b) Malaysia National IT Agenda (National IT Agenda was launched in 1996 with the hope that can transform Malaysia into becoming international hub thus support the creation of information society)
- c) Multimedia Super Corridor
- d) Seven Flagship Application
- e) Communications and Multimedia Act 1998
- f) MSC Bills of Guarantees
- g) International Advisory Panel

One basic truth that should be accepted that even though Malaysia's initial effort was to maximise the utilization of the interest and technology for the requirement and promotions of its economy nevertheless these instruments were then being transformed and used as weapons by bloggers. All these were started and guaranteed by the Malaysian government through MSC Bill of Guarantee that commits the following:

1. Provide a world class physical and information infrastructure.
2. Allow unrestricted employment of local and foreign knowledge workers.
3. Ensure freedom of ownership by exempting companies with MSC status from local ownership requirements.
4. Give the freedom to source capital globally for MSC infrastructure, and the right to borrow funds globally.
5. Provide competitive financial incentives.
6. Become regional leader in intellectual property and cyberlaws.

7. Ensure that there is no Internet censorship
8. Provide globally competitive telecoms tariffs
9. Tender key MSC infrastructure contracts to leading companies willing to use the MSC as their regional hub.
10. Provide a high-powered implementation agency to act as an effective one-stop super shop

From the point of economic planning, Malaysia had outlined certain elements that should be focussed in its development under the 9th Malaysian Planning which incorporated:

1. To consolidate Malaysia's position as a hub of ICT and global multimedia
2. To further extend the communication networks so as to ensure that access to service and information will be more at par.
3. To intensify efforts in narrowing the digital gap
4. To develop the existing cyber city and also to promote a new cyber centre and also the application of Multimedia MSC
5. To stimulate the growth of new resources within the ICT sector including bioinformatic, joint-biotechnology and ICT
6. To develop more professional staff in the ICT sector
7. To expedite the culturing of e-learning and
8. To promote more information safety

Source: Ninth Malaysian Planning, 2006:148-149

Under the Ninth Malaysian Planning (2006 – 2010), the government of Malaysia has allocated a sum of RM12.9 billion to be channelled to the programmes and projects that are related to ICT. These are shown in the Table 4

**Table 4: Expenditure and Development Allocations For
ICT Related Programme to ICT, 2001-2010**
(RM millions)

Program	<i>8th MP Expenditure</i>	<i>RMKe -9 Allocations</i>
Computerisation of Government Agencies	2,125.0	5,734.2
Narrowing Digital Gap	2,433.1	3,710.2
School	2,145.1	3,279.2
Programme Providing Facility To Communication Infrastructure	254.0	150.0 (1)
<i>Telecentre</i>	18.1	101.0
ICT Service Training	15.9	180.0
ICT Fund	1,125.6	1,493.0
MSC Multimedia Application	1,153.1	1,100.5
Electronic Government	537.7	572.7
Smart School	363.9	169.8
Tele-health	91.8	60.0
Government Multipurpose cards	159.7	298.0
MSC Development	320.8	377.0
Research and Development of ICT	727.5	474.0
Total	7,885.0	12,888.9

Source: Economic Planning Unit

Note A large portion it will be prepared via USP contributed by industry

ANALYSIS OF THE OWNERSHIP OF MEDIA IN MALAYSIA – POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

The concept of freedom of press was started more than 315 years ago. In line with current development this concept is a part of freedom of expression as practised by many democratic nations. In reality this concept often becomes a heated topic amongst the researchers and it is very complex in nature. It relates closely to the societies with different cultures, religions, beliefs, values, legal outlooks, procedures and ethics. In fact the proposal made by John Milton, the man who was responsible for spittingballing this concept through his famous discourse entitled “Areopagitica” only came into reality in 1695 that was 52 years after it was delivered in the British Parliament in 1643

Looking from the historical point of view the development of the press in this country had exerted a tremendous influence on this concept which was later being accepted as one of the machineries of administration (aside from the executive, legislative and judiciary). Research on media from the perspective of power had received a lot of attentions from the intellectual group. For example, McQuail himself had expressed his opinion on this through the three theories namely Mass Society, Marxist and Functional Structure. One thing for sure is that media was one of the institutions embodied within the purview of the nation alongside with the other institutions. Huggin clarified as follows:

“The state refers to all the institutions, agencies and agents that operate within a given territorial space, have legitimate power and authority over us, and can legitimate utilise force as an (ultimate)sanctions against us if we fail to accept its laws and orders, or resist its actions or act against it”.

(Huggins:330:2002)

It is obvious the government will govern the society according to the stipulation which embodies every source ranging from the aspects of accumulation of revenue and its distribution. This is known as political process which eventually resulting in the formation of policy as desired by the government. From the point of view of the mass society it clearly shows the existence of the group that dominates and also the one that being dominated. The dominant group will utilise every effort to perpetuate its power and this will shape up the politic of such nation. Basically there are two methods of perpetuating its power one is through the element of force (coercion) and other through legislation. The use of legislation will minimise the implication of force toward the institution which is under the patronage of the nation. In a dire situation there is such country which uses the element of force by involving the security force (police and army) in overcoming the chaos. Nevertheless under most circumstances what really transpired are regarded by some people as natural and they readily accept enforcement of law by the government. Under this situation Low state:

“In ‘normal’ situations, ruling groups need not deploy much (overt) violence, because they successfully ‘criminalize’ those not ‘playing by the rules’. This requires getting most people to agree that the laws are ‘just’, so when the police-courts-prison system is used against ‘criminals’, this ‘violence’ is seen as legitimate”.

(Louw:195:2005)

The ability of the government to dominate is known as hegemony, the concept that was developed by Gramsci. According to him, hegemony refers to a group and its representative which exercise power on them through a combination of force and concillation. That is:

“In his notes on Machiavelli’s Prince, Gramsci evokes the mythical Greek centaur, half animal and half human, as a symbol of the dual perspective in political action – the levels of force and consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilisation. Hegemony is a relation, not of domination by means of force, but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership. It is the organisation of consent”.

(Simon: 21:1985)

In the context of Malaysia, the freedom to voice or more relevantly as the freedom of press which forms the basis of democracy failed to flourish due to two major constraints namely (1) The ownership of the media by the government (2) The implementation of laws relating to media and its practitioner. Numerous articles and researches were carried out on the matter relating to the ownership of the media in this country. One significant development was that in 1974 the law of Malaysia stipulated that the press in Malaysia should be wholly owned or controlled by the Malaysian. This situation had permitted the involvement of major political parties to participate in the business and thus controlled almost all the press at that time. For the scholars who solely focussed in the research of ownership this phenomenon was not foreign to them (Gomez 1990; 1991; 1996; Jomo & Gomez, 1997)

For example the principal political party of the Malay, United Malay National Organization (UMNO) itself had directly controlled the media specifically through the taking over Utusan Melayu in 1961 (Safar Hashim, 1996), Gomez also noted that the control of UMNO in Utusan Malaysia was not solely for the motive of business but more towards the control of media (Gomez, 1990). This development had been confirmed by the remarks made by Means;

In 1972, Pernas, the government –owned national trading company, acquired 80 per cent control of the Straits Times (which changed its name to the New Straits Times in 1974). Later, a majority of shares were transferred to Fleet Holdings, an investment arm of UMNO under the chairmanship of Dr. Mahathir’s close political associate, Daim Zainuddin. By the early 1980s UMNO had direct or indirect ownership of the New Straits Times, Berita Minggu, The Malay Mail, Utusan Melayu, and Utusan Malaysia.

(Means, 1991;137)

The control of press by UMNO did not stop here but it goes on until today. The situation existed clearly indicated the direct involvement of the party in the running of the media of this country (Mustafa, 2005). For the parties which represented Chinese and Indian, they were also no exception, in that they controlled their vernacular press. Means once again exposed this;

By 1982, the MCA, through its investment arm, Huaren Holdings, under the chairmanship of MCA Senator H'ngHung Yong, had acquired 75 per cent ownership of The Star. One of the two largest Tamil daily newspapers, Tamil Malar, was owned by a prominent politician in the MIC. The MIC had some links with the other Tamil papers as well.

(ibid, 137)

According to Zaharom (2002), the ownership dominated by the political parties under the patronage of political coalition known as the National Front was due to the New Economic Policy (NEP), which had two major goal or prongs (1) Reducing and eradicating poverty by raising the income levels and (2) accelerating the process of restructuring Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance, with the hope to eliminate the identification of race based on economic function. (The thinking and discussion that led NEP's formulation are outlined in Faarland, Parkinson, and Saniman 1990: Ch.2) The control of UMNO on media especially through the Fleet Holding was a clear evidence acquired through NEP based on the ownership of share;

Likewise, in this drive to "Malaysianize" media ownership UMNO now has ownership of the Utusan Melayu newspaper group through a combination of shareholdings by individuals widely recognised as UMNO members and affiliates, and through shares held by nominee companies which are essentially UMNO's investment companies.

(Zaharom, 2002: 125)

In reality UMNO was greatly indebted to Tengku Razaleigh, a man who was responsible for generating the economy of the Malay and also for initiating investment which was pretty foreign for the Malays at that time. Under PERNAS, Razaleigh had brought a great transformation which saw the Bumiputera (the indigenous people) specifically the Malay were directly involved in the business of insurance, development sectors, real estate project, supply, engineering, investment and mining (Jamaei, 2004). Razaleigh continued his excellence by managing the business of UMNO through the establishment of Fleet Holding in the year 1972. During this time UMNO had already actively involved in the ownership of media. This is shown in table 5

Table 5: List of Companies Under The Fleet Group

Company	Activities	Share	Ownership
The New Straits Times Press	Publishing	56%	Majority
The New Straits Times Properties	Realty development and investment	56%	Majority
The Times Packaging Co.	Printing & Manufacturing	60%	Majority
Asia Magazine Ltd.	Publishing	30%	Minority
Asia Magazine Distributors Ltd.	Distribution	25%	Minority
Financial Publication	Publishing	45%	Minority
Berita Publishing	Publishing	39%	Minority
Berita Kompas	Marketing & Publishing Business Info.	71%	Majority
Berita Information Systems	Book distribution process	74%	Majority
Berita Distributors	Book Distribution	100%	Fully Owned

Berita Book Centre	Selling books, magazines and office stationery	60%	Majority
Penerbitan Inthomas (Fleet Trading & Manufacturing)	Investment Holder	50%	Majority
Kompass Singapore	Business Information	70%	Majority
New Fleetprint Press	Service provider	56%	Majority
London Ltd. (Time of Malaysia)	Agency to Group of Companies		
Bank of Commerce	Bank	70%	Majority
BCB Nominees	Shares Registration	70%	Majority
American Malaysian Insurance	Insurance	51%	Majority
Enesty	Transportation	82%	Fully Owned
Enesty Crediting & Leasing	Pemajakan	82%	Fully Owned
Enesty Management	Management Consultant	100%	Fully Owned
Fleet Communication	Film Puction	100%	Fully Owned
Fleet Communication Industy	Telecommunication	70%	Majority
Fleet Telecommunication Trading	Telecommunication	70%	Majority

Source: Edmund Terence Gomez (1990. 64)

Based on the information as depicted in the table it was obvious that UMNO had actively involved in the control of media through its companies which dominated most of the equities that were related to mass media. This scenario once again testified that NEP in reality had given so much leverage and freedom to the main political parties in Malaysia to play as major players in the market. As Zaharom asserts:

The economic liberalisation has not really resulted in a loosening of government control over the media, contrary to the initial beliefs of many. The reverse has in fact happened. The main forms of control over the media – legal, political and economic – have certainly been tightened since 1980s...The ownership and control of the media are in the hands of a few who are closely aligned to the government and who also wish to profit from the situation.

(Zaharom,2002:130)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL BLOG IN MALAYSIA

From the point of terminology the word “blog” itself had gone through several process of evolution commencing since the end of 1990s (Jensen, 2003) and identified by Peter Merholz as web log. There existed several sectors such as Jesse James Garnett, Cameron Barrett, dan Brigitte Eaton who actually started the collection of weblog in the Internet. One thing for certain was that during its early existence there were only 23 blogs as listed by Jesse James Garnett in 1999 (Blood, 2007). In general we can divide their evolutionary process as follows:

web journal → web log → weblog → wee bogs → blogs.

Inline with the increase in use of weblog, various supportive platforms were created for the expansion such as Pitas, Blogger, Groksoup, Edit This Page, Velocinews, blogspot, wordpress and many others. These had directly promoted the bloggers as stated by Blood (2007);

In September of 2000 there are thousands of weblogs: topic-oriented weblogs, alternative viewpoints, astute examinations of the human condition as reflected by mainstream media, short-form journals, links to the weird and free-form notebooks of ideas.

Amongst primary reasons which contributed to the increase of its use were because of its dynamism, unhindered in voicing out the writer’s opinion and not subject to any policy as experienced by media organisation, easy to be updated in having a maze of networks and also commentors from other blogs (Wall, 2005) and these for once had created a network known as blogosphere. According to Steven (2007) modern media such as digital, compression, broadband, and satellite networks are designed by the development of technology to facilitate the new media.

The impact of Internet on the political aspect had undoubtedly acquired much attention from the researchers resulting from its very nature which not controlled by any sector, not even the gatekeepers as mostly existed in the mainstream mass media. In fact it will be more obvious where a country imposes any form of a direct ownership or legal acts; under the circumstances Internet is the only solution which overcomes the deadlock, also enables penetration of information to the public. The use of Internet especially the application of blog is no loner a strange phenomenon in Malaysia. This because of its global characteristic and also it becomes a platform in the transformation process and political upheaval of a country.

The experience of Malaysia especially the one related to the increase of use of the Internet was primarily due to the change of political and economic landscape which took place in 1998 which witnessed the sacking of Anwar Ibrahim (then the Deputy Prime Minister) on the allegations of misused of political power and sodomy which resulted in his imprisonment was found to be amongst the catalyst that contributed to the increase of the Internet use. More even so when most of the mainstream media were controlled by the government (Abbott, 2004:85; Gomez, 2004:2) and Internet was seen as the point of transition to liberalisation and freedom to voice out opinion and view without undergoing any screening. As Rodan states:

A reformasi movement emerged and, despite differences of agenda among its elements, carving out independent media space was a strategic necessity to advance the respective reform aims under this umbrella. In the process, official rhetoric about transparency was exploited in campaigns for political accountability and openness.

(Rodan, 2004:141)

According to Baharuddin (2000) the initial impact of Internet was detected in 1999 when more readers began to focus and concentrate their finding on the webs of the pro opposition as compared to the web of pro-government and also from the newspapers adapted from the mainstream media (See Baharuddin Aziz, et.al, 2000). As Baharuddin states:

Since the policy of open sky implemented by the government in the middle of 1990s and the absence of screening in Internet as stipulated in the Communication and Multimedia Act 1998 had brought changes in the manner of relaying the information. If in the first and second election witness the presence of alternative webs and role played by Short Messaging Service (SMS), the general election this time (2008) had inclined more towards the existence of "Blog".

(Baharuddin Aziz, et.al, 2008)

In the initial stage of the development in the use of Internet as an alternative source, there existed also several other webs which solely focussed on discussion of political issues involving Anwar Ibrahim, amongst them are:

- i) Berita Reformasi (Reforms News)
- ii) Saksi (Witness)
- iii) Anwar Online
- iv) Free Anwar Campaign
- v) Crony-Net
- vi) Riches of Mahathir Clan
- vii) freeMalaysia
- viii) www.mahazalim.net
- ix) Mahafiraun
- x) Malaysiakini.

Through this period Malaysia had undergone two general election which were flooded by the distribution of information through Internet especially the general elections in 1999 and 2004. Nevertheless they still failed to unsettle the hegemony of the government when in both elections the governing party acquired 2/3 mandate in the parliament.

The figures which appeared in Table 1 should ideally be examined and scrutinised by government as a preparation for the 12th general election on 8th March 2008. Most probably the scrutiny undertaken was not wholly comprehensive thus resulting in the defeat of National Front in four states namely Kedah, Pulau Pinang, Perak (returned to National Front on 6th February 2009), Selangor and Kelantan. For example in the year 1997 the total use of Internet was only 137,400 but in 1997 it had experienced a quantum leap to 1,362,600 bring up the total to 1,500,000 in 1999. This abrupt increase was related to Anwar Ibrahim's case which caused the public to change course in getting the information especially from media that was not controlled by the government.

The situation was even more shocking when in the year 2000 total use of Internet stood at 3,700,000 but in 2004 it had experienced an increase of 6,400,000 bring up the total use to 10,040,400. This clearly indicated that more people were using Internet in Malaysia and this would mean that they would have more access to the information which was in line with the characteristics of Internet itself capable of providing information to its user. As Rahmat asserts:

Calculating the user's growth rate from the year 2000 to 2004, the average annual growth rate is estimated at 52.91 per cent. If this annual growth rate of Malaysia's Internet users is taken into account, at the end of 2005 the total number of Internet users would reach 15.35 million. This represents more than half of Malaysia's population in 2004.
(Rahmat, 2008:85)

Meanwhile if we are to make a comparison on a rate of population and the total use of Internet for countries in East Asia as shown in Table 6, it clearly shows that the use of Internet in those countries concerned were very much imbalanced.

Table 6: ASEAN Internet Usage and Population*

Country	Population (2009) est	Internet users latest data	User Not Connected*
Brunei	388,190	217,000	171,190
Cambodia	14,494,293	74,000	14,420,293
Indonesia	240,271,522	30,000,000	210,271,522
Philippines	97,976,603	24,000,000	73,976,603
Laos	6,834,345	130,000	6,704,345
Malaysia	25,715,819	16,902,600	8,813,219
Singapore	4,657,542	3,370,000	1,287,542
Myanmar	48,137,741	108,900	48,028,841
Thailand	65,998,436	16,100,000	49,898,436
Vietnam	88,576,758	21,963,117	6,661,3641

Sources: compiled from data available at <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>

* Calculated by the researcher based on the data gained from the internetworldstats

The advancement in information and technology in Malaysia had resulted in the increased of web's especially the political blogs which was difficult to be monitored or filtered. This development had posed a challenge and threatened the domination of mainstream media which all this while acting as an agent in distributing news and information to the government. Through the political blogs it offered a vast array of discussion and freedom to the bloggers in which the mainstream media would not offer. Eventhough the freedom given was hoped to assist in promoting the democratization process in Malaysia, instead it provides the platform for various parties to express their dissatisfaction, dissent comments and using improper language in the blog.

Based from the discussion carried out it was discovered that the government had either directly or indirectly controlled the local media but the irony was that they did not see the development and the craze of the blog which could also be used by them. As stated by the former Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Musa Hitam:

Internet has been ignored by politician besides it has become an important instrument for critics and other non governmental organisation (NGO) to influence and to disorientate the public opinion. This medium becomes very

important following the collapse of the credibility of printed media and traditional electronics. The situation has made us to accept digital medium an alternative media, and a channel for disclosing our opinion. It is also equally important as it signal the influx of young readers. (Utusan Online, 2008)

The increase of blogs has created a term known as Blogosphere which was initiated by William Quick in Desember 2001. Blogosphere phenomena existed in Malaysia because of the following factors:

- a) Factor of Legal Prohibitions
- b) Factor of Political Awareness
- c) Factor of Current Trend

DISCUSSIONS O SENSITIVE ISSUES IN THE BLOG HAVE BROUGHT THE HEGEMONY FRACTURE IN MALAYSIA

Eversince the taking over the seat of administration, Abdullah Badawi had adapted an approach that was different from what being practiced by his predecessor Mahathir Mohammad. This was more conspicuous in his attempt to regain support and trust from the public following the incident in 1998. The approach which he undertook had borne a great success following a landslide victory of the National Front in 2004 election. Through out the period of governing the nation from 2003 – 2009, Abdullah administration was not spared from critics especially those relating to his policy.

According to Sivamurugan (2007), Abdullah administration initially was on the right track and positive scale where the machinery of administration and UMNO in particular still continued the tradition of its former administrator and did not affect much change in its policy. Abdullah's administration was more open in nature and emphasised more on co-operation and also non-confrontational which in the end backfired on him. As Ooi asserts:

Abdullah's tactic of silence has paradoxically allowed other "vessel" empty or not – to make more noise. This has further harmed public confidence in the ability, professionalism, and thinking ability of the people in power, and the Abdullah administration as a whole

Since 1995 until 2008 we saw the entire domination of politic by the National Front through the consolidation of the political hegemony which was more solid and substantial. Nevertheless the result of the 12th general election had changed the actual status and witnessed the cracks in the hegemony of the government headed by Abdullah Badawi. Hegemony is a concept introduced by Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937) through his famous write up known as Prison Note Book. It referred to a situation where dominant group implemented their policy through the coalition of element by coercion on subordinate classes in order to maintain their power over the economic, political and cultural direction of the nation (Sullivan, 1983:102).

Beginning from the said discussion, Gramsci had expanded it to the role of state where he was depicted as an element of force and cruelty through use of police and army in such territory. Nevertheless the situation was different during Abdullah administration where the concept of hegemony as practised in Malaysia was slowly eroded following the action of the public which openly prosted the administration which they felt not compatible with the current situation. As a

result there existed a situation identified as counter hegemony. According to Azila and Sulastry (2009) this scenario rapidly flourished through the use of cyber by a group with a multi background which brazenly airing out their opinion through their own blog.

In fact the 12th general election of Malaysia on 8th March 2008 had inflicted a feeling effect on the political landscape of the nation especially to the National Front which governed the nation since 1955. The outcome of the said election was indeed difficult to be accepted and worst still with the existence of co-operation amongst the opposition parties which formed the Peoples Party (PR) that staggered the National Front eventhough within a short span of time (13 days of campaign).

In truth the decline of support for the National Front had begun with the current and past incidents that immensely contributed to the debacle especially in the five states namely Kedah, Pulau Pinang, Perak, Selangor and Kelantan. This was further aggravated by the activities of bloggers which reported discussed and criticised the incidents that occurred in the country.

Amongst the issues which contributed to the decline and erosion of support to the National Front were:

- a) Issue regarding the refusal of government to make a decision on proposal to make statue regarding the minimum salary. This had resulted that on 18th June 2007 about 600 people had demonstrated outside the office of the Prime Minister. This did not end here in fact on 25th June 2007 another gathering was held to protest about the refusal of the government.
- b) The second issue was the involvement of about 50,000 which participated in the “Clean” procession comprising of various political parties and NGO which agitated for clean election and free from any source of influence. Clean was a reference to the coalition for clean and fair election. The gathering took place on 10th November 2007.
- c) The third issue involving the gathering of about 30,000 organised by The Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF) which submitted a petition to the British High Commission demanding Britain to pay compensation for leaving the Indian in Malaysia. The situation became more tense with the detention of 13 people who participated in the gathering on 25th November 2009, besides 5 of HINDRAF righthand men were detained under the Internal Security Act (1960)
- d) The fourth issue which immensely influenced and fiddled the emotion of Malaysians was relating to the suggestion for the set up of Inter-faith Commission. This was related to the issue of proselytisation involving Moorthy Maniam who already embraced Islam but after his death his wife Kaliaammal Sinnasamy claimed that Moorthy was reconverted to hindusm and demanded that his remain should be prepared according to Hindu’s rite but she failed following the decision of Syariah Court which maintained that Moorthy should be buried as a moslim. The other issue was the changing of religion by Lina Joy who had renounced Islam and converted to Christian in 1988. Nevertheless her plea to the National Registration Department in 1998 was only approved for the change in name and not the type of religion as appeared in the ID

- e) The fifth issue which truly rattled the Abdullah's administration was in connection with the Anwar Ibrahim's disclosure in September 2007 about the video of V.K. Lingam who was said to be responsible for the arrangement in the appointment Chief Justice of the nation. This had resulted in the formation of Commission of Royal Inquiry.

BLOG AND RESEARCH ON GENERAL ELECTION – CASE IN 2008

Beginning from what that had been detailed by Gramsci and also re-alignment of the developments of blog in Malaysia, it obviously indicated that counter – hegemony had a hand in it. Eventhough there existed a kind of control over the prime flow of mass media, nevertheless developments relating to the blogs phenomena in Malaysia testified otherwise. According to the researches carried out by Nazri dan Shuhaimee (2008) in the 12th general election following the government's tight control over the media institution and also lack of opportunity given to the opposition had resulted that most of the blogs were fully being used as in table 7.

Table 7: Total Blog In Accordance To The Political Orientation

Orientation	F	(%)
1. Supporting The Government	28	14.5
2. Not Supporting The Government (Critical Offensive)	114	59.1
3. Indipendent (Critical – Free)	51	26.4

Source: Nazri dan Shuhaimee, 2008:63

If a close scrutiny and detailed explanation were carried on the whole blog throughout the election, the trend of development was very alarming. This was evidenced from the total of 193 blogs taken as sample about 165 were categorised as not supportive. From 165 taken, 114 were not supporting bringing the figure to 59.1% whereas the excess balance remained neutral – critical totalling 20.4%. This had far exceeded the blog which supported the government totalling 28 bringing to 14.5% only. The schedule below (Table 8) clearly indicates the figures based from various issues stated before which also related to Abdullah Badawi that acquired place in the Malaysia's blogsphere during the general election in 2008.

Table 8: The Main Issues In The Malaysia Blogosphere 12th General Election 2008

Issues	f	(%)
1. The transparency of election	50	33.1
2. Human right, justice and economy	49	32.5
3. Graft and Cronism	17	11.3
4. Leadership of Abdullah	13	8.6
5. Others	22	14.5
Total	151	100

Source: Nazri & Shuhaimee, 2008:65

Based from the main issues which acquired place in the Malaysia Blogosphere the whole situation can be divided into five main issues namely the only involving the transparency of election, human rights justice and economy, corruption and cronism, leadership of Abdullah and many others totalling to 151 altogether. Based from the figures it was discovered that issues relating to transparency of election stood at 50 which brought the highest percentage of 33.1% followed by 32.5% in the issue of human right, justice and economy. Corruption and cronism also acquired a place which stood at 17 bringing the percentage to 11.3%. Meanwhile issue on Abdullah's leadership only stood at 8.6%

Effects airing from the combination on the control of media by the government had resulted in the tendency to acquire reports and discussions from the bloggers especially on the sensitive issues mentioned earlier which in the end undermined the hegemony of National Front which was later manifested in its defeat as shown below:

Table 9 : Results of The Parliamentary Seat In The 12th General Election

State	BN*	DAP**	PKR***	PAS****	Total
Perlis	3	-	-	-	3
Kedah	4	-	5	6	15
Kelantan	2	-	3	9	14
Terengganu	7	-	-	1	8
Pulau Pinang	2	7	4	-	13
Perak	13	6	3	2	24
Pahang	12	-	2	-	14
Selangor	5	4	9	4	22
Kuala Lumpur	1	5	4	1	11
Putrajaya	1	-	-	-	1
N. Sembilan	5	2	1	-	8
Melaka	5	1	-	-	6
Johor	25	1	-	-	26
Labuan	1	-	-	-	1
Sabah	24	1	-	-	25
Sarawak	30	1	-	-	31
Total	140	28	31	23	222

* BN = National Front

** DAP = Democratic Actions Party

*** PKR = The People's Justice Party

**** PAS = Islamic Party of Malaysia

Based from the distribution of parliamentary seats, it was seen that out of 222 seats contested in the election, National Front only acquired 140 seats whereas the balance of 82 seats were bagged by the Pakatan Rakyat. This scenario clearly demonstrated the change in the public support in which they gave their votes to the opposition. This clearly highlighted the role of Internet especially those blogs which tremendously influenced the voters. As stated by Saravanamuthu:

The Internet played a particularly important role in this election. All the issues and scandals which did not find their way into the mainstream media or were toned down were given full play and more on the Internet by well-known bloggers such as Raja Petra Kamaruddin, Jeff Ooi (himself a DAP candidate), Haris Ibrahim, Rocky Bru and Nathaniel Tan. The YouTube website was particularly fortuitous for the Opposition as the Lingam video and all sorts of political satire was made available to the electorate before and immediately after the election. (Saravanamuthus, 2008:51)

As described earlier the role played by the Internet specifically in relaying information through webs by the political blogs had already been started since the 1999 and 2004 elections and the latest was in 2008. Eventhough the change was not so obvious especially in the year 1999 but the chasm of differences for the year 2004 to 2008

Table 10: The Positions of Main Parties – The National Front & People’s Party in General Elections (GE) in 2004 & 2008

National Front	GE 2008	GE 2004
UMNO	79	109
MCA	15	31
MIC	3	9
Others	43	49
Total	140	198
People’s Party		
PKR	31	1
PAS	23	8
DAP	28	12
Total	82	21
Parliament Seats As A Whole	222	219

Source: Kuppuswamy, C.S., 2008 pg. 2

Data in table 10 clearly show the achievements of the National Front in the years 2004 and 2008. In the general election 2004, total number of seats contested was 198 and won by the National Front at 140 seats bringing the percentage to 90.4%. Pakatan Rakyat only acquired 21 seats with the percentage of 9.59%. Nevertheless with the increase in the participation of blogger and Malaysian public which supported the counter-hegemony had resulted in the shocking outcome in which National Front only won 140 seats from 222 seats contested, while Pakatan Rakyat won 182 seats. It indicated the increase of 36.94% as compared to 9.59% in the year 2004.

CONCLUSION

It was obvious that changes had taken place and this was done through the increase of use of Internet by the public at large and further assisted by the networks of communication technology provided by the government which later were used against them. In such circumstances phenomena which existed in Malaysia where new media was used as counter hegemony was not a foreign matter to other countries as they were also using the same thing. If the government decided to control or trying to monitor the topic discussed by blogger it usually would be regarded an act of serious contradiction, for the government of Malaysia has assured that the use of Internet will not be controlled in this country. The development which recently experienced by the government was indeed a great blow, nevertheless this should be accepted in line with the current practice of democracy



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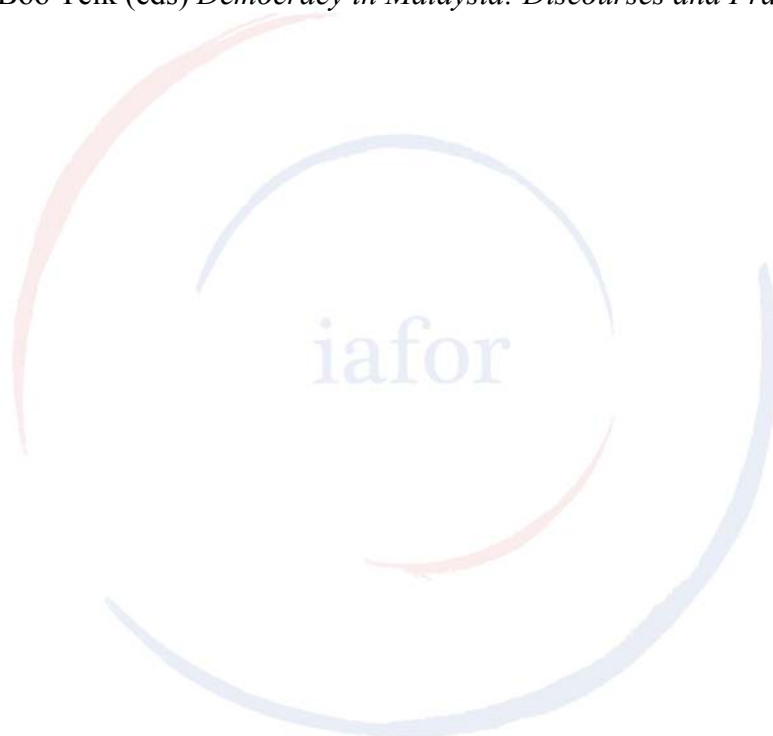
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The lessons I'm learning since I was twelve: The role of MMORPG in molding the gamers' knowledge

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The Lessons I'm Learning Since I was Twelve: The Role of MMORPG in Molding the Gamers' Knowledge

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Many studies have been conducted on identifying the effects of massively multimedia online role-playing games (MMORPGs) to gamers, but results delved mostly on its negative implications due to games' inherent reputation and researchers themselves being onlookers rather than participants. To understand and, eventually, accept the role of MMORPG in formulating and molding gamers' knowledge necessitates a deeper analysis of the intricate nature of the games' content and architecture, and the act of gaming itself. This paper approaches the arguments behind the benefits of online games as social artifacts that require pragmatic rethinking as it is continuously being modified, developed, and enriched not only by its creators, but by the players themselves. The author studies these implications on the grounds that online games are fundamentally processual and established through collaborative enhancement of coordination, communication, and organization. To substantiate this argument, findings are drawn through interview and participant observation by the author, while theoretical and conceptual supports are provided using a range of social theories and related studies.

K E Y W O R D S: Situated learning, MMORPG, World of Warcraft, Processual, Affordance, Skill, Coordination, Modding.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the increasing prominence of gaming, games scholars are presently starting to encourage and illuminate the media, academia, policy makers, and the public at large on accepting games as a supplementary form and space of learning. Also, the ubiquity of computer technology and Internet infrastructure pave the way for a stronger gaming community that prompt many to question its importance and contribution in molding knowledge and culture. Now is by far the best time for game scholars to undertake research endeavors that will surpass its previous ambitions. Computer games research today has undergone drastic changes and expansion as its specificities of digital play was first dwelled on by game scholars. Historically, the study of games may be told in many ways. Games may be considered as systems and critiqued as artifacts; rather than modern technological phenomenon (Aarseth, 1997; Jenkins & Fuller, 1995; Turkle, 1984). Eventually, the statute, game rules, and structure of the game were given more focus and analytical attention (Koster, 2004; Rollings & Adams, 2003; Zimmerman, 2003). Lastly, games were explored based on the stories it shares to its users (Copier, 2003; Frasca, 2003).

Figure 1
Textual Description of LambdaMOO

```

Strangely, there is some kind of background illumination
allowing you to see objects in the area. You can't quite
figure out where it's coming from, though.
You see the Library and the Guest House here.
Noel and Wizard are here.

enter library

the Library
*****
You're floating in the middle of a spherical chamber,
ringed with small transparent boxes containing various
artifacts.

A sign attached to a bulkhead reads "SILENCE".

You see Library Verbs, Generic Thing, Generic Note and Generic Program here.
Wizard is here.
Obvious exits: out to Outside The Asylum, north to the Bagel Factory, down to
Inner Sanctum

-----mcl Connected to localhost:7777--(00:29)-----

```

Games have a long customary relation and association with play concept. The concept of play, which is a common Western symbol of modernity, is ‘semibounded and socially legitimate domain of contrived contingency that generates interpretable outcomes’ (Mallaby, 2007). Games and their play is composed of intricately interwoven players of technological infrastructure system and software technologies, the hardware, virtual spaces, game genre, the social world infused in them, its ludology, game narratives, institutional framework of the game, legal structures, our personal histories and aesthetic experiences.

Back in 1993, Julian Dibbel wrote an article “A Rape in Cyberspace” which became the scholastic marker of the first generation of virtual worlds studies. The virtual world referred to by Dibbel during that time was a world represented entirely by alphanumeric texts in which every depiction of rooms, objects and players is described without elaborate graphical avatars and images. Dibbel was able to show how compelling an abstract database of textual descriptions can be to some people. In the sexual “act” that happened in LamdaMOO, a fictional mansion composed of words, Dibbel (1993) argued that “when it comes to sex, perhaps the body in question is not the physical one at all, but its psychic double, the bodylike self-representation we carry around in our heads”. In this present time when virtual worlds are composed of three-dimensional images and sound, it presents a satisfying and immersive gaming experience. Back in the mid-1990s, people were amazed by how databases could turn into worlds while in present time, virtual worlds turned it back into a database through the community that it forms.

This study deals about the knowledge formed in a group raiding that happens inside the virtual community of World of Warcraft where players join a coordinated form of “slaying” the bosses as an end form of accomplishment in every dungeon. This form of knowledge creation in the hopes of

accomplishing tasks challenges gaming scholars of the realism that virtual worlds bring about. The sensorial incorporation of crisp video and audio facilities into the games have made it compelling to the players (Rigby and Przybylski, 2009; Silverman and Simon, 2009). Furthermore, Chen (2009) mentioned that for the players to kill the bosses, raiders simplify the almost real visual and audio experience of the game to create useful forms of knowledge and skills. Furthermore, this paper also aims to construct an understanding of the knowledge and skills acquisition in the 'free labour' concept exemplified by modders through its game modification and patches.

For some, virtual realities are liberating spaces where players can free themselves from the "actual" surroundings. As Boellstorff (2008) pointed out in his anthropological study of *Second Life*, all human existence is "virtual"; therefore, must be contrasted to "actual" instead of "real" because both worlds inside and outside of the game are "real". Although this is the case, "these two domains are in competition with one another" (Castronova, 2007) because of the fast technological advances on gaming programs as well as the hardware. The sensorial realism brought by these advances, in return, results to immersion and disattachment with the actual world. Boellstorff (2008) further explained that the "sociality of virtual worlds develops its own terms; it references the actual world but is not simply a derivative of it" hence, it may be considered as culturally mediated and a "legitimate site of culture" that legitimizes virtual worlds as fieldsites for scholarly research.

The study was guided with the following research questions:

RQ1: What knowledge is acquired by players of MMORPG, most specifically, during a collaborative gaming of WoW timed-quest?

RQ2: In the motivation of modders to create mods, what consequential knowledge is formed?

2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The sections below discuss the research traditions in games study and a background of the World of Warcraft.

2.1. Studying Games

There are two perspectives on understanding games depending on the type of knowledge being argued on. One perspective that is important to be taken into consideration is the examination of the direct transfer of skills. Games and simulation on this perspective may be examined based on how it can teach skills and impart knowledge to its users (Bransford & Schwartz, 2001; Gredler, 1996; Prensky, 2000) or the impact of games on violence and aggression (Anderson & Ford, 1968; Calvert & Tan, 1994; Schutte, Malouff, Post-Gorden, & Rodasta, 1988).

Second, games may be examined in relation to theories of situated learning and knowledge (Barab & Duffy, 2000; Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989; Jenkins & Squire, 2004, Squire, 2002). This research framework analyzes how games offer new subliminal ways of learning and provide the conditional

frames of creating new ways of knowing. Gee (2003) argued that games can bring a whole lot of “embodied empathy for complex systems” as well as an “embodied experience” when a gamer feels a connection with the system itself (hierarchy, rules, ludology); therefore, this concept of embodiment has no reference between the avatar and the gamer. Moreover, Squire, Shaffer, Gee, and Halverson (2005) suggested that the power that lies in virtual games is its capacity to provide situated understanding.

Both approaches provide significant and valuable ways of exploring the creation of knowledge and skills in games, but this study provides an additional perspective to large-scale MMORPG, particularly in World of Warcraft (WoW). This study does fit into either category of direct transfer of skills or of situated learning and knowledge. In both approaches, they examine how knowledge is acquired from the game to the learner (player) or how it “teaches” valuable knowledge and skills. Although games are increasingly well studied, its appeal to the imaginative consciousness and bring about knowledge and skills in both in-game and actual worlds has not received the same attention.

This article offers a variety of analytic categories structured to assist us to understand what sets MMORPG apart from the typical learning environment. This is with no intention to mean that a typical learning environment is not available in MMORPG or any other virtual worlds; rather this intends to identify an additional facility that makes knowledge acquisition in MMORPG powerful compared to the traditional conception of education.

The timed quest in WoW that last for about 45 minutes illustrates the different perspectives of knowledge and skills creation. On one hand, a direct transfer of skills in a WoW timed quest focuses on improved hand-eye coordination or the gamers’ ability to construct analytical reasoning and solving problems to achieve certain goals depending on the level the gamer is at. While on the other, the pressure of accomplishing a task in a limited time may improve time management skills by understanding how each game requirement is interconnected and the maximum amount of time that must given on a certain task. A timed quest in WoW may also, sometimes, be a group effort of fifteen to forty gamers working simultaneously and harmoniously carrying with them specific tasks to fulfill. Understanding the rules and the design of the game provides what Gee (2003) called “embodied empathy for complex systems”. It is imperative to say that all of these develop valuable skills that are undeniably important. Despite these, limited studies address the implications of the unique and broader social systems embedded within and outside of WoW.

Within the perspective of this study, it aims to understand how gamers learn and acquire valuable knowledge and skills in a quest as part of a broader social system of gamers and not as a personal accomplishment. The shared social system on which gamers participate involves coordinated skills in both in-game and actual worlds that are strongly adhered by the culture of knowing and learning that both identify and are identified by the game. Learning, suggested by Brown and Duguid (1996), is not about getting information, but “developing the disposition, demeanor, and outlook of the practitioners”. The avatar or an “interactive, social representation of a user” (Meadows, 2008); game design and its rules; and the complex social systems and cultural networks inside and outside of the game make up the game space of MMORPGs. It is the combination of these factors that provide a

new avenue, forms and strategies of learning - a learning that provides new stances of disposition and spaces for creativity and imagination.

2.2. Understanding WoW

In WoW, players create a character, or an avatar, as a form of representation in the virtual world that is inhabited by unearthly creatures, unusual locations and other players represented by their own characters. A player may choose to belong to any of the ten races and nine classes (as of writing) and a faction (either Horde or Alliance), on which the player's choice has an impact on what players can (or cannot) accomplish (Blizzard Entertainment, 2010). As the character travels in the world, a player must combine completion of quests, exploration of new destinations, and defeating monsters to gain *experience points* or *XP*s and to level up to the next. Also, it is important for characters to be equipped with valuable items (known as *loot*) to prepare for next encounters. These loots may be found in the corpses of defeated monsters. As the character advances to the next level (maximum level as of writing is 85), the player would encounter quests that would need groups in order to accomplish them. A player will have to team-up with a maximum of five other players to form a group who are working on completing the same quest and defeating the same monster. However, when the character reaches the Level 60 to Level cap, a group would not suffice to defeat uncommon monsters and conquer complicated quests, a special group called *raid groups*, which is composed of up to 40 members, will have to be formed.

It is important for raid groups to consist of favorable mixture of different character classes to compensate for each other's weaknesses. For instance, it is necessary for a raid group to have a warrior to endure the impact of the blows of the monsters because of its high stamina. Nevertheless, a *healer* is also necessary to negate the blows caused by the uncommon foes. A correct proportion of abilities, strengths, and power are vital to the success of the group's adventure.

3. METHODOLOGY

The research questions were addressed by conducting an issues ethnographic study where participant observation was used as the primary method in identifying the knowledge creation in collaborative gaming, such as group raiding, and email interview in finding out the knowledge creation in modding. Issues ethnography veers away from the usual ethnographic approach of including the whole culture in its study that is commonly contested in media and anthropological studies (Ortner, 1993). It focuses on specific contested issues and conflicts within a culture on which the whole idea lies on its capacity to isolate and explore how a conflict plays itself out in a single instance of a given culture. This isolation will best provide understanding of the assumptions that underlie the conflict in connection to the interests of the primary parties involved.

With an average of 20 hours a week for three months (from December 2009 to March 2010), I assumed the role of a covert participant observer or ethnographer to carefully analyze the knowledge creation during raid group sessions. Being a WoW gamer myself for more than two years, I was able

to gain access to a high-end 40-person raid group in PvE – RP (person versus environment – role-play) server. The group frequented the Molten Core dungeon, where several ‘bosses’ with different abilities are to be killed, and its completion marked the end of my role as a participant observer. Over the duration of the group raids, the number of players fluctuated although the group had a core of about 25 players. There was a pool of about 30 players who were regulars during the entire study and another 20 who were considered sporadic players. Most of the players’ real-life demographic profile, such as age, nationality, gender, etc., was unknown to me except for the regular few that I have been interacting with. To easily and accurately review the games’ instances, all were recorded resulting to 256 hours of video captures.

On the other hand, email interviews through snowballing sampling technique were employed in the analysis of the knowledge creation in modding. A total of 16 respondents participated in the email interview which comprised of 15 male modders and one female. No classification of modding (e.g. skinner, mapper, etc.) was imposed on the selection of respondents as it is unnecessary in coming up with a conclusive argument in the knowledge creation in modding. The complexity or simplicity of the mod designs are treated similarly as the most important factor is the motivation of the modders in spending valuable time redesigning the game interface, chat service, maps, etc.

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This section analyses the findings of the knowledge and skills in WoW timed-quest and modding.

4.1. Processual Understanding of Games

No game is released in its entirety the first time it is made commercial. Every game is being discovered, altered, and refigured not just by the developers, but by the gamers themselves as it is being played. Each game contains the potential for producing new ways of doing and meanings that may, in the long run, alter the game itself (Malaby, 2007). Players can intentionally alter or refigure the game and gaming patterns as the gamer attempts to adjust to the different unpredictable challenges and strategies in accomplishing a task, much like a game designer would.

There could also be changes in games, which are unintentional results of practice when clever individuals and teams try to find alternative or new ways of playing the game that are different from the way it is designed for. Creation of new practices and tactics has always been inherent in games. Games carry with it potential in altering the game itself and how it is played by affecting its rules and mechanics. In addition, game developers open the games’ technical infrastructure to allow modifications – such as patches, maps, skins, etc (generally called add-ons), by the gamers themselves who have the technical skills of creating such. These add-ons, eventually, may create new challenges and explorations for other gamers and in the long run result to acquisition of new skills.

The important thing to think about is that games are fundamentally built on human practices and are therefore changing and always in the “process of becoming” (Malaby, 2007). Any given moment in a game may produce new meanings and practices, which may in turn change the way the game is

played making it not reducible to its rules. It is on this precept of recursive and dynamic quality that the concept of games being “processual” rather than static is fundamentally based. It is therefore imperative that any attempt made to define a game based on its inherent rules or genre classification is insufficient because it falls short on considering how it is capable of producing new and developing effects, which consequently affect the instances of the game.

4.2. Skill, Affordance, and Coordination

MMORPGs have inherent limitations and affordances. Like any other games, WoW allows its players to do various things with its design components as part of the requirements of the game. For instance, a player can engage in combat tactics, acquire and sell goods, level up, configure items, and complete quests. These elements that allow the players to design how they want to play the game are referred to as *skills*. These skills are, of course, determined by the limitations of a character’s race or class.

At its simplest form, skills bring about affordances or the variation and combination of things that a player can do in the game. As the game progresses, gaming becomes increasingly complex; therefore a character would also need to evolve in order to satisfy the skills requirement of the game level. However, a character’s set of affordances is limited unless it connects to the social network of play. The link that exists between a player and other players helps the affordances of a character to increase and be more powerful. In WoW, players learn to use spells and items that will not only benefit themselves, but other players, a group, or an entire party embarking on the same quest. There are some spells in WoW which are required of a character or class or else chances for the character to be kicked out of a raid group is most likely. However, having such spells is not enough to secure membership in a raid group or party; rather, it is the ability of the player to know how and when to use it is more critical. For instance, a healer who knows how to heal a warrior efficiently is much more precious to a group than a healer who may have better equipment and spells, but lacks the skills of using them. Proper timing in healing is crucial to group’s advantage, whereas poor timing may lead to group’s defeat against the enemy. The ability of a player to develop its affordances becomes even more complex as it aims towards coordinated and collaborative actions.

In every difficult dungeon (‘instance’) in WoW, coordinated action is necessary as it entails complex ways of dealing with other players. Ideally, every character’s objective in WoW is to advance in terms of level and skills. However, there are certain skill sets that are more useful in coordinated plays rather than individual playing. In a coordinated play or group raid, a particular role is predetermined by the character’s class (Ducheneaut, et al, 2006). In most raid groups, the players are required to design their characters to take the full advantage of their class. Although different raid groups operate according to their own needs and level in which they are in, most of the time, they value diversity and allow players to define their characters’ affordances. Instances, which require 5 to 40 players, aim on completing tasks by killing ‘bosses’ or powerful monsters. Without varied and complementing character classes, a quest will not be completed. Skill is an important measure in understanding character classes (Smith, 2005). For instance, warriors are usually assigned with *tank*

duty to keep the attention (aggravation or *aggro*) of the monsters or *bosses* towards themselves, since they have the ability of holding *aggro* efficiently and away from other characters so the latter can perform their specific tasks. As a result, a healer in particular, will only have to focus on regenerating the health of the tank instead of keeping track of the health of every character member. At the same time, damage dealers like *mag*es, *hunter*, *warlock* and *rouges* or sometimes called *DPSers* (damage per second), concentrate on inflicting large amounts of damages to the boss. For a group to succeed in their quest, the three character classes must work in full coordination and as one. Therefore, the tank must distract the boss and absorb all the damages while the healers are concentrated on regenerating the health of the tanks and the *DPSers* killing the boss.

When working with a group, a player must not only consider his actions; rather, the role the player has should be performed in unison with the rest of the other members. Each player's action or inaction always have consequences towards other group members or the overall performance of the group, hence it is necessary not to ignore the responsibility. All group members are aware of the effects of their actions or inaction no matter how small or important it may be. If a player becomes distracted or careless of its action, it may prove fatal to the success of the performance of the group as a whole. Consequently, individual success is not as important as the collective effort of all the members, which is the ultimate measure of the group's dynamism and ensemble. Scollon (1981) suggested that the term ensemble be used to refer to the achievement of "one mind. . . one body in the performance of the work". Furthermore, in musical performances, Maduell and Wing (2007) mentioned that in order to achieve unison, "it is not enough just to follow the score; there must be seen to be agreement on tuning, tempo and dynamics".

The knowledge or skills that are created or gained by players in a WoW quest is not a direct transfer from killing a monster or going through a series of strategic adventures, but how to respond to a sequence of cues from other players, meta-thinking, and performing in unison with other members. Different quests require different skills and knowledge specific only to that particular level or dungeon, whereby mastery happens after a series of planning and trials by all the members of the group. This mastered or tacit knowledge becomes important, in the long run, to the success of the group. Wagner and Sternberg (1985) define tacit knowledge in a job context as a practical knowledge that is acquired informally through experience. It is a non-quantifiable form of knowledge that is particularly "about social interactions, social practices, and most generally, how a group or an institution gets things done" (Linde, 2001). Specifically, members' performances in a quest are focused on learning how to succeed not as discreet characters or individuals, but as an ensemble after a series of mastery and repetition. As mentioned earlier, in a successful group performance, acquiring skills, spells, and items are not as important as knowing how to use it and the proper timing of using it in coordination with other members of the group. Brockman and Anthony (2002) stressed that tacit knowledge is not about knowing what is to be done; rather, knowing how things are to be done. In addition, Linde (2001) also emphasized that knowing *when* things are to be used is crucial.

Furthermore, in a work situation, tacit knowledge is a collective nature owned by the whole institution instead of individuals that comprise it. For instance, in a strictly bureaucratic institution, sets of procedures and processes exist in claiming for medical benefits and reimbursement, which are represented in a specific part of the institution. It may not be possible for an individual to understand and know the entire procedure. On one hand, the staff claiming for the medical benefit may know how to request for claims and submit the necessary documentation while administration staff may know how to process the request. On the other, the accounting staff may know how to approve or

deny and proceed with the reimbursement. In such a case, no single member of the institution that deals with any part of the process knows exactly the entirety of it. The knowledge of the entire process lies on the institution as a whole and not to a single member. The same is true in WoW. Every single player has a character to perform and a process to follow in order for the whole group to operate according to its goal. Although a specific process is only known by a specific member who implements that process, it has to be performed in harmony with accordance to the overall expectation of the group. This type of tacit social knowledge includes groups working together on “how decisions are made” and “how communications flow” (Linde 2001).

4.3. Creativity, Recognition, Challenge and Acquisition of New Skills in Modding

Since WoW began in November 23, 1994, it has developed over time through the collaborative efforts of the players who test and challenge the game’s limits while the game designers alter the game through patches in response to players’ feedback. Currently, nineteen major patches have been introduced to rebalance the game. Despite efforts of WoW’s developers to immerse its players through the graphical details of the game, some efforts still fall short to impress and provide a satisfying experience for the players.

The graphic details of WoW may offer confusing and dazzling visual effects to players especially in group raids. In a raiding group of at most forty characters, the cast of spells and attacks produces an array of light that may bewilder the players. Fortunately, Blizzard Entertainment released an Application Program Interface (API) that allows its players to “tweak” the game. The story doesn’t just end with players altering the game experience, but their intention of devoting their time, skills, and knowledge without any getting any compensation from the game developers. Terranova (2000) explored the prevalence of the “gift economy” performed by knowledge laborers in an era of productive consumption. Currently, laborers are willing to give up any financial benefits in exchange of pleasurable productivity, which in the long run, will lead to non-financial rewards. Hardt and Negri (2004) hypothesize the same thing by saying that we are now living in the age of “immaterial labor” where there is a thinning boundary between work and leisure and that financial compensation is no longer the ultimate measure of productivity. These ideas of free and immaterial labor have led to the concept of “knowledge communities” by Jenkins (2006) on which the information is traded and social capital is earned. The most important contribution of these knowledge communities is not its agility but intelligence and passion.

Gamers are the best examples of free laborers and are best exemplified in the fan culture that is created as a result of it. In the concept of any media forms, fans are important knowledge workers who rely on information and interpretation to collectively produce modifications for their favorite media (Baym, 2000). These fan-programmers have been sutured onto the theories of convergence, where the role of the fans and producers is slowly blurring and sometimes overlapping. Fan-programmers contribute strongly on the design and gaming experience of a game. In WoW, fan-programmers have specific designations depending on the add-on or modification they intend to do. These modifications can range from changes to visual effects to extension of game levels. Modders, on one hand, are in-charge of “mods” to a game that can range from visual effects and texture to changes in story line. Mappers, on the other, design new game levels or “maps” to extend the gaming experience of the players. In general, these changes are referred to as add-ons or modifications (“mods” for short).

Most of the time, smaller add-ons are designed by individual programmers with intention of adding new dimension to the gaming experience. These add-ons are shared to the gaming community, who are usually limited to familiar players, to test its design and solicit feedback on their own work. The gaming community in return put ratings and compliments on their add-ons as a way of encouraging the fan-programmers. Most small add-ons that are below 10MB take about an estimate of 20 to 40 hours of work time to finish although the complexity of the design and time needed to finish it is not dependent on the file size alone. In some cases, smaller maps may require a longer time compared to a larger map depending on its design and the skills of the fan-programmer in using the tools provided by the game designer. This devotion of time by the fan-programmers may be equated to the savings that the game developers will have as each fan-programmer develops and improves the game's storyline, maps, designs, or the gaming experience as a whole.

What is surprising with modders is their motivation to devote their time on producing something which they are not paid for. A substantial amount of time and money (creation of mods require higher hardware specifications than usual computer sets), regardless of file size and kind, is needed in order to develop a mod. One of the modders mentioned,

creating mods allows me to feel good about myself especially when the community recognizes my effort. It's difficult to balance real work and voluntary service, but the compliments from those who are satisfied with my work are worth enough to actually produce more of this [*sic*]. (Mileg, author QuestHelper, email interview, 2009)

Another one stated,

the fact that I can do mods is an achievement in itself. It gives me pride and joy. Well, I don't really expect much from the other players to use my mods or give me star ratings, but the act of finishing mods that are working and, for me, wonderful is satisfying enough. (Bedazzzzled, author InfoTracking, email interview, 2009)

Recognition is one thing among others that drives the modders on devoting numbers of hours in developing mods. This recognition is attained whenever members of the community give "thumbs-up" to their creation. On the other, producing mods provide a feeling of self-satisfaction regardless of compliments and ratings. The ability of the modders to produce technical creations gives them a satisfying self-worth.

Furthermore, there are also some who finds modding as an expression of creativity. The modders find it as a form of technical art that allows them to produce something with value. For instance, a modder stated,

I see myself as a creator of beauty . . . technical, that is [*sic*]. I feel like an artist whenever I accomplish a mod regardless of its complexity. Adding details or even creating a character that is unique, ornate and symmetrical is a creative venture. You wouldn't be able to design beauty unless you know how beauty looks like. (JeanClaude, mapper/modder, email interview, 2009)

The technical challenges that modders face in creating mods also pose as a motivating factor to create and share their works. A modder stated,

The latest mod I designed for WoW took me roughly around [*sic*]100 hours spread in 2 months. It's a small visual enhancement patch to assist players during raiding. I thought it would be easy, but it imposed a lot of technical difficulties to me. It was a great challenge to perfect and overcome my

technical shortcomings and I felt very accomplished when I overcome [*sic*] that challenge. (Orgevio, author Tracking Plus, email interview 2010)

There are also modders who find modding as a way of learning new technical skills from the community. When modders share their mods to the community, it will be tested and critiqued by other players and modders alike. They provide suggestions and even collaborate with other modders to come up with better and more sophisticated mods. An experienced modder for eight years said,

I've known a lot of people because of my mods. Whenever I share mods, in a just a short time, other players will download and use my mod. Not all the time they will like my creation, but they will always comment on it and even offer assistance to develop them further. There were even times when other modders and I will work together on a single mod. We share each other's skills. Although others can just easily steal my work, it's a matter of trust. (Spiele2000, author Minimap Infopan, email interview, 2009)

Another one said,

I have worked on several mods with different modders in the past and I've never had any personal knowledge of them except for their in-game characters. But, you know, most experienced modders just want to make the best gaming experience possible for them and to others. I admit that despite my accomplishments in modding, I still have limitations and I fulfill those limitations by working with others. (Bobblybook, author ShamanBuffBars, email interview, 2010)

Despite the motivations that the modders have in creating mods, most of them, if not all, are limited by their technical skills. For most of them, they push their limits on perfecting their creation by trial and error and collaboration with other modders. The modders acquire different skills each time they create mods, which in turn expand their technical skills and knowledge of different graphics engines and the development tool provided by the game developer.

Conclusion

The significance of knowledge production in a situational environment is exemplified in many different ways during the imaginative and creative engagement of players in a virtual world. Players acquire knowledge and skills not as a form of direct transfer, but as a positive consequence to enable them to accomplish a given task and perform satisfactorily according to the requirements of the wider group that they belong to. This accomplishment also provides an avenue for players to have a sense of acceptance and belongingness with an elite group of players. It acts like a lapel badge that distinguishes one player with the other; therefore, providing self-worth and pride with whoever "wears" it.

Group members performing as an ensemble to accomplish a task reveals the importance of playing "with" rather than playing "for" other members. The ability of each member to know the proper timing of executing an action is more essential than knowing how to do the action. In collaborative gaming, players learn how to blend and use its abilities for the good of everyone in the group and not just for individual achievement. Self-consciousness and centeredness will prove fatal to the success of the group as a whole.

Also, the different motivating factors of modders in creating mods or modifications present a consequential acquisition of skills and knowledge. These motivations allow the modders to test their technical skills and creativity to produce something not just for their own benefit, but for the rest of the gaming community. Through the collaborative and participative efforts of the gaming community, in general, modders learn and develop their technical skills and continuously strive to fulfill the discriminating demands of other players without any expectation of financial return. This is also, in turn, made possible by allowing the game program to be continuously redesigned and modified by the fan programmers.

MMORPG is a venue where players meet to interact and learn from each other without even realizing that they are harnessing collective intelligence. This scenario may give us a glimpse of possible future school environment where students learn, develop, and retain what they have learned.

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Brave New World: Challenges and Opportunities

(Critical and Cultural Studies)

Title : Cinema in the New World Order: The Apocalyptic Nexus between
Aesthetics and Politics

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This paper questions whether the “minority model” in Hollywood representations of Asians – the stereotypical or absent images of Asians – still holds true with the advent of internationalized East Asian films. Countering the ideological hold of American media industry on Asian audience in the twenty-first century, the thesis hypothesizes that at the East-West media divides the so-called centripetal and centrifugal patterns of signifying dissemination destabilize the Western assertion that East Asian media industries are defined by centripetal flows just as the thesis will argue that East Asia’s constitutional structures are no longer centripetal, previously conceived dialectically different from that of the centrifugal force of Western constitutional politics. The thesis is predicated on the Latin etymology of “centre”, arguing that the word “centripetal” is an inaccurate use in the description of Pan-Asian film productions because it gestures to a “centre-seeking” quality. They are more precisely defined as global filmmaking, suggesting both centripetal and centrifugal forces as consequences of disjuncture and difference, prompting critiques on the political economy of Western mediatization. This interpretation is aided by Tu Wei-ming’s reading of cultural China and Arjun Appadurai’s global cultural flows in their constructions of the social imaginary. Instead of just reading East Asian politics from international relations per se, the thesis works with the cross-cultural issues inherent to William Callahan’s “Logic of Governance” by affirming East Asia’s “colonization in reverse”, an analogy attendant to internationally well-received East-West translated or collaborated films. This paper works with the *Ring* series (1998-2005) and *Death Note: L Change the World* (2008) by Hideo Nakata and Martin Scorsese’s *The Departed* (2006), an adaptation of *Infernal Affairs* (2002), in order to verify the thesis; they are not only metaphors of the postmodern crises of values but also instances of how aesthetics can be interpreted in two ways, denotatively and connotatively. The first gives us the literal meaning bound to a referent, the filmic plot, which is then raised to a different level of signification. A complex reading of the films’ symbolic is given when the aesthetic meanings of the above-mentioned movies lead to the second order of signification illustrating the underlying political messages in and through their apocalyptic anticipation. Fredric Jameson’s and Slavoj Žižek’s readings of Western culture and politics are also exploited here in order to read the ways in which culture and politics overlap in East Asia. I shall argue that implicit to the East-West relations described is the lack of attention given to the interpellative processes that East Asian filmmaking promotes, made evident by the recent deployment of Japanese cinematography in the West, the collaboration with directors and actors from the East and filmmaking appealing to audiences from the East. These processes disrupt the homogenizing effect of Americanization, arguably an insidiously negative effect of globalization. The discussion will also demonstrate how interpellation can be a positive response to possible neo-colonial acculturation driven by internationalization. Yet the thesis will also explore if the very same globalizing and internationalizing operations can be used to promote an awareness of ethnic and cultural diversity making us question whether phrases such as “multiculturalism”, “integration”, “rights and responsibilities”, “social cohesion” and “unity in diversity” associated with Western liberal democracy have similar inferences in East Asian contexts.

The “minority model” in Hollywood representations of Asians – the stereotypical or absent images of Asians – no longer has the same currency with the advent of internationalized East Asian films. Some may argue that mainstream American movies still ascribe to the above model: either cinematic images of Asians are villainous or angelic, much like the traditional roles assigned to women, warped perceptions of Asians which may affect their social standing within Western communities, or they are presented as culturally antithetical to the Westerners. Asians are also excluded in some film productions, criticized as inauthentic portrayals of the cosmopolitan American society. It is the contention here that the model of minority has been undermined by the recent infiltration of Pan-Asian movies, artistic productions that promote transnational identity. While the minority model can be detected in Hollywood’s productions, evident in action films such as *Showdown in Little Tokyo* (1991), *Seven Years in Tibet* (1997) and *Come See the Paradise* (1990) where non-white actors play villains or minor roles, its hold is relatively weaker and this can be attributed in part to America’s recent political correctness: television production houses have to subscribe to a certain ethnic ratio in the hiring of actors. Moreover, Asian actors such as Chou Ren Fa, Jet Li and Michelle Yeoh play action hero/ines in Hollywood big-budget movies instead of the typical Asian villain. More significant are the effects of globalization which prompt multilateral cultural movements and the migration of Asian actors, making possible, in contemporary geopolitical terms, transnational identities. Although a conflicted notion, the “transnational” quality of films from both East and West has not only resulted in multi-ethnic and multi-national casting, the exchanges from film and creative directors to movie stars but also regional and international co-productions. In order to counter the ideological hold of American media industry as well as the lack of critical attention given to Western adaptations of Eastern films, given attestation by Hollywood productions such as Martin Scorsese’s *The Departed* (2006), the *Ring* remakes (2003-2005), *The Grudge* (2004) and David Moreau’s and Xavier Palma’s *The Eye* (2008), the thesis hypothesizes that at the East-West media divides the so-called centripetal and centrifugal patterns of signifying dissemination intermingle and destabilize the conventional take that East Asian media industries are defined by centripetal flows just as the thesis will argue that East Asia’s constitutional structures are no longer centripetal, previously conceived dialectically different from that of the centrifugal force of Western constitutional politics. This interweaving of aesthetics and politics finds support in Frederic Jameson’s notion of “national allegory”, allegory being the literary device linking aesthetics and identity politics. However, it is used here in a transnational manner to reveal the underlying similarities between the flows of aesthetic and cultural influence and the politics of regional integration.

William A. Callahan’s “Comparative Regionalism; The Logic of Governance in Europe and East Asia” challenges the theoretical characterization of European regionalism as “hard” and East Asian regionalism as “soft”, respectively based on regulative enforcement and social cohesion, by elaborating the different types of authority found in Europe, Greater China and ASEAN+3: institutional, cultural and ethical, which support the regionalisms of the West and the East. This comprehensive study rests upon his emphasis on the third kind of governance, a more inter-subjective mode of regional configuration that can be called Asia consisting of the areas geographically known as East Asia, South East Asia and the Pacific region. He characterizes the institutional, cultural, and ethical governance in East Asia as: “(1) ASEAN as a formal regional institution; (2) The informal economic and cultural integration of diasporic Chinese networks in Greater China and (3) Cultural China; (4) The ethical relations between civilization and barbarianism on China’s periphery. Rather than progressing from ethics to institutions to see how

regionalism is produced, as in the EU, the analysis of institutional, cultural, and ethical governance in the following sections will proceed in the opposite direction. It will highlight how East Asian regionalism takes shape through network power that spreads from the periphery toward the centre in a way that calls into question Europeanization and the centre/periphery model” (2007, 240). Callahan questions Europe’s centre/periphery model because most geopolitical analysts perceived East Asian regionalization “as a failure when measured against the EU’s success” (2007, 231). He argues that “this conclusion makes sense only in terms of a logic of regionalization that depends on institutional governance. Moreover, this Eurocentric view is part of EU’s campaign to export its model of governance to the world” (2007, 231). In view of his explanation, Callahan’s critique stems from the fact that the EU regionalizes using a top-down tactic, a centrifugal force the emphasis on which is geopolitical influence using institutional power whereas Asia works with culture and ethics to engender a social networking in a pull described as centripetal.

Although his argument gives resonances to this thesis which is predicated on the etymologies of “centre”, the weakness in his argument can be found in the neat delineation of that which is constituted centripetally and centrifugally. I shall demonstrate that these forces are not that clearly defined in transnational interactions by reworking the cultural dimension of identity politics based on the scientific trope of the double foci discovered to enable the dual earthly revolutions around the sun, a centre splitting into two and embodying the East and the West, arguably further divisive in its maneuverings, a concept aptly figured by the biogenetic theme of Hideo Nakata’s films. The thesis starts by calling into question the above patterns of governance in Callahan’s “Logic of Governance” with East Asia’s “colonization in reverse”, an analogy attendant to internationally well-received East-West translated or collaborated films. This paper works with the *Ring* series (1998-2005) and *Death Note, L: Change the World* (2008) by Hideo Nakata, *The Departed* (2006) and *Infernal Affairs* (2002) in order to verify the thesis; they are not only metaphors of the postmodern crises of values but also instances of how aesthetics can be interpreted in two ways, denotatively and connotatively. The first gives us the literal meaning bound to a referent, the filmic plot, which is then raised to a different level of signification. A complex reading of the films’ symbolic is given when the aesthetic meanings of the above-mentioned movies lead to the second order of signification illustrating the underlying ideologies in and through their apocalyptic anticipation. This political forecasting depends on the disorientation and disassociation discovered at the so-called “source”, which I call the “apocalyptic nexus”, rather than connection and alignment. But it is also this disorientation and disassociation that gives to association and orientation. Thus what we have are beginnings instead of a beginning, already enumerated in Callahan’s essay on the various governances found in the world.

Etymologically, the word “centre” in Old French means “source”. Coincidentally, it includes the Chinese root, which means “the middle point of an object”. Adding this meaning to its Greek base, which means “goad, peg, stationary point of a pair of compasses”, the centre is the point of orientation and alignment. The centre emits a centripetal force that “gather[s]” the elements in its constitution of a configuration. Yet, scientifically speaking, inherent to the configurative pull is the centrifugal propulsion because any backward motion entails a simultaneous elemental rush forward, a push that Callahan uses to describe European constitutional politics. According to Callahan, whereas Europe is constitutionally centrifugal, spreading its political dominance outwards, East Asia is constitutionally centripetal: “The previous section argued that, rather than

following a European model of institutional governance spreading from the centre to the periphery, in East Asia institutions spread from the periphery to the centre” (2007, 245). If we are using the word “centre” to politically theorize the identity make-up of the West and the East, it is crucial to note that, in the above etymologies, the point of reference in the pair of compasses is fixed in the Greek and Latin roots but not in the Chinese root. The Chinese etymology of “centre” aids in this argument that the word “centripetal” is an inaccurate use in the description of Pan-Asian film productions because it gestures to a “centre-seeking” quality. What we have, instead, are the co-figurative of twin foci, the impact of which can also be felt contrariwise, thus engendering contingent geopolitical identities. The term “Pan-Asian Cinema” itself denotes global filmmaking, reminiscent of Chen Shaochun’s “transnational allegory”, suggesting the simultaneous centripetal and centrifugal forces as consequences of disjuncture and difference.

Callahan’s thesis which has East Asia constituted centripetally and predicated upon social and economic networks, is derived from Tu Weiming’s Cultural China, figured in the latter’s essay as a living tree: “Tu Weiming’s ‘Cultural China: The Periphery as the Centre’ deserves detailed consideration because it propose a mode of cultural governance for a transnational community. Using the centre/periphery logic of power, Tu posits a non-ethnic, non-territorial notion of community that problematizes both narrow and universal prescriptions for identity: ‘An underlying theme ... is the emergence of a cultural space (a symbolic universe) that both encompasses and transcends the ethnic, territorial, linguistic, and religious boundaries that normally define Chineseness’” (2007, 249). This reading ushers in Ferdinand de Saussure’s example of the tree, which is arguably of import because of the discussion of “natural” imagery used in literary discourses but it is exploited here to signal the naturalizing process that underpins any ideological extrapolation, a non-natural semantic verticality because it is enforced. Tu’s Cultural China may be considered by Chen and Callahan as a more apposite image of Greater China with the three universes of Greater China (Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore included), Diaspora China and the third China comprising scholars and writers of Chineseness, an inclusive socio-economic network widening at the top. But the stake that is unaddressed here is this: if one reconsiders the Marxian concept of the superstructure which is given rise by the economic base, where politics is concealed by the economic and cultural focus, a critique further enhanced by Louis Althusser’s ideological state apparatuses, then Callahan’s argument may be flawed in attributing East Asian’s modes of governance as non-institutional. It must be said that I agree that Asian regional integration is predicated upon informal ethnic and social ties but this does not mean that politics is not involved. East Asia’s emphasis on the cultural and the economic constituting facets masks the political underpinnings of the very economic and social networks that provide regional integration and community in diversity.

Cheng refers to Tu’s “Cultural China” in his description of what he means by transnational dimension of the national allegory in an era of globalization: “Contrary to the ‘political China,’ the transnational sense of Chinese identity implies a ‘cultural China.’ ‘Cultural China’ is employed by Tu Weiming to elaborate on the contours of a symbolic universe that both encompasses and transcends the ethnic, territorial, linguistic, and religious boundaries that normally define China (1994, v). In his testimony to the cultural identity of China rather than its political identity, one which would have its focus on Greater China, he continues: “In the project of ‘cultural China,’ Tu tries to deconstruct the cultural authority of geopolitical China. He wants, instead, to ‘explore the fluidity of Chineseness as a layered and contested discourse to open new possibilities and avenues of inquiry, and to challenge the claims of political leadership (in Beijing, Taipei, Hong Kong and Singapore be the ultimate authority in a matter as significant as

‘Chineseness’ (1994, viii). Chen applauds Tu’s endeavor that opposes the hegemonic and essentialist discourses by using a living tree to designate cultural China; mainland China as the root from which the strong branches and resilient leaves representing the Chinese diasporas are developing.

But Haun Saussy’s definition of the comparative method which invariably returns to the point of commonality, what he calls the trunk of the genealogical tree in his reading of Cultural China is a more critical take: “the comparative method tended to dissolve identities, or at any rate their singular expressions, into a common source... Comparative philology could, in the end, use up its *raison d’être*: after a sufficient number of examples are adduced, laws can be formulated and historical accounts framed. In philology, the properly comparative moment came early in the discovery process, as parallel phonetic series were established for the different languages and the regularity of their differences showed them to be tributaries of a higher common source” (2006, 7-8). Perhaps his question: “What is the trunk – what does comparative literature discover?”, regarding this “third thing” performing the connective function between cultures, finds its answer in a political economic critique of mediatization. As the studies of political economy of media have demonstrated, occupying the highest rung are media moguls such as Warner Brothers, Universal Studio, Twentieth Century Fox, and Disney Productions et cetera, the hegemonic control of which, to a certain extent, polices global filmic trends.

In order to give validity to the above assertion about the power given to the high priests of media, Theodore Adorno’s political critique of the state’s fabulous calculations in “The Religious Medium” is crucial: “The figures mentioned in this diatribe are, of course, utterly fantastic. There is neither any basis for the estimate of thirty-two million laws made by “human government” (whatever that may be), nor the slightest corroboration of the astronomical figure of the “cost of crime” in America. To operate with the fantastic figures is an established Nazi habit. The apparent scientific exactitude of any set of figures silences resistance against the lies hidden behind the figures. This technique which might be called the “exactitude of error” device is common to all fascists. Phelps, for instance, has similar fantastic figures about the influx of refugees into this country. The greatness of the figure, incidentally, acts as a psychological stimulant, suggesting a general feeling of grandeur which is easily transferred to the speaker” (2001, 546). In fact, Adorno’s comment gives us a glimpse of what it means to fetishize the representative role of the media, taking in everything transmitted without question. The phrase “the exactitude of error” gestures to the crisis within instrumental rationality, which resulted in the extreme terror of Nazi genocide. But the missing point in Adorno’s thesis is this: it is precisely the fantastic, or rather its concomitant phantasmatic quality, which gives images their power, perhaps the inter-subjective ethical dimension of reading predicated upon Michel Foucault’s concept of the dynamics of power, one the emphasis of which is on power relations rather than merely hegemonic dominance. Thus in what manner this power is used is another matter. Perhaps the citation from Adorno’s “The Religious Medium” indicates the prevalence of mastery in identity politics which, in turn, says something about the state’s, and, in this case, the region’s measure of control.

And this is further adumbrated in Arjun Appadurai’s thesis which exposes the contradictions found within discourses pushing toward internationalization, critiqued as a cultural homogenization called “Americanization”, which is interchangeable with “commoditization”, and arguably so: “The central problem of today’s global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization ... The new global economy has to be

understood as complex, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models (even those that might account for multiple centers and peripheries” (Appadurai *Disjuncture and Difference*, internet source). The non-fixity of boundaries mentioned in his work gives to the fluidity of five arenas: “(a) ethnoscapas; (b) mediascapas; (c) technoscapas; (d) finanscapas; and (e) ideoscapas” (ibid). The affix “scape” is Appadurai’s qualification that these spaces are perspectival constructs “inflected very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as sub-national groupings and movements (whether religious, political or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighbourhoods and families” (ibid). Appadurai’s elaboration of the global celebrates migratory movements and boundary shifts but it does not eradicate the need for some sort of identification, a search for one’s roots, albeit his citation from Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Community* (1983): “One man’s imagined community is another man’s political prison” that aids the argument that underlying the ideal of a global village is an ideology of cultural assimilation.

Attributing this search for commonality to some higher source, in this case the Rivera source, Saussy’s reworks the analogy of “the living tree” of “cultural China”, premised upon archeological finding, to expose its weakness. Using it as the spine of his argument, the “trunk” ironically informs us of the discursive susceptibility of privileging the source, which can also be found in his use of the mountainous source of rivers. Rather than the trunk, this thesis, inspired by Saussy’s figure, prefers to think of the tributaries, figured again as roots, but roots always already dispersed – an inversion and displacement that does not only have the living tree uprooted and turned upside down; it is also “imag(in)ed” through a metaphor that does not have a unifying spine – the figure of *allium* propagation: significations invigorated with a dissemination likened to that of onion seeds whose spaces are like the liminary sites between letters and whose inflections are comparable to the small bulbs which are transplanted so that the propagation proliferates and expands such that one has spheres superimposed giving to a symbolic of rings upon rings intertwined, arguably metaphorized by the *Ring* series. Not only has Nakata’s *Ringu* (1998) spawned the Hollywood versions, the 2005 American version is also directed by him; the multiple remakes in Japan itself in the form of sequels, television series and anime are instances of the above-mentioned dissemination. In addition, it has a Korean adaptation called *The Ring Virus* (1999) where the leitmotif of the thesis can be found, the apparition biogenetically producing twin terrors.

The Korean titular remake is a significant analogy to ideological dissemination. Thus Callahan’s celebration of the socio-ethical interactions prioritized in Asia, “best described in terms of the social ethics of people-to-people relations that aim to encourage different ways of being” (2007, 232), is laudable. But we may still have to be vigilant to the ideological underpinnings of persuasive maneuverings. “Soft” power does not mean that it is not coercion especially if a weaker party is verbally forced into doing something that may not be in its interest. Nakata’s *Ringu* is of particular import because it deals with a matter specifically Levinasian, the ethical relation to an unanticipated other and an alterity that horrifies only because of its recognizable and, yet, distorted features. If we are to speak of Levinasian ethics as Callahan has in his essay, then Nakata’s alienated being, Sadako, is an instance of the existential misfits with which we may have to come face-to-face in Callahan’s idealistic postulation. In cultural terms, the answer lies with the politics of recognition, the willingness to accept the other as s/he is. What Callahan has not foreseen is this: Emmanuel Levinas’s ethics of ethics means an unreserved openness to an immeasurable Other; a welcome that potentially overwhelms and erases selfhood.

This alterity, akin to the Kantian Sublime, can invade and terrorize the psychological, and, by extension, the social imaginary, figured in a most startling and stunning manner by Nakata's 1998 *Ringu*, an image of the image, the terrifying apparition gradually breaking out of the screen and materializing in pursuit of its next victim. This, in turn, suggests that the television screen is the protective medium which allows a certain protection from a terrifying face-to-face encounter, a reading predicated from Slavoj Žižek's critique of the fetishization of the Real in modernity that produces multiple reality programs. The assault from the Real is a consequence of the erasure of the Symbolic in Jacques Lacan's triangular definition of the psychological imaginary, the layer that makes an appearance appearance, which separates the Real from the Imaginary. With the overlapping of the Real and the Imaginary, the entities encountered become the *unheimlich* (the uncanny) because one cannot separate virtuality from reality, which instills, in a psychological sense, the loss of control.

So potent is this viral assault, apparently ten times more deadly in Nakata's remake of Takeshi Obata's manga, *L: Change the World*, it necessitates the sacrifice of an other. L is another of Albert Camus's isolated, angst-filled individual whose crime solving skills help to halt a biochemical wipe-out, a cultivated virus instrumental to the terrorist destruction of a Thai village and an attempted annihilation of the world. Since L has only 23 days to live after being drawn towards an enigmatic notebook called the Death Note, where he has inscribed his name, he opens his heart to a Thai boy and an abandoned girl, Maki, and protects them from the terrorists because they are crucial to the development of a vaccine that counters the fatal viral infection, a metaphor in this essay for the institutional border control of the influx of foreigners. Even though Nakata is reportedly pessimistic about the humankind, he nonetheless shows that it is only with the heart that one can save the world. Having to save the world also entails that L fights his various alter egos in the *Death Notes* series, another motif of the double also found in *Infernal Affairs*. In this contestation for geopolitical dominance, it is L's sacrifice that makes the difference, a cinematic echo of the tagline for the conflict between the authority and the mafia in *Infernal Affairs/The Departed*: "how far would you go in deception, betrayal and sacrifice?", oppositions arguably informing identity politics and rendering the inherent power play obvious.

Read as visual symbols of the contentious relations between legitimate and illegitimate power, the mole and the undercover cop in *The Departed* and *Infernal Affairs* are twin figures, one recognized authoritatively and the other undercover and risking his life, eventually abandoned to fight for his own survival. Suspense increases for the audience as tension mounts when both protagonists discover at the same time each other's presence in the organizations for which they work. Scorsese's remake and Andrew Lau's and Alan Mak's directorial success can be interpreted as a visually psychological counter to the cops 'n' robbers genre because at the heart of their filmic matter is desire and not the usual plot of cops chasing robbers. And it is not the desire for some higher truth or the character's subjective agency but the desire to be the desire of the Other (the Other as the social Symbolic), itself revealing an identity crisis. Thus the above-mentioned filmmakers' critical achievement lies with their generic subversion, attempts that ironically undermine the celebrated filmographic exploitations of digitalization with simple filmic conventions of fast editing, moving and high/low-angled shots. They exemplify Tom Conley's and John M. Ingham's assertion on deconstruction and art: "Viewing would seem to be preempted by the strategies of the industry. In this collection of essays on deconstruction and the arts, the stakes involve the invention of a type of viewing that allows spectators to reduce to minimum their roles as consumers. The viewer is asked to disengage from single films whatever that is needed to dispense with review of many others" (1994, 264). In other words, viewers are

prompted to look beyond the given institutional strategies of reading the films; instead they embody a visual rhetoric that auto-reflexively unsettles conventional processes of meaning-making.

The impact of Pan Asian films in terms of plotlines and stylistics is evident in the multiple Hollywood remakes. *Ringu* led the way with two American versions with talk a third. *Infernal Affairs* see critical adaptation success as Scorsese's award-winning *The Departed*. It is noteworthy that *Death Note* made its appearances in America and Britain in December 2008 and *L: Change the World* is released in the United States on April 29th and 30th 2009. And its takings of 8 billion yen speak of box office success even in the West. A 2007 article in the Malaysian newspaper *The Star* has reported that ten production houses are vying for the rights to remake *L: Change the World* and word has it that the American version is to be released in 2011. Thus, as transnational allegories, these filmic translations demonstrate that, instead of clearly defined centripetal or centrifugal forces in terms of Asian or European governances, what we have now are not only multidirectional, non-linear and dynamic ways of interactions, ones which are multilateral rather than merely bilateral or unilateral, doubling foci where the push and the pull may be contentious or negotiated.

Crucial to this interpretation of Pan Asian films as “transnational allegories” is Appadurai's concept of ideoscapes, “a concatenation of images” which are “composed of elements of the Enlightenment world-view”, currently underpinned by the master term “democracy”. Can the democratic institutions of the West encounter an inassimilable alterity without violently reacting toward it? Can Western democratic governance account for all including the terrorists, labeled axis of evil, who threaten the West? What about the East which, according to Callahan, champions cultural and ethical kinds of governance? If Callahan is correct in his analysis, then Pan Asian films, evocative of the nature, function and evaluation of the visual, can be argued as the interpellative processes disrupting American homogenization, an insidiously negative effect of globalization, making interpellation a positive response to possible neo-colonial acculturation driven by internationalization. Yet the very same globalizing and internationalizing operations can be used to promote an awareness of ethnic and cultural diversity making us question whether phrases such as “multiculturalism”, “integration”, “rights and responsibilities”, “social cohesion” and “unity in diversity” associated with Western liberal democracy have similar inferences in East Asian contexts. Appadurai's ideoscapes which “shape themselves in different national and transnational contexts” may be the answer to this inquiry: the images given by transnational Asian films invoke a different way of seeing and reading. Of great significance are the above questions on identity politics that this thesis argues as more appropriately accommodated by the tension discovered between the rhetoric of the visual and the aural.

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Dwelling Narrowness:**Chinese Media and its Disingenuous Neoliberal Logic**

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In late 2009, a 33-episode television drama called *Dwelling Narrowness* (*Wo Ju*) hit Chinese television and became an immediate runaway success among Chinese television audience. This TV drama tells of the struggles, twists and turns in the lives of two Guo sisters who take different paths to escape their plight as “mortgage slaves” in a fictional metropolis modelled on Shanghai. Haiping, the elder sister, struggles to stay in the metropolis after graduating from a top university and to buy a home so she can live with her husband and daughter who has to be sent to their hometown to be raised by grandparents. Skyrocketing real estate prices push the dream to buy a new home further and further away from the couple who will have to spend two-thirds of their combined monthly income to pay the mortgage on a tiny apartment. While finance becomes a major source of conflict in the relationship of Haiping and her husband, the younger sister Haizao, who followed her sister to stay in the city, steps in to help by becoming the mistress of a high-ranking official in the city major’s office, forsaking her boyfriend with whom she has a de facto relationship. The two sisters meet different outcomes: Haizao suffers a miscarriage and has her uterus taken out after being attacked by her lover’s wife, while her lover commits suicide after being found guilty of corruption; Haiping eventually moves into her apartment, reunites with her daughter and opens a Chinese language school for foreigners. The elder sister’s wish to own a home triggers off a series of events in three relationships (married, de facto, and extramarital) and opens up a microcosm of urban lives in contemporary China.

The TV drama focuses on the lives of “white collars” (represented by the Guo sisters) but also features people of different social statuses, including government officials, business people, laid-off workers, and mistresses. It touches upon some of the most

sensitive topics yet prevalent phenomena in contemporary China: nail houses,¹ mortgage slaves, corruption, and people who live off parents²—all wrapped up in the setting of a consumerist metropolis. It is not a Chinese version of *Sex and City*, but it is a painfully realistic portrayal of contemporary China, or rather, the consequences of Chinese neoliberal developmentalism. Its painful realism has drawn criticism as well as applause. It has generated a heated discussion online among Chinese netizens on mortgage slaves and its related topics. It has been viewed online and downloaded by more than 100 million times. Discussions of the TV drama, mortgage slaves and the plight of China's upcoming middle class also ranked high in various print media. DVDs and books of *Dwelling Narrowness* were the top sellers and for a time sold out completely. It has also drawn attention from the Chinese government (represented by State Administration of Radio, Film and Television, or SARFT) and fallen foul of the censors. The TV drama was pulled off air at Beijing TV and criticized by a SARFT official for its sensationalizing sex and corruption in order to attract audience attention. This was met with immediate angry responses from Chinese netizens who protested against the treatment of the TV drama in all major bulletin board services (BBS), blogs, and through a cyber vigilance movement called “human flesh search” to attack that official (see Herold 2011 for a review of “human flesh search”). *Dwelling Narrowness* became one of the ten hottest topics in 2009 in China.

This article uses the television drama *Dwelling Narrowness* to illustrate the inherent tensions and pitfalls of Chinese neoliberal developmentalism. It examines the production, circulation and popular consumption of the television drama in order to illuminate the interplay of the Chinese state, capital and popular aspirations in the restructuring of Chinese media and communication industries. In such interplay, neoliberal strategies—as a set of economic policy, cultural structure, and governmentality—are enwrapped in socialist legacies, traditional values, postsocialist dilemmas, and prosumer (producer+consumer) desires. Neoliberal techniques and practices, which are sometimes sincerely and sometimes disingenuously applied in the

¹ Nail house is a Chinese neologism referring to households that refuse to make room for urban development, just like nails that are hard to pull out. See Toy (2007) for a report of the so-called “coolest nail house in history.”

² More and more Chinese youths are living off their parents, thus becoming Neets (Not in Education, Employment or Training) or boomerang kids. Some are laid off workers; some are graduates from universities who are supported by parents to prepare and pursue postgraduate studies, or search and wait for jobs.

Chinese case, create a hybrid politico-economic structure that is non-liberal, anti-liberal and neoliberal, all in one. To affix a “post” to neoliberalism would both overestimate the neoliberal logic and underestimate its continued agency in China’s transformations.

Chinese Media and Prosuming *Dwelling Narrowness*

Dwelling Narrowness is a social critique on the consequences of China’s boom in its pursuit of neoliberal economic development. Departing from the usual themes of (revisionist) dynasty dramas, family dramas and political themed dramas that have dominated Chinese television from the late 1990s (Zhu 2008), this TV drama takes the audience back from the bygone and faraway (in terms of time and pertinence to reality) to the contemporary and the decidedly unglamorous aspects of the everyday reality of the so-called emerging “middle class” in urban China: rising property prices, underpaid university graduates, white-collar mortgage slaves, nail houses, class disparities, corruption, sex and mistresses. Many netizens have called it a drama of ruthless realism that offers a microcosm of China’s development in the first decade of the 21st century.

This television drama was jointly produced by Shanghai Media Group (SMG), Beijing Jindun Shengye Film and Culture Co. (Jindun), Huayi Bros Media Group (Huayi), and Jilin TV. Formed in August 2001, SMG is China’s second largest state-owned media conglomerates,³ and monopolizes Shanghai’s broadcasting, film, and cultural operations. SMG does not just aim to dominate in the lower Yangtze area but also to compete with the flagship of Chinese broadcast media, China Central Television (CCTV), in program innovation and coverage all over China and in the Asian-Pacific region through satellite and digital platforms. Huayi is one of China’s earliest (established in 1994) and renowned private companies in film industry, mass media, capital investment, television dramas and artist management. Jindun, established in 2002, is another private company specialising in police and spy themed TV drama productions. Compared with Huayi, Jindun is smaller in business operation but known as a successful TV drama production company with established niche

³ By the end of 2003, China had established 85 media conglomerates, including 39 newspaper groups, 18 broadcasting groups, 14 publishing groups, 8 distribution groups, and 6 film groups (Anon 2010)

market share in the world's biggest TV market. Both private media production companies have extensive connections with state broadcasters who control the channels for distribution and often engage in cooperative projects with them. Jilin TV, the leading broadcaster of Jishi Media Co. Ltd, the media conglomerates in Jilin province of Northeast China, is a minor player in the joint venture to produce and broadcast *Dwelling Narrowness*. Its participation in such a venture is mostly driven by business concerns and possibly facilitated through personal connections (*guanxi*) in China's TV drama industry.

The co-production of *Dwelling Narrowness* is telling about the changing pattern of media operation in China. Since 1980s Chinese media have undergone a series of reforms toward decentralization, marketization, and internationalization, led by the party-state. These reforms have been taken to a new height since 1990s, prompted by the increased integration of Chinese economy into global capitalism and China's own leapfrog in digitalization and information and communication technologies (ICTs) development. From the introduction of contract system and producer responsibility system, to outsourcing program productions to independent producers and private production companies, from absorbing foreign capitals to adopting global media giants' business models by forming Chinese media conglomerates (first in the press and then in the broadcast and communication sectors), from the explosion of lifestyle news-oriented tabloids, metropolitan dailies and entertainment programs to the proliferation of specialty channels and integration of digital platforms (Internet, mobile phone and IP TV) in existing print and broadcast mediums—We have witnessed a changing dynamic in media operation and management China. It started with hesitations, anxieties and objections, and was characterized as “messy, protracted, confusing, and confused, littered with odd, even counterintuitive institutions, structures, and practices” (Zhao 2000, 3). But it has proved to be a successful attempt (for the party-state and neoliberal intellectuals) to unleash the potential of the market, promote creativity and entrepreneurship of individuals, and at the same time retain the “commanding heights” of the party leadership in media ideology and orientation.

Spearheaded by the party-organ media themselves, the reforms of Chinese media and communication sectors have turned Chinese media into one of the most lucrative

business run by the Chinese party-state, and endorsed journalists with a privileged socioeconomic status. Private and transnational media operations have also started to appear and expand in China: transnational media corporations such as Time-Warner, News Corporation, Bertelsmann, have entered Chinese market in print (book), television, film, and new media markets. Riding on the tide of media privatization and marketization, many of the establishment journalists have started their own private media production companies, or recruited by private and foreign companies to run media production businesses, such as the key players in Jindun, Huayi, and Enlight Media. As Yuezhi Zhao succinctly points out, the division of labour in Chinese media industry rests with three major players—the party-state media, transnational media and domestic private media: “party-state media inform the nation through their domination in news and informational content provision, transnational media groom the elite with exclusive international news, business information, lifestyle tips, and niche market entertainment, and domestic private media productions amuse the masses and mediate their multifaceted lived experiences with popular entertainment” (Zhao 2008, 195).

Television drama, which is the most popular genre in Chinese television, is one of the major businesses of private, foreign and joint productions. It is said that there were over 2000 television drama production companies in 2009, with more than 80% of the market share in China.⁴ Jindun and Huayi are only two of the 2000-odd private companies in the television drama business.

As private companies, they must work with triple clienteles—SARFT, television stations, and advertisers. SARFT dictate the “mainstream melody” and controls the permits to produce and distribute a show. Without the two essential permits, no television drama is allowed to be produced or distributed. When the show is done, it needs to be sold to television stations at national, regional and local levels. Since all television stations are state owned and control the broadcasting channels, it is important that private companies maintain a mutually beneficial relationship with the state broadcasters, often through bribery to the latter. State broadcasters serve as a second tier of power in shaping television drama production and distribution. After a show is bought by state broadcasters, selling advertising time to advertisers and

⁴ Personal communication via telephone and email, 2010.

convincing them of the market lucrativeness becomes the next hurdle for private companies (see Zhao 2008, chapter 4). Most private production companies have chosen various coproduction modes with state broadcasters, as both can exploit their respective resources—for the private company it means a safety net and for state broadcasters it means cheap and high-quality products. *Dwelling Narrowness* was produced under such circumstances.

The state-private coproduced TV drama was first broadcast on local terrestrial television stations, and then aired on many major television stations, including Beijing TV and Shanghai TV (both of the most important metropolis broadcasters with national satellite coverage). Despite its high rating, Beijing TV stopped its run on its Youth Channel after 10 episodes was broadcast. Audiences immediately phoned in or sought explanation on the Internet but was told that it was due to program readjustment. Some vented their anger at SARFT, who in turn denied any ban of the show. It was rumoured that Beijing TV was pressured by real estate developers to pull the show off air, as it showed the dodgy dealings, illegal evictions and violence of their own business. In Shanghai and Jilin, the TV drama was shown only once, despite the high audience rates and popular demands for a rerun. Again, SRAFT has denied any ban on the show. But insiders reported that television station directors received phone calls from local governments who asked for a “cold treatment” of the show—a new strategy of censorship by neglect. The local governments feared that discussions and discontent arisen from the television drama would impede their efforts to reform their housing policies.⁵ Popular television, like the TV drama, would normally serve to entertain the masses. It can also serve as an artistic expression and forum for the discussion of topics that are otherwise debated in private or on the Internet. Such an open discussion, however, was quickly snipped in its bud by the underhanded dealings of the state censors and their business partners.

The TV drama is no longer shown on Chinese television, but has continued to be viewed and downloaded on video sharing websites such as Youku (with over 1.5 million times streaming per day at tv.youku.com/woju) and on a range of the popular tianya.cn's public forums. It is one of the most discussed topics online. Online

⁵ Personal communication via telephone and email, 2010.

surveys suggest that most agree that the drama reflects the public sentiment on mortgage slaves. Haiping's struggle for a home gives voice to the conundrum faced by millions of people who dream of owning a home in cities. The cruelty of life faced by all characters in the drama—whether they are deemed good or bad—strikes a responsive chord among those who are trapped in the social problems resulting from China's neoliberal developmentalism, housing as an example.

Apart from discussing the perils of buying a home, most discussions are centered around moral values, or rather the degradation of moral values in people's material pursuits. The relationship of the corrupt official Song Siming and his mistress Haizao is such a hot topic. Song, who is depicted as handsome, elegant, smart, romantic, and wealthy and powerful, has won over majority of female viewers. In several online surveys, such as the one on Sina.com on the question "If you were put in the same place as Haizao, would you choose Song or Xiaobei (Haizo's boyfriend)" and the one on qq.com on the relationship between happiness and property, most have chosen Song and material pursuit (such as property) as essential to their achieving happiness in a relationship (Yu 2009). Some audience are not satisfied with the tragic ending for the corrupt official (death in a car crash upon being found guilty of corruption) and his mistress (miscarriage and having her uterus taken out), and have attempted to rewrite the ending of the TV drama. The discussion of the affair of Song and Guo—on the nature of their love affair and its political economy—also migrated to the print in local tabloids and metropolitan dailies, which further generated discussions online.

A blogger named Wang Lei (2009) expresses the popular view shared by most young males in China: *Dwelling Narrowness* as a cruel but realistic portrayal of the relationship between economic power and sexual resource in contemporary Chinese society. He writes:

As the gap between the rich and the poor becomes wider and moral standard vanishes, sexual resources are increasingly flowing towards the class of the powerful and wealthy. ... The quality and quantity of women a man can get is directly in proportion with his wealth and power. This phenomenon has been normalised, as we are so used to it that we turn a blind eye to its happenings in the entertainment circle, performing arts circle, university campuses, or news

about the mistresses of the wealthy and civil servants. ... The cruelty of *Dwelling Narrowness* lies in the depiction of a good urban youth (what people call ‘economical-practical man’ on the Internet) being defeated by a man with wealth and power. ... This kind of plunder of sexual resource will not only cause the depletion of social morality and justice, but also lead to imbalance of sexual flows and distribution... This is no longer an issue of morality but concerns social stability. Chinese ‘middle class’ has already slipped toward the lower class in face the skyrocketing real-estate prices and medical expenses. Now this group has to suffer the consequence of sexual resources being plundered and dominated [by the wealthy and powerful]. Where is justice?!

This blog entry has been widely circulated and debated on Chinese Internet. The TV drama has continued to engage Chinese online discussion on the topic of mortgage slaves, one of the “unharmonious” problems in a “harmonious” society. Some express their feelings in cartoons (e.g. Guo Xizhong’s “mortgage slave series” at cartoon.chinadaily.com.cn/onlineartist.shtml?do=cartoons&uid=21032&page=2); some through music videos, such as the MV by China’s pop singer Huang Zheng entitled “Sell.” The MV, posted on the Internet in June 2010, mocks the sky-high real estate prices in China. It had over 1.3 million views with a week. Chinese netizens call it “the most desperate MV in history.” It depicts the increasing class disparity in China through different (dramatic) reactions with people of different social classes toward a home that costs RMB28800 (USD4303) per square meter. What (or how long) does it take to buy a home? It ranges from 5 days (for a big boss) to 541 years (for a construction migrant worker). This is the bitter truth that would make (most) people feel hopeless. This feeling of hopelessness and its artistic candid expressions through cartoons, MV and TV drama draws inspiration from China’s socialist legacy and communist concepts of equality and equity. On the one hand, the TV drama articulates China’s socialist pretensions; on the other hand, such pretensions can also be used as a powerful subversive tool against the party-state led capitalist developments. The tactics that are used in the moral-economy claims via BBS posting, blogging, cartoons, and MV are both new (in terms of platforms and techniques) and old (in terms of rhetoric and underlining ideology). The spectre of

socialist claims has continued to haunt the Chinese nation in their call for social justice and equality.

The excesses of market, nevertheless, provided ammunition to state censors with moral ground to expand its regime of disciplinary power. The playwright and director are accused of complying with the mainstream melody (for depicting the hardworking older sister achieving her dream while the younger sister meeting her tragic end) on the one hand, and bone-bareness depiction of sex on the other hand. This has caused outcry from morality defenders who called for sanitizing Chinese TV drama market. The department director of TV dramas at SARFT, Li Jingsheng, criticized the TV drama for its use of sex, deceit and corruption as the winning ingredients in a public forum. Li's comment was met with immediate outrage with a scolding tirade of abuse from Chinese netizens. One netizen writes: we netizens are already angry about *Dwelling Narrowness* being called off air; now you have nobody to blame but yourself for making such a comment at this moment; your criticism should have offended your colleagues in SARFT that has approved the TV drama; are you saying that your colleagues advocate sex, corruption and deceit? You have further offended 85% of the masses who cannot afford a home. Some netizens even started the infamous "human flesh search" trying to expose Li as a corrupted official. When no significant evidence was found, an *e'gao* "human flesh search" started to expose Li's legendary mansions and expensive watches.⁶ This, of course, did not go any further.

The realistic portrayal of urban life and mortgage slaves in *Dwelling Narrowness*, the political turn of pop music represented by MV "Sell," and the processes of prosuming these popular cultural products have laid bare the consequences of China's authoritarian neoliberalism in its pursuit of double-digit economic growth. In the following analysis, I will reflect on neoliberalism in China, which is on most occasions disingenuously applied; hence "disingenuous neoliberalism" in the title of this article.

China's Disingenuous Neoliberalism

⁶ *E'gao*, or spoof, is a multimedia expression through photoshopping, flash and digital remix of Chinese and non-Chinese elements to poke fun at an original work, concept, or person. See Meng (2009) on *e'gao* as a decentralized form of communication in Chinese cyberspace.

Neoliberalism is understood as a type of economic policy, a cultural structure, a set of particular attitudes toward individual responsibility, entrepreneurship and self-improvement. It is also a type of governmentality in the Foucauldian sense (Foucault 2008, 218, 147, 145). The different dimensions of neoliberalism are believed to be implemented through market imperatives. For example, as part of the techniques of governmentality and cultural structure, individuals are viewed and trained as self-enterprising and ratiocinative actors; their creativity needs to be unlocked and unleashed in a co-creationist production, through which the consumers create value for the corporate, all in a natural state of affairs. Apart from its different dimensions, neoliberal practices also takes many different routes with varying results globally. Neoliberalism is an evolving process and “construed as a historically specific, ongoing, and internal contradictory process of market-driven socio-spatial transformation, rather than as a fully actualized policy regime, ideological form, or regulatory framework” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 253). Whether it is Latin American neoliberalism or Euro-American neoliberalism or postsocialist neoliberalism, neoliberalism is always hard to pin down, and there is lack of connection between rhetoric/definition and reality. It is said that the few instances of success have taken place in countries that have marched to their own drummers. The case of China, which has violated most rules in the neoliberal guidebook and yet followed the path of market-oriented direction in economic development, suggests that neoliberalism is a heterodox, rather than orthodox. Viewed this way, Chinese neoliberalism, as well as any other forms of neoliberalism, can be referred to, at best, as “actually existing neoliberalism.” This term, according to Brenner and Theodore (2002, 349), emphasizes “the contextual embeddedness of neoliberal restructuring projects insofar as they have been produced within national, regional, and local contexts defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles.” It recognizes the incoherence of market-oriented neoliberal pursuits in national restructuring projects.

China is not only an actually existing neoliberalism but also actually existing postsocialism. Postsocialism is used to describe the incoherence of “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. It marks a discontinuity with the Maoist socialist tradition while retaining enough room for continuity with tradition – not just the socialist past

but also Chinese cultural tradition and some aspects of Western tradition (such as nationalism). Both terms—neoliberalism and postsocialism—are characterized by self-innovation and ideological hybridization. Scholars have recognized the hybridity and incoherence of China's postsocialist, neoliberal, developmentalist project, as exemplified in the expression “hybrid Chinese socialism-cum-neoliberalism” (Sigley 2004, 566). Or as David Harvey summarizes, China is a “construction of a particular kind of market economy that increasingly incorporates neoliberal elements interdigitated with authoritarian centralized control” (Harvey 2005, 120).

While not a subjugate child of neoliberalism, the Chinese party-state nevertheless has adopted some neoliberal principles in economic development without relinquishing its political control and socialist ideology. Its hybrid economic system—from the household responsibility system, two-track pricing system, to special economic zones—has proved to be a successful alternative model to the so-called “Washington Consensus.” This model is also implemented in media management.

The history of Chinese media reforms is that of experimenting a two-track system in media and communication. That is, a state-controlled news and current affairs sector in combination of a market-oriented entertainment business. While the market power and imperative are unleashed and harnessed to stimulate domestic media and communication industries, the party logic dominates how media is managed and who controls the backbones of China's media and communication infrastructure. In the rush toward marketization, digitalization and internationalization, the party-state organ media, such as CCTV, People's Daily, Xinhua News Agency, China Radio International, and China Film Group Corporation, are encouraged and supported by the central government to combine their resources to support one another in their ventures into the Internet, mobile and other digital broadcasting production and distribution platforms. At the same time, some media content production is outsourced to domestic and foreign private production companies in order to stimulate market competition. As indicated before, these companies often work with one another and government agencies (in media and Telco) to cross promote one another. Supported by favorable policies, CCTV has established itself as the flagship in Chinese media and new media industries.

In sport media, for example, CCTV is the only national television network that is dictated by the Chinese government to buy broadcast rights and new media broadcast rights in major international events such as the Olympic Games, Asian Games and FIFA World Cup. Other regional and local players will have to be its second-tier partners, with a fee decided by CCTV, in order to relay its signals. CCTV's monopoly and dominance in Chinese media is the result of top-down and controlled commodification and trans-media conglomeration over twenty years of media reforms in China. CCTV runs businesses in all media platforms, from the broadcasting to the print (magazines and newspapers), Internet, mobile phone (newspaper and TV), and IP TV. It has extended its business from media production and distribution to advertising, events management, real estate etc, with business partners from domestic and international backgrounds. SMG has positioned itself as a regional player and alternative model to CCTV, and has enjoyed the highest audience rate among audiences in Shanghai and its surrounding regions. Like CCTV, it is also state-owned, has an extensive range of businesses apart from broadcasting, and supported by the Shanghai government. Both SMG and CCTV compete with each other and with other broadcasters for maximizing their market shares in the world's biggest media market. But SMG is equally subject to the party logic as other regional and local media players, when it comes to political ideology. It is also subject to the hegemony of CCTV and its governing body SARFT.⁷

China is an economic system in which the marketplace is shaped by a cozy relationship among government, big business and big money. All big players in the media and telecommunication complex are either directly or indirectly part of the state-dominated "socialist market economy." The transformation of Chinese media from "tongue and throat" of the Party to the most lucrative business results from the state dominant and engineered deployment of neoliberal strategies of governance. Like Deng Xiaoping's call for some people to get rich first and the establishment of special economic zones, the marketization of state-owned media, privatization of some content (such as drama and entertainment) production, outsourcing non-news, non-current affairs program to private studios, injection of foreign venture capital in

⁷The director of CCTV is also deputy director of SARFT. This makes it easier for CCTV to ensure its dominance in Chinese media industry through policies issued by SARFT to limit powers of other broadcasters. This has been demonstrated through numerous cases, as any insider from Chinese media industry can tell.

ICT industries, and floating of shares in foreign stock markets are examples of “neoliberalism as exception” in Chinese socialism.

Chinese “socialist market economy” is underlined by the twin modalities of the neoliberal governmentality: “neoliberalism as exception” and “exceptions to neoliberalism” (Ong 2006). While the former refers to state engineered practices to embrace the market dynamism in order to compete in the global market, the latter illuminates the struggles between the governing and the governed, power and knowledge. The mortgage slave phenomenon depicted by *Dwelling Narrowness* is the result of such “neoliberal as exception” logic. Since the 1990s, Chinese state has launched a series of measures to commodify the housing system, to replace the long-standing in-kind housing subsidy under the socialist welfare system. It is a neoliberal urbanization perspective that governs the new market housing system (Lee and Zhu, 2006). However, it has led to increasing urban poverty, social polarization and spatial segregation. Such a neoliberal development is geographically uneven, socially regressive, and somewhat politically volatile, as numerous cases of violence in China’s urban redevelopment suggest. The working class sinks further in the horizontal inequities. All that they can garner to resist state violence is their bare life. This is represented by the Grandma Li family in *Dwelling Narrowness*. Grandma Li resisted the relocation plan in exchange for a better compensation deal for her laid-off son and daughter-in-law. In the end, she was crushed to death in her own home by the demolition team who forcibly demolished the house. Grandma Li, as an “exception to neoliberalism,” is excluded from the neoliberal calculations of China’s urbanization. People like her are stripped way basic social and political protection and even their victimization is regarded by the neoliberal advocates as a natural state of affair. As Ong summarizes, “In China, pro-market policies are interwoven with a socialist state, private enterprises flourish alongside repressive laws, consumer culture cohabits with the lack of inalienable rights” (Ong 2007, 6).

Chinese neoliberalism, which took its momentum in the post-1989 era, is defined by the dual nature of continuity and discontinuity. 1989 remains a threshold, a turning point in contemporary Chinese history, marked by both continuity (of state socialism in the political trajectory) and discontinuity (of state socialism in economic development), premised on the discourses of “transition” and “development” (Wang

2003). What we have witnessed in the post-1989 China is a market-authoritarian developmental neoliberalism that is fundamentally undemocratic. Chinese new leftists have called for reassessing Chinese modernity by calling upon the Party-state to live up to its name as the vanguard of China's working class, resist the global capitalist onslaught, and address the mounting social problems—such as class inequality, collapse of welfare, healthcare and education regimes—that are the consequences of Chinese market socialism. Wang Hui (2003)'s attack on state manipulation and interference in the so-called free market and his plea for economic and social justice on behalf of the disenfranchised and victims of the violence of China's neoliberalism is an example.

China's economic reform builds upon efficiency, profit and GDP growth, with capital and marketization as the magic carpet to fast track its economic goals, often at the cost environment, social security, ethics and human rights. Not only has efficiency replaced equity in productivity but also taken over accountability in governance. Traditional disparaging attitude toward peasants, laborers and manual workers resurged in post-Mao China, just as the utopian to build an egalitarian socialist society vanished in the onslaught of the state-engineered economic reforms modeled on liberal and neoliberal logics. Haiping's lament over her sharing a building with laborers and laid-off workers is telling of the elitist attitude toward the urban poor. Even the communist party itself has consciously moved away from its original image as a vanguard revolutionary party of the working class and redefined itself as a nationalistic, all-people party that represents advanced cultural and productive forces, that is, those of new social strata of private entrepreneurs, managers and professionals.

The neoliberal developmentalism has created a pyramid social structure in China, with the political and economic elite on the top, an underdeveloped professional class in the middle, and the rest of the 80% of Chinese population at the bottom of the society (He 2000). Contrary to the willing expectation that Chinese newly emerged middle class would function as a positive social force to promote the rule of law, members of this vulnerable class are at best in the forefront to promote their class interest, rather than standing beside and behind the vast strata of Chinese working class to promote liberalization and democratization of Chinese society. The so-called

“Chinese public”—the media and intellectuals—belong to this vulnerable emerging urban middle class. They are willing and able to rally around an individual victim of their class (such as Sun Zhigang), but limited in their call for freedom. Nor are they ready to breach over class barriers to discuss the rights of the urban poor (as such the Li family in *Dwelling Narrowness*) or defend the rights of the laid-off workers, migrant workers, and peasants. They side with the political elite that broadening political participation or freedom will lead to economic instability. Some of them have stood up to speak for the interests of the disadvantaged groups and classes; they have started to fight for cleaner, greener and safer living conditions. But such efforts are limited scope, and there is a lack of class alliance among the working class, the urban middle class, and the economic, intellectual and political elites.

This is the paradox in neoliberalism, or rather “disingenuous neoliberalism” in China: a passion for intervention in the name of nonintervention, all in the name of “serving the people” under the rubric of “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” The market is not all free. It dances with the magic wands of both global capitalism and Chinese authoritarian state. The television drama *Dwelling Narrowness* is produced at both the market demand and the logic of political economy of Chinese media industry. It is distributed at both a highly controlled channel (state television stations) and a freer space of the Internet. Pulling the drama off air cannot stop the ripples it triggers off in the popular media and the new media. The “ripples,” however, falls short at forming waves that would bring structural changes to China. Although some have discussed the increasing gap between rhetoric (socialist ideal of equality in wealth distribution etc) and realization (restoring elite class power and re-constructing class dominance without using the term “class”) in Chinese neoliberal development, few have called for keeping neoliberalism in check or questioned its disingenuous applications in China. The very few voices are either silenced or kept absence in mainstream media and websites, as exemplified by the Lang Xianping storm (see Zhao 2008, chapter 6).

As analyzed earlier, Chinese state manipulation and interference in the media market has seen the party-state media marketized but not weakened, media control decentralized but not reduced, and media industry commercialized but not privatized. In the wider ecosystem of Chinese media, a “power, money and knowledge regime” known as “iron triangle alliance” has emerged in implementing neoliberal

developmentalism in China. The communist party understands its own self-contradictions when it talks like a communist to keep political legitimacy but acts like a capitalist to gain economic power. Its call for building a harmonious society is an attempt to neutralize the contradictions and conflicts and to address power challenges from both the right and left sides of the society (Hong 2010). When compromise has to be made, the less costly strategy is to side with neoliberals and sacrifice the interests of the working class quietly. This is the hidden logic of pulling the television drama off air at Beijing TV and stopping any rerun of the show at Shanghai TV despite high audience rate and popular demand. After all, business interest of the broadcaster and its business partners needs to be protected (as in the Beijing case). More importantly, the political imperative to maintain social stability eventually triumphs over any open discussion of the contradictions in China's neoliberal urban development (as in the Shanghai case). The following passage by Yuezhi Zhao is useful to summarize the above discussion in a nutshell:

In short, political control, the inherent biases of a market-driven media system, the limits of journalistic professionalism, and changed dynamics of intersection between domestic- and international-media political economy and culture have prevented both domestic and transnational media from serving as effective vehicles of popular expression and communication across different social groups in post-1989 China. ... The urban middle class may dislike the party and harbor more liberal views, but its members are allying themselves with the pro-market faction of the party in marginalizing the voices of both the radical Left and Right, while mediating the voices of other social groups in the name of building a strong and powerful China (Zhao 2005, 74-75).

As discussed earlier, neoliberalism is not only a type of economic policy but also a type of governmentality, a cultural structure, a set of particular attitudes toward individual responsibility, entrepreneurship and self-improvement. In China, the neoliberal governance and attitude toward individuals are established through a set of discourses, including that of *suzhi* —roughly translated as “quality” in English. From birth control policy to education rhetoric, from the tradition of cultivating embodied qualities to contemporary eagerness for survival in a competitive society, the *suzhi* discourse is pervasive in Chinese society. It reifies hierarchical/class differences, as

Kipnis points out, “Reference to *suzhi* justifies social and political hierarchies of all sorts with those of ‘high’ quality gaining more income, power and status than the ‘low’” (Kipnis 2006, 186).

As the elitist *suzhi* discourse is naturalized as part of the popular discourse, it also becomes incorporated in the neoliberal discourse. As Ann Anagnost’s study suggests, *suzhi*/quality is “the quintessential expression of how subjects are set up for the rational choice making that grounds China’s capitalist transformation (Anagnost 2004: 192). The anxiety generated by the increasingly competitive society is apparent in the urban middle-class parents who invest heavily in their only child’s education so the only child can outcompete other kids in college entrance exams and securing a job in the city. To get high *suzhi* through education is the only way for migrant workers and their children to find themselves in a short cut to their material and urban dreams. The Guo sisters in the television drama came from a little town in the province. Their aspiration to stay in the metropolis is realized through education. It is not a nationalistic discourse of *suzhi*, but purely individualistic and survival strategy for the would-be middle class aspirants.

Inherent in the *suzhi* discourse is the neoliberal logic of autonomy, choice, self-improvement and entrepreneurship. All characters in *Dwelling Narrowness* have internalized the *suzhi* discourse as a self-governing and self-disciplinary technology in postsocialist China. It may not be linked with the Maoist era norms and values of obtaining high *suzhi* in order to better serve the country. Lisa Hoffman (2006) examines how neoliberal techniques of governing in China is linked up with Maoist era norms and values of serving the country to produce the new professional, self-enterprising subject, who “harbour neoliberal ideas of self-development as well as late-socialist patriotism” (562). She argues that the replacement of job assignments with job fairs for college students upon graduation is an example of choice as a form of government: “choice and autonomy are *a part of* the governing and subject formation processes” (553). This technique of governing through freedom of choice, or intervention through non-intervention, subjectification through autonomy, is a neoliberal technique of governance.

The Guo sisters made the choice to come to the big city to study in order to stay there.

They did not fare well in the beginning as they struggled for survival single-handedly. The *suzhi* discourse turned on its head, as the Guo sisters and their associates—all with high *suzhi*—find themselves trapped in the urban environment as mortgage slaves, mistresses, or “ant tribe.”⁸ While people without high *suzhi* in the traditional sense like Furong jiejie (Hibiscus Sister), have made it as “cyberlabrities,” personae on the Internet who are “better known by their pseudonymic handle than by their given name” (Senft 2000, 191), simply because they have a good sense of marketing strategies in the era of Web 2.0 and a shamelessly enflamed ego (for Chinese cyberlabrities see Lugg 2008). This is the antithesis of *suzhi* discourse unintended by conservatives and morality defenders.

Furthermore, the *suzhi* discourse is incorporated into the neoliberal governance through the “blame the victim” logic. The migrant workers in cities are blamed for their lack of *suzhi*, just as local cadres blames peasants in the poor rural areas for their low *suzhi*. Poverty and marginalization are attributed to personal failure in educational attainment and to individual lack of competitive strength in the market economy. This kind of logic is not just applicable to migrant workers or peasants, but also to the less competitive among the aspiring middle class. In the television drama for example, Haiping blames her husband Su Chun for lack of ability to make big money. In online discussions, Xiaobei (Haizhao’s boyfriend) is blamed for lack of competition with Song Siming, the powerful official, in the sexual power game. *Dwelling Narrowness* tells us that there is no exception to the pitfalls of China’s neoliberal urbanization and all is confined in subsistence-based moral-economy claims.

The above discussion that is derived from the television drama *Dwelling Narrowness* indicates that neoliberalism is unevenly and selectively applied in economic, cultural and political spheres in contemporary China. It is a synthesized alternative to both the Maoist socialist model and the Euro-American neoliberal developmental model. Its “disingenuousness” in the Chinese context, demonstrated through the production, distribution and circulation of the television drama, suggests that the alternative

⁸ “Ant tribe” (*yizhu*) is a term coined by Chinese sociologists to describe young (post-’80s generation), educated (with university degrees) migrants from rural China, who struggle to stay in big cities for their dreams of a better life, with low-paying jobs and poor living conditions (often on the city outskirts in shared living compounds). See Chen and Li (2010).

model of Chinese development rests on experimentation and combination of unconventional institutional innovations with some elements drawn from the neoliberal recipe that has been tested elsewhere. There is a mixture of neoliberal, non-liberal, and anti-liberal elements in governance. To affix a “post” to neoliberalism would both overestimate the neoliberal logic in China’s transformations and underestimate its continued agency in Chinese economic takeoffs.

The above discussion also suggests that *suzhi* discourse and neoliberalism “should be seen as belonging to the same general theoretical category—circulating forms of governmentality each with a range of associated techniques and practices, sometimes sincerely and sometimes disingenuously applied” (Kipnis 2007, 395). As one of the discourses of Chinese disingenuous neoliberalism, *suzhi* is both liberal and non-liberal, neoliberal and anti-neoliberal, hierarchical and authoritarian. As an actually existing neoliberalism and postsocialism, China exemplifies the complexities of contextual embeddedness and incoherence of neoliberal developmentalism. This topic requires more nuanced discussion and calculated debate than the scope of this essay permits. The following extract from David Harvey (2007, 42) has laid the ground for further discussions of neoliberalism, with or without a qualifier (Chinese) or a prefix (post):

The neoliberal emphasis upon individual rights and the increasingly authoritarian use of state power to sustain the system become a flashpoint of contentiousness. The more neoliberalism is recognized as a failed if not disingenuous and utopian project masking the restoration of class power, the more it lays the basis for a resurgence of mass movements voicing egalitarian political demands, seeking economic justice, fair trade, and greater economic security and democratization.

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4 things to help journalism students to take part in the media revolution

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This past summer, I was given an extraordinary opportunity to work on the Vietnam Reporting Project, which is overseen by San Francisco State's Renaissance Journalism Center. The project, funded by the Ford Foundation, sent 15 journalists and students to Vietnam to investigate the lingering effects of Agent Orange, a powerful dioxin-laden herbicide used by American troops during the Vietnam War to clear brush and enemy territory.

As a journalism educator at San Francisco State University, I chose two students based on their work on campus publication and in my reporting and opinion writing classes. One student had been my teaching assistant and the former breaking news editor for the campus newspaper. She had just graduated in May, and she had demonstrated great skills in organizing and editing work. The other student was finishing up an internship at the hyper-local news site, Mission Local. She had proven herself as a strong feature writer and had done several short multimedia projects.

Though neither student owned a video camera or a Mac, I believed that this was the perfect opportunity to help two traditionally trained journalists transform themselves into backpack journalists, defined by journalist and educator Bill Gentile as those who use a "hand-held digital camera to tell stories in a more immediate, more intimate fashion than is achievable using a larger team with camera person, sound person, correspondent and producer. "

We had two months to get ourselves ready to "do it all," and I thought this would be plenty of time to prepare for the work ahead. Our mission was to travel to Ho Chi Minh City, where we would focus on how dioxin, the byproduct in Agent Orange, had caused deformities and disabilities among third-generation Vietnamese people.

So, there were two challenges for the project. One: To report on a very complex and controversial story and gather enough convincing evidence to link Agent Orange to the certain disabilities among third-generation Vietnamese people. Two: To produce a multimedia project and use social media tools to help tell and distribute the stories.

I realize the goals of my project were quite ambitious. None of us spoke Vietnamese. None of us had ever been to Vietnam. And we had very limited multimedia skills. My students had never used Twitter, for example. Yet I remained optimistic because they

were young at 21 and 22. They also had worked under deadline pressure to produce a wide variety of features and breaking news. They also came from very different backgrounds. One is from Germany and the other is Iranian American. Diversity, I thought, was key in telling a story about people from a different country and culture.

To meet the goal of reporting an in-depth project, I asked the students at the beginning of the summer to read books, watch movies and survey as many articles as time allowed. Our 10-day trip was scheduled late in the summer, so I thought we would have ample time to grasp a basic understanding of the relationship between dioxin and deformities in Vietnam.

To meet the goal of creating a multimedia project, I asked each student to acquire skills necessary to produce a student-quality multimedia project. Both students expressed excitement about using video cameras. One had some basic experience with Final Cut; the other had experience with iMovie. I asked both students to use Final Cut Express, an application we were able to get for free from the journalism department.

Being a novice myself, I began taking classes in basic photo and video production and screenwriting. I also asked a number of leading multimedia and video instructors to hold informal workshops with the students.

I was able to set up many workshops, introduce new applications and get decent equipment. I was able to supply each student with a Canon FS200 video camera and a Flip-style camera. For one student, I helped her to buy a new Mac. I bought a Canon Rebel Xti from a former journalism student, which I intended to use at times when the local photographer was not available.

To distribute the story, I secured a deal with the San Francisco Chronicle and SF Gate to run a blog from Vietnam, and then publish the best student work after we got back from Vietnam. The blog was titled: Next Generation iview: Stories from Vietnam. The intent was to publish blog entries before and during our time in Vietnam.

The trip to Vietnam was indeed amazing and inspirational. But we did not capture and publish as much video and photography as I expected. We also were not able to establish the link between Agent Orange and many of the disabilities among the people we interviewed in Vietnam. Part of the reason, I believe, is that we were overwhelmed by the stark poverty and challenges many people face in Vietnam. Perhaps Vietnam is a project you must do in trips. Having said that, I have to applaud the students for working tirelessly to make sense of what they had seen. I am proud of their effort and excitement about Vietnam.

So, my belief is that the challenges I faced as an educator and an editor stems not from the lack of effort by students, but by the failure to properly research the issues and prepare for multimedia work. I think that the students and I would have been more successful had they used social media to acquire many contacts before going to Vietnam. I also think that they should have used the video equipment much more before going.

Now, that seems easy to say in retrospect. But I do want to point out that the problem I discovered in Vietnam came because students did not think using social media or even capturing stories in a form beyond words did not matter to them. Why they thought this probably has to do with what I and many other educators have been emphasizing in the classroom, which is to focus on the grammar, news judgment, AP style and structure of written stories. Writing students in our program, in fact, can graduate without taking a photo class, for example. They can choose to take a class called Visual Storytelling, which will allow them avoid buying a D-SLR camera. Neither student had such a camera at the beginning of the summer and neither purchased one by the end. Neither owned a Mac, which meant they could not operate Final Cut Express. And neither would have bought a Mac had they not been offered financial assistance.

By the end of the summer, I realized that my assumption about a young person's ease and desire in using social media was wrong. Students need a lot more training in social media and technology so that they can take part in what I call the media revolution. Readers and consumers are choosing how to receive news more than ever. They are also taking part in how news is sent. As a result, we need to think about how to convey the importance of technology, social media and multimedia storytelling techniques in every classroom.

Here are my five top lessons for teaching journalism students more about social media and technology:

1. Introduce the use of social media tools at the very beginning of their journalism education. Require the use of Twitter, Facebook, Digg and other sites that are useful to journalists. My sense is that students who are close to graduation have become convinced that such sites are nothing more than a popularity contest. And they don't need them. I have tried to explain that these sites are increasingly effective ways of engaging community and building credibility. But it is clear to me after Vietnam that students who have been trained in traditional methods of journalism are less than convinced. Indeed, my students never used Twitter to build contacts or find out what their competitors were doing on the same subject. Together, two students posted less than five tweets during the entire summer. Only one student used Facebook occasionally to tell her friends about a story she wrote. Neither student used Facebook to share links to other stories on Agent Orange.
2. Require writing students to take photo and video classes or workshops at the beginning of their journalism education – and throughout their education. UC Berkeley currently requires every new journalism student to go through a one-week multimedia boot camp before they start classes. This is a terrific idea, and one that I am trying to figure out how to incorporate into my classes, and eventually into our program. My own experience in Vietnam reminds me why I have to work harder to enforce these basic concepts. This summer, I watched one student try to capture video in Vietnam with no tripod. The video was just too shaky to use for an extended period. She also ran into the problem of her new external drive not communicating with her new laptop. She was unable to store

video, which is among the reasons why we did not take more footage while in Vietnam. Another problem I detected while in Vietnam was there was too much reliance on the video to take notes. So, what happened is during an event or interview, students were allowing the camera to do the very important job of listening, and asking follow-up questions. Students went back to the hotel room where they asked the interpreter to translate what they had already heard her translate. So, a story that should have taken a few hours ended up taking a night. Once I determined that this was happening, and not an effective use of time, I simply asked the students to focus on written stories. This was a disappointment for me because I had really hoped to tell most of our stories in a multimedia platform.

3. Encourage students to write more frequently for a blog or their own blog. This will help students feel ownership in the stories they produce as they receive feedback from fellow writers and readers. My biggest challenge in the blogging arena was convincing students that they needed to go beyond personal feelings to incorporate investigation and research.
4. Encourage out-of-the-box thinking and creativity. Though we should never forget the basic tenets of fairness and accuracy, we ought to encourage young journalists to present stories beyond the hard-news lead, or even the magazine lead. Music. Sound. Visuals. Photos. Video. People. There are so many elements that make for a great story. And yet I feel that we get too caught up in the perception of what journalism ought to be that we don't allow ourselves to explore what a story can be.

Maintaining Integrity while Presenting Deception
Playing with Reality in the Media Mainstream

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Description:

An Alternate Reality Game (ARG) is an interactive, cross-media narrative with outcomes that can be influenced by participants' actions. As a unique immersive tactic, ARG's are most notable for disguising their status as games, thereby deliberately blurring the line between reality and fiction. In the last decade, ARG's have flourished to become an established game genre with several media organisations experimenting with the form. But their popularity raises questions, particularly: how can such deliberately deceptive content be successfully presented by reputable media outlets who seek to maintain the trust and loyalty of their audience?

Bluebird AR, was an ARG created and delivered by Australia's national broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). Presented across a range of online spaces in 2010, Bluebird AR's fictional story was set around the actual controversies of climate change and geo-engineering, provoking a discussion among international audience participants of how best to address humanity's impact on the planet. Within the ABC, the Bluebird AR project provoked distinct policy deliberations and editorial concerns, compelling the organisation to develop new strategies to ensure that the immersive experience did not betray the organisations integrity, its core values, or its interests.

This paper reveals how the ABC delivered and adapted Bluebird AR to remain within the organisations strict policy and ethical frameworks. Discussing the lessons learnt through delivering Bluebird AR, this paper also considers how future illusory experiences might be successfully presented by mainstream media organisations while balancing factual integrity and audience immersion in a lawful and ethical manner.

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Introduction

This paper describes how Australia's national broadcaster: the Australian Broadcasting Corporation developed and delivered its own Alternate Reality Project: *Bluebird AR*. This fictional interactive narrative was presented across a range of online spaces in 2010, and was set around the actual controversies of climate change and geo-engineering. The projects aim was to provoke discussion among Australian and international audience participants of how best to address humanity's impact on the planet. The projects conception within the ABC provoked distinctive policy deliberations and editorial concerns, compelling the organisation to develop new strategies to ensure that the immersive experience did not betray the organisations integrity, its core values, or its interests. This paper discusses those developments under the headings of: Immersion, Interaction and Moderation and also considers the Promotion and Adaptation of *Bluebird AR* during its final delivery stage. But to begin, further introduction, elaboration and clarification of the ambiguous field of Alternate Reality Games is required, and is presented here by way of a journalistic description.

“On your way to work, you encounter what looks to be a demonstration. People dressed in white dust suits and gas masks give out fliers. A young woman hands you one. It reads: Stop Bluebird. Is this the same Bluebird that appeared in a slick television advertisement after the national news last night?”

When you arrive at work, you search the words “Stop Bluebird” online and discover a video of a young scientist claiming that his former employers are about to launch a dangerous and untested geo thermal solution. But what is this solution – what are the dangers, and who or what is Bluebird? Welcome to the the Alternate Reality of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's Bluebird AR.”

From their recent beginnings in 2000 as a small but enthusiastic grass roots sub genre, over the last decade Alternate Reality Games have become a major international transmedia phenomenon. Perhaps even more notable today are the spectacular ambitions that ARG's now aspire to. While once exclusively driven by player immersion and entertainment, ARG designers now seek to construct games that, as well as providing satisfying immersive experiences, also tackle real world issues including oil depletion, world peace and climate change. Epic narratives of saving the world from the problems of humanity's own making are certainly not exclusive to Alternate Reality Games. Hollywood cinema and mainstream television attest to this central place of this theme in the popular ideology of today. Such heroic idealism has bled out of our screens and into reality with all levels of society taking an interest in how we as humans might survive ourselves. It is within this context that the Australian Broadcasting Corporations' Innovation Division commenced production on their own Alternate Reality Narrative: *Bluebird AR*.

Development

The ABC seeks to present excellent entertainment programming. However, the corporation also places a high priority on producing content that informs the community and that provokes interest and discussion. From the outset, *Bluebird AR* aimed to address the emerging issue of geoengineering: the deliberate and grand scale manipulation of the earth's natural balance to counteract the effects of global warming. As a sub theme, philanthrocapitalism was introduced as it had begun to receive increasing attention due to the interest of Bill Gates, Larry Page, Sergey Brin, Richard Branson and others. Philanthrocapitalism describes the activity growing in popularity among the mega rich in which business and management concepts borrowed from venture finance are applied to philanthropic goals.

So for *Bluebird AR*, even at this early stage, two challenges loomed large: How to create an entertaining, engaging and informative experience that involved the unwieldy concepts of philanthrocapitalism and geoengineering. It was anticipated that by framing these issues within an the research intense mystery solving context of an Alternate Reality Game, audiences would come to understand these terms. This in turn put the focus on exploring and understanding the mechanics of Alternate Reality Games, a game genre that is difficult to define at best, and one with tropes that were not wholly understood by many working at the ABC itself, let alone by the audience it hoped to engage. So over several weeks, the ABC's Innovation producers embraced and experimented with conventions of ARGs, combining them with more traditional online formats, finally drafting a project proposal for an interactive drama mystery, set in an Alternate Reality. The main story of the now titled "*Bluebird AR*" concerned a young whistle blower scientist; Kyle Vandercamp, who attempts to garner support against his former employers, a pair of wealthy business men endeavouring to unilaterally save the planet from climate change, through a dangerously unproved geoengineering solution. With this story idea in place and the basic levels of interaction sketched out, the production team now considered how the narrative might best be distributed across the internet in a manner in which players could uncover it. Players, it was hoped, would follow the trail of clues to uncover the fictional narrative, research the concepts and observe the real world parallels, submitting their own thoughts, ideas and conclusions to a variety of sites along the way. At this crucial point in the process, numerous issues surfaced, under the three main headings of immersion, interaction, moderation, which will be explored below in detail.

Immersion – How to manage audience perception of *Bluebird AR*'s "reality" and how to transmit instructions for interaction within that world?

The most risky aspect of ARG's is, not surprisingly, also their greatest appeal: they actively deny their status as fiction. This rhetoric of disavowal is labelled within the ARG community as 'TINAG' - Acronym for: This Is Not A Game. The codified implication is that while the game is presented as reality, people encountering it will, after a certain degree of investigation, uncover its fictionality for themselves, but that regardless, that they should interact with the game: "As though it were Real". This particular order of participation in a fictive world is well documented within the genre of Alternate Reality Games and is referred to as "Performance of Belief". However, it could not be assumed that ABC audience members would be aware of the unique nature of Performance of Belief. Similar reckless assumptions by broadcasters had led to the famous invasion panic that broke out following the presentation of Orson Welles *War of the*

Worlds radio play in 1938. While today's diverse media environment and relatively stable international affairs contrast dramatically with the prewar tension and monopoly of radio in the mid 1930s in which the CBS broadcast took place, it would be foolish for any broadcaster not to have learnt from this precedent.

Furthermore, while set in an Alternate Reality, *BluebirdsAR's* narrative mirrored the actual world very closely. Based in the present, taking place live and real time over a six week period and using up-to-date and accurate scientific research, it was indeed, a believable reality. Therefore, and to ensure against any ontological uncertainty, however unlikely, the decision was made to openly disclose *Bluebird AR's* fictionality and gamic nature – at least within the ABC hosted areas. Social networking sites in contrast would not disclaim the fictionality – but would direct users to ABC sites where the fictionality was revealed. Editorially the ABC had to do this to minimise the risk of being seen as deceptive or misleading. While a dramatic compromise, it was a necessary one, but it also allowed the ABC to operate safely and ethically.

Interaction – How and where to distribute the narrative online so that it could be discovered and pieced together by players, allowing them to contribute their own thoughts along the way?

When planning interactive narratives, audience engagement is often divided into three types. The broadest audience is anticipated as being the least engaged, typically watching the drama unfold without participating. A smaller number are expected to both watch and participate in some, but not all, of the tasks and activities. Finally, it's expected that the smallest percentage of the audience will watch, interact and play intensely. With limited production resources, and as a first effort at establishing an Alternate Reality drama production, the producers made a conscious decision to focus on the latter two parts of the audience, which was to some extent at the expense of a purely viewing audience. However, for those with the time resources and inclination, the project offered a deep level of engagement and educational experience.

During the planning stage, it was impossible to anticipate the ideal quantity and delivery of game events and activities. The audience's interest, how quickly they would solve particular clues and therefore how much content would be required overall, could only be guessed at. Therefore, additional tasks were created in anticipation of users solving too much too quickly. Likewise shortcuts and extra clues were devised to hurry the game along should it drag and lose pace. Varying degrees of difficulty and game play were implemented to cater to different kinds of players. Predicting that, for example, some players would savour visual puzzles, others would prefer hunting for password clues, yet others would enjoy researching issues raised in the story, and many would wait for clues to be unlocked so they could try and piece the story together, the producers created multifarious tasks and challenges for a varied player base.

Although the game was to be presented across multiple online spaces, to ensure a unity of playership and to afford the producers the ability to observe, steer and cater to player interaction, the primary area of play activity would be the Dashboard Collective. This ABC constructed virtual space presented multiple opportunities for users to contribute content, solve puzzles and communicate with fellow players and game characters alike. It was a central location for collating clues, tasks and story information for the audience. The Dashboard Collective was ostensibly managed by in-game character and journalist filmmaker Juanita Monte, but was actually managed by Innovation producers and ABC moderation staff.

Moderation – How to ensure that all content submitted by players across the greater web was suitable and appropriate and a broader ABC audience?

Prior to *Bluebird AR*'s delivery, and in keeping with the ABC's Editorial Policies, all content submitted to ABC areas by audiences needed to be viewed and moderated. Moderation ensures that all audience contributions are appropriate to the broader ABC demographic and is maintained by filtering out any contributions deemed to be extreme or inappropriate. This standard ABC procedure took on new dimensions when applied to the multiple interfaces of an Alternate Reality narrative. This hastened the implementation of new procedure allowing the corporation to deal with large moderation loads, the idiosyncrasies unique to both the *Bluebird AR* narrative and more generally to the Alternate Reality genre. Specifically, a practice known as "Reactive Moderation" whose introduction had been contemplated for some time by editorial staff, was introduced. This meant that rather than ABC staff overseeing and approving all posts, during busy times, staff would only react to the audience flagging content as inappropriate. In this respect, the audience themselves take on the responsibility of policing the spaces in which they interact, as occurs with many social networking sites.

Likewise, *BluebirdAR* aimed to employ a raft of such sites including as Youtube, Flickr Facebook and Current TV, but the question soon surfaced: should specifically ABC moderation policies also apply in these spaces? Officially, the ABC presumes that responsibility for moderation on third party sites lies with the third party site itself. However, in some circumstances it is recognised that the ABC may need to intervene and manage content that is particularly derogatory or offensive. Yet the case of *Bluebird AR* was unique in that the ABC material it presented on these spaces, was not labeled as ABC material. It was ultimately decided that moderators should take a flexible approach to when and how to intervene with the content on social networking sites. Each case should be sensitive to the expectations, customs and conventions of existing communities within third party sites, as well as to the ABC's need to maintain its own reputation as an innovator with integrity.

As ABC moderators would oversee the comments and actions of players, they were also in a position to observe players perceptions regarding the narratives fictionality, and would be able to police levels of immersion. Should it appear that players were panicking, fearing the the story was real, moderators could direct said audience members to spaces where the story's fictionality was revealed, but only if deemed absolutely necessary. Participation in this game both assumed and encouraged a moderate level of ontological and Internet literacy on the part of audience. That is to say the audience was granted as possessing the critical ability to either quickly recognise the story's fiction, or, if not, to question and investigate the story's truth for themselves. To blatantly point out the fiction would greatly diminish the narrative's effect, thereby reducing the opportunity of audiences to both inform and immerse themselves.

Delivery

With these production issues resolved and with the huge amount of narrative content including character videos, faux-documentaries, puzzles, photos, clues, and other media created, the producers and marketing team now worked towards *BluebirdAR*'s delivery through promotion, then launch and adaptation. And again new issues and opportunities arose.

Promotion

The ABC is not synonymous with advertising campaigns. Far from it. The Corporation has strict regulations regarding the advertising and promotion of all content, products and services including its own. As a result, and in order to maintain the trust placed in it from its audience,

the ABC tends to be an understated advertiser. Given the organisations diminished presence in this domain, it undertook an ambitiously complex interplay of publicity strategies to build an awareness of *Bluebird AR* and its gamic nature. Taking place both in and out of game, the messages were carefully designed and tapered to ensure clarity of intent.

To entice the public's involvement in the lead-up, an out-of-game campaign engaged traditional marketing and publicity techniques such as television promotions, media releases, interviews with the project producers, and newspaper editorial pieces nationwide. *Bluebird AR* had support from ABC Radio National and during Bluebird's live phase various radio programs aired features on geoen지니어ing. Much of this out-of-game marketing was designed as an information campaign seeking to explicate the project's Alternate Reality possibilities but also to clarify its status as fiction. Marketing staff worked to explain the interactive nature of the narrative and the science behind the fiction. Pitching *Bluebird AR* to journalists posed a substantial challenge. With little precursor of what ARG was, of how *Bluebird AR* was to be different and of how it would actually work, while remaining tight lipped about details of the mystery about to unfold, meant that reporting on *Bluebird AR* was a challenge for even the most sympathetic and astute journalist.

Pitching *Bluebird AR* to the broader international ARG community was much easier. ARG groups in Europe and the US were sent packages containing in-game clues including a security pass belonging to the protagonist, a usb stick containing information on the Bluebird organisation and a hand written call-to-action. Within this community, these objects were immediately recognised for what they were: a "rabbit hole" or pathway into a game. The community responded accordingly. Two German gamers posted a youtube video in which they analysed the clues and invited more players to get involved. The Unfiction Forum: an US based ARG discussion group provoked intense player interest. Online game clues were searched for, uncovered and forensically scrutinised beyond the expectation of ABC producers. For example: in one character's flickr account, an accidentally misspelt image label was interpreted by players as an important clue.

Back in Australia, in-game campaigns were launched on April 27th alongside and interwoven with the game narrative. The primary purpose of these messages was to drive the audience to various character web sites and 'game' spaces within *Bluebird AR* and immerse them in the story. These in-game campaigns took the form of protests against the Bluebird organisation, and were led by game characters themselves. Campaigns crossed over into the physical world as protestors in white bio hazard suits and gas masks holding large Stop Bluebird placards and handing out stickers and fliers took to the streets of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. Stop Bluebird banner ads urging the public to jump on board appeared on websites such as the UK's Guardian website, and the ABC's own web page. In the first week alone, the games ABC hosted sites registered 30,000 hits.

Adaptation

Maintaining the proximity of *BluebirdAR*'s reality to actual reality and thereby underscoring the story's relevance and significance was an ongoing task. The production team needed to be highly informed and responsive in both the lead up and during the projects delivery and an unanticipated level of flexibility was required to react to both real world events and audience participation. But the main problem was not of keeping the fiction close to the reality, but to prevent the two from entirely overlapping. Even during the 18 months leading up to the launch, debate and discussion around geoen지니어ing had escalated, and was receiving significantly

more media coverage. In the prelaunch period, renowned billionaires Bill Gates and Nathan Myhrvold began taking an keen interest in geoengineering. In the weeks before the games launch, Iceland's volcano erupted spewing ash and sulphate into the atmosphere naturally mirroring the effect that was being artificially proposed in the narrative. In the launch week, flights across Europe were grounded and many newspapers reported on the volcano's effect as having a positive outcomes against global warming.

The production team watched intently considering ways in which to incorporate these events into the *Bluebird AR* story. But as the real world and the game world grew ever closer, it was also key to maintain a balance; and a transparency, to ensure that the project did not appear too real, creating a “War Of The Worlds” like panic.

However within the first week, the consensus across the games most reactive gameboard: that of Twitter, was clear: the protagonist Kyle Vandercamp was a fictional character within the ABC's experimental game; *Bluebird AR*. This spoiler debunk was retweeted repeatedly. While a few people expressed distress at the ABC's wilful deception, the predominant sentiment was disappointment that the game had so openly revealed its fictionality. The audience was upset that the game was not more deceptive and in turn more believable. In response, the production team decided that the character of Kyle Vandercamp should sent out a tweet denying his fictionality. This contradiction in messages created a feedback loop as while the evidence against this statement was overwhelming, the denial was enough of a wink for many in the audience to recognise the nature of the interaction being invited; to participate in the narrative “as if” it were real.

By the second week and into the third, several participants were not only playing along with the narrative as though it were real, but were were actually contributing to the story's verisimilitude by uploading content that enforced the fictional narrative. Photos emerged of supposed in-game events that had not been created by the ABC. One industrious participant submitted an image of a “Stop Bluebird” banner being hung over the Sydney Opera House. This created an peculiar situation in which the ABC staff themselves briefly lost sight of the line separating the games reality from fiction. Staff questioned eachother over who had made the image and wondered if a players had themselves created it either in Photoshop or by actually scaling the Sydney icon, a possibility which raised yet new concerns. Eventually Greenpeace approached the ABC requesting that the image be taken of the website as it was adapted form one of their own interventions at the Sydney Opera House. The event was one of several in which the line between reality and fiction became blurred for the producers as well as the audience.

In-game communication predominantly revolved around participation in the story: what clues meant? how to crack passwords revealing new clues? what were characters motivations? At a deeper level, an in-depth discussion of philanthrocapitalism and the pros and cons of geoengineering solutions were heavily researched and evenly debated. In additional, several robust meta game discussions broke out in which the game itself, the extent and nature of its fiction, and the project within the broader field of Alternate Reality Games and even the role ABC were addressed. While the story and interaction continued, it was in this manufactured town-square context that *Bluebird AR* achieved its goal. That of raising awareness and facilitating discussion of the subjects of philanthrocapitalism, geoengineering and Alternate Reality Gaming.

Conclusion

Ultimately there was no insurmountable challenges in creating and presenting the game. The

difficulty was balancing the manifold mechanics of the game's distributed narrative, the uncertainty of the parameters of its fiction, and the perceptions of the audience to both these factors. Encouragingly, both the ABC's legal and managerial staff and the organisations audience, showed flexibility in accepting and adapting to the many challenges that the game posed. It is hoped that in future projects, as literacy of Alternate Reality Gaming grows, the prerequisite guidelines to ensure against the confusion of reality and fiction can be either build more subtly into the game narrative, or discarded altogether, thereby enlivening the immersive experience. That said, were audiences to become entirely literate to the uncertain realities of such experiences, then these experiences would loose their risk , and surely in turn, their critical appeal.

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**Product Placement in Sitcom Drama as the Challenged Marketing
Communication Tools: A Case Study of "Pen Tor" Thailand**

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Abstract

Nowadays, product placement became one of marketing communication tools which was increasingly popular in Thailand especially in sitcom drama. There were several forms such as set and prop in sitcom, characters' holding and touching product or actors in each scene, or embedding product placement in sitcom script. The objective of this study was to study effects of product placement on brand recognition in sitcom drama "Pen Tor" which was broadcast more than 7 years, which was one of the most favorable sitcoms and which was the pioneer using product placement. Questionnaires were used to collect the data from 600 samples who were the target of this sitcom drama. There were 38 brands of product and service displayed as the product placement in sitcom drama "Pen Tor". The samples had to choose 38 brands of products and services and each one had three choices of the same types but different brands and to consider which brands had displayed in sitcom drama "Pen Tor".

The findings found that the samples could identify a few brands which were well-known in the market such as Honda, Coca Cola, BRAND'S Essence of Chicken, Singha and Thai Insurance. Consequently, marketing communication via product placement might not be suitable for launching new product because their advertising costs were too high but their results were not. Product placement should be only as the role of supporting more than being the major way of marketing communication for launching new product in the market.

Background and Significance of the study

In Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome, advertisement has occurred for the first time. In those periods, promulgation is used for advertising which is considered as the first form of advertisement. Later, engraving, writing and signboard are on the wall at public places and in front of shops. When printer is invented, many forms of advertisement such as newspaper, handbill and poster are widely used. Advertisement is developed continually because the growth of population, transportation, industry and new invention. Moreover, advertising agency has set up.

In Thailand, advertisement starts around Ratanakosin period by H.R.H. Prince Burachat Chaiyakorn, who is known as the "Father of Advertising in Thailand". H.R.H. Prince Burachat Chaiyakorn has adapted the pattern of British Railways' advertisement into State Railway of Thailand and other organizations successfully. Consequently, H.R.H. Prince Burachat Chaiyakorn has established the local advertising agency as Siam Advertising Co., Ltd. because he believes about the usefulness of advertising; moreover, Nai Lert is also the first advertisement of Siam Advertising Co., Ltd. Therefore, Siam Advertising Co., Ltd can be acclaimed as the sign of the prosperity of advertising in this period because many people are interested

in advertising business broadly. However, Thai Advertising is interrupted by the Second World War. After that, Thai Advertising is gradually developed once again. (The Advertising Association of Thailand, 2004)

Nowadays, advertising is one of the five important marketing communication tools which are in marketing process. (Kotler & Armstrong, 2004) Accordingly, consumers can watch numerous advertisements on many kinds of media. Particularly, television the most famous media for advertising costs highly in advertising. In the present, many advertisements are on television, so consumers are not any more excited with those advertisements. Moreover, consumers can choose to watch any channel they want through their remote control. Consumers are bored with the same old advertisement; thus, advertisers have to create their advertisement to be more interesting and tactfully. In doing so, these advertisements can make consumers feel more comfortable to watch, and they can remember brands of products through these various advertisements.

According to the high competition of advertising market these days, consumers can watch many advertisements from many media. Consumers are sometimes confused, bored and annoyed with these advertisements; therefore, consumers avoid receiving any information from advertisements in many ways, for instance, they do not read and they skip those advertisement pages. Otherwise, consumer will change to watch or listen something else when advertisements are on their radio and television. Because of these circumstances, advertisers are worry about the effectiveness of these kinds of advertisement might be reduced. For that reason, it is necessary for advertiser to searching for new form or new trend for advertisement which is the tool that can send a message repeated several times. (Seri Wongmontha, 1997) Accordingly, ads placement arises. Ads placement is the form of advertisement that brand of goods and services are placed on television such as soap opera, television show or movie. It is for making consumers watching and remembering goods and services unconsciously. This strategy of advertisement may increase more circulation of goods and services which are employed product placement in movie or soap opera.

At the present time, the form of ads placement which is widely used is "Product Placement" which starts with placing products on scenery such as graphics, billboards and product's logo in final list. Loose spot is also a kind of product placement. Not only placement on various objects such as scene shop, restaurant, bus stop but also placement on person, for instance, characters that wear logo t-shirt were another kind of product placement. In addition, brands and products are producer themselves, which is also a product placement.

These forms of product offering and service on media are the reflection of the distinguish intention of advertisers. For doing this, advertiser can create advertisement that direct to the target group very neatly. Therefore, these can make consumers do not feel that they are too stimulated and pushed to purchase products. Advertiser also wants consumer to understand and know about the quality of products through these forms of advertisement. Therefore, product placement on television is the value increasing of product, and it is also a good brand contact with consumer. Besides, product placement in television can also specify the character who can use product for instance, which main characters can use or hold products for making good image to

the products. It is the brand positioning as well. While the cost of advertisement each time is not much as usual as television commercial. There is also the final list of product that can emphasize on the brand of each product. The successful product placement is mostly on soap opera which is the natural media to present picture and sound. This has the influences on attracting the attention of consumers and makes consumers to understand and recognize products well especially situation comedy or sitcom comedy that is the presentation of real story and situation through the main characters that can make audience amusement.

In Thailand situation comedy has started since 1991, and the popular one is Sam Num Sam Mum which has already closed nowadays. After that, a lot of situation comedy has been continuing; however, the most popular sitcom comedy is "Pen Tor" which clearly has product placement. Moreover, "Pen Tor" is claimed to be a pioneer of product placement, and it has broadcasted since October 2004 and is the number one everybody knows well. Therefore, numerous owners of products and services are interested in "Pen Tor", and they want to advertise their products and services in a form of product placement. For example, product placement appears on scenery such as minimart, Tor's condo and restaurant in every episode, and some characters use and hold products. That many goods and services have chosen to use marketing communication through the product placement in Pen Tor is the challenging for communication to consumers. It surely has an effect on the achievement of the advertisement of each good and service directly. It may or may not follow the intention. Although it may not effect on purchasing behavior, the owners of goods and services still expect that product placement would result in their brand recognition.

Therefore, researcher aims to study the brand recognition of the target which is working people and university students of Pen Tor, and to examine how many brands the audience can remember and recognize because there are a lot of goods and services that appear in Pen Tor which can reflect the appropriateness of the use of the challenges of this form of marketing communication of products and services that how much they will achieve.

Research Objective

To study effects of product placement on brand recognition in sitcom drama "Pen Tor"

Research Methodology

This is a quantitative research. Questionnaires were the tool to collect the data from 600 samples who were the target of this sitcom drama. The samples have to choose 38 brands of products and services and each one had three choices of the same types but different brands and to consider which brands had displayed in sitcom drama "Pen Tor".

Data Analysis

When data is collected completely, SPSS for Windows is employed to analyze data by descriptive statistics in order to study frequency, percentage, and maximum and minimum value.

Research Result

Table 1: The Percentage of the Samples by Gender

Gender	Number (person)	Percentage
Male	287	47.8
Female	313	52.2
Total	600	100.0

From Table 1 the samples that do the questionnaire are female more than male, which are 313 female (52.2%) and 287 male (47.8%).

Table 2: The Percentage of the Samples on Watching Sitcom Drama “Pen Tor” in a Month

The Frequency of Watching in a Month (Time)	Number (person)	Percentage
1	99	16.5
2	231	38.5
3	167	27.8
4	103	17.2
Total	600	100.0

From Table 2 the samples that do the questionnaire have the watching behavior of sitcom drama “Pen Tor” as following: 2 times a month is the most and about 231 people (38.5 %), 3 times a month is afterward and about 167 people (27.8 %).

Table 3: The Percentage of the Samples from the Watching Behavior of Sitcom Drama “Pen Tor”

Watching Behavior	Number (person)	Percentage
Watching attentively without changing the channel from start to finish	94	15.7
Watching attentively but changing the channel when having ads	257	42.8
Sometimes watching attentively sometimes not	166	27.7
Open while doing other activities without watching attentively.	37	6.2
Watching but not watching until the end in each episode.	46	7.7
Total	600	100.0

From Table 3 the samples have the watching behavior of sitcom drama “Pen Tor” as following: Watching attentively but changing the channel when having ads is the most and about 257 people (42.8 %), Open while doing other activities without watching attentively is the least and about 37 people (6.2 %).

Table 4: The Result of Brand Recognition on Sitcom Drama “Pen Tor”**Table 4.1: Eatable Products**

Products	Number of Correct Answers (Person)	Percentage
Coca Cola	388	64.7
BRAND’S Essence of Chicken	379	63.2
Singha Soda Water	370	61.7
Singha Beer	360	60.0
B-ing	321	53.5
Nescafe	318	52.8
Singha Drinking Water	303	50.5
Fanta	250	41.7
CP Frozen Food	227	37.8
Maggi	218	36.3
BRAND’S Bird’s Nest	217	36.2
Royal Umbrella	213	35.5
Lactasoy Soymilk	209	34.8
Rosa Tomato	209	34.8
Ketchup		
Splash	190	31.7
Brand Veta	183	30.5
Bellvita Biscuits	115	19.2
WaiWai Instant Noodles	115	19.2
Dr.Taco Chip	39	6.5

From Table 4.1 the samples can recognize eatable products’ brands that appear on sitcom drama “Pen Tor” as following: Coca Cola is the most and about 388 people (64.7 %), BRAND’S Essence of Chicken is the second brand and about 379 people (63.2 %), Singha Soda Water is the third brand and about 370 (61.7 %).

In addition, the samples are more than 50% that can recognize brands such as Singha Beer, B-ing, NesCafe and Singha Drinking Water.

Table 4.2 : Usable Products

Products	Number of Correct Answers (Person)	Percentage
Sofy's Maxi Pad	321	53.5
Listerine	306	51.0
Mamy Poko Pants	296	49.3
Bygon	281	46.8
Duck Bathroom Cleaner	183	30.5
Neutrogena	151	25.2
Johnson's Lotion	93	15.5

From Table 4.2 the samples can recognize usable products' brands that appear on sitcom drama "Pen Tor" as following: Sofy's maxi pad is the most and about 321 people (53.5 %), Mamy Poko Pants is afterward and about 296 people (49.3 %). It is clearly that the samples that are less than 50% can recognize usable products' brands.

Table 4.3: Other Products and Services

Products	Number of Correct Answers (Person)	Percentage
Honda Click	392	65.3
Thai Insurance	367	61.2
Sony Notebook	319	53.2
Nokia	316	52.7
Horse Stationery	305	50.8
Honda Civic	285	47.5
Lacoste	271	45.2
True Move	266	44.3
Sony Digital Camera	248	41.3

Sony Television	243	40.5
Her World 's Magazine	150	25.2
Figaro's Magazine	109	18.2

From Table 4.3 the samples can recognize other products and services' brands that appear on sitcom drama "Pen Tor" as following: Honda Click is the most and about 392 people (65.3 %), Thai Insurance is afterward and about 367 people (61.2 %). Then Sony Notebook is later and about 319 people (53.2 %).

In addition, the samples are more than 50% that can recognize brands accurately such as Nokia and Horse Stationery.

Table 4.4: Brands that Samples More Than 50 % Recognize Accurately

No.	Products	Number of Correct Answers (Person)	Percentage
1	Honda Click	392	65.3
2	Coca Cola	388	64.7
3	BRAND'S Essence of Chicken	379	63.2
4	Singha Soda Water	370	61.7
5	Thai Insurance	367	61.2
6	B-ing	321	53.5
7	Sofy's Maxi Pad	321	53.5
8	Sony Notebook	319	53.2
9	Nescafe	318	52.8
10	Nokia	316	52.7
11	Listerine	306	51.0
12	Horse Stationery	305	50.8
13	Singha Drinking Water	303	50.5

From Table 4.4 the samples are more than 60 % that can recognize the first five brands accurately such as Honda Click, Coca Cola, BRAND'S Essence of Chicken, Singha Soda Water and Thai Insurance.

Discussion and Recommendation

The purpose of this research is to study brand recognition that appear as the “Product Placement” in sitcom drama “Pen Tor”. The result of the study shows that the samples can recognize brands that are employed product placement in sitcom drama “Pen Tor” only a few brands. In addition, brands which 60 % of the samples can recognize are only five brands such as Honda Click, Coca Cola, BRAND’S Essence of Chicken, Singha Soda Water and Thai Insurance. These brands are well-known in Thai society. Familiar brands achieve higher levels of recognition than unfamiliar brands, even when the recognition scores for familiar brands are adjusted for the guessing and constructive recognition that may result from inferences associated with familiar brands. (Ian Brennana & Laurie A. Babinb, 2004) Besides, the other brands that the samples can recognize more than 50 % will be the brands that the samples use in every day life and are the familiar products. (Table 4.4)

In sitcom drama “Pen Tor”, there are 38 products and services that use product placement which is excessive. Therefore, the samples can not recognize all brands. It depends on the relation between products and plot, and the importance of the different level of the highlighting and the emphasizing brands in sitcom drama vary to the value of sponsor. Brand that pays a lot on sponsor will have more changes to appear on sitcom drama. It also finds that the degree of connection between a brand and the plot of the show interact to influence memory (Cristel Antonia Russell, 2002). When analyzing the aspects of watching behavior on sitcom drama, it finds that mostly the sample will change channel when having ads. (Table 3) Therefore, product placement is another choice that is interesting. When considering on an overview, it is obvious that this marketing communication strategy through product placement appropriates with the product that is well-known in the market. Product placement will be another way to support and emphasize product more than being the main marketing communication. Consequently, new brand can not expect too much in using product placement. According to the result of this study, it illustrates clearly that number of the sample that can recognize new brand or unwell-known brand is very little. When analyzing about the relationship between products and services and sitcom drama “Pen Tor”, it finds that if product can be in scenery or relate with plot’s sitcom, it will be recognized better than only placing in sitcom. On the other hand, if product relates with plot’s sitcom very low, brand recognition will be low as well. In the aspect of media, it finds that other obvious advertising is better than product placement on making brand recognition because the target group may not know they are watching ads. Brand presented as billboards may be more readily recalled than brands presented as product placements because the billboards simply are easier to see than some product placements (Grigorovici and Constantin, 2004).

Product Placement can be the challenging marketing communication tool that popular in Thai society nowadays in particularly sitcom drama. It is suitable and effective to make brand recognition for only a few products and services. It can not conclude that this is the efficient marketing communication tool for every kind of products and services. It depends on how to choose technique or create product placement that can relate between products and services and plot of sitcom drama properly. This will be effective form the expectation of owner’s product and service. Although it can not raise sale outcome visibly, at least it can make brand recognition. In addition, even though product placement’s cost is not as high as the main advertisement, people who are interested in product placement have to estimate that it will be worth to invest or not. In addition, researcher considers that this marketing

communication tool is still not suitable with new product and sitcom drama in Thailand because products and services are too much to use as the product placement in each sitcom drama. It may be useful or beneficial for drama producer, but it is worthless for the investment.

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The Emotional Labor Influence on Writing Instructor Performance
as a Factor in the Organization-Public Relationship

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The Emotional Labor Influence on Writing Instructor Performance as a Factor in the Organization-Public Relationship

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Those who teach college-level writing courses in mass media and English face the daily task of providing meaningful, sensitive, and helpful feedback to students. Writing instructors face hours of personal involvement with students through classroom interaction and conferencing. As a result, these faculty often struggle to balance the roles they play—grammarian, coach, mentor, and counselor—while attempting to meet not only the expectations of their institutions, but also the professional training expectations and demands of industry.

Because of their responsibilities in the classroom and their related duties as representatives of their academic institutions, teaching faculty can be viewed as key players in the organization-public relationship (OPR). Ledingham and Bruning (1998) define OPR as the state that exists between an organization (the university) and its key publics (faculty, students, parents, government officials, local businesses, community groups, etc.). OPR is a key aspect of an organization's overall public relations strategy to develop "commitment, openness, trust, involvement, and investment" with its various publics (Ledingham & Bruning, 1998, p. 63). Public relations is "a planned process to influence public opinion, through sound character and proper performance, based on mutually satisfactory two-way communication" (Seitel, 2007, p. 4). Ferguson (1984), who initiated interest in the study of public relationships, asserts that the matter of relationships between an organization and its key publics should be central to the study of public relations research.

Broom, Casey, and Ritchey (2000) define OPR as being "represented by the patterns of interaction, transaction, exchange, and linkage between [an] organization and its publics" (p. 18). Moreover, research by Bruning and Ledingham (2000) found a connection between a public's relationship with an organization and that public's perception of satisfaction with the organization.

Ledingham (2003) has further developed the relationship perspective by proposing a theory of relationship management that states "effectively managing organization-public relationships around common interests and shared goals, over time, results in mutual understanding and benefit for interacting organizations and publics" (p. 190). This supports the belief that the OPR is especially important in higher education settings based on the potential for either positive or negative relationships between an institution and its various publics.

While it is paramount that a good organization-public relationship be established between the organization and its publics, the emotional well being of employees within that organization must be considered along with any expectation that employees will make a meaningful contribution to the organization-public relationship. Research (Ledingham, 1998, 2003; Ledingham & Bruning, 1998; Broom, Casey & Ritchey, 2000) suggests that the connection between a public's relationship with an organization and that public's perception of satisfaction

with the organization can be influenced by the amount of emotional labor required of the organization's employees.

Emotional labor is a term used initially by Hochschild (1983) to describe “the management of feelings to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display [which] is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value” (p. 7). This management of emotions requires effort (Hochschild, 1983) because it involves shaping one's emotions, or the portrayal of emotions, to fit institutional expectations. However, this management of emotions to meet institutional display rules can be potentially unpleasant and can, over time, lead to, among other things, lower levels of employee satisfaction, withdrawal (Grandey, 2000), employee burnout and stress (Hochschild, 1983; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), emotional exhaustion (Grandey, 2000), and employees—including teaching professionals—leaving their jobs.

Burnout, as defined by Freudenberger (1974), involves feelings of failure and exhaustion resulting from excessive demands on a person's energy with insufficient reward for the effort. Maslach (1976) defined burnout as psychological distancing from work. Thus, Grandey (2000) warns: “If emotional labor is related to burnout, it also may contribute to a host of other organizational outcomes” (p.104).

Vey (2005) suggests that people frequently experience a wide range of emotions during a given workday, but limit their expression in the interest of professionalism. However, she feels that “the stress and strain of emotional labor comes from a mismatch between an employee's internal emotions and the emotions he or she must express on the job. The feelings of emotional dishonesty caused by this difference contribute significantly to employee emotional exhaustion, physical complaints, job dissatisfaction and ultimately, disengagement” (2005, para. 5).

Emotional labor can involve surface acting as employees suppress their real feelings and, instead, present emotions on the “surface” that they don't actually feel, but put on a façade as if they feel them (Rafaeli, 1989). Emotional labor can include both positive and negative emotions, and can include more than one emotion, for example, when emotional contrast is used to achieve social influence (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). Maslach (1978) argues that faking certain emotions may allow individuals to psychologically distance themselves from potentially stressful encounters.

Grandey (2000) posits that the idea of emotional labor assumes that “emotions are being managed at work in order to meet the display rules stated by the organization and suggest either individual or organizational outcomes of emotional labor” (p. 96). Emotional labor thus requires employees to regulate “both feelings and expressions for the organizational goals” (p. 97) and includes the ability to empathize with colleagues as well as the public for the benefit of the organization.

Morris and Feldman (1996) define emotional labor as “the effort, planning and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions” (p. 987). Within this definition are four underlying assumptions: (1) “Emotion is at least partly socially constructed. Consequently, emotional experience and expression can be and often are subject to external direction, enhancement, and suppression.” (2) Even when employees already feel the emotion

that the organization desires, “there will still be some degree of effort (or “labor”) required in expressing emotions.” (3) Emotions, as Grandey has stated, can become a “marketplace commodity.” (4) And, finally, “there are standards or rules that dictate how and when emotion should be expressed” (p. 988). In the opinion of Morris and Feldman (1996), “the key dimension of emotional labor that is negatively associated with job satisfaction is emotional dissonance” (p. 1003), which indicates that employees’ job satisfaction may be at stake if conflicting ideas of honesty, for example, are part of their job expectations.

According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Hochschild’s idea of emotional labor was that “service agents are expected to experience and express certain feelings during service interactions, but that attempting to conform to these expectations causes certain pernicious psychological effects among the agents” (p. 89). Ashforth and Humphrey’s (1993) definition of emotional labor differs somewhat from Hochschild’s in that they “define the act of displaying the appropriate emotion (i.e., conforming with the display rule) as emotional labor” (p. 90). Their definition of emotional labor focuses on the observable behaviors, or the *act* of the emotion, not necessarily the *feeling* of the emotion, itself.

Although variations do exist on Hochschild’s (1983) definition, a common element of emotional labor is the connection between employee feelings and organizational expectations. Regardless of the industry, some degree of emotion on the part of employees is evident and necessary in every aspect of organizational life. As Family Business Consultant Marta Vago asserts, “You can’t divorce emotion from the workplace because you can’t divorce emotions from people. The challenge is not to get rid of emotions, but to understand them and manage them in oneself and others” (Vago, qtd. in Nelton, 1996, p. 25).

Additionally, emotional labor is often linked to the customer service function in organizations. “The quality of the interpersonal interaction...between the customers and the contact employee often influences customer satisfaction” (Laroche, et al., 2004, p. 61). And Mastracci (2007) states, “...if you are a customer service representative, the 50th person asking the same question must be answered as thoroughly as you served the first person. Otherwise you are not doing your job” (Emotional Labor, para. 1).

Seitel (2007) believes that well-informed employees at all levels can be “goodwill ambassadors” for the organization. In his opinion, the use of effective public relations techniques can distinguish an organization and its products from its competition (2007). However, this requires the organization to maintain market share by retaining its current customers, expand its market share by attracting new customers, diversify its markets with new product lines or services, expedite customer complaints, and utilize consumer education programs to reduce costs—all of which can be enhanced through effective OPR.

In this context, OPR is especially applicable to higher education as colleges and universities deal with retention and recruitment challenges, contemplate the development or deletion of academic programs based on industry needs and market trends, address student issues and complaints, and make use of new technology to improve efficiency and increase educational opportunities through such concepts as distance learning. Each of these situations can create emotional labor because each has the potential to affect how employees in the institution do their jobs.

The concept of emotional labor is applicable to college-level writing instruction because of the need for instructors to suppress or modify their emotions when addressing student writing issues while also attempting to meet administrative directives or institutional behavioral expectations. Emotional labor by teachers also plays a key role in helping students to learn appropriate emotional responses and displays as part of their professional training for their respective industry. Bellas (1999) suggests that while teaching and service clearly involve substantial amounts of emotional labor, this labor is generally not seen as involving valued skills and, as a result, is poorly rewarded. This often increases teacher frustration.

Brennan (2006) states that while Hochschild's (1983) work on the institutionalization of emotion does not focus specifically on the teaching profession, teachers, as a consequence of their professional duties, perform significant emotional labor. "Not only is emotional labour [sic] expected of teachers, but teachers are a significant force in the reproduction of emotional institutionalization" (p. 55). Brennan (2006) feels that as a consequence of their professional duties, teachers perform significant emotional labor and that the teaching profession requires strategies to mitigate the negative consequences of emotional labor.

Hochschild (1983) proposes that jobs involving emotional labor can be defined by three pre-conditions which (1) require face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact between the employee and the public; (2) require the employee to produce an emotional state in another person; and, (3) allow the employee to exercise a degree of control over emotional activities. Brennan (2006) suggests that teaching is a good example of a profession that requires emotional labor because it satisfies each of Hochschild's (1983) three pre-conditions.

According to Brennan (2006), the first pre-condition of direct contact with the public is satisfied by the ongoing contact that occurs between the teacher and student. The second pre-condition of maintaining or modifying emotions is met based on the teacher's responsibility for the emotional well being of the student as well as socializing students into a context-appropriate feeling rules system. The third pre-condition is affected by the teacher's employer and is based on the expectations of school administrators, professional bodies, and the general public.

One very tangible example to illustrate these three pre-conditions is the controversy among high school teachers in Japan regarding *Kimigayo* and the Hinomaru (Hongo, 2008). In 1989, Japan's national curricula guidelines for schools were revised to require teachers to sing *Kimigayo*—Japan's national anthem—while facing the Hinomaru, Japan's national flag—during official school ceremonies. Opponents of this requirement say the two symbols have been perpetual sources of controversy because of their connection to Japan's contentious military history.

What opponents say they resent is being forced to value such icons, an act that they feel breaches their constitutional rights. The controversy involving Japan's teachers is similar to the emotional labor that is created by individuals in the United States, for example, who feel their constitutional rights are being infringed upon by being required to recite the "Pledge of Allegiance" to the American flag.

Japanese teachers who did not follow the order were given warnings from their local education boards. An extreme example of emotional labor display occurred in 1998 when a high school principal in Hiroshima committed suicide after he was unable to resolve a conflict between the board of education, which had ordered him to force the school to sing *Kimigayo*, and his teachers, who were adamantly opposed.

In 2003, a new directive from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government added stricter punishments for refusing to abide by the orders, including salary deductions and cancellation of rehiring contracts. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government has stated that the directive is based on the curricula guidelines set by the central government to nurture students' respect for the anthem and flag. The government claims it is the obligation of teachers to instruct students, and that performing as instructed does not implant any ideology. According to the Organization of Reprimanded Teachers for the Retraction of the Unjust Punishment Involving Hinomaru & Kimigayo, nearly 400 teachers have been reprimanded under the Tokyo directive since 2003 (Hongo, 2008).

Few would disagree that the typical educational system has all the elements associated with emotion and stress: a bureaucratic structure, continuous evaluation of its processes and outcomes, and increasingly intensive interpersonal interactions with students (and sometimes their parents), colleagues, administrators, and the general public. In addition, student apathy, salary/contract issues, budgetary constraints, expanding pressure from administrators, and an increasingly negative public opinion about the perceived "easy life" of college teachers have contributed to an embattled and embittered teacher force not only in America, but throughout the world.

Because emotional labor "may involve enhancing, faking, or suppressing emotions to modify the emotional expressions" when at work (Grandey, 2000), it is directly relevant to the experiences of teachers. To what degree does emotional labor impact the performance of faculty who teach mass media and English? And how does this impact the roles of writing instructors in the organization-public relationship (OPR)? This paper discusses the findings of a 2009 pilot study to investigate emotional labor experiences of college-level writing instructors and the effect of emotional labor on their interactions with students and the institutions where they work.

The Pilot Study

For this pilot study, 250 college-level writing instructors of mass media and English courses were emailed and asked to participate in an on-line survey that explored how writing instructors address emotional labor issues and organizational expectations. The survey outlined what are generally considered to be the causes, concerns, effects, perceptions, priorities, and coping strategies regarding emotional labor as relates to writing instruction. The survey categories were compiled based on feedback from informal focus groups with writing instructors, classroom observations, a brief literature review, and conversations with writing instructors about the challenges of diversity, globalization, and new technology.

The participants were selected from three groups: members of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) public relations and newspaper divisions; members of the National Council of Teachers of English Assembly for Research (NCTEAR);

and individual teachers who took part in an informal focus group on the topic of emotional labor and its impact on the classroom. Of the 250 writing teachers who were emailed, 61 (24.4 %) completed and returned completed surveys. These individuals became the respondents for the study.

After a brief introduction that explained the survey's purpose and defined the term emotional labor, participants were asked to respond to this statement: *I experience Emotional Labor in my performance as a writing teacher*. The majority of respondents (86.9 %) indicated they “strongly agreed” (44.3 %) or “agreed” (42.6 %) with the statement. The remainder indicated that they were “neutral” (11.5 %) or “disagreed” (1.6 %) with the statement.

The survey utilized a rank-order Likert scale in which respondents prioritized their answers on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 having the least significance to them and 10 having the greatest significance to them. Respondents were asked to address 54 specific key words/phrases in six categories: *Causes of Emotional Labor*; *Concerns Related to Emotional Labor*; *Effects of Emotional Labor*; *Respondents' Perceptions of Institutional Priorities*; *Respondents' Priorities Compared to Institutional Priorities*; and *Respondents' Coping Strategies*. Respondents were also able to provide personal comments at the end of each category regarding the impact of emotional labor on their work experience.

Because individual views on each of the 54 specific key words/phrases generated responses that could range from 1 to 10 along the rating scale, a statistical *rating average* was used to provide a numerical breakdown for each category. The rating averages indicate the overall level of concern that writing instructors feel regarding that category. The three highest rating averages in each category are **bold faced**.

Category 1—Causes of Emotional Labor Among Respondents

- Amount of time required for grading (**8.23**)
- Frustrations over student performance (**6.67**)
- Publication requirements for promotion and tenure (5.36)
- Lack of institutional support such as personnel or funding (5.82)
- Teaching loads (6.52)
- Institutional expectations beyond teaching loads (**6.62**)
- Competition with colleagues (2.62)
- New technology demands (4.39)
- Degree of autonomy in course development (3.02)

The survey indicates that, on average, respondents feel the amount of time required for grading and, to a lesser degree, frustration over student performance, are significant causes of emotional labor. Several respondents reported that these two situations, coupled with their institutional expectations, prompted them to have to make difficult choices about what work got done and what didn't because of the overall lack of time in their professional lives. Thus, grading can contribute to the level of emotional labor writing instructors feel by requiring energy and time that could otherwise be spent on other job-related responsibilities. Because a good deal of assignment grading often takes place after normal work hours, writing instructors may often feel like they never actually get away from the work environment, which can exacerbate their

frustrations. In addition, writing instructors must generate effective ways to provide students with performance feedback while suppressing their own frustrations. Moreover, once written work has been returned to students, writing instructors also feel frustration over student performance, especially if they have spent a good deal of time providing feedback—which students sometimes seem to ignore. Finally, the survey indicates that writing instructors are frustrated with organizational expectations such as committee assignments or extracurricular requirements partly because of the time these extra tasks require.

Category 2—Concerns Related to Emotional Labor Among Respondents

- Students who make the same writing mistakes repeatedly (6.48)
- Lack of student comprehension and application of assigned material (6.46)
- Students who have higher expectations than their achievable potential (5.23)
- Students not taking their written academic work seriously (6.70)
- Students not applying writing mechanics such as syntax, grammar, or punctuation (6.15)
- Faculty having to act more in a “policing” role rather than in a coaching role (4.84)
- Students submitting work that contradicts the instructor’s beliefs or ideas (3.02)
- Students not respecting the instructor or the required course work (4.64)
- Cultural differences and approaches (3.34)

Respondents indicated that they felt students did not take written academic work seriously. Respondents reported the frustrations that arose when they saw students making the same writing mistakes despite their efforts to provide feedback or clarify usage rules. Some said this left them feeling unappreciated as teachers—which can lead to low morale and burnout. Respondents also expressed concerns about the ability of some students to do college-level work successfully without remedial assistance.

Category 3—Effects of Emotional Labor on Respondents

- Low morale (5.20)
- Feelings of depression, anxiety, anger, or rage (4.89)
- Concerns over course evaluation results (5.16)
- Negative attitudes toward friends or family members (2.31)
- Lack of personal motivation (5.26)
- Negative attitudes about and toward students (4.26)
- Negative attitudes about and toward colleagues (3.41)
- Increased bonding among colleagues (4.59)
- Lack of positive self esteem (3.66)

While no scenario in this category emerged as having an exceptionally high degree of significance, the effects of emotional labor cannot be ignored here because low morale and burnout in one individual, for example, can have a negative impact on others with whom that individual must interact. Low morale can impact student performance if they perceive that their teacher is not enthusiastic about the job. As Van der Sijde (1988) states, the school climate influences both the student and the teacher, which ultimately can impact the success of the institution.

Category 4—Factors Based on Respondents’ Perceptions of Institutional Priorities

- Accreditation success (6.84)
- Positive program reviews (**6.92**)
- Student recruitment and retention (**7.31**)
- Alumni relations (5.48)
- Diversity initiatives (5.46)
- High academic ranking in “Best Colleges” listings (6.03)
- Community perceptions (5.90)
- Social agendas/current trends such as Sustainability (5.89)
- Budget compliance (**8.39**)

In light of the financial restrictions placed on a number of U.S. college campuses prompted by the current economy, it is reasonable to assume that respondents would perceive budget compliance and student recruitment and retention as being major organizational priorities since student enrollment figures are used to calculate the full-time equivalent (FTE)—which, in turn, determines how much governmental aid an institution receives. It also is reasonable to perceive positive program reviews as having high significance to institutions since this can be an important promotional element to draw and maintain a strong student population. However, respondents perceived that diversity initiatives had less significance for their institutions, which prompted some to say that they felt their institutions talked about diversity on campus, but did not provide the resources to support diversity efforts.

Category 5—Respondents’ Priorities Compared to the Institutional Priorities

- Accreditation success (4.67)
- Positive program reviews (**6.98**)
- Student recruitment and retention (**7.33**)
- Alumni relations (5.33)
- Diversity initiatives (**7.56**)
- High academic ranking (e.g. “Best College” listing) (5.16)
- Community perceptions (6.92)
- Social agendas (e.g. current trends such as Sustainability) (5.38)
- Budget compliance (5.13)

When compared to their institutions, respondents also felt student recruitment and retention and positive program reviews were significant. However, respondents felt diversity initiatives had greater significance than did their institutions. Respondents said their concerns regarding campus diversity went beyond mere ethnic diversity and included initiatives to increase tolerance of disabled individuals, as well as those of different gender and sexual orientation, not only among student populations, but among faculty and staff as well.

Category 6—Coping Strategies respondents use to Address Emotional Labor Demands

- Ignoring administrative demands/expectations (4.05)
- Working longer hours to accomplish tasks (**8.44**)
- Working fewer hours (2.16)
- Increasing bonding among fellow faculty/staff (4.92)
- Interacting with formal/informal support groups outside of workplace (3.93)

- Demanding formal/informal changes within the unit or department (3.8)
- Using social outlets (e.g. listening to music or physical exercise) (7.38)
- Using humor or finding other pleasurable outlets (7.79)
- Expressing “inappropriate” emotions (e.g. yelling or belittling others) (2.1)

Respondents indicated that they must work increasingly longer hours to complete their various tasks. However, their views on social outlets and humor indicate that they find ways to cope with the emotional demands of their jobs. While respondents cited working longer hours as their most significant coping strategy, it also was their primary cause of emotional labor. Despite the demands of their jobs, however, 67.2 % of the respondents felt that expressing “inappropriate” emotions was, in fact, inappropriate behavior and gave it a 1/10 in terms of their least utilized coping strategy. This supports Vey’s (2005) contention that while people frequently experience a wide range of emotions during a given workday, they limit their expression in the interest of professionalism.

Key Issues from the Pilot Study

Based on responses to the structured questions and respondents’ comments regarding their views on emotional labor, several key issues emerged from this pilot study:

1—Respondents are concerned about the amount of time required for job-related responsibilities such as grading and teaching loads and institutional expectations beyond their teaching duties. Most said they ended up working longer hours to accomplish their tasks, which was cited both as a concern and a coping strategy. However, this raises concerns over the challenge of work-life balance in writing teachers’ lives—which can lead to faster employee burnout.

2—Respondents experience frustration over what some perceive as a lack of adequate academic preparation on the part of incoming students. This frustration is often compounded by organizational efforts, for example, to encourage recruitment and retention of students—some of whom may not be ready for mainstream college-level academic work. Several suggested that institutions should give more attention to this and provide greater resources to help academically challenged students. According to one report (Watkins, 2009), California’s state universities are having to send an estimated one-third “of their incoming freshmen to remedial classes to compensate for what they didn’t learn in high school” (para. 6). While this pilot study was directed toward writing instructors in U.S. institutions, the issue of student competency appears to be an international problem. The results of a survey cited in *The Japan Times* (2010) conducted between December 2009 and January 2010 involving 723 public and private Japanese universities found that 65 % of these institutions are offering high school-level supplementary lessons and other special measures to cope with academic deficiencies in math and science among incoming freshmen. This, in itself, is enough to cause concern on the part of instructors who expect students to have a certain proficiency level before they enter college/university.

3—Respondents expressed concern over what some describe as “lip service” on the part of their institutions with regard to diversity initiatives and international education. Respondents feel their institutions are not doing enough to provide a tangible commitment of resources to increase all types of diversity, not only among the student population, but among teaching faculty and staff, as well.

4—Respondents have concerns about ongoing budgetary constraints that have prompted many higher education institutions to be operated with a greater focus on the bottom line, but at the expense of academic services to constituents. Personnel in public institutions in California, for example, were subjected to a state-mandated furlough program during the 2009-2010 academic year that reduced the number of instructional days by 18. Teaching faculty, some of whom took part in this pilot study, said they felt the furlough program had a major impact on emotional labor because teachers were forced to come up with creative ways to meet student learning objectives (SLO) and cover important material in less time with less pay, while still attempting to maintain a positive attitude about their employment situations.

Implications and Recommendations

This paper takes the position that individuals (employees) in an organization can act as a function of public relations by contributing to the development of a mutually satisfactory and beneficial organization-public relationship (OPR). However, it is important to note that organizations often require behaviors of their employees that can affect relationships with the organizations' key publics and result in degrees of emotional labor.

Based on the findings and feedback from respondents in this pilot study, it is not unreasonable to suggest that sensitivity toward emotional labor should be an ongoing part of any organization's employee relations program. According to Vey (2005), organizations that ignore the problems associated with emotional labor could face even greater challenges. For example, emotionally exhausted employees have lower performance and productivity, and higher absenteeism. These workers also can impact the morale of those around them. When teachers are dissatisfied and depressed because of an unresolved institutional problem, others around them can very easily become lethargic, cynical, and discontented and, before long, the entire organization becomes dispirited and uninviting.

Although most organizational decisions are made at the administrative level, instructors play an important role in establishing the overall tone of a school (Van der Sijde). If teachers are experiencing feelings of failure and/or lacking in personal satisfaction, their relationship with students and the overall school will ultimately suffer (Purkey, 1970).

One way in which higher education institutions can address the issue of emotional labor is to better utilize two important organizational elements that already exist on college and university campuses: human resources (HR) and public relations (PR). Human resources managers can provide training programs to improve employee interaction and encourage use of counseling services for employees who may be struggling with job-related stress. Public relations professionals, through their role as counselors to management and as architects of the institution's public image, also can have greater input in helping to create and to present the most effective kinds of "emotional expressions" that employees can offer to colleagues, students, and other relevant publics of the institution. While some might see emotional labor as a problem that falls under the purview of human resources only, emotional exhaustion (Grandey, 2000) can lead to high rates of employee turnover, which can negatively affect an institution's public image and necessitate a public response.

By working in coordination, the institution's human resources and public relations professionals can interact effectively not only to communicate policies and expectations to employees, but also assist the institution to:

- (a) Acknowledge the existence and impact of emotional labor in the workplace and how individual employee behavior can affect both internal (colleagues/coworkers) and external (students/customers/suppliers) organization-public relationships (OPR).
- (b) Provide employees with the assistance—through counseling, additional training, or reassignment, if necessary—they need to deal with dissonance created from emotional labor in a timely manner.
- (c) Address and ultimately reduce employee job-related frustration to reduce burnout, increase employee productivity, and reduce job turnover. These efforts could dissuade qualified writing teachers from leaving the institution and the profession, which, in turn, could save the organization the cost of having to conduct recruitment searches to replace personnel.

An institution should be as equally concerned about negative factors affecting its *employee public* as it is about its *customer public*. From an OPR perspective, doing this can help position the institution as one that recognizes the impact of emotional labor and makes employee well being an organizational priority.

Appendix A: About The Respondents

•**Gender** of respondents:

female (60 %)
male (40 %)

•**Age** of respondents:

21-25 (1.6 %),
26-35 (18 %)
36-45 (27.9 %)
46-55 (**29.5 %**)
56-65 (19.7 %)
66 and above (3.3 %)

•**Ethnicity** of respondents:

Caucasian (**89.8 %**)
African-American (3.4 %)
Hispanic (3.4 %)
Asian (1.7 %)
Native American (1.7 %)

•**Employment** of the respondents:

two-year public college (3.4 %)

four-year public college (25.9 %)
 four-year private college (15.5 %)
 public/state university (**46.6 %**)
 private university (8.6 %)

•**Geographic setting** of the respondents:

inner city (1.7 %)
 urban (30.5 %)
 suburban (25.4 %)
 rural (**40.7 %**)
 on-line/distance learning (1.7 %)

•**Academic ranking** of the respondents:

adjunct (9.1 %)
 lecturer (14.5 %)
 assistant professor (**34.5 %**)
 associate professor (21.8 %)
 full professor (20.0 %)

•**Higher education teaching experience** of the respondents:

1 to 5 years (25.0 %)
 6 to 10 years (**23.3 %**)
 11 to 15 years (21.7 %)
 16 to 20 years (11.7 %)
 21 to 30 (15.0 %)
 31 years or more (3.3 %)

•**Writing instruction experience** of the respondents:

1 to 5 years (28.3 %)
 6 to 10 years (**31.7 %**)
 11 to 15 years (13.3 %)
 16 to 20 years (8.3 %)
 21 to 30 years (15.0 %)
 31 years or more (3.3 %)

•**The type** of writing courses most often taught by respondents:

news/mass media/public relations (**43.1 %**)
 English composition/English as a Second Language (**44.8 %**)
 Creative writing/fiction/poetry (6.9 %)
 Business communication/technical writing (5.2 %)

•**The average student enrollment** in a typical class of the respondents:

11 to 20 students (42.6 %)
 21 to 30 students (**49.2 %**)
 31 to students (6.6 %)
 41 or more students (1.6 %)

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Interpretation of localization in the era of globalization: How do people read those fashion magazines?

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Topic: Magazine



Abstract

There are over 30 different fashion magazines from Taiwan, Japan, Europe and America in the market. The fashion magazine is a very important popular culture in Taiwan, and it owns high readership. Through these multinational magazines, local readers exposure in a global “beauty-scape”.

This study focus on how the readers interpret those local and international fashion magazines, and try to catch their opinions about the content and aesthetic of representation.

Depth-interview is used to be the research method, and finally collect the qualitative data from 12 respondents, who are the main target of fashion magazines, age 22 to 33, female, and live distribute whole areas of Taiwan. During the interviewing, they will take their favorite magazines to assisted clarify their ideas. It's helpful to reduce the gap of the imagination from researcher and respondents.

This study finds some phenomenon worthy to note: First, local readers in Taiwan not only give different assessments to the fashion magazines from Taiwan, Japan and occident, but also adopt using those in different occasion. Second, the aesthetic of representation in the fashion magazines and the traditional sense of beauty are dissimilar, the former is more match with the concept of modernity, in other words, the notion of modernity is taught through the fashion texts. Finally, the readers are not fully controlled by the globalization power, they have reflexive thinking, but in the practice, they are limited by structured social position so that they can't do any real term to resist it.

Keywords: audience research, fashion magazine, reception analysis, glocalization

Introduction

Globalization makes the world more and more homogeneous. Through the media and new technology, people can share information and exchange their opinions immediately, and the boundaries of geography seem disappeared. In another word, the consequence of globalization reacts on not only entity, but also values. Globalization as a power intensifies the culture of core countries. International culture industries usually assumed to produce their product under a standardized process in order to selling those goods extend to as many different countries as possible.

Fashion magazine is an important issue in culture studies and feminist studies. To disseminate whole fashion products, advices, and living attitudes, fashion magazine both are media and living guidebook to women. But there are many critics to these fashion magazines, such as those female models shape some stereotypes about women, or their innocent face, white skin and thin body make most female under an unnecessary pressure. Recently, based on the globalization context, there are many studies concern about how indigenous interpret those international fashion magazines (Hung, Li, & Belk,2007; Morimoto & Chang,2009; Wolf, 2004).

There are over 30 different magazines published in Japan, Western and local in Taiwan's market. Some Japanese and Western magazines translated into Chinese (for example: 'Ray', 'With', 'ELLE', 'VOGUE' et al.), and some are in the original text (such as 'Cancam', 'MORE' et al.). The readership of fashion magazine usually is ahead of all kinds of magazine, so that researchers can't ignore the influence of this media culture in Taiwan. The targets of most of these fashion magazines are 16 to 30 years old women, and there are different segment strategies for these magazines to satisfy all readers. Besides separating the young readers (under 24- year-old) and the mature women (generally over 25-year-old), there are various style of clothing to discriminate, such as OL(office lady) style, sexy-look style, or nature-look (austere) style and so on.

Western fashion magazines usually use large scope images to represent a model and the cloth she dress. The columnists publish and advocate some living attitude to women, as 'Happy New You', 'Glow Time', 'Cool, Classic, Modern' and so forth. Unlike the above, Japanese fashion magazines tend to trivialize the layout, and emphasis more clothing outfit and beauty salon. There is a unit as 'one month clothing guideline'. The editors choose around 20 pieces of clothes, and try to fit women's monthly living by creatively collocating. Not like beauty salon in Western fashion magazines usually introduce YOGA, SPA salon, Japanese fashion magazines more often teach readers some tips that women can DIY in the house or in the office. Fashion magazines published in Taiwan are more like Japanese fashion magazines.

Different sources of fashion magazines represent various fashion and female culture. To be a 'beauty' seems like an international appeal, and there are a lot of global power to influence women's imagination and opinion to beauty images. This paper tries to examine how the local women in Taiwan think about those all kinds of fashion magazines and those models in the fashion media text. According to their responses, this paper attempts to clarify the factors behind of women's needs, wants and

interpretations about the fashion magazines.

Literature review

Development of fashion magazines in a global context

The first women magazine in Taiwan originated in 1960s, named 'Women'. This magazine is nothing about fashion, but its targets are women in general. Its main content is to inculcate about the women virtue and the anti-communist ideas. Based on historically complicated entanglement, the relations across Taiwan straits is a sensitive issue to both Taiwanese and Chinese. 'Women' is responsible for moral and educational assignment to women. In 1970s, there are some leisure magazines for female are published, as 'Sisters' and 'New Sisters', there are some news about pop idols and romantic stories in the text. By opening to foreign investment policy, there is more foreign culture infused in women magazines in 1980s, especially the concepts of fashion and taste. Fashion magazines originally published in America and France numerous translated into Chinese language and come into the market of Taiwan. 'BAZZAR', launched in 1990, is the first international English version fashion magazine in Taiwan, the second is 'Cosmopolitan', launched in 1992, the third is ELLE which belongs to Marie Claire, launched in 1993, and the last is 'VOGUE' which launched in 1996 (Lu, 2005). After 2000s, Japanese fashion magazines were also appearance in the bookstore and comic house in Taiwan. There are over 30 various cultural fashion magazines in the market.

There are different emphases between those magazines from different countries. In general, Western magazines provide more human subjects as a spiritual mentor, the content include lifestyle, art, and sex topic. Japanese fashion magazines carry plenty product information and outfit tips, besides professional models images, there are also the general public's images on some units. Taiwanese fashion magazines are more like Japanese fashion magazines but introduce more local brand products. Western usually choose different ethnic models to present various beauty styles, but models in Japanese and Taiwan fashion magazines are usually more homogeneous. Morimoto and Chang (2009) find that native models are most often appearance in the images, among the Western models, Caucasian are the most favorite, Hispanic and multiracial at least there.

In a global context, there are many researchers concern about the influence of fashion magazines, especially those images of ads. One of the issues is women's new image. Lowy (2007) points that women go through a process of modernization, and it radical changed women's self-identify. Lowy indicates that the Meiji period (1868-1912) is

an important phase of great upheaval and change, Japanese began with the destruction of the centuries-old semifeudal Tokugawa military government and the reopening of trade with the West. In the 1870s and 1880s, there are many liberal ideas promoted into Japan, such as Western scientific, technological, social concepts and the freedom of human rights. And the Republican mother image is also advocated in Japan: 'Good wife, wise mother'. Women publicly served her nation through her private and now respected roles within the family (Lowy, 2007: 4). By industrialization, Japanese gained recognition and territory in the international arena, economic condition improve increases educational opportunities for both sex, and the growth of the media and an urban middle class.

As Lowy's research, Japanese new women begin to appear in novels as well, both as a term in conversation and as independent, often sexual, characters. 'In all these cases, New Women were strongly connected with things Western and modern (Lowy, 2007: 9)'.

So as Chinese women, historically, women with fat body shapes were considered as fertile and health, while slender body shapes meant weakness (Seid, 1994), but now fashion magazines and other media always represent those skinny bodies . Chinese culture is effected by Western culture and Japanese culture, as Hung (2007) points out that 'Historical background gave rise to a national drive in China to modernize agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology – in sum, to develop the strengths of the foreign powers and become a member proper on the world stage. Thus globalization in the Chinese context is associated with modernization.' Base on this globalization context, Hung finds that there is a Creolizaion phenomenon when Chinese women read fashion magazines. That is, Chinese women may try to learn those women image of Western and Japanese, but they will change the original foreign stereotype to fit local culture.

Tu (2007) summarizes that international fashion texts influence local women at least three aspects: First, there is a relationship between the use of thin models in media and the increase to an unhealthy level in female consumer's awareness and concern over their physical appearance. Second, fashion magazines as certain criterion to conduct a standardizing 'Beauty image' and influence people to evaluate others. Third, many women take fashion magazines as the ultimate guide to choose fashion ideas and to select popular fashion related commodities. And Hung (2007) infers that fashion magazines provide a 'modern women image', not only 'good wife, wise mother', women must better play their various role in family, workplace and private

life time. They should be an ideal wife with soft, kind, well-mannered characteristics and take care of Children (Croll,1995), be strong, independent, intelligent and efficient in their work (to fit the need in a capitalist society), and be full of urban sophisticate in their leisure time, they must dabble in different cultural values and open their mind to all kind modernity, sexuality and vitality from Western.

Audience reception analysis approach

Audience reception analysis began in 1980s. Morley (1992) claims that audiences interpret to the media content by blending in their own living experience. That is, audiences be assumed that not only simply stimulus-response actor, but also deeply influenced by social context. As Morel's research, there are three different responses when audiences receipt the content of media, if audiences fully accepted what media represent, that means audiences tend to be the 'dominant-hegemonic encoding/decoding' way. If audiences just partly adopt the idea of media, it means audiences use 'negotiated coding' way. And 'oppositional coding' is the way while audiences fully reject the media's preferred meaning.

As time goes by, audience reception analysis has different approached to define those various audiences' interpretations. Besides those three encoding and decoding ways, the audiences living experience and social context are both to be paid attention. People may become the interpretive communities according their distinct life. And their different living experiences may from their different social structural influences. Therefore, audiences' reflexivity thinking is also an important issue in audience reception analysis research. Reflexivity thinking means people can adopt observer's thoughts and examine the relationship between themselves and the media (Chang, 2004).

There are many empirical research try to examine if media text will influence women audiences. As Katz and Liebes (1990)'s finding, media content is usually referential to women, and Hobson (1990) also points out women usually understand media content by their living experience. The race, sex and culture identity will all indirect effect women's message interpretation and media usage (McRobbie, 1991). Casanova (2004) finds girls who born in wealthy families and poor families have different opinions to the women images of media text. The former tend to announce pleasing ideas in public contrast with in private. Besides SES (Socioeconomic status), according to Wolf (2004)'a paper, women respondents consider ideal Japanese women should have those characteristics of staunch, intelligent, and always make

their all-out effort. But these women respondents assume men have different opinions from them and prefer those sexy, naïve, no threat women. They think a full bust and slender legs are the most important features to appeal men.

From the above, there are some useful summaries to be the basic prior knowledge to this paper: 1. International fashion magazines bring a huge cultural impact to local fashion magazines in the era of globalization, and women's image has changed from a purely housewife to a career woman. Women's modern image must be connect with not only traditional but also productive and consumerism role. 2. Western fashion magazines use plenty written words to claim its opinion, but Japanese and Taiwanese fashion magazines usually use more fragmented pictures to present. 3. Readers (broad audience) will not receipt those media content by unidirectional way, they will integrate their daily life to interpret what they read. 4. Readers may discriminate themselves and others to shape their own beauty identity, especially from men.

Methods

In order to deeply explore women's opinion to fashion magazines, this paper uses depth interview to be the research method. Through depth interview, respondents can state their comments in their personal experience. Instead of being limited in a structured question set design, they are asked some general questions and be encouraged to share with their own experience as semi-structured interview.

There are 12 respondents who are the main targets of fashion magazines, age 22 to 33, female, and live distribute whole areas of Taiwan, to be the respondents in this study . During the interviewing, they take their favorite magazines to assisted clarify their ideas. It's helpful to reduce the gap of the imagination from researcher and respondents.

Table 1 Profile of informants

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Reading preference</i>	<i>Income(NTD/month)</i>
A	24	Master student	TW/ WT	N/A
B	22	Unemployed	JP/ WT	N/A
C	25	Master student	TW/ JP/ WT	N/A
D	25	Planner	JP/ WT	33,000
E	24	Sales assistant	TW/ JP	25,000
F	29	Bio-tech researcher	TW/ JP/ WT	50,000
G	31	Sales	TW/ JP/ WT	50,000

H	32	Administrator	TW/ JP/ WT	30,000
I	27	Clinic assistant	TW/ JP	25,000
J	28	Sales	TW/ JP/ WT	43,000
K	33	Sales assistant	JP/ WT	26,000
L	29	Marketing planner	TW/ JP/ WT	36,000

Notes:

1. Reading preference means informants prefer which kinds of fashion magazines. TW means Taiwanese fashion magazines, JP means Japanese fashion magazines, WT means Western fashion magazines.
2. Income N/A means No fixed income.

Every depth interview proceeds around 1 to 1.5 hour, most of these interviews use in-person interviews, only informant H uses online video interview.

Questions design

The questions can be segment into 4 main focuses: About the readers' motivation and media using behavior in reading fashion magazines (Ex: *When did you begin to read fashion magazines? What is the suitable time for you to read fashion magazines? Which fashion magazines are your favorite one and why?*), their interpretation to fashion magazines (Ex: *Do you agree most of the perspectives of the content and column of fashion magazines? Why do you think these models looks as a 'beauty'? What are the basic elements of 'beauty'? Do you think other women will have same opinions with yours? Do you think other men will have same opinions with yours? Do you think modernity is an essential condition to a woman? Do you often have alternative ideas with fashion magazines?*), their opinions to those magazines from various originating published countries (Ex: *In your observation, what are the differences between Taiwanese fashion magazines, Japanese fashion magazines and Western fashion magazines? Which one do you like better? Do those various sources magazines satisfy your different needs? What is your evaluation to those magazines which published in Taiwan, Japan and Western?*), and how fashion magazines interact in their daily life (Ex: *Do you usually discuss anything about fashion magazines or fashion elements with your family or friends? While you decide to buy a cloth, do you think any advices that fashion magazines recommend? Do you think fashion magazines influence any aspects of your life?*).

Findings and discussions

Interpersonal influence

According to the respondents claim, they usually started to read fashion magazines through old sisters and classmates recommend. Reading fashion magazines is like some kind 'knowledge-transfer' that older and senior may lead junior to explore a new field. But that senior is not just mentioned to those who is really older, the senior is focused on 'fashion knowledge'. There is an interesting common finding that younger girls prefer local and Japanese fashion magazines, but they changed their favorite to Western fashion magazines while they are getting older.

When I was young, my favorite fashion magazines are COCO and Sugar (both are Taiwanese fashion magazines). When I grow up I preferred 'Cancam', but now I think I already got into another stage of my life, I often reading Western magazines now. (D, 25)

To choose a proper fashion magazine is not easy, women must perceive their appropriate identity and select corresponding magazines to dress up as those models on that.

I have no idea for which fashion magazine is better, but I think people must choose proper fashion magazines to themselves, for example, if someone is an office lady but she always read 'Sugar'(which target is young girl), it is really not suitable. (C, 25)

Through the magazine's target-fragmentation strategy, readers can choose 'proper' and 'correct' fashion magazines for themselves, but also, the readers seems to be selected by fashion magazines, those media content reinforce readers self-identity. That is, fashion magazines set up a guideline for women 'to be the right (on their dress, makeup, and anything for appearance)'.

Different magazines with different functions

Respondents usually strategically use those magazines. Most of them think local magazines introduce many skin care and makeup product, that is useful than Western magazines for easy buying. It is very discouraging when they cannot find those product recommended on fashion magazines. As respondents A (25) said, she often used Taiwanese magazines to know the new product, and learned how to outfit clothes by referring Japanese ones. Japanese are Asians that more like Taiwanese in ethnic than Westerners. But she used to read Western fashion magazines to receipt the

latest fashion news and some lifestyle suggestions. Western fashion magazines usually present a distant and unattainable image to indigenous readers.

Western fashion magazines cannot be compared with Japanese fashion magazines and local ones. Those models walking on the cat walk are too slight to be reality. But the columns of Western fashion magazines are encouraging, those themes are usually advocate that women should be independent and make self comfortable no matter in sex or any relationship. (H, 32)

Those models of Western fashion magazines own difficult to achieve body shape for readers to bring an aesthetic distance. To sum up respondents' responses, local and Japanese fashion magazines provide readers a referential guidebook to dress and makeup appropriately, and the Western fashion magazines are more like spiritual mentor to supply them many advices of life.

Beauty to other Women and Men

There is an interesting finding in this paper that respondents usually think others no matter women or men have different ideas of beauty from themselves. In another word, they try to distinct themselves to others.

I think most females like soft girls and sometimes may act like a spoiled child, and men may prefer those women who are sexy, with longhair and charming. Men don't like women who are tough. (D, 25)

Respondent K has the same ideas with D, but she thinks she cannot be the 'ideal woman' to fit other's imagination. She is always casual and cannot be gentle manner. That is, many respondents consider 'ideal beauty' is a deliberately shaped image. Such characteristics as soft, sexy, graceful and effeminacy are all can create out. But these respondents deny they will be committed to the above ideal beauty image even they never-ending reading fashion magazines. To please themselves are the only matter they concern.

In the outfit practice, those respondents points out that they exceedingly mind to wear the same cloth with others in the same time. Respondent A said she will feel very uncomfortable in such case, as her opinion, she will rather to buy costly clothes to avoid such condition.

The evaluations to various originating published fashion magazines

Local readers give various responses to different originating published fashion magazines including the models introduced in magazines, and the quality of representation. Most of them consider models in Western fashion magazines appears their nature appearance without too much makeup. They think models Taiwanese and Japanese models emphasis their face-embellishing too much to cover up their original facial features.

They (Western models) have unique appearance to dress any kind of clothes. We Orientals cannot to wear the same clothes with the same visual effects as them. (L, 29)

On the whole, reading Western fashion magazines can be high-evaluated than reading other ones. As respondent E's opinion, there is a rank of these fashion magazines. Western ones are first, Japanese ones are second, and local ones are the latest. Many people have the same idea with her.

Those who read Western fashion magazines are considered high-end readers, and those who read local fashion magazines are considered low-end on the contrary. (A, 24)

I will evaluate a woman through which fashion magazine she read. If she read 'COCO' and 'Sugar', I will think she is out of fashion. If she read a Japanese fashion magazine, I will consider she is a normal person. But if she read Western fashion magazines I will think she really wants to know more about fashion. (D, 25)

According to those different evaluations from respondents, it is very obvious there is a relative position between various originating published fashion magazines. Western ones get the highest appraisal, and Taiwanese ones get the lowest appreciation. That might be another kind of 'cultural aromatic'. And that also reveals that the globalization environment doesn't create an equality result in the diversity conditions. Most readers identify that beauty should own white skin, long and brown hair, long legs and big eyes, but they do not doubt the congruence of ethnic. Those features of a beauty they recognized, is the image of Caucasian. That is they have a predisposition that Caucasian is the most beautiful people. Not only readers but also media industries have such ideas that many local and Japanese fashion magazines adopt mixed blood women to be their models.

Fashion magazines and real life

Most respondents usually not only read fashion magazines but also dabble at fashion TV programs and related websites. Various media content may create an intertexture. Readers shape their beauty identification through those contents. And many respondents consider that reading fashion magazines will stimulate the consumption desire.

Fashion magazines help me understand how to make myself more beautiful, well...It may make me spent unexpected money, but I think it is worthy. And it (fashion magazine) teaches me what is 'fashion' to avoid buy the wrong stuff which is old-fashion. (F, 29)

To be a beauty is the goal of all respondents. They believe 'beauty' could get more benefits in the real life. For this reason, they are willing to spent more money and time to make themselves pleasing to the eyes. Some of them think beauty can much easily to get others favorable impressions and happy.

I think all people no matter male or female will like beauty more than ugly people. The first impression is very important. It is much obviously to women than men. To men, his career success is much significant than his appearance, but it is opposite to women. (E, 24)

Some respondents acknowledge Western fashion magazines influence their attitude in the real life. They try to make themselves look like modern women and act independently. Enjoy their sex and make their life fit in some kind of lifestyles. Imagination is helpful to shorten the distance of readers and those beauty images in the magazines.

Conclusion

Various fashion magazines create a multicultural media content. Local readers develop their distinct interpretation to those different fashion magazines. 'Western' seems a noble symbol whatever in media content produces or in beauty image creates. Although there are local, Japanese and Western fashion magazines in the market, it should be present multiple perspectives to the images of women, in fact, there is single standard to the image of beauty.

Women should try to dress and makeup appropriately, and they must be full of passion, act independently and work intelligently, in another word, they are modern and productive. And they have to arrange their leisure time to do some fashionable activity, such as YOGA , Flamenco dance and maybe enjoy a tea time with friends. That means consumption is the indispensable element to a beauty or a fashion woman. Local readers give high evaluation to global fashion media industries, and accept their suggestions to change their living style and shape ideology to ‘women’ this subject. Thus, fashion magazines may not just ‘fashion’ magazines, they are also ‘life’ magazines and ‘idea’ magazines. They radically influence those local readers thought and action through the global power.



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**Localization Strategies to Confront with Globalization: A
Study on the National Research of Local Films in Mainland**

China

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Localization Strategies to Confront with Globalization: A Study on the National Research of Local Films in Mainland China

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Under the context of globalization, the national research of local films are booming in mainland China. Over the past dozens of years, the researches on native film make remarkable achievements. The releasing of various scholarly articles and books, the establishment of web site, the distribution of periodical and the positive investments on the theme of national film under the supports from Chinese Government's special funds issuing to research-type universities, all of these no doubt prove that the coming 'intentional' new academic trends. This paper starts from the theoretical perspective, re-examine the historical background and issues for forming this trend. It also puts forward some new insights regarding on how native scholars carry out national studies under the pressure of globalization.

Background Study

The theoretical national research on local films (in mainland China) mainly refers to: The research on the influence or presentation of Chinese classical aesthetics, philosophy, cultural connotation, traditional arts methods or aesthetics tastes impact on Chinese film.

Though this kind of research began early in the twentieth century, perhaps arguably with the publication in 1957 of *Ancient Poetry and Film* by Li Yuhua, the national theories of film did not become a thriving sub-field of film study in Chinese mainland until recently. But as of late, the discussion of Chinese national film theories has

become quite literally voluminous. Such as *Chinese film and National Culture* ed. by Huang Huilin and Zhou xing(1999); *Commentary of Chinese Film Theory History* by Hu Ke (2005); *History of Chinese Film Criticism* by Li Dao Xin (2007); *Chinese film Yijing* by Liu Shuliang (2008) and so on.

Why?

At least two factors may account for this, one is the historical context of the changes of Chinese society, and the other is the result of academic debate.

The Historical Consideration

The historical consideration is this; for the national theories to take root in any serious way, a substantial cadre of scholars steeped in that field and a optimal academic environment were necessary in order for a deep and informed conversation to be sustained. Historically speaking, that condition did not begin to be satisfied sufficiently until the late 1990s and 2000s.

In the socialist countries, all artistic phenomena inevitably bring along with strong political backgrounds. Ideology responses from art intellectuals to social and political environment are decisive to the essential characteristics of specific art phenomenon. Before 1980s, a unitary national film industry was pursued under the Planned Economy system. Film in P.R.China was first seen as a tool which has great impacts on political propaganda. When people make analysis on film phenomenon which is subject to the most serious official controls, the manner of aesthetics or cultural research is almost the least effective. So national film theories study in mainland China remain in deep freeze.

With the ending of the Cultural Revolution, the launching of reformation and the open economic policy, great changes have taken place in Chinese society. In the field of film study, the error of exorbitant Leftism was corrected, and the confirmed concept that politics is closely related with art was oppugned. After a couple of decades blockade, whole set of contemporary western film theories (such as Film Semiotics, Ideological Criticism, Psychoanalysis and Author theory) were introduced to mainland China. The enthusiasm of most researchers were placed on those large number of western film theories, but not on Chinese traditional aesthetics and philosophy which almost vanished at that time. The lacking of human resources with considerable knowledge in both film and Chinese culture areas, was the first problem of carrying out a national research. In addition, there are no ready-made theories and methods can be taken from Chinese traditional aesthetics and philosophies as a foundational sistem of film study. The so-called national research on Chinese film only can basically compare Chinese film techniques with mature Chinese traditional art (in which theory robust, such as Chinese Painting); or select one or two concepts from Chinese aesthetic philosophy to analysis their presentation in Chinese film

fragments. National film research compared to the film research which relied on major western theories was difficult to carry out and also difficult to make impacts. Many scholars quitted and transferred to film studies in other areas.

On the end of 1980s, New Chinese Cinema gets wide attention at home and abroad subject to its outstanding artistic styles. Some traditional characteristics of Chinese film attracted scholar's attention. Comparing with Western film theories, it is found that some ideas and principles of Chinese traditional aesthetics and philosophies are more convenient to analysis and understand Chinese film. Professors such as Zhang Dafeng and Chen Xihe critical that Chinese film researchers never carefully considered whether the Western theories are suitable to China, and they stand for the research premise that "understanding Chinese film theory and esthetics by China's own cultural logic"(Chen XH, 2004,p13.) They have a certain extent of response, the focal point of controversies was the existence and the necessity of a Chinese national film theory.

Since China's accession to WTO, Chinese film markets are opening up to external world; Hollywood films are rolling into the market. Chinese film industry which accumulates no sufficient economic strength, or operating experience under the market economy. Confront with Hollywood's strategy in China it locates in disadvantage side. Chinese native films counter with landslides and difficult development under the attacks from Hollywood films year after year. The strengthening of this situation worries scholars, when Hollywood movies completely destroy China's native film industry, it will also cause immeasurable impacts on Chinese film culture.

People worry that the personal hero prototype of Hollywood will destroy self-cohesion of Chinese national developments; The spectacle trend of Hollywood movies discourages people's concern and experience on the state of native living status; The values of consumerism in Hollywood movie will cause negative impact on Chinese national values; The Art rules of Hollywood movie will replace traditional Chinese narrative aesthetics; Commercial Hollywood movies will make Chinese film lose native awareness and native responsibility. In short, under the shadow of globalization, people fear that the meaning, living space, and cultural patterns of Chinese local films will meet with Hollywood, and Chinese film will become a vassal of Hollywood movies and lose itself.

The theoretical national research field also infects the booming nationalist atmosphere; it highly and positively makes response to people's crisis anxious. Whether the Chinese national film theory existed in the history seems no longer important. What important is how to really build a Chinese national film theory to resist the negative effects brought out by globalization. Along with the post-colonial criticism, cultural studies and globalization becoming the focus of worldwide academic field, the national research on Chinese film turns from an academic edge to the academic front.

It attracts a large number of young and middle-aged scholars who would like to build success in the academic field to involve in this aspect. All of this, leads to the surging rise of national research on local films in mainland China.

The Academic Consideration

With remarkable achievements that Chinese films made in the world in two or three decades, Chinese film research gradually rise up and get great achievements, but showing some unsatisfactory features. For academic debate, national research at least returns two of the unsatisfactory features: Eurocentrism and the Cross-cultural Analytic Patterns

Eurocentrism

Among western research on Chinese film, western theories has always putting on the most prominent, the most obvious and the most important position. As professor Zhang Yingjin has point out, this 'academic eurocentrism' covers up the inability of western theory on Chinese film texts. (2008, p130)

Western scholars simply regard Chinese films as 'raw material' and make use of western analytic term to carry out the 'processing.' When they apply it, they do not consider whether western theories are suitable for Chinese film texts, but picking up the examples which are in line with western theories to form the conclusions. This kind of research manner, which applies study objects to meet all theories, in fact is far from being the analysis on texts of Chinese films; it just reiterates the results which have been stated by Western theory, and does not touch the concrete items of Chinese culture. This kind of studies settle for successfully putting a Chinese film into the Western theoretical paradigm and with no interest in the original intentions of the film director and the meaning and significance of the film to Chinese audience.

If a slice or chapter of a Chinese film is full of connotation but can not be explained by "typical types" which are issued by western theories, or it is not the focus of attention in Western theories, it will be neglected. But some of these neglected items are maybe the really important ones for Chinese film.

The neglect of Chinese film (or to say 'the selection on Chinese film') covers up the powerless assumption of western theory on Chinese film text. Such incompetence is prominently expressed in indifference on Chinese film style as a subtle poetic sense and also as a representation tool (narrative manner). Western scholars praise that Chinese films are rich in the form and flavor, but they lack of effective method to criticize the real value of color, lighting, composition in the shots, camera movement and empty lens which are deliberately designed in Chinese film. They also fail to explain the specific meaning because internal logics of this style are oriental ones.

In the oriental art, purposes and meanings are often not be directly told, but rather be expressed in a visual form. So form is a special narration. For example, there is a kind of shots recurred in *Yellow Earth*: the land occupies 3/4 space in a screen. It can be a good case to show the expression of typical Chinese style.

The composition of this strange design gives a metaphor that 'Land' covers a pivotal position in Chinese civilization and Chinese people's life. And it also gives the audience a kind of psychological shock and repressed feelings. Land is the cornerstone of life and it is the cradle of nurturing civilization, but it also constitutes a depression on human existence of life, which causes shackles of ignorance and spiritual numbness.

This shot expresses the shocking effect on Chinese people who are involved in hard-working farming for generations and the admiration on their tenacity and endless spirit for survival. It also expresses reflections and sighs on ancient agricultural civilization which clings to and relies on land to form static and rigid feudalism. This is the most profound theme of *Yellow Earth*. If we ignore the meaning of this shot, we can not say that we really understand this Chinese film. Without real understanding, a research can not be called real studies on Chinese films.

There are too many shots and paragraphs in Chinese films just like the land screen in *Yellow Earth*. They follow the principles of traditional Chinese aesthetics, present national style in Chinese cinemas. They are the most valuable and significant in Chinese film, but they have been ignored by western world because western scholars do not have any theory or method on them. Intellectually, a vacuum appeared. National research of Chinese local films can just step into this gap.

Cross-cultural Analytic Patterns

During the last decade, cross-cultural analytic patterns become popular in Chinese film research. This is the critical method which has its roots from post-colonial theory. It is considered that the inequality in cultural exchange makes the vulnerable party having internalized the strong party's misunderstanding and expectations in order to realize cultural exchanges. The "being-watched experience" becomes the essence of the vulnerable party in cross-cultural expression. Base on this view, "Chinese films have to recognize western world's expectations on eastern culture and provide the hopeful views of eastern, which is basing on misinterpretation and demands. If they had not done so, they would not had been rewarded in the film festival" (Dai JH, 2002)

Then landscape and folklore in Chinese films actively provide western audience with exotic looks which they are yearning for. Zhang Yimou's films have become global art products which actually 'betray' China. From Rey Chow's *Primitive Passions* (1995) to Sheldon Lu's *China, Transnational Visuality, Global Postmodernity* (2001);

from overseas professor Zhang Yingjin to the mainland professor Dai Jinhua, cross-cultural research has been recognized and applied by both Western and Chinese film researchers. Whenever there are discussions on Chinese new films, the topics of 'flattering on western' and 'sales on folklore' have been continually repeated. In some critics' points of view, Chinese directors have become conspirators who collaborate with the transnational capitalists; The reputation and success of Chinese films in international field have become the proofs of post-colonial 'un-exchanged culture.' (Dai JH).

In nearly one century, developments and application on one country's specific natural and cultural resources have been an integral part of film art and business. Of course Chinese director display a number of scenes from old China, including construction, fictional characters and customs. And as Nick Browne has pointed out, these just like Fellini's film processing on Italy, Fassbinder's for Germany, Bergman's for Sweden. They adopt natural and cultural resources as film techniques for expression. (2009, p25)

People do national research of Chinese film reject the view from Cross-cultural analytic model. They point out that before Chinese films achieved international reputation and entering international market; several generations of Chinese film directors had attempted to apply traditional Chinese art techniques in their films. Since cross-cultural analytic makes too much emphasis on those who gaze or watch, but neglecting national significance which is carried by cultural heritage.

Chinese culture does not have foretime which has been colonized nor does it have colonial present. Cross-cultural analytic model locates China in the post-colonial location, and changes the China-Western relations into a colonial power relationship. It considers Chinese films in a vulnerable state, which going into the world's cultural with a self-deprecating state. As Nick Browne has pointed out, it is an unreasonable paradigm which makes simplification, orientation and colonization of Chinese film discussion.(2009, p31) The greatest hazard of this model is from a non-reciprocal 'post-colonial exchange model' to view the content of Chinese film and its national value. It makes 'What is Chinese film's nationality' once again become a mystery. If Chinese landscape scenery, folk culture, historical myth become elements and symbols which are set for others, then what is the true national characteristic of Chinese film?

In order to survive under the pressure of globalization and market-orientation, the national issue is the most urgent task for Chinese film to fulfill. (Zhou B, 2005, p201) This sense of time mission hasten the development of the national research of local films in Mainland China. Chinese traditional aesthetics and philosophy act as a cultural core, which giving birth to the unique Chinese aesthetic style and having a profound impact on Chinese films. To make a study on how Chinese traditional culture influences Chinese film, as a replacement for cross-cultural analytic model, is

looks like urgently needed on today's Chinese film research.

Issues Study

Globalization makes the national research on local films getting development opportunity, but also it increases its nationalist paranoia. We should keep a vigil over the negative pressure which is brought out by cultural globalization. Confrontation with the great western theory is like the lingering shadow in childhood and it leaves national research on local Chinese films with indigenous resistance and closure seas. It is expressed that scholars in this field advocate building a "pure" and "non-western elements" Chinese National Film Theory to compete with western theories. They insist on "studying the Chinese films with Chinese own film theory"(Chen XH, 1999, p23), conducting writings with concepts and vocabulary in traditional aesthetic and philosophical definition, sticking to the comparative study with the Western approach to explain the characteristics of Chinese film aesthetics.

The result of doing so is to make national research on local Chinese films becoming an isolated and rigid doctrine. It separates from the practice of Chinese film, but also separates from the researches on Chinese films in world range. Existing studies on local Chinese film aesthetics considerable continue the loose and vague characteristic in traditional Chinese aesthetics. Their papers are mostly sentimental and vague statements, lack of logic and rigorous proof, there are no links between each other and they can not form a real system. Since in traditional Chinese aesthetics and philosophy some concepts and terms are not exactly defined, so different film scholars often use different vocabulary to express the same meaning. Sometimes, they obviously use the same words to express various meaning.

To take advantages of 'enhancing nationalities' to confront with globalization is a kind of 'self-nationalization' (self proactive nationalization). It would consider this self-nationalization also as a kind of negative impact brought by globalization. Firstly, when nationality studies marked by defiance, it takes Otherness as the criterion to determine value of their nationality due to excessively emphasizing the difference with others. Secondly, proactive nationalization established the mode of 'the west = global = intruder = the strong; China = national = defender = the weak' and placed itself in an unequal position of edge and weakness. So, in essential, it is a kind of compromise with globalization. It sets Chinese film theory on the edge of inequality and weak position of the western theory. The blind pursuit of "difference from western" will obliterate the Western theory to make up the lack and deficiencies of traditional Chinese theory in logic and system.

Film theory is originally western discipline, the introduction of this discipline into China truly should causes concerns about the phenomenon of local films, but the basic

framework and norms should be based on internationally-accepted academic practice. The currently accepted practice is developed under the western academic system and it is an indisputable fact. The so-called 'Chinese National Film Theory' is definitely not by the 'film theory' which is composed by traditional Chinese terminology, methods and concepts. It can not form system or develops into something entirely different from western theory; otherwise it is not necessary to call it 'Film Theory'. Chinese film theory should be the theoretical studies fulfilled by the Chinese people under the film norms. The citation of western film research framework does not mean the direct diversion of its conclusions or methods, but when we clarify the theoretical background, sort out all attempts and main ways to solve problems, understand the current general assumptions recognized by scholars and regard it as their own opportunities to conduct research.

From a truly global sense, the pursuit of 'pure national' only equals to affirm the value of certain ethnic Chinese film theory for the local films, but denies their values for films in the world. In fact, Chinese national film theory may learn from the Western film theory and methods. Experience and thinking of Chinese filmmakers which have been accumulated in a hundred years may also be helpful to the films in the world.

In the context of globalization, in dialogue and competitions among various cultures and ideas, the value of theory and ideology are not only determined by whether it is unique and national, but to a greater extent depending on whether it can reveal the truth more widely and more effectively. Obviously, there are unique insights in Chinese film theory which can provide new and useful answers to problems in the film industry around the world. (Such as forms-manifestations, director-audience, authenticity, etc). It specializes in art films fields which are rarely involved in contemporary western film theory. Only when Chinese Film Theory highlights this value it can consolidate its presence in the globalization torrent, enhance its influence and continue its developments.

In the frame exploring of traditional Chinese culture and Chinese film, any attempts to establish once and for all big theory relying on Chinese or Western theory and standpoint which gives strict binary opposition for Chinese and Western theory have to be abandoned. The narrow view that Chinese film theory can only be used for Chinese film must also be changed. And since eastern aesthetics and philosophy has high value for the world films, we should do 'self- mondialisation', that is, it should try to resolve the world problems unresolved by western theories with Chinese theories, to replace 'self-nationalization' to confront with globalization.

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Foreign entry strategy of the service industry: Case studies of the resource advantages of the Taiwanese public relation consultants and their subsidiaries in China

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Abstract

This study is to explore the resource advantages of the Taiwanese local public relation companies and their entries to China. We take a local public relation company in Taiwan, Elite Public Relation Consultant, as the research target and exam its competence and resources in the local market and the process of exploitation of its existing resources to a regional market.

Selecting a proper entrant strategy will determine the key of success in the future. We suggest that difference entrance model would affect the capability of transferring firm-specific assets from original company to foreign markets. It also could reduce the uncertainty of the organization's external environment effectively. Elite Public Relation Consultant is the first Taiwanese public relation company that established a subsidiary in China. This study will use Resource-Based View to discuss the competence and resource configuration and its sequential entry strategy which enabled it to leverage its firm-specific assets to a new market, and to acquire new resources from the Chinese market. We also compare its strategy with Ogilvy, a global advertising group, and other Taiwanese local company to support our theory.

The contribution of this study is to provide references for service and consulting companies which prepare to expand their foreign market share. It can also help scholars to understand the key factors of service industry succeed in leveraging locations-specific advantages and firm-specific resources in foreign investments.

Keywords: *Public relations agencies, Overseas investment, Resource-based theory*

Foreign entry strategy of the service industry: Case studies of the resource advantages of the Taiwanese public relation consultants and their subsidiaries in China

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Introduction

This study is to explore the resource advantages of the Taiwanese local public relation companies and their entries to China. We take a local public relation company in Taiwan, Elite Public Relation Consultant, as the research target.

Public relations industry in the Taiwan market is now close to be saturated, the company for the sake of sustainable growth, and then select distinctly from the local market, will extend to overseas markets in order to increase opportunities for growth and business performance.

Since the implementation of the communist system in China, making its spread development of the industry has its own specialty so that multinational media company can't fully replicate its international experience and quickly established advantage of profit in China.

In other words, when companies are entering a new environment, selecting a suitable model will determine the key of future success. Thus, how to respond to Chinese specific industrial environment and how to develop a profitable business model has become a topic worthy of study.

The Research questions of this study are as follows.

1. Explore the resources advantage of Taiwanese local public relations companies expand abroad, and how to transfer these advantages (customer relations and professional information) to foreign market.
2. Explore the competition strategies of Taiwanese local public relations companies invest abroad. For example, Groups of target customers, service items, the vertical integrated degree and the expansion of positions.

Literature Review

Taiwan's public relations industry overview

According to the study, growth of Taiwan's public relations industry began to flourish and the year 1987 can be the turning point. There are five or six public relations companies registered before 1987. 1991, 1992 is the fastest growing time. There are seven new public relations companies established for the rate of growth per year. Later, the rate grows slower than before. It has reached 50 until 1994 (YH, Huang,1994; SY ,Lee, China 84 years; SH, Shao, 2005).

Public relations companies in Taiwan tend to be small and medium size. Although there are few large-scale public relations companies, they have more resources than small and medium-scale public relations companies.

Resource-based theory

Resource-based theory is an inner enterprise resources and capability based strategic thinking logic. For the view of resource that researchers explore the meaning of the strategy that company can maintain competition advantages. This generally calls the strategic resource-based view (JX, Len ,2009).

The resource-based theory emphasizes on the internal review. When the environment is too difficult to predict, the inside out strategic thinking logic becomes important for resource-based theory (MY, Hu ,2001).

From the above researcher's literature, we can summarize that core competence is a competence better than other competitors, and it is a enterprise or organization's unique competence, a special and non-imitate resource, and the access and management of special resource. But the more important is how does the ability integrate the use of these resources, this study will explore how do local public relations companies use the abilities to enter the mainland market.

Research Methods

This study uses the case study method to explore the key factor of success that Taiwanese local public relations companies erect entries to China and how to use core competencies resources to develop a value out of ordinary that become the advantage of public relations companies.

Elite Public Relations is the target firm in this study. Elite Public Relations is largest local public relations company in Taiwan. The main purpose in this study is aimed at Elite Public Relations erected entries to China and expanded business there continually. To explore the key factor that local public relations company's operation in China, this study take Elite Public Relations as the main subject for research.

Elite Public Relation Consultant

Elite Public Relations is nowadays the largest local public relations company in Taiwan. It went to China in 2002 and set up a Beijing Elite Public Relations Division, beginning investment operations in overseas markets. Elite Public had been set up on July 1987 by Mr. Cheng Zhi, Kong.

Elite was set up in Beijing in 2002, it also is the first Taiwanese local public relations company erected entries in China. It expanded their China divisions continually due to operating successfully.

Research Analysis

Overseas resources development

Taiwanese local public relations company's competition advantage is the familiarity with the local culture, and combing with local government, media, industrial relations and accumulating the experience of person network resource. It can simply be divided into three main resources which are localization services, public relations expertise and industry expertise.

Local services refer to the understanding of local cultural for public relations companies, and familiarity with the market dynamics, government policy, industry management. It provides a best service according to the local advantage.

One of the advantages, public relations expertise, is what every public relations companies should have. It includes public relations expertise, industry knowledge, logic knowledge and social systems knowledge. Properly using this knowledge and constantly enriching the profile of the expertise can enhance its market position and maintain the image of public relation professional.

As to the industry expertise, when public relations practitioners who have established public relations knowledge but without enough experiences, they cannot bring sufficient benefits to customers. They put themselves into the industry and combine the public relations knowledge with industry expertise. Then, they can acquire more public relations values and achieve their goal more accurately.

"... In Taiwan, we have the three critical success factors. During the time we operated in China, perhaps we lack the experiences for localization services, but in public relations expertise and industry expertise, what we have is much better than other competitors. This is our advantage. Moreover, we enforce the training of local public relations staff to make up for resources that we are not well." (Elite Public Relations Consultants Group CEO ST ,Yan)

Public relations agents are the industry of people. They must be people-centered. Providing services and responding questions by people. Public relations and people can't be separated, so Elite Public Relations emphasized the company's resources and advantageous from the people the company trained. Not every public relations company can train their own staffs since the beginning. Except fulfilling the training of local public relations staff in Taiwan.

Elite Public Relations has a set of advantages in this part, leading to developing a competition strategy in overseas development successful.

Overseas development of competitive strategy

Taiwan's local public relations companies competed with others with familiarity of local public sentiment and lower price in the market competition. Elite Public Relations used reasonable price and provided excellent service to attract customer. In addition, they use organization advantages and human resources so that they can expand their business in different locations. From the first time founded Elite Beijing, and then founded Elite Shanghai, it is approaching to the business goal of becoming Asia's largest public relations company.

"...During the time we operated in Taiwan, we faced the case of brain drain test. Because the limitation of market size in Taiwan, and in order to avoid brain drain which is considered one of the constant. Then, we think of why Taiwanese public relations companies can't come out to be international. These two reasons make company grow and expand division in China." (Elite Public Relations Consultants Group CEO ST ,Yan)

When public relations agents have unused (human) resources, it is easily leading to brain drain and it also forces that company to expand. In the growth process of the Elite Public Relations, setting up divisions in China, in place of consideration, the first Beijing and then in Shanghai. Its business established priorities is also one of its competition strategy.

Because China can't be considered as a whole market, it must be divided. "... When we select the first entry in Beijing China, the reason is that Beijing is the government center. The national media set up headquarters in Beijing. However public relations and media are inextricably linked in order to build their professional relationship and increase their interaction. Hence we choose this place for our first entry" (Elite Public Relations Consultants Group CEO ST ,Yan).

In contrast with Shanghai, Shanghai is as a financial and commercial center. The main business is the commodity sell and popularization. It is strictly in media management. Due to cultural differences across the areas in China, overseas development competition strategies must be changed. Only to understand their differences, it can operate public relations issues accurately.

The Elite Public Relations transferred the advantage in Taiwan to China successfully. Even the resources advantage had some difference. Owing to the idea they insist, they train professions personally. It makes their company toward the largest public relations company in Asian step by step.

Conclusions

The successful module of the first case that Taiwanese local public relations companies erected entries abroad is the business management and the conduction of the objective idea in the inner company. The success of the Elite Public Relation Consultant let us not only see the capability that Taiwan local industry can transfer to international markets, but also be the subject that other Taiwan local public relations companies follow.

In the future, the development of Taiwanese public relations industry will get more resources or more cross-strait cooperation through the policy influence or the system openness. Not only in Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, Korea, Japan and Singapore, the resources used in the whole Asian would bring lots of economic benefit and a tendency.

In this study, this case is the first case that Taiwanese local public relation companies erected their entries to China, so the Elite Public Relations Consultant comes to be the only subject for research.

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Electronic Media and Interpersonal Discourse: Mediation in Crises

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ABSTRACT

The uses and gratifications theory addresses individuals' social integrative needs through interpersonal interaction within social network as conversational currency. The media, specifically electronic media, provides a common ground for social integration among individuals. This study examines how electronic media portrays the most sensitive issue of militant insurgency in the country and subsequently mediates it through interpersonal discourse to develop their social consensus.

In this study, television news channel has been conceptualized as main source of information that leads to interpersonal discourse on current burning issue in the country. It is hypothesized that the greater exposure to television news, the greater the interpersonal discourse about militant insurgency. Secondly, the exposure to television news through mediation of interpersonal discourse increases social empathy towards the victim of militants. Empathic individuals often have a strong self-concept and high self-esteem, which enables them to be generous with others, particularly those 30 million Internally Displaced Persons of North West frontier region of the country who have been victims of present militant insurgency.

The study empirically confirms the influence of electronic media through interpersonal discourse which has created a sense of efficacy toward victims of militant insurgency d

Key Words: Electronic Media, Interpersonal Discourse, Mediation, Uses and Gratifications, and Militant Insurgency

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Introduction

It is evident through empirical studies that mass media, one of the most effective medium in creating political socialization, plays a significant role of controlling information flow in the society (Ahn, 1995).

Though media is usually used for political bench, human rights violation, invasion of privacy and imperialistic domination in the society but concurrently, there is a drastic change in media scenario of Pakistan after a success story of judiciary restoration movement through media support in the country and now its progress towards another fallout of most crucial conflict of war on terror i.e., public discourse on national politics. The present study focuses television news exposure on current political issues and seeks to find out the nature and extent of their contribution to the ongoing discourse on war on terror and its consequences on internally displaced persons and their rehabilitation. It looks at the organisational and production aspects of these alternative media, and how these affect their performance as alternative channels of discourse.

Uses and gratification approach emphasizes audiences' choice by assessing their reasons for using a certain media to the disregard of others, as well as the various gratifications obtained from the media, based on individual social and psychological requirements (Severin & Tankard, 2001). As a broader perspective among communication researches, it provides a framework for understanding the processes by which media participants seek information or content selectively, commensurate with their needs and interest. Furthermore, the uses and gratifications approach also postulates that the media compete with other information sources for audience's need satisfaction (Katz et al., 1974). Congruously, McQuuail's (1983) classified the following common reasons for media use: besides other classifications he has identified integration and social interaction as social utility which are sought to gain insight into circumstances of other, and social empathy as finding a basis for conversation and social interaction, enabling one to connect with family, friends and society. In another study, McQuil, Blumler and Brown (1972) proposed a model of 'media-person interactions' to classify media gratifications and emphasized on personal relations: companionship and social utility as one of the components of the model.

Television is the preferred medium and its reception occurs through the different discourses that circulate in the work world, (Paulino, R. 2004). Subsequently, this paper is set to investigate the electronic media, television in particular, which inflict television viewers to use newspapers in the moment of crises leading to interpersonal discourse in developing a socio-political consensus.

This paper is concerned about human behavior as the theory of uses and gratifications of mass media, specifically television, as an act which occurs frequently in our lives.

This study primarily focuses on the following research questions:

1. Does the television news use derive newspaper use more than the reverse among heavy television viewers?
2. Does the heavy television news viewing lead to greater interpersonal discourse?
3. Does the interpersonal discourse positively relate to political (war on terror) news?
4. Does the interpersonal discourse relate to feelings of external political efficacy (internally displaced persons)?

Media and Mediation in Crises

The backdrop of mediation in crises was set by the well known media theorist, McLuhan (1994) while narrating “the medium is the message”, as conceptualizing that the central mediating factor in any society is the medium of communication itself. He states “the personal and social consequences of any medium----- that is, of any extension of ourselves---- result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of us or by any new technology”.

McLuhan made the medium itself and not its functions, or its use, the centre of media logical analysis. The medium is not for McLuhan a system of transportation nor a system of representation of a reality that precedes it, but an each time different material mode of perceiving that reality. The medium in other words plays a part, a significant part, in the process of signification, so that you can establish correlation between media forms and ways of communicating, but also ways of perceiving and defining reality and ways of thinking (Carpignano, 1997).

Historically, societies living under repressive regimes have always come up with alternative forms of communication as tools of subversion. While underground newspapers and ‘pirate radio’ have been some of the most common forms, the advent of new communication technologies in recent years has brought new forms of alternative media with greater possibilities for transnational and even wider citizen participation and empowerment (Moyo, 2007).

There are numerous studies in the area of mediation, specifically while using computer-mediated communication (cmc) as a major intervening variable. Brian (2004) has developed a model using cmc competence through review of social trends in the use of new media technologies. Special attention is paid to the role new media plays in the formation and development of personal relationships.

In another study, Peter et al. (2004) examined television mediation and found it to be most strongly predicted by the age of the child and the game behavior of the parents,

whereas Bernd & Beber (2007) have looked at the strategic mediation initiation in their study of an integrated model of international mediation.

In most of the studies, international crises are threatening events that demand the attention not just of the parties most directly involved but of actors throughout the national and international crises. Contrarily, the present study examines another mechanism, i.e., mediation by interpersonal discourse as a mediator in developing consensus on crucial issues in the society.

Interpersonal discourse and political participation

Slembrouck (2006) has stated definition analysis as (a) concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence/utterance, (b) concerned with the interrelationships between language and society and (c) as concerned with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication. The term discourse analysis is very ambiguous and used as linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected speech or written discourse. It refers to attempt to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units such as conversational exchange or written texts. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers. This paper employs discourse analysis at interpersonal level through survey of the media users and explores discourse process on crucial issue of war on terror using uses and gratification theory in political process.

Method

The study involves quantitative research method while administering the instrument among probability sample of 350 residents of Islamabad, capital city of Pakistan, selected through systematic random sampling using survey method technique. The telephonic response rate of the instrument was less than 50 percent of the sample. The data was collected during June-July considering the peak time of insurgency in the country.

The variables conceptualized in research questions included in the instrument were, (a) demographic, (b) mass media use (newspapers), (c) electronic media use (television, online newspapers), (d) interpersonal communication (discourse), (e) political knowledge, and (e) political efficacy. Items of the instrument were closed ended considering the data gathering requirement and a combination of ordinal and nominal level of measurement. Interpersonal discourse variable was quantified in term of time spent with peers, friends and family members whereas the variable political efficacy was operationalized in terms of their concern towards war on terror in the country, peaceful democracy, and political situation in the country.

Results

In this study majority of the respondents were young (42%), male (73%) and post graduates (57.4%) from middle class families. 54% of the respondent read newspaper but

they spend only less than 30 minutes a day whereby they simply glanced at the political news excluding editorial and op-ed pages. However majority (76%) of the respondents watch television news daily, particularly news on ‘war on terror’, followed by newspaper, radio, and online news bulletin. Among television news channels, GEO is the most popular news channel followed by Dawn, Aaj, Duniya, Express, and PTV.

The results of the study were set in research questions, analyzed through establishing correlations among the dependent and independent variables and also sorted out by the nature of their association through chi-square. The relationship in the first research question, “Does the television news derive newspaper use more than the reverse among television heavy viewers?” was highly significant (Table-1).

Table: 1 Television news exposure drive newspaper use.

	Pearson Correlation	
	Newspaper Exposure correlation	Significant
Television News Exposure	.264**	.002

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** Correlation is significant at the 00.1 level (1-tailed)

As implied in the second research question, “Does the heavy television news viewing lead to greater interpersonal discourse?”, the electronic media television exposure in particular was positively related to interpersonal discourse (Table 2) with their peers (.347), with friends (-.264) and with family members (-.340).

Table: 2 The more television news exposure leads to greater interpersonal discourse.

	Interpersonal Discourse with		
	Peers	Friends	Family
Newspaper Exposure	.347** (.000)	-.264* (.004)	-.340** (.000)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

When examining research question 3, “Does the interpersonal discourse positively relate to political news (news on war on terror)?” it was found that in addition to the indirect path from television to newspaper indicated during interpersonal discourse, there was another significant path identified in terms of interpersonal discourse with war on terror news. In tables 3.1, 3.2, & 3.3, the chi-square confirmed such influence as significant association between interpersonal discourse and war on terror news.

Table: 3 Interpersonal Discourse Relates to War on Terror News

- 3.1 How frequently do you watch 'war on terror' news?
How much time do you share daily with your friends to discuss political news?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	99.377a	16	.000

a 16 cells (64%) have expected count than 5. The minimum expected count is .09

- 3.2 How frequently do you watch 'war on terror' news?
How much time do you share daily with your family?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	141.915a	12	.000

a 12 cells (60.0%) have expected count than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.10

- 3.3 How frequently do you watch 'war on terror' news?
How much time do you share daily with your peers?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	99.263a	12	.000

a 10 cells (50.0%) have expected count than 5. The minimum expected count is .73

For question 4, "Does the interpersonal discourse relate to feeling of political efficacy?", the final leg of the path was empirically verified as the path structure from electronic media exposure to newspaper, and subsequently enter into interpersonal discourse and political efficacy as dependent variable. In tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, chi-square confirms that interpersonal discourse was strongest indicator of political efficacy.

Table 4 Interpersonal discourse relates to political efficacy.

- 4.1 Is everyone is concerned about peaceful democracy in the country?

How much time do you share daily with peers to discuss political news?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.488a	3	.038

a 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.40

- 4.2** Is everyone concerned about peaceful democracy in the country?
How much time do you share daily with family members to discuss political issues?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.005a	3	.788

a 2 cells (25.5%) have expected count than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.10

- 4.3** Is everyone concerned about peaceful democracy in the country?
How much time do you share daily with friends to discuss political news?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.264a	4	.687

a 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.8

- 4.4** We would be better off if government is able to overcome 'war on terror'
How much time do you share daily with your peers to discuss political issues?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.517a	3	.319

a 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.40

- 4.5** We would be better off if government is able to overcome ‘war on terror’
How much time do you share daily with family members to discuss political issues?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.870a	3	.118

a. 2 cells (25.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.10

- 4.6** We would be better off if government is able to overcome ‘war on terror’
How much time do you share daily with friends to discuss political issues?

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.3975a	4	.845

a. 2 cells (50%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18

Discussion

This study applied uses and gratification theory considering that the media use is in fact motivated. In this study, many of the uses and gratification findings and theoretical approach were used in developing the conceptual frame work of the study. However the personality factors are left unattended which requires further investigation to predict more meaningful results.

The paper aimed to elucidate more comprehensively the forms of participation of public in political affairs and the influence of electronic media in activating of public in the time of crises. The efficacy had a strong impact on participation as it was predicted by the communication variables. In other words electronic media have proved to create a sense of efficacy during political crises as a very effective mediator.

Communication plays a critical role in motivating people. In this study, it has been confirmed that electronic media cultivates a dire need to use print media among people that takes them into a discourse state of affairs in a more conducive manner. Television provides national political information which has impact of awareness about crucial political issues and is primarily used for that function. As a matter of fact, the path of newspaper and television use is integral part of information process and dissemination.

The pathway from electronic media use as a mediator toward the larger public participation through interpersonal discourse in political affairs reveals strong family ties as norms of the Pakistani society. Overall, it is evident that electronic media plays a

central role in stimulating and enabling local political participation with significant implications for processes of democracy in the country.

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Facebook : The Online Social Network for Political Consciousness Awakening of University Students in Thailand (Phase 1)

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Abstract

In April 2010, according to Thailand facing severe political crisis, there were anti-government protests and riots. However, it found that online social network, especially on Facebook. It was the most popular channel to communicate with each other for university students to update situations. Moreover, it was also the channel to make several appointments for political gathering as the anti-red shirt rally of university students. In doing so, this could show well that it was the university students' political awakening and participation in Thailand. The purpose of this study was to examine the role of Facebook as the political consciousness awakening of university students in the context of political crisis in April 2010. The data in research was derived from managing focus group interview from 12 university students who were online on Facebook and participated in political through Facebook. The findings showed that the students received political crisis information through Facebook; in addition, they were more interested in politics by giving their opinion and replies continually on several topics and checking and updating political crisis situations each day. Moreover, it also found that they searched for political crisis information and situations from news agencies' websites and online newspapers and posted and updated the information and situations on Facebook to inform about the circumstances. Besides, they had new friends who had the same interest. The students explained about this phenomenon that Facebook was suitable for their lifestyles, and the information on Facebook was the latest and fresh and easy to access.

Background and Significance of the study

In Thailand, the development of communication was usually accordant with various capitalist countries in the world, but it was slower than those capitalist countries because of the restriction of government agencies and the relevant of law. Until today, communication via internet was more widely in Thailand. The online community, starting with Hi 5, increased gradually the most among teenagers several years ago. Because of the Thai language, it was easy to use for most teenagers. It was the reason why they used it broadly. In addition, Facebook was developed by adding Thai version and posting message in Thai as well. Therefore, there were numerous new groups especially university students and working age people.

Furthermore, Facebook was designed as simple white background and several blue items on the webpage that suited with the serious use. On the first page, it was the main page for gathering all updated movement of friends such as status, pictures, link, and especially news which was the way to communicate among members who were friends. They could give their opinions and post their comments into this updated news board that user who had additional comments could post it subsequently. They could also add new forum for new members who were interested

in the same topic. They applied in and share opinion on it which was a good way to communicate too.

In addition, communication was always parallel with the context of Thai especially with Thai political crisis situations such as on 14th October 1973 and 6th October 1976. The crisis situations were that people and university students gathered for demanding constitution from dictatorship government. In those days, students had significant role in democracy and the student center of Thailand participated in the movement. In that period, communication technology had not developed yet and most university students recognized the stories and political idea from the discussions in books, three monthly magazine "Social Science Perspectives" and newspaper. The gathering occurred from face to face and leaders contacted each other by sending notes. In those times, "people" was the most powerful communication tool. Using telephone, there were only the rotation public telephones; besides, both television and radio had minimal users and they were under government power.

The Black May in 1992 was the situation that people movement protested against the government of General Suchinda Kraprayoon as Prime Minister and National Peace Keeping Council (NPKC) on 17th - 20th May 1992, which was a Thai military junta that overthrew the civilian elected government of General Chatichai Choonhavan in February 1991. This situation led to the domination and control of police officers and soldiers to protesters. There were many deaths and injured, so this crisis also led to political change. This political gathering was called a "mobile mob" and a "pager mob" because most protesters were middle class, business men and working age that it was different from 14th October situation which most protesters were university students. In addition, mobile technology had just arrived in Thailand. At that time there were mobile user approximately four hundred thousand people, particularly in Bangkok and in the big cities. The protesters also used mobile phone as an important communication tool, so The Black May was also called a "mobile mob".

In 2005 – 2008, there was a yellow-shirt protest. The government of Thaksin Shinawatra was kept an eye on the fraud policy. Starting with his first year as the Prime Minister in 2001, Television and Radio were bought by some political capital. In addition, TV program which reported in depth on the work of government was removed from the TV program schedule in September 2005. For this reason, ASTV satellite occurred and it could gather the yellow-shirt protesters in Bangkok and other provinces to join the rally. It could lead to the coup in September 2006 and the yellow-shirt protesters close Suvanabhumi Airport to pressure the government of Thaksin Shinawatra. Therefore, the government had to resign in 2008.

The current severe political crisis began in 2009. The red-shirt protester continually rallied against the government of Abhisit Vejjajiva because the protesters claims that Thai Army were behind the dissolution of the People's Power Party (PPP) and making the Democrat Party became the leader of the coalition government and they also raised the topic of the double standards in society to against the government. This led to various conflicts in society and people who had the conflicts with each other would try to use the mechanisms both in violence and ideology as tools for their struggle (Kanjana Kaewthep: 1999). Later year, The United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) had continued the political

gathering since 12th March 2010 and it called for the Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva had to dissolve the parliament and announce new elections.

The UDD was composed of mostly rural supporters with some Bangkok supporters as well. The rally was located around Phan Fa Lilat Bridge on Ratchadamnoen road. The protesters used different ways such as the rally around Bangkok and the donation blood for splashing blood at the entrances to Government House, Democrat Party and Abhisit's home to pressure the government.

Negotiation between the government and the UDD occurred continually but they fail, so the Centre for the Resolution of the Emergency Situation (CRES) had to order soldiers to tighten Rachapasong Intersection area on 14th -18th May. Clashes between soldiers and the red-shirted UDD supporters caused the death and injured of both soldiers and the red-shirted UDD supporters. On 19th May, soldiers tighten the area for the last time at Rachapasong Intersection and the UDD then announced to stop protesting and the UDD leaders then surrendered to police officers. This caused many UDD supporters did not satisfy with this and they made riots and commit arson many places around Thailand. Therefore, government had to announce a curfew banning the public from leaving their houses in several provinces across the country.

Using People Channel satellite TV to communicate with the community broadcast information to rural UDD supporters. People Channel raised the topic of the inequality of society, so the supporters could be stirred up easily which the inequality had come in all time.

According to the situation, it was the political situation which made Thais broke into two groups, the yellow-shirt and the red-shirt. The red-shirt protests marched into Rachapasong Intersection which was the city center and the important business area more than a month. Consequently, red-shirt protest area was to be restricted and the red-shirt then announced disperse the rally and it had many severe riots in Bangkok. Form during several months, online communities had been established in many political groups such as government supporting, red-shirt supporting and the impartial group for the harmony. They reported situation in the protest area and gave opinion on the situation broadly.

Working group and university students in Bangkok which was the center of the protest had to stay in their residence because the government declared the State of Emergency. Government agencies and private sectors also announced to close for a week. In addition to tracking news on television, newspapers, radio and the Internet was another way to keep track of the news from both media in country and outside country. They could comment on political situation in millisecond. Besides, the impartial group could make appointments to show their voices and power at public places over several weeks until the situation started to unravel.

From the political gatherings in the past, on 14th October 1973, university students were the leader to anti-government. According to The Black May in 1992, the most middle class in Bangkok were in opposition to government. Besides, in 2010, the red-shirt protesters who were from the rural area claimed that they did not receive the justice and there was a double standard in society. From those severe political crises, political role of university students gradually reduced since the event

on 14th October 1973. However, online communities which were the easy and fast channel to reach led university students to be more interested in politics. According to the data on 30th May 2010, it found that university students had comments and opinion on politics and they also had created 1,308 groups in Facebook. The anti-red shirt groups were the highest amount and it was 423 groups around 32.4%. The highest amount of members group was the confidence of more than 1 million Thais against an election group which was 556,339 members. Besides, red-shirt supporters groups and anti-government group were totally around 15% and the peace demonstration groups were only 3%. Regarding from the number of Facebook users for politics, university students were included in this group. In doing so, university students started to have the role of participation with more politics. Although university students these days did not have much participation in politics as the university students who were in the political struggle period. At least it could be considered as a good start for the political consciousness of university students today.

Research Objective

To study the role of Facebook as the political consciousness awakening of university students in the context of Thai political crisis in April 2010.

Methodology

The data in research was derived from managing focus group interview from 12 university students who online on Facebook, gave their comments and their opinion, searched for information to update on Facebook in Thai political crisis in April 2010.

Research Result

1. Recognition information about political crisis situation from social network on Facebook.

University students who provided information would have some online social network on Facebook and track political news from television, free TV, ASTV, People Channel and foreign news agencies. They then posted the political news in the board on Facebook, so all their friends knew the latest news from many aspects. Some of them share their opinion and criticized on each topic. Apart from news, they also posted pictures and clip videos in the topic for their friends to watch and share some opinion.

Besides, tracking news from the online social network, some university students who provided information also reviewed and criticized politics in their message board. There were friends in online social network. They added and shared ideas in their posts.

In addition, university students who provided information also applied in various political groups for getting information from them and sometimes sharing their opinion on the political groups that they were members.

The students who provide information commented

“Actually, I login Facebook for chatting with my friends almost everyday and talk about everything in general. I am not interested in politics even less but Facebook makes me realize what is happening in political situations when the situations occur. I do not need to seek any information. It comes to me when I login it.”

“I am online to play games. I know from the instant messages of my friends to update the protest situation. Information runs into me and I do not need to find any where else.”

2. Facebook stimulating greater interest in politics and the participation

University Students who provided information told that they were more interested in politics from Facebook. At the result, they wanted to participate in politics. For instance, they replied the topic after another continually. They also focused on issues that occurred each day by tracking information via Facebook. In the past, the Students who provided information was the member of Facebook for connecting with their friends, playing games and posting pictures. They used Facebook for entertainment only, but they were more interested in politics from the severe political crisis during that period, practically on government declaration a curfew and announce holiday for a week. Therefore, the students had more time and most TV programs were often postponed by the announcement of CRES. Moreover, various department stores were closed as well. Most people in Bangkok and its vicinity areas of the provocation had to stay at home, so the Internet, especially Facebook was one of the channels to communicate in online social networks. In addition, online social network which shared the same interest in politics made the students to participate more in politics by sharing opinion and replying the forum after another.

Besides, the students had been shown their participation and comments with the situation at that time. They also changed their profile picture as a similar picture to prove their viewpoint of politics. No violence group had Thai flag that was in the middle of some corollas and had some texts “Thais love Thais. Different ideas, but no violence”. They created page “WeLoveThai” on Facebook which users pressed “Like” on this page more than 30,000 users, and they also created website for the campaign of no violence “<http://www.welovethai.in.th>”. Some students changed their profile picture as the page “WeLoveThai” because they believed when situation in Thailand was in violence, it would lead Thailand to damage.

“We have a space for comment where we have freedom of thought. At home we can participate and no need to join the rally.”

“At least I can give my opinion without anyone block. I play in a cyber world.”

“I want to show students power although it is not as the former students on 14th October but I think I was in my space. It is better than do nothing.”

“Information comes to us. At least we should share our opinion. Our voice (political rights) might be louder.”

While most students who provided information changed their profile picture as the funny campaign such as expensive shirt group. They posted picture and text to show the nostalgia to the big department store in Rachapasong Intersection which temporarily shut down during the severe rally. Or else, they changed profile picture and wrote the text “Want CTW Back”, “Want My Siam Paragon Back”, or “Come and Joint naked to stop violence.”

The students changed their profile picture as this funny campaign and commented

“I feel that the situation of political conflict have increased and many opinions are in the way to create conflict, so I change profile picture by using the text in the funny way to reduce the tension of friends who see it.”

3.Changing role of the passive audience to the active audience

The students saw information as well as the progress of the situation from news websites and online newspapers to search information to update on Facebook and to report the progress of the situation. Besides, students who provided information took information from television, radio and Facebook. In addition, some students took information from Twitter that belongs to journalists. The information on Twitter was a kind of message sending and opinion sharing on politics. The students also tracked information on the web board on website Pantip that was in Ratchadamnoen Room which usually raised topics about politics and sharing opinion broadly. Moreover, the students had received forward mails that had information and pictures of the severe rally. The students were still interested in information from the various websites of newspapers in Thailand because they always updated the progress of the severe rally.

“I have got the messages from friends on Facebook. There are many links of each page on Facebook that have different opinion on politics and they argue each other which base on their information. So, there is a lot of information so I really want to know the truth and I begin to search for the information from many news agencies.”

“The information makes me confused because the information is from both sides and they are against each other, so I have to find the information by myself, social network and the similar political group and help each other to find the truth and post it on Facebook.”

“I used to receive information only. The information that I have is different, so I have to find the information and the truth what it is going on right now”

“When I have got the information, I then post it to my friends to check it one more time. It starts from a friend and expanding to be the social network for helping each other to check and update information. Finally, it becomes something fun to search for the truth.”

4. Seeking the new group of friends who have the same interest

The students who provided information still searched for new friends who had the same interest. At the beginning Facebook was merely for searching for new friends not only who liked playing the same games but also who had the same hobby. On the other hand, some students had new friends from online social network that participated in the same political groups during the severe political situation. In doing so, they could share their opinion that they had the same agreement well. This phenomenon allowed the integration of people with the same ideas and passion.

The students who provide information said

“I have had my opinion on the page board “WeLoveThai”. Suddenly, someone press the “like” in my opinion more than ten times and people who are a member of this page adding me as their friend because they think that I have the same interests with them.”

“I have more friends on social network by helping each other to find, share and update what happens and what the situation is now. Some friends stay around the severe situation and they will update the situation that are current and new and at the end we are political social network.”

“I never thought I will have new friends who are interested in politics and I never thought I will interest in politics but when you have a new network, I am more interested in politics. People think like me as I thought. It seems that I am an up-to-date person and I have the social network that helps each other to find and update information among groups of friends. We know the latest news all the time.”

5. Facebook suited with lifestyle of university students today

The students who provided information commented on the speed performance of online social network like Facebook that could send information in real time. In addition, it could create awareness quickly and information was fresh and easy to access. With the space of Facebook that opened widely to express various opinion. The receivers could be the senders at the same time.

Students who provide information said

“Normally I login Facebook almost every day to play game mostly. Sometimes I chat with friends. But when a political crisis occurred, some friends post and update the news and pictures of the rally on their web board so I have received news and follow up news as well.”

Sharing opinion on the political to the online social network, you could comment on various ways especially when the violence occurred and when people posted messages that related to the situations, some people would give their opinion on those messages immediately.

Students who provide information said

“Sometimes the violence occurred and TV stations reported just the situations but on facebook you could post your comments or your ideas from many people and you could recommend the additional information from other media channels too.”

In addition, students had less time reading newspapers. It might come from the capital city lifestyle that was always in hurry and the short lifecycle of the newspaper.

Students would follow news from the Internet and website of the newspaper. When they wanted to know something they would search on the Internet. And the online social network also enabled students not only to know information but also to post their comments as well.

“All I want to know. No matter what news is. I read on the Internet. When I post some messages, my friends will read them and post their comments soon on Facebook and they also update the information.”

“I can read online newspapers every issue. If they are paper newspapers, I can read and check them every issue. I have much information and I compare them to each other what is real and what is not. Then I select some and post them on Facebook. So, information will update more quickly than the paper newspapers which were very late.”

“I read news from the Internet. I will post on Facebook and I will then create the topic for friends to comment on Facebook. I want to know how many people think like me.”

Discussion and Recommendation

The research of the study concluded that online social network played a significant role in severe political crisis situation during April until May 2010. While major media was television, it was unable to provide the complete information and it was not up-to-date. Most students would communicate through online social network at home every day and used the Internet as a way to seek information the most. Similarly, the study of Rudeeporn Pongsuparp (2008) found that online social networks, particularly Facebook, could play a role to enable students were more interested in political news by participation and sharing political attitude and political opinion widely. Because the nature of online social networks that could link with anyone on the network and was open 24 hours. In addition, users could comment as the Two Way Communications which could interact together immediately. This was suitable for the lifestyle of students who were in the range of adolescent. They would take the most time with computer, the Internet and online social network more than other media such as radio, television or newspapers. These were forms of media that could not interact or comment immediately and after situations.

Because people and some students responded to the political communication features as the manipulation purpose, they fear and avoidance to communicate. Moreover, they were tired and quit to track political news (Kanjana Kaewthep: 1999). In addition, when online social networks occurred, student groups could monitor a variety of news in many sources. Radio, television or newspapers could not cover all news details, or they were likely to report political news as dominance characteristics. On the other hands, Internet system linked computers in millions, so it made anywhere could exchange texts, images, movies, and audios with others that linked globally which supported with the word "Virtual Communities". Therefore, it became the new kind of discussion like real time which users could join the discussion on topics of their interest (Peter Norton: 2002). With these features, Internet users could seek information as well as the progress of the situations from news websites and online newspapers both in and out country. Particularly, online social network in Thailand's political crisis was as a way of sharing information in the form of various groups which chose a political side or political neutrality. They searched for information and data and shared in their groups. The different views and comments may lead to the development of Thai politics in the future. As well as online social networking had made students more interested in politics. This allowed students to cultivate democratic ideas well. From one person to another person (Word-of-Mouth) and from friends to friends of friends allowed the integration of people who shared the same interest with network to form groups. The various political groups that occurred in the Thai political crisis were caused by the same political stance and led to the introduction of friends to join the network and various activities after the political crisis situation.

Because lifestyle of most students spent on the Internet and online social networks more than reading books, government or political parties should have strategies to student groups which were a group in society and would grow to be adult and the future of the nation in the future turned to participate in politics. Students should be set up the way of political participation by using online social networking that matched with the lifestyle of students such as the election both local elections and national elections. Office of the Election Commission should use online social networking as another way to provide political information to the group of adolescent participation in the elections via Facebook that did not cost much. But it was a more efficient way of sending information to the student groups. It was also a way to student groups could post comments back rapidly.

In addition, political parties or various political groups could also use online social networks to find a political group aligned with student groups as well. It also could get different opinions as a guide to prepare party's policy for these student groups and also found the voice from student groups which were a large group in society. It could cause the loyalty to a political party for a long time and the effectiveness of online social networks caused the person to tell another person quickly. It made the activities of political parties sending to a group of aligned students quickly and could find more aligned rapidly as well.

On the other side, which was very important was the information from the online social network that received from major media such as radio, television and newspapers which was the general news. However, another part of information may come from web boards or forward mails which may come from some unreliable

sources and distortion from the other sides and from edited pictures or taking pictures from other situations. Therefore, information receivers from online social networks had to use their critical to receive information from the media and watched other media to make their decisions as well as critical before sending information and various opinions to prevent misleading and violated the rights of others

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Communication and Culture: Reflections on the Perspectives of Influence

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Abstract

There are no mass media texts, messages, cues and portrayals which are free from cultural biases, objective and advance no relation to power and domination. More often media contents; whether news, entertainment or commercial exposures, contain prejudices of class, gender, race or misrepresentation and social segmentation. Entertainment programmes; however, are relatively heavily saturated with cultural biases and prejudices, of which target audience is predominantly the youth. These media contents influence the political thoughts, shape or reshape the cultural traits, pose or propose idols and icons, affect the social order, and alter the relationship between social institutions. There is an iota of recent research on mass media nexus with culture which advocates the immense power of media to create myths, renew, amplify and extend the existing predispositions to constitute a dominant culture (Curran *et al.*, 1982).

This paper mainly aims at exploring the different facets of media effects on culture. How mass media and culture are linked with each other, what different schools of thought comment on these effects and what are the effects of technological developments on mass media and culture relationship? These and some other significant questions shall be addressed in the paper.

There are no mass media texts, messages, cues and portrayals which are free from cultural biases, objective and advance no relation to power and domination. More often media contents; whether news, entertainment or commercial exposures, contain prejudices of class, gender, race or misrepresentation and social segmentation. Entertainment programmes; however, are relatively heavily saturated with cultural biases and prejudices, of which target audience is predominantly the youth. These media contents influence the political thoughts, shape or reshape the cultural traits, pose or propose idols and icons, affect the social order, and alter the relationship between social institutions. There is an iota of recent research on mass media nexus with culture which advocates the immense power of media to create myths, renew, amplify and extend the existing predispositions to constitute a dominant culture (Curran *et al.*, 1982).

This paper mainly aims at exploring the different facets of media effects on culture. How mass media and culture are linked with each other, what different schools of thought comment on these effects and what are the effects of technological developments on mass media and culture relationship? These and some other significant questions shall be

addressed in the paper. However, before initiating discussion on mass media and culture nexus, it seems apposite to know what do we mean by culture and how the construct has been defined in literature.

Understanding Culture

For the peaceful survival, human beings have to live in a society with politeness, peace and with somewhat compromising behaviour. All members who live in a society have to face many difficulties, problems and realities; e.g., they need shelter and food for life. They transmit, what they have, to their coming generations. This transmission of problems, beauties and liabilities to the future generations is known as 'culture'. This feature makes the culture known as social heritage.

No country or nation is culture free. It is one of the basic ingredients of a society. Culture is used to refer to all the activities of life whether these are social, physical, external or internal. Its material components include buildings, furniture, clothing, musical instruments and other tangible stuff. It is the sum total of all the tangible and intangible things including art and craft, customs and traditions, ideas, values, social and political norms and habits etc. Technology and development are also components of a culture. These two concepts are simultaneously cause and effect for each other and play a vital role in the transformation of a culture from tradition-oriented society to a modern one. And, this transformation happens due to the cultural industries; i.e., mass media (Bennett, 1982, p.31).

Culture is a human medium which translates and governs man's actions and give meanings to what he does or consciously refrains doing anything. It has roots in a Latin word 'colere' which means 'to build on, to cultivate, and to foster' (Dhal, 2000). The meanings of Latin word apparently indicate that 'culture' is somehow opposite to 'nature' as 'culture' is built and cultivated while 'nature' has an intrinsic value. In other words, 'culture' is constructed while 'nature' is innate, and a society is the mix of 'culture' and 'nature'.

Man, by nature, is a cultural animal who prefers to live in a social system that has the attributes which distinguish it from other societies or social groups (Jalibi, 1984, p.14). This distinguished outlook of a society is due to its culture. As the human being is constantly destined for change in himself and his surroundings, such dynamism in the human nature keeps his culture on a constant change. This is evident from the fact that he is no more a creature of primitive or metal age, but of satellite and space age. During these ages all his efforts aimed at refining his life and surrounding, for which he invented and introduced many new things. These efforts resulted into the existence of societies which taught him to live in an orderly fashion and decorate his life with language, education, ideas, customs, habits, religion, manners, values, music, art, architecture and other artefacts. The manifestation of all these activities was given the name of 'culture'.

Rosengren (1983, p.319) contends that culture is the cognitive and evaluative framework within which human beings act, and feel. Watson (2003, p.49) gives a wider outlook in his definition by saying that 'culture is made up of language, history, tradition, climate, geography, art, socio-economic values and every nation sizes its current prosperity with the nature of its culture'. His understanding of the concept makes the culture of a society its peculiar identification – loss of culture, loss of identity.

Culture exists in the minds and habit patterns of the member of a society. It is invisible in the behaviour of individual as they are engaged in various forms of socially learned ways of doing things. Individuals may not be conscious of what they do and the way they do, but their behaviour is streamlined accordingly to the socially approved ways of society; hence, no deviance, no cognitive dissonance. Reddi (1989, p.395) supports this premise and says that culture is the way of life of people, a composite of historical and living traditions, beliefs, values and practices which are reflected in every mode of social behaviour.

Anthropologists generally define culture as the 'systematic way of constructing reality that the people acquire as a consequence of living in a group' (Red, 1977, p.9). Sociologists believe that 'culture is the product of a group' (Jerzy, 1977, p.58) and 'an aggregate means of achievement and of progress' (Layer, 1978, p.64). Hess and Markson (1988, p.67) define culture as 'the blueprint for living in a group whose members share a territory and language...feel responsible for each other'. Popenoe (1980, p.102), Stark (1987, p.320) and Vander (1989, p.58) advocate culture as 'being and taught' by society, 'a complex pattern of living' and a mix of material and non-material things, respectively.

Culture is one of the most fundamental and universal aspects of human reality. Although its nature is too complex and subtle to understand and there does not seem to have a generally accepted definition, but its influence is all all-encompassing. From the above discussion on its definition, what appears appropriate to pronounce is that it is a dynamic value system of learned elements with assumptions, conventions, beliefs and the rules permitting members of a group to relate to each other and to the world to communicate and to develop their creative potential. Precisely, the culture produces cohesion within and differentiation across the group to give the society an identity and distinctness.

On the basis of elaborated and other related definitions, we can say that culture:

- is the product of social interaction;
- offers socially approved patterns for our biological and social needs;
- is a social heritage which gets transferred from one generation to other in a given society;
- is learned by every individual in the course of his personal development;
- is one of the basic determinants of personality and;
- depends for its existence upon the continued functioning of the society and is independent of any individual or group.

Classical Dominant Approaches of Communication and Culture

Media and cultural studies have emerged as one of the most significant academic disciplines over the past quarter of a century. As culture gives an identity to a nation and media are the tools for its promotion or destruction, this area of communication discipline is eventually known as cultural studies (Andrew, 1989, p.2). In this academic arena, culture has been considered as a theoretical problem only because it proves to be socially problematic. Culture, as most communication scholars agree, forms the baseline from where the researchers must begin their analysis, if they want to understand the impact(s) of mass media on masses and their culture. Not only this, how media articulate the dominant values of a social system, what are the prevailing political ideologies and what social changes are taking place can be studied in the light of perspectives provided by the

cultural studies to construct the views about world and human behaviour. Succinctly, the cultural studies provide set of approaches to study the relationship between culture, media and society.

Contemporarily, instruments of communication (mass media) are considered as revolutionary weapons – as means of education, a commercial product; and can serve ends of drilling human into uniformity (Willis & Willis, 2007, p.40). They are not merely the sources of information, education, or entertainment, rather are regarded, like the old premise by Lenin, as the ‘collective organizers’ (Moragas Spa, 1983, p.509) that contribute to reduce the cultural differences to make the system appear in a universal colour. Most of the research studies conducted in the recent past attempted to describe the relationship between communication and culture using the theoretical frameworks of cultural studies.

What are mass media and what influence they have on society and human behaviour and other related questions have since long been under discussion by the various quarters. The disciples adopted to study mass media and its impacts of society, culture and human behaviour have been instrumental to set directions for the study of mass media effects on society and culture. Over the past couple of decades, the perspectives used to study the phenomenon in question; i.e., mass media and its effects on culture, have been the Marxist approach, the Frankfurt school, the Althusser ideological state apparatuses, and the Gramsci approach. There has been a lot of criticism on all the perspectives and a plethora literature can also be found in support of these theorems. However, consensus on how mass media effect the culture of a society and under what circumstances with what strength is yet to be reached. Not only this, the advent of new media tools like internet also opened up new avenues of research to reach to new phase of media effects. Globalization and new information technologies further widened the scope of mass media effects on a social system, particularly its culture. This paper will also shed some light on these aspects.

Classical Marxist Theory

According to classical Marxist’s approach, mass media are the ‘means of production’ which are controlled and used by the ruling class. Curran *et al.* (1982, p.22) quotes:

“The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.”

This monolithic approach of media use and effects does not leave any room for the participation of audience or ‘the ruled’ in the process of understanding of what is communicated through mass media as they (the masses) have different socio-psychological conditions. As such mass media, as per Marxist’s perspective, produce ‘false consciousness’ in the working class which is primarily a dominant ideology perpetuated with the help of media (Ibid, p.26).

Those who support the Marxist’s approach consider mass media as amplifiers which reproduce the viewpoints of dominant social institutions in a society to create legitimacy for their actions. They advocate that mass media renew, amplify and extend the ‘existing

predispositions that constitute the dominant culture', and do not create a new culture (Curren *et al.*, 1982, p.27). Most of the European communication scholars regard Marxist approach as 'cultural studies', and the perspective was dominant from 60s to mid 80s to colour the mass media research.

Kellner *et al.* (2001, p.xv) comment that classical Marxists 'employ intellectuals and cultural producers (mass media)' who 'produce ideas that glorify the dominant institutions and ways of life, and propagate the ideas in cultural forms'. Major objective of this approach is achieved when an ideology that supports the ruling class is accepted and cultivated through mass media use. In this context, mass media are used to construct ideas, create a naturalness of what the ruling class deem appropriate for the society. This kind of effects generation provides legitimacy to every action of the government by creating an obedient majority. Media are used to maintain domination and create a culture of silence among the masses. Here, the mass media are ideological apparatuses to perpetuate and support the dominant ideologies of the state.

The Frankfurt School

Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Max Horkheimer were the key figures of the Frankfurt School who worked for the Institute for Social Research, initially founded in Frankfurt, Germany in 1923, but later shifted to New York in 1933 due to the Hitler's growing aggression against the Jews. This school was predominantly influenced by the notion of 'mass society' with leftist slant where mass media were considered as an 'irresistible force' (Bennett, 1982, p.42). Adorno and Horkheimer used the phrase of 'cultural industry' for mass media due to their overwhelming effects on culture of a society. Marcuse, following their line, viewed mass media as the sources of entertainment and information which develop attitudes, habits, intellectual and emotional reactions of individuals and social system. According to him, media outputs are irresistible and create one-dimensional thought and behaviour among the masses (Marcuse, 1970). He had an opinion that coming revolutions of 20th and 21st centuries would have roots in dehumanization and over-production of the consumer society due to capitalists' use of mass media to manipulate the false needs of individuals. Like others in the Frankfurt School, he also believed in the passivity and victimization of audience owing to the eroding authentic culture by the commercialized mass media.

Frankfurt School recognized the industrialization of mass-produced culture through 'cultural industries' (mass media) and declared them as the most significant agents of socialization. *Dialectic of Enlightenment* by Horkheimer and Adorno (2002, p.163) is one of the most famous critiques of Frankfurt School on 'cultural industries' which condemns the totalitarianism by declaring it the 'end of individual' where 'cultural industries' (mass media) are employed to eradicate the individual and produce mass society.

Frankfurt School was interested to study as how the sources of mass communication are controlled and are employed by their owner's to perpetuate their interests and designs. They attempted to see as how the 'culture industries' are engaged to produce 'mass culture' by making the sources of communication as the most significant leisure activities, as the most important mediators of political discourses, and as the agents of socialization. The School developed a 'transdisciplinary approach to cultural and communication studies, combining critique of political economy of the media, analysis of

texts, audience reception studies of the social and ideological effects of mass culture and communications' (Kellner & Durham, 2001, p.xvii). Critics of the School admit that it was the 'first to systematically analyze and study the mass-mediated culture and communications' (Ibid).

Walter Benjamin¹, one of its members, studied the potential effects of coverage of political events on masses by the mass media. He observed the techniques employed by the political players to manipulate the choices of masses about the political candidates and parties. His work is of great significance in terms of the use of technology, cultural reproduction and manipulation to gain maximum submission of masses to media messages.

Jurgen Habermas² was another key player of Frankfurt School who introduced the 'public sphere' notion which examines the effects of public assemblies like coffee houses, pubs, literary salons where people discuss what they read, watched and listened in print and electronic media on common public affairs. As the world has been dominated by the realm of mass media which are controlled by powerful corporations and conglomerates, the public spheres have become the colonies of these media organizations which are capable of generating desired results in the masses, he argues.

The Frankfurt School has profound contributions towards the discipline of mass communication and culture, which was initially considered as the leftist-wing of Marxist school. Later developments, however, placed its critiques on high grounds. The notions of 'culture industries', 'mass society' and 'public sphere' became the most popular constructs of the discipline.

Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)

Louis Althusser is a structural-functionalist whose work is based on Marxist philosophies. He recognizes the mass media as a social institution that has the primary responsibility of creating acceptance of dominant ideologies and values in a social system. Althusser refers the social institutions as the 'Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)' that function to legitimize the ideologies offered by the dominant class. Religion, education, family, legal, politics, trade unions, culture and communications are some of the ISAs functional in almost every social system. He also believes that every ISA contributes to the subsistence and persistence of every other social institution in a society. His views can better be understood in the structural-functionalist perspective which says that an activity should not be explained on its own, but as of a larger unit (Menzies, 1982, p.182).

Ideology is central to the Althusser's approach on communication and culture. According to him, ideology 'represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence' (Stevenson, 1995, p.37). Ideologies, in fact, are human behavioural control mechanisms of social nature. These are the set of ideas, of which compliance is considered mandatory for the peaceful existence of a social system. In

¹ Literature Walter Benjamin can be viewed and accessed from http://www.transformationsjournal.org/TEST/journal/issue_15/editorial.shtml and <http://www.wbenjamin.org/walterbenjamin.html>.

² Habermas is one of the most celebrated German sociologists whose work focused on Critical Theory, Epistemology, Political theory and Pragmatism.

other words, ideologies are the control apparatuses of societies that are used to avoid deviance besides developing conformity. While, mass media are the sources to reproduce and establish the control of these ideologies in a social system. They (mass media) create a culture of compliance to and obedience of these ideologies among the masses. The acceptance of dominant ideology greatly depends on the influence of mass media in a social system. Thus, it is argued that mass media do not produce any ideology themselves rather create an environment for its acceptance, the Althusser's approach advocates.

Bennette (1982, p.53) observes that Althusser appears to be a functionalist who sees all ISAs contributing to the maintenance of a social system (homeostasis) in a monolithic fashion where internal conflicts are non-existent. This criticism rejects the notion of passive audience whereby audience consume whatever they are exposed to, rather they have internal frames and schemata in the form of their personal experiences, cognitive structures and freedom of processing information which give meanings to the text/messages of the media. However, Bennette appreciates the Althusser's approach of structuralism and semiotics to alter the Marxist perspective to the mass media (Ibid).

Kellner *et al.* (2001, p.xx) names Althusser's approach as 'Structural Marxism' which 'interpellate' individuals into preconceived form of subjectivity leaving no space for opposition and resistance.

Althusser combined different disciplines to analyze and synthesize as how individuals' compliance to the demands of capitalist society was achieved using the social institution of mass communications. Though he presented complex bundle of episteme to describe how media of communication could help perpetuate the capitalists' objectives, but besides a great amount of criticism on his initial work he proved to be a great source of intellectual discourses in the contemporary mass media research.

Gramsci's Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci theorized that a society is composed of diverse social groups wherein 'hegemony' or 'dominance' of a social group over others is achieved through the use of social institutions, particularly mass media. Here, the 'hegemony' represents the dominance of a social group by projecting the ideas of a particular group in a way that they appear as 'common sense' and natural for the subordinate groups (Alvarado & Boyd-Barrett, 1992, p.51). The appearance of being 'natural' or 'common sense' of some constructed 'dominance' or 'hegemony' is usually the result of excessive media advocacy. Although other social institutions also contribute to develop 'hegemony' of a particular social group; however, the mass media as a social institution takes precedence over others.

Fisk (1992, p.291) contends that 'hegemony' or 'dominance' is the 'consent' of the subordinate to the dominant, so it must be 'won and rewon' because people's 'social experience constantly reminds them of the disadvantages of subordination' which may 'pose a threat to the dominant class...hegemony'. Kellner *et al.* (2001, p.xv) also refers to 'hegemony' as the 'consent' to the 'intellectual and leadership' and expands the Gramsci's approach by saying that 'social orders are found and reproduced with some institutions' while mass media are used to 'induce consent to the dominant order through establishing the hegemony or ideological dominance'.

Even in the Gramsci school, the mass media are central to perpetuating, introducing or reproducing a culture of acceptance among the masses. Though there are conflicting forces functional to resist the culture being introduced by the mass media, but they (the conflicting forces) fail to sustain long due to their inability to counter the pervasive and powerful effects of mass media. This sequels, in most of the situations, in departure of resistance to mass mediated culture. Nevertheless, what matters most is the time lapsed in the struggle. The societies with narrow base culture usually take more time to accept the mediated culture than those with broad base culture. There are other intervening factors that determine the acceptability or dominance of mediated culture; like, the relative advantage of the mediated cultural traits, the use of technology by the people, overall state of modernization of the society etc.

Mass media Effects on Culture: New Perspectives

Classical dominant approaches greatly explain the relationship between communication and culture at societal level where means of communication are the vehicles of power and dominance. The central theme of (almost) all approaches has been to see as how effectively a society can be controlled; how thought process at masses level can be changed and how best can mass media be used to serve the dominant forces of the society. Being the most influential social institution, mass media have been considered instrumental to achieve the desired goals set by the powerful elite of the system.

Contemporary literature on the relationship between communication and culture, nevertheless, opens up new avenues of discussions. Unlike Marxist, Gramsci and Althusser approaches where ruling class and economic determinism are easily identifiable, the perspectives emerged recently are quite subtle but sufficiently signify the role of mass media in the cultural change process. Some of the key areas that might help us understand the relationship between mass media and culture are explained in the following lines.

Micro vs Macro Level Effects

Mass media do and do not alter our opinions at the same time. They do affect our attitudes and opinions in some circumstances, but not all of us receive same effects of media exposure. Taking example from advertising, it can be argued that mass media force quite a few numbers of people to buy any product. Repeated and persuasive communication of a particular brand may be able to generate short-term limited effects. In this regard, Erie County study may be referred where three variables: 'reinforcement', 'activation' and 'conversion' were studied to explore the mass media influence. 'Reinforcement' was referred as strengthening the already existing preferences of people on what they were exposed to. 'Activation' was used to measure the positive latent opinions/attitudes of people on the issue in question. While, 'conversion' indicated the change of minds of people towards the issue the mass media covered. It was found that 50% of people got reinforced their already existing opinions, 10% were found having activated their positive latent attitudes/opinions while only 8% of the audience changed their opinions as a result of mass media campaign and coverage of the issue in question. This was a seminal study which opened up new spheres of discussions to understand and further explore the mass media effects at micro level.

At the same time, if we look at the hidden impacts of mass media on masses at macro or societal level, these are 'much more important' (Baran, 2004, p.17). Taking example of violence on television, Baran argues that it 'contributes to the cultural climate' instead forcing the audience to 'shot people' (Ibid). An aggregate of people may not have one and the same opinions towards a particular issue, but they would most probably behave in the way what they feel 'the climate' favours. Thus, mass media might have limited effects on individuals and might not have been able to achieve 'conversion' at large scale, but their impact on the development of a 'trend', making an issue salient, or introducing or reinforcing a 'culture' can hardly be over-emphasized.

Transmissional versus Ritual Perspective

Transmissional perspective refers to the control effects of information on the audience. Of course, the information are disseminated through mass media. This perspective, as Carey notes, argues that mass media don not send 'messages in the space' but these are the 'representation of shared beliefs' (Carey, 1975, p.6). It is an individual centered perspective which notes the effects of communication on the audience, not necessarily on culture or society as a whole.

Contrarily, the ritual perspective helps us understand the cultural significance of mass communication. For instance, an advertisement which is supposed to sell a product may or may not push an individual to go for a purchase decision, but it would have notable impact on our cultural preferences of traits and rituals. While watching a mobile phone advertisement, one may not need to make a buying decision, however, 'why a mobile is important for us', 'how and when it may be used' and 'what benefits it could have for its users' are some of the cues which may effect the audience at large. In short, ritual perspective talks about the media-induced effects on the audience lifestyle at societal level.

Elitist vs Populist Values

As Vivian (2007, p.390) differentiates, high art requires relatively 'sophisticated and cultivated tastes to appreciate' an artistic material, while low art requires little sophistication to enjoy it. Elitist view argues that mass media do little to make people enjoy high art rather give more coverage to the low art, which results in over-portrayal of 'trashy' and 'crapy' material in the media contents. On the basis of media coverage of artistic material, Herbert Gans categorized the audience into: high-culture audience, middle-culture audience and low-culture audience (Ibid). This classification places the audience on a continuum where they enjoy 'complexities and subtleties' of art and entertainment.

Contrarily, the 'populist' advocates that mass media should focus the choices of largest possible audience in a society. In this regard, media contents are categorized into: highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow. This categorization refers to abstraction of the contents from high to low. Elitists usually prefer to watch highbrow media contents whereas in the populist view lowbrow contents are the most preferred.

'Populists' has relatively bigger share in the media contents due to their size in a society. Probably, that is why we witness more pop or popular art than the artefacts requiring

intellectual sophistication to understand the media contents. However, the elitists justify the lowbrow media contents by saying that 'junk takes precedence over quality' (Ibid).

Cultural Transmission

One of the main functions of mass media is to transfer the cultural heritage to future generations. Not only this, we talk with the past and at times with the future generations with the help of mass media by consulting historical records and leaving today's literature for future. In this way, the culture persists and propagates whereas mass media are the conduits through which this transmission takes place. And, mass media are not innocent and absolutely unbiased rather they alter and alter significantly the cultural transmission process.

Mass media transfer the cultural norms and values of old generations through their contents. Almost all forms of mass communication perform this function to enlighten the masses about the successes and failures of the past, and compare and contrast it with what was there in the past with what exists at present. This form of transmission of cultural values, knowledge and patterns is known as historical cultural transmission.

The cultural transmission process does not end here; rather mass media inform their audience about other cultures, communities and nations. Such sharing of cultural traditions and systems among various cultural groups increases the chances of cultural change. This process is regarded as the contemporary cultural transmission which may be one to many – one cultural exposure to many, and many to one – many cultural systems are shown to a particular culture.

The phenomenon of cultural transmission has been researched at length which generated interesting debates and theories. One such theory is 'diffusion of innovation' that explains how alien cultural values or ideas are adopted in a system. This theory has many dimensions to explain the diffusion of a new idea or cultural trait into a system ranging from attributes of the idea which is being introduced through mass media to the grouping of people who adapt to the change on a time scale. From this theory and its critique one thing is quite obvious; that is, mass media are instrumental to the socio-cultural change process.

Transnational Cultural Intrusion

The issue of cultural intrusion revolves around the technological development of mass media. With the advent of new information technologies, the developed nations started dominating the life abroad which affected their culture more than any other aspect. Developing and under-developed countries remained at the receiving end for information gains, and no information transfer is pure objective without having any cultural domination and dictation. The 'free flow of information' doctrine furthered the cultural intrusion process debate. Some quarters criticized it by saying that 'free flow is like free fox among free chickens' (Schirato & Webb, 2003, p.176).

With powerful effects background, mass media are the primary sources of information and are considered to be the builder of social realities. These realities have shared meanings among all those who are the objects or target of mass media. That's why it is believed that every reality is 'constructed' or 'mediated' wherein mass media frame it 'in a predicted and patterned way' (McQuail 1994, p.331). So much so, constructivist media

effect model propounded by Nueman *et al* (1992, p.120) stresses that more often the 'reality' is 'built from personal experience, interaction with peers, and interpreted selections from mass media'. This interactive model of construction of reality has significant implications as a theory of media effects where mass media are the main sources of shaping the social realities. Here comes the question of media control. One who controls such powerful instruments is in a position to dictate and dominate.

Herbert Schiller notes in Vivian (2007, p.412), in the cultural intrusion's perspective, that the 'Western-controlled international mass media pre-empt native culture' which he regards as 'robbery'. From information to entertainment, the developing and under-developed nations are dependent on a few international media conglomerates. Their preferences are taking precedence over the native cultural and social needs. Whole world seems to have same level of information and entertainment needs that media conglomerates furnish. This notion has given birth to the phenomenon of 'cultural homogenization' which talks of a 'universal solvent that will dissolve all cultural differences in a dull and colourless homogeneity throughout the world' (Lechner & Boli, 2001, p.283) with the help of power international mass media system. Other side of the picture indicates the monopoly of media conglomerates which are means of replacing the indigenous cultures with international popular culture. Nevertheless, this debate of mediatized popular culture leaves some space for cultural hybridization that may be defined as 'the blending of foreign and local' (Shirato & Web, 2003, p.156) cultures to form a new cultural environment which is symbolic in nature without having deep roots in the given social system, hence fledgling and fragile in nature. In other words, hybridization of culture is the net consequence of technology explosion which pave the ways for transnational cultural intrusion.

Globalization, Culture and Mass Media

Waters (1995, p.3) defines globalization as a 'social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding'. Globalization, as the definition refers to, seems to be detrimental to national and local culture of a country. However, some quarters regard globalization as a synonym to 'Americanization' or 'Westernization', in other words, 'imposition of adoption of Western culture, values and life style eroding the indigenous one' (Dahal, 2005, p.57).

Globalization is an antonym to 'cultural diversity' and 'cultural sensitivity', which aims at homogenization of understanding of social, political, economic and cultural issues. Net end of this process, as Waters (1995, p.3) refers to, is the disappearance of distinct cultural identities and receding individualism. This is, indeed, the homogenization but it has a tinge of domination of those whose values and cultural patterns are replacing the culture of the dominated. Nonetheless, globalization process may get inverted to another extreme having 'culture-philiac' effects. These effects may generate nationalism and ethnocentrism which is capable of isolating a society from being part of the mainstream technological development process. From the recent past, USSR may be considered as an example that attempted to dis-align itself from the mainstream socio-cultural development, even technological advancement. That's why we see Russian technology far different from the Western one. Though this isolation was less due to the fear of domination of the capitalism, rather mainly due to the growth of a self-sustaining socio-

political ideology (communism) which was capable enough to dominate and survive on its own.

Globalization has many attributes like transnational flows of economic goods, political thoughts and ideologies, cultural traits and products, and Western style consumerism. These attributes demand transnational organizations not only those import/export economic products, but also political and cultural philosophies. Nation-states, in such circumstances, do not stand sovereign anymore rather they seem to be the global cities having distinct geographic locations and placement on economic development stratum. Economic and cultural autonomy is threatened due to the emergence of powerful multinationals. In a nutshell, the globalization is to galvanize the process of internationalizing the localized.

Cultural change as a result of globalization is termed as 'cultural globalization'. Mass media speed up the process of globalization and process the 'cultural globalization'. Cultures mix and negotiate through mass media and ultimately hybridization or domination takes place. As the developed countries are homes of international media moguls, thus no space for the under-developed country's culture to nourish on its own by avoiding change process. Cultural globalization, then, facilitates the overall globalization process by generating even effects, connecting everyone in the process, reducing the differences of culture/ideologies and disguising the inequities.

Contemporary world has technology at its centre, while the epicentre of cultural change is technology and communication. As mass media are the relentless pursuits of technological enhancements and the means of communication within and across the cultures, they not only have potential to alter a culture, but are capable enough to invent and impose an absolutely new culture in a social system. Thus mass media may be regarded as the monopolizing technological enhancements/institutions, referred as 'technopoly' by Postman (1992). Dozens of examples can be taken from the present world scenario where mass media have replaced centuries old cultures with media induced culture and many old languages, one of the main ingredients of a culture, have been vanished (e.g. Archi in the South America and some indigenous languages in Canada).

Another aspect that the media and technological advancement have impacted in the cultural domains is the concept of time, space and human relations. Just-in-time (JIT) technologies or real-time information flows have changed our perceptions of freshness. Geographic distances no more seem to be significant in the present day communication systems, and same effects can be observed in human relations which have become more contractual and impersonal. More media have resulted in less communication between people. Earlier, language, distance and context were the issues which were considered significant in the communication process. However, use of fast or slow media of communication and amount of media an individual is engaged with play vital role in the present day communication process.

Succinctly, it can be commented that mass media are central to the process of globalization wherein cultural change is the net outcome. Here, mass media, the cultural industries as pronounced by the Frankfurt School, produce the culture that facilitates the globalization process in achieving its objectives by altering the existing culture, or

introducing an absolutely new one. How technological developments have affected the different institutions of a social system is discussed in detail in the following lines.

Technological boom, Culture and Society

The current wave of innovation is unprecedented throughout the history of mankind. Rather it has been observed that innovations of extraordinary nature take place only once in three generations. Taking example of telecommunication and informatics, it can bluntly be said that these innovations are producing a real communication technology revolution. Industries have been transformed from their old fashion capital and labour-intensive technologies to these innovative technologies which include robotics, cellular communications, miniature motors, super computers, software production and high performance materials.

The epic of technological advancement and improvement like internet and computer mediated communication indicate that the communication technology revolution is still young. Virtual environment, another surprising invention, is also communication media and they have both physical and abstract components. Furthermore, the high cost of telecommunication has been reduced drastically as compared to what it was in the last decade: almost negligible. Similarly, superconductivity and data compression and integration techniques have made it possible to produce ‘mobisodes’ – short episodes for mobile viewers, and ‘webisodes’ – minidramas to view on net and in advertisements (Vivian, 2007, p.197).

Structural and operational changes are introduced in business practices due to technological boom in the recent times which introduced new facets in the cultural settings of every society. Internet and cyber-spacing are stretching the commercial organizations to the boundaries of imagination. Paperless business transactions through e-mails and internet have altered the ways of doing business and changed economic culture. National frontiers do not seem to exist anymore as business alliances have expanded beyond physical boundaries. Logical lines distinguish the business’s nature and extent, while complex transnational commercial alliances are taking place where the manufacturers do not know for whom they are producing and ordering agencies do not know where the products will be marketed and used. Competition has expanded worldwide and capital is flowing through satellites. Such business environment is absolutely unprecedented that has affected the cultural spheres with the same speed and spirit.

Other face of technological development is the value of information. Information has become a commodity which affects economics immensely. Contemporary advanced technology has not only made economics to smooth and faster through rapid flow of data and information, but it also has created a culture conducive to economic growth. Similarly, unlike old indicators and predictors of economic growth, communication technology has set new standards and parameters to gauge development of a society. For instance, those who have access to modern technologies and benefit from them and those who don’t have access are two main social classes with different cultural identities.

Poverty and affluence are two binary features of every society, and they have ramifications on the construction and development of culture of a social system. Technological progress has also affected the primitive social stratification regimes which

has bases in economic wealth. New social categories have been created by the technologies. These categories are less economic based rather rely on the degree of diffusion of innovative technologies in a society. The four distinguished features are: high-speed, knowledge intensive, transnational and highly disciplinarian. The old disparities between rich and poor have been overwhelmed by new differences: fast and slow, learning and static, plugged-in and unplugged and localized or globalized. Apparently, the difference between poor and rich is visible from their acquisition of education and institution of enrolment. This distinction is quickly vanishing as poorly staffed educational institutions are being upgraded almost overnight through virtual links with premier universities of the world. 'Virtual educational environment' is developing on strong footings effecting cost and quality parameters of education. Now, due to technological enhancement, it is possible for people to learn anything, anytime, anywhere (William *et al.*, 1994).

Even governments and their efficiencies are not immune to the effects of modern-day wave of technological development. Ineffective government is the primary cause of under-development of a country which increases the cost of doing business by 20 to 30 percent. Other disadvantage of inefficient government results in reluctance of foreign investment. Nonetheless, developed media and widespread communication system may inevitably lead to greater governmental accountability, transparency and even democracy.

In short, technological innovations and advancement impact all aspects of a social system and human life, and not only culture. Marshal McLuhan, a media theorist from Canada, believed that mass media have immense effects of human as a social being, culture and society overall. He was a staunch supporter of technological determinism.

Technological and Media Determinism

The notion of technological determinism advocates that technology provides change incentive to a society. The effects and practicality of this theory can commonly be observed around ourselves when a new technology is introduced and the socio-cultural changes it brings. For instance, telephone is an old invention while cellular phone has been introduced quite recently. The new technology has introduced new ways of communication and has almost become a mass media through which you can communicate like conventional system without geographic limitations, receive/send pictures and messages instantaneously, retrieve latest news, can locate yourself and store a huge data which is almost like a mobile artificial brain. Additionally, cellular phone is nearly part of human attire in the present age.

However, there is an approach opposing the technological determinism which stresses the significance of society over technology. This approach is defined as social determinism. This explains that society brings changes in technology foreseeing or pushed by its needs. Technological advancements are result of human endeavours to search new ways of doing things as the societies are becoming more and more complex; hence, they need the kind of technologies which can help the system work/function smoothly. Like, invention of computer is the result of human inability to perform complex calculations in timeliness manner. Internet was initially invented to facilitate communication among the government departments and various units of military. Similarly, population explosion

forced human being to live in flat buildings to save land for which he invented technologies to build skyscrapers.

Marshal McLuhan, in early 1960s, focused on a different aspect of technological developments called media determinism. The epistemological assumption of media determinism explains that the society changes its ways of communication with the change of information medium. McLuhan says that new technologies alter the culture for better understanding of the technology and ways to use it. This indicates a constant change process of culture and societal ways of doing things due to fast growing information technologies and emerging media.

Man was social and engaged in interpersonal communication before the advent of press or print media, McLuhan argues (Vivian, 2007, p.403). However, he got 'alienated' from his natural tribal environment and his involvement in books and printing material caused 'dtribalization' – alienation from humankind's tribal roots. But, television brought back 'tribalization' - wherein an individual's senses are also in use unlike newspapers or printing words where mind is engaged. McLuhan argues that television has 'retribalized' the human beings by abandoning 'the print media's linear intrusions on human nature' (Ibid). His primary assumption rests on individual's interpersonal communication where he uses his senses to understand what is communicated to him, which television has revitalized. And, interpersonal communication is the basis of 'tribalization'. Primarily, the advent of television, its reach and influence 'dealienated' the masses which he called a global village.

'Medium is the message' is the title of McLuhan's best selling book where he explains his ultimate position on media determinism. He believes that 'we shape our tools (media) and they (media) in turn shape us' (Griffin, 2003, p.344). For him, it has less significant that 'what is said', rather 'how it is delivered' matters. It is partly due to the reasons that media audience utilizes different sensory organs and cultural patterns to facilitate delivery system in response to different media stimuli. For instance, a reader needs greater attention while reading a newspaper as compared to his exposure to a telecast. He may engage himself in other auxiliary activities when watching tv, but he might need to concentrate on newspaper contents if he really wants to understand what he is written. Thus, medium signifies the contents and the way we take them.

Besides 'global village' and 'medium is the message', McLuhan's phrase 'technology as extensions of the human body' also attracted media theorist and generated a great debate. He used the term 'extension' to explain an extended system of technology which supports and enhances the scope of a work. For instances, as he said, automobiles are extensions of foot which support and facilitate man to travel faster with less efforts. Similarly, he called media as 'extensions' of human senses, bodies and minds³. Another term which he coined was 'amputations' that reflects the loss of an attribute which may otherwise develop in the absence of any 'extension'. As per his approach towards 'amputations', cultural effects or changes, which may sound to be negative, can be considered as amputations of technology.

³ Explained in Wikipedia (www.wikipedia.com) under the title of 'The Media is the Message: An Inventory Effects (1967)'. It can be accessed through its search engine with 'Marshal McLuhan' as the key words. It was retrieved on January 5, 2009 for use in this paper.

Similarly, he used ‘tetrad’⁴ to explain the effects of technology on culture and society. He divided the effects into following four main categories⁵:

- What does the medium enhance?
- What does the medium take obsolete?
- What does the medium retrieve that had been obsolesced earlier?
- What does the medium flip into when pushed to extremes?

Marshal McLuhan visualised the effects of mass media on society and culture in early 1960s when technological development had not hit media spheres as immensely as it seems now. Due to his prophetic approach in understanding the effects of technology on culture of a society, he gained the status of a cult hero and ‘high priest of pop-culture’⁶.

Mass media are the technological institutions. Changes in these institutions have enormous bearings on culture of a society. The discussion made above solicits that mass media are dynamic in nature and change their shape and contents very quickly. And, technological developments in different media spheres have multiplied its impacts on culture. With these technologies, societies and their traditional practices, understanding of issues and relationships are at rampant change. There is no denying a fact that mass media are ‘cultural industries’, as enunciated by the Frankfurt School, which are capable of producing and altering the culture. However, in modern age, mass media are not just ‘industries’, but are ‘cultural mixers’ which facilitate the cultural assimilation process. Here, important aspect to consider is as which culture’s colour gets more prominence; of course the culture of media regulators!

Conclusion

While all cultures are local, all communication is global. This notion carries strong bearings of unprecedented technological revolution that our age has witnessed. The revolution has galvanized the influence of mass media over indigenous cultures. Huge literature indicates mass media effects on culture due to the commercial productions of media as negative and detrimental to youth, having disruptive effects on overall social environment. In contemporary ‘global media environment’, the ‘mass media hold a power position’ and are capable of changing or creating new social and cultural realities (Said, 1997, pp.135-73).

Interestingly, cultural homogenization is the product of technologically rich mass media, especially new media like internet and convergent media (tv, internet & phone), while increasing civilizational cleavages as envisaged by Huntington (1998) in his celebrated work *Clash of Civilization* also seems to be the outcome of developed information media. The differences in civilization highlighted and crystallized by mass media are dividing

⁴ ‘Tetrad’ has, probably, been derived from the word ‘tetra’ which means four, and its use by McLuhan also indicates four laws to explain technology (media) effects on culture and society.

⁵ The four categories explained pedagogical tools and laws can be retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/McLuhan> and can also be accessed on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tetrad_of_media_effects which discusses the ‘Tetrad of media effects’. For this paper, it has been retrieved on January 5, 2009.

⁶ Todd Kappleman narrates one of McLuhan interviews by *Playboy* magazine titled ‘A Candid Conversation with the High Priest of Popcult and Metaphysician of Media’. It can be retrieved from <http://www.leaderu.com/orgs/probe/docs/mcluhan.html>. We accessed this site on January 01, 2009.

the world into many blocs with extremely distinct civilizations. However, at the same cultural differences are reaching to the point of extinction. For instance, ways of doing things at home and life styles in Far East, Gulf, Latin America and most part of Asia are consonant to what Europeans do at their homelands, while the realization of being 'different', 'white and non-white', 'us and them' and other racial connotations are on the rise.

Due to increased mass media role in the contemporary societies, the vehicles of communication operate in and propagate 'virtual or symbolic culture' which is more often dissimilar to the cultural environment in which the media are operating. It seems like a constant cultural conflict that the developing and under-developed nations are undergoing. Thus, it is high time for the developing nations to understand and extrapolate the potential dangers of cultural domination, effects on their cultural policies, cultural industries (film, drama, poetry etc.) and other cultural spheres of their life.

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**New ethical issues in Pakistani media:
The rise of electronic media and the post-9/11 terrorism**

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New ethical issues in Pakistani media:**

The rise of electronic media and the post-9/11 terrorism

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Pakistan's is a curious case of the historical media-government differences due to internal instability, terrorism, and wars. A succession of governments has exercised strict controls over media that it fought rigorously through violations and severe punishments during the martial law regimes. The democratic governments began negotiating ethics with the media, giving it freedom and protection under the constitution (1973). However, the differences were never settled despite the introduction of free media policy by Musharraf's (semi)martial law government at the advent of the new millennium. The media and the history of media regulations present a never ending story of ethical violations by media groups and professionals who have compromised truth and objectivity for vested interests. The magnitude of this lapse has increased tremendously due to heavy induction of immature journalists. Consequently, the media groups lack abilities for managing information with responsibility in the present scenario of the post-9/11 *War on Terror* that parallel a rise of free electronic media in Pakistan. This situation reflects a demand by some sections of the Press and public to implement media ethics to avoid mass-mediated view of reality pertaining to terrorism and sectarianism. The media shall change its attitude and frame and implement ethics to avoid any future regulations by the government. This paper examines the Pakistani media scene and the historical media-government differences in view of Pakistan's internal instability and terrorism that global media project, putting challenges to the local censors and the credibility of the government and media in Pakistan.

The Pakistani Media Scene

At the time of Independence in 1947, the Pakistani media was limited to 08 daily newspapers ("Pakistan," Background, para. 2, n.d.) and only two radio stations. By the turn of the millennium, it expanded to 815 papers and periodicals, 24 radio stations, 03 private FM stations, and 05 terrestrial TV stations that were supplemented by PTV World, Shalimar Television Network (Orient & Carat, 2010; Ziauddin, 2000), and a mushroom growth of illegal cable television networks that had begun with the arrival of the satellite in Pakistan in the late 1980s. These networks gave access to foreign channels and pirated films into homes throughout Pakistan, lacking state sensitization for responding to the issues quickly. They also showed an opportunity to private media groups to beam into every home and increase clientele through the electronic publication of news (A. Islam, personal communication, 1991). However, these groups did not succeed due to government's control over electronic media till the beginning of the new millennium. The government, finally sensitized to the spread of cable, responded by establishing Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) to control the illegal access of foreign channels after about a decade. Presently, the legal and illegal networks are beaming three state owned, and eighty two licensed (PEMRA, 2010) and a few unlicensed channels in urban areas. As opposed to the year 2000 when the press, radio, and TV were catering to about 20% to 30%, 95%, and 70% population respectively, the Pakistani press, radio, and TV now cater to 39%, 97%, and 80% population through over 700 accredited and 2,700 non-accredited newspapers (1,199 in 2008), 160 accredited and 800 non-accredited periodicals till July 2010, 167 radio & FM stations, 22 TV stations, and 116 TV channels including the 14 in process (Gallup, 2009; "TV Viewership," 2009; Orient & Carat, 2010; Radio, 2010; Jabbar, A., personal communication,

2010; PID, 2010; “Pakistan,” Basic data, & Broadcast media, n.d.; Ziauddin, 2000). The media expansion in Pakistan has broken the monopoly of the state over the electronic media, ending, what Rehmat calls, “virtual information darkness of the first 55 years” (2010). However, the government-media tussle over media’s sense of responsibility and ethics carries on.

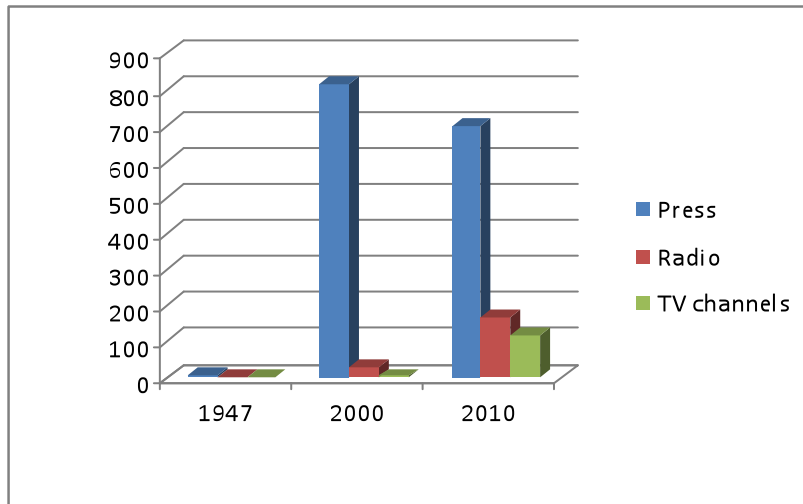


Figure 1. The growth of newspapers, and radio, and TV channels since 1947

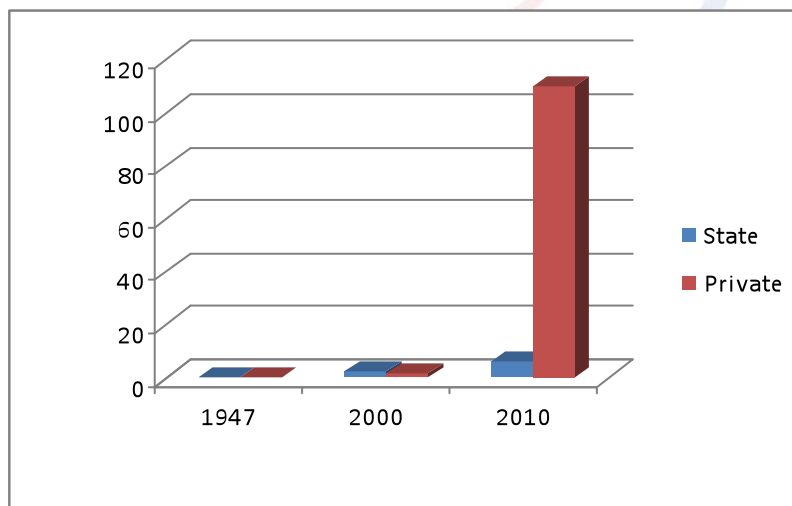


Figure 2. The comparison of the state owned and private TV channels since

1947

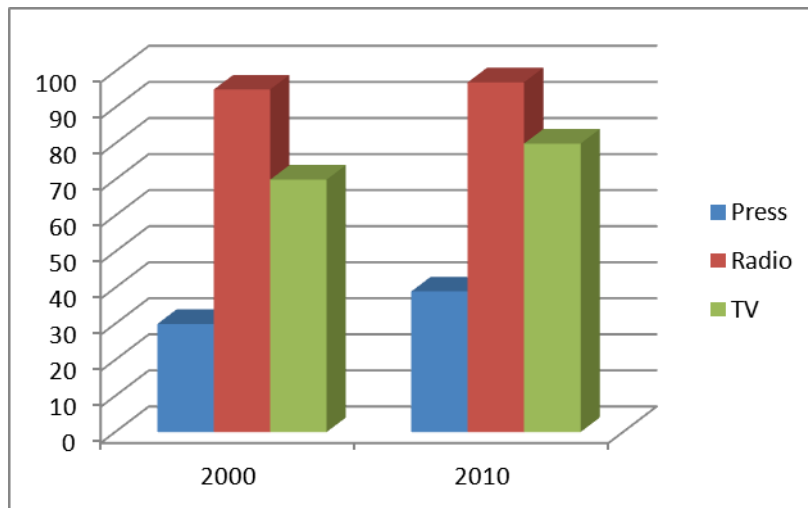


Figure 3. Readership and radio and TV audience reach, 2000-2010

Media-Government Differences over Ethics

Pakistan offers complex situations of historical clashes between freedom of expression and censorship, internal instability being the main cause since the 1947-Partition. A succession of democratic and military governments kept on putting curbs, while media kept on fighting for the freedom of expression, information, and publication. The governments distrusted media's lack of responsibility and ethics and exercised strict controls that formed a clash between the preservation and regulation of freedom of expression. This clash of objectives of the two incomparable bodies shaped strict legislations and a control over newsprint at the level of the government for, what it called, responsible controlling of information that media lacked; it focused on commodity selling and evidently failed in implementing a code of ethics by forming a Press Council. Incidentally, the struggle against the formation and implementation of statutory directives for strict censors lead media professionals into hardships and imprisonments, increasing the distrust between governments and media.

The government-media differences for self-preservation and regulation rises from a lack of mutual trust. According to Ziauddin, freedom of expression and statutory directives like censorship and code of ethics cannot co-exist without "mutual suspicion, bitterness and acrimony" (2000). Such hostility is evident in the Pakistani case where media "has always functioned under strict control" regarding the permissible and prohibited. Since the Indo-Pak Partition, every government has tried to discipline the "ever increasing waywardness" of the Press by making the laws "more draconian" especially during the (semi)martial law regimes of Ayub and Zia ('Ziauddin, 2000). The media did not cope with this situation through self-regulation and became "too preoccupied with self-preservation" (Ziauddin, 2000). The resentment of the laws created dichotomy between freedom and functioning of the Press within the bounds of a self-imposed, universally recognized media

code of ethics. Ethnical violations became the norm as the Pakistani media neither developed nor adopted the universally recognized code of ethics for decades. Hence, the permissible and the prohibited took the shape of the anti-Press laws that persisted through the succession of governments.

The governments have historically relied on the colonial laws for exercising absolute control over the freedom of (individual) expression, the freedom of the Press, and the freedom of information since its creation. According to Ziauddin, the print media functioned “within the limits of” the colonial Press laws: Lord Wellesley’s first Press Statute (1799), Press and Registration of Book Act (1867), the Official Secrets Act (1923), and the Press (Emergency) Powers Act (1931). Field Marshal Ayub Khan’s first martial law government imposed further restrictions “in the name of ideology, morality, and a host of other concepts ... of an insecure and unstable state power” (2000). He began controlling the unfavorable press by taking over a part of the free press in 1959 that, Naz says, was “made the mouthpiece of the government” (1999, p. 53). He further imposed Press and Publication Ordinance (1963) that turned the independent newspapers into government gazetteers (Ziauddin, 2000). According to Qudrat Ullah Shahab, Ayub believed in the power, acceptability, and credibility of printed words that could mislead public despite being lies (Naz, 1999, p. 54). Hence, a strict censorship policy was followed by his government both before and after the 1965-War against India. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB) supervised the media through the Department of Reference and Research that gauged political affiliations, moral and ideological values, and other undesirable contents in different publications. The transgression or violation of the guidelines resulted in single or triple forfeiture of the publication, the press, and the security deposit. The ministry exercised general control over the activities of media personnel: editors, journalists, advertisers, and distributors. It appointed media touts and prepared “a list of ‘obstinate’ journalists” who were imprisoned, or denied access to official sources of information and travel abroad even under legitimate circumstances (Ziauddin, 2000). These incidents mark the beginning of the self-preservation struggle by the Press against the repressive policies and actions of the government.

The government-press tussle continued for about three decades that reflect two more martial law regimes by Yahya and Zia with only six years of democratic governments in between by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. According to Naz, both Yahya and Bhutto allowed some relief to Press (Naz, 1999, p. 54-59) despite the internal instability and the external intrusions. The internal instability is reflected in, what Naz calls, the psychological war of the “ideological confrontation among political parties” run through propaganda press, or political affiliations of the papers during Yahya’s period (1999, p. 54). An extreme level of internal instability geared by external intrusions was felt that ended with the 1971-War against India and, consequently, the separation of East Pakistan. However, the information about the situations that lead to the separation was unethically controlled, censored, and hidden from the public till the last moment (Naz, 1999, p. 54). Bhutto, despite the War, the Fall of Dhaka, and the prisoners of war crisis continued giving some relief to the Press under the constitution (1973). The same was suspended by Zia’s martial law regime in 1977 and through the period of the US funded Afghanistan War with USSR that caused a spill of terrorism into Pakistan in the 1980s.

From the '60s till the '80s, the Press functioned under the PPO (1963) and, what Naz calls, Zia's ideological, social, and pre-censorship guidelines (1999, p. 55-57; Z. Niazi, 1994, p.5 -14) to control the information pertaining to internal instability, political mobility, the loyalty and allegiance of the forces and the martial law administration, the wars, the Fall of Dhaka, and Bhutto's arrest, trial, and execution, which is perceived as politically motivated judicial murder by the sections of general public. Under these tough circumstances, Zia's government made the first ever historical attempt to resolve the Press violation issues by signing an accord with the Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors (CPNE) on March 6, 1980. Ziauddin says, the accord "made it obligatory for the Press to abide by an agreed code of ethics" (2000). However, the Press flouted this code because of Zia's heavy censorship policy and the suspicion that the martial law regime forced the CPNE to sign the agreement (Ziauddin, 2000). Z. Niazi says Zia terrorized the Press (1994, p. xv), but adjusted policies following the law suites (1994, p. 5). As reported in papers, Zia used both punishments like whipping and jailing and rewards like "plots of land" to control and oblige the journalists "who desperately vied with each other" to greet Zia first at the conferences (Naz, 1999, P. 57-58; Z. Niazi, 1994, p. 6; Masood, 2010). Naz quotes Z. Niazi who says political affiliations of the journalists and "the selectivity" in reporting" reduced politics to "narrow sectarianism, religious and ethnic divide" (1999, p. 58). Z. Niazi's comment on unethical practices during Zia regime offers a historical perspective of the relationship between Pakistani media and politics since Yahya.

From Yahya to Zia, the governments ignored several press violations and the demand to repeal the PPO (1963) by Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), All Pakistan Newspapers Employees Confederation (APNEC), Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE), All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS), and the respective local unions of journalists in each city and town (Ziauddin, 2000; Naz, 1999). Many citizens from all sectors of life supported media campaigns and professionals who filed and won a petition in Federal Shariat Court to repeal the PPO during Zia's martial law regime. According to Ziauddin, the Court "declared various sections of the Press law un-Islamic and called for their deletion or amendment" (2000). "A clear consensus on major reform of the law" was felt across the board when the Supreme Court "upheld certain observations" of the Shariat Court in its judgment of the appeal by the martial law government in January 1988 (Ziauddin, 2000). By July 1988, the Senate passed a resolution to repeal the law that followed the passing of Registration of Printing Presses and Publications Ordinance (RPPO) by the government to repeal and replace the PPO (1963) in September 1988.

The 1988 Press law exorcized the arbitrary powers of the government and expanded a lot of dignity and integrity to individuals by incorporating the observations and recommendations of both the Shariat Court and the representative bodies of mass media (Ziauddin, 2000). It reinstated press freedom under the constitution (1973) and abolished MIB's unpublished black list of journalists, intellectuals, and citizens who criticized the establishment, or opposed martial law. It also eliminated the requirement of no objection certificates for media professionals for travelling abroad on invitations of foreign governments and organizations (Ziauddin, 2000). Unfortunately, the absence of legislation caused the reappearance of the PPO (1963) by default, legally disabling the media. However, Ziauddin says, it was not used (2000) and the mass media picture remained relatively stable due to comparative leniency of the governments till the military takeover in 1999 and after.

During the eleven years from 1988 till 1999, the government switched ten times among the military, the democratically elected oppositions, and the interims. They include four periods of the democratic rules, two each by Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, four interims that followed their successions and dismissals, and the two military regimes at both ends. However, the 1988 and 1999 reversals between emergency and democracy reflect distinctive developments in the Pakistani media scene that range from freedom to tremendous expansion of (electronic) media at the start of the new millennium.

Of the past millennium's last decade, Ziauddin says, the Press, under Bhutto's regime, demonstrated "a remarkable sense of vigor and assertiveness" as she eliminated "the newsprint quota permit" and governmental control over "newspaper management and editorial policy" during her first (1988-1991) and second tenure (1993-1996) respectively (2000). These terminations resulted from the government's disinvestment of share-holding of the National Press Trust in English and Urdu dailies, Pakistan Times, Imroz, and Mashriq. These shares were sold to the private media groups "on the basis of competitive bidding" that ended 36-years of "official control over a specific set of newspapers" (Ziauddin, 2000). Ironically, the private media groups bought these papers to monopolize media and trash the competitor, in this case the government, by gradually cutting and closing down the production and circulation of these papers. The government gave up the so-called state propaganda in favor of freedom of expression, which is undermined due to sensationalizing skills, hence, anti-state propaganda and political affiliations of its amateur media. Nawaz reacted to these elements by restoring the newsprint quota permit through executive decision during his first tenure and Benazir Bhutto proposed to pass a defamation law for publishing investigative stories due to the growing complaints regarding media's sense of responsibility and ethics by government and public sectors in 1994 (Ziauddin, 2000). Bhutto's proposal appeared like a threat to media's freedom that compelled the publishers: APNS and CPNE to enter into negotiations with the government.

The government and media agreed on drafting a code of ethics for all public and private media bodies and a "framework for a Press Council" for "adjudicating complaints under the code" for publishing any content which was immoral or obscene, aroused sectarian, or class hatred, or undermined the state security, integrity, or ideology, or the loyalty the forces (Naz, 1999, p. 56; Ziauddin, 2000). Unfortunately, the Press flouted the 1994-agreement like it did with the 1980-agreement with Zia's marital law regime. Nawaz's second government also failed this dialogue with the Press despite obliging the journalists with, what Naz calls, plots, unlimited facilities, and appointments on well-paid government posts (Naz, 1999, p. 59). According to Ziauddin, Musharraf's military government continued negotiations on media ethics with the APNS, CPNE, and PFUJ "in view of the ongoing convergence of broadcasting, telecommunications and information technology" (2000), hence, tremendous expansion of the electronic media in Pakistan at the advent of the new millennium. The government introduced free media policy, eliminated news print quota permit, and issued licenses for private TV channels and cable networks that began setting up and transmitting legally around 2000-2001, and testing 24/7 news transmission by August, 2002. Since then, the number of cable TV channels has increased from four to about ninety in most places. Coincidentally, this media expansion coincided with the post-9/11 US War

on Terror in Afghanistan that started in October 2001, giving real ethical challenges to the amateur media and the government.

Media and Terrorism

The government-media clashes reflect a crisis with respect to covering the spill of post-9/11 terrorism and War beyond the borders of the Afghan conflict zone into Pakistan. The whole country, especially the North West Frontier Post (NWFP) and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), face the effects of this spill from Afghanistan into Pakistan. Terrorism has emerged as a permanent threat to the national security, an irritant that continuously affects Pakistan's socioeconomic, political, and societal structures. Sultan says these effects can materialize a radical transformation of the state despite applause by the American administration and the accounts of political, economic, and cultural connotations blended with theology. The Pukhtoon social code has appeared as an explanation for the rising tide of extremism and terrorism in FATA, which keeps Pakistan in the focus of international media. It also explains the reasons behind the incidences of violence against tribal journalists and their families for denying the pressure of deviant groups for manufacturing a mass-mediated view of reality by highlighting some aspects of terrorism, portraying terrorists frequently and powerfully (2010), hence, marginalizing others outside the mainstream.

The mainstream coverage of this rising tide of terrorism only became possible because of the rise of electronic media and private ownership in Pakistan. The increase in the number of terrorist attacks across the country parallels an increase in the number of news channels that attempt to keep pace with the attacks for the purpose of the coverage. Though merely a coincidence, these two phenomena deeply affect the way of life in the country. The situation is very different from a similar spill of terrorism into Pakistan during Zia regime in the 1980s as there was only one state-controlled TV channel in those days. Even the outgrowths of the Kargil conflict, 1999 between Pakistan and India escaped such media attention due to slight difference in the time frame that scripts one semi-private and two state controlled TV channels. Presently, Pakistanis get access to about 60 entertainment and 30 news and current affairs channels in national, international, and local languages such as Urdu, English, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pashto, and Seraiki that run 24/7 for less than US\$5.00. Rehmat says the number of journalists has increased from about 2,000 to an estimated 10,000 and their average age is reduced to half, about 20 years, a factor that points to the permeation of lots and lots of inexperience into Pakistani media (2010). These components together form an amateur media that despite being on the track of *freedom*, dopes on ethics and responsibility by giving a lot of focus to terrorism, militancy, and extremism that are rooted in the post-9/11 US tracking back of the origins of Al-Qaeda in the Pak-Afghan region. According to Rehmat,

terrorism, militancy and extremism have engulfed Pakistan ... Over 20,000 civilians alone have died [in a large number of suicide attacks] across the country ... Military casualties also run into a few thousand as the Al-Qaeda-Taliban combine reacted to an apparent change in policy of Pakistan's security establishment to counter the wave of militancy that posed a serious challenge to the state (Rehmat, 2010).

The Al-Qaeda-Taliban combine increased terrorist attacks across the country in reaction to the establishment's decision to support the US through War on Terror. This fusion triggered a series of interconnected incidences that alone sufficed media's need for content for running 24/7 on 30

different news channels. More terrorism is attracting more coverage and more public attention on Pakistani media.

Pakistanis are generating, processing, and consuming real-time information for the first time in the history of the country. Rehmat says, “It’s almost if the virtual information darkness of the first 55 years of the country is now being avenged by a people whose hunger for information can’t be easily satiated. Pakistan’s is the curious case of a country whose prime time” does not comprise of entertainment aiming at relaxing the audience by “softening the sharp edges of their weary days ... [but] of talk shows that focus on hard politics. Virtually all of the dozens of ... [news and] current affairs channels are running talk shows” from 7pm to 11pm with 9pm to 10pm news in between (2010). These shows follow up on terrorist attacks. Rehmat says these channels have invariably covered over 2,000 rumors and terrorist attacks in the past decade that were presented as “breaking news” (2010) to sell blood, meeting the terrorist needs (Jamali, 2009). These news are often speculative than attributive or authoritative (A. Niazi, personal communication, August 05, 2010), reflecting a general redundancy of training, research, responsibility, and ethics of the journalists and the media groups. Such treatment is reflected in the coverage of most incidents including Manawan and GHQ attacks, Benazir Bhutto’s murder, and the Lal Masjid operation.

The operation was conducted out of necessity because the militants, who took over Lal Masjid, vowed to enforce a parallel judicial system in the capital based on their perceptions of the Islamic laws and threatened to unleash a wave of suicide bombers if the government took any action to counter it (Raza, 2007). According to “Three years,” “the Lal Masjid operation opened the floodgates to militant attacks” throughout Pakistan, especially Lahore, “the capital of the liberal elite” (2010). These attacks triggered a process of foreign disinvestment and the exodus of foreigners that increased tremendously following the attacks that succeeded the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. The media speculatively nominated the beneficiaries: Musharraf government and Zardari as Bhutto’s assassins. The denials were again reported and speculatively challenged by amateur and esteemed anchors of various media groups during news coverage and current affair discussions of politics, assassins, and law and order situations. More news was generated as her assassination triggered a number of riots, killing people, wrecking public and private buildings, trains, and cars (“Bhutto,” 2007; “Bhutto’s Party,” 2007).

The car burning, properly wrecking, and human killing carry on as militancy, extremism, and terrorism carry on limitlessly, attracting media and public attention in Pakistan. Rehmat says the amateur, but information crazy media runs tickers of professional terrorism with watermark showing the coverage of a public event as exclusive “a panicky description that is basically repetitive, uninformative and stating of the obvious” (2010). The news story is invariably based on 4Ws: Where, Why, Who, What narrative whereby all except where is speculated. Rehmat questions the ethics of *where why who did what narrative* because thrusting “the mike in the face of a usually dazed person who was in the vicinity of the attack and has survived” only generates caricatures (2010) of speculative information. Further, the reporter pushes the authorities, usually a police officer, to put the responsibility for terrorism on any of the six forces: Taliban, Al-Qaeda, anti-state elements, terrorists, hidden hands, and India (Rehmat, 2010). That too is ironically speculative.

Irony increases as “Pakistan: Code” points to some other aspects of “situations like explosions” (2008). Two to three media people “reach emergency wards of hospitals. A doctor's priority in such a situation is the patient,” but the queries of media crowd “affect administration of the medical aid” to the injured (“Pakistan: Code”, 2008). Media groups ignore the space limitations and medical aid administration issues by disturbing the staff and the patients in the emergency wards of the hospitals just for the sake of going live before the competitor. Such attitudes reflect that media groups have lesser interest in human issues and more interest in marketing the coverage of terrorism as live and exclusive. The groups and their reporters and anchors amateurishly handle terrorism and militancy. Their sole purpose is hooking audience to increase their worth. Marketing gains primary significance, and ethics secondary. Their recording and broadcasting methodology and selectivity of chunks cause, what Rehmat calls, content's degeneration into tabloidization, caricaturization, or oversimplification of terrorism (Rehmat, 2010) by Pakistani media.

Pakistani media groups, head-end owners, and anchors' attitudes reflect negligence, immaturity, and childish greed pertaining to selling a commodity named blood. Qadir (2009) questions the ethics of media groups and professionals as collective policies emerge from individual acts. Everyone wants to make money by selling commodity the news even if it is about blood, a measure of everyone's success whether the anchor or the channel. Jamali says “blood is a better story to sell” than a social good, “one of the fundamental problems with Pakistani media” (2009). The anchors exaggerate, misrepresent, intermix information with opinion, use “emotionally-charged arguments” and “fancy words, metaphors, [and] proverbs ... to report heavily on juicy aspect of stories with shock value rather than reporting on more pressing issues to the general public” (Jamali, 2009), highlighting redundancies of an amateur media.

Media being amateur lacks the ability to address or frame ethics to govern its own freedom; or, it disbelieves in ethics as governing expression is not freedom to many minds. It can also be said that electronic media is the extension of an unethical press that has existed for decades in Pakistan and nurtured by governments and politicians on need basis. The unethical press needs to unlearn its poor traditions that are passed on to the electronic media. The reporters, anchors, and groups need to reconsider the differences among marketing, blackmailing, and ethics and responsibilities of news media.

Media groups shall work together to tackle the permeation of inexperience through training amateurs and press professionals in electronic media about values, sense of responsibility, and ethics of broadcasting. The reporters and anchors shall avoid attitudes of general ignorance of ethics of journalism and the connection between reporting and matters of national interest. The reporters providing live coverage of terrorism shall neither ignore ethics of journalism nor the need for self-censorship. However, the identification of the general redundancies shall not undermine the long struggle of a Press that went through hardships to win freedom of media. Qadir says media reports increasingly reflect “freedom and courage” since 1988; now, the professionals need to struggle with themselves to objectively report a balanced case of the *War on*

Terror (2009). Such efforts will reduce the chances of *freedom* being misunderstood for another phase of virtual information darkness of Pakistani media.

Conclusion

The free media policy points to the licensing of unregulated news channels that have become the tools for covering almost real-time, professional terrorism that affects the way of life in the country. The enemy has strategically combined the *War on Terror* with the expected highlights of suicide bombing and terrorist attacks throughout Pakistan. Information crazy people are seen switching to graphic news and discussions of the suicide attacks at prime time despite thousands of deaths of people and unlimited military casualties. This past decade points to a strong presence of media marketing and the inability of the government and Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority to control or create awareness regarding ethical violations by the amateur media groups.

Media groups shall frame ethics to govern themselves before the government or the court makes new legislations to control their follies. All the bodies, associations, and committees belonging to the print and electronic media shall get together to formulate a framework spelling out codes that are implemented. They shall develop an understanding of the governmental issues to solve historical differences between media and government. Neither curbs nor unethical freedom can help Pakistan or its media. The controversy concerning freedom and ethical issues shall be settled with mutual understanding in view of the globalization of media. Such understanding is unavoidable because international media broadcasts what is locally censored, putting challenges to the credibility of the government and media in Pakistan.

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The analysis of signing contract when domestic TV stations of Taiwan purchase foreign programs' copyright

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Abstract

TV programs' copyright transaction is characterized by high transaction cost, owing to the asymmetry of information, limited rationality, and opportunism. Both parties must implement governance to maintain the efficiency of transactions, which are particularly contract-based so as to protect the interests of buyers and sellers. This research will take Korean programs as the main body of study and further explore how to sign a contract in the context of two different program purchasing models, one is import by agent the other is purchase of Korean work directly by domestic TV stations .

Although the agents can select the appropriate programs for the domestic TV stations according to their professionalism, in the case of asymmetric information, it is important when copyright buyers have to deal with agents and sign a contract, and when to skip agents and sign a contract directly with copyright holders to avoid risk. The main idea of this research is to explore the mode of signing contracts with Korea TV program holders by domestic TV stations in Taiwan.

According to secondary data, we concluded that the buyer usually make a deal based on the program rating in Korea, and other factors include story, actors, reputation of company, and the differences of media audience cultural preferences. But despite of these considerations, there are still a lot of risks for domestic TV stations, such as whether the price can be in line with their benefit, and whether to attain the maximized economic benefit.

Therefore, when dealing with different copyright holders, the domestic TV stations will take a different governance of contract, and select a different channel to purchase programs. Thus, we propose the model of signing contract for buyer, and the protection strategy for domestic TV stations based upon transaction cost theory, secondary data, and field interviews. It is also suggested that advertising plays an important role in a deal strategy. Whether advertiser supports the foreign programs or not will influence the decision of domestic TV stations and how they sign a contract.

Keywords: *Transaction theory, Intellectual property rights, Korean drama*

The analysis of signing contract when domestic TV stations of Taiwan purchase foreign programs' copyright

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Introduction

In the context of globalization, the video product is a cultural product which can transcend ethnic boundaries and bring huge business opportunities. Mainly because the video product itself is of high intellectual property, it has also been copyright law of the relevant support at the same time when it outputs. Therefore, with the protection on video product property by copyright law, many multinational media groups are willing to invest in video production because the copyright authorization will generate continuous property right incomes and economic profits in a monopolistic market position. (Lin Fu-mei, Luohuan Rong, Qiu Peng-new, 2005) ◦

Comparing with the South Korean government who invested in huge amount of capital and support in Korea drama, and had a project to train talents for their television industry, Taiwanese television stations are in a highly competitive market. They are less likely to invest in creating local drama production. The impact is that the content is not international enough and that reflects the same situation for markets. Since the cable television legislation was initiated in 1993, there are nearly 60% of foreign television dramas broadcasted by Taiwan's channels are imported from other countries. (Luohuan Rong, 2006). Under practical concerns, Taiwanese TV stations tend to choose lower cost and lower-risk strategy which is introduce a large number of Korean dramas.

According to transaction cost theory (Williamson, 1985), the asymmetry of information, bounded rationality and opportunism all are influencers, and you must take the protection mechanisms before transaction in condition of risky transactions. Both sides must leverage governance to maintain the efficiency of transactions; the governance is particularly based on the contract to protect the interests of buyers and sellers. In the past literatures, there are many content analysis literatures discussing the content of Korean drama or the influences on audience (CHEN Yi Xiu, 2003). Other research (Ye Wenzhong, 2002) discusses the strategy of introducing Korean drama, but it focuses on only one corporate and bases on its' operations. Luohuan Rong, 2006 discuss the channels of purchasing foreign drama and allot benefit. Both literatures do not highlight the model of signing contract by transaction theory. Therefore, this research will choose Korean programs as the main subject, exploring how to sign a contract in two ways of programs-purchasing which is imported by

agent and the domestic TV stations purchasing its own from Korea.

In fact, Taiwanese TV stations transaction with foreign buyers usually evaluate the program based upon TV rating. However, TV rating in different countries is based on the different factors like population structure and culture level. Thus, we will not get a full picture whether the rating in Korea is equivalent to that in Taiwan.

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to explore the model of signing the Korean program contracts by TV industry in Taiwan. It is suggested that the buyer usually makes a deal on the basis of the program rating in Korea, story, actors, the reputation of company, the differences of cultural, and media buyer's experiences. But in this respect, huge risks exist. The domestic TV industry in face of different copyright holders will take a different governance of contract and select a different channel to purchase programs. Finally, according to transaction cost theory, secondary data, and interviews, we propose the mode of signing contract for buyer, and the protection strategy for domestic TV industry.

Literature Review

The commercial activity of purchasing foreign copyright is done mainly through signing the contract. The bottom lines of contracts are broadcast right and peripheral product right; the broadcast right was divided into cable broadcast rights, TVB broadcast right, and DVD / VCD (Luohuan Rong, 2005). Although there is a "trade show" in which film and drama are transacted by channel, but it's not considered the role of a "agent broker"; it is a bridge for buyers and sellers. As of contract, regardless of form, it can be put into effective once agreed upon by both sides. Therefore, this study will take the transaction cost theory to see when and how TV corporate signs the contract.

Transaction cost theory

The transaction cost theory considers that there are a lot of factors during transaction, such as unpredictable environment, which causes failure to fulfill request at the transaction parties' sides. In this case, they should pay the cost on renegotiation and on protection of their rights and interests. In the transaction process, in addition to transaction prices, the other costs involve as well. For example: marketing, negotiation, contract, contract security, and other costs that are in advance of the transaction. The costs after transaction include the cost for controlling of the other party to perform the contract, the costs of incurred maladjustment original contract and the cost for observing contracts that they can't restrain their own.

There are some unpredictable reasons during transaction and it will hinder transaction. Williamson (1975) concludes that transaction outcomes result from the

interaction between humanity, environment, and the target products. The first factor is related to the hypotheses of human behavior, bounded rationality, and opportunity, which contributes to the risk level of transactions. The second factor is related to the characteristic of environment, such as the uncertainty of technology or market demand, small number exchange, and atmosphere of transactions. The third factor is asset specificity in which either party has made dedicated or specialized investments that are less valuable when transaction is terminated in advance. When transactions face these three factors, we can expect higher transaction cost ex ante and suggest that both parties prepare for an alternative governance mode.

According to transaction cost theory which suggests man-made factors, environmental factors or transaction object, our study will focus on research on Taiwanese television stations signing the contract in regards to purchasing Korean dramas. It is emphasized because of the limited rationality of human and uncertainty of the environment, both sides receiving asymmetric information. In addition, they might have different trading scenarios in the face of different trading partners. To lower operation risk and secure self-interest, buyers and sellers will conduct negotiation on how to sharpen contract-signing mode in the context of transaction cost theory.

According to transaction cost theory, issues and hypothesis are listed below.

- Before a contract is signed, Taiwanese television operator will choose a different channel and trading partners based on the number of channel access, the TV rating of Korean dramas in Korea, and their own conditions (foreign corporate, agent brokers, and other domestic corporate), to change the mode of the copyright contract signing.
- Although two sides of transaction have some doubts over asymmetry of information Taiwanese television stations which purchase Korean drama will choose to skip the agent broker and negotiate directly with the Korean drama copyright sellers in terms of cost-benefit efficiency.

Research Methods

Copyright contract involves comprehensive aspects within TV stations. They include program arrangement, TV ratings, cost-effective assessment. Therefore, this research is constructed based on literature relative to secondary data and past research. By using case study and data analysis, we realize how contract is signed and the mode of thinking behind. This can be further implemented on the mode of signing contract for Taiwan's TV stations which do purchase on Korean dramas. To generalize the mode of signing contract on the basis of secondary data, this passage is dedicated to

reaching integration, presenting research findings, and developing management implications.

Sample Choose

The cases of the TV companies, mainly there was the introduction of Korean dramas, and broadcast it in their channels with certain proportion when drama time, or the companies which broadcast Korean drama at the major prime-time. we explore the transaction mode of Korean drama copyright contract signing and take what kind of governance to handle the transaction costs base on these samples.

Document Analysis

The literatures are the particular information sources in this research, we explore the contents of past research, as well as some research findings to support the hypothesis of this research question.

In this research, the major following data are based on document analysis.

a. Data base

To understand the domestic TV industry shows the proportion of home-made and purchased, through secondary data of the Taiwan movie database and the data of Taiwan TV broadcast.

b. Official information

To provide accurate and objective data and historical data.

c. newspapers and magazines, periodicals

To provide national film and television industry in different periods of development, these data will help us to understand the development of national TV programs and trends.

Literature

We explore the transaction cost theory according to the theories from the literature as the basis to compare with the actual industrial situation, and finding the content we need based on historical research, or its findings, to support the hypothesis of this research question.

RESULTS

Purchasing strategic

The GIO (Government Information Office) has included cable TV to manage since 1993, due to the popularity of Taiwan's TV industry. Supplying TV programs has become an important issue in a large amount channels competition environment,

including the self-made as well as outsourcing, There are a large number of channels in Taiwan, therefore the demand for foreign drama or TV programs are also significant (yellow to Yang, 2001). The considerations of purchasing video copyright include the following factors, such as content is attractive or not? who were the actors of the show? Is the content going to be embraced by the local culture? Does the show have enough number of hours? Does the story theme acceptable? Does the price conform with the goal of cost-effectiveness? Ye Wenzhong (2002) analyses a strategy of purchasing Korean drama by the case of one famous TV company in Taiwan, their considerations are the content of drama, story theme, actors and characters. However, in the purchase process, the business sensitivity of decision makers and agent which is very important, including insight into future trends, artistic taste, timing and political sensitivity, the rating of drama at the local forecasts.

The channels of introducing foreign drama into Taiwan Show

When country is more emphasis on film and TV industry, the government will help developing the industry. Therefore they are going to hold some activities for transacting film and TV ,to help the development of their local programs. The major cities of world will regularly hold TV or film festival, providing an important international trading platform for film and TV programs, and set a seminar during this time, to invited professionals to participate and present for the future of industry. Thus, they can build regular and fixed marketplace, satisfy the goal of cost-effective transactions, and to facilitate the economic prosperity of the sponsor region.

Syndication

The department's mission is to promote their programs product to the TV companies around the world, channel operators and agent brokers, In addition to regular participation in the global trade fair, but also they should pay attention to contact with the usual business partners and customers. They can contact international clients more closely, and provide an appropriate product for the demand for their clients' needs . Otherwise they can enter into a new unfamiliar local market and signing the contract with TV companies or channel operators through their own company's relationship.

Agent Broker

Agent brokers plays a supplier role of bridge and intermediary for Taiwan's video programs. Their purpose is to purchase the foreign copyright programs and then to be an agent selling programs and there is a different form use their own by general TV companies and channel operators. Thus, they can be programs supplier, assist TV

companies and channel operators to solve the shortage of programs, provide a safe purchasing environment for clients, and be the purchasing role base on their large amount of purchase programs.

Terrestrial TV stations and cable TV operators

The current situation of Taiwan's TV industry is that the space of channels are too much, so there are a large number of programs to be placed in each period time. When the cost of self-made programs is higher than the cost of outsourcing programs, purchasing foreign programs become one way to compete with the other competitors. TV stations skip agent broker and purchase foreign copyright programs directly that is another way for foreign programs enter the Taiwan market. Thus, we learn that terrestrial television stations will purchase foreign copyright programs base on the costs, and try to buy a small amount of foreign copyright programs, and some of the cable channels specialize in foreign copyright program in the market.

Copyright trading under the asymmetric information

According to transaction cost theory, transaction existed some risks because of human rationality and asymmetric information, the film and TV program copyright trading is a trading activity with an lot of money. Therefore, it is the buyer that take the greater risks in the transaction process. Our research found that the domestic television stations will take the different considerations signing different safeguards to separate risk when they purchase foreign TV programs. Their consideration before trading include the rating of home country, the demand for local audiences, story topics, cultural differences, cast, long-term purchasing experience, support of advertisers. In order to provide safeguards to reduce risks in terms of trading, they focus on the way of response to changes in the laws of the government's future approach, and the way of uncertainty cost recovery.

Conclusion

we can know that domestic TV companies have their own considerations before trading in the process of introducing Korean drama in Taiwan according to the data, in addition to the audience's preferences, cultural, actors and other objective factors, the other is the budget and the familiarity of corporate partners. However, these considerations are caused by the limited rationality and information asymmetry from transaction cost theory; a variety of different ways for buyers can let them be able to avoid risks as much as possible from various ways to enable them to buy high PE ratio commodities. At the same time, we also find that advertising plays an important role in TV industry, because advertising revenue is one of the major income for

domestic industry. Base on this reality, whether advertisers support a Korean drama or not will directly influence the choice of TV and channel operators. TV industry may want to get rid of the shackles of advertising, so they purchase a large number of drama to reduce the dependence from advertisers and reduce cost, it will change their channels of purchasing. Therefore, the buyers will choose the best channel for themselves base on their considerations. When buyers face on the different channels , they will take different contracts to protect their benefits.

1. While the international film trade show can provide more choices, but it's difficult for buyers to choose one Korean drama that will create the ratings and a good partner in a large and unfamiliar environment, not only they doesn't know whether the product can create value or not, but also have a high risk to negotiate a reasonable price and conform with cost-effective. Although sellers will provide demo for buyers before trading, , but buyers can't see the all content, and it's expensive to buy a Korean drama, so the buyers which have a great risks in this case. The agent brokers are a role that have a large amount of programs , they can provide a suitable for buyers base on their long-term experience and professional, so they can not only provide dimensional variety of choices, but also can reduce the price of goods and reduce the transaction costs for buyers. However, these two ways of contracting models are relatively fixed and standard, in addition to the basic laws such as the safeguards, the negotiated price space is very small, buyers and sellers sign contract in a relatively low risk environment.
2. The way which purchased from the copyrighters' syndication , there is a big risk for buyer , information has the most asymmetrical , At previously said, buyers should depend on the experience , sensitivity, and cultural conservation and other skills to reduce transaction costs. But comparatively speaking this is the best way to make a profit from the trading patterns, seller will also release information to the client and the object of long-term cooperation to facilitate and maintain clients. Trading parties can sign the copyright contract base on each other's conditions and cooperation experience , development contract in both sides consider that is the maximum profit for them. This is also the opportunity of exclusive broadcast for domestic industry in Taiwan. It's an open way of contract signing and more flexible, because buyer should take more risk, to protect their own interests, so the way of "profit sharing rating" has to be created, this way is to reduce the price of the product, the other profits are base on the TV rating, the rating are higher than a certain percentage of each, the buyer must pay the higher price.

No matter what kind of transaction channels must have a risk, according to transaction cost theory, a more secure governance which is contract. If buyers want have more autonomy on their own choices, in addition to considerate their own conditions, they should increase a wide range of sources to purchase Korean dramas, to select a different transaction channels and sign the different contracts, and they should find other governance to protect their own interests in addition to the contracts, such as buyout the copyright of vcd / dvd to reduce cost and depending on advertisers. The domestic industry should try to open up foreign partners, to maintain long-term relationship in order to obtain exclusive rights, so that they could get more interests from Korean drama. But the origin of issue is arising the conservation of Taiwan domestic drama and quality of the script for TV industry in Taiwan, Purchasing the large number of Korean dramas is just reducing the living space of domestic dramas, it's nothing help for development of the domestic industry and international competitiveness; Therefore, how to provide the high-quality scripts and reduce the production cost is a way which the TV industry in Taiwan should strive in the future.

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**Media Usage of Turkic Diaspora: Homeland “So Called Nostalgia and Dream” of
Meskhetian/Ahiska Turks in Bishkek-Kyrgyzstan**

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Media Usage of Turkic Diaspora: Homeland ‘So Called Nostalgia and Dream’ of Meskhetian/Ahiska Turks in Bishkek/Kyrgyzstan¹

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Introduction

Turkish-speaking people are communicating with numerous satellite channels that are broadcasting from Turkey all across the world. In other words, now there are a wide range of possibilities to gain access to media services from the origin country by making use of transnational communications. These developments have significant implications for how diaspora –either migrant or deported- experience the life, for how they think and feel about these experiences. What is the difference that televisions, or dvd players, stereos, mobile phones and computers make for diaspora context, and what is the nature of the diaspora’s engagement with these transnational global media?

Meskhetian Turks, also known as Ahiska Turks, were deported from Ahiska region of Georgia to Central Asia during November 15-25 1944 by Joseph Stalin and settled within Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. 120,000 of Ahiska Turks were forcibly deported in cattle-trucks, as a result of deportation, 10,000 of them were perished. Today they are dispersed over a number of countries of the former Soviet Union, including Kyrgyzstan’s capital, Bishkek. In Kyrgyzstan they are often subject to discriminatory and abusive treatment by the local authorities who may grant or may withhold residence permits. Even known that nearly 20000 Ahiska Turks are living in Kyrgyzstan, more than half of them are in Bishkek, and all were trying to survive in those recent days of ethnic violence (in April 2010). They are Sunni Muslims and their mother language is an Eastern Anatolian dialect of Turkish which is originated from Turkey’s region of Kars, Ardahan and Artvin². Besides Turkish, they speak Russian and Kyrgyz. On the other hand they are watching global satellite, in other words transnational media as a part of their everyday life practices.

¹ This article is based on research conducted within Istanbul University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit (IÜ BAP), project number is UDP-8784.

² Ahiska is the name of the region which is today in Georgia. It was part of Ottoman Empire before First World War, and USSR after. The region is like extending part of North East Black Sea of Turkey, and the Ahiska people very look and dress like Black Sea region Turks.

The aim of this paper is to understand and expose their usage of media, mostly television, and computer, radio, telephone, stereo/walkman, dvd player related to their being a diasporic community in Central Asia. In order to apply the project, I had a field study using depth interview method with 20 Ahiska Turks, a sum of 10 women and 10 men. I also wanted to expose the generation gap between former Soviet Union citizens and latter independent Kyrgyzstan Republic citizens of Ahiska Turks, so 5 of women were older than 40 and 5 of younger than 25, as just were men.

In this study, I sought to try to move beyond the national mentality and categories of “community”, “identity” and mostly “belonging” just to explore alternative transnational possibilities. So, there can be appropriate categories to understand what is happening in transnational cultural experience, as Aksoy and Robins (2000, 2001, 2003) elsewhere argued. Here I too would like to move beyond these diasporic cultural studies’ concepts of ‘homeland’, ‘nostalgia’ and ‘loss’. Therefore I tried to answer how they experience their lives, and how they think and feel about their experiences through what is the difference that tv makes for them and what is the nature of their engagement with the new transnational media?

Diasporic Cultural Studies and Media Theory

The prevailing framework concerning how transnational satellite broadcasting systems sustain new kinds of “global diasporic cultures” or “transnational imagined communities” is very problematic. Because “it seeks to understand transnational developments through what are categories of the national imaginary-and is blind to whatever it is that might be new about emerging transnational media cultures” (Aksoy and Robins 2003: 90). As a result, it remains caught up in the mentality of imagined communities, cultures and identities-as grounded in the national mentality (Anderson 1991).

My approach will assume that new developments in being diaspora can’t make sense of this diasporic cultural frame. I am concerned with the kind of developments described by Alejandro Portes in which “a growing number of persons..live (*triple*) lives: speaking three languages, having homes in two-three countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders” (From Aksoy and Robins 2003: 92). What I am arguing is that the arrival of Turkish television has made a difference for Turkish-speaking diaspora in Central Asia. What is the nature of that difference?

Diasporic media are said to be providing new means to promote transnational bonding and maintaining diaspora’s identification with the “homeland”. There surely is a certain kind of truth in this argument. But this kind of truth is only a meagre and partial one. The problem with diasporic media studies is that its interests and concern generally come to an end at this point. The diasporic agenda has generally been blind to what else might be happening when migrants are connecting in to the “homeland” culture (Atabaki and Mehendale 2009: 2). The limits of diasporic media studies come from the readiness to believe and accept that diaspora audiences are all behaving as the conventional and conforming members of “diasporic communities”. So I should be concerned with the audience’s minds and sensibilities, but not their cultures or identities. Not how they belong, but how they think.

Media brings the ordinary, banal reality of Turkish life to Ahiska Turks living in Bishkek. So the key concept to understanding transnational Turkish media is banality. The “here and now” reality of Turkish media culture distrubs the imagination of a “there and then” Turkey. This means that Turkish media culture works against the romance of diaspora-as-exile. So it can be said that the transnational Turkish media is an agent of cultural de-mythologisation. The world of Turkish media is an ordinary world and its significance resides in its banal qualities (Billig 1995).

Ahiska Turks have quite complex thoughts and sentiments about the television channels and programmes that they are watching. It is clear that they have a critical engagement with the transnational television culture. I believe that Ahiskas’ media activities should be looked at with the same media theories that have been applied to “ordinary” audiences, which is the point of view of “ordinary uses and gratifications”.

Parts of the Study

In order to apply the project, I had a field study using depth interview method with 20 Ahiska Turks, a sum of 10 women and 10 men in January 2010. I also wanted to expose the generation gap between former Soviet Union citizens and latter independent Kyrgyzstan Republic citizens of Ahiska Turks, so 5 of women were older than 40 and 5 of younger than 25, as just were men. The study constitutes of four parts; 1. television channels, 2. television usage, 3. other media, and 4. the minds of Ahiskas’. In the first part I looked at their favourite channels and tried to understand why they chose those channels. I asked which channels they watch most, and why they watch it most, relating to this do these channels make them feel Turk and what they know and think about Turkey, what they like or dislike about Turkey. In the second part I tried to solve the puzzles of their using television with the questions such as their prime times favourite programme(s), how these Turkish programmes effect or reflect their lives, how often they talk about these programmes.

In ‘other media’ part of research, I focused about behaviours of media users’ toward computer, newspaper, magazine, radio, book, internet cafes, and dvd players. In the last part I asked where they would like to live, if there was a relation between Turkish media and being Ahiska Turk, the meaning of Ahiska Turk, if ever been to Turkey. Shortly how they think through media.

1. Television Channels

Males younger than 25 ($M < 25$) mostly watch Russian channels. The second is Turkish channels. Their favourite Turkish channel is Kanal D, a mainstream channel, and TGRT, a news channel. For them, Turkey is the future and from the media and friends they know that Turkey is a very beautiful, touristic, rich, developed, historical, clean-hygiene, and modern country having sea and Bosphorus. Only Ismail thinks that Turkey is a country of contrary. Media shows some other Turkey which is not like that in reality. He wants a quiet life, but Turkey is fast and chaotic.

Females older than 40 ($F > 40$) mostly watch Russian and then Turkish channels. Their favourite Turkish channel is STV, a pro religion- mainstream channel, and Kanal D. Turkey is native country for them, and religious, charitable, honest, rich, clean and patriot people are there. Women are more well-cared and dress themselves better than Ahiska women. Hanımzade says that she especially watches Turkish channels on Islamic religious days to see very beautiful and heaven-like mosques.

Males older than 40 ($M > 40$) mostly watch Russian channels. The second is Turkish and then Kyrgyz. They are interested in Kyrgyz channels since they are very interested in Kyrgyzstan politics. STV, Kanal D, TGRT are their favourite Turkish channels. From media and friends they think that Turkey is clean but life is hard, making money is hard work in Turkey. Turkey is civilised but people are individualised. Turkish media is always following Western culture like Turkish politics. Turkey is the motherland and they say that "Anatolia is ours". Mürifeddin, a very rich and very impressive opinion leader of Ahiska community says that in Turkey there is gentrification in every aspect of job opportunity and service sector and mind is developed.

Females younger than 25 ($F < 25$) mostly again watch Russian channels and then Turkish ones. They watch Kyrgyz channels for the news –they are their father's daughters. STV and Kanal D are their favourite channels. They seldom watch religion programmes. Turkey is the place to go and is a beautiful future. They think and know from the media and friends that Turkey is cleaner, more beautiful than Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyz people don't want them. Public transport is very regular. Historical and natural beauties are so much. Saniya's favourite channel is Russian, because it is very good quality. She is the only girl who is studying and working in the university among 5 and one of the few among the whole Ahiska population. She is having her master course on Media and Communication. She finds Turkish channels over filled with ads. She watches in order to develop her standard Turkish language which is İstanbulian dialect. From the media she knew that Turkey was a multicultural and individual country, but when she went she saw that Turkey is nationalist and patriotic except İstanbul.

2. Television Usage

$M < 25$ have more than one television at home. One is absolutely in living room and one is in bedroom. They watch television between 25-30 hours a week. Favourite programme is sports, reality shows and competitions. Favourite films are Turkish, Russian and USA films. Kemal Sunal, an old Turkish mainstream actor of comedy films, Adile Naşit, an old Turkish mainstream actress of comedy films, Zeki Müren, an old and gay Turkish mainstream actor

and singer, are their favourite. They also watch Turkish serials like Kurtlar Vadisi (Valley Of Wolves) and Sır Kapısı (Door of Secret). The male heroine in Kurtlar Vadisi –Polat Alemdar, a nationalist Turkish policeman in relation with mafia- is their identical character. They find Sır Kapısı very realistic because people who commit sin certainly suffer in the serial. They *sometimes* talk about these programmes with other family members and friends.

F>40 have one television at home. But Kibriye has 4. They watch tv between 35-40 hours a week. Favourite programme is serials/films, documentary and music/entertainment programmes. Favourite films are Turkish, Russian and Uzbek films. Again Kibriye likes Hollywood horror movies like her son. They also watch competition programs whole family. They are very fond of religious serials like Sır Kapısı. From television they see that village in Turkey are very like the villages of Kyrgyzstan. Sır Kapısı is a serial set in any village and about Gods punishment to sinners. They *very frequently* talk about these programmes with other family members and friends.

M>40 have one television at home. They watch tv between 30-35 hours a week. Favourite programme is news/sports, religion and serials. Likes Turkish, Russian and Uzbek films. Favourite actor is Kemal Sunal and best serial is Sır Kapısı. Mürifeddin says “evil gets the desert somehow”, relating to Sır Kapısı. They *sometimes* talk about these programmes with other family members and friends.

F<25 have one television at home. They watch tv between 20-25 hours a week. Favourite programme is music/competition, serials and news. They watch Hollywood, Turkish and Russian films. Kemal Sunal is the best actor and they are fond of Turkish male pop singers and watch their music videos. Mustafa Sandal, İbrahim Tatlıses and Özcan Deniz are favourite singers. They also watch Sır Kapısı and they think that Özcan Deniz is very handsome. They like Hollywood romantic comedy genre. They *sometimes* talk about these programmes with other family members and friends.

3. Other Media

M<25 all have cellular phones. They all listen to radio, especially Manas Fm, radio of a Turkish University and then Russian radios. They all read a Russian newspaper, Vecherniy Bishkek, owned by a Jewish Russian entrepreneur. They don't have computer at home, so they go to internet cafes for internet access and for writing papers. Only İsmail has a computer at home. They all read books about history and religion.

F>40 all have cellular phones. They sometimes listen to Manas Fm. They sometimes read Vecherniy Bishkek and some Turkish newspaper when found. They read DA (Diyalog

Avrasya-Dialog Eurasia) magazine, a product of Turkish Gulen (Islamic) Movement³ in Central Asia. They always read Turkish religious books . They seldom read fashion magazines.

M>40 all have cellular phones. They seldom read Vecherniy Bishkek. Mürifeddin reads Ahıska magazine, and gets access to internet both at home and at internet cafe. They sometimes listen to Manas Fm.

F<25 all have cellular phones. Only Meryem and Güller have computers at home. They use it for internet and writing papers. They always read Vecherniy Bishkek, some fashion magazines, and DA. They listen to Manas Fm. They go to internet cafes for internet access and for writing papers.

4. The Minds of Ahıskas'; Last Words.

M<25 were all born in Uzbekistan except Azim. They came to Bishkek somehow, some for parents' migration from Uzbekistan for a better life, some for studying and some for other reasons. They are all students at the Turkish-Kyrgyz Manas University and all working part-time somewhere. They have never been to Turkey but Turkey is at the first stage on the list of places to go. They are all good at sports and proud of being Ahıska Turk. Turk means strong and for that reason they make body building. Turkey is changing and becoming like Europe, they say. They know this from media, and they all want to live in İstanbul except Azim and İsmail. Azim wants to live in London because there is more civilised and rich. He also knows that Ahıska community is closed but Turkey is open society. Turkish women can smoke on the streets but Ahıska women can't even at home, they have to do this secretly, Azim says. İsmail wants to live in Ankara because it is quite, smaller and a city of "officials". He would have vote for AKP (Justice and Development Party) or MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) if he were living in Turkey. He thinks that Turkish media is very swearword. They say they would feel safe in Turkey as they are under some ethnic violence pressure in Bishkek. They all think that Ahıska is only a adjective, they are Turks.

F>40 were born in Uzbekistan (two), Bishkek (two) and Azerbaijan (one). Two are housewives and two are retired (agriculturist and tailor) and one is teacher. Except Yıldız none of them have gone to Turkey. Yıldız's mother is living in Turkey and she went there in 2006 to see her. They all think that Ahıska is only an adjective, they are Turks. Turkey is the only place for the future of their children. On the other hand there is a contradiction, from one side they think that Bishkek is native country but on the other side they miss Turkey, even

³ Gulen teachings about "common good" have attracted a large number of supporters in Turkey and Central Asia. These supporters and their activities are known as Gulen Movement. The founder, Muhammed Fethullah Gulen is a Turkish preacher, author and educator living in self-imposed exile in Pennsylvania, USA. He teaches an Anatolian version of Suni/Hanefi Islam, deriving from that of Said-i Nursi's teachings and modernizing them.

haven't seen yet. They prefer Bishkek cause they are accustomed to, it is only their tongue that says Turkey.

M>40 were born in Uzbekistan (three), Bishkek (one) and Azerbaijan (one). One is retired (driver), one is driver, two are electricians, and Mürifeddin is chairman of Ahiska association in Bishkek. Except Mürifeddin they never been to Turkey. They love Turks and being Turk but they prefer living in Bishkek and/or Russia. They all think that Ahiska is only an adjective, they are Turks. They think that if you work hard you can live a better life in Turkey. But life is harder in Bishkek. They say they have the same language and religion but different education and culture as they were given shape by Russians. Mürifeddin says that homeland for oldest Ahiskas is Georgia, for him and his children it is Turkey. They are not safe in Bishkek and Mürifeddin says the last words: "Strolling is for abroad, dying is for homeland".

F<25 were born in Bishkek except Sevda who was born in Kazakhstan. They are all students at Turkish-Kyrgyz Manas University and working part-time mostly for tailoring. They would feel safe in Turkey. They don't think of going to Turkey any time. They love Bishkek, but see the future in Turkey. It is not important to be Turk, and religion is the first link that connect them. Kyrgyz people are sometimes treating them cruel. But nobody in Turkey would say that "you are Turk, piss off".

As a result, the only finding that comes forward is the awareness of older than 40s that they've been through the education of communism. Therefore they can define that their – including youngers- point of view is different than Turkish Media which is constructed by Turkey Turks. They criticize the chaos, explicit lyrics, violence and marginality in Turkish media. However they like the hygienical image they see from Turkish media on their television, they don't like too much advertisements that broadcasted. Turkey is beautiful, clean, historical, tidy and has a world pearl Bosphorus and magnificent mosques but they are aware that this is exaggerated. Even though they know and see a Turkey like this, they still prefer Bishkek with the words "home is where the heart and stomach is". So I can say that there is a two sliced public sphere for Ahiska people built by two politics through media; Russian and Turkish. Turkish politics are into two segments, Islamic Gulen Movement and secular Turkish state ideology, which are in fact conducted by USA in central Asia. Ahiskas watch Russian televisions and read *Vecherniy Bishkek* –a newspaper in Russian-, Islamic Turkish serials –*Sır Kapısı* (Door of Secret) and read *DA* (Dialog Avrasya), and secular Turkish mainstream films, competitions. So it's both their words and hearts that have expectation when said Turkey, and not. They both think like Russian and Turkish, but only live like sometimes Islamic Turkish, sometimes secular Turkish, sometimes Russian. This is very complicated but very activating and making Ahiskas pragmatist on the other hand.

Conclusion

My objection has been to the assumption that the people who watch transnational satellite television do so as mere ciphers of the "imagined communities" to which they are said to belong. The idea that migrants function in terms of collective attachment and identification has to be questioned. Human individuals are thought as being the poor representatives of whatever imagined community they happen to have once been aggregated into. In this

discussion I have been working and thinking against this diasporic imagination. It is clear that the rhetorical structures of Turkish media are disrupted in transnational context. This context might actually be working to subvert the diasporic imagination and its imperatives of identification and belonging. Just like Ismail thinks that Turkey is a country of contrary and media shows some other Turkey which is not like that in reality. He wants a quiet life, but Turkey is fast and chaotic. So the minds may provide a more significant research focus than the identities.

This means moving the agenda away from the problem of migrant or deported culture and identity to how it is they experience this being thousands miles away, and how they think and talk about their experiences. In this study I pointed out the cognitive dissonance experienced by Ahiska Turks in Kyrgyzstan in negotiating the discourses of watching satellite media/television from Turkey and their own lived reality.

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Paper

Mass Communication, Society and Globalization

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TRIBUTES TO 20TH CENTURY MASS COMMUNICATORS

Who dared to be different, faced the constraints head-on

In the early part of the century, the contributions of Paul Lazarsfeld, M.K.Gandhi and similar communicators made a difference towards the way people wanted the communicated messages. Mid way, the mass communication perspectives by Robert Hutchinson, Wilbur Schramm, Osgood and such other social scientists shaped the ways and means of media messages. While Hitler used the propaganda tool, Churchill and other communicators influenced the very style of media functioning in their own way.

In the second half of the century, great social scientists and communication analysts Everett M Rogers, Marshal McLuhan, Daniel Lerner and such others redefined the ways and means of mass communication and practices of mass media. If a talent like Ameen Sayani whose voice over Radio Ceylon could be appealing to audience sections in Russia, the power of a media- i.e., radio, is worthily notable.

In the era of cultural imperialism & media hegemony [1975-90s], the impact on society from mass communication was not by individuals but through organizations. The advanced news agencies dictated news perspectives of the Less Developed Countries [LDCs]. The McBride's Commission report made significant contributions to the way media should function. Skewed braveness is seen when James Bond Movies resulted in a virtual blunder as it induced psychological terrorism in the have-nots, more in the Asian region. The propaganda agenda by BBC & CNN made the situation of media practices aggressive as it was negative approach, mere branding of organizations compromising on broader health of media existence. Later, communicator Thomas Friedman [book- World is Flat] influenced both the mass media professionals and the audiences alike.

At the onset of globalization, media moghuls like Rupert Murdoch, Ted Turner, organizations like the Time-Warners, etc. almost completely usurped the media scene making it more and more monopolistic, less and less pragmatic towards the intended goals of real globalization.

The 21st Century trends in mass communicators point to more monopolistic practices with cross-media and pan-profession ownerships. Investors into media cut across from any other mega profession without awareness and concern for society and communicative aspects.¹

Conflicts in braveness of the new world

“The greatest social crisis has been seen in countries that are on top rungs of globalization. The number of workers without medical coverage, non-unionized workers and temporary or part-time workers with very little or no social benefits is highest in the US, followed by the UK. Argentina and Brazil have high unemployment rates of 18% and 15% respectively, a result of globalization of their economies. A similar process can be seen in Eastern Europe, where living standards have fallen by as high as 30-80% since the transition to neo-liberalism began in 1980s. Mexico has seen a fall of 30% in incomes during the same period. In almost all nations, a parallel development occurred making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Wealth began to concentrate in the hands of a few, creating gross inequality and reduction in the purchasing power of the common man.”²

The story of LDCs is slightly different. Understanding of the terms Globalization and Internationalization, by majority of the nations, particularly among the LDCs has taken a beating just because it was conceptualized and mooted primarily by the interests of the advanced and developed nations. It is interpreted as Americanization, Westernization, meant for the interest of the few, not comprehensive or not futuristic, and so on. Hence, there is absolute need for demystifying the terms and their full meaning in the actual socio-cultural contexts.

Literature reviewed

Efforts to conceptualize internationalization through media adaptations

The media models propounded by the westerners failed to attract the LDCs, only to see them as not applicable. Ex:- Daniel Lerner’s urbanization model and such other Linear models. However, some later non-linear models of mass communication were applicable to the LDCs as pro-development tool. Eg:- Westley McLean’s model.

In later 20th Century, the NAM, G5 and G-8 countries influenced and almost usurped the media agenda. In spite of technologies made accessible to the LDCs, it was not to rule out the spy satellites with latest transponders disseminating most wanted information only to selected countries. This continued to maintain gaps in development between the countries. The role of International Telecommunication Union in permitting launching of satellites onto the specific orbits with latest technologies and its repercussions on the LDCs is still under question. But most advanced nations use satellites to dump information into developing or LDCs to keep them diverted from the wanted information and maintain confusion while priority information are conserved and confined among those advanced nations as a national agenda. In the guise of information explosion, some international vested interests are purposefully creating information pollution.

The satellite TV & globalization influences

1959-1975: It was after the successful SITE experiment that the activities of television were increased, especially with the rechristening of Indian monopolistic TV station ‘Doordarshan’. There is a need to increase LPTs even to date as to reach to the rural lots. There was invasion from the skies by the Television media onto Indian soil in 1980’s with proliferating LPTs and HPTs, till then, there was no up-linking from the land.

1980–1990: A host of regional centers opened. During the Asiad live telecast [1982], international media barons like Murdoch who had adopted a wait and watch policy towards Indian media sent investment signals for entry to India. By then, the cable enthusiasts predicted a capacity of 40-80 channels, providing public access and allowing for receivers to develop two-way communication, receive banking information, dial-up films, super market information, facsimile of news and wire report, medical date, etc. However, the then PM of India Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared that the time [1983] was not ripe and then the electronic media in India was meant for development purposes only.³ In 1984, it was only Doordarshan which broadcast the live commentary of the funeral ceremony of Mrs. Gandhi on her assassination [31st October] and also show the swearing in of Rajiv Gandhi as the incumbent PM.

In 1985, the EXIM policy⁴ of India changed in leaps and bounds. Relaxation in hardware imports, especially those related to telecommunications paved way for increased activity in electronic media. Very soon after 1986, Tax relaxation for Colour TV-tubes and many such other policies paved way for bombardment of the e-waves from the skies. Satellite-TV and digital-TV era is already on.

1990-1995: Later, the Government joined the band wagon. During the early 1990's, it asked the scientific body ISRO-India to suggest techniques to jam those waves, but only to get a genuine request of huge investments and a projected decade to accomplish the target by the ISRO.

The starting of DD-International in 1995 with 19 hours a day telecast time is an added feather in the cap. Today, Doordarshan has completed its golden jubilee in the market. Its contribution in the last 50 years is worth reckoning.

1996-2008: Satellite TV opened up a myriad of activities. The earliest was perhaps the Convergence era. A media input could be obtained in many other media as outputs. DTH, set top boxes, Conditional Access System, digitized broadcasts, new media podcasts, mobile TV, mobileNet, etc. became common place and within the reach of common man.

Media & globalization

Guy Brainbant says that *the process of globalization not only includes opening up of world trade, development of advanced means of communication, internationalization of financial markets, growing importance of MNCs, population migrations, and more generally increased mobility of persons, goods, capital, data and ideas but also infections, diseases and pollution.*⁵

Nowhere in the world do we see simultaneous growth of all media within a country. Surprisingly, India is the only exception with every media working coherently and sustained within the limited economic strength, contributing to national exchequer. Technology changes made developing countries go for a shot. Inevitably, globalization supported to get those technologies in developing situations, anywhere in the world.

The newspapers changed their content, the price war began, forced to reinterpret earlier parlance like– redefining what lead is, qualifications of journalist, newsroom requirements and so many others.

Radio disappeared as it was born here. Then again the FM ushered in, it is now of its own domain.

Impact of TV on Cinema: The Cinema came much early on the soil and thrived for a while. Soon it had to fight for its existence when the media like TV was inside the homes of millions. The interdependency of Cinema and TV is well-known today.

Now the new media is here to stay.⁶ Its growth is too quick for a subcontinent like that of India, with other parameters of economy, education, technology being asynchronous with the media boom.

There was drastic change in content and marketing of print media products, radio programs and Ads., storyline, direction, technology and investment in films sector. In print media, specialized magazines and *pickle magazines* are all the result of the pressure from the competition posed by television media.

There were some criticisms of the introduction of television in India and other developing countries, especially because of the heavy infrastructural expenditure involved, the poverty of the large majority of the population, lack of media literacy and general education prevailing in those countries. But eminent scientists like Vikram Sarabhai saw in television a great scope for reaching the rural population with educational and scientific messages. Visuals spoke louder than letters, they argued.

The Table under shows the world media segments and the India's E&M Industry percentage growth between 2005-2013.

India's Media and Entertainment Industry		
Year	Size (\$ billion)	Per cent growth
2005	7.72	—
2006	8.9	15.28 per cent
2007	10.4	16.85 per cent
2008	11.68	12.31 per cent
2009	12.56	7.53 per cent
2010	13.94	10.99 per cent
2011	15.82	13.49 per cent
2012	18.22	15.17 per cent
2013	21.04	15.48 per cent

CAGR for 2009-13: 12.5 per cent
(Source: KPMG-FICCI Report)

Media Segments			
Segment	2008 (\$ billion)	2013 (\$ billion)	Per cent CAGR
Television	4.81	9.45	14.5 per cent
Print	3.45	5.32	9.0 per cent
Film	2.18	3.37	9.1 per cent
Animation	0.35	0.79	17.8 per cent
OOH	0.32	0.59	12.8 per cent
Gaming	0.13	0.55	33.3 per cent
Internet	0.12	0.43	27.9 per cent
Radio	0.16	0.33	14.2 per cent
Music	0.14	0.21	8 per cent

Source: KPMG-FICCI Report

The scene of E & M industry in India between 2004-08 has shown encouraging symptoms of growth and progress in activities

Rs. billion	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	CAGR 2004 - 08
Television	128.7	158.5	191.2	223.9	244.7	17.4%
% Change		23.2%	20.6%	17.1%	9.3%	
Filmed Entertainment	59.9	68.1	84.5	96.0	107.0	15.6%
% Change		13.7%	24.1%	13.6%	11.5%	
Print Media	97.8	109.5	128.0	149.0	162.0	13.4%
% Change		12.0%	16.9%	16.4%	8.7%	
Radio	2.4	3.2	5.0	6.9	8.3	36.4%
% Change		33.3%	56.3%	38.0%	20.3%	
Music	6.7	7.2	7.3	7.3	6.3	-1.7%
% Change		7.3%	0.8%	0.6%	-14.1%	
Animation,Gaming and VFX			10.5	13.0	15.6	
% Change				23.8%	20.0%	

The projected scene has shown encouraging symptoms of growth and progress in the media activities.

Rs. billion	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009 f	2010 f	2011 f	2012 f	2013 f	CAGR 2009-13	CAGR 2004-08
Television	128.7	158.5	191.2	223.9	244.7	267.5	298.0	332.0	372.0	420.0	11.4%	17.4%
% Change		23.2%	20.6%	17.1%	9.3%	9.3%	11.4%	11.4%	12.0%	12.9%		
Filmed Entertainment	59.9	68.1	84.5	96.0	107.0	118.0	132.0	147.0	159.0	185.0	11.6%	15.6%
% Change		13.7%	24.1%	13.6%	11.5%	10.3%	11.9%	11.4%	8.2%	16.4%		
Print Media	97.8	109.5	128.0	149.0	162.0	168.0	178.0	191.0	205.0	213.0	5.6%	13.4%
% Change		12.0%	16.9%	16.4%	8.7%	3.7%	6.0%	7.3%	7.3%	3.9%		
Radio	2.4	3.2	5.0	6.9	8.3	9.8	11.5	14.0	16.0	19.0	18.0%	36.4%
% Change		33.3%	56.3%	38.0%	20.3%	18.1%	17.3%	21.7%	14.3%	18.8%		
Music	6.7	7.2	7.3	7.3	6.3	5.6	5.0	4.9	4.9	5.0	-4.5%	-1.7%
% Change		7.3%	0.8%	0.6%	-14.1%	-11.6%	-9.7%	-2.6%	0.8%	1.6%		
Animation,Gaming and VFX			10.5	13.0	15.6	18.5	23.0	27.6	33.6	42.5	22.2%	
% Change				23.8%	20.0%	18.6%	24.3%	20.0%	21.7%	26.5%		

The India's Budget-2009 indicated specific proposals for E&M Sector in terms of Income Tax, technology, safety measures & profits. These proposals will see the light of the day by its direct effects in encouragement of E&M industry of India within next three years.

INDIA'S NEW FDI POLICY

In New Guidelines (Feb. 2009), foreign investments routed through Indian companies where a majority ownership and control is held by Indian citizens is treated as 100% domestic investment.

New policy also provides in I&B sector, [sectoral cap <49% (viz. cable network)], company need to be owned and controlled by resident Indian citizen, directly or through Indian companies[holdings- atleast 51%].

Government measures: In view of convergence of technologies between the telecom and broadcasting sectors, there appears to be a need to increase FDI limit in various broadcasting sectors viz. cable networks, DTH, IPTV, HITS, etc.

It is established by the world trade analysis that the BRIC nations will dominate the top GDP slots by the mid of 21st Century. The Indian participation in E&M spending against the nominal GDP growth through 2004–2007 is gratifying for Indians about information needs.

Significance of this study lies in arriving at a balanced viewpoint for providing an optimistic and realistic platform of activities in the post-globalized media scenario of India.

Scope of the study: The Indian media is ridden with wide range of opportunities for the global media players and for many different nations. It is for the media professionals and society alike to place the setting in proper perspective for maximised benefits, in a rigid, customised, colourful and complex cultural fabric coupled with a hierarchical, multilingual and multi-religious society like that of India.

Strategies for the knocking Opportunities

At the same time, it is impending on the part of the economic functioning of the nation to ensure reliable and credible practices if the growth and effect has to be uniform, contributively sustainable– all crucial in the approach to a developed India.

Short-term Strategy	Long-term Strategy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acquisition focus • Cost management • Portfolio management • Organisation structure re-design • Purchasing dynamics • Outsourcing • Consolidating common functions • Re-invigorate media sales • Tackling legacy assets • Real estate Optimization • Implementation • New opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on IP profit maximisation across all channels • Changes in organisational structures, personal incentives and financial reporting • Treat accountability as a must, not a luxury • Re-visit fundamentals and accepted norms • New partnership models • New Markets

To this end, well defined, focused market evolving both short-term and long-term strategy is of priority. The suggestions of PwC ideas in this regard are worth stating here in a table.

Objectives:

1. To bring out the changes in psycho-social acclimatization of media professionals due to the effect of globalization.
2. To check for wide range of opportunities for the global media players in the sub-continent.
3. To measure the impact of globalization on the growth of media in this sub-continent
4. To arrive at a balanced platforms of activities for current media setups of India

Methodology here is of Critical Studies. Instances, observations, case studies are critically viewed to analyze the depth of communication intricacies on societies through globalization.

THE FINDINGS

Impact of Globalization on society

Globalization glorifies labour but with no fruits to the actual sweat of the labourer. The farmers migrate from villages to become building construction workers in townships and cities. Factory and industry works increased. The rich become richer. The poor even with skills miss the profits. It widens the gap between the two. The individuals amass wealth. This has led to rupture of democracy, its values and principles for collective living.

Technology is no doubt a boon. Today information is money. True to the Laswell's and the Berlo's SMCR communication models- what message, which medium, to whom at what time is to be decided today and that has become the right way. Hence, 'self imposed regulation on media functioning is also the right way in democratic situations, which along with a socially responsible media has the capability to mould public opinion'.⁷ The role of Public Service Broadcasting is worth noting here. Healthy media gives rise to healthy society. If social responsibility is forgotten, people may reject the message or in the long run even the media. As Wilbur Schramm said, 'no mass media can exist in cultural vacuum'. That is, the support and encouragement of people is very much necessary for the survival of any media. Negative impact of messages or repetitive deceitful messages sent through a media may cause cognitive dissonance in and among the audience in turn resulting in dismissing the whole media or particular networks. This is not just in India but also true world over.

The composition of the social status including handicrafts, folk arts, behaviour of nomadic, de-nomadic and tribes changed after globalization. The societal structure got rather ruptured. Indian society was basically a hierarchical society with caste as a status identifying factor. Caste is nothing but the reflection of the community. People of different castes had their own profession, customs, beliefs and celebrations. This social structure after globalization opened international markets by the invasion from the skies. All products were made available to a *dark society* where people were never in a position to digest messages from the media. Globalization threw open doors of international market and posed a threat to the local products & people indirectly affecting the profession of many groups- potters, snake charmers, etc. Then, whole families worked hard spending much time to produce a product; now everything is machine made, beautiful, easily available in different shapes and types. Globalization did not just hamper professions but original inhabitants of the nation- denotified groups, wandering groups, tribal background who lived on their professions are annihilated. Quality by strength was compromised for external beauty. It also destroyed culture, language, literature and everything of these groups. All these, while globalization is still a newly developing concept, not even fully ingested by the people. International companies in HR crisis chose the developing situation for their resources. Even the uneducated, unskilled were inducted merely because of cheap labour. The NRIs are into vegetable growing, animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries, etc. Floriculture is hit. Lest forgotten that human intervention alone can assure quality and durability as against machines.

Agricultural sector was hit. Small and marginal farmers simply disappeared [As on 2003, irrigated land in India is about 558,080 sq km]. SEZ swallowed agricultural lands by way of concretization, site purchases, real estates and urbanization. Multinational agri-companies, seeds companies rushed in, purchased 1000s acres of land. The land ceiling act ate mud, thanks to GATT. A family started disintegrating. Exodus from villages to cities became rampant. Gap between rich and the poor increased. Prostitution will increase soon. The labour of a marble worker from Rajasthan is purchased by the organizations killing their aesthetic abilities.

People with skilled artistry are committing suicides as their products do not fetch them a market. Stainless steel, paper & plastic replaced earthen pots, handicrafts and jute bags. Forest and wild life protection Act prohibited bear, snakes, ox or camels from being used for begging. Governments failed to find alternatives before the Act was passed.

Agenda setting of the trans-national media

Australian Fox Media is wooed by the USA to stand by its politico-economic policies; Most advanced news agencies dictating or at least strongly influencing the news policies of less developed nations for more than five decades of later part of 20th century is a classic instance.

Due to the domination of global media in LDCs, the local advertisers for want of enhanced profits are rushing towards global media set-ups thus sweeping the advertisement revenue from the domestic media towards the global partners. This is happening in the form of repeatedly screening the old, cast-away footages of the productions packaged in stereotypic and formula based, animation webbed technology, without considering the necessity or relevance to the local society. Fascinated by these productions, the cosmopolitan and urban audiences of the LDCs are repeatedly watching such programmes thereby forcing the sophisticated product companies like confectionaries to advertise for these programmes.⁸ Hence, the economic support for local channels and cable media is dwindling, weakening the domestic media as well as economic activities. On the other hand, the global media players are rigid with respect to the host nations threatening their very sovereignty and bothered only to safeguard the interests of their origin countries.

The Media influences

Benign influences: Today there is emphasis on international Human Rights laws. In India, in a Malayalam language serial a wife is beaten by her husband and the viewership sores high to yield top ratings for the channel. Viewers' attitude could be changed by awareness of human rights. In another instance, actually a girl committing suicide is doubted [irrational] by the media without proper investigation, as if it could be a murder and thus give leads to viewers. Media education of global standards is the need here. It would support to enhance **the benign influences** of internationalized media practices in a large democracy like India. However, the contradiction is that global competition to sustain media profits also makes media to look towards rising TRPs / circulation which most stakeholders accept with a pinch of salt as pseudo figures.

Normative influences: - Even though globalization resulted in easy access of technology to the less developed nations, the normative influences on media industry due to rampant, uncontrolled use of such technology for media is enormous and powerful. Example, in a reality show *Emotional Atyaachaar*, a young male approaches a TV office to test the chastity of his female partner, meanwhile the whole **media technology** is exploited to conduct a *007 type* or like a sting operation where different camera teams follow the girl! Also a smart handsome male is hired to attract that girl and finally projected before this affected party, the male plaintiff. The emotions of this affected individual, behaviour and sentiments are viewed by the audience with a sadistic pleasure. Later, the male manhandles her too. Soon, one more girlfriend of that male also comes into the scene!

Other news from the land like a small child fighting for its survival having fallen into a borewell, a minister or his staff beating a citizen, hurling of shoes, are used for increasing the credibility of TV media among viewers embedding in their minds as the most wanted media. Telecast of violence, crime, people fighting for life, the gory accidents add fuel to the pyre. Thus, it is notable that in developing situations most media are imitative of worldwide dominant media practices.

In the guise of reality show, the humanity, norms, traditions or culture themselves have shown signs of getting displaced. Priorities are given to the above at the cost of huge compromises of **sinister effects**, even if it could mean annihilation of societies or extinct of healthy lifestyles.

Maturing Media Audience

There has been a confirmed increase in the maturity levels of media audience in terms of consuming, participating and even criticising aspects. Broadening of perspectives about different societies among people of particular nations to understand the intricacies of internationalization aspect is not only inevitable but also necessary and essential for post modern world affairs.

The media professionals seeking jobs in different media enterprises cutting across the globe, breaking the national barriers verily paves way for initiation of broadening of perspectives. Just like International Cricket- Test/1-Day/20-20, any mode of entertainment platforms enjoining media activities anywhere in the world supports for the pan-national mixing of people thus catering to the perspectives of internationalization.

INFERENCES

In spite of hesitation by the decision makers in Indian democracy, interestingly there are traces of braveness among the new generations in India. All thanks to their increased acclimatization with global trends and practices with a tolerant and patient approach to blend the concepts into their existing life-styles. The youth generation has strived hard in updating skills, for instance, learning English quicker as against their Chinese competitors. Also appreciable are the abilities and prowess of the current responsible youth in the media to aggressively participate in the progressive activities of the nation. For instance, if the journalists have to break conventions or rules only to get scoops which are convincingly in the welfare of the nation and surely in wider public interest, they will not hesitate to go ahead and do so. In a hurry to do so, even copying of ideas [plagiarism] of program genres & types are not to be ruled out.

Among the viewers of today, particularly the young adults now experiment on programmes and intend on gaining new experiences. With optimism, it can be declared that the oncoming generation might focus better, with clarity and with enhanced utility. Already evident in this line are the TV channels [eg: National Geography] that are gaining popularity. If some of them are resorting to cheap entertainment, it is only that such programs are acting as stress busters for the *gen-next* which is so stressed with the modern day living and life styles.

All these braveness are only due to the genuine concern for co-existence coupled with individualistic contributions that can be through exploiting the inherent abilities of the thinking modes of the youth, support from the veterans and the clan amidst them. However, the missing links are, the lack of political will, extreme commercial forces [greed, quick bucks, economic sabotage, evils] acting against the community services that are so inevitable for national pride. It indeed hurts the sovereignty of a nation.

Contemporary role of media and effects on nations

In India the society at large is already very diverse to a very increased extent on every front- socially, ethnically or culturally. Even varied languages, psycho-social behaviours and regional environmental influences have added to such diversity. It is also true to a great extent in the Asian nations belonging to the SAARC group.

At least two types of cultural proclivities are pronouncedly visible among those involved in media houses. One, that of those with formal education with a tinge of international perspectives- eg:- the English medium schools, convents, ICSE/CBSE, boarding/residential with McCaulay systems; the other with the domestic, localized inputs of same formal education structure with milder formats- eg:- govt. schools, non-English medium schools, etc. As people grow and avail occupations in different media enterprises, those with former kind of education are less prone to the shake-ups due to effects of globalization. Also among them with upwardly mobile attitude get into the English media houses only to find less cognitive dissonance in their work delivery. Those in the language media including Hindi media have their roots firm in local flavour and thus find less compatible, sometimes even hard to comprehend, assimilate and ingest the concepts of globalization, both in perspectives and in the practices, forget alone in their personal lives. It is also very much reflected in the functioning of media organizations and inside the media houses.

However, as a full wave of new generation trained and is getting into these media houses, it also goes to prove that effects of globalization are not a new or a strange phenomenon for the Indian media practitioners. Then the factor of negative effects on the processes of growing and progressive media becomes less significant. Owing to the acclimatization of this generation, at least in the Indian media enterprises, the effects of globalization on the processes of media are positive.

The society minus the media practitioners has comparatively more negative effects of globalization primarily due to the diversity factor, owing to all possible different reasons like no information, no comprehension, less understanding of the concept, less effect on their simpler life-styles, and so on. It has been a heritage and also inherent in the training

towards media practices and those involving in media exercises inside the organizations to prefer and practice [like Hippocratic oath] secular, homogenous, amenable, compatible approaches within and among their colleagues, authorities and superiors. It is true even with respect to the content generation. Fundamentalism, fanaticism, unscientific biases and religious or caste-ridden practices are viewed *abominable* in the media houses except perhaps with exceptions of rare cases. Such a texture of the vocation is both inevitable and obvious in the prevailing circumstances of media related occupations anywhere in the world.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Policies, Codes and Guidelines

The discussion on Communication policies, code of conduct, regulations and guidelines has always reached a dead end without much progress or objective realizations. There is an impending need for less developed nations to continue cooperation that helps demystifying the commitment to change which is not seen so far. The dire need of the hour is to accept and move forward in the direction of a composite agreement on the drafts towards global media mechanisms.

Professional ethics are on the decline. Journalists themselves should indulge in ethical practices; else face the wrath of government or owner control, let alone regulations. Along with Press Freedom adjoins what media analyst John C.Merrill calls 'social-determinism of the press'. Since Asia is an amalgamation of traditional, transitional, modern and affluent societies, media should address all these strata in complete proportions without compromise.

A comprehensive policy on Mass Communication is the need of the hour. Ethics, values and serious view of healthy practices of mass media can only be taught, portrayed, projected and imbibed in the aspirants of media careers only when their mind is wet cement and receptive. These can easily be achieved inside the class rooms and the training environs and not in the rougher, tougher, often brutal, merciless field out there. A sensible body has to be constituted towards achieving the objective. Teachers and Academicians involved in teaching journalism, mass communication and such pure social science subjects, along with genuinely interested media practitioners should be involved in framing of the policy.

An official commission is also the need of the hour to take care of grievances of media professionals. It could be as a broadcast commission, a media commission, an agency that needs to address any deviations by practitioners. This suggested body should not just be like the currently instituted communication commission which is just a licensing authority. The representatives of such a body should necessarily include the people from the profession, from the media and other related academics and responsible citizens, over and above with judicial powers to punish the violators of the norms laid down by such an envisaged body.

Another strengthening aspect is the promulgation of a comprehensive Broadcast Bill /Telecast Bill that will soon become an Act to monitor content over the electronic media and catering to social responsibility.

Utility and futility of the exercises of media barons to boost globalization/internationalization

The media owners, particularly of the large conglomerates find it extremely difficult, however try and balance between their profit motives and achieving an egalitarian society through their media practices. The barons urgently need internationalized acceptance of their media agenda but their slight altruistic tendencies in their market in less developed nations will harm their business severely, contradicting their choice to go global.

When the Cable TV Regulation Act-1993 was enforced in India, it looked out for any punishable offences in media content and in practices. In order to preserve the freedom of press, the broadcasters got into a new alert mode and quickly evolved a self-regulation mechanism wherein- National Broadcasters Association [NBA, New Delhi], Indian Broadcasters Foundation [IBF, New Delhi] were not only made alibi but also empowered to receive from and send complaints to Ministry of Information & Broadcasting [MIB-GOI] on any violation by media that harmed society. It could be a disturbing visual on electronic media or a jarry-gory illustration in print.

Human Rights movements and child rights movements in India are doing their part while there is a need for a specialized media commission similar to Children Rights Commission and National Women Rights Commission which are also given opportunity to look into grievance of violation of media content. A recent case in point is from the Andhra Pradesh Human Rights Commission where two teacher-parents filed a case on a TV channel for abusive use of an under-14 girl child for a dance show.

Epilogue

Globalization has entered too early. Priorities and media content has changed and posed serious threats to fabric of Indian society. When these developments are in infancy and takes some time to achieve desired goals, the mindsets of intellectual class, merchants class, educationists and sociologists needs to change and mould this society into a systematic, healthy and progressive society by imbibing modernity.

A great nation like Japan will play a key role in joining hands with the large nation like India in a smooth change-over by application of mass communication dynamics into the Indian society without damaging the socio-cultural essence of the beautiful Indian soil.

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DIFFERENT WORLDS CONSTRUCTED WITH FILMS: RHAPSODY IN AUGUST
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DIFFERENT WORLDS CONSTRUCTED WITH FILMS: RHAPSODY IN AUGUST AND PEARL HARBOR

Abstract

In the 19th century as a result of studies to record moving pictures, cinema device emerged as a technical invention. It has developed in a short period of time and become means of mass communication and a combination of all branches of art and gained a significant place in people's lives. While cinema is representing changes, developments and discomforts in its own artistic reality, it transfers the expressions of social life as cinematic narrations by encoding patterns, figures and representation. Therefore, the cinema provides ideological superiority to its owners as it is used in ideology and conscious construction and the contents of films and ideologies are together.

*This study is a discourse analysis study which was undertaken to display how different perspectives and ideologies were cinematically mounted in the films *Rhapsody in August* and *Pearl Harbor*. Thus, the study aims to reveal the differences in the reflection of the same historical event on the curtains in the cinemas of the two different countries.*

Key Words: Cinema ideology, historical event discourse analysis.

1. Introduction

In the last decade of the 19th century, the efforts to reflect moving pictures on a curtain got more intense. Technical conditions like the advancements in photograph technique, the invention of susceptible projection devices and the invention of pellicle which can pass through projection machine have come together and thus this invention emerged in many different parts of the world at the same time. Lumiere Brothers in France, Edison in the USA, Max Skaladanovsky in Germany, William Grene in England presented the first moving pictures to viewers (Pearson, 2003:30). Cinema has industrialized in a short period of time with the integration of moving pictures with sound and become a means communication, propaganda and entertainment. In other words, cinema has become both an industry, an important means of communication which enables transmitting messages to remote place and which is a social power source and a branch of art (Yaylagul, 2010:9).

Cinema unlike plastic arts like painting, sculpture and upper culture products like classical music addresses to all layers of the society and meets them in the same place within the same viewing time. In dark halls, tens of people view animated dreams on large curtains. Moreover, while people are watching these dreams, they are not moving physically but they are emotionally and visually creative or active and are aware of their psychological existence, where lays the "the crucial" experience unique to cinema. This enables cinema viewers to be somebody else other than himself and to be nomadic in his seat. It deepens social imagination (Lausten and Diken, 2010:19). In this sense, the cinema is a temple and going to the cinema is a ritual. Cinema with its gods, priests and believers covers all the social structure. Therefore, cinema with its structure which removes differences between social classes has attracted attention and identified as a branch of art closest to society. (Ozkaracalar, 2003:37, Erkilic, 2009:52). Cinema is informal powerful source of education and therefore no matter what its content is, it is never away from values and even ideological and political tendencies. The content of cinema reflects the beliefs, attitudes and values. In other words, the dominant

ideology in the society get stronger with the ideology reflected in cinema (Guchan, 1993:64-65).

Therefore, films are analyzed ideologically and cinema is assessed as a system of narration which fulfills the functions of spreading dominant ideology and sustaining itself as a branch of industrial application working under ideological determinations. Ideological criticism and films are approached from a broad perspective and the films are regarded as field of cultural practice and as a means of interpretation and motivation with aesthetic, socio economic, historical dimensions. This study is a discourse analysis study which was undertaken to display how different perspectives and ideologies were cinematically mounted in the films *Rhapsody in August* and *Pearl Harbor*. Thus, the study aims to reveal the differences in the reflection of the same historical event on the curtains in the cinemas of the two different countries. However, before that definitions and explanations about theoretical approaches and ideological nature of cinema were given place.

2.Theoretical Approaches toward Ideology

In its broadest sense, ideology shapes subjects starting from the bases of own their experiences and is an organizational social power which equips them with specific social value and beliefs (Eagleton, 2005:307). Ideology is a very controversial issue and there are many approaches to it. According to De Tracy, it is the science of accurate thinking, to Napoleon, it is weird ideas of some eccentric man, according to Marx it is wrong conscious, according to Lenin it is the world view of a class, according to Gramsci it is the plaster which keeps community together, and according to Althusser it is a material practice. New definitions every philosopher makes bring about new dimensions in ideology.

The concept ideology was first used by Antonie Destutt De Tracy. De Tracy used the concept ideology to mean science of idea to be used to provide everybody with opportunities to think correctly and it became one of the most efficient means to justify French revolution. With French revolution, when Napoleon who had close ties with ideologists came to power supported ideologists considering that the dissemination of science of idea will correct wrong ideas of people (Mardin,1982: 22 23).

Marx's approach to ideology, who is the founder of scientific sociology, is related with confusion and mystification. Ideology which was later called as "false consciousness" by Engels handles a false world view. Marx used the concept of ideology as a critical concept to put off the systematic mystification process because when mystery is resolved it loses its effect. Marx identifies ideology with class system. Marx believes that distortion in ideology stems from the fact that this concept reflects the interests and views of the ruling class. Ruling class is reluctant to regard itself as repressive and is concerned to convince the ones whom they suppress. That is, class system is upside down. Marx expresses this as *camera obscura* that is upside down picture in human eye or in the lenses of camera. Thirdly, according to Marx ideology is a manifestation of power and completely composes dominant ideas of the era and ideology is provisional, it only survives as the class system which gives birth to it survives (Heywood,2007).

Althusser (2008) explains ideology as a system which provides the existence of individuals in society and it is relation between individual and the world. Besides, it is also possible to establish a connection between reality reflected in ideology and objective reality. Althusser defines ideology as a design of real existence conditions of individuals and the virtual relations between them. According to Althusser, ideological device of state (religious,

educational, family, legal, political, syndicate, cultural communication) function using ideology. However, every device of state functions by using ideology and pressure. However, in ideological devices of state using ideology is the primary function. In ideological devices of state a kind of pressure or use of force can be observed though to a little extent.

Gramsci explains his ideology approach with the concept of hegemony. Hegemony is identified with its aim to construct a common will. Dominant class being hegemonic is possible with the creation of a national massive will by articulating the interests of other classes in the society to their own interests. Gramsci just as Althusser defines ideology with a positive content because ideology -in Gramsci's theory- is an understanding of world related with art, law, economic efficiency and all other manifestations of individual and common life. This understanding functions as social cement (Slattery, 2008:241).

Ideology centered study of processes in the production and consumption of media texts started with English Cultural Studies. By nature, the approaches of English Cultural Studies to media texts determine standpoints to media. English Cultural Studies regards media as an institution which reproduces dominant ideology and values in society. This approach enabled ideological analysis of media texts. Therefore, ideology has had an integral place in the English Cultural Studies. Hall-based on Gramsci's hegemony concept- defines ideological struggle processes as articulation. According to Hall, hegemony can be achieved with ideological coercion but with cultural guidance. Articulation is production during usage. Cultural productions and practices make sense with articulation. Hall views ideology as a struggle in the framework of meanings and seeks to define concrete effects of ideology rather than finding its roots (Dagtas, 1999:335-357).

3. Ideological Structure of Art and Cinema

Art is affected by dominant ideology. Those who dispose means of production are authorized in cognitive and artistic production process. Ideological functions of art can be made sense of when they are handled in a social context. Actually, art is social expression of standing against power. However, only when an art work becomes a part of mass culture, it goes under the control of power and turns into means of transmitting its ideology. Therefore, there is a close relation between art works and ideology. It is impossible to work art in its unique and aesthetic case without allowing for the relation between art and ideology (Althusser, 2004:134).

Seventh art coincides with an era when approaches to ideological structure of cinema and social change were intensive and psychoanalysis, semiotics and Marxism were hotly debated within an intellectual framework and with the end of the '60s when the 68s events occurred. Especially there were very intensive discussions in *Chairs du Cinema Magazine* in France (Erkılıc, 1997:24).

Camoli and Narboni in their article titled as *Cinema, Ideology and Criticism* in *Chairs du Cinema Magazine* underlines the significance of the relation between cinema and ideology. First of all, every film is political because cinema as in the production of the literature triggers the great economic interests. Second, cinema reproduces reality. Camera and pellicles are used for his purpose as imposed by ideology. However, the devices and techniques in film production themselves make up parts of reality, as well. Reality is nothing but the expression of existent ideology. In fact, what camera records is the vague and unformulated world of the dominant ideology (Camoli and Narboni, 2010:100-102).

According to Fargier, ideological efficiency of cinema is realized in two points. Cinema represents existing ideology and disseminates them and creates the reflection of reality –as a unique ideology- on the curtain. Lebel argues against the general view that camera is an ideological device. While he argues that receiver is nothing more than ideologically neutral entity and that ideology comes out when film reaches to viewer, Baudry contends that ideological effect result from the film itself but from technological features of the cinema and to him cinematographic device creates fantasia of the subject. It achieves the effects of what they produce by being in the dominant ideology. According to Nichols, ideology represents the image of constant repetition of society. Cinema serves to the understanding of the function of ideology and representation. Images -as the representations- are the carrier of ideology (Guchan,1999).

According to Rayn and Kellner, representation of social world is political. Therefore, choices of different representation types express different political stances to world. The position of each camera, each picture arrangement, each montage decisions and each narrative choice is related with a representation strategy including all kind of interests and desires. Cinema has no aspect which solely exhibits or depicts reality. Films posit the world to its viewers as a place to be lived in certain patterns constructing phenomenal world (1995:419).

There is a dynamic relation between the creator, viewer, the product (film) of cinema and the social structure in which they all exist (Guchan,1993:52). Through its films, cinema reestablishes the reality of the society in which we live with its unique narration. As a part of representations system inherited from the society it was born to, cinema -articulating the individual to the established system- is closely related with political, economic and social context (Seylan and Imancer, 2010:77). Films transfer discourses-form, figure and representations- as cinematic narrations. Cinema achieves a transaction between different expressions rather than being means for reflecting reality out of its context. In this way, cinema takes its place among cultural representation systems which establishes social reality (Rayn and Kellner,1995:35). In some cases, it even makes it possible to be a step further than social reality and to envisage the results of steps yet-to-be made (Lausten and Diken, 2010:19-20). Reality is nothing other than the expression of existing ideology. Productions, patterns, meanings, narration tradition all underline general ideological discourse. The contents of films and ideologies go hand in hand (Guchan,1999).

The starting point for the ideological molding of cinema is the concept of “propaganda”. After it was noticed by political power groups during the World War I that cinema activate not only with emotions but with ideas, the first method states turn to in their political and economic organizations was to make propaganda film to deliver their messages to large masses in the cinemas. In time, cinema intellectuals of the state started to make films that make ideological propaganda of bourgeois and state policies by directly using the capitals of power holders (Kirac, 2008:59, Scagnamillo, 1997:182). Cinema served as militant for people front in the US, Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, in Fascist Italy and in France before the World War I. Although cinema was used as an efficient means of propaganda in Nazi Party and USSR, the only dominant in this domain was the US especially in the mono-polar world order after the 1990s and American cinema industry has become a power which can continue its propaganda activities to the world for a long period of time.

4. Aim and Method

4.1. The Aim of the Study

In this study was undertaken to show how different points of views and ideologies in films *Rhapsody in August* and *Pearl Harbor* are cinematically mounted and aims to reveal the differences in the way how historically related two events during World War II.

4.2. The Method of the Study

This study is a discourse analysis undertaken to reveal ideological contents of two films from world cinema which treat World War II. Discourse is related with all dimensions of life in social, economic and cultural domains. Besides talks and chats, it covers all communication forms and takes its place among mass communication means (Sozen, 1999). Cinema is among these means of communication, as well. Filmic discourse reproduces information and representations about social order and presents them in concrete pictures and ideologically encodes them to be transmitted to cinema viewers (Ozden, 2000:143). Therefore, in this study cinema is regarded as a means which reflects desires, fears and worries in society and reconciles them through various mechanisms (Rayn and Kellner, 1995:26).

Discourse analysis emerged just as other social sciences which study the function, structure and duration of text and speech like anthropology, ethnography, cognitive-social psychology as a trans-disciplinary field of study in the 1960s and 1970s (Van Dijk, 2008:108). According to Van Dijk, discourse analysis is like the tip of an iceberg. Not all meanings can be explained, only a small portion is explained and the rest of knowledge is assumed. Therefore, the aim of discourse analysis is to reveal secret meanings (2004:25). Van Dijk mentions two different approaches about discourse analysis in different texts. These are critical and ideological discourse analyses (Imancer and Yurderi, 2010:128).

In ideological discourse analysis, Van Dijk regards ideology –which he defines as the basic beliefs of a group and its members- handles it as false consciousness and wrong belief. Members of a group who share their feelings and ideas about thought systems defense many general idea which lie in the basis of worldly beliefs and which shape their explanations of events and social habits. The most significant social habits are the use of language and discourse (2010:128).

Van Dijk defined some concepts in ideological discourse analysis and thus determined categories for ideological discourse analysis and made use of these categories in his analyses. The basic categories which make discourse analyses more understandable and meaningful are: Meaning (Headings, Identification level, Implications and assumptions, Local consistency, Synonymy, Contrast, Telling with Examples, Denying), Proposition Structures (Actor Identification, The Use of Modals, Confirmation, Riddling, Space), Stylistic Structures, Sentence structures, Discourse Styles, Argument and Rhetoric (Van Dijk 2004:40-60).

The universe of the study is composed of all films about World War II and the sample is composed of *Pearl Harbor* and *Rhapsody in August* which are among war theme films in world cinema. The basic reason why these films are chosen is that they are about related events: atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the US as retaliation for Japan's bombardment of Pearl Harbor during World War II. The films which make up the sample are analyzed by considering Van Dijk's categories in the framework of the following questions, and the ideological approach of cinema was determined.

- i- How are the characters being represented?
- ii- How is the we-they contrast given?
- iii- How are the attackers depicted?
- iv- What are the outstanding talks and implications?

5.Findings and Comments

5.1.The Way Characters are Presented in Films

The way characters presented in films can be assessed in actor identification-one of the parameters Van Dijk determined for ideological discourse analysis. By making definitions about actors in the analyses, discourse meanings are revealed. In the film *Rhapsody in August* the outstanding characters are grandmother Kane and Japanese American Clark. Kane who lost her husband and sisters and brothers as a result of American bombardment strikes a negative attitude against America. She is having psychological problems because of the sorrow of the event she experienced. Clark shares the sorrow of his relatives who died in the bombardment and appreciates his aunt who wants to visit his father and comes to Nagasaki to see his aunt. The first place he wants to go is his uncle's grave. Clark do not attempt to defense what happened in any way and tries to understand his aunt. The children of grandmother are all admirer of America. They forget about all that happened in a dazzle upon seeing the wealth of American relative and meets the offer with rhapsody. They refrain from talking about American bombardment. Although they say that they avoid talking about bombardment as Americans are offended, they are actually afraid of losing the job opportunity in America. The grandchildren who were born after Japan economic miracle do not have much information about war are fan of American. One day when shopping they discover the point were their grandfather was killed in 1945. Thus they began to respect grandmother and hatred to America. In *Rhapsody in August*, Japanese characters are depicted with their own inner conflicts and weaknesses. Clark compared to other characters are more confident in his steps and the sentences he says and portrays an American who is strong in all senses and who is tolerant. In the film, the strongest character against Clark is Kane. Kane who is observes her tradition strictly does not forget the sorrow of the past. However, she also suffers from psychological problems. In *Pearl Harbor* all the characters are strong, self-confident soldiers and nurses who successfully fulfill their duties. The main character in the film Rafe accepts the offer to fight for the British and is very successful. As for David and Evelyn, they are at least as patriotic as Rafe and successful soldiers. Even Evelyn's affair with David after she learns that Rafe has died David is an indication of continuation and standing strong in spite of all sorrows she had. Black American who joined the army to know the world and fight against enemy is very sad and complains about not being able to realize his dreams. However, he heroically fights against Japan bombardment and awarded with a medal. Thus he is respected by people and realizes his dreams. In the film, it is emphasized that America gives chance to everyone. Rafe and David realizes their childhood dreams and become pilots. Evelyn achieves to have a happy life tough she cheats Rafe. Thus, the viewers meets American myth everywhere in the film.

5.2. 'Us' and 'Them' Contrast in the Films

'Us' and 'them' contrast in discourse is realized with various polarizations. Based on this polarizations and contrast in discourse, the bad sides of others are emphasized. This contrast and polarization (the difference between us and them) is revealed by identifying actions, experiences, causes and results (2010:134). Us and them contrast manifests itself more clearly in Pearl Harbor because in Rhapsody in August anti-Americanism is only seen in grandmother and later in the grandchildren. In fact, Kane does not have a complete opposition, she has a kind attitude towards Clark, she blames not America but war, this attitude is also valid for Japans who come to the ceremony and leave flowers. They do not damn past days but only commemorate their lost relatives. In Pearl Harbor, America justifiably gets involved in a war to help its allies. The right thing to do is to help your ally. In the film, with Japan's sudden and slinky attack many innocent people die and ruthless Japans gain an unjust success in Pearl Harbor with their subtly planned attack at an hour when life is going on with its all simplicity: when children play football, women do their house work, when the fleet was sleeping. Thus, America was forced to attack to fulfill responsibility and to take revenge of his people died in the attack. The aim in his attacks was to establish peace. In the film, unlike Japans, Americans who listen to the voice of their conscience save a dog which drop into the sea during the attack from drowning and accept his lover- who cheated him- and her baby. Against American soldiers who have love for humanity in spite of cold face of war are belligerent, hard and Japan soldiers who swore for success.

5.3. The Way Attacks are Depicted

According to parameters Van Dijk identified for ideological discourse analysis, the level of providing details depends on people's own mental models and gives place to details to tell how bad the other side. While Pearl Harbor depicts in detail people dying in bloods, helpless death of soldiers stranded in sinking ships and two pilots heroically fighting against the attack, superhuman efforts to take wounded people to hospital, the smoke clouds in the first scene, Kane's lost hair, the bended irons bars monument representing the students died in the attack, monument from other countries, silent ceremonies and rituals represent the bombardment in the film Rhapsody in August. There are not images in welter of blood and people scattered towards the camera with the impact of the attack. The film mostly deals with what happens after bombardment. It deals with how the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki affected the lives of people survived. These scenes in Pearl Harbor are the product of the effort to justify American attack.

5.4. Outstanding Talks and Implications

According to Van Dijk (2007) in discourse analyses implications and talks in the texts are to be assessed because when linguistic structures are assessed ideological bases they include are reached. In Pearl Harbor talks and implications turns into slogans from time to time. Especially, German's advance in Europe and the events at that time were frequently supported via visual and written symbols. While Rafe and David are playing, they say "we are to shoot wretch Germans" and they identify America as "the country of free people", "the country of bold people". Rafe calls David's father who beats him as "Wretch German". By saying German's are "ruthless machine" which lead Europe to war and the British "struggle severely" and even American President Roosevelt's recognition of the war in Europe as "German Violence" and clearly put forth the enemy and its characteristics. In the film, documentary like videos and newspaper headlines are frequently used to prove the ruthlessness of the war caused by Germany. Expressions like "the proud of the Pacific" for American fleet,

“the fear of skies” for the pilots unit and sentences like “if all American pilots are like this, may god help those fighting against America” are used to show the power of American pilots. However, in the same film a Japan commander responding to a soldier who says that he is very clever, “clever men find a way not to fight” and saying “ we did nothing more than awakening up a sleeping giant” seems to have accepted America’s power. Thus, Germany and Japan who were allies during World War II are shown to be enemies of America and other nations in the world and all mentions of them and implications are negative. For the United States of America, the enemy is Germany advancing speedily in Europe and Japan wanting to dominate the Pacific Ocean.

In *Rhapsody in August* talks are mostly about the effect of American bombardment on people lives. While children are wandering in Nagasaki to get information about the bombardment explain the oblivion by saying “today bombs are a thing of past for people as years past people tend to forget”. The little child who cannot see America’s monument among the monuments sent by other nations after bombardment is disappointed to hear the explanation that “America dropped the bomb”. Years after the bomb was dropped, Japanese American nephew Clark writes a letter to grandmother in Japanese to invite her to America. This gesture of Clark is approved in the family by saying “ It is important that he speaks Japanese”, the children -who discerns that their grandmother won’t go to America and start to justify her attitude- react to it by saying “we just as our parents do not know anything about war, we had some information about the bomb but it only sounded like a terrible story, we can never understand the feelings of its victims, we never thought about it, our parents are excited about our rich relatives in Hawaii. Eventually, when the grandmother decided to go to America in spite of everything, she says that she will go after commemoration ceremony for those who died-including her husband- in the bombardment. She scolds her children who reacts to her mention of bombardment by saying “it was them who dropped the bomb, are they offended when it is mentioned?” and explains that she no longer question anybody bu saying that “The times when I was angry with America are now in the past. I have no bad feelings for America now, they were all because of war, it was war to be blamed, many Japanese died in the war but many Americans died, too”. Clark who does not know his uncle died in the bombardment and learns it from the telegraph comes to visit his aunt and gets very sad about what happened and expresses his sorrow saying“ we all cried”. Upon his elder brother’s death Kane remembers the stormy night on which the bomb was dropped and covers her grandchildren with white sheets. She says that “On that day only those who wore white survived”, which shows that she could not get rid of the effects of war and silently accumulated them inside her for years. *Rhapsody in August*, unlike *Pearl Harbor*, does have concerns like showing the justified side of the war by giving political messages and proving that America is the great power in the world. *Rhapsody in August* mentions irreparable wounds war opened in people’s life. It does not blame people or countries, it only blames war. The idea that war cannot prevent relations between people is treated throughout the film.

6.Conclusion

The first scenes in *Pearl Harbor* are full of happiness. When one watches it, he does not have the feeling that he is watching a war film. But everything changes with Japanese war ships’ coming. At the end of the film, we see that American soldiers in uniforms take their medals and stand in homage for those who died in the war. After that, a happy family portrait is seen. Evelyn and Rafe get married and Evelyn gives birth to her child. Rafe takes little on his lap and plays with him, Evelyn embraces David. The couple gets away from the camera and the film ends. Thus, the film turns back to where it starts: world of peace. *Rhapsody in August* starts with smoke clouds and finishes with grandmother’s turning back to the time of

bombardment upon seeing grey clouds on a rainy day and with her running to rescue her husband. The film turns back to point where it started. That is, it starts with the representation of dropping of bomb and finishes with the same representation. Unlike Pearl Harbor Rhapsody in August does not explain political superiorities, justified reasons for war, the beliefs their countries will gain and does not draw definite lines between good and bad. It only tries to show how helpless human being is against badness while trying to tell that the world is full of badness. In Pearl Harbor, while the movie finishes with Evelyn's words "time pieced together our souls and we pulled round somehow. Everybody understood the power of America. Grandmother Kane cannot pull around and runs to indefiniteness. Time could not pull round her soul. The trauma she experienced exerts itself years after.

Thus cinema just as mentioned in the beginning of the study mounts and reflects the elements it collected for real life on the curtain and influences mental worlds of people. It helps to remove ideological doubts. This is an indication of the fact that in spite of artistic features cinema has, it has turned into a political domain as a result of being means of mass communication. Especially at the time of war when great traumas are experienced, cinema, on the one hand, consoles, comforts and cleans off consciences and minds, on the other hand it lead to their questioning. Is the cinema being turned into a device which with the artificial memories it created prevents us from seeing the reality?

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**Convergence in Everyday News Production Practice: The Impacts of Media
Convergence on Journalists' Works and News Culture in Taiwan**

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Introduction

This paper examines news workers' everyday production practices in the press industries in Taiwan to see how media convergence has transformed their everyday work of making news. Convergence, in the media and journalistic field, is becoming a global trend as lots of media companies continue to expand their holdings beyond their original core products. Similarly, in Taiwan, news media from different fields, particularly newspapers, have developed different levels of convergence with various goals, from increasing profit, providing multimedia content and strategies for maintaining their decreasing readership.

News organizations worldwide have developed their convergent policies with various purposes. From the newsroom's perspective, convergence in the digital platform enables news workers to produce multimedia content and circulate it across media (García Avilés & Carvajal, 2008). This provides a way for news media to attract a younger audience. From a business viewpoint, convergence in some cases also forces news workers to learn multi-skills and media organization to re-structure their newsrooms located in different geographic places, which tends to be regarded as a cost-saving strategy (Quinn, 2005). Scholars have used the term 'convergent journalism' (Quinn & Filak, 2005) to emphasize the impact of convergence on journalism.

Despite the fact that many scholars that have analyzed the influence of convergence to the journalistic field from different angles, so far there are few studies focusing on how media convergence in news industries are connected to news workers production practices. One critical issue of this is how media convergence at different levels may impact the news workers' day to day production practices. Moreover, this is how convergence links to news workers.

By focusing on the relationship of convergence and the everyday news production practice of news workers, this paper argues that convergence in media and the journalistic industry is not only a process of technological innovation and diffusion as Dupagne and Garrison (2005) imply, it also involves with a transformation and penetration of skills, ideas and practices in every bit of the media and journalistic fields – this is encapsulated in a journalistic culture. Convergent journalism has thus been seen as a cultural shifting takes place within actors and structure in this paper.

My empirical data is collected by adopting qualitative research methods, which

includes ethnographic interviews at the news workers' working places, observations and second hand data to explore what the journalists and editors actually do and say in relation to media convergence, and how their practices in this context influence news reports.

This article first reviews the existing studies of the influences of convergence on the media and news industry. After this, I introduce the present condition of the newspaper industry in Taiwan. Then I outline the main research methods used before turning to the findings from my empirical study of several Taiwanese convergent cases in the press industries.

Convergence and practices of making news

Convergence in electronic communication generally refers to all modes of communication being integrated into one grand system via electronic technology (Pool, 1983, cite in Gordon, 2003:58). In media and journalism studies, convergence refers to the bringing of all forms of media content together, which appears to be a common phenomenon in the digital environment. Scholars have argued that convergence in media cannot simply be reduced to technical integration. As Rich Gordon (2003) acknowledges, convergence involves an integration of ownership, information gathering, news organization and news presentation.

For media and journalism, convergence usually contains two concurrent independent trends: (1) the convergence in the media and news industries means the establishment of a multimedia newsroom and integrated news companies; and (2) the convergence of media production and consumption, which refers to using the citizen-consumers as a source or co-creator of news reports, opinions and analysis (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Jenkins, 2004; Jenkins & Deuze, 2008).

In reference to the first trend mentioned above, Quinn (2005) suggests that media managers adopt convergence with two main goals, improving the quality and reducing production costs. However, many scholars' empirical research studies have argued that in certain cases, the media organizations' convergent actions are far from increasing the quality of news reports. On a contrary, media convergence usually involves greater marketing and maintenance of customer relations; advertising and product cross-promotion (Gordon, 2003). Huang et al. (2006) find that there is a growing concern among media scholars that related cross-promotion and content sharing derived by convergence could harm the diversity of news viewpoints.

From the perspective of practice, media convergence is also reshaping the everyday news production practices and the landscape of journalism in a variety of ways, as Pavlik (2004:28) indicates, newsroom structure, journalistic practices and news content are all evolving. On the other hand, news workers seem to accept that convergence has played a significant part in their everyday practices. An online survey of journalists and editors in newspapers and TV stations has shown that in the age of media convergence, both editors and journalists agreed that there was a strong need for the training of new professionals, who can conduct multiplatform production, new technology, and computer-assisted reporting (Huang, et al., 2006).

It seems that of all the aspects of media convergence related to news workers' everyday production practices, learning new skills and technological devices are one of the critical issues for the media professionals. News workers in a convergent newsroom are supposed to learn multiple skills in order to produce divergent content (García Avilés & Carvajal, 2008). The ideal multi-skilled journalist, as Bromley (1997) suggests, would be able to make news for any medium using various technological tools, which are needed in every step in the process. Many news workers working in a convergent newsroom have to re-skilled to meet the demands from several media or multi-media content at once, and they have to become, using Eric Klinenberg's term - 'flexible labours' (2005:54).

In fact, for some journalists and editors, technology usages and the re-skilled process triggered by media convergence may not a great deal of concern while some technological devices (e.g. digital cameras and small video cameras) have been widely used by news workers to date. According to Singer (2004), most news professionals express that they can master technologies and deny being frustrated by the technological aspects of convergence. In contrast, the lack of time and the increase of workloads seem to be bigger challenges for news workers in a convergent newsroom. For example, some print journalists express that in order to produce multimedia content for the convergent media platform, they may have to work following television duties, which means that they may not have time to talk with their interviewees to get more details and make their stories better, which press journalist usually do (Singer, 2004).

Furthermore, in a converged newsroom, journalists also have to cope with cultural challenges between the original newsroom in which they were previously located and the new convergent newsroom. Deuze (2008:103) points out that 'media convergence

must also be seen as having a cultural logic of its own, blurring the line between channels, forms and formats, between different parts of the media enterprise,...' By observing what media organizations actually do, scholars have found out that veteran journalists tend to worry that media convergence will bring about a 'telegenic culture' and make it the most important journalistic skill and criterion for news production practices (Klinenberg, 2005:55).

Scholars have already argued that media convergence is not only involved with technological adoption and integration. It also involves a clash of different working cultures within newsrooms. As mentioned, one of the aspects about the convergent actions in the journalistic field which has not been well studied is as follows: how is convergence connected to the news workers' everyday production practices? The impact of media convergence toward journalistic practices is complicated, and includes multiple dimensions. As Domingo et al. (2007) indicates that convergence in media should include at least four dimensions: integrated production, multi-skilled professionals, multiplatform delivery, and an active audience. Therefore, my intention in this paper is to avoid oversimplifying the analysis of media convergence in the journalistic field. As García Avilés and Carvajal (2008) argue that 'journalistic convergence should not be regarded as just an 'effect' of corporate or technological trends' (p, 226). In the following analysis, convergence in the journalistic field will be discussed by considering the context of different convergence policies and how the news workers' actual daily work has been influenced.

Research Method

The empirical data of this study are collected from ethnographic interviews¹, which are combined with interviews and observations of media-workers (journalists and editors) in different media, including newspapers, online news websites, and broadcast news media. The interviewees were asked semi-structured questions. The questions focused on five aspects: (1) the news workers' perception and reactions toward media convergence (2) media convergence and the transformation of everyday news production practices; (3) media convergence and the uses of different narratives, formats and story-telling of making news; (4) media convergence and professional identity; and (5) media convergence and news workers' strategies of coping with transformation.

¹ The interviews were conducted from 2005 to 2010. However, this project is still in process, so the research is still continuing to interview new respondents.

Changing history and adoption of media convergence in Taiwan

Before presenting my analysis, it is essential to briefly introduce the history and present situation of newspapers and other news media in Taiwan. In the 1930s-1980s, the news media have been controlled by the KMT party due to political and social security reasons. The news media in this period are 'servants' for the political party and the country controlled by the government. After the 1980s, the KMT authority gradually lifted the control of news media by allowing more news media to be launched, which allowed different political and economic forces to penetrate into the media and journalistic fields. Numerous media companies and news outlets were launched, and most of them, usually representing different political parties and business groups, have intimate relationships with the KMT.

The special political and social background of the Taiwanese news media has created a distinctive news culture and media ecosystem in this island-country. In the 1980's, there was a loss of control of the news media which led to an over-competitive media environment in Taiwan and the news media therefore pursued sensational and entertainment material in order to attract the audiences' attention. Paradoxically, the news media in Taiwan has been criticized with their quality by consumers and scholars, but, on the other hand, journalism related content and programs are still popular. A survey conducted by a marketing company shows that only one percent of respondents believe the reports from the news media in Taiwan, but another survey indicates that related news programs are still the audiences' favorite programs.

With different goals, the news media in Taiwan has been developing and adopting different types of convergence strategies since the mid 1990s. Most of news media start their convergent actions with the aim of attracting consumers and cost-saving. For example, the United Daily, the China Times, Apple Daily and the Liberty times, four of the most popular newspapers in Taiwan, now are developing different convergent strategies. For examples, the United Daily is training their journalists to produce video news. Apple Daily has launched a computer animation department to produce multimedia news content.

Compared to a single news company, the media groups in Taiwan seem to achieve the goal of media convergence easier, because it generally owns different types of media which make it easier to combine multimedia content. For example, ETtoday.com²,

² All the empirical data of ETtoday.com used in this paper is collected from 2005-2007, but the online news website has been sold after my field work, and has since changed its name to Nownews.com. In

one of the popular online news websites in Taiwan which belongs to the EMG (Eastern Media group), integrates the multimedia news content on their websites via resource-sharing among the different newsrooms from the same media group, including television channels, newspapers and radio stations. Convergence based on these strategies face fewer obstacles when news workers from different cultural backgrounds do not have to cooperate with each other practically and the media organizations do not need to increase the workforce or provide extra training for producing multimedia content (Kuo, 2009).

The convergent policies of the newspapers and online news included in my study are described in the following table.

Table 1: Convergence policies of major newspapers and online news in Taiwan

Sources: Interview data from news workers of the news media

News media of this study	Convergent policies and description
The United daily	Integrated newsroom in which journalists and editors are asked to individually produce multimedia content.
ETtoday.com	Integrated platforms in separated newsrooms in which news workers can cross-use all news content without limitation for producing multimedia content
The Liberty Times	Cooperation within different team members in a single newsroom
The China Times	Cooperation within different types of newsrooms including newspapers and television
Apply Daily	Cooperation within different team members in a single newsroom to produce multi-media content.

Media convergence and the transformation of everyday news production practices

Regarding other types of news media, newspapers in Taiwan take a more active action of 'being convergent' because of two major reasons. First, the volume of circulation of the most mainstream newspapers in Taiwan has decreased dramatically in the past years, which pushes them to look for new ways of attracting readers, especially the younger generation, to read their newspapers again. Secondly, Taiwan has faced a

this paper, I still use ETtoday.com to reference this online news website.

severe economic recession since 2000 which has led to a serious slip of commercial profits for all news media. Newspapers are in an even more serious situation among all media due to the challenge of broadcasting and the emergence of Internet media.

From the perspective of most newspapers, 'being digital and convergent' are two strategies to save their decreasing circulation. On the one hand, digitizing news content enables newspapers to provide content for the online environment and to integrate multimedia stories to attract young consumers to read them. On the other hand, the process of integration of different media formats means that the companies are able to reduce their labor costs.

Via interviewing and observing journalists' and editors' work, I found that Taiwan's media convergence in the press industries is centered on three major types of newsroom convergence: (1) the single integrated newsroom; (2) the coordination and cooperation newsroom; and (3) the big-platform newsroom. The different models of newsroom convergence influence the journalists' and editors' daily production practices.

1. Everyday production practices in the single integrating newsroom

The first type of newsroom convergence identified here is the single integrating newsroom. In this independent newsroom, integrated news production is principally produced by an individual journalist or editor, which means that all news workers in this single convergent newsroom need to possess multiple-skills. Domigo et, al. (2007) indicates that this kind of convergence in fact links to a redefinition of professional roles, technological innovation and the development of new news formats and languages.

In the integrated newsroom, technology learning seems to be one of the issues studied by media scholars (Deuze, 2008; Klinenberg, 2005). However, most news workers I interviewed show a positive attitude toward technologies learning. For example, one journalist who covers economic news indicates that learning new skills increase his 'capital,' so he does not reject new technologies (Respondent A, male, journalist from the United Daily).

The critical questions about new technologies and journalism practice in a convergent newsroom lie on two dimensions. The first one is the difficulty of combining and managing different narratives and languages brought by various new technologies

when it is applied to news production and related practices. In my interview, many news workers showed their concerns about the issue because they think that it was hard to shift from one product culture (usually the newspaper culture) to another (e.g. television news culture).

Even though the news workers in a single convergent newsroom have been trained and have learned multiple skills, they still have conflicts as to which content should be the first priority in their practical practices. For example, one photo journalist, who was also asked to shoot video, informed me that the principle of taking photo news and video news are slightly different although people think they are doing almost the same job. For him, a good news photo needs to capture the critical moment of a news event, but the video news tends to more likely emphasize on the motion aspect of the event. The photo journalist says:

I do not have time to take video and take photos simultaneously, so if I focus on taking video, I usually lose a critical moment for my photo. I know some news companies which capture photos from their videos, but I think this is not the same as taking a photo (Respondent E, male, photo journalist from the Liberty Times).

The second question about technology-learning in a single integrated newsroom is that some news workers worry that their workload might be increased when they know how to use everything. For example, one online news journalist said to me that she does want to learn so many skills because she will be asked to do more jobs when she knows how to use more technology. (Respondent H, female, journalists from ETtoday.com). Due to this reason, some news workers show a negative attitude about learning technologies. This will be further discussed later.

Convergence, news flow and the daily working circle

For most of the newspapers in Taiwan, a web-based space is their major platform for presenting the convergent news content and products. Almost all of the newspapers in Taiwan have launched their online versions, and some are web-only newspapers – newspapers which do not produce a printed version and can only be accessed online, and others are subordinate products for their original news media. That is, all news content on these websites is captured from their original media and the website does not produce any new stories. No matter what kinds of online news websites there are, the product circle and news flow are different between the printed and online news.

This is an obvious phenomenon particularly observed in the single integrated newsroom.

For the online platform created for convergent content, the news workers are expected to provide more immediate news and to update the news every one or two hours, while press journalists in general only have to write a story for one deadline per day, which means that the press journalists have sufficient time to write stories.

In a single integrated newsroom, journalists in many newspapers are expected to produce immediate news reports for the website and longer in-depth news stories for the newspaper in their work day. Nevertheless, most of these types of newsrooms seem to have difficulties to manage the two different product circles and news flow. For example, one journalist tells me that his company asked journalists to provide at least two immediate news reports every day for updating the website. But many times when he sent his immediate news to their online team, no-one edited these immediate stories and uploaded them to the website. The journalist explains

The online news editors are the same as the newspaper editors in my company. They usually start work at 3 or 4 o'clock afternoon, so if I send my 'real-time news' to the newsroom before they start to work, no-one will manage my article at this time (Respondent A, male, journalists from the United Daily).

Likewise, an online news editor from the Liberty Times complains that some journalists use the same articles for both online websites and newspapers without any modifications. The editor worries

People will not buy our newspaper if they have read the same article online before the newspapers are printed, but we cannot ask journalists to write different articles if the news event does not have new updates before the deadline of a print version (Respondent C, female, editor from the website of the Liberty Times).

The above problems in the single convergent newsroom show that journalists and editors in a single integrated newsroom face the challenges of coordinating different principles of producing news. However, in my interview, I found that journalists and editors are deeply influenced by their original training. The newspaper journalist from the United Daily tells me that although his company

asks them to produce multiple content, he still feels more comfortable while writing textual stories. Those multimedia reports are only subordinate and low quality products when the journalist has sufficient time to do it (Respondent A, male, journalist from the United Daily).

2. Convergence as a process of re-structuring the political and economic force

The second type of media convergence centers on the coordination and cooperation within different newsrooms. The newsrooms under the convergent framework may include newspapers, television, and online media. Different newsrooms are expected to work and cooperate with each other to produce multimedia news content. As Aviles and Carvajals' (2008:223) study of the room convergence in Spain suggests that 'the most extended model of convergence contemplates the collaboration of journalists from different platforms, content cross-promotion and multi-media news coverage in breaking news or planned events.' They identify some characteristics in this kind of convergence, including two or more separate newsrooms, a multimedia editor in each platform and news flow is based on the multimedia editor. In the meantime, news workers in different newsrooms require less multimedia skills but are assumed to collaborate with each other to produce multimedia content (ibid).

The structure of cross-media newsroom seems to enable news workers to spend less time in producing multimedia content. For example, ETtoday.com creates what has been called the 'big-platform' framework of convergence, in which all formats of news content is stored in one data warehouse and allows news workers in different news media to freely use the resource. One journalist from ETtoday.com told me that they do not have to learn the skills of producing multimedia content while their works largely lie on selecting and combining different formats of reports from their data warehouse (Respondent K, female, Journalist from ETtoday.com).

Cross-promotion and daily news practices

Cross-media promotion is one of the policies in most of the cross-media newsroom convergence, and this policy has penetrated into the news workers' everyday production practices. The promotion activities in this type of convergence have blurred the boundary of journalistic and non-journalistic content on the convergent platform.

For instance, *ETtoday.com* belongs to the Eastern Media Group (EMG), which owns

television channels, newspapers and other entertainment and real-estate business. Thus, at EMG, different news media can use news reports and content reciprocally from in-group media (the cross-media usages). On the one hand, this allows *ETtoday.com* to generate diverse narrative styles or different forms of story-telling news that can be combined with textual descriptions, photos and video clips in their news reports. On the other hand, *ETtoday.com* has to promote the in-group business in their reports according to the ENG's joint policy. Therefore, non-journalistic information, which is utilized for commercial purposes, is 'combined' into the news reports in many cases.

A reporter from *ETtoday.com* says that her company often demands news workers to make 'commercial reports,' which is a report that is in cooperation with other business companies (in-group or out-group) to promote their products (Respondent G, female, journalists of the economic section of *ETtoday.com*). Another editor, from the online version of Liberty Times, also says that even though her company does not ask her to promote in-group business, she usually puts related news in noticeable place on their website. As she said: 'I know it is our related business, so I do not need my boss to tell me how important the news is' (Respondent C, female, online news editor).

Hyperlinks, a web technology and form that are used to connect different web pages and websites, are widely used in the convergent platform, and are utilized to link journalistic and non-journalistic information. An inner document on how to increase the base of readership of *ETtoday.com* indicates that *ETtoday.com* should play the role of a central platform for all the media and related companies belong to the same media group. Thus, on *ETtoday.com*, there is a lot of entertainment content (e.g. promotion of some movies or TV shows) which belongs to ETTV, the television channel of EMG. The non-journalistic information on *ETtoday.com* leads readers to in-group businesses of EMG via different hyperlinks or hypertext. For instance, two kinds of popular information in this area are the housing and fortune-telling sections provided by EMG's real estate company and its TV channel. The content of the fortune-telling section is usually provided by fortune-tellers or feng-shui experts with hypertext linking directly to their companies. *ETtoday.com* offers a platform for them to promote their businesses. At this level, media convergence involves ownership, organization and information gathering.

An editor from the website of the Liberty Times also indicated that there are many commercial links on their websites. Most of which are the links which are connected to movie trailers or commercial information provided by the cooperated business

(Respondent C, female, editor of the website of the Liberty Times). The Chief-editor of ETtoday.com also indicates that cooperation with other media or business can create more profits for the website.

“Our predominance is that we share resources with other media and companies. This enables us to obtain more page-view rates. For example, we cooperate with some fortune-telling people and link our news to their business websites. This makes our website attract more readers for visiting.”
(Respondent J, male, the chief-editor of ETtoday.com).

Cultural anxiety in the cross-newsroom convergence

It goes without saying that anxiety from different newsroom culture are significant issues for this type of cross-media newsroom convergence. Theoretically, all the newsrooms integrated into a convergent framework are supposed to cooperate with each other. Nevertheless, there are conflicts in the news workers' daily practice within the newsrooms. For example, television and press newsrooms in the China Times once cooperated to produce a similar topic special report, but the plan did not work very smoothly. The journalist of the newspaper company of the China Times who participated with this plan complained that she even gave her story outline to the television journalists, but they did not have enthusiastic feedback. The journalist says that she thinks it is because the topic seems to be good for newspapers but too complicated for broadcast news. ‘They just do not have interest in the story’ the journalist says (Respondent N, female, newspaper journalist from The China Times).

Producing multimedia content in the convergent platform also interrupts journalist's working tempo in the cross-media newsroom. For instance, Apple Daily, the most popular tabloid newspaper in Taiwan, has a multimedia news team that produce what has been call ‘moving news’ -- news report that uses 3D computer animation form to describe and present news events. The basic principle of the moving news demands the ‘producer’ to follow the storyline of the textual content written by the journalists of Apple Daily. Therefore, journalists of the 3D news team usually cooperate with the newspaper journalists, but this often causes contradictions. As the journalist from Apple Daily says

They [the multimedia team member] ask to interview the people I quote in my story because they need audio and video material to produce multimedia content. But many people I quote are off the record. These

often influence my relation with my sources (Respondent D, female, newspaper journalist from Apple Daily).

3. Convergence and journalist's resistance

For many journalists and editors working in a convergent newsroom or framework, resistance seems to be inevitable. Even those who agree that convergence is an irresistible trend for media and the news industry show certain actions of resistance to the media organizations' policy of converging. These resistance actions are not well planned strategies but more like small tactics (De Certeau, 1984) – triggered by an instant thought and are usually unplanned. For instance, one journalist from ETtoday.com says that she does not want to show her boss her skills of using new technologies too much just in case that the management gives her too much work (Respondent H, female, journalist of ETtoday.com).

The journalists' resistance to convergence usually comes from the pressures of time and workloads. Seldom of them in my empirical investigation attributes their negative attitudes to convergence for technological learning. The journalist from the United Daily indicates that his daily work is still focusing on cover and writing stories for the newspaper, producing convergent content such as taking photos or making news clips which depends on time, news topic, and how much material he has. The journalist points out that he has to spend several hours to produce multiple content, which usually influence his normal daily workload. Some stories are presented with multimedia formats that are discarded without consideration of his work time (Respondent A, male, journalist of The United Daily).

The journalist's negative attitudes to convergence are reflected on their news reports. Some journalists merely turn their video camera on and leave it in the press conference spot, and then they go to cover other stories. For those who work under the framework of a cross-media newsroom, cross-promotion policies are contrary to some news workers' professional codes. They tend to believe that the news should be separated from commercial information. Some journalists and editors also develop certain 'tactics' of avoiding the commercial cross-media promotions. For instance, one editor from ETtoday.com indicates that if he finds out that some news reports are related to the in-group business promotion, he usually updates the news with other news reports as quickly as possible. As he says

One of the characteristics of online news is that you can change news very quickly, so I updated some commercial information swiftly or uploaded it during the slack period. On the one hand, I can tell the management level that the news has already been published on the websites, and on the other hand, our readers will not read too much commercial information on our website (respondent M, male, editor of ETtoday.com).

Conclusions

This paper investigates the relationship between media convergence, news workers' daily practices and news content in Taiwan. My empirical analysis reports several results. Firstly, media convergence and journalistic practices are more complicated than simply a process of technology adoption in order to apply certain goals of news media. In fact, what is involved is the process of convergence, as the Taiwanese case studies have shown in this paper, which rely more on cultural conflicts and resistances in the newsroom.

Secondly, the journalists' everyday production practices in a convergent environment are largely dependent on what strategies the news companies adopt. In a single integrated newsroom, journalists need to learn multiple skills and act more flexibly and quickly, as Klinenberg (2005) has suggested, while in the cross-media newsroom type of convergence, news workers have focused more on cooperation with members from different media culture backgrounds.

Thirdly, no matter what types of media convergence the news media develop, news workers have to face the challenges of increasing workload and new principles of arranging and assembling news stories brought by the convergence culture. However, certain journalists seem to have difficulty to cope with different principles, narratives and story-telling ways of making news. Some multimedia material or stories are thus discarded by news workers due to their deadlines and skill limitations.

Fourthly, news reports on the convergent platform are often mixed with journalistic and non-journalistic information because of more and more cross-media and business promotions are embedded into the storyline of news reports. This blurring boundary between news and commercial information should be seen as a crisis for journalism because it seems to give new opportunities for the existing political and economic forces to intervene in the news worker's everyday practices.

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‘SAVING THE WORLD’ IN THE CINEMA: THE MAN WHO SAVES THE WORLD
AND HIS SON IN TURKISH CINEMA

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AND HIS SON IN TURKISH CINEMA

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Abstract

Commercial cinema is a form based on heroes. Since the heroes possess supernatural characteristics, they have the ability to overcome all sorts of difficulties and restore order that has been destroyed and maintain stability. It is the duty of the heroes created by commercial cinema to protect the world from all kinds of threats and attacks. Those heroes are created by Hollywood and reach the viewers all around the world by means of the powerful distribution networks of the majors. The Dominance of Hollywood, which has been observed for years, inoculates into the perception and subconscious of the viewers the idea that saving the world is a quality peculiar to Americans. However, heroes who save the world are found in the products of national cinemas from time to time.

In Turkish commercial cinema, the films *The Man Who Saves the World* produced in 1982 and *The Son of The Man Who Saves the World* produced in 2006, save the world through distinctive characters. In the present study, these two films are examined in terms of the threat the world is exposed to, the structuring of the hero characters and the economic-political and social situation of the country in the period when the movies were shot.

The ideological analysis method was used in order to reveal the relationships between the films and the economic, political and social structures of the period when they were made.

Keywords: Cinema, Turkish cinema, film, ideology, saving the world

1.Introduction

Films began to tell stories soon after the invention of the cinema. Thus, story-telling, found new medium as product of high technology with which stories can reach not only individuals or groups but also masses. Moreover, this tool that substantially increases the magic of mimesis and its power to address viewers' subconscious via techniques such as close-ups, camera movements, angles and montage (Aristoteles 2002, Benjamin 2009, Pezzella 2006).

The power of cinema to influence masses was noticed early, especially during World War-I. Besides propaganda films, films removing the viewer from real world also took place in the history of cinema as products of this awareness. From the 1920s to the present, both commercial and cinema movements films have been formed with a strong consciousness about their power (Monaco 2002, Coskun 2003, Biryildiz 1998). The fact that popular films were so important as to be worth investigation was understood in the 1940s. As a result of the efforts aimed at objecting to the criticism conducted in accordance with high art criteria especially in France, the view that films particularly theme films could not be handled separately from social history gained importance (Abisel 1999;31). From the 1940s to today, academic studies have investigated cinema in many dimensions ranging from its ideology to sociology and from its psychology to history, analysed films by developing various methods of analysis, formed a substantial know-how about cinema and put it into the service of cinema.

When the industrial and economic prospects of cinema were properly appreciated besides its magical influence on masses, a tough competition began between powerful countries. This competition took place between France and USA. The former was considered to be the country that invented the cinema, and the latter turned Hollywood into a concept rather than a film-making centre and had secured its victory by 1928 in this competition which had started in 1914. The economic domination of major Hollywood compaines in the global market accompanied by American ideology has been continuing since 1928. Although occasional efforts are observed in national cinemas aimed at breaking Hollywood's domination (Monaco 2002;286-297), these efforts are far from achieving this goal.

Hollywood's conveying ideology through story-telling and implanting this in viewers' subconscious intensified when American cinema began to assert its domination in world markets. One of the themes frequently used in Hollywood films, which becomes more common in certain periods but is never totally discarded, is 'saving the world'. Saving the world is a feat that can be achieved by American or Americanised heroes no matter where the threat comes from. Thus, American supremacy and the privileged position of being American is inserted in the subconscious of the world. Naturally, American citizens are not exempted from this process.

Although Turkish cinema has been making many films in its specific history involving the task of 'saving the country', it has not assumed the task of 'saving the world' except for two films which worth investigating. They were made with an interval of 24 years. Do these films really save the world? Are there symbolic relationships between 'saving the world' and 're-establishing national unity'? By answering these and similar questions, ample data can be obtained and various conclusions about sociological, economic, political and socio-psychological conditions of the countries at the time when they were made (Berger 1993, Ozden 2004).

In this study, the two Turkish films *The Man Who Saved the World* (1982) and *The Son of the Man Who Saved the World* (2006), were investigated on the basis of an ideological analysis. This analysis aims to analyse political implications and to reveal the function of films in serving the purposes of the dominant ideology.

1.1.The Reason of Saving the World in the Cinema

Films can not be considered separately from the economic, political and psychological conditions of the period when they were made because they are the products of those conditions whose reflections clear in some films, while they are symbolical in many films. Films that conceal reflections within symbols are more effective on masses because though they may not raise them to the level of consciousness, viewers analyse these symbols in their subconscious and internalise the discourse conveyed by these films (Ryan and Kellner 1997). Since the films where reflections can be clearly seen appeal to the consciousness of viewers, it would be more appropriate to talk about externalisation in these films rather than internalisation. All stories possess a certain discourse which are generally in a manner that approves of the dominant system and reproduces it (Althusser 2006). Furthermore, these discourses determine the way viewers interpret the environment they live in and the events that occur. In other words, a certain consciousness is raised in viewers through discourses attached to stories. This is certainly a wrong-consciousness from a critical point of view.

In order to understand the reason for the increase in the number of 'saving the world' subjected films, it is necessary to investigate what is happening in that country in that period. The country which is saving the world at most in USA. While Hollywood was saving the world, USA was in the deep crisis during 1950s, 1970s and 2000s (Nowell-Smith 2003). All of the brave saviours of these periods exhibit variety ranging from those who come from other planets such as Superman, to those with extraordinary power and training like Rambo, Rocky and to ordinary Americans who initially do not have any distinctive qualities but then turn into heroes out of obligation (Sartelle 2003;584-596, Topcu 2010;154-172). Claiming to save the country, humanity or the world, these heroes serve an appeasing function in the face of internal and foreign economic-political developments that threaten the system.

1.2.Economic and Political Situation in Turkey When the Films Were Made

The two films investigated within the scope of this study were made with an interval of 24 years. Therefore, they are products of different periods. In order to have an understanding of what these are saying, it is necessary to determine the economic, political and social characteristics of Turkey during the periods that they belong to.

The first film was made in 1982 while the second one was made in 2006. Accordingly, Turkey in the second half of the 1970s, in the early 1980s and in the first half of the 2000s need to be described.

1970s reveals a mixed economy where state control was predominant. Basic consumption goods were manufactured by the state and a large portion of raw materials, strategic products such as energy and agro-industrial products were also produced and processed by the state. The level of national income per capita was near the poverty line whereas inflation was extortionately high. By the late 1970s, it had become hard to purchase basic consumer goods in the country especially by virtue of the global oil crisis; queues for oil, gas, sugar, salt, butter etc. were etched in public memory. The first step convergence to market economy

through an economic package was adopted at the end of the period but this package could be implemented after the junta in 1980. The real turning point for Turkey was the implementation of this economic package.

The political situation of 1970s was not a pleasant one as well. The whole 1970s were a period of political instability. The lifespan of governments could be measured only in months towards the end of the 1970s. Turkey had experienced major problems in foreign policy besides instability in internal policy. Turkey's assault on Cyprus in 1974 ended in an arms embargo on Turkey by its NATO allies, which in turn further upset internal political instability. The end of the period was marked by the crisis experienced during the presidential election.

It is not difficult to predict that the result of the above picture will be a social crisis. Turkey of the 1970s witnessed an atmosphere of social chaos involving strikes, boycotts, political struggle with deaths, student movements, sectarian conflicts, unsolved murders etc. all of which represented the conflict between leftist and conservative politics (Ozdemir 2002;260-286). In short, Turkey in the 1970s had an economy headed for bankruptcy, and an atmosphere of political and social chaos drifting towards a civil war and ended up with the junta in 1980 (Ahmad 1995;248). With the junta, civil administration was deposed from office and a military government was established, curfews were imposed, political parties, trade unions, associations and similar organisations were all closed down and their activities were prohibited and extensive arrests and trials took place (Cankaya 2003;164-166). The main reason for all these practices were to '*ensure national unity and integrity*' (Ahmad 1995;225). The first film came out at the end of such a process.

The second film was made in 2006 as a product of the second half of the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s. Turkey's economy in this period is characterised by economic crises experienced every few years, loans obtained from IMF and stand by negotiations, substantial devaluations in each economic crisis, and passage to floating rates. Sufficient investments were not made in education, health and public works sectors by indicating inadequate allocations as reason.

In the same period another political instability was seen, though not in the same proportions as in the 1970s. The country was generally ruled by coalition governments and early elections were called. The central debate in this period was whether the military will or civil will should be prioritised. The reason for this might be terrorist activities that began in the 1980s, accelerated in the 1990s and reached irksome proportions in the 2000s but could not be solved yet. The country also faces substantial foreign policy problems arising from the neighborhood with the Middle Eastern countries that are often at war with one another.

In this period, people of the country are beset by feelings of uncertainty and future anxiety created by political murders targeting intellectuals and journalists, regional terror that occasionally targeted big cities and omnipresent economic crises. The general public psychology involved a mistrust of political and bureaucratic administrators, a feeling of forlornness and desperation.

All of the governments of the period pointed to full membership to European Union as the solution of these problems and presented this as the essential target of their government and hence the country. However, more than 40 years of constant efforts to enter European Union

seem to have ended in a mood of frustration and despair due to the insurmountable 'barrier of criteria'.

2. Purpose and Method

The Turkish Cinema, which began to make films story-telling in 1916. It is possible to find many films about saving the country and fighting against enemies of Turks. However, the Turkish Cinema has not taken any interest in 'saving the world' except two films: *The Man Who Saved the World* (film 1) and *The Son of The Man Who Saved the World* (film 2).

The purpose of this study is understand the reason of needing to make these films, although there has been no tradition of creating heroes who saved the world either in cinema or in other works of culture. The films were subjected to ideological analysis for this purpose. Ideological positions of the films were determined by looking at the attitudes that they take up towards opposite key institutions and values (Retold by Guchan from Gianetti 1999;197).

The films were analysed within the framework of the fundamental questions stated below.

- What are plots of films?
- How are the relationships established?
- How are the relationships between institutions and individuals?
- Which ethical values are emphasised?
- Which religious values are emphasised?
- To what extent social class structure is emphasised?
- Where are the films in the ideological spectrum?

3. Findings and Comments

3.1. The Plot of Film 1

The film begins with the narrator telling about the stages that mankind has gone through so far and the dangers of extinction that the world has faced. This introduction lasts 4 minutes and 30 seconds and is too long for a fictional film, and viewers become aware that humans have passed the space age and are now living in the galaxy age. The narrator inserts many times and makes explanation.

The Wizard wants to rule the whole universe by conquering the world. However, for the Wizard to attain his goal, he needs to transplant a human's brain in him. There are two Turkish warriors, Murat and Ali, who were chosen from among the strongest and best fighters in the world that came together to fight against the Wizard. While Murat and Ali are fighting the Wizard's men, they feel that a mysterious force is pulling them towards it. When their space ship is hit, they stranded on a planet that they have never seen before. According to Murat, they did not strand there but they were stranded. This planet, which also houses the Wizard's palace, has come off from the earth thousands of years ago. The Wizard is persecuting the people in various ways.

Murat and Ali can no longer remain as a mere bystander in the face of what is going on in the planet and start the war between the goodness and the evil. However, they have only their physical power as weapon. They meet an old pundit who is the leader of the good people living on the planet and his daughter. The pundit tells them about the 13th Tribe, the virtues of the Islamic religion, a sword in which the strength of the mountain, where the 13th Tribe

lives, is accumulated, and a brain in which all the goodness and knowledge of the people in the world is gathered. He tells them that they have to reach the sword and the brain and that his daughter will guide them in their search. Thus, the two Turkish warriors understand that this planet is the place where their ancestors lived in harmony and peace.

The Wizard kidnaps the Pundit's daughter and blackmails Murat and Ali. When they go the Wizard's palace, he takes Ali captive and invites Murat to cooperate with him but Murat refuses. Confident that he will defeat the Wizard by the help of his ancestors' power and faith, Murat escapes from the Wizard's palace and gang up together with the pundit's daughter find the sword and the brain.

The Wizard sets up the mechanism required to transplant Ali's brain in himself but Ali's brain is so devoted to his friend Murat that the transplantation is unsuccessful. This time, the Wizard pursue of the sword and the brain, manages to touch them and thus acquires their powers and as a result the Pundit loses all his strength and dies.

While Murat and Ali are fighting the Wizard's men, Ali is killed. Now, Murat has to save the world alone. He melts the sword, plunges his hands into the boiling liquid and thus his hands acquire the power of it. He destroys The Wizard and his men with this power and saves this planet, which is part of the earth. Murat leaves the people of this planet under persecution and return to his world, while the narrator says: "The earth can not be without human and human can not be without the earth... Protect your future because the future is in peace..."

3.1.1. Analysis of Film 1

This film is acknowledged to be one of the cult films in Turkey. It is considered to be a low quality film in terms of story-telling and photography techniques. Ordinary viewers and young people find the film absurd and ridiculous. Fragments from the film are shared with the tag 'mind-boggling scenes' in internet. The film is thought to be at the top among examples of the Turkish commercial films that went beyond the accepted norms. One who is not acquainted with the Turkish Cinema and Turkey may consider the film a comedy that makes fun of fantastic adventure films.

It is hard to say that the film is in conformity with the narrative unity and the causality chain in the classical narration. The story of the film, which falls in the fantastic adventure genre and is full of logical contradictions, is as follows.

Murat and Ali are the characters representing the good in the film. Murat and Ali's strong and warm relationship is based on friendship. They protect each other and make jokes especially about profligacy and women. They are not individualistic and they are ready to sacrifice their lives for each other if needed.

The Wizard and his men are the representatives of the bad. The relationship between them is only hierarchical with no connection other than the chain of command. Concepts such as love and friendship are meaningless to them. And indeed, they are the losing side.

The most prominent institution in the film is the global state that the earthmen established together. Murat and Ali, who are representatives of the good, are warriors who fight for this state. They have no complaints or criticisms about the state to which they are affiliated. The Wizard, the representative of the bad, appears to be a tyrant. He always prioritises his

personal interests in his decisions. Nobody except for The Wizard has the right to speak. There is no institutional structure that The Wizard considers superior to himself.

Friendship, love and compassion are ethical values that are especially emphasised, endorsed and therefore recommended. Besides them, loyalty to the state and working for the interests of the state are emphasised and endorsed.

The religious values are discourse on Islam and Christianity. Islam is praised in the film whereas Christianity is otherised. It is understood at the end of the film that The Wizard comes from a Christian community. When the film is viewed from a religious perspective, it is observed that Muslims represent the good while Christians represent the bad.

There is no emphasis laid on class structure in the film. There are no clues in the film as to which social class the heroes belong to.

The film is somewhere between the centre and the right and perhaps slightly closer to the right in the ideological spectrum created by Gianetti (Guchan 1999) because the film highlights, endorses and recommends values such as heredity, allegiance to the past, nationalism, adherence to religion and traditionalism.

3.1.2. The Relationship of Film 1 With Its Period

It seems as if this film is spokesman for the military coup that took place in Turkey in 1980. The basic goal of those who planned and implemented the military coup is to establish “national unity and social peace”. For this purpose, subjects such as the glorious history of the Turks, superiority of their religious faith to other religions, and conspiracy of the foreign powers to lay seeds of animosity between brothers and sisters within the country are mentioned whenever opportunity arises.

The film does not mention class structures, it praises the fraternal life of 13th Tribe. The Wizard as an external power, destroyed this fraternal life. This discourse in the film is in conformity with the discourse of the junta which says that the internal conflicts are created by ‘roots abroad’ centers.

3.2. The Plot of Film 2

A Turkish spaceship and its captain Kartal who are looking for the Gokmen who they lost in depth of space 8 years ago... Uga who wants to conquer the universe and the radioactive mixture that he intend to try it on the world... The King of Lunatica Planet, Dogibus, who want to be the member of Orion Union, and his beautiful daughter, Maya... Zaldabar (or Sahin), the son of ‘the man who saved the world’, the twin of Kartal. He was born two hours before Kartal and was kidnapped and converted to a space pirate by Uga...

Kartal has to find Gokmen, to prove who is Zaldabar and to prevent the destruction of the world by Uga. Kartal’s power is coming from his father’s spirit and his patriotism. And the award of his success is marry Maya and live happily peacefully in the world that he saved.

3.2.1. Analysis of Film 2

Belonging to the genre comedy, this film is far more successful than Film 1 in terms of storytelling and photography. This film begins with a narrator describing the great achievements of Turks in history too. However, this narration is rather brief and the narrator does not insert anywhere else in the film.

Kartal, the captain of the Turkish spaceship, and his crew represent the good in the film. This group, which consists of women, men, children and animals, stands for a nation. The relationship between them is based on solidarity with one another and thus they live all together despite occasional gossip about each other and a feeling of distrust. It seems as if the group may disintegrate with a slight blow, but in fact, they are dedicated to one another with a deep feeling of love and affection.

The relationships between Uga, Dogibus and the President of the Orion Union, all representing the bad, are based entirely on self-interest. They may force their sisters or daughters for their own interests to marry men who they do not love. They see no harm in being together though they do not like each other.

At the end of the film, naturally, the good, who come together with a bond of love, defeat the bad, who have a relationship based on self-interest.

The Turkish spaceship and its crew are affiliated with the Golbasi Base, which represents the Turkish Republic in the film, and endeavour to perform the mission given by the state. Despite the fact that the authorities are not to be seen during hard times and tell lies to the crew for years, this does not reduce the crew's allegiance to the state.

On the side of the bad, on the other hand, allegiance to an individual rather than to the state is important but only robots exhibit this allegiance. After all, there is no state structure there; instead, there is personal hegemony and kingdom. Even the clown in Dogibus's palace is waiting for the earthmen to save the Lunaticans.

Values such as acting with the community for the common benefit, devotion to work, self-sacrifice and compassion are emphasised and endorsed as values that are required to be considered good. Freedom from sexual passions and romantic love are also among the values that are approved.

Various phrases originating from religious beliefs are reflected in daily discourse of the characters who represent the good. It seems as if these phrases have not been especially chosen but rather they exist in language naturally. When these reflections are closely examined, it is observed that the predominant discourse is based on fatalism and the will of God. The fatalistic discourse is evident and emphasised in one scene. Where, captain Kartal says that when scientific methods are not remedy, it is necessary to 'trust in the Creator. Though this emphasis seems like a criticism directed at Turks' general perception, it is approved as a national trait. Scenes of preaching in the first film are not seen at all in this film. No religious reflections are observed in the bad in the film; they have no system of faith other than personal interest.

No specific emphasis is laid on social class structure in the film. However, when the ship crew's division of tasks is examined, it can be argued that the sub-text points to an understanding of "everybody must do their duty". There is no special emphasis laid on the class structure of the heroes. When the side of the good is considered, it is observed that there

is a natural division of labour including administrators, assistants, repairmen, cooks etc. This naturalness is based on love and solidarity.

There are also rulers and the ruled on the side of the bad but the ruled have turned into robots. Those who refuse to turn into robots are subjected to torture and persecution by the rulers. Since class relationships are not based on love, it seems as if the bad are destined to lose.

Although the film occasionally seems to assume a critical attitude, it is located in an area of the ideological spectrum between the centre and the right. Even the fact that the film is a sequel and “is waiting for the spirit of the man who saved the world”, determines the place of the film in the ideological spectrum.

3.2.2. The Relationship of Film 2 With Its Period

The period when the film is made is a period when people sink into despair about matters such as ending the economic crisis and solving the terror question in southeastern Turkey. People have no faith in the future and seem to have left the matters partly to the course of events and partly to God’s will. In such circumstances, people can not be expected to trust their administrators or those who rule the country. The behaviour and speech of the ship’s crew in the film coincide with the social psychology of the period.

One of the fundamental problems that Turkey has been faced with for long years is social division. This division manifests itself sometimes in the political arena as leftist-rightist division, sometimes in the religious arena as Sunnite-Alewite sect division and sometimes in the ethnic field as Turkish-Kurdish division. The fact that the ship’s crew are on a forced mission and therefore receive double salary suggest that the film’s sub-text is based on ethnic division. At this point, the ideological discourse of the film is based on the notion that “Turks and Kurds are brothers”, which overlaps with the discourse of the official ideology.

When the plot of the film is considered, it is understood that the bad separated the twin brothers, alienated them to each other and turned them into hostile brothers who do not know one another. When they know and understand each other, the hostility between them disappears. This overall plot of the film is in conformity with the discourse of the official ideology about the Turkish-Kurdish conflict that it is a “conspiracy devised by foreign forces”.

4. Conclusion

Both films expose unconscious fears of the society bear the official ideology of the period and are conservative. Thus, by alleviating the fears that they expose, they ensure psychological escape, which puts them in the typical psychological escape film category.

Though it seems that the films in question claim to ‘save the world’, the sub-texts do not relate to this claim. The sub-texts suggest the idea of ‘national unity’. At this point, the sub-texts idealise the past with the myth of “a happy society that has won glorious victories and lives in peace” and tells the present society that “if you know your past, own your traditions and follow in your ancestors’ footsteps, you can overcome all kinds of problems’.

Saving the world is not one of the traditional themes of the Turkish cinema. However, it is understood that what themes national cinemas will take up is determined by periodic needs,

not by traditions of cinemas. At this point, it seems impossible that a theme be a monopoly of any national cinema. When a need arises, issues such as whether the technical capacity of the country's cinema is sufficient or not, whether the film is absurd or not, or whether it is in conformity with the traditions of story-telling in cinema lose their relevance. The cinema of almost every nation harbours the potential to 'save the world'.

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Corpus Linguistics and *The Spectator*

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Topic: application of corpus stylistic techniques (keywords and cluster analyses) to the contributions of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele to the eighteenth-century periodical

The Spectator

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Corpus Linguistics and *The Spectator*

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1. Introduction

Recent work in corpus stylistics (for example, Stubbs 2005, Starcke 2006, Mahlberg 2007, Leech 2008, Fischer-Starcke 2009) has focused on exploring the usefulness of corpus-based analysis to texts of a fictional nature. Among the main approaches currently being used are keyword analysis (see Scott 2002) and cluster analysis (as in Mahlberg 2007, 2009). This paper attempts to illustrate and assess these techniques as applied to the mostly non-fictional contributions to the early eighteenth-century periodical *The Spectator*.

*The Spectator*¹, particularly as manifested in those essays contributed by Joseph Addison (1672-1719), was an important stylistic model for writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, whether as one to imitate or react against. Johnson famously recommended Addison as a perfect exemplar for those wishing to write in a style 'familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious' (Greene 1984: 676). Addison's main associate was Richard Steele (1672-1729), but there were a number of other contributors, including Eustace Budgell and Alexander Pope.

Using Mike Scott's *WordSmith Tools* software (Scott 2007), and following Fischer-Starcke's approach in her 2009 study of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, I attempt to use keyword and cluster techniques in order to reveal what makes Addison's and Steele's contributions distinctive within the context of *The Spectator*. Due to limitations of space parts of the discussion will be necessarily sketchy; however, by the end of this paper I hope to have given the reader some idea of the usefulness and limitations of corpus-based analyses to stylistics.

2. Processing the data

The first seven volumes (1711-1712) of *The Spectator* were downloaded from Project Gutenberg². As the *WordSmith* program can only process text files, the original HTML

¹ The most recent full edition is Bond (1965). For a recent selection see Mackie (1998).

² An electronic copy of Morley (1891). For information about Project Gutenberg e-texts consult:

files were converted and hyperlinks to footnotes were deleted. Also removed were the footnotes themselves and the 1891 introduction to the edition. As *WordSmith* ignores anything in square brackets when compiling wordlists and concordances, I decided to bracket the annotations containing number, date and author at the top of each essay, to bracket each initial Latin or Greek motto, and to do the same with the initials ('L.', 'T.' etc.) that appeared at the bottom of each number of the periodical.

More drastically I also made the decision to remove all numbers of the periodical that contain 'letters to the editor'. It is not always clear whether these are genuinely from readers of the periodical or fabricated by the contributors themselves. As the focus of this research was to examine stylistically the contributions to *The Spectator* of Addison and Steele, and as retaining the letters may have skewed the data, all numbers that incorporated correspondence, whether by Addison or Steele, were removed. Since Steele in particular favored the incorporation of letters in his essays, this decision led to a considerable reduction in the amount of data to be examined. Of the 555 editions of *The Spectator* that appeared in 1711-12, only 296, or 53.3% of the total, were analyzed in this study. The composition of the three *Spectator* subcorpora, *Addison.txt*, *Steele.txt* and *Others.txt*, can be seen in Table 1:

Corpus	Content	Size
<i>Addison.txt</i>	192 contributions	About 268,000 tokens
<i>Steele.txt</i>	81 contributions	About 107,000 tokens
<i>Others.txt</i>	23 contributions from others (Budgell 15, Hughes 6, Pope 1, Parnell 1)	About 32,000 tokens

Table 1: Composition of the three *Spectator* subcorpora

3. Keywords

The notion of keyword is now a familiar one to most researchers in corpus linguistics. A keyword is a word that appears in a particular corpus a statistically significant number of times more often than in another (usually larger) 'reference corpus'. Keywords, therefore, are lexical items that are prominent or foregrounded in Text A when contrasted with their use or non-use in Text B. The semantic content of keywords is seen as a good indicator of the foregrounded content of a text, in particular reflecting

http://www.gutenberg.org/wiki/Main_Page.

what the text is about. For examples of research in corpus stylistics where this idea of keyness plays an important role, see Scott (2002), Rayson (2008), Culpeper (2009), and Fischer-Starcke (2009).

Two lists of keywords were generated by *WordSmith*, one each for Addison and Steele. In order to do this, five wordlists were produced from the three subcorpora: these were *Addison.lst*, *Steele.lst*, *Others.lst*, *SteeleOthers.lst* (from *Steele.txt* and *Others.txt*) and *AddisonOthers.lst* (combining *Addison.txt* and *Others.txt*). Then, keywords were obtained for Addison using the *KeyWords* program in *WordSmith*. This program gets data for each word in the Addison wordlist (number of occurrences listed in *Addison.lst* and in *SteeleOthers.lst*, total number of words used for *Addison.lst* and *SteeleOthers.lst*), and then applies a log-likelihood test of significance to this data. For this study probability was set to $p < 0.000001$ and the minimum number of hits for inclusion in the list of keywords set at 3. Application of the log-likelihood test results in a 'keyness score' being obtained for each keyword, and the *KeyWords* program outputs an ordered list of keywords. An identical procedure was used to generate keywords for Steele's contributions, this time comparing *Steele.lst* and *AddisonOthers.lst*.

3.1 Keywords in Addison

For the Addison subcorpus 67 keywords were generated. These were then sorted into various subgroups according to shared semantic criteria. The apportioning of keywords to different semantic fields was carried out intuitively, although in cases where the meaning of a keyword was ambiguous, a concordance for that word was generated, the use of the item in its various contexts was examined, and the item assigned to the semantic group that reflected its most prominent use in the concordance.

Of the 67 Addisonian keywords 53 could be assigned to 12 semantic fields, with some items belonging to more than one field. These groupings can be seen in Table 2 below (the full list of items can be found in the Appendix 1), while the top ten keywords for the Addison subcorpus are shown in Table 3.

Pattern (number of items)	Realizations
Names (10)	<i>Homer, Milton, Virgil, Milton's, Paradise (Lost), English, Greek, Adam, Eve, Satan</i>
The arts – mainly literature (20)	<i>reader, poet, poets, authors, writers,</i>

	<i>criticks, poem, fable, book, works, tragedy, verse, poetry, Homer, Milton, Virgil, Milton's, Paradise (Lost), opera, description</i>
Christian religion (8)	<i>Adam, Eve, angels, Satan, paradise, infernal, soul, creation</i>
Personal pronouns and possessives (5)	<i>them, we, our, us, its</i>
Classifications (5)	<i>kind, nature, kinds, species, particular</i>
Prepositions (3)	<i>in, upon, up</i>
Evaluatives (3)	<i>beautiful, finely, beauties</i>
Languages and nationalities (2)	<i>English, Greek</i>
Comparisons (2)	<i>likewise, same</i>
Rankings (2)	<i>first, principal</i>
Mental processes and objects (2)	<i>imagination, ideas</i>
Determiners (2)	<i>the, those</i>

Table 2: Keyword patterns - Addison

No.	Keyword	Frequency	Keyness Score	No.	Keyword	Frequency	Keyness Score
1.	<i>several</i>	571	160.39	6.	<i>in</i>	7023	70.73
2.	<i>which</i>	2735	127.94	7.	<i>English</i>	155	69.13
3.	<i>reader</i>	249	111.95	8.	<i>Homer</i>	93	62.70
4.	<i>poem</i>	175	97.87	9.	<i>Milton</i>	105	62.14
5.	<i>poet</i>	166	80.08	10.	<i>likewise</i>	127	59.30

Table 3: Top ten keywords - Addison

A large number of the keywords are proper nouns, whether the names of writers (*Homer, Milton, Virgil, Milton's*), literary works (*Paradise (Lost)*: almost half of all occurrences of *Paradise* were from the title of Milton's epic poem), languages or nationalities (*English, Greek*), or Biblical characters (*Adam, Eve, Satan*). In a keyword analysis names are always likely to float up near the top of the list, and their content tends to reflect the 'aboutness' of a text. This will become even clearer in the discussion below.

By far the biggest semantic grouping is the one which contains words referring to the arts, and amongst the arts mainly literature. These may be people, whether producers (*poet, poets, authors, writers*), poets (*Homer, Milton, Virgil, Milton's*), or consumers

(*reader, criticks*); they may be products (*poem, fable, book, works, tragedy, verse, poetry, opera, Paradise (Lost)*); or they may refer to something that a poet does in a poem (*description*). Five of the top ten keywords also fall under this heading. Clearly, literature, and more particularly poetry, is one of the major topics of discussion in Addison's essays. Famously, he discusses Milton's *Paradise Lost* in eighteen numbers of *The Spectator*, starting in number 269 and ending in number 369, and this is reflected in the composition of Addison's keywords.

A look at the concordances for the top five literary keywords also confirms the centrality of literary discussion to Addison's contributions to the periodical. The only content-bearing collocate for *Homer* is *Virgil*, and the string *Homer and Virgil* occurs ten times, these two poets being the classical standard against which Addison regularly compares Milton's accomplishments. As for the word *Milton* itself the concordance also gives just a single meaning-bearing collocate, *genius* (five times), pointing to Addison's positive evaluation of the poet.

Concordances for *poem* and *poet* tell a similar tale. The major non-functional collocates for *poem* at L1 – the position directly preceding *poem* in the concordance lines – are *heroic(k), epic* and *Milton's*, namely the (types of) poems that Addison evaluates. The most common non-functional L1 collocates for *poet* are *Greek* (on most occasions Homer) and *great*, indicating the evaluative nature of the discussions. At R1, directly following the keyword, the main collocate is functional *has*. Addison, in his discussion of *Paradise Lost*, often refers to what Milton has achieved in the poem, for example, 'The Poet has very finely represented the Joy and Gladness of Heart which rises in Adam' (no. 369), also indicating the evaluative nature of his prose.

As for *reader* there are two uses that are notable and which are reflected in its main L1 collocates. These are *the* (133 times) and *my* (61 times). In the majority of the examples 'the reader' is either 'the reader of a piece of literature' (for example, when referring to *Paradise Lost*, 'He (Milton) continually instructs the Reader' in no. 303), or, as with 'my reader', it is a direct address to the reader of *The Spectator*. In the latter case Addison often attempts to evoke solidarity of opinion with the reader by using *will* or *may* – 'The Reader will see that this is rather an Imitation than a Translation' (no. 229), 'The Reader may guess at the figure I made...' (no. 7). Here the importance of inspecting concordance lines before assigning meaning to keywords should be underlined. This particular keyword has a function that may have been hidden from us if

we had not consulted the concordance and merely assumed its 'literary' use.

Another semantic field with several members is the category which contains words relating to religion. These are characters or entities in the Bible (*Adam, Eve, Satan, angels*), words which allude to the afterlife (*paradise, infernal*), and other religiously-tinged items (*creation, soul*). Rather than pointing to the prevalence in Addison's essays of religious themes, it is an indication of his need to discuss such themes when touching on Milton's *Paradise Lost*, where Adam, Eve, Satan and the angels are important protagonists.

The most important thing to note with regard to the group of personal pronouns and possessives is the relatively significant use of first person plurals in Addison's essays (*we, us, our*), particularly if we compare this with Steele's use of pronouns (see below). While use of first person pronouns would be unremarkable, the use of the plural forms perhaps indicates Addison's desire to include the reader directly in his essays, to draw the reader into his opinions and become almost a collaborator.

Along with personal pronouns, the group of prepositions is of a more functional nature than most of the other patterns. Additionally, *in* is ranked sixth highest on the list of keywords. An examination of the concordance lines for *in* revealed that most examples occurred with full noun phrases following, and most uses were for discourse purposes, often to add cohesion to the text, rather than as prototypical spatial expressions. For example, the most common collocate at R3 (three places after *in*) was *place*, primarily because of Addison's tendency to structure his arguments with the enumerative adverbial phrases 'in the next/last/first/second (etc.) place'. Also common at R3 was *manner* in the phrases 'in such a manner', 'in the same manner'. The use of *book* at R3 in examples such as 'in the First/Second (etc.) Book' and *paper* at R2 as 'in this Paper' reflect common stylistic strategies that Addison used to orient the reader to various parts of his and others' texts.

The appearance of personal pronouns/possessives and prepositions on our list shows that a keyword analysis may reveal more than just the 'aboutness' of a collection of texts; it may also reveal how the writer deals with those topics. This is confirmed by the other patterns that were identified. While the presence of the content words *ideas* and *imagination* point to his concern with the mental realm, the words *kind, nature, kinds, species* and *particular* all hint that one of Addison's major preoccupations is the

classification of whatever it is he is discussing. He is also concerned with evaluations, particularly positive evaluations (*beautiful, finely, beauties*), grading what he is talking about (*first, principal*), and drawing comparisons (*likewise, same*).

Even what are at first blush unpromising functional keywords may tell us something about a writer's style, although we need to be careful how we interpret our results. *Which* ranks second in the Addison keyword list. If we look at part of the concordance for this item, we see that in most of its uses *which* introduces a relative clause.

ith Love And sweet Compliance, **which** declare unfeign'd Union
 ct of the Poem. His Discourse, **which** follows the gentle Rebu
 great Merit. The Thought with **which** he comforts the afflict
 haracter, whatever the Fate is **which** they undergo. There is
 Virtue, and losing the Fame of **which** he was possessed. Death
 eems apprehensive of the Evils **which** might befall the Specie
 y to the sum of earthly Bliss, **Which** I enjoy; and must confe
 inst it by timely Admonitions; **which** very artfully prepare t
 brings about that fatal Event **which** is the Subject of the P
 xt Book, where the Weakness of **which** Adam here gives such di

Figure 1: Concordance for *which* (first ten lines)

In fact, it has been remarked that a typical Addisonian sentence consists of a main clause followed by a relative (Lannering 1951, quoted in McIntosh 1998: 94), and here is concrete lexical evidence for that assertion.

The keyness of the determiners *the* and *those* warrants a word of caution when looking for an explanation, and reminds us that the interpretation of our results depends very much on the contents of the reference corpus which we are using as our standard of comparison. Biber et al. (1999: 267-268) point out that *the* increases in frequency in comparison as we move from less formal spoken contexts to more formal written contexts such as academic prose. According to the table that Biber et al. provide in their grammar, in conversation the frequency of *the* is just under 20,000 per million words, whereas in academic writing it climbs to about 55,000. The frequency for the use of *the* in the Addison corpus is around 60,000, perhaps indicating a formal style. Of course, standard frequencies for the twentieth century and those for eighteenth century prose may be different, so any absolute indication of level of formality is impossible to draw.

However, in the present study, which compares Addison's essays with those of the other *Spectator* contributors, we can at least go as far as to say that the keyness of *the* may suggest a relatively more formal style of expression for Addison over his fellow writers.

3.2 Keywords in Steele

The procedure for obtaining keywords for Steele was identical to that described above, except that the Steele subcorpus was compared with a combination of the wordlists generated from *Addison.txt* and *Others.txt*. Table 4 shows the semantic groupings for the 53 (out of 69) Steele keywords that could be assigned to patterns, and Table 5 the top ten keywords ranked according to keyness.

Pattern (number of items)	Realizations
Names (6)	<i>Pharamond, Eucrate, Miller, Buck, Alexandrinus, Rhynsault</i>
Life in society (13)	<i>company, favour, service, power, glory, merit, worthy, kindness, gallantry, gentleman, prince, officer, condition</i>
People (8)	<i>man, fellow, men, gentleman, prince, officer, people, crowds</i>
Personal pronouns and possessives (5)	<i>you, he, she, her, your</i>
Mental processes and objects (5)	<i>imaginable, methinks, know, ability, ambition</i>
Modals (3)	<i>can, will, should</i>
Evaluatives (3)	<i>good, agreeable, honest</i>
Emotions (3)	<i>sorrow, shame, negligent</i>
Places (2)	<i>town, court</i>
Communication (2)	<i>say, said</i>
Copula (2)	<i>is, be</i>
Quantifiers (2)	<i>all, any</i>
Time (2)	<i>ever, youth</i>

Table 4: Keyword patterns - Steele

No.	Keyword	Frequency	Keyness Score	No.	Keyword	Frequency	Keyness Score
1.	<i>you</i>	477	413.45	6.	<i>Pharamond</i>	36	87.65

2.	<i>to</i>	3417	124.29	7.	<i>your</i>	145	83.01
3.	<i>is</i>	1784	114.66	8.	<i>say</i>	119	81.08
4.	<i>man</i>	555	107.23	9.	<i>be</i>	923	75.04
5.	<i>but</i>	882	94.27	10.	<i>what</i>	394	70.64

Table 5: Top ten keywords - Steele

As with Addison, one major group of keywords consists of proper names. Pharamond, Eucrate, Alexandrinus and Rhynsault are characters in stories that Steele weaves into his essays. With regard to the first two of these characters, in number 76 of *The Spectator* Steele presents readers with the purported memoirs of a Frenchman, Prince Pharamond, and relates the story of his friendship with a commoner, Eucrate. Steele's relation of this tale continues in number 84, and Pharamond is mentioned again in numbers 92, 97 and 99. On the other hand, (Timothy) Buck and (James) Miller were real people, protagonists in a sword fight that Steele watched at Hockley in the Hole and later reported on. These 'keynames' are therefore of much lesser renown than the literary figures and religious characters who belong to Addison's list. Instead, they reflect the anecdotal nature of Steele's contributions to *The Spectator*, compared to Addison's, which contain fairly lengthy discussions of Milton and epic poetry.

The largest grouping of semantically-similar words is the one that I have labeled 'Life in Society', a catch-all term which includes a word referring to one's being in society (*company*), words referring to a person's doing something for others (*favour, service*), two words that indicate power or the effect of power on others (*power, glory*), two that connect with notions of social worth (*merit, worthy*), and words for a trait or a behavior characterized by good actions towards another person (*kindness, gallantry*). Finally, there is a group of terms that refer to social ranks, whether the actual ranks themselves (*gentleman, prince, officer*) or one word that has changed in meaning since the early eighteenth century, but at that time meant 'social rank' (*condition*).

The large number of members in this 'social' group indicates Steele's concern with the social world and people's place in it. This is not to say that Addison did not also regularly deal with such topics and, with the exception of *negligent*, used all of the same words at least once. But it is perhaps because Addison discussed a much wider range of topics in his essays that the limited range of Steele's contributions is proportionately reflected in the highlighting of this semantic group on his keyword list.

There are eight words that have to do with people: six words that refer to males, namely *man, gentleman, men, fellow, prince, officer*, and three that refer to groups of people – *people, crowds, men* (this last belonging to both groups). The composition of this semantic field points to the fact that Steele's essays tend to be mainly male-oriented, that he usually discusses those in the upper ranks of society, and that he is not averse to making generalizations about people.

A look at the concordance for *man* draws two of these observations together. The most common collocate at L1 for *man* is *a* (212 times), a reflection of how often Steele tends to make generalizing statements. However, the occurrence of *of* as the main R1 collocate shows how he often refines this generalizing propensity, with *a man of* (60 times) and *the man of* (10 times) collocating with such personal qualities as *honour* (6), *sense* (6) and *pleasure* (3), and, most common of all, *wit* (9) (in fact, the six-word cluster *a man of wit and pleasure* appears a total of six times in his subcorpus).

The group of personal pronouns and possessives on Steele's list of keywords contrasts strongly with the corresponding group on Addison's list. For the latter we noted a greater tendency to use first-person plural pronouns and possessives. Steele, on the other hand, shows a predominance of third-person singular (*he, she, her*) and second-person forms (*you, your*)³. The salience of *you* is underlined by its position at the top of the list of keywords. A random twenty-line sample from the concordance for *you* showed the following usage pattern: twelve instances of non-referential, 'general' *you*, four instances where a character addresses Steele as 'you' in a story that Steele is relating, three instances where one character addresses another character as 'you' in one of Steele's stories, and one instance which is ambiguous between non-referential use and character-to-Steele use. If this small sample accurately reflects Steele's use of *you* in his essays, then it seems to be another indication of his generalizing tendency and his use of anecdotes, and not a signal of his directly addressing the reader.

Of the other patterns in the keyword data, it can be noted that as in the case of Addison there is an evaluative group, this time consisting of *good, agreeable* and *honest*. There is also a somewhat larger group of words referring to mental processes and objects, two

³ 'Yourself' was written as one or two words in the eighteenth century. In the Steele subcorpus 'your self' appears twenty times and 'yourself' seven times. Making similar adjustments for Addison's corpus data I calculated that if all instances of this reflexive pronoun had been standardised to 'yourself', 'your' would still have been a keyword, but would have dropped from seventh to thirteenth place on the list.

of which, *ability* and *ambition*, may be seen as important factors in the social world. Indeed, choice of the *court* as a topic of discussion may also reflect social factors.

Finally, there is a ‘communication’ group consisting of *say* and *said*. *Say* appears in several clusters that all have a discourse rather than content function in Steele’s essays. Examples are ‘I say’, ‘I dare say’, and ‘that is to say...’ By contrast, *said* does have content and most of its occurrences accompany direct speech in the many stories that Steele tells.

4. Clusters

Following Fischer-Starcke (2009) the most commonly occurring four-word strings or clusters (also called 4-grams)⁴ were extracted from the Addison and Steele subcorpora using *kfNgram* (Fletcher 2002). For the Addison subcorpus the minimum number of occurrences was set at 22, while for the Steele subcorpus this was lowered to a minimum of seven hits, in order to generate about twenty examples for each author. The full list of four-word clusters for Addison and Steele can be found in Appendix 2.

While keywords reflect textual content, clusters more often reflect structural features of a text. However, this should be seen as a statement about tendencies, as there is no clear-cut distinction between the types of information that keywords and clusters reveal, as was illustrated above with the several important functional keywords, and will be further elaborated below.

Of the 21 four-word clusters generated for Addison, thirteen of them can be collected together in groups that share semantic features. Six clusters contain lexis that imply that a comparison is being drawn. These are *at the same time*, *and at the same*, *the same time that*, *in the same manner*, *but at the same* and *one of the most*. The clusters *at the same time* and *the same time that* are frequently used in an additive sense, similar to ‘also’, rather than a temporal sense. An example that illustrates this is ‘I shall refer my Reader thither (i.e. Lord Roscommon’s essay on translated poetry) for some of the Master Strokes in the Sixth Book of Paradise Lost, ’tho at the same time there are many others which that noble Author has not taken notice of’ (no. 333). Together with the appearance of *likewise* and *same* on the list of keywords above, these clusters underline

⁴ Four-word clusters were chosen because clusters longer than four words tend to occur in more restricted syntactic, semantic, pragmatic contexts (see Starcke 2008).

the need of Addison in his essays to draw comparisons and grade the distinctions that he makes, as when he describes the theatrical genre of tragicomedy as ‘one of the most monstrous Inventions that ever entered into a Poet’s Thoughts’ (no. 40).

Two further semantic groups of clusters can be identified. Four clusters are clearly structural in that they have a discourse signaling function in Addison’s essays, namely *for my own part*, *my own part I*, *if we look into*, *we look into the*. The first two of these signal that Addison is about to express an opinion, while *if we look into* and *we look into the* signal that an examination of a particular topic is coming. Finally, there are three clusters of a mental nature – *the mind of the*, *pleasures of the imagination*, *in the mind of* (recall that the words ideas and imagination are also ‘key’ in Addison’s essays).

As with keywords further clues as to the typical use of clusters can be gained by inspecting the concordance lines for each cluster. I will illustrate this by briefly discussing some of the collocates found in the concordance for the cluster *in the mind* (see Figure 2 below).

1 ks, ought to end happily, and leave the Mind of the Reader, after havi
 2 the foregoing Passage, and renew in the Mind of the Reader that Anguis
 3 re apt to raise a secret Ferment in the Mind of the Reader, and to wor
 4 raise a pleasing kind of Horror in the Mind of the Reader, and amuse
 5 it is very apt to amuse and terrify the Mind of the Reader. Herodotus
 6 respects as are most apt to delight the Mind of the Beholder, I shall
 7 rints an Awfulness and Reverence on the Mind of the Beholder, and stri
 8 like the Ocean in a Calm, and fills the Mind of the Reader, without pr
 9 o' not so apt to stir up Emotion in the Mind of the Reader, nor conseq
 10 re than a secret Shame or Sorrow in the Mind of the suffering Person.
 11 create either Attention or Horror. The Mind of the Reader is wonderfu
 12 tances as should raise and astonish the Mind of the Reader; and at the
 13 age or Sentiment, proper to inflame the Mind of the Reader, and to giv
 14 e Discourse, but to amuse and relax the Mind of the Reader, by frequen
 15 on, comes in very happily to unbend the Mind of the Reader from its At

Figure 2: Concordance for *the mind of the* (fifteen-line sample)

The main collocate ‘reader’ immediately following the cluster reflects the pervasiveness of literary discussion in Addison’s essays, and the instances with ‘beholder’ (two shown

above, four in total) all come from his reflections on the ‘Pleasures of the Imagination’ (in nos. 412, 414, and 415). Most of the concordance lines come from passages that describe the effects that works of art, whether literary or non-literary, have on the reader or viewer. Note the large number of emotion words in these lines. ‘Emotion’ is likely to be stirred up (line 9) and ‘sentiment’ inflamed (line 13) in the reader, whose mind may be ‘happily’ unbent (line 15); the mind of the beholder of some aesthetically pleasing phenomena – here ‘(p)rospects’ – would tend towards ‘delight’ (line 6), although a ‘suffering’ mind may also be affected by ‘shame’ or ‘sorrow’ (line 10), and a reader’s mind afflicted with ‘anguis(h)’ (line 2), ‘horror’ (line 4) or ‘horror’ (line 11). If, following Sinclair (1991), we refer to the semantic company that a word or (part of) a phrase has a preference for as its ‘semantic prosody’, these lines would suggest that for Addison the cluster *the mind of the* has a semantic prosody laden with emotion.

Turning to the data for Steele, of the 23 four-word clusters generated three semantic groupings can be identified. Two of the groups, a ‘humanity’ set and a ‘characteristics of personality’ set reflect content over structure. The ‘humanity’ group includes six clusters, *the rest of mankind*, *the generality of mankind*, *a man of wit*, *a man who is, for a man of*, *man of wit and*, and the ‘personality’ group four: *of wit and pleasure*, *a man of wit*, *man of wit and*, *the character of a*. Life in society was a major theme noted in the Steele keyword analysis, and this is reinforced by the importance of these two sets of clusters. The one remaining major group, which contains quantifying expressions (*the rest of the*, *rest of the world*, *the rest of mankind*, *a great deal of*, *the generality of mankind*), is less contentful, but links with the *any* and *all* set of quantifiers identified earlier (see Table 4 above) and indicates a tendency to quantify in Steele’s prose.

Finally, the ‘Life in Society’ orientation of Steele’s *Spectator* contributions is highlighted when we examine a sample of the concordance lines for *the rest of the*:

1 tion as appeared indifferent to all **the rest of the** Company. Upon such
 2 some Foundation for his Reports of **the rest of the** Company, as well a
 3 or ungracefully distinguished from **the rest of the** Company, you equal
 4 No Man ought to have the Esteem of **the rest of the** World, for any Act
 5 ade an Apology for not joining with **the rest of the** World in their ord
 6 not send to the Nation from whence **the rest of the** World has borrowed
 7 or their Sakes, for dressing unlike **the rest of the** World, or passing
 8 have one particular Privilege above **the rest of the** World, of being sl

9 , or overflow into Fondness, before the rest of the World. Uxander and
 10 constant Benignity in Commerce with the rest of the World, which ought
 11 onsciousness that he is superior to the rest of the World. Or, to say
 12 out the Town to the Disadvantage of the rest of the World. Were it not
 13 of a Body, which, with relation to the rest of the World, might as we
 14 peating such Pleasures and Pains to the rest of the World; but I speak

Figure 3: Concordance for *the rest of the* (fourteen-line sample)

The prevalence at R1 of ‘world’ (fourteen times in the full concordance) and ‘company’ (four times) underline the social orientation of the topics discussed by Steele. Note also the positioning with regard to the rest of the world as indicated by the prepositions at L1 (‘with’, ‘from whence’, ‘unlike’, ‘above’, ‘before’, ‘to’); note particularly how someone or something may be ‘superior to’ (line 11), how one stands ‘with relation to’ (line 13), and how one can have the ‘Esteem’ (line 4) of, ‘Privilege’ (8) over, ‘Benignity’ (10) with, and do something to the ‘Disadvantage’ (12) of the rest of the world.

5. How useful are these techniques?

There are two main benefits of corpus stylistic methods, both of which are evident in the results above. Firstly, a corpus-based stylistic approach allows the researcher to identify patterns that would probably not be evident using more traditional approaches. For example, it is unlikely that a reading of Addison’s and Steele’s *Spectator* essays, however close, would have detected a contrast between their preferences for personal pronouns and possessives. While Addison shows a strong tendency to align himself with the reader by using a relatively large number of first person plurals, Steele prefers the less inclusive, non-referential ‘you’. Also, both the keyword and cluster analyses of Addison’s essays revealed a predilection for drawing comparisons, with *likewise* and *same* as keywords, and the four-word strings containing ‘same’ and *one of the most* as common clusters. It is improbable that such an observation could have been made using traditional methods.

Secondly, a corpus-stylistic approach allows us to support intuitively-based insights with empirical data. For instance, the major focus of Addison on literary discussion and the importance of the social world in Steele’s contributions are backed up by the semantic make-up of the content-reflecting keywords and clusters in our analysis. Similarly, grammatical observations, such as the tendency for a typical Addisonian

sentence to contain a relative clause is given support by the presence of *which* near the top of our list of keywords.

Nevertheless, there are certain limitations of these techniques to bear in mind when deciding whether or how to use them in one's research. First, the techniques described here are restricted to analysis at the lexical level. Matters of syntax, a detailed consideration of which would require that all the texts be tagged, and automatic, non-intuitive semantic analysis cannot be dealt with⁵. Also, scrutiny of a more abstract nature involving comparisons at the discourse level of each *Spectator* essay, such as Knight's observation that many of the essays flow from specificity to generality or generality to specificity (Knight 1993: 45), would be pretty well impossible to perform.

Secondly, the use of corpus techniques does not mean the researcher can get away with not having at least some pre-awareness of the content of the texts being analyzed. For instance, if we had included all of the *Spectator* essays that incorporated (real or contrived) correspondence from readers, the results for Steele would have been very different. The list of keywords would have included *Spectator*, *Mr* (letters were addressed to 'Mr. Spectator'), *servant* and *humble* ('Your humble Servant')⁶. The existence of spelling variants in eighteenth-century English (e.g. 'your self', 'yourself') also had to be kept in mind when interpreting results.

Regarding procedure, if one adopts the techniques described in this paper, it is important to remember to use concordances to check context before assigning keywords or clusters to semantic categories. This allowed us to correctly allot *condition* to the 'Life in Society' semantic group as it was mostly used with the now-obsolete sense 'social rank'. A look at the concordance lines also stopped us from assigning a temporal meaning to the cluster *at the same time*.

Finally, and on a more practical note, it is worth pointing out that the availability of a text or set of texts may make a corpus analysis more or less feasible. The current study used texts downloaded from the Project Gutenberg website, and with a minimum of

⁵ While *Wmatrix* (see Rayson 2008) does offer syntactic and semantic analysis, the eighteenth-century English of my texts, with their variant spellings and earlier meanings, made its use unfeasible.

⁶ On the other hand, I was aware that Addison's essays contained many Latin and English quotations, and no attempt was made to remove them. This seemed not to affect the results, probably because of the comparatively large size of his subcorpus.

editing they were ready to be analyzed. If your texts are in a non-machine-readable format, then a considerable amount of time may have to be spent in preparing the texts before any analysis can be performed. Of course, there is also the problem of copyright restrictions for more recent texts.

6. Conclusion

This paper has shown how one may go about a corpus-based stylistic analysis of a set of texts, in this case the contributions of Addison and Steele to *The Spectator* between 1711 and 1712. Results bring to the surface both content and functional aspects of the texts. Keyword and cluster analyses reveal Addison's contributions to be weighted towards literary discussion. The language of his essays reflect his propensity for drawing comparisons, making evaluations and concerning himself with mental objects such as the imagination.

The language of Steele's contributions, on the other hand, is situated to a greater extent in the social world. As with Addison, evaluations are also prevalent. The two writers display different patterns of personal pronoun and possessive use, Addison favoring first person plurals, Steele second person. Grammatical preferences, such as Addison's use of *which*-relatives, and discourse preferences (*for my own part, if we look into* in Addison's list of common four-word clusters) are prominent in the data.

It is claimed that corpus keyword and cluster techniques may be useful tools for those performing stylistic analyses, although researchers should be aware of the procedural and practical limitations of these approaches.

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Appendix 1

Keywords in *Addison.txt*

SEVERAL, WHICH, READER, POEM, POET, IN, ENGLISH, HOMER, MILTON, LIKEWISE, ADAM, IMAGINATION, THE, PARADISE, VIRGIL, FILLED, FABLE, FIRST, BOOK, KIND, UPON, ANGELS, MILTON'S, WORKS, THEM, IDEAS, GREEK, WE, OUR, POETS, SOUL, BEAUTIFUL, TRAGEDY, NATURE, THOSE, PARTICULAR, ITS, SHORT, UP, THAT, US, SATAN, EVE, VERY, AUTHORS, FINELY, CREATION, VERSE, KINDS, CLUB, ILIAD, PRINCIPAL, SPECIES, DESCRIPTION, SAME, POETRY, AENEID, BEAUTIES, PARTS, WRITERS, OPERA, SIGHT, ARE, CRITICKS, INFERNAL, TOGETHER, ANIMAL

Keywords in *Steele.txt*

YOU, TO, IS, MAN, BUT, PHARAMOND, YOUR, SAY, BE, WHAT, NO, HE, PEOPLE, GENTLEMAN, COMPANY, ALL, IMAGINABLE, MEN, CAN, GOOD, EUCRATE, MILLER, BUCK, WAY, SAID, FAVOUR, SORT, SHE, PRINCE, LIFE, EVER, OH, POWER, MERIT, ANY, FORTUNE, ASPECT, HONOUR, ALEXANDRINUS, RHYNSAULT, KINDNESS, TOWN, METHINKS, COURT, YOUTH, GLORY, OFFICER, THING, WILL, DO, READY, LOSS, KNOW, WORTHY, SORROW, AGREEABLE, ABILITY, DEBT, HONESTY, FELLOW, AMBITION, SERVICE, SHOULD, HER, CONDITION, SHAME, GALLANTRY, CROWDS, NEGLIGENT

Appendix 2

Four-word clusters in *Addison.txt*

at the same time (155), and at the same (42), for my own part (34), every thing that is (33), the same time that (32), if we look into (29), in the midst of (29), we look into the (28), a great deal of (27), in the same manner (26), my own part I (26), and by that means (25), but at the same (25), it is impossible for (25), the mind of the (25), by the name of (24), one of the most (24), pleasures of the imagination (23), the truth of it (23), be met with in (22), in the mind of (22)

Four-word clusters in *Steele.txt*

at the same time (32), the rest of the (20), is not to be (17), rest of the world (14), i do not know (13), it is certain that (12), as well as the (9), in the midst of (9), it is not to (9), the rest of mankind (9), a great deal of (8), of wit and pleasure (8), so far as to (8), the character of a (8), the generality of mankind (8), to those who are (8), a man of wit (7), a man who is (7), for a man of (7), for the sake of (7), in such a manner (7), in the following manner (7), man of wit and (7)



THE RISE OF FAR EAST NARRATION AND ITS REFLECTION ON CURRENT
TURKISH CINEMA



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Topic: Film

The Rise of Far East Narration and Its Reflection on Current Turkish Cinema

In the time between the birth of the cinema till the World War I, cinema industry especially started to develop in France and America, in the years when narration cinema in its infancy films were soundless so the language obstacle was removed and many countries could export as many films as they import. The regression in film production in Europe with World War I forced America to increase its production to compensate its decreasing film export and in the later years of the War, Europe was not able to produce films and American cinema started to dominate world cinema market. As the number of profit-oriented films Hollywood cinema produced to sustain its superiority in the market increased, similar themes, stories were produced again and again, and the decreasing interest of the viewers to similar stories caused the industry to seek new themes.

In this study, the effect of Far East cinema on recent horror films in Turkish cinema- which has formed a commercial cinema narration under the effect of Hollywood- in the context of the relation of Hollywood cinema with Far East cinema by using genre criticism, one of the film criticism analysis methods. In Turkish samples of horror films, the influences of cinema narration supplied with traditional cultural codes of Far East cinema led to the emergence of significant changes in the narration form of general cinematic discourse in horror type.

Key Words: Turkish horror cinema, Horror films, Far East Narration

1. Introduction

Cinema as a way of visualization of dramatic texts came into being as a new narrator of mankind's thousands years of myths, fantasies, dreams and a technical invention in the 19th century, it did not take long to be noticed as a commercial value. In these years when immigration to city increased, while cinema composed of short movies which people -who move to cities in large number to work- watch short sections from life, cinema with its rapid developing narration ability moved from fairground to city centers: cinema palaces. With Griffith who left his mark in soundless cinema language structure of cinema started to develop and cinema made fast steps as means of narrating story. As film making started to regress in Europe with World War I, American films began to fill in this gap soon.. After World War I, although the pioneers of modern cinema language began to emerge, particularly in Germany and the USSR, America -coming out of war almost without any damage

compared to Europe- became the center of cinema industry. In 1914, 90% of the films shown in the world were French originated, in 1928 85% of the films in the world are American originated (Derman,1995:38).

America using the cinema both as an ideological and an economic device during the World War II and Cold War dominated the world cinema market with Hollywood made films. As the number of the profit-oriented films Hollywood cinema made to maintain its dominance in the market increased similar themes, stories were repeated and thus decreasing interest in these films led Hollywood to seek new subjects. Hollywood making most of its income from the films it exports tried to overcome its new subject problem and to preserve its position in the market by using the cultural codes of Asian countries which potentially forms large market for films. In this study, the birth of genres in cinema, sources of horror, the development of horror genre in cinema were explain and in Turkish samples of horror films, the influences of cinema narration supplied with traditional cultural codes of Far East Cinema led to the emergence of significant changes in the narration form of general cinematic discourse in horror type.

1.1.The Birth of Genres in Cinema

With the introduction of sound to cinema, the classical period of Hollywood developed further as information transfer was based on dialogs. This period also accelerated the improvement of national cinemas, as well. The language problem in film export was tried to overcome with subtitle and doubling techniques. In this period, American cinema industry makes use of a method called studio system, which is a system that enables the integration of three basic branches of cinema industry: Production, distribution and management (Vincenti, 1993:52). With the establishment of studio system, different occupation groups began to appear in the filed of cinema and developing expertise structure started to design films to meet the needs of the market in line with the aim of getting the best commercial result. While films were classified as A, B series, animation or documentary, they were also further classified as genres under these classes. The scenarist scriptwriting which has began to specialize in studio system brought about the design of scenarios using certain typologies. From now on films were classified according to their themes, characteristics of heroes and to the era they reflect on the curtain. The classification of films into kinds led to a new way of the supervision of the films to appear on the market for the studio system. In this way, the

assessment of both the appropriateness of the films to viewers choices and convince of the art people used in various productions became easier and cheaper, as well (Vincenti, 1993: 59).

Genres provide a template for the establishment of narration structure of the films and their marketing as industrial productions because genres also determine what the content is (entertainment, romantic, horror, western, comedy) (Yaylagul, 2010: 15). Among cinematic genres, horror films as an outstanding genre includes many sub-genres which are produced by using similar elements.

1.2. Sources of Horror

Horror is the most basic feeling of human beings. Human beings who have the basic instinct to survive meets external stimulus with their perceptual universe expanding. After this period, the necrophobia which threatens the basic instinct to survive becomes the primary source of horror. According to Lacan, child who perceive himself/herself as whole with her/his mother and his/her environment meets cultural codes while passing to symbolical and loses the wholeness feeling in his/her self (Bakir, 2009:12). As a result of this, he loses the feeling of security provided by natural period (Coban 2005: 282). The feeling of horror exerts itself in human being regardless of time and place both in individual and social context.

According to Mannoni (1992: 12), fear is one of the basic excites like happiness, sorrow, anger, revulsion and is on one hand in biological and on the other hand in emotional intellectual area. As a reaction fear comes into being with threat of danger and fed by the worries related to the result of this threat. If the source of danger is concrete, fear is the result of this danger and can attempt to destroy danger. In cases when the source of danger is not visible that is when it is abstract, the sources of fear become a part of culture. The very first source in which mankind expressed their fears are drawings on walls, masks and paints on faces Mytology is efficient in understanding the sources of fear. According to Scognamillo (1995:14), legends sagas and stories which are the product of spoken tradition include fears. Mythology which brings together stories all over world and creates and supports a common memory all over the world houses fear elements in its own patterns and archetypes. Indefinite number of super heroes in mythological tales could reach to their aims in spite of darkness ahead.

1.3. The Development of Horror Genre in Cinema

In spite of some fluctuations in certain periods, horror film is the only kind in which people have never lost interest (Abisel, 1995:11), as horror cinema has rather exciting and even worrying genre of films compared to other basic type of seventh art, it was introduced to the cinema history with a little delay, (Scognamillo, 1996:67) but it was among the most demanded genres in the 70s and the 80s. Horror films are films which are not affected by the crisis in the cinema industry and costing very low and preferred all over the world. Although they are European originated, American cinema enriched its varieties. Horror films do not have very absolute links with the history and geography of a country. Therefore, each country produced their own horror films (Abisel,1995:117).

According to Abisel (1999: 137) the birth of horror genre coincides with the introduction of the cinema. It is certain that “the first horror film” was “Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat” (Louis Lumiere, 1895) as it feared people badly.” This experience which created fear and excitement in people would be one of the techniques to be used in horror films. In the very early years of the cinema short films of Méliés who tried to create a fantastic world used codes unique to horror films. In many short films made in this period, although elements of horror were used very intensively, the aim was to do with ethical expectations rather than instill fear. Scognamillo (1995: 68) regards the films in this period as the animation of novels- especially those of gothic literature and claims that fear almost takes place indirectly.

Metaphysical, social and individual fear is brought to the cinema was brought to cinema by Expressionist German cinema. According to Abisel (2009: 153), after the World War I when German films broke the boycott by allied force made and appeared before the viewers in big cities like New York and London, they were met with surprise and fascination. On one hand, these films attracted attention with camera usage, lightening and stylized decorations, on the other hand it was affecting viewers with it themes like destiny, death and crime.

Robert Wiene’s film titled as “The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari” is regarded as the most important example from Expressionist German cinema. According to Scognamillo (2005: 76), German cinema shaped fear and gave some themes to it. The rise of horror genre in Hollywood cinema started with the introduction of sound to the cinema, the cult films of this genre “Dracula, Frankenstein, Murders in the Rue Morgue” were made in these years. The rise of horror films started to slow down during the years of World War II when there were real threats to frighten people: war and concentration camps. In the 1950s, horror films went

beyond borders and stretched to a large geography from Japan to Latin America. The subject changed from threats affecting individual or small group of people to those which are more related to mass of people (Abisel, 1999: 141).

In the 1960s, Hitchcock's thrilling fear understanding which have no place for supernatural elements replaced supernatural elements on which horror genre was relied. With a realistic narration style and with his stories about ordinary people Hitchcock films brought a new understanding to horror cinema. Horror films were among the most demanded genre in the 70s and 80s because it was in these years when the films appeared with their film plots about seizure by secret powers like devil, cutting and killing, psychotic killers, wolf men and vampires which are related with a phenomena which came into being with widespread spiritual condition which seemingly stem from panic, distrust and lack of self-confidence (Ryan and Keller, 1995: 163–164).

With the development of technology in the 1980s, visual effects came forth and with the effect of the shock created on viewers the stories of films started to look like puzzles. In Abisel's (1995 :146) words, the issue was no longer who or what turn into a monster, or why it was killed but it was wondered in which order and how people will die. In this period, series of horror films were produced series like "A Nightmare on Elm Street, Friday the 13th" were presented to viewers.

New horror approaches of the 1990s is seen in more subtle methods and mechanisms as in *The Sixth Sense*, exaggerated reference as in *Braindead* and in *Scream* or in the film *Seven* which does not classify itself among horror films (Horror Films: 01.08.2010).

In the 2000s, the rise of Far East cinema- which is mostly known for films based martial arts – in horror genre started to become clearer. The examples of Fareast horror cinema which is incomparably plainer than Hollywood cinema are films -going beyond usual horror narration elements- in which gothic atmosphere was dominant and the element of horror was mostly relied on silence. Asian horror films which started with Hollywood, M. Night Shyamalan's *The Sixth Sense* and went on with Hideo Nakata's *The Ring* film designed their own codes and presented to the viewers all over the world. In terms of the experience they provide to their viewers, the film 'The Ring', 'The Grudge', 'Dark Water'... were all in fact in direct contrast with the horror cinema which was popular in the US in the 80s. They were highly thrilling films in which very long silence and incomprehensible threats were used instead of sudden shocks, blood and various undefined liquids. While Hollywood made this

films again for its viewers, it cared to preserve this thrilling as much as possible. These were films which were all little bit more glossy and gave place to “shock” compared to their originals but they were made with the awareness that these films are to a large extent instilled with the effect of atmosphere (Horror films of the 2000s: 02.08.2010)

Examples of Fareast cinema which try to arouse horror mostly by creating atmosphere told the same stories many times and they were readopted by Hollywood film-makers to be presented to the viewers all over the world. In the 2000s, Hollywood started to have a much more intensive relation with Asia. American companies started to make films by opening branches in Asia or by getting into partnership with local companies. Recently, among the producers of many China or Hong Kong films like *Crouching Tiger- Hidden Dragon*, *Hero*, *Time and Guide*, *Big Shots Funeral* which have achieved success -in their countries and all over the world- are companies like Columbia, Warner-Bros, Buena-Vista, Disney, Miramax, Universal. American companies’ getting into partnerships and opening branches makes the distribution of Asian films in America and many other places, as well (On Fareast Cinema with Hero: 23.07.2010).

The adaptations of Fareast cinema horror film examples by Hollywood started to be distributed all over the world. Films like *The Ring*-directed by Hideo Nakata- and “*Dark Water*” by Takashi Miike “*One Missed Call*” and Takashi Shimizu “*The Grudge*” -which were more than a million people in Turkey-, have recently entered among commercially successful horror films. In Turkish cinema in which the commercial success these films attained could not go beyond adaptations of a few horror films led to the production of films one after another. According to the results of the study by Guzel and Celikcan, most of the films between 1974 and 1990 in Turkish cinema are melodrama genre (%39), which is followed by Adventure with 17%, Sex films with 16%, by Dram with 14%, and Comedy by 12% and 2% include War and Historical Costume genre (Guzel and Celikcan, 1996:226-227). Between these years, there is no horror film produced in Turkish cinema. From the beginning of the 2000s to today, eleven horror films are presented to viewers. This increase in the number of films can be attributed to various reasons. However, the basic point was that Hollywood adaptations of Fareast cinema had very high commercial success in Turkey where was no horror genre tradition in Turkish cinema. These films in horror genre imitated the convention and codes of Hollywood horror films and were influenced by its cinematography.

2. Method of the Study

Similarities of genre films in terms of themes, characters, decor, costume, plot, music, narration structure and cinematographic narration techniques enable the establishment of certain conventions between viewers and films. Neale regards the components which make up a genre as the institutionalization of a genre and states that the institutionalization of a type is realized in three ways. They are narration, imaging and iconography and technical dimension of cinematic narration (Guchan, 1999: 110). In this study, the influences of the film “Dark Water” - adapted from Far East cinema in Hollywood and shown in Turkey- on the film “Araf” -directed by Biray Dalkiran and made in 2006- are studied in terms of narration structures and imaging.

2.1. Cinematic Narration, Imaging and Iconography

Narration can be simply defined as getting across events, emotions and ideas. The need for understanding and narration is the mother of sciences, religions, literature. Each narration genre shows variance in terms of arrangement and articulation. Narrations are divided into two as fiction and non-fictional. Filmic narration is in fiction genre and in Metz’s words it as a means of story narration gives the experience “watching a story”. The most significant feature that distinguishes story from other narration genres is that they have an arranged plot.

Filmic narration just as all other narrations is composed of two parts: story and discourse. Story covers events, chain of actions or content and characters and environmental features. As for discourse, it is the means through which content is transmitted, expressed (Guchan, 1999: 112).

In horror films, just as in other genre of films, traditional dramatic structure is valid. That is, after environment and characters are introduced, the first small conflicts are born and develop. In this process, violent attacks and thrills indicating danger emerge (Abisel, 2001:159).

When genres are creating narration structures, they use some codes and definite characters. In time these codes and characters and turn into icons and every genre establishes its own iconography (Guchan, 1999: 114).

3. Findings and Comments

3.1 The Plot of Dark Water

The film is the Hollywood adaptation of “Honogurai Mizu No Soko Kara” by Hideo Nakata. Firstly, we see that this little girl called Dahlia as grown-up and waiting in a room for an appointment. After she divorced from her husband, Dahlia moves into Manhattan to get her daughter Ceci’s custody and to start a new life. Ceci tells about a forgotten girl. She tells that her imaginary friend told her that Natasha’s mother forgot her just as Dahlia’s mother forgot Dahlia. The ghost of Natasha wants Dahlia’ to stay with her forever and tries to kill Ceci by drowning her in the wash basin and Dahlia sacrifices herself for her daughter. Ceci is rescued and Dahlia dies. Dahlia was now with abandoned Natasha. Three weeks after her mother’s death, Ceci who goes to the apartment block with her father meets her mother’s ghost in the lift.

3. 2. The Plot of Araf

While Eda was a dancer, sleeps with a married business man and get pregnant. And she get rid of her baby with abortion. Three years later, she marries with Cenk who she met during academy years. The happiness of the young couple is spoiled when mysterious event happened in the following months her pregnancy. The ghost of the baby who she aborted years ago hounds her. With the influence of the events she experiences, Eda starts to give harm to herself and worries people around her. Eda tries to awake from this clamping down nightmare and young couple deals with this problem to the end of the film. Eda who constantly sees the ghost of her child starts to go mad gradually. At the end of the film, toy telephone Eda bought for her baby to be born rings and the films end with Eda’s saying “Don’t wait for me. From now on I am with my daughter”. Eda died and went to live with her daughter.

3.3. The Similarities Between The Narration Structures Of The Two Films:

The very first point common in the two films is the questioning of the role of motherhood. While Ryan and Kellner are talking about the influence feminist movement which changed American cultural life in the 1970s and 1980s, they point out that the representation of woman in the cinema was intended to justify patriarchal structure. In the 1970s, outstanding in the representation of woman was that male directors told the stories about women who had to make a choice between career and marriage. This representation of women in cinema was

doubtless related with the rise of women in business life in the 1970s. Women straddle between her job and her child and she also straddles between the difficulties of the life out and the comfort of man's auspices. In a patriarchy society, bringing up children is a duty assigned to women and competition in the life outside is a domain where men struggle and in man's monopoly (1997:220-221). According to Isiklar, since the 1970s, patriarchy strategy was intensively represented and this has continued so far. Horror seems to be the genre in which misogyny is seen most in terms of character representations. In horror genre in which most of the narrations intensify around sin-punishment axis, it is generally seen that sinner or who lead to sin are women.

The film *Araf* is about the punishment of a woman who betrayed her natural role-motherhood- by abortion. The theme of the film *Araf* is based on the punishment of sex and abortion. Motherhood is natural and instinctive duty of Dahlia in *Dark Water* and Eda in *Araf*. The point here is that while Dahlia tries not to make her daughter experience the traumatic childhood her mother gave her, Eda experiences the trauma of the child she aborted. Eda tries to have a new baby and pacify herself by attaching to her new baby. Dahlia tries to have purgatorial by preventing her child having the same problematic relation she had with her mother. Sinful woman character which we frequently come across in Hollywood horror films is represented by Eda in the film *Araf*, Dahlia appears to be the victim character. The representation of Dahlia as the victim character is different from patriarchal point of view in classical narration in Hollywood horror genre. Dahlia is alone, helpless and innocent in *Dark Water*. She is a mother who tries to be strong for her daughter. In this adaptation, woman is represented as the victim of the male dominant social structure, though to some extent. What spoiled the life of Dahlia was abandoned little girl -Natasha- whom she met at the new apartment block she moved to, Eda was disturbed by the girl she aborted. In both films, girls turn up as ghosts who want to take revenge. The ghost of the dead little girl is the most significant example of the influence of Far-east cinema on Turkish horror films. The two little girls who come to take revenge are both the victims of their families and want to find peace. Ghost children in both films have supernatural and evil and the primary source of threat. The children want their mother to be with them to have the maternal love and compassionate they need. Eda and Dahlia are concerned to be good mothers. In the film *Araf*, Eda is the sinful woman who has to suffer from the sin she committed by aborting the child. She had an affair not acclaimed by the society and committed a sin by aborting the child. Ghost girl only hounded Eda because motherhood is Eda's natural, intrinsic duty and she couldn't fulfill her duty. She lost her second child and she won't be able to be mother anymore. While Eda pays

the penalty for what she did, Dahlia suffers from the psychological damage what she lived in the past. Dahlia is a character who cannot make sense why her mother left her when she was a little girl but trying to gloss over them instead of trying to find answers. Dahlia seeks to narcotize and silence the call her subconscious makes through dreams. Dahlia is a little girl who was abandoned by her mother, Eda is like the mother abandoning. The lives of these two women resemble to each other in terms of motherhood feeling. In both movies, it is emphasized that maternity role of woman is sacred. Mother is to protect her child and be with her/him all the time. She should be able to scarify herself to do this. In the final stage of the movies, this message is very clear. Dahlia sacrifices herself for her daughter and dies, and in her last talk Eda tells her husband that she is with her daughter, she dies for her daughter, too. It does not matter whether they are victims or sinners; mothers are to do their best for their children, face up to death and even die for them.

3.4. Visual and Iconographic Similarities of Films

The film *Dark Water* has a more coherent structure than *Araf* in terms of cinematography. Jus as in its first version, there is a attempt to create an atmosphere close to cinema form. With a fixed camera and relatively long plans, viewers are given the feeling of atmosphere. The film has a slow tempo. This is far from the formal understanding of classical Hollywood horror films. Influenced from the success Fareast cinema attained in horror genre, Hollywood chose to use a minimalist narrative language in its adaptations. In stead of using shocking visual effects, reliable, well-known objects and environmental features resembling their original forms are used in the film. Lift, washing machine, small bag and various toys are examples of these objects. Instead of creating special effects in the plot of the film, passages were used in telling the story to increase cogency. Although lighting in the film seeks to give a natural lighting feeling, it was specially designed. Especially in the outdoor shots, rainy, cloudy times and nights were preferred. In the shots inside the apartment block, with light design to create a dark atmosphere the spaces turned into scary, gloomy places, thrilling was continued with the feeling of shock to happen at any time. Clothes are natural parts of daily life. The dress of Natasha in the scenes in which she appears as a ghost is white to contrast with her evil saying. Iconographic indications are also different from classical Hollywood horror films with the effect of original form of the film. The bathroom and bedroom of the house and the school appear as holy, scared spaces. The streets of the city got wet in the rain, dark water as the foreshadower of death and water reservoir as the grave are

the iconography of the horror genre coming forth in the film. Dead ghost girl is the most well-known icon of horror genre.

In the film *Araf*, a cinema form which reminds classical Hollywood horror films is dominant. In the film, different points of views and plans were preferred but in the following parts of the film, an atmosphere like in *Dark Water* is tried to be created. In these parts, fixed camera and relatively long plans are preferred. In the film light was used to increase thrill and there is no effort to create a natural light effect. In shots outside color effects which vary according to feeling in scene and people's perception of reality was broken. In the film, the influence of Hollywood in using effect is significant. Computer aided effects aiming to frighten viewers but they are far from being plausible. *Araf* uses the iconography of Hollywood horror genre: well-known spaces like graveyards, operation room, mental asylum and dead bird and fetus. One of the most significant icons unique to the genre used in the film are the lambs pending from the ceiling and creating a gloomy atmosphere by constantly swinging. In *Araf* just as in *Dark Water* inner spaces in the house like bedroom and bathroom were chosen as reliable and private spaces are used. Another similarity is that water is again associated with water. In the scene in which Eda meets the ghost of her dead daughter, she bends to the tap to wash her face. Similar to the video recording in the film *Ringu* as one of the well-known examples of Far-east horror genre, in *Araf* there is also a video recording which resolves the puzzle in *Araf*. Fear and death are the associated meanings of the video recording which proves the existence of the little girl. In common with *Dark Water* film, 'the ghost of the dead girl' appears to be the most important icon unique to Far-east horror genre and it is the most significant horrifying element as in the film *Dark Water*.

4. Conclusion:

There are many reasons behind the increase in the number of horror films-whose examples are rarely seen previously- in the 2000s. In the 2000s, the increasing interest of Turkish cinema viewers to horror genre and the emergence of a new generation of director in Turkish cinema are significant factors. However, although it is possible to come across the beliefs in the films of these directors who do not have cinema tradition in horror genre, traditions, cultures of the society in which they live, it is seen that they imitate representation practices of foreign cinemas especially that of Hollywood originated horror films. After the 2000s, Far-east horror cinema's starting to rise and attainment of significant commercial success carried Far-east horror genre to Hollywood with adaptations. The effect of Far-east

cinema on commercial Turkish cinema on which the influence of Hollywood is felt intensively on horror genre was mostly through Hollywood adaptations. The traces of influence are seen almost in all of the recent films in horror genre produced in Turkish cinema. The atmosphere oriented narration structure of Fareast horror genre which uses silence as horrifying element is not fully reflected in Hollywood adaptations with the influence of the traditions of the genre. This case also affected horror genre in Turkish cinema. Under the influence of traditional plot and cinematography of Hollywood horror genre, Turkish horror films end up to be films which have indirect traces from successful horror films examples from Fareast cinema.

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Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR): Analysis on the conduct of an international company in Malaysian environmental issue.

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Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR): Analysis on the conduct of an international company in Malaysian environmental issue.

Definition

Carroll (1979) has introduced the pyramid of CSR in a philanthropic form. It is defined as “social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point of time” (Carroll, 1979). Carroll’s (1991) definition has conceptualized four components of CSR of economy, legal, ethics and philanthropy in the pyramid defined and the three concentric circles described.

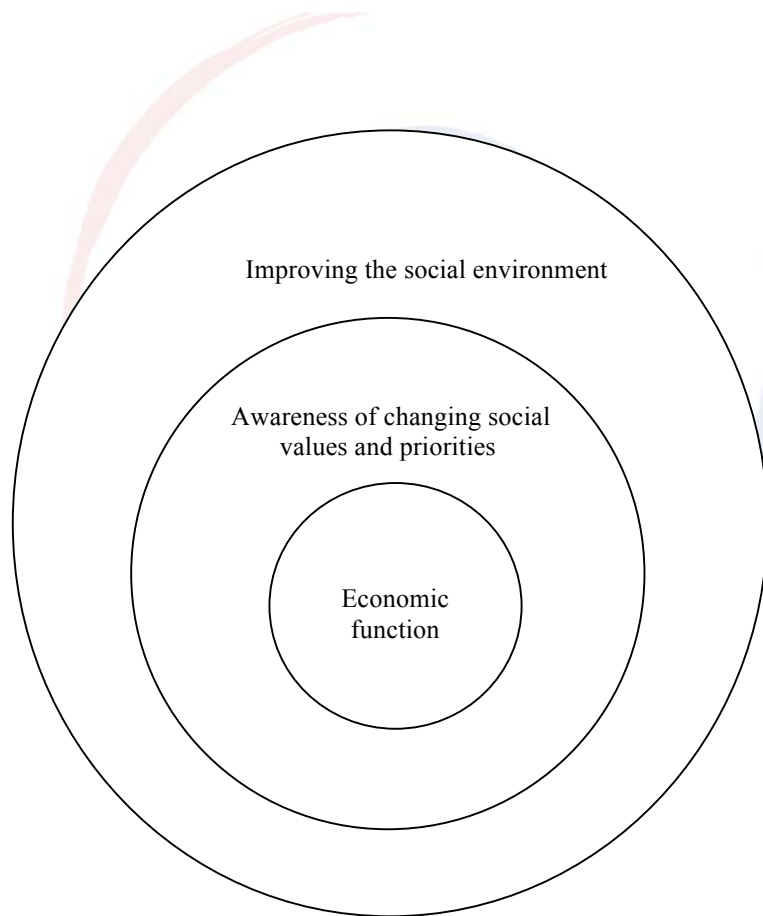


Figure 1: Three concentric circles of Carroll (1991)

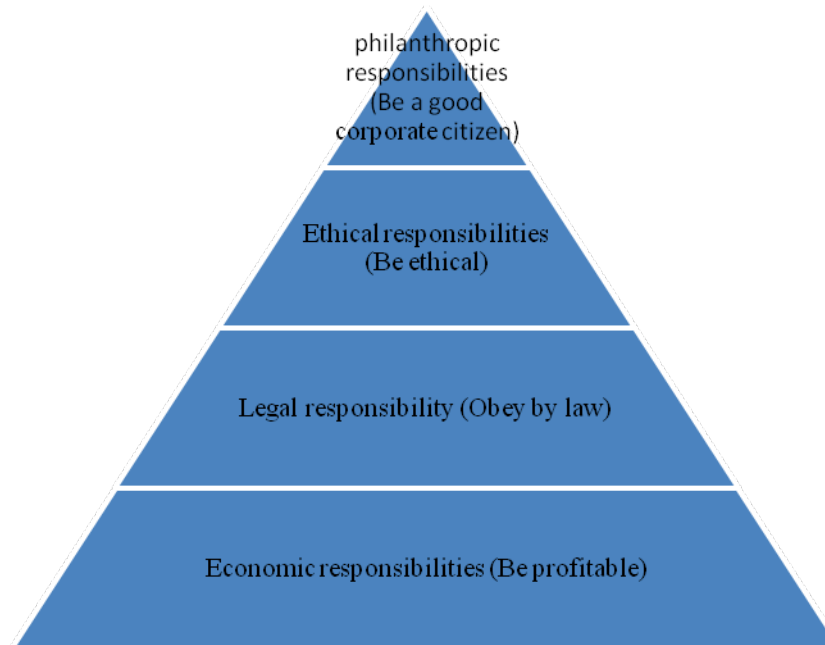


Figure 2: Pyramid of CRS by Caroll (1979)

World Business Council for Sustainable Development (2008) puts forth CSR as “the continuing commitment by business to contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the community and society at large”.

Kell (2009) of United Nations Global Compact (UNGC) termed CSR as sustainability and corporate citizenship. His view about CSR “is the voluntary commitment on behalf of CEOs to implement universal principles and to take actions in support of broader societal goals. The constantly changing macroeconomic environment dictates different priority for voluntary engagement. Ten years ago the central issues were sweatshops and supply chains. Today, the focus is shifting towards environmental sustainability and climate change”.

Importance of CSR

The definition of CSR has reflected its significance and role in a different view point from time to time. Based on a Managerial Law (2006), there are few points about the importance of CSR toned as “it has political significance for government of power and developing countries. Corporate conduct which is informed by CSR can, for example, contribute to the integration of foreign workers to general education and training, employees’ retirement condition and health benefits”. Of all the importance of CSR, it is indeed not required by law. Compliments towards global improvement in social conscience of corporations shall fall on “a proliferation of media

and NGO exposes on violations of corporate behavior in regards to human rights, environmental principles and labor laws” (Managerial Law, 2006).

Therefore it is important to highlight the Ten Principles of UNGC and to make known through any forms of media. The Ten Principles of UNGC (5th August, 2010), particularly in the area of human rights, labor, environment and anticorruption are derived from:

- 1) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- 2) The International Labor Organization’s Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work
- 3) The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development
- 4) The United Nations Convention against Corruptions

Those areas have formed the principles as:

- Principle 1: Businesses should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights;
- Principle 2: make sure that they are not complicit in human rights abuses;
- Principle 3: Businesses should uphold the freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;
- Principle 4: the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labour
- Principle 5: the effective abolition of child labour;
- Principle 6: the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation;
- Principle 7: Businesses should support a precautionary approach to environmental challenges;
- Principle 8: undertake initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility;
- Principle 9: encourage the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies; and,
- Principle 10: businesses should work against corruption in all its forms, including extortion and bribery.

Implementation / Impact / Influence of CSR

Above listed is only a guideline of CSR. Mackenzic (2007) has proposed a 20-step approach to CSR implementation:

- 1) make sure the CEO gets it;
- 2) formally involve the board in approving CSR policies;
- 3) get an enthusiast to lead the charge;
- 4) direct centrally, deliver locally;
- 5) consider the big picture;
- 6) keep it relevant (to the organization);
- 7) link CSR to wider corporate innovation;
- 8) do what is right, not what is easiest;
- 9) talk about it;
- 10) do not hand control to corporate communications;
- 11) report failures as well as successes;
- 12) listen (especially to non-governmental organizations, regulators and the media);
- 13) talk to staff too;
- 14) set targets and publish them;
- 15) monitor progress;
- 16) use existing benchmarks;
- 17) incentivize senior management;
- 18) do something serious about climate change;
- 19) reap the regulatory benefit;
- 20) whatever you do, do not do nothing.

Whereas Valor (2007) has proposed another structure of CP Plan, namely Corporate Philanthropy Plan. Valor (2007) suggests the plan to start with the selection of the non-profit partner. It is where the firm may choose one or a pool of non-profits; one project or a pool of them. They may establish short-term or long term relationship with them (Valor, 2007; cited from Austri, 2000).

Communication does play a role in the CP projects. It is firstly before carrying the project then secondly once the project has been completed. It is more commonly rectified as pre-project and post-project communication. Pre-project communication is a move of cause-related marketing campaign to encourage purchase decision. Post-project communication starts only upon the completion of the CP projects. Usually it is the reporting if the social consequences of the activities. One crucial component brought up here is the Message (Valor, 2007).

There are always codes of conduct in regarding to the design of message. Valor (2003) states that a code of conduct should be followed when designing the messages for advertising campaign if they show the situation of developing countries. After the communication would be the step of monitoring results and feedback. The final step would be reporting the social and economic impact of implemented projects.

This paper is looking into the new CP Plan as proposed by Valor (2007) for implementation purposes. Somehow the focus of discussion would be held up to the steps of communication only. The CP Plan has been simplified as below:

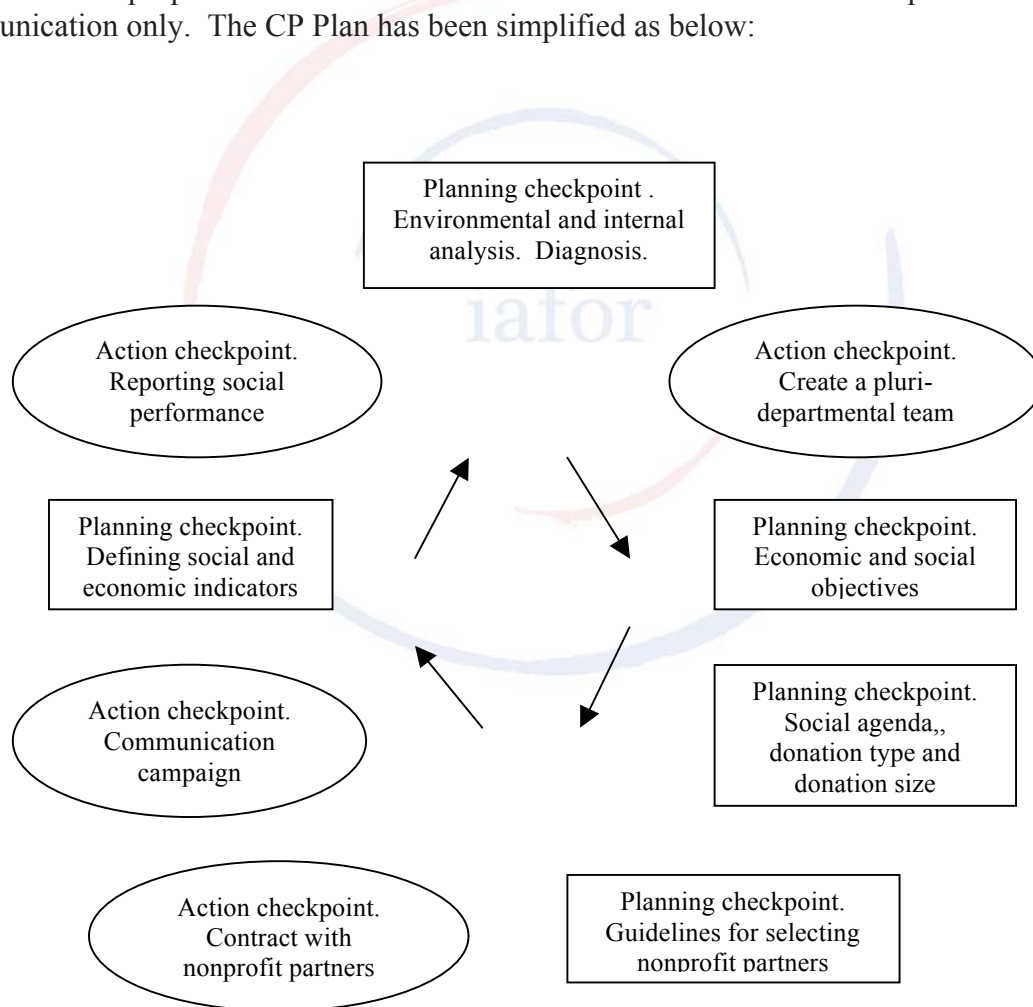


Figure 3: Global strategic plan for CP by Valor (2007)

CSR and PR

CSR has been discussed and debated over from the discipline of business. It is labeled under business leaders' and business school's agendas (Tench, 2010). The recent paradigm shift has diversified CSR into a comprehensive multi-disciplinary analysis and debate about this subject in the context of communications. As in a book titled *The Debate over Corporate Social Responsibility* (May, Cheney and Roper, 2010), it covers history, legal issues, economic perspectives and attempts to integrate alternative social and cultural perspectives for the subject (Tench, 2010). It is stated that "typical approaches to CSR include developing codes of ethics, preparing triple bottom line reports and launching public relations campaigns that highlight a given socially responsible act" (Vyakarnam, 1992; Weaver et al, 1999; cited in Galbreath, 2009). Somehow the role of PR in communication campaigns has been labeled as a non-strategic corporate window dressing exercise (Weaver et al., 1999).

In view of such limited approaches of CSR strategy, Galbreath (2009) has proposed six dimensions in CSR. The dimensions are namely firm mission, strategic issues, markets, customer needs, resources and competitive advantages.

CSR on the other hand, has been labeled as an invention of PR (Frankental, 2001) unless otherwise few paradoxes being addressed. There is a lack of clear definitions of CSR from the angle of its understood definition; benchmarks to measure the attainment of CSR; established processes in place to achieve these benchmarks; a system of internal auditing; likewise the three bottom lines of financial, environment and social; and, a system of external verification by accredited bodies.

Starck and Kruckeberg (2003) have drawn a drastic change of view regarding the relationship between CSR and PR. They argued that "corporations out of their own self-interest must embrace a global approach in fulfilling their social responsibility and that public relations professional have an obligation to carry out that responsibility in their practices that the most important 'corporate' stakeholder is society itself".

CSR, PR and Marketing

There is not yet such a definition that relates CSR, PR and marketing. Semenik (2001) somehow has proposed a flow of relationship between marketing plan, IMC (integrated marketing communication) management and PR as a tool of marketing. The flow of relationship is shown in the flow chart as below:

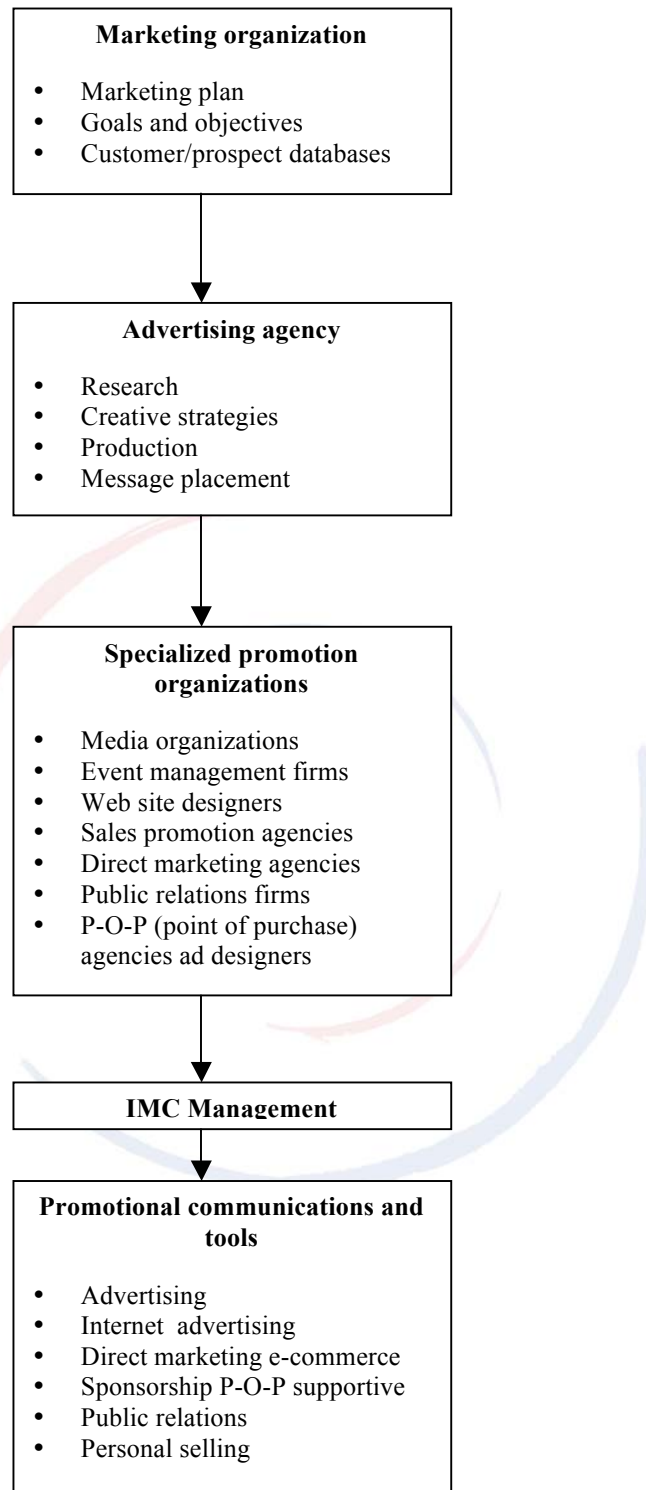


Figure 4: Marketing plan, IMC management and PR as a tool of marketing, modified from Semenik (2001)

The definition of marketing has been amended and revised from time to time. American Marketing Association (1985) defined marketing as “the process of planning and executing conception, pricing, promotions and distribution of goods, ideas and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational goals”. In year 2004, this definition has been revised to that “marketing is an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stakeholders”. Those definitions have merely highlighted the relationships between marketing and communication, which in this context of communication it is referred as PR.

There is no definite reference of CSR as marketing in so far as in the case of PR and marketing concerned. Somehow there are CSR related issues in marketing that brought to the attention of researchers. Those researchers include Vaaland, Heide and Gronhang (2008) regarding CSR in the marketing context; Andersen and Skjoett-Larsen (2009) on green supply chain; Valor (2007) on strategic plan for corporate philanthropy where cause-related marketing was discussed in the process of communications; Karna, Hansen and Juslin (2003) on environmental marketing.

In so far no direct definition is given to the relationship between CSR, PR and marketing. The progressive definition in this paper has highlighted the intersections of them.

CSR, PR and Marketing in Malaysia

CSR has received most public attention in the developed countries, and it has also been of major concern in Malaysia in recent years. Those several non-governmental organizations like “Sahabat Alam Malaysia”, Federation of Malaysian Consumers Association (CAP) and many others have raised issues relating to environmental pollution, health hazards, product safety, discrimination against the handicapped, and drug abuse (Md Zabid and Saadiatul Ibrahim, 2002).

As stated in Md Zabid and Saadiatul Ibrahim’s (2002) article regarding CSR in Malaysia, research studies were mostly on corporate social involvement, social reporting and social performance. Whereas Nejati and Azlan Amran (2009) are focusing on identifying the motivation for CSR practice where most companies of the research mentioned that they were not receiving any benefits for practicing CSR activities. Malaysian SMEs are practicing CSR because of their own benefits and values, religious thoughts, and pressure and encouragement from stakeholders.

A report of Norwegian Web Site on 20 May 2010 (http://www.norway.org.my/News_and_events/Business/Bedriftenes-Samfunnsansvar/) revealed that “the focus on CSR in Malaysia has increased in recent years, in line with international trends”. Before hand there is a guide book on CSR framework in Malaysia titled The Silver

Book produced in September 2006. It is containing guidelines for Government Linked Companies (GLSs). It emphasizes that all activity occurs on a voluntary basis.

The above mentioned guidelines have described CSR as the activities that safeguard the environment, communities, employees, shareholders and other affected parties' interests as an integral part of the operation (Norway – Official Site in Malaysia, 20 May 2010). As reported in a CSR survey conducted by The Malaysian Institute of Management (MIM CSR Survey 2009, <http://www.mim.org.my>), 85% to 90% of multinational companies, large corporate companies and GLCs engage in CSR activities.

Among CSR activities in Malaysia, market-oriented CSR activities have been given increasing awareness among companies in Malaysia as consumers have become more aware of how business activities affect society and the environment (Norway – Official Site in Malaysia, 20 May 2010). In conjunction with the activities, Global Compact Network Malaysia (GCNM) has worked to promote the UNGC's Ten Principles.

As in the guideline of GCNM (JCI Malaysia, 2010), of which in the context of environment, Principle 7 has stated that “business should support a precautionary approach to environment challenges; whereas Principle 8 has emphasized undertaking initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility and Principle 9 has meant to encourage the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies. Of guidelines and activities discussed, there is no indications and suggestions of sufficient tools to carry out those activities. It is rarely any discussions raised regarding tools and the use of communication in the Malaysian CSR.

As stated in Goi and Yong (2009), there are numbers of CSR researches conducted in Malaysia, but mostly concerning CSR and management, which are related to executives and management attitudes towards CSR (Rashid and Ibrahim, 2002; cited in Goi and Yong, 2009). Somehow their research has been the most recent one that raised the relationship between CSR and PR in Malaysia. Goi and Yong (2009) has successfully mapped the relationship between CSR and PR through foreign research findings. As cited in Goi and Yong (2009): Hooghiemstra (2000), and Golob and Barlett (2007) have offered corporate communication as a model for organization to use CSR reporting as a strategy to legitimate their activities. Grunig and Hunt (1984), and Golob and Barlett (2007) have suggested that PR is the practice of social responsibility and that social responsibility has become a major reason for companies to employ communicators. Argenti (2007) includes CSR as a part of corporate communication or PR function. Somehow as in the conclusion of Goi and Yong (2009), there is not much research concentrate on PR and CSR or PR contributions to CSR.

Discussion

Ideally CSR is a model of business with built-in and corporate regulated policy focused on public interest and profit. It is about constructing a communicative relationship between corporate and its responsibility through activities relevant to its environment, communities, employees, stakeholders and all public sphere.

This paper is to examine CSR as above; analyzing the conduct of an international brand of hand phone company from the aspect of CSR and communication in global warming and environmental issue; and, to determine CSR based on its relationship with PR as a tool of communication and marketing which would create an engagement between the public and the brand. This paper is therefore to identify the overall coverage of 3P's (people, planet and profit) in CSR.

This paper is utilizing documentary research and interview to entail information for the objectives stated. The subject of this research is an international brand of hand phone company in the country, NOKIA Corporation originated from Finland specializing in Technology Hardware and Equipment.

Nokia Corporation

Nokia does not start up as a mobile communications company but it has begun with roots in paper, rubber, and cables and has become a powerful industrial conglomerate in over 100 years (<http://www.nokia.com/about-nokia/company/story-of-nokia/nokias-first-century>). In year 1968 – 1991, Nokia Corporation has been positioned for a pioneering role in the early evolution of mobile communications. The use of mobile phone has been booming since year 1992 – 1999, Nokia makes the sector its core business. It has been one of the world leaders by the turn of millennium year. As up to date, Nokia sells its billionth mobile phone as the third generation of mobile technology emerges (<http://www.nokia.com/about-nokia/company/story-of-nokia>).

CSR of Nokia

As Nokia Corporation steps into millennium year, it has been registered with UNGC (http://www.unglobalcompact.org/participants/search?commit=Search&keyword=nokia&joined_after=&joined_before=&business_type=all§or_id=all&cop_status=all&organization_type_id=&commit=Search) as a participant on 25 May 2001. Being a world leader of mobile devices, Nokia aims to be a leading company in environmental performance. As stated in Nokia Web Site (<http://www.nokia.com/environment/strategy-and-reports/environmental-strategy/climate-strategy>), “achieving environmental leadership means minimizing our own environmental footprint. With the expansion of mobile communications, this is all the more important. We

strive to reduce the environmental impact of our products, solutions, and operations. We also collaborate with our suppliers to improve the environmental performance of our supply chain”.

Based on the environmental strategy mentioned, Nokia has come up with the idea of environmental work based on life cycle thinking, beginning with the extraction of raw materials and ending with recycling, treatment of waste, and recovery of used materials. The environment efforts of Nokia therefore focus on four broad issues, which are substance management, energy efficiency, take back and recycling; and, promoting sustainability through services and software.

Nokia has tackled the global warming issue particularly under the efforts of energy efficiency. It is declared under its own web site that “Nokia is not an energy intensive company and most of the carbon dioxide emissions take place either in component manufacturing by our suppliers or in the use phase of our products”. Therefore Nokia has shown its leadership by reducing carbon dioxide footprint, creating public especially consumer awareness on the issue and also influencing other industries to make full use of the potential of ICT and mobility in reducing emissions (<http://www.nokia.com/environment/strategy-and-reports/environmental-strategy/climate-strategy>). The emphasis on reducing global warming issue would be found on its effort in reducing carbon dioxide emissions with clever use of mobile technologies in October 2009 (for the whole details of Nokia case studies on environmental issues, refer www.nokia.com).

CSR of Nokia in Malaysia

Nokia is not a participant of GCNM but UNGC since 25 May 2001. Due to its worldwide mobile devices business, it carries its philanthropic activities all over the world. Somehow different countries have different needs and therefore Nokia will focus on those different societal needs, for instance, re-forestations projects in Indonesia; elephant conservation and protection in Thailand; watershed (water sustainability), re-habilitations and protection in Philippines; environmental and sustainability education projects in Singapore and Malaysia (online interview with a Nokia representative of Singapore and Malaysia, 13 August 2010).

Nokia Malaysia is running CSR activities based on the philanthropy of Nokia Corporation perusal. It is spinning around its environmental strategy, substance management and climate strategy as the corporation’s social responsibility to the country. Nokia Malaysia is promoting its Nokia Kiosk with the slogan “Recycle a phone, adopt a tree” (in Indonesia) with its green philanthropy.

The latest event of Nokia Malaysia is to run a co-PR campaign titled *EConnet* with a local educational institution Tunku Abdul Rahman College (TARC) from 3rd to 5th August 2010, with the slogan *Talking Green*. On one hand TARC stands as a non-profit organization, is creating awareness especially among students and in conjunction with Nokia Malaysia’s

environmental and sustainability education project, they come to the same purpose of “returning back to the society and environment”, especially for Nokia, what has been taken out for the business economics activities. Instead of TARC and Nokia Malaysia, DiGi Telecommunications Sdn. Bhd., which is a local mobile communications company, has also been a participant of GCNM, has participated in the event organized by TARC.

Online Interview with Nokia Malaysia

An online interview is conducted with a local representative of Nokia regarding view of CSR. “CSR is about returning back to the society and environment what has been taken out for the business economics activities”. It is due to a more affluent and knowledgeable consumers, organizations are expected to do so and ignoring this will be doing so with risk to the organization acceptance by the society or consumers.

On a scale of one to ten, CSR has been rated as ten for reputation building through CSR. The importance of CSR has been highlighted with the case of BP Gulf oil spill and BP share-price has been halved. The reflection of how a ruined reputation through a behavior could do to a company. It is therefore believed that a good CSR rating does help in increasing the organization bottom-line. A good CSR rating also attract people to join the organization that is seen a responsible company. However, there is a difference between having a top CSR rating and the actual performance of the organization in its handling of the environment where it operates.

As in the view of interviewee, it is important to practice CSR as leadership means responsibility. Therefore Nokia Malaysia includes sustainability (CSR) consideration in all they do from creating sustainable products to solutions that enable people to improve their livelihoods, make environmentally conscious choices, to minimizing ecological and carbon dioxide footprint.

As stated in the interview, “business benefits and improving our sustainability go hand in hand. We see real business opportunities that mobile technology can offer in driving environmental and social improvements and continue to pursue these opportunities in all our operations around the world”. It is emphasized about Nokia’s vision that “a world where everyone being connected contributes to sustainable development”, and its effort in the campaign conducted in the college, “recycle a phone, adopt a tree”.

Conclusion

Referring to the Global strategic plan for CP proposed by Valor (2007), the CSR conduct of Nokia Corporation in Malaysia, together with a non-profit educational institution, and a local mobile service provider shall be assimilated into the strategic plan as below:

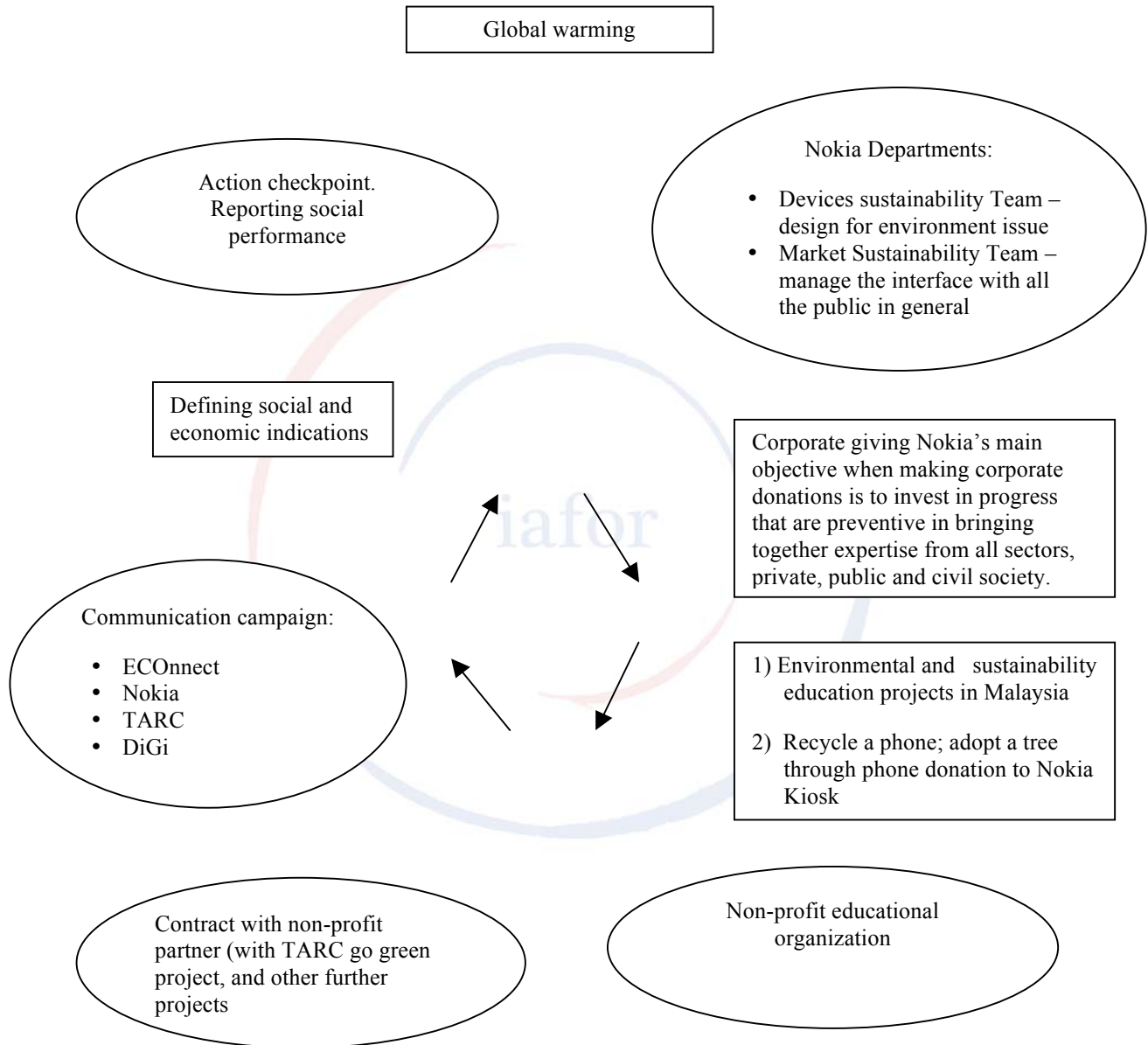


Figure 3: Strategic plan for CP of Nokia Malaysia, referring global strategic plan of Valor (2007)

It is highlighted that CSR has been conducted strategically and operationally in the country based on the global strategic plan suggested by Valor (2007). Though Malaysia has been analyzed with the conduct of strategic plan for CP, it has been criticized that it has completely lost its way as far as the marketing strategy is concerned (<http://fortheplanet.wordpress.com/2007/03/11/marketing-strategy-nokia-still-not-learning/>). Nokia, has also been described as “idea jump on environment bandwagon by the warmist (<http://www.thewarmist.com/2010/01/nokia-idea-jump-on-environment.html>).

Whatever the critics and conduct, examining into the relationship is essential here. When Mohamed Zairi (2000) describes triple bottom line as finance, environment and society, it is now in placed with 3P's in this new era as profit, planet and people. Instead of 4P's in marketing mix, 3P's is a reflection of new marketing mix to be considered and counted.

If CSR has been counting on triple bottom line, which is now in place with 3P's, as a new marketing mix, adding on the role of communication like PR campaign in connecting the 3P's, the intersection of 3P's would be an area of communication that contributes the connection, be it IMC, marketing communication or just communication alone. Finally it is concluded that communication is needed in CSR but it has not been much discussed in Malaysia.

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**Core and Periphery in Sports News: An Application of World System Theory to
Media Coverage of 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa**

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Core and Periphery in Sports News: An Application of World System Theory to Media Coverage of 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa

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INTRODUCTION

The FIFA World Cup is one of the biggest sports events in the world. All eyes are focused on everything that happens among the participating countries, especially sports media. However, all participants are not evenly covered by such media since most people are interested in some major participants such as Brazil, Argentina, England, Italy, Germany, Portugal, etc., which consist of star players and a coach. According to Wallerstein's world system theory (1974, 1976, 1996), countries in the world belong to three strata—core, semi-periphery, and periphery - based on their political and economic power. In international news, the core countries have been covered more easily and frequently than the countries in the other two zones. In other words, the whole world has a systematized hierarchy.

How about sports news? This study assumes that not only the political and economic power of a country are expected to influence media coverage, but the significance of a country in a particular sport also predicts how prominently the country is covered. For example, it is without question that Brazil, a country famous for soccer, would be covered prominently; however, we expect that the US, unrecognized as one of the countries that excel in soccer, also receives considerable coverage due to its political and economic power. Moreover, Côte d'Ivoire, having star players even though it's one of the less developed countries, would be prominently covered as much as some of the developed countries.

Therefore, this study examines how news media differently covered the countries that participated in the 2010 World Cup South Africa, based on Wallerstein's world system theory.

LITERATURE REVIEW

World System Theory

Wallerstein proposed the world system theory to extend the dependency theory because dependency theory's idea of two levels is so simple (Wallerstein, 1974, 1979, 1996). Dependency theory consists of the power hierarchy between the core and the periphery. This means that "the core" which is vigorous and rich dominates "the periphery" which is weak and poor. The developed countries play a role as the center of a present system while the less-developed countries play a role in the periphery. Modern world system exhibits the parts consisted of the discernible communication and behavioral rules among the countries through the capitalist/market logic (Chang, 1998).

According to the world system theory, the core-periphery hierarchy has understood the social structures and stratification of countries. Core countries (the United States, Europe, and Japan) have greater economic and political/military power than peripheral countries (most countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America). In between is a group of countries (the semi-periphery) which has an intermediate level of power. These

countries have intermediate degree of development and dimension (Brazil, Mexico, India, Taiwan, Korea). Gradually, the core-periphery hierarchy became stable, and most of the countries maintained a relative status. But there exist a few cases of upward and downward mobility within the structure. Maybe the United States is the most dramatic example of the upward economic degree (Chase-Dunn, Kawano & Brewer, 2000).

Wallerstein (1976) characterized that on the political side. Core countries tend to pursue a class and dominate other countries to stay predominant, but because the skill is developing constantly, it is temporary and possible to change.

On the economic side, he emphasized the importance of economic labor distribution in basic exchange of food except for luxury. However, Schneider (1977) and other anthropologists (Frank & Gills, 1993) used importantly the exchange of luxury. So, they extended the economic side in world system. Chase-Dunn & Hall (1993) extended it further and used communication significantly in trade, welfare, and intermarriage.

Also, Strang (1990) included the parts developed by global culture or the process of world culture formation (Cha, 1991, McNeely, 1993) that scholars have accepted in the political side. And Firebaugh (1992) used a negative impact of GNP per nation during a year and the negative coefficient of the measure of investment dependence (PEN) in the economical side. In addition, he emphasized the common denominator of investment rating through the stock measures.

Meanwhile, Chase-Dunn, Kawano & Brewer (2000) also used GDP for searching the worldwide economic indicators. They mentioned that GDP is a great indicator for searching the economic output and the degree of the trade.

The standard of international coverage and the sports journalism

After World War II, since 1953, empirical and positive studies about news flow appeared. In 1960, Schramm (1964) published an international news flow. He insisted that the interest about international news is led by four countries—the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and France—and news flowed from developed countries to developing countries. Also, the four powerful countries are the stronghold of news agencies. Although they experienced difficulties, the four powerful countries have dominated the international news flow, and they pointed out that there is a problem with little news coming from less powerful countries while there are plenty of news from powerful countries. Especially, Schramm (1964) concluded that the news flow among the countries has affected an institution's ownership such as news agency, an ownership of long-distance correspondence facilities, a fortune of developed countries, and the concentration of technologies. These studies are focused empirically and positively that international news flows to small states from powerful countries unilaterally, and revealed that there are four news agencies in the center of the flow. Determinants of international news are divided into national factors, cultural/geographical proximity, deviance and social significance through the worthiness of news. And writing and presenting of international news is affected by a personal psychological factor such as the journalists' personal taste, and an organizational factor like rules of a company (Chu, 2009). For example, Wanta, Golan, & Lee (2004) researched the relation of the news setting and international news through the impact of media about the public awareness of international news. So, they found that the

closer the distance between the news and the country relevant to it are geographically, or the more recent the news is, the more coverage the international news will get from the media.

Wu (2000) explained the distinction of two approaches—"real world" and "news world." First, journalists decide the worthiness of an event to be told as news. Based on the decision, it will be focused on various gatekeeping processes consisting of a coverage, editing, and flow. Second, in a wider approach, it explained the relation among variables with the premise that international news flow reflects political, economic, social, and cultural global system.

With the analysis of 38 countries' international news, that study showed general international determinants. First, they are geographical dimension, population, and economic power per nation. Second, there are physical dimension and a quantity of political, economic, and cultural exchange among the countries. Third, it is separated by an international agency, and the press affected the writing and flow of news after analyzing what factor is decisive. According to his study, the most important factor to determine the quantity of international news coverage is the quantity of trade among countries. In addition, he revealed that the ownership of the international agency and the existence of the agency's branches or correspondents are important in the choice of international news. Also, he proved partially the determination of factors such as the dimension of territory and population and geographical proximity. In addition, he proved that languages and cultural homogeneity and similarity are not determinants of international news. It is difficult to generalize, but it is possible to explain that an economic trade is affected by global communication and not ideological conflict (Park & Lee, 2001).

Similarly, sports coverage is a kind of news, and news must be based on the truth. Of course, it remains a problem which is true and which is not. But we should deal with an event that really happened as much as possible. And it emphasized that we should not be informed about wrong news for certain reasons and purposes (Lee, 1993). However, in the case of sports news, sport itself has a feature that prefers sensibility over rationality. Fans accept easily this situation without reluctance. It especially exists in an international event like the Olympics or the World Cup because everyone wants his own national team to win (Kim, 2003).

Recently, studies about the importance of relation between a sport, a nation, and national identity appeared (Cronin, 1999; Cronin & Mayall, 1998; Hargreaves, 2000; Bairner, 2001; Porter & Smith, 2004; Silk, Andrews & Cole, 2005). Allison (2000) insisted that a nation's dimension is important in sport (Bairner, 2009). Sport is a culture and an ideology, and it plays a certain role in the power relation among countries. In other words, sport itself has politics (Park, 2007).

The study dealt with the World Cup, one of the biggest sports events in the world. The World Cup holds games for 16 days, which is longer than the Olympics. It is held within a month. It's a festival of a global village. The World Cup has played a role of being a bridge among nations in a situation of war or hostile relation. For example, the United States started building a better relationship with Iran despite severed economic relations.

Although the World Cup is a single event, 204 countries are involved in FIFA and 250,000,000 players participate in the games. It is more than the UN. This is presumed given that the soccer clubs in the world are 600,000, and the number of teams is 4,100,000 (Chung, 2008).

Since 1990, the FIFA has developed mega sports events through media around the

world. The appearance of TV and a change of digital age especially formed an intimate relation, and it resulted to the core of sports marketing. The development and diffusion of media cause not only a lot of ripple effects in the economic, social, and cultural situation, but it also led to the expansion of viewers and increase in program ratings. It brings about a new economic possibility.

A political and economic power of the country is important to make international news. So, the concept like a developed/developing country or a powerful country is an important factor for a sport event to be covered as international news. And news dealing with sports such as soccer has a cultural function, and it affects the economic and diplomatic situation among countries. Therefore, this study examines how news media differently covered the countries that participated in the 2010 South Africa World Cup soccer games, based on Wallenstein's world system theory. According to world system theory, countries in the world belong to three strata—core, semi-periphery, and periphery. And we proposed related research questions and hypotheses which are found below.

RQ1: How are participants in 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa classified in terms of World System Perspective and what would the feature of each cluster be like?

H1: There is the difference in prominence between media coverage of core countries and other countries.

H1-1(Frequency): Participants in the core zone are often covered in 2010 FIFA World Cup News over the others.

H1-2(Volume): The amount of words in the news about participants in the core zone is bigger than the amount of words in the news about participants in the other zones.

2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa and News

The FIFA provides the FIFA's history, structure, rules, information about the soccer player and news about enrolled countries through the homepage, FIFA.com, and through good spots marketing. In addition, it provides World Cup news in real time during the World Cup season. So, it provides World Cup news to a world press organization and agencies. Also it received news from them. As a result, this site is very efficient.

Chang (1998) examined based on the world system theory that all countries don't cover news fairly with the WTO and Reuters. Most countries participate in the WTO, making access to each country's position and statements on the trade issues readily available to representatives of the news media, including Reuters. Also, equal time, various briefings, news conferences, group meetings, and bilateral negotiations are held daily, and sideline exchanges among countries go on regularly. So, he examined it through the WTO and Reuters. In addition, Reuters, which is one of the news agencies based in London, spreads out news around the world by updating news daily. As a result, there are more news about core countries than semi-periphery or periphery countries. And when semi-periphery countries are involved in core countries, the frequency of news is increased. And periphery countries' news becomes famous when an event affects human life drastically, such as an occurrence of a natural

disaster. When the international communication network involves just a few countries, the peripheral ones are largely out of the loop. In other words, if a country is more peripheral, the quantity of news coverage is lower. So, in this situation, news is more deviant, and the quantity of news coverage is higher.

Similarly, this study examines how news media differently covered the countries that participated in the 2010 South Africa World Cup soccer games, based on Wallenstein's world system theory with World Cup news provided by FIFA.com. The FIFA.com is fair and has an efficient study sample for collecting World Cup news. Also, it can show how the quantity of World Cup news and significance and their interaction differently appear.

If we presumed through a previous study, we would assume that the number of core countries' news coverage is high without emphasizing on soccer games itself. Semi-periphery and periphery countries' news should emphasize soccer games, so their news coverage will increase, because the interest of the semi-periphery or periphery is lower than the core. Therefore, we proposed the research questions and hypotheses mentioned below.

RQ2: Is there the correlation between the soccer significance and the prominence (frequency and volume), of participants in each cluster?

METHODOLOGY

To confirm the research questions and hypotheses proposed above, this study initiated a two-step cluster analysis, a content analysis, and an independent t-Test to confirm Question 1 and Hypothesis 1. Then it conducts a correlation analysis to confirm Question 2.

Secondary Data Analysis

a. Classification of Participants in the 2010 FIFA World Cup

This study classifies participating national teams through three international credible indexes: '*Global Peace Index* (GPI)' reported by '*Economist Intelligence Unit*', '*Global Competitiveness Index* (GCI)' reported by '*World Economic Forum*' and '*CIA World Factbook*' (see table 1). These refer to the military force, the economic power, and the diplomatic power of each participant. According to previous studies on World System Theory (Wallerstein, 1974, 1979, 1996; Chase-Dunn, Kawano, & Brewer, 2000), countries in the world belong to three strata: core, semi-periphery, and periphery through mainly political and economic standards. Specifically, the military force is operationalized by two items: Military capability/sophistication and export of major conventional weapons per 100,000 people of GPI. The economic power is operationalized by the overall points of GCI, and diplomatic power is operated by one item: International Organization Participation of CIA World Factbook. All secondary data are up-to-date and gathered before the beginning of the 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa.

Table 1. Secondary data for classification

Index	Indicator
Global Competitiveness Index ^a (Economic Power)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Institutions · Infrastructure · Macroeconomic environment · Health and primary education · Higher education and training · Goods market efficiency · Labor market efficiency · Financial market development · Technological readiness · Market size · Business sophistication · Innovation
Global Peace Index ^b (Military Force)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military capability/sophistication · Export of major conventional weapons per 100,000 people
CIA World Factbook ^c (Diplomatic Power)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · International Organization Participation

*Source:

a. <http://www.weforum.org/en/initiatives/gcp/Global%20Competitiveness%20Report/index.htm>

b. <http://www.visionofhumanity.org/gpi-data/#/2010/scor>

c. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>

b. Soccer Significance: ‘*The value of teams in World Cup 2010*’

Soccer Significance refers to the financial value of each participant. The athletic significance of each participant is operationally defined as the sum of the 25 players’ value evaluated by ‘*FutebolFinance*,’ a marketing organization in Portugal (see table 2). According to this agency, the worth of each player was assessed by “consulting several FIFA officials and agencies, and diverse business of scouting.” This data consisted of not only the sum of the players’ salary, but also other economic values such as their transfer fee. This was reported on December 7, 2009.

Table 2. Secondary data for Soccer Significance

Group A		Group B		Group C		Group D	
South Africa	35 M €	Argentina	390 M €	England	440 M €	Germany	305 M €
Mexico	95 M €	Nigeria	115 M €	USA	55 M €	Australia	40 M €
Uruguay	145 M €	South Korea	50 M €	Algeria	55 M €	Serbia	185 M €
France	450 M €	Greece	100 M €	Slovenia	45 M €	Ghana	115 M €
Group E		Group F		Group G		Group H	
Netherlands	280 M €	Italy	400 M €	Brazil	515 M €	Spain	565 M €
Denmark	85 M €	Paraguay	90 M €	North Korea	15 M €	Switzerland	115 M €
Japan	70 M €	New Zealand	15 M €	Ivory Coast	180 M €	Honduras	45 M €
Cameroon	140 M €	Slovakia	70 M €	Portugal	340 M €	Chile	85 M €

*Source: <http://www.futebolfinance.com/en/o-valor-das-seleccoes-no-mundial-fifa-2010>

Content Analysis: The prominence of 2010 FIFA World Cup News

This study employs a content variable—the prominence of “Latest News” at the official site of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Prominence refers to how the 32 participating countries were prioritized in the reports of the “Latest News” section. The methods to quantify prominence have been reported in various studies. According to Hilgartner and Bosk (1988), the prominence of a participant in newspapers or magazines is evaluated by three dimensions: a) the area of the related issues b) the

frequency of the related issues 3) the amount of words used in the related issues. This study took samples from the said section before round 16 of the group match in order to analyze the standing of the teams. The sampling period specifically occurred between June 11 and June 25. Since all participants successively played three games in this period, they were under equal condition to be covered by “Latest News.” Accordingly, this study selected 787 issues directly related to the participants (the national team, coach, players, etc.) out of 1,143 and calculated the number of the related issues and the amount of words used in the issues concerning each participant. This study, however, does not calculate the area of the related issue since it cannot be calculated correctly.

RESULT

The composition and the characteristics of each cluster

Research Question 1 (RQ1) asks this question: How are the participants in the 2010 FIFA World Cup classified based on the World System perspective? To solve this question, this study conducted a two-step cluster analysis (see table 3). First, this study classified all participants based on the World System categories of core, semi-periphery, and periphery. For the categorical variable, three is given as a score to each participant in the core group, two to each participant in the semi-periphery category, and one to each participant in the periphery group. The study also employed the mean of points for military capability/sophistication and export of major conventional weapons per 100,000 people. Included as well were the overall points given by GCI and the number of International Organization Participation points of each country identifying the military force, the economic power, and diplomatic power as the continuous variables.

Table 3. The composition of each cluster

	Core	Semi-Periphery	Periphery	Total	
				N	%
Cluster 1 ^a	13	5		18	56.3
Cluster 2 ^b			14	14	43.8

a. Core & Semi-Periphery: Brazil, Spain, Portugal, Netherland, Italy, Germany, Argentina, England, France, United States, Mexico, Australia, Swiss, Denmark, Japan, Korea Republic, New Zealand, South Africa(FIFA World Raking Rank-order).

b. Periphery: Greece, Serbia, Uruguay, Chile, Cameroon, Nigeria, Slovenia, Côte d'Ivoire(Ivory coast), Algeria, Paraguay, Ghana, Slovak Republic, Honduras(FIFA World Raking Rank-order).

To get the result for the two-step cluster analysis, participants were classified into two clusters. Cluster 1 consisted of 18 countries; all belong to the core group and the semi-periphery group based on the description given in the world system category. The rest of the countries, in the peripheral group, fall under Cluster 2. To confirm the results, this study should statistically verify the difference between the two clusters in three areas. In the result of t-Test in Table 4, there are statistically significant differences in military force ($t=2.83$, $df=30$, $p<.01$), economic power ($t=4.24$, $df=30$, $p<.001$), and diplomatic power ($t=4.12$, $df=30$, $p<.001$). Specifically, the military force points of Cluster 1 is 3.33 while that of Cluster 2 is 2.54. The economic power

points of Cluster 1 is 4.90 and that of Cluster 2 is 3.62. Finally the diplomatic power points of Cluster 1 is 71.83 and that of Cluster 2 is 56.43. This study therefore names Cluster 1 as relatively dominant in all factors.

Table 4. The difference in the Military Force, Economic Power, and Diplomatic Power

	Military Power				Economic Power				Diplomatic Power			
	M	SD	df	t	M	SD	df	t	M	SD	df	t
Core (n=18)	2.56	.71	30	3.71**	4.90	.55	30	4.24***	71.83	9.04	30	4.12***
Periphery (n=13)	1.77	.40			3.62	1.12			56.43	12.12		

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

The differences in the news prominence between the core and the periphery

Hypothesis 1 investigated the difference in the prominence of a participant in the section “Latest News” of the 2010 FIFA World Cup site. To verify this hypothesis, this study conducted the independent t-Test. Table 5 showed the result of such analysis. There was statistically significant difference in the prominence as shown by the following formulae: frequency ($t=3.84$, $df=29$, $p<.01$) and volume ($t=2.83$, $df=29$, $p<.01$) between the core and the periphery. Specifically, the average frequency involving core countries was 29.78 times while that of the periphery was only 19.33 times. The average volume of issues pertaining to core countries was 136663.33 words while those of peripheral countries were 8652.77 words on average. Therefore, the participants in the core zone tend to be prominently covered by the “Latest News” in the aforementioned site.

Table 5. The difference in the news prominence between the Core and the Periphery

	Frequency				Volume			
	M	SD	df	t	M	SD	df	t
Core (n=18)	29.78	9.38	29	3.84**	136663.33	4991.32	29	3.41**
Periphery (n=13)	19.31	3.32			8652.77	2018.67		

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

* North Korea is exempted from this analysis due to the singularity.

The correlation between prominence and soccer significance in each group

Research Question 2 (RQ2) investigated the correlation between prominence and soccer significance in each group. To come up with data this study conducted a correlation analysis. In the core zone, frequency and soccer significance ($r=.294$, $p>.05$) and volume and soccer significance ($r=.255$, $p>.05$) have demonstrated that they do not have any significant correlation statistically, whereas in the periphery zone, frequency and soccer significance ($r=.652$, $p<.05$) and volume and soccer significance ($r=.632$,

$p < .05$) have statistically significant correlations (see table 6). In other words, the higher the soccer significance is, the higher the prominence is among participants in the periphery zone. The same cannot be said among the participants in the core zone.

Table 6. The correlation between the prominence and soccer significance

Soccer Significance	Frequency	Volume
Total (N=31)	.470**	.432*
Core (N=18)	.294	.255
Periphery (N=13)	.652*	.632*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

All the results of this study were represented in Figure 1 and Figure 2. Figure 1 showed a scatter diagram about the frequency of media coverage for all the participants of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Figure 2 showed a scatter diagram about the volume of the media coverage for all participants. These figures demonstrated that participants in the core zone were covered by 2010 World Cup's "Latest News" more often than participants in the periphery zone regardless of soccer significance. On the other hand, the periphery participants were covered as often as those in the core zone with higher level of soccer significance. For example, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa were prominently covered although their soccer significances were lower than everyone else's in the periphery zone. In addition, Ghana, Uruguay, and Côte d'Ivoire were covered more than the others in same zone, as well as some participants in the core zone, since their soccer significances were higher.

DISCUSSION

This study focused on examining how the world system perspective applies to media coverage in relation to the issues published in the "Latest News" of the official 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa website.

To sum up the results, all participants in the 2010 FIFA World Cup were first classified by the world system perspective into two clusters: core and periphery. The first cluster consists of countries in the core and semi-periphery zone while the second cluster represents the countries in the periphery zone (Wallerstein, 1974, 1979, 1996; Chase-Dunn, Kawano, & Brewer, 2000).

Between the core and the periphery, there was a difference in prominence in the section of "Latest News." Participants in the core zone got more coverage than those in the periphery zone.

Participants in the core zone were prominently covered regardless of their soccer significance, whereas higher soccer significance among participants in the periphery zone meant more coverage for those participants.

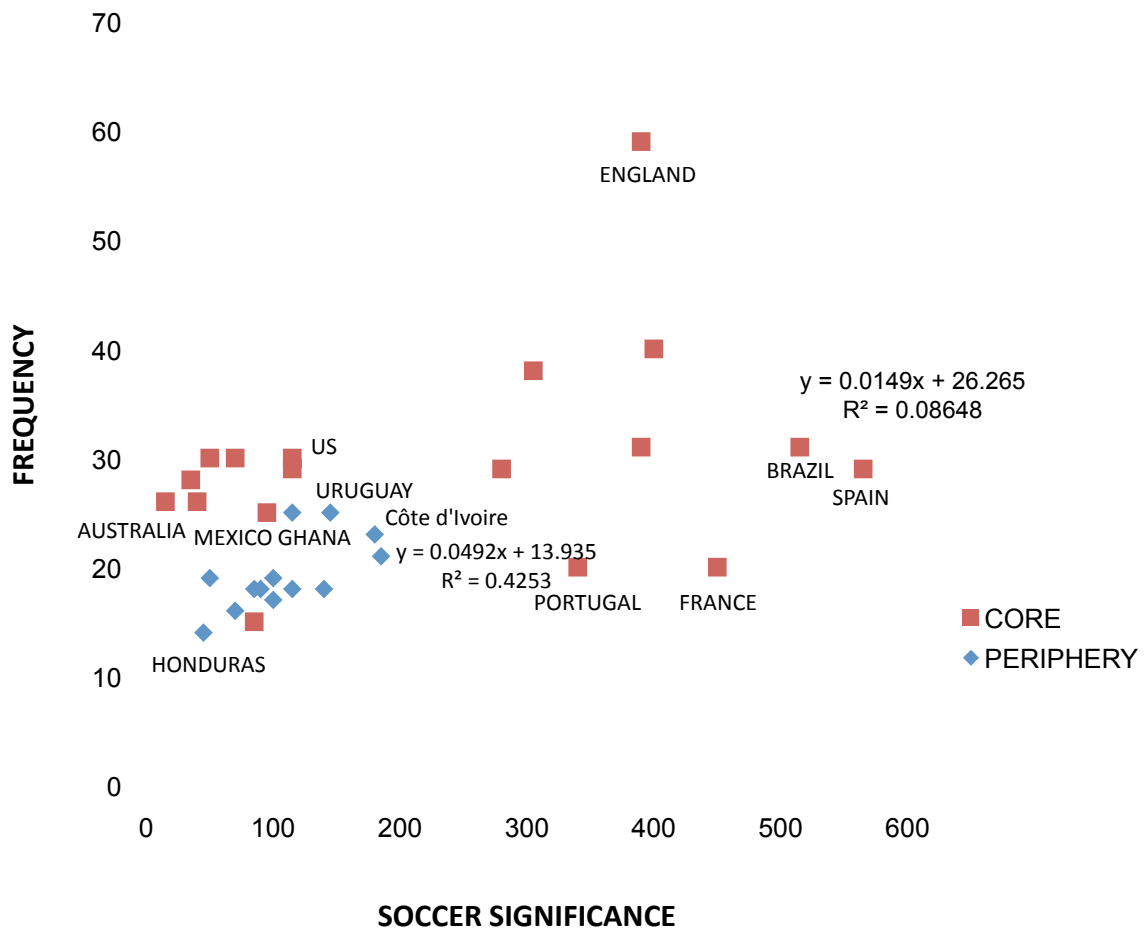
These results can be discussed from the perspectives of the different participants in the core and periphery group. World system perspective is applied to sports media coverage along with the international media coverage, which have been addressed by

Chang (1988) who mentioned in a study that countries in the core zone of the world system have more chances to make it in the news than countries in the two other zones. This assumption is proven by this study once more.

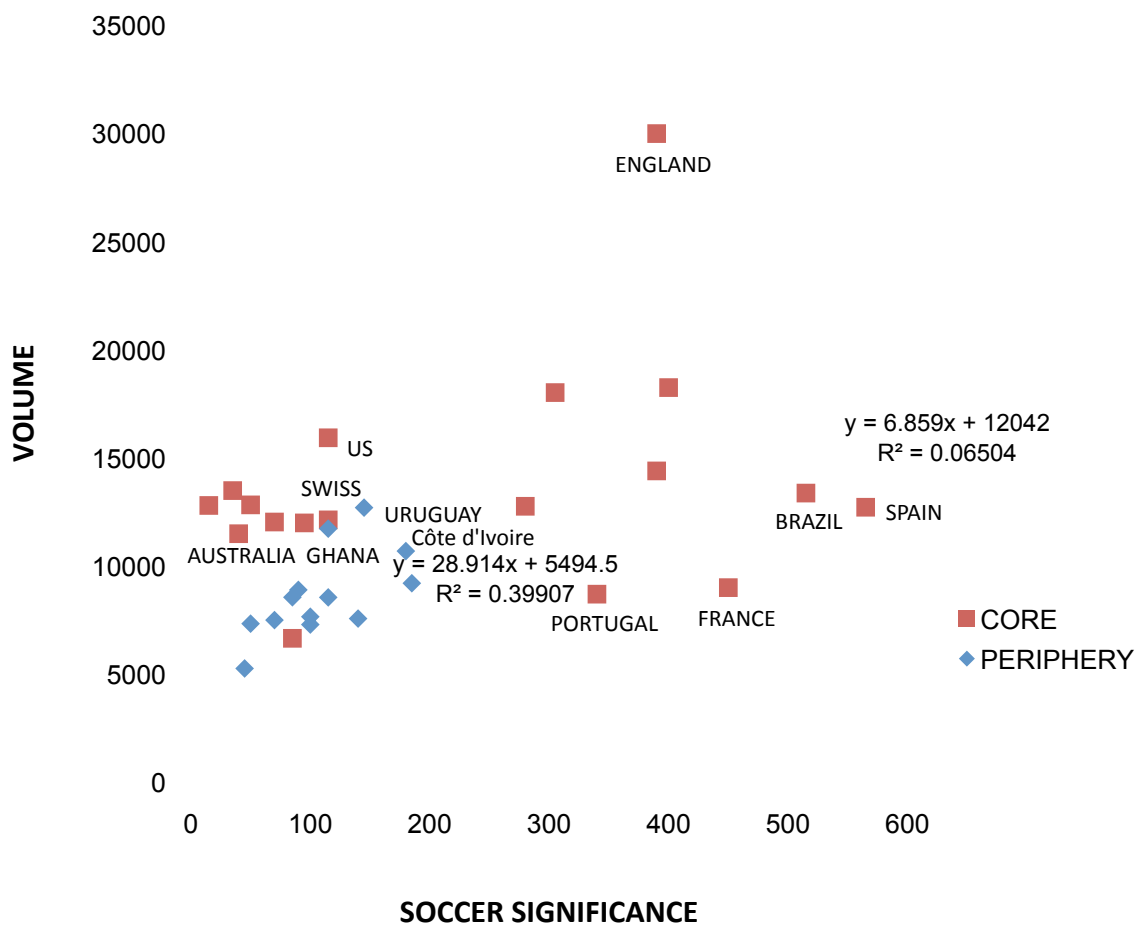
Participants in the periphery zone need other variables to be recognized. As previously mentioned, this study confirmed that if a participant in the periphery zone has higher soccer significance, such participant is given importance by the sports media.

A rare attempt has been made to find determinants of sports news coverage. By such aim, this study tries to apply the world system theory to media coverage of sports events. This effort will expand the research boundary of international communication and sports journalism.





<Figure 1>



<Figure 2>

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Development of Stereotypes in Press

Linguistic analysis of political texts on Georgia in U.S. media

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Abstract

This paper studies development of stereotypes in Press through an analysis of English language media about Georgia. It is a longitudinal study. It studies how political events that took place in Georgia have been covered by the media since 2006. The paper focuses mainly on two time periods 2006-2007 and August 2008-2009. A major chunk of the paper analyses how 2008 August events in Georgia were covered by the English language media and its interrelation with the actual situation. The articles (news analysis, features, opinion pieces) are mainly discussed in terms of subjectivity and pragmatic intention of media texts. It is of major significance how the semantic macrostructure and theme of the articles are revealed in 'news schemata,' the structure and linguistic units of the text. Overall, the paper aims at defining what political and cultural aspects affect news coverage on Georgia as it is part of a broader political picture.

Introduction

Media attention to Georgia grew significantly since 2003 Rose Revolution , which upheld the world opinion that this small, post-soviet country in the Caucasus cherished democracy in the part of the world that was long known for its Communist past and authoritarian, autocratic regime.

However, further developments have shown signs of a constant battle between the past and the future, especially, from its bullying neighbor Russia. As a legacy from the Soviet policy Georgia inherited pro-Russian enclaves Abkhazia and South Ossetia. This resulted in ethnic cleansing of Georgians in 1990s and Georgia lost a significant part of its territory. The issue of separatist republics was effectively manipulated by the Russian authorities against Georgia several times, however, a recent outbreak in August 2008 became widely known in the media as Russia-Georgia war in contrast with the earlier hidden tension.

The first part of the paper examines articles published in the New York Times for a period of twelve months August 2008-2009 and focuses on how Russia- Georgia war was interpreted. To analyze the data qualitative methods were employed, specifically coding and enumeration.

The second part of the paper serves to compare and describe media coverage of news from Georgia in the years 2006-2007. This helps to depict a broader picture how media has covered news from Georgia, whether there is a sign of subjectivity and changes in the attitude.

The analysis should be interesting for linguists, media scholars as well as political scientists. On the context level, we deal with the semantic macrostructure of articles, theme while on the content level, news schemata, actual structure and language use. The use of attributes, metaphors and epithets often demonstrate subjectivity in articles as well. It is significant to have a look at semiotic and deictic signs illustrated in the articles, which might lead us to elaborate more on pragmatic intentions of authors.

Method

In order to gather the empirical data a method of random sampling was used. Overall, 50 articles were analyzed, 30 articles within a period of 2008-2009 and 20 articles within a period of 2006-2007. For data analysis qualitative methods were used: segmenting, coding and enumeration. The articles were also analyzed from a linguistic point of view in terms of semantics and pragmatics on a content level. The major focus was to see whether the given media text presented an opt material for interpretation and the selected segments carried some implications in the process of analyzing the context. For this purpose, segmenting and coding were employed to identify category names and descriptive words while searching for the meaning behind them. To define how frequently words or coded categories appeared in the data, enumeration was applied, “enumeration helps qualitative researchers communicate concepts such as ‘amount’ or ‘frequency’ when writing up the results.” (Johnson B. & Christensen L . , 2008, p. 541). Determining frequencies of words and ideas helped to see the importance of these ideas and further decode the text.

Teun A. Van Dijk also advocated qualitative methods to analyze news, the text and the context (Van Dijk, 1988). By employing coding, it was easy to see ‘relevance’ in the news on Georgia. As Van Dijk (1985) highlighted in his article Structures of News in Press, the news has a ‘relevance structure’ which indicates which segment or topic is most important in the text.

This study presents only a modest attempt to analyze how the image of Georgia have been developed within the English language media outlets, and its limitations should also be considered in terms of a small sample size.

Major findings

The analysis have shown that while describing the Russian-Georgian confrontation the U.S. media mainly focused on lack of experience of the Georgian military citing “Georgia’s inexperienced military” or “Senior Georgian officials, a group of scant military experience.” (The New York Times, November 7, 2008).

The data also showed that the media intensively focused on negative repercussions of the war and especially, underlining that the war was a “disaster” for Georgia, however, reminding that it shook the situation of both Russia and Georgia.

“For both Russia and Georgia, the stakes are higher than just boosting patriotism among their people. The war shook the world’s trust in each country, and both Moscow and Tbilisi are eager to stitch those wounds.” (New York Times, August 6, 2009)

It was remarkable that if during the 1990s Russia was in the backstage when ethnic conflicts in two autonomous republics of Georgia took place. The conflicts resulted in mass cleansing of ethnic Georgians on those territories and became known as Georgian- Abkhaz and Georgian-Ossetian conflicts. And, at that time the situation in Georgia received little notice from the western media. In 2008 the war gained wide mass media attention making it clear that there was a confrontation between Russia and Georgia.

The analysis of the U.S. media showed that it was Russia that acquired an image of Aggressor in this confrontation.

“The **advance into Georgia** proper fed fears that Moscow aimed to take the entire country that had once been part of the **Russian Empire**.” (New York Times, Aug. 6, 2009)

“The European Union said Monday that it would resume negotiations with Russia that it had halted following **Russia’s invasion of Georgia**...” (New York Times, Nov. 11, 2009)

“... a step they believe could deter **aggression from Russian** or separatist forces...” (New York Times, July 21, 2009)

“...Mr. Biden saved his **harshest** words for Russia.” (New York Times, July 24, 2009)

“... It also criticized **Russia for bombarding Georgian territory** later and for allowing South Ossetian forces to loot ethnic Georgian villages for weeks” (New York Times, Nov. 18, 2009)

The linguistic units employed within these examples such as “Russian Empire,” “Russia’s invasion of Georgia,” “aggression from Russia” and etc. convey negative connotations in the texts.

Simultaneously, some ambiguities in the opinion emerge as the U.S. media elaborates on the idea who started the war on August 7, 2008.

“The accounts are neither fully conclusive nor broad enough to settle the many lingering disputes over blame in a war that hardened relations between the Kremlin and the West. But they raise questions about the accuracy and honesty of Georgia’s insistence that its shelling of Tskhinvali, the capital of the breakaway region of South Ossetia, was a precise operation. Georgia has variously defended the shelling as necessary to stop heavy Ossetian shelling of Georgian villages, bring order to the region or counter a Russian invasion.” (New York Times, Nov. 7, 2008)

However, the media sympathy towards Georgia is revealed with regard to the depiction of Georgian IDPs as U.S. military officials continue to verbally support Georgia’s pro-western policy and offer further assistance to the “ally”.

“But even though European monitors have long been on the ground, Russia still holds large areas that had irrefutably been under Georgian control, and thousands of **Georgians have not been allowed free access to homes** far from the disputed territory where the war began.” (New York Times, April 3, 2009).

“**The Georgians have been quite clear that they were shelling targets** – the mayor’s office, police headquarters –**that had been used for military purposes,**” said Matthew J. Bryza, a deputy assistant secretary of state and one of Mr. Saakashvili’s vocal supporters in Washington.” (Nov. 7, 2008)

“ [Joe Biden] He noted **the largess of Americans-** “they said, ‘It’s OK., take my money, raise my taxes’” – in pledging \$1 billion in aid to Georgia after the war. Only five million people live in Georgia, making it one of the highest per capita recipients of American aid in the world.” (NY Times, July 24, 2009)

“Mr. Biden intends to make it clear on this trip that the **United States will not abandon its allies** in deference to Russia, said one of his senior advisers. ‘We will continue to reject the notion of spheres of influence,’ Antony J. Blinken, Mr. Biden’s national security adviser, said in a conference call with reporters last week. ‘We will continue to stand by the principle that sovereign democracies have the right to make their own decisions and choose their own partnerships and alliances.’” (NY Times, July 21, 2009)

“His [Joe Biden’s] visit after President Obama’s meeting with the Russian president, Dmitri A. Medvedev, in Moscow, is aimed at reassuring the countries that **American support will remain** despite an improvement in Russian relations.” (NY Times, July 21, 2009)

It was also interesting how the media referred to breakaway regions of Georgia, South Ossetia and Abkhazia, legally are recognized as territories of sovereign Georgia. In media outlets we chiefly encountered two terms enclaves (34) and moderately used separatist (8). It should be noted that these were the terms that the English language media used with regard to autonomous republics in 2006-2007 as well. In this sense, the war has not affected the legal understanding and the attitude of respect towards the territorial integrity of the Georgian state. Going back to 2006 the media employed the following terms to describe the South Ossetia and Abkhazia: enclave, statelet, rebel region, pro-Russian separatist regions. In description of Georgia the western media also used terms **little, small, tiny** (in 2006-2007).

“Moscow has also imposed economic sanctions on **tiny Georgia.**” (Reuters, November 27, 2006)

The dichotomy of small: big with regard to Georgia: Russia is kept in the title of the article published in the Washington Post in 2006 “David and Goliath.” Interpreting the macrostructure (Van Dijk, 1985) and semantic meanings given, this metaphor in the title conveys an idea of the dichotomy and provides implications to the theme. The western media has also been quite eloquent in description of the President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili referring as: young, pro-American, pro-democracy, US-educated, Columbia-educated lawyer, pro-western, and western-educated president.

As mentioned above, the study showed there is no dramatic shift in the attitude of the English language media with regard to territorial integrity of Georgia. However, ironically, back in 2006 the western media elaborated on the idea of a war to regain separatist regions and rejecting it by assuming that it is Russia that stands behind them.

“War, though, would be crazy-because, it would in effect be war against Russia, whose support helped the two enclaves to achieve their quasi-secession and sustains them in it.” (The Economist, August 3, 2006)

Conclusion

The study showed that the statements of western politicians and international organizations had distinct influence on the messages of newspaper articles published in the U.S. press and western media. Due to the analysis of 2008-2009 U.S. media on Georgia, the political support spotted in earlier years through the English language media analysis (2006-2007) has remained similar, however, some factors have undergone more scrutiny.

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REPRESENTATION OF ENVIRONMENTALISTS IN MEDIA: AN EVALUATION ON STEREOTYPES OF ENVIRONMENTALIST

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Introduction

In the historical process, ever since environmental problems have begun coming to the fore, studies that deal with environmental problems, environment-human relations and the environment-industry-economy connection, have shown a wide variety in their problem descriptions, solution suggestions and approaches. Within this spectrum, environmentalist movements play a significant role in their contribution to the solution or discernment of environmental problems. Accelerating along with the youth movements of 1950s, environmental movements are approached from two dimensions: ideology and action. As an ideology, environmentalism is a belief system containing the possibility of changing the relations between human and environment (Harper, 1996: 293), while its action aspect includes statements towards living with a holistic approach in the natural environment (Tuna, 2006: 1995). To express it in a more concrete way, the movement being conceptualized as the “Greens” contains the ideological aspect of environmentalism, while the action aspect is brought to realization by organizing against any situation likely to harm environment, and making protest demonstrations.

In Turkey’s case, environmentalism is not developed sufficiently. Tuna (2006: 150) suggests that Turkish society is not ready enough to commit, attempt or act for the solution of environmental problems and that they more seesaw in their preferences between socio-economic development and environmental concerns. When they have to make a selection, their attitude leans towards economic advancement.

On how the environmental movement has evolved in Turkey, Atauz (1994) argues that the non-governmental organizations consisting of young, decisive and swift youths were at first promising and believed to contribute to the environment but that this process did not last long and swerved to another way. This other way mentioned by Atauz is formulated as the officialization of the environmentalist movement. The officialization of the environmentalist moment, in turn, indicates a situation where parties carry the subject of environment to their posters, companies use this subject as a marketing item and so the environment itself becomes a “market.” In this context, current environmentalist movement might be defined in the following way (Atauz, 1994):

Today, those appearing on the ‘environmentalism arena’ are a very widespread but empty, ineffective and useless official sector, a civil environmentalist movement which prefers to be related to the first group and whose technicist tendency is dominating in some of its parts

(foundations, unions, clubs, even the cooperatives and affiliates which were got built by the economic power where the private sector is directly dominating), and some irregulars who are independent of the first group and who sometimes get in touch with the second group...

The environmentalist movement in Turkey has taken a route over the official platform making itself accepted by taking consideration of economical priorities rather than a sustainable development perspective. Moreover, the subject is seen as a marketing tool through cooperation with non-governmental organizations and business world. The circle which acts to warn about getting awareness of environmental problems and solutions to these problems is composed of individuals who are called “irregulars” by Atauz. This circle often comprises the groups that are reflected in media news as representatives.

This study primarily aims to evaluate how environmentalist are perceived in Turkey, whether this perception has a stereotypical quality, and the role of media in this stereotyping. To substantiate the subject, some assessments are made over some newspaper writings that might be exemplifying the perception and representation of environmentalists in media.

1. Stereotypes and Media

The word stereotype comes from the printing procedure where papers are printed with a plate called stereotype on which series of letters are placed. In connection, the word also implies a uniform perpetuity with which each page is printed identically by the plate (Hartley, 2002: 215-216).

Etymologically, the word is seen to formed of *stereos*, Greek for hard, stable or permanent, and *typus*, Latin for impression or printing. The concept thus indicates a fixed impression or copy. In our day, one of the possible definitions of a stereotype is the over-generalization of certain characteristics which are attributed to a whole social group or to a group belonging (Gold, 2006: 412-413).

In other words, when examined by its symbolic meaning, the concept of stereotype expresses habitual, conventional and often over-simplified understandings, opinions and beliefs about a human, group, event or subject (Ibroscheva and Ramaprasad, 2008). Lippmann (1945: 3, 81-90) describes stereotypes as “images inside our heads.” By this description, individuals pay attention to a feature known and familiar to them and within this process they complete the missing part of the picture through stereotypes within their minds. Stereotyping and defining things without seeing and experiencing make a deep impact over all perception process.

Stereotypes can be negative or positive. Many researchers argue, however, that there might be negative results and contents despite the usage of a positive stereotype since stereotypes restrict the stereotyped group or individuals. That is, stereotypes cause groups and individuals to be perceived and recognized in restricted ways (Gold, 2006: 412-413).

Stereotypes have emerged into the public life as a concept used for describing how some certain qualities or properties could be attributed to the groups represented in media. This media representation of groups often takes place by the application of negative impressions or representations (Hartley, 2002: 215-216). This situation forms the basic connection point between stereotypes and media. Such that, stereotypes and prejudices are learned in a social environment which is weaved with general socialization agents, social communication channels, social institutions, media and cultural products. In addition, these mechanisms play a part in the perpetuation of the existing repertoire relating to stereotypes and prejudices

because they have a continuous structure and carry a power and potential of systematic influence (Bar-Tal and Teichman, 2005: 8).

When we take into account the undeniable power of media as a dominant reference within modern information societies (van Dijk, 2000: 36), it can also be said that the importance of media's role has increased in the processes of communicating and perpetuating stereotypes.

2. Representations of Environmentalists in Media

As for how environmental problems and environmentalist actions take place in media; humans' ability to perceive environmental problems, which are currently not threatening to them, events around these problems, existence and depth of threats is dependent on detailed and continuous information gathering. To a great extent, this occurs through media (Koçak, 2006: 10). In this point, it is important how media reflects environmental problems and the reactions made by environmentalist groups against these problems.

By some studies made on the subject, it is seen that environmentalists are represented by stereotyping. In their study on how environmentalist actions in Canada are presented in printed media, Arvai and Mascarehas (2001) revealed that newspapers framed environmentalist actions and activists negatively. A journalist's attitude towards environment and ideological position of a newspaper play an important part in the media representation of environmentalists. If attitude of the newspaper is positive and supportive, environmentalists are presented as heroes. This is exemplified by Uppal's (2003) study which showed that newspapers in the USA exhibited a supportive attitude towards environmentalist activists during debates on a hydroelectric plant.

Hutchins and Lester (2006) indicate that even when environmentalists are represented with affirmation, their political influence is diminished in news reports with such emphases as "poems were read, dances were made." Sometimes this is done directly by negative representations. Such that, environmentalists' indications towards environmental problems are diminished by playing on sentences in the news structure and a perception could be created to imply what environmentalists are doing is unessential. Environmentalists' clashes with police and custodies also become news stories, but in these stories, environmentalists are presented in a negative light.

In a study on how environmentalists are represented by media on Greenpeace actions, Hansen (2003) examined the Brent Spar action by Greenpeace as an example. In this study, it was found that media had described activists as "terrorist, troublemaker and antidemocratic." Hansen mentioned in his work that Greenpeace was presented in a newspaper as "illegal and heterodox" and "undemocratic and unscientific."

There is no study on how environmentalists are presented in Turkish media. There are, however, enough views to form some data on how environmentalists are perceived. Gökdayı (1997: 22) states that various meanings have been ascribed to environmentalism since 1970s and that one of these is "a nonconformist current dating from the time of hippies." While suggesting that environmentalism is regarded as a hobby in Turkey, Türkmen (2006) says it has been rapidly progressing towards a better position in recent years, taking up more space in the country agenda and strengthening its legitimacy and social status.

A good specimen to embody the subject matter is some newspaper writings which are published in internet media and which take environmentalists, too, as a subject in connection

with environmental problems. Composed of newspaper writing types like news stories, interviews and columns, these examples could be said to involve some certain stereotypic perceptions and representations. These stereotypic perceptions and representations are reflected in the discourse of newspaper writings via assessments of news actors and columnists. Discourses of actors in the newspaper writings, in turn, contain these actors' perspectives about environmentalists, or explanations about the characteristics of social perceptions relating to environmentalists.

In four of these writings, perceptions relating to environmentalists are described and it is seen that these descriptions indicate to a perception and stereotype of "marginality." Two of these examples are about a letter written by the Nature Observers Society to the prime minister. In the letter, attention is drawn to evaluations by the prime minister relating to environmentalists such as "people who have nothing to do", "who do this as a recreation", "unemployed", and these people are criticized. Despite the use of a discourse that affirms environmentalists, the story writer also makes an evaluation that there are some marginal groups within environmentalists. In another news site where the same letter is used in a news story, the demand for not to be equated with marginal groups is both given in heading and also emphasized within the story. In another words, there is an indication about the wrongness of stereotyping environmentalists as "idlers", while at the same time a reference is made which, though only in the basis of some certain groups, supports the perception of marginality. In specific, an environmentalist association acknowledges the existence of marginal groups within environmentalists. In another example, a columnist is citing perceptions about environmentalist as examples. In this writing, the change of perspectives about environmentalists within historical process is given as an example of marginality perception. In the last example, again, there are assessments by a columnist on environmentalism and environmentalists. Here, too, it is ascertained, by the columnist's own perspective, that environmentalism is regarded as a marginal work in Turkey. This designation, however, is not in a criticizing tone towards this perception of "marginality" but draws attention to the fact that there are some justifications about the forming of such image. Some factors about environmentalists are set forth about the forming of "marginality" image in environmentalism and an indirect contribution is provided for the reproduction of such stereotypic perception and representation. Examples in question:

"In one sense, you have categorized those struggling for environmental protection as unemployed-worthless people 'who have nothing valuable to practice, and do this as a recreation'... We would like to say, first of all, that environmentalists are too diverse and heterogeneous to fit into a single categorization...Although there exists some marginal groups within environmentalists whom you mention by negation, environmentalists are generally known as knowledgeable and far-sighted individuals in the civilized world and their views are important and respected so as to be taken into consideration in the governing of a country. We regard the efforts towards protective utilization of nature as a sacred duty and perform this not because of unemployment but along with our very intense works." (www.ucansupurge.org/arşiv, an open letter from environmentalists to the prime minister, 28.08.2008).

"An Open Letter from the Environmentalist Professor to the Prime Minister: "Do not equate us with marginal groups" (Heading, www.haberler.com, 28.09.2008).

"If you get angry at marginal groups and then equate and disregard all environmentalists, if you indiscriminately characterize them all as idlers, you would be wronging a huge mass who have unified the love of country with love of nature..." (www.haberler.com, 28.09.2008).

“The concept of ‘marginality’... For instance, ‘environmentalists’ had been regarded as marginal until 1960s... While targets like development, industrialization and employment remained before the society, those who shouted ‘You are destroying the natural balance’ were regarded as crackpots or marginal. Today, however, ‘environmentalism’ is an ascending merit and an action adopted by majority...” (www.tumgazeteler.com, 18.08.2010).

“Environmentalism is a new concept in Turkey. Notwithstanding, it has a history of at least a quarter century. Until now in Turkey, environmentalism has been expected to be a part of urban culture. No such result has been attained. Our environmentalists could not put forth sufficient work and activity to ensure the participation of the public community. As in this example, they just raised their weak voices after it is too late. Therefore, ‘environmentalism’ was treated as a marginal business in Turkey. One of the actions that supports this image is the ‘Advocacy over Papazın Bağı’! Are violations relating to protected natural and historical sites in Turkey new? Are they limited to Papazın Bağı? Of course not... But our environmentalist organizations and chambers of architects ignore what actually needs to be seen and focus on some exceptional examples. (www.tumgazeteler.com, 15.04.2004, Vakit, www.vakit.com.tr).

In another news, which parallels the stereotyping that environmentalists are idlers, attention is drawn to environmentalists and the approach towards environmentalist organizations through an experience of a theater artist. The news actor says he first got afraid when he was called by the prominent environmentalist organization, Greenpeace, and suggests that the real problem that caused such reaction is rooted in the way of perception about environmentalists. Accordingly, the primary problem lying behind the perception of Greenpeace as a fearful group is shown as the fact that “environmentalism is perceived as a thing sought by idlers.” That is, in the discourse of the news actor, it is implied that there is a stereotypic and established perception and representation relating to environmentalists. The concerned parts in the news story:

“I got afraid when they said ‘Greenpeace calls you!’” (Heading, www.naturalhaber.com, 07.10.2009, a news published in the newspaper Zaman)

“The night hosted by Yılmaz Erdoğan took place under the organization of Greenpeace. Yılmaz Erdoğan tells the story of hosting the movie and the event in a humoristic way: “15 days ago, I got afraid when they said ‘They are calling from Greenpeace’. I said ‘They have certainly found about a wrongdoing of ours, so they will shut down our workshop’. I even prepared myself for swinging from the Bosphorus Bridge!” Erdoğan thinks that the real problem is in the perception of environmentalism as a matter dealt by idle people.” (Heading, www.naturalhaber.com, 07.10.2009, a news published in the newspaper Zaman)

In an interview about nuclear energy, a retired ambassador’s assessments concerning anti-nuclear environmentalist groups set an important example of perceptions about environmentalists. It could be said that in the newspaper writing, certain stereotypes step in via the discourse of the news actor. In this stereotypic representation, which was carried to the heading of the interview, evaluations are made implying that within anti-nuclear environmentalist groups, there exist agents of the petrol lobby which rules the world, and extensions of those who want to hinder Turkey from being a first class state. It can be concluded that, in essence, both assessments are based on a stereotype like “antagonism against Turkey.” Moreover, the evaluation that although most of the anti-nuclear environmentalist groups are good willed, they are not knowledgeable indicates a stereotypic

perception and representation since here, too, there is a generalization, simplification and categorization about majority. The news example:

“Some anti-nuclear people are agents” (Heading, www.nukte.org, a news published in the newspaper Zaman, 03.03.2007)

“I am sure that most of them are good willed, earnest, idealist people but they do not know about the nuclear problematic. Also, a small group tries to harbor within them which consists of the extensions of those who fear that Turkey might be a first class state.” (Heading, www.nukte.org, a news published in the newspaper Zaman)

Beside the discourses like existence of petrol lobby agents among anti-nuclear environmentalist groups and blocking Turkey’s struggle to be a first class state, a parallel stereotypic perception carries the implication of “provocation.” In the concerned news, the prime minister, who was protested by Greenpeace members during a group meeting, describes such an action as a provocation effort against Turkey’s utilization of nuclear energy. The expression of “provocation effort” implies that the related activists are provocateurs and tools of others. The related part in the news:

“While prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was talking during TBMM Group Meeting, two Greenpeace activist unfurled a banner reading ‘We want no nuclear plant in Sinop and Mersin’ ...Erdoğan said: We are not going to allow those who come with a piece of rag and try to provoke against Turkey’s utilization of nuclear energy. We are taking steps towards it. What these people are doing is not about country development or meeting of energy necessity or anything like that. They do not know what they are doing, either. Some people slip two pieces of rags into their hands and bring them here. These activists are not aware of the real pros and cons of their actions...” (www.nethaber.com, 09.02.2010).

Conclusion

Media representations of environmentalists seem to contain a characteristic which parallels the “marginality” perception in society. This results in a question over whether the existing position is a reproduction or whether it forms through the evaluations regarding environmentalists by persons or organizations as news actors. The answer to this question has a long historical past extending to youth movements that began in the USA in 1950s and spread worldwide. The fact that the youth, being called “hippies”, backed the environmentalist movement caused environmentalism and environmentalists to be perceived as “hippy.” Along with came the “idler” and “marginal” perception against environmentalists. Environmentalist actions being different from conventional practices of action served as a confirmation of this perception.

In regard to the example newspaper writing types published in both printed and internet media, it is seen that some perceptions and descriptions come to the fore which are in parallel to the findings above. So it could be said that in the newspaper writing types examined, a “marginality” perception regarding environmentalists is made a subject matter, while in some other examples environmentalists are directly described or referenced in this negative light. It is possible to make the assessment that the perceptions and representations such as “marginal”, “idler”, “recreational”, “ignorant”, “agent”, “extensions of some circles” carry a stereotypic quality since this type of perceptions and representations, whether in a general or in a partial context, make references to a social group, to belonging to that social group, and

to the conventional, routine, generalized, categorized and simplified opinions and beliefs about events and subjects connected with this.

As for the representation in media, therefore, a representation emerges in the newspaper writings in the form of indicating the existence of such perceptions regarding environmentalists or in the form of directly attributing these perceptions to environmentalists. Such representation, in turn, provides significant fulcrums towards determining that environmentalists are represented both inadequately and mistakenly in media. On the other hand, it is also possible to say that awareness of environment and environmental problems has relatively been on the rise in today's world. In parallel to the increase in the awareness, consciousness and sensitivity about environment and environmental problems, which directly influence the human life, it is concluded that an improvement and acceleration is inevitable in the media representation of these.

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Working for Professional Media without Professional Standard of Journalism
(Study of TV News Contributors in Indonesia)

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Working for Professional Media without Professional Standard of Journalism
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Abstract

The rapid growth of television news in Indonesia has supported to freedom of the press and democracy. Television is one of a phenomenal medium to reach audiences who lived either in big cities or villages. To cover many areas in national wide, the news department hired journalists who are called news contributors or stringers from all over the country. Yet the growth of the amount of news contributors was not followed by the increase of journalistic qualities. Recently, many viewers, academia, and others argue their complaints about bad TV news. The presentation of news ranges from sensational content, unethical report, to trivial things. The study is a qualitative research using in-depth interview method with the news contributors. It examines how they work a journalistic job for professional media and how far they know and apply the procedure of journalistic work. The findings indicated that TV news contributors with the right skills remain very difficult. Skilled journalists remain quite rare. Many ordinary people who have video camera could be a news contributor easily. Most of them came from various backgrounds and had no professional TV training. Generally, the TV news contributors had three main problems when they conducted their news production i.e. lack of knowledge, lack of skill, and lack of ethics. One of the most fundamental problems is they did a journalistic work without a professional standard of journalism, whereas the TV news contributors did their jobs for the professional media.

Key words: Indonesia, news contributor, professional journalist, professionalism, TV journalism

Introduction

Quantitatively the existence of television news in Indonesia is very interesting and challenging to be observed. In national level there are eleven stations which have news program. They consist of one national public television and ten private stations which have main station in Jakarta. They are all stations who own licenses to air nationally (Gazali, 2003, p.87). Each station produces and broadcasts news program, even there are two stations claimed as news channel like CNN. All news programs are also broadcast all over the country and each station aired the program four times a day. The programs are morning news, afternoon news, evening news and nightly news. Every

news program is aired for 30 minutes that consisting of seven or eight packages of news and commercials. Especially for two news TV station, besides the four news program they also add many other news formats and programs every hour. In addition, each station is also frequently broadcast breaking news if there is an important issue that must be known by audiences. Beside national-based stations, Indonesia has many local stations that broadcast only in limited regions. The local TV stations have news program as well. Almost all stations in Indonesia provide news program for their audience everyday.

Furthermore, each station should provide a lot of news packages from various cities in Indonesia. The news packages could come from the big cities or small cities which lie in five big islands or hundreds of middle islands or thousands of small islands. To cover many events in national wide, consequently these national-based stations require many more journalists. Then, every newsroom management has a similar working scheme, namely assigns reporters in Jakarta where the station is located, places the correspondent in several main provinces and hires many contributors who live in many more cities. Reporters and correspondents are formal and permanent journalist who earned professionally by station, while contributors are hired if their news are broadcasted.

All news departments open recruitment for news contributors regularly, so recently there are hundreds contributors in Indonesia. The contributors work everyday for hunting and producing news, but they do not get money everyday from their job, because they will get the money if their news packages are aired by the stations. Many news packages are sent by the contributors everyday and the same time many packages are rejected to air by the stations. Therefore, the competition among the contributors is highly competitive. Everyday they are competing with hundreds of other contributors to be able to broadcast the news by presenting the interesting, exclusive, and actual news. Because of the competition, they frequently produce sensational, trivial, and unethical news as well. The consequence of rivalry, they do their job only for fulfilling quantity of news. In conclusion, the growth of the amount of news contributors is not followed by the increase of journalistic qualities.

Ideally, the more TV stations broadcast news, the more good information disseminate to the public. The flow of information will be more broadly. This situation will encourage freedom of expression and democracy as well. However, it will run well if TV journalism is also conducted by good and professional journalists. The quality of good journalism can only be reached through the good process of professional journalism.

On the other hand, the growth of contributors has increased some problems. The cases that become public attention are, first, there is a picture of pornography in the news which was produced by a contributor, so that TV station was reprimanded by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (<http://www.kpi.go.id/?etats=detail&nid=2081>). Second, there is a complaint from the chairman of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) on violent news (Yudono, 2010). AJI chairman stated that the violent news in a number of television stations has minimal narration, so that audiences were captivated by scenes of violence. Third, there is contributor who was killed while

covering clashes between residents on August 2010 (Yunita, 2010), it showed that the contributor did not understand the technique of covering the conflict areas.

If journalism is carried out in that conditions continuously, public will lose the golden moment of democracy, because professional journalism is one of the supporting pillars of the establishment of democracy. "Democracy needs the media to provide citizens with good, independent information to function well" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006, p. 250).

This study examined: first, how did the contributors work for TV station?. Second, how did the contributors understand the professionalism of journalistic work? Third, how did the contributors apply the professional principles in journalistic work?

The goals of the study are: first, to know the professionalism of the news contributors. Second, to know the contributor's understanding about professionalism in journalism. Third, to know the application of professionalism principles in journalism work.

The study applied case study method with a qualitative approach. Data was collected by using in-depth interview method with the news contributors. They were generally assigned as contributors since 3-5 years ago. There were six informants who came from Jakarta and other cities. All informants were men and they were more than 29 years old.

Literature Review

Journalists are people who work convey information through mass media. According to International Federation of Journalist, "a journalist is one who devotes the greater part of his/her working time to the profession of journalism and who derives from it most of his/her income being employed or working as a freelance" (as cited in Josephi, 2009, p. 143). Many journalist organizations require that if someone wants to be a journalist, so journalism must be a main job (Josephi, 2009, p. 143). If somebody dedicated to journalism and he/she got income from that job, so he/she could be called a journalist. The key is if someone put activity of journalism as the main job, then that person could be categorized as a journalist.

Whatever the definition of journalist, according to Josephi, it is focused on the "function and form" of the activities. "The function is defined as the collection, preparation, and distribution of news and related commentary and feature materials. Its form is through channels that reach an audience, such as the mass media" (Josephi, 2009, p.143).

The following question that frequently asked by people whether journalist is a profession or not? There are many different arguments about the profession of journalist. It is not easy to classify (Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005, p. 58). Meanwhile Weaver (2005) mentioned that journalist was not a clear profession. He argued for his opinion, "first, in most countries journalist themselves do not want to be restricted by having to be licensed as so-called professionals, and second, there is no one distinct educational pathway to becoming a journalist" (Weaver, 2005, p. 165). Meanwhile

Josephi added his other argument about it. “That is difficult to mark out the range of activities performed by journalists, and developments in technology keep adding to the scope” (Josephi, 2009, p. 143).

In addition, Mogensen said, although journalism is not a profession in the terminology of traditional sociology, some studies saw that journalist from various news media has norm and value related to their role as journalist (Mogensen, 2008, p. 33). The same argument came from McNair. He said that journalism is a profession, because it must have a code of ethics and it guarantees the integrity, trustworthiness and their status as journalist (McNair, 1998, p. 64). “But to have a profession of journalism—a true profession—would assure journalistic freedom and institutional autonomy and at the same time would create a structure to insure high quality and morality among the professionals” (Merrill, 2005, p. 7). In summary, if journalism is a profession, so the work must be professional.

There are requirements for a journalist if they want to be the real professional journalist. According to Mogensen, a number of institutions providing information about “the norms and performance standards” that should be applied by a journalist in a democracy (Mogensen, 2008, p. 33). It means that if journalists want to be professional, journalists should run the norms and performance standards. “The journalistic profession would have a way of expelling a person who practiced unprofessional journalism” (Merrill, 2005, p. 8).

Therefore, people who conducted journalism should be professional. For this reason the work of a journalist is a professional job. There are also criteria of the professionals as stated by Broddason (1994): “traditional definitions of professionalism emphasize criteria such as collective control over entry into the profession, an ethical code supported by self-policing, a special set of skills and a definable body of knowledge, as well as client relations with the public.”

Refer to Broddason's criteria, the professionalism in journalism could be seen in the following items. First, collective control could be built through professional associations of journalists. The organizations govern the conduct and behavior of the journalists in carrying out their profession. It could also be added to this category is the editorial organization (newsroom organization) as a control group for journalists. Second, the journalistic code of ethics became the foundation and guidelines for journalists. Each journalist's activities and behaviors must be guided by the journalistic code of ethics.

Third, journalists should have a set of abilities or special skills and a body of knowledge. That is, a professional journalist should have adequate journalistic skills such as news reporting, writing, producing and so forth. Thus the professional journalist should be well trained and educated. They should always attend journalistic training to enhance their skills. Meanwhile the body of knowledge is a set of concepts, understanding, and activities that must be owned by a journalist. It has been assigned by the association of journalists. In other words, a professional journalist should have a deep understanding of the working procedures of journalism. According to Merrill (2005), “every professional journalist should master” (p. 9). Fourth, the relationship between client and

public is highly relevant for professional journalists, because journalism was dedicated to the public interest. Even journalists really work to serve the public.

The requirements of high professionalism of journalists are intended for journalists to work for the public interest to build democracy. McNair said, "that journalism is a key resource in supporting our role as citizens in societies which claim to value the democratic process" (McNair, 1998, p. 16-17). Journalists and journalism work for the advantages of humankind. Rosen elaborated the task of journalism as follows: "journalism as a willing sponsor of public talk, an invitation to participate, a convener of civic activity, a guide to problem solving, a constructive art for a strengthened democracy-these were some of the ideas added to an existing creed" (Rosen, 1999, p. 6). Because that is a very noble task, journalism could not be done haphazardly.

Findings

The contributors who became informants in this research generally have worked for a private TV station about three to five years. They live in Jakarta and outside of Jakarta. Among the contributors, there was contributor who had educational background in communication or journalism, but most of them graduated from various fields like engineering, economy, and so on. Among the informants there was an informant who got the job for the first time and contributor as a first job. There were also informants who worked previously before they were assigned as the contributors. It was interesting to know their previous job, because they came from various occupations. Among those who had worked, there were people who had worked as a print journalist and several contributors worked in the non-journalistic field previously.

Requirement for news contributor was not difficult indeed. The main requirement was the candidate must have cameras. If someone had a camcorder and he could write stories, then he would be easily recruited as a contributor. Even if there were people who had helped contributor or become a stringer for the contributors, then he would also easily become new contributors. So there was an apprentice who had been a stringer for old contributor. There was an interesting thing about the terminology of stringer here. The stringer was someone who hired by the contributor and the stringer did not have a contract with the TV station. The stringer only dedicated and be responsible to the contributor who had a wide coverage area.

Not all contributors received journalism training from the TV station, and it happened for some reasons. There was a station only provide training for certain contributors like good or dedicated contributors. There was also station did not conduct training for contributors. The training was carried out by the station was only basic training such as basic journalism and basic video production. Many contributors studied journalism, video production and video editing independently by watching TV news or learning it to their friends. Therefore, they got their understanding and knowledge of television journalism from the field.

The contributors were working everyday to look for news in their respective work areas, but they did not get the news everyday. Sometimes on certain days there is no news that could be made, but sometimes within a day they could produce more than

one news. Each news that was sent to the newsroom was not necessarily aired by the station. Contributors would receive money only if their news were broadcasted by the station.

The contributors created own system to get the news when working in the field. They managed their activity by themselves. It was adapted to the conditions of their respective work areas. To determine which events should be chosen to report was more decided by their feeling. The direction to do their job only came from the short written guidance which provided by each station. Determining newsworthiness, choosing news source persons or writing news angle were the prerogative of the contributors. They worked in the field independently, so their work was not governed by a news producer from TV newsrooms. Even they did not know the news producer who evaluated and agreed their news. In addition, the contributors also did not know the reason why their news was not aired on television. However, paradoxically when the contributors worked in the field, they formally represented a station. They also used ID cards when covered the event and introduced as a TV reporter who represented the certain station when interviewed source person.

To increase their capacity, they shared knowledge with other contributors. Generally they were incorporated in the mailing list of contributors from the same station. This means they could communicate and shared opinions with other contributors from all over Indonesia. In addition, this mailing list was also used by the newsroom's representative to provide new information or input on the performance of contributors. Another forum was a mailing list of the contributors from the same city. Although they were contributors who worked for different TV stations, but they really were friends. Even through the mailing list of contributors of this town they talked to each other about the events that could be covered together.

Another example, the contributors in Sukabumi worked together with their counterpart from print media to develop another forum in the real world, but this forum was intended to show that they were a journalist representing the official media. The forum was also built to show their existence as the real journalists, they showed it to their public that they were not bad guys who claimed as journalists. It is important thing for them, because many people claimed their status as journalists, whereas they pretend to be journalists to pressure, blackmail and intimidate many executives from local government or others else in order to get money.

Discussion and Conclusion

Refer to definition of journalist from International Federation of Journalist (IFJ), the news contributors in Indonesia could be categorized as journalists. They did news reporting, writing, and video production almost everyday. Their activities in journalism have already shown the clear functions and forms of TV journalism as described by Josephi. They “devoted the greater part of his/her working time to the profession of journalism” (Josephi, 2009, p. 143). They also got salary from their activities in journalism. Nevertheless, they do not always get fixed salary each month.

Mogensen had provided guidance to know what extent the professional journalist. He suggested if journalist wanted to be professional, he/she should apply “the norms and performance standards” (Mogensen, 2008, p. 33). In contrast, there was not an adequate and complete norm and performance standard for contributors. The norm and performance standard only elaborated shortly in the contract between contributors and TV stations. The station only provided guidance in the form of 'do and do not' on the contract from management or technical sides than journalism sides.

To know how professional the contributors, Broddason (1994) have provided the criteria of professionalism consist of “collective control over entry into the profession, an ethical code supported by self-policing, a special set of skills and a definable body of knowledge, as well as client relations with the public”. Collective control to the contributors was less since they were not involved in any professional organization of journalists, whereas in Indonesia there are several associations of professional journalists with the two largest organizations of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI). Because they did not join professional organizations, the performance of the contributor in a professional manner was also not controlled. There was no journalist organization that could guarantee their professional performance. Only limited control they received from the newsroom representatives. Collective control from the newsroom was only feedback on the work of contributor and the written rules or written advice as mentioned either in the contract or in the mailing list of contributors. Moreover, the newsroom's representative also had the authority to reprimand contributors who broke the rule of work. Although the newsroom had the authority to admonish the contributors, but the warnings were mostly related to technical problems, than the problem of journalistic substance. It was seen from the news program that violated the code of ethics as complained by many people.

On the other hand, newsroom management has never controlled the contributors when they worked in the field. All the things that happened in the field were entirely the responsibility of contributors. It was also included in case of infringement in the field. Due to the weak and limited control was many cases happened, it appears a violation of code of conduct that resulted in one TV station was rebuked by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission. Whereas “a code of ethics would be essential in ensuring that the distribution of information be regulated and disciplined” (Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005, p. 65).

The understanding of the code of ethics also improvised. They understood only the basic of the code of ethics. For example, if they were covering the story, they should not receive money or they had to be independent. This code was also written explicitly in the contract. But there was also a contributor who had another opinions, he would receive transport allowance from source person as long as the provider of the money did not push him to make the specific content of news. This informant said it was only natural and he would receive the money if only as a substitute for transport allowance. Another example was the breaking of picture's copyright. They sometime shared their video image to their friends, so consequently there was no exclusive film for their news and their news were quite similar. They did not have sense of belonging of their

copyright. These were the description of the understanding of contributors to the code of journalism ethics.

In terms of knowledge and skills of journalism, these contributors obtained their skills by learning on their own as autodidact or they learned video shooting and editing to their friends. The contributors did not study video production through the formal education. Similarly, they did the same way for writing, except for the contributors who were print journalist previously. For contributors who previously were stringer studying journalism and video production with helping to supply information and pictures to their friends or families who were contributors. It was happened when they were assigned as the contributors for the first time. After working several months, some of them took the training, but some others did not do it because the station did not provide the training or they did not assigned to take the training. If a television station provided training for the contributors, it was not intended for all contributors in Indonesia. Contributors who earn the privilege to attend the training were the best contributor. Moreover, the training that provided by station was a basic training.

The lack of knowledge and skill of the contributors in producing the TV news could be seen also from other cases outside of this research. The occurrence of contributor who was killed while covering clashes between residents, it showed that the contributor did not understand the technique of covering the conflict areas. Because he did not know how to cover the conflict, the contributor did the video shooting freely in the midst of a mass brawl. As a result he was killed by one of the warring parties. This was a clear evidence of the lack of journalism knowledge and skills.

In summary, the contributors had only limited ability, knowledge, and skills of TV journalism. Consequently, they did not know and did not apply the elements of journalism completely as recommended by Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007).

The final criterion from Broddason is the relationship between client and public. In this criterion, the contributors were highly aware that their obligations were to inform and to educate people. Their awareness was demonstrated by making news about local government, disasters, accidents, education, health, poverty, etc. On the contrary, they also produced the trivial news, so that why the station rejected their news, because the news did not have trustworthiness. They reported the trivial thing when they did not find hot issues or spectacular events. Finally, they did also journalistic work for fulfillment of personal needs namely salary and it was only obtained by sending the news.

It was very difficult to say that the contributors are professional journalist. The news contributors with the right skills remain very difficult. The skilled contributors remain quite rare, because they had no professional TV training and completed journalism knowledge. Consequently, they did journalistic work without a professional standard of journalism, whereas the contributors did their jobs for the professional media. By examining the case through “the norms and performance standards” from Mogensen and four criteria from Broddason, it was found that the news contributors in Indonesia still need to learn and to comprehend deeply about the professional standard of

journalism. It could be conclude that there were many problems in the field of TV journalism in Indonesia, especially for this research case.

If professional media hired unqualified journalist, it would injure journalism as a whole. It was a counterproductive effort to develop democratic life. It was a big sin that had been done by television if this condition was running continuously without any solutions by increasing contributors' capacity. Moreover, it was worst if TV stations let the contributors stayed in bad situations, while they reaped financial benefits continuously by selling news programs.

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A complex connection: Community newspapers and tiers of social capital

By Kristy Hess, Deakin University, Australia

At a time when newspaper circulations across the globe are plummeting, there is increasing interest in the concept of 'local over global' and research linking small newspapers with the 'strength of community'. There has been a myriad of definitions on social capital including Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam which focus on the value of the strength of relationships formed by individuals and groups within communities. While newspaper circulation has been linked to community social capital, little attention has been paid to the way social capital works within the news organisation from those who produce news and information to those who read it. Given the complexity and multiplicity of the sociology of news production, this paper examines the role of organisational social capital in this process and argues Ronald Burt's theory of 'structural holes' (1997) may be an appropriate theoretical lens through which to consider this.

INTRODUCTION

“... a great number of men who wish or who want to combine cannot accomplish it because as they are very insignificant and lost amid the crowd. The newspaper (brings) them together and the newspaper is still necessary to keep them united”

- de Toqueville (1840)

There is nothing more valuable to a journalist than his or her contact book, it is a prized possession (Fleming 2006, p. 14) A newspaper relies on its social connections to survive. News is a business. Operations in a commercial news room are designed to maximise profits (Mencher 2010) yet a newspaper is also celebrated for its ability to serve as a 'public good', disseminating information, bringing people together to facilitate action and serving a vital Fourth Estate function – which considers the press as part of society yet with its own role to scrutinise and check power (Simons 2007, p. 47). In outlining the sociology of news production, (Schudson 1995, p. 15) sees news as a 'culture' where the political economy, geography, social systems, and culture interact over a period of time.

A newspaper depends on its social networks to meet both its public and private interests, yet the importance and value of these connections as a form of capital within a commercial newspaper is assumed but largely unexamined. Social capital has a long tradition in sociology, politics, economics and anthropology. It has also attracted interest more recently from the knowledge-based economy, with such discussions appearing in academic and popular business literature. (Lesser 2000). There has been a plethora of interest in this field of research and although scholars across different disciplines agree on the significance of relationships as a resource of social action, they lack an agreement on a precise definition on social capital (Yang 2007).

This research paper considers the available literature for which to build an appropriate theoretical framework to examine the relationship between social capital and the commercial regional newspaper network, given its economic (private) and democratic (public) functions. Small regional newspapers in Australia are either controlled by major media companies such as Fairfax/Rural Press in Australia or independent media owners who generate considerable income through advertising and cover charges from these publications.

To examine each of the wide and varied definitions on social capital would be self-defeating. Given its many interpretations, it is in danger of becoming a fad or fashion and abandoned for its lack of distinctive features and contributions to scientific knowledge. (Lin, Burt & Cook 2001, p. 1) The literature on social capital, however, is divided into two broad streams – one conceptualises the actor as socialised and governed by social norms, rules and obligations and the other, stemming from organisational and economic scholars, understands the actor as having goals independently arrived at, in having a principle of action, to maximise utility. (Coleman 1988) There is limited literature specifically examining the way social capital is valued and acquired within the regional newspaper context from the production, dissemination and reproduction of news and information. Some have highlighted the importance of social capital and regional newspapers in terms of how they connect with readers and their community building function ((Bowd 2009; Kreuters 1998; McManamey 2004; Putnam, R 1993). Others such as Coleman (Coleman 1988) consider information channels a form of social capital, while Kilpatrick (Kilpatrick 2002) highlights the value of community newspapers as an example of the formal structures which assist people to “use their knowledge and skills along with the knowledge and skills of others” (p447).

This paper argues that the deliberate and conscious acquisition of social capital (Bourdieu 1986) should be core to any business strategy for a viable regional newspaper. If such investment ceases, or is not resourced and nurtured, then surely this will affect the viability of the publication, yet some of the more widely cited theorists in this field such as James Coleman, take a rational theory approach and suggest that social capital is a by-product of an individual's self-interest (Coleman 1994). Much of the literature on regional newspapers and social capital overlooks the economic reality of these institutions, preferring to focus on their civic culture, community building and ‘public good’ functions. The public good function of a newspaper is vital to a thriving democracy and represents a form of social capital for a newspaper and its community. It could, however, be considered as part of a holistic view of news content incorporating, for example, advertising and classifieds, which is not given space in academic discussion around newspapers and social capital theory. This paper argues that any examination of the regional media and the value of social capital must consider that social capital is rooted in economics and both editorial and advertising content are sources of social capital for a regional newspaper.

This paper will begin by outlining the important and unique role commercial regional newspapers play in Australian communities before mapping the evolution of social capital thought and its relationship to news and information. I will focus specifically on the work of the four most widely cited theorists in this field, Pierre Bourdieu, Jane Jacobs, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. I will argue that the work of network theorists such as Ronald Burt and his concept of brokerage opportunities from structural holes, offers some important insight into the tiers of social capital which exist within the regional newspaper network.

The state of the regional Australian news media

Media scholarship is largely concerned with the production, circulation and consumption of ‘big’ media, including the operation and effects of international corporations and global media flows, metropolitan news organisations and the media workers who form their ranks (Hess & Waller 2010). Researchers have paid relatively little attention to ‘small’ regional or

local media, despite these offering rich and nuanced fields of inquiry because they have more direct, everyday relationships with the communities of which they are a part, and arguably a stronger impact on their audiences (Couldry & Curran 2003). The media is instrumental in the construction and maintenance of culture and identity at all levels of society (Hall 1992) but in Australia, it is at the regional level that the most powerful and durable expressions of identity have been formulated and embedded in public thinking. Regional communities rely on the local media's representation of their citizens' characteristics, behaviour and values, and public issues and events as the main means for recognising and 'knowing' the community. This recognition process includes the establishment and maintenance of a set of powerful 'norms' of behaviour, appearance and characteristics for community members and 'outsiders', which Ewart says are 'played out through the texts of regional newspapers', and are:

...sometimes more abiding and powerful than those seen in metropolitan media, and even those promoted by other cultural institutions. This is partly because of the power of the media generally, but it is also due to the unique place, space and role of regional media in a community .(Ewart 1997, p. 109)

Michael Schudson says the mass media carry a great deal of symbolic freight in regional identity, more than they know. They help to 'establish in the imagination of people a psychologically potent entity – "a community" that can be located nowhere on the ground (Schudson 1995, p. 15). Michael Meadows has described the regional media's methods of constructing and maintaining social norms as 'consensus narratives'(Meadows 1998) which not only convey these social codes to audiences but also instruct them in how to respond to events. He says the regional media can be understood as the glue that binds community members into a social collective or 'media public' through its representation of these norms, which are held to be typical of dominant interests.

Despite its celebrated community-building function, changes to the media landscape are creating more options for newspaper readers and fragmenting audiences and the regional media is not immune to this. Potter (Potter 2005) says technological changes, coupled with economic pressures, have forced regional newspapers to constantly ensure that content is meeting the needs of the readership. In Potter's opinion, while the paper's long-standing relationship with its readers is attached to the masthead, loyalty and historical links may not be enough to guarantee survival in a rapidly changing media environment and "content" is crucial to maintaining a successful newspaper.

Some experts argue that in a convergence culture print media has a bleak future. Former UK journalist Roy Greenslade who is a professor of journalism at London's City University, argues popular newspapers are dying and will disappear as the internet and websites continue to build strength. (Greenslade, 2007) Other analysts such as Paul Bradshaw, claim that the internet has released news organisations from the limitations of physical distribution and broadcast and they are able to find new markets for their old print products. He says the key focus for news organisations should be concepts such as interactivity, community and the conversation with their consumers. So while forces of globalism may push towards a homogenous online product, these analysts see the counter force as being consumers becoming more focused on their own backyard, or what has been referred to as "postcode news" (see Bradshaw 2007)

Kathryn Bowd argues newspaper's roles in providing local news and a forum for discussion have arguably become even more central to community life (Bowd 2009). These newspapers are considered a vital asset to a community (Stamm, Emig & M.B. 1997) and are important to build and support community social capital. The way in which local media facilitate local

debate and discussion can be seen as a key factor in connecting people within a region, empowering communities and building trust and mutuality. (Alston 2002, p. 102)

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE INFORMATION CONNECTION

The notion of social capital dates back to the early thinkers on social structure including Marx (*das Kapital* 1967) Durkheim's notion of normative psychology (1889) , Weber and Dewey (1891), Hanifan's idea that "the community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts"(1916) and de Toqueville 1840 (1945) connecting the media to democracy.

The importance of information in the acquisition of social capital has underpinned most contemporary thought on social capital since the 1960-70s when founding theorists such as Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, and a lesser known scholar Jane Jacobs, began to consider the theoretical importance of social connections in the context of their research which ranged from urban development to education and civic affairs.

THE CONSCIOUS ACQUISITION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

French social philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, is credited as providing the first theoretically refined analysis of social capital (Portes 1998, p. 3) from his earliest ethnological work in Kabylia and Bearn (Bourdieu 2005, p. 2) to examine the way villagers traded on the basis of good will and reciprocity. He defined social capital as:

"the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition".(Bourdieu 1986, p. 248)

Bourdieu's analysis was based on the assumption that capital underpinned the social world. He contended capital could be presented in four guises: *economic capital*: labour, time and money *cultural capital* (embodied and/or objectified in the form of cultural goods such as art work, and institutionalised such as academic qualifications) *social capital*; beneficial social connections and *symbolic capital* ; resources available on the basis of honour, recognition, prestige in which he highlighted the publishing industry as a major beneficiary of this form of capital (Bourdieu 1986; Grenfell 2008). Ultimately, he argued all forms of capital could be converted to economic capital.

Bourdieu contended those who lacked educational and economic capital could utilise their cultural and social capital to succeed in professions such as advertising, marketing and the media (Bourdieu 1984, p. 573). Bourdieu defined the journalistic field to highlight the hidden constraints or invisible structures and mechanisms within the media that influenced the actions and thoughts of the wider public (Bourdieu 1996, p. 2). His writings, and those of more recent scholars who have attempted to further define the journalistic field (Neveu & Benson 2005), focus largely on media power by acquisition of economic, cultural and symbolic capital without unpacking the integral role of social capital in this process. Unlike economic capital, Bourdieu suggested if the effort and investment ceased then the social capital could dissolve. Bourdieu claimed it was the solidarity of a group which made the acquisition of social capital possible and that within a social network, a delegation was often formed to enable a single agent or a small group of agents to represent the group or speak on its behalf with the aid of the collectively owned social capital (Bourdieu 1986, p. 249).

SOCIAL CAPITAL AS BY-PRODUCT TO INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS

Sociologist James Coleman's work differs dramatically to Bourdieu in the way they see the establishment of social connections. For Bourdieu, social capital is underpinned by economics that is highlight socially and historically contextual. Coleman sees social capital as rational choice, analytically fixed as the capacity to deal with public goods or market imperfections (Fine 2001). Coleman defines social capital as:

“a particular kind of resource available to an actor. Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure. Social capital inheres in the structure of the relations between actors and among other actors” (Coleman 1988, p. 98)

Unlike Bourdieu, who considers social capital as a conscious investment strategy which requires ‘endless effort at the institutional level’, Coleman sees social capital as a ‘largely unintentional’ process ((Field, Schuller & Baron 2000, p. 7), as individuals are more concerned with advancing their own interests. Both, however, see social capital as a means to increasing an individual's resources (Winter 2000,). Coleman contended social capital exists in three major forms: Obligations, expectations and trustworthiness of structures; Information channels; Norms and effective sanctions. Like Bourdieu, he argues there are certain social structures that facilitate social capital, importantly the idea of ‘closed’ or dense social networks, where everyone is connected such that no one can escape the notice of others (Burt 2001, p. 37). and that these dense relationships emphasise that the ‘strength of these ties make possible transactions in which trustworthiness is taken for granted and trade can occur with ease’(Coleman 1988, p. 17).

BROADCAST MEDIA ‘ERODING’ SOCIAL CAPITAL

Putnam builds on the work of Coleman in that, he considers social capital a ‘public good’ like clean air and safe streets, which is often under provided by private agents. (Putnam, R 1993) Whereas Coleman and Bourdieu focus on the benefits first and foremost to the individual, Putnam prefers to focus on the benefits to the collective, although all scholars in this field concede that social capital can be of value to both individuals and groups, private and public interests(Lin, Burt & Cook 2001). He argues social capital is strongly connected to civic engagement after his studies in some regions of Italy found those who trusted one another and were more active in community organisations were more likely to vote and engage in civic affairs (Putnam, RD, Leonardi & Nanetti 1993)

Like Coleman, Putnam defines social capital as “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them”(Putnam, Robert 2000, p. 19) Putnam expands on Coleman's idea of strong ties, by outlining two forms of social capital: bridging (or inclusive) social capital which he argues provides the sociological “WD-40” by connecting people across a range of diverse social, cultural and economic backgrounds such as the civil rights movement and youth service groups and bonding (or exclusive) social capital which reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups such as country clubs or church-based women's reading groups. Putnam argues ‘bridging’ social capital is linked most neatly to information diffusion.

Putnam declared that social capital in the US had declined towards the end of the 20th century largely, or coincidentally, because people were watching more TV, watching it more habitually, more pervasively and watching programs that were associated with civic disengagement (such as entertainment as opposed to news (Putnam, Robert 2000, p. 246). But he considered the newspaper poles apart from television and entertainment in the way it

engaged a community and described newspaper readership/circulation as a mark of citizen interest in community affairs (Putnam, RD, Leonardi & Nanetti 1993, p. 97).

CONNECTING SOCIAL CAPITAL TO THE REGIONAL MEDIA

Most of the academic literature linking the media to social capital focuses on the role it plays in community building, collective action and 'civicness'. Putnam and his followers use newspaper readership as an indicator of 'civicness' or community social capital. Pippa Norris, a protagonist to Putnam, argues that societies with high levels of social capital also have widespread access to the mass media, most notably newspapers, but unlike Putnam she contends that informal social networks that arise from civil society are unrelated to use of mass media (Norris 2002, p. 7). Bourdieu argues those who are professional or self-appointed disseminators of information require social capital over economic capital to succeed. Coleman and Putnam, along with other theorists such as (Adler 2000; Kilpatrick 2002) specifically describe information channels as forms of social capital (Putnam in reference to 'bridging' social capital), but Coleman uses examples of individuals bypassing newspapers in favour of friends or family for news and information as an example of the power of close ties.

Some theorists have attempted to use community newspaper content as a measure of collective social capital (Kreuters 1998; McManamey 2004) or link circulation size of community newspapers in certain geographical areas to social capital (Galper 2002). In Australia, John Harrison, Geoff Woolcock and Sue Scull attempted to map definitions of social capital and its relationship to the media, to work towards a contemporary definition of the theory. (Harrison 2004) Their research focused on the role the media played in community building and generating 'civicness', highlighting local newspapers, civic journalism and community broadcasting as holding commitments to increasing community social capital. But there is a blurring of the distinction between social capital and civic journalism as one in the same, when further unpacking of the theory and how it applies to news production is required.

Bowd, in her examination of the regional media in Australia, argues that in order to fulfil their information and networking role and contribute to social capital, local media need to be in some way 'connected' to their audience (Bowd 2009, p. 53). She argues in particular that the advocacy role performed by many local news outlets can support this. McManamey (2004) has provided one of the most detailed studies on the relationship between social capital and the independent community newspaper. Her longitudinal study of newspapers in Tasmania, Australia (1910 to 2000), examines newspaper content and its relationship to social capital in a community. She found there was a significant link between hard times/difficult circumstances such as the Great Depression and recession of the 1980s and the establishment of community newspapers as an outcome of social capital. She sees trust and networks as important 'elements' of social capital and contends community newspaper content is based on strengthening communications between members, identity building, and increasing the avenues for voicing and addressing issues by local communities. She indicates, however, more research could be undertaken into understanding the dynamics of newsroom production and social capital.

Little research has been undertaken that examines the value social capital has for commercial regional media networks in relation to the production, dissemination and reproduction of news and information. Like Bourdieu, this paper argues that the deliberate and conscious acquisition of social capital should be core to any business strategy for regional newspapers.

If such investment ceases, or is not resourced and nurtured properly, then surely this will affect the viability of the publication. Much of the literature on regional newspapers and social capital overlooks the economic reality of these institutions, preferring to focus on their civic culture, community building and 'public good' functions. The role of classifieds and advertising for example, as sources of social capital, are not given space in academic discussion around social theory. This paper argues that any examination of the regional media and the value of social capital should consider that social capital is rooted in economics (Bourdieu 1986) and both editorial and advertising content are sources of social capital for a regional newspaper.

Bridging the gap in media and social capital literature.

All three founding theorists of social capital consider the existence of networks important to the development and preservation of social capital. What scholars of social capital mean by networks differs considerably, however. Adler and Kwon (2000) argue some theorists focus on internal ties within society such as informal face to face interaction or membership within civic associations or social clubs, whereas network theorists argue the focus should be on an actor's social capital both through the actor's direct ties and indirect ties within the broader network which they are embedded ((Scott 1991; Tichy 1981) Manual Castells (1996) defines networks as "open structures able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they share the same communication codes (or values) (Castells 1996, p. 470).

Whereas Coleman and Bourdieu focus on the importance of close ties within a network, Putnam argues bridging is particularly powerful in acquiring social capital and this stream of thought has been further developed by contemporary scholars such as Nan Lin (Lin, Burt & Cook 2001) and Michael Woolcock. Woolcock (2001), for example, expands on the work of Coleman and Putnam, by defining three types of social capital in a network:

bonding social capital: consisting of strong ties including family, close friends, neighbours, colleagues.

bridging social capital: refers to weak ties, where individuals may share similar economic or political positions, but who differ in terms of location, occupation or ethnicity.

linking social capital: pertains to connections with people in power, whether they are in politically or financially influential positions

(Woolcock, M 2001; Woolcock, M. & Sweetser 2002) One of the earliest scholars on social capital and neighbourhood networks is Jane Jacobs who

The role of information broker

The concept of bridging bears strong association with the idea of 'brokerage' which was first considered in the 1960s by American urban activist Jane Jacobs ((Adler 2000; Nahapiet 1998), who viewed social capital as:

"...underlying any float of population must be a continuity of people who have forged neighborhood networks. These networks are a city's irreplaceable social capital."

(Jacobs 1961, p. 148)

Using examples from her observations on NYC sidewalks, she argued the social life of these spaces brought together people who did not normally have a close bond with each other. It is her observation of the role of 'public characters' in bringing together people within a neighbourhood that is of most relevant to this research. She noted how basic 'public characters' such as bar tenders and shopkeepers acted as information brokers, interacting with many different community members to facilitate the circulation of news and information, without imposing on their sociability ((Adler 2000, p. 97). Importantly, Jacobs noted that the

efficiency of public sidewalk characters declined drastically if too much burden is placed upon them.

She argued a network required three requisites to prosper: a start of some kind, a physical area which sufficient people can identify as users, and like Bourdieu, it requires time. Jacobs' idea of public characters bears strong similarity to the regional newspaper network, where public characters can be considered both journalists and their sources of news. A focus of my wider research project will be to consider what happens to social capital if difficulties and burdens are placed on those who disseminate news and information within these networks. I have deliberately referred to regional newspapers as networks throughout this paper as networks are considered by all four founding theorists on social capital as an essential element of social capital theory.

Network theorist Ronald Burt (Burt 1992) devised the 'structural hole' theory of social capital as it applies to organisations, which is a valuable tool for understanding the production and dissemination of news and information in the regional newspaper environment. He expands on Granovetter's weak ties concept ((Granovetter 1973) to argue that information brokers (individual or organisations) acquire social capital by feeding off weak ties or structural holes between clusters of people for their own gain (Burt 1992). While bridging has been connected to information channels, there is little evidence to suggest that Burt's theory has not been linked to the media industry. The structural hole argument defines social capital in terms of the information and control advantages of being the broker between people otherwise disconnected in social structure (Burt 1997, p. 340). The structural hole is an opportunity to broker the flow of information between people and control the form of projects that bring together people from all sides of the hole. (p341)

Importantly, Burt argues a structural hole between two clusters in a network does not mean that people in the two clusters are unaware of each other. It simply means that they are so focused on their own activities that they have little time to attend to the activities of people in the other cluster. (Burt 2001). This is similar to Jacobs' observation of the NYC sidewalk 'broker' or public character who brings people together whom which "a certain degree of contact is useful or enjoyable, but you do not want them in your hair. And they do not want you in theirs either"(Jacobs 1961, p. 67).

Burt says a structural hole indicates that the people on either side of the hole circulate in different flows of information. (p341). He argues brokers are in a position to bring together otherwise disconnected contacts, which gives them disproportionate say in whose interests are served when the contacts come together. The power to control information corresponds to terms used in media research such as gatekeeping (White, 1950) and agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) which aim to make correlations between what a newspaper considers newsworthy and how it is presented from story structure to placement, design and layout. Further, the broker's power to control information by connecting structural holes can be for the public good for example where the media takes an advocacy role using the collective capital of the network (Bourdieu 1986) and which may depend on coupling bonding/bridging/linking forms of social capital (Woolcock, M 2001). For example, Australia's earliest newspapers have a tradition of community advocacy. Rod Kirkpatrick argues, regional newspapers began "not merely as commercial ventures but because businessmen, residents and journalists perceived that their towns had interests separate from other settlements, particularly those that were bigger or seemed to be developing as rivals for such facilities as ports, railways or roads" (Kirkpatrick 1984).

Whereas weak and strong ties have been considered separate from one another, Burt along with other theorists such as (Lin, Burt & Cook 2001; putnam, R 2001; Woolcock, M 2001), argue both ties have value. Closure describes how dense networks trust one another and can be associated with performance. If a team, entrusted with the role of brokering structural holes, for instance, trusts one another and has close ties, then it should work more effectively at brokerage. This should be translated and examined in the context of the team entrusted with brokering information within a regional newspaper network.

A framework to examine the value of social capital for regional newspapers

Given the changing technological landscape across the media industry, returning to the heart of a newspaper's function is perhaps a logical starting point before larger questions such as the future of regional newspapers and the medium in which they are delivered, can be addressed. A newspaper depends on its social networks to meet both its public and private interests, yet the importance of these connections as a form of capital within a commercial newspaper is largely unexamined. Rather than reviewing the plethora of literature on this topic, this research returns to four founding theorists on social capital to develop an appropriate theoretical framework in which to research social capital in the regional media landscape. This research supports Bourdieu's view that social capital requires a direct and conscious effort to acquire. It further argues Burt's idea of structural holes provides a theoretical lens to consider how commercial regional newspaper acquire social capital and how broker(s) can build upon bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Parameters to further investigate social capital and its relationship with the regional media include:

- 1: A network(s) must be available for social capital to be acquired (Bourdieu, Jacobs, Coleman, Putnam):
- 2: Social capital within a newsroom takes time to acquire (Bourdieu, Jacobs, Granovetter)
- 3: Newspapers must make a conscious investment in the acquisition of social capital (Bourdieu)
- 4: The regional newspaper can acquire social capital for both private and public interests.
- 5: Social capital and its relationship with commercial regional media is rooted in economics/resources (Bourdieu)
- 6: Newspapers/ journalists in regional news networks serve as brokers across structural holes, complemented by bonding, bridging and linking forms of social capital
- 7: Trust is important within the regional newspaper network if social capital is to be acquired (Jacobs, Coleman, Putnam, McManamey).

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THE EXPLICIT PORTRAYAL OF OBSCENITY IN TELEVISION SERIES TOWARDS THE CURRENT TREND OF VIEWING PATTERNS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS ON GREY'S ANATOMY

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Abstract

The portrayal of obscenity in television series is not a new issue in our society. It is a reasonable fact to be understood that the exposure to such explicit content of obscenity is acceptable in Western culture but somehow or rather, the acceptance of obscenity among the Asian society is still taboo and this has geared parents to pay greater attention to what type of media content should be watched by their children. The researcher believes the audience could also educate themselves by watching such television series since Malaysia is lacking in sexual education. This research consists of qualitative content analysis. The researcher had included the obscene visuals and dialogues in order to justify the existence of such sexual portrayal on the Grey's Anatomy TV series. A theory was selected for this study—the application on selected variables from a previous research done by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation (Sex on TV4, 2005). The researchers had found that such TV content could be a medium to promote safe sex messages since Malaysia lacks in sex education. The implication on theory was to distinguish the obscenity portrayal in TV series in shaping the audiences' acceptance.

Keywords: Obscenity, sexual TV content, safe sex messages, and sex education

Sexual Content on Television: Trend of Viewing Pattern

The explicit portrayal of obscenity in media content—whether electronic or printed form is accessible to its target audience. It can be found easily in DVD movies, comics and other portrayal of aggressive sexual obscenity through motions pictures, photography or even in song lyrics. It is a reasonable fact to be understood that exposure to obscenity is acceptable in the Western culture. However, the acceptance of obscenity among the Asian society is still taboo and this has led to parents paying greater attention to what type of media content should be watched by their children.

The high ratings of TV programs always sustain its viewing pattern and its capability generates more revenues to the media organizations. The trend of portraying obscenity in TV series has

never upset the media producers to produce more dramas and movies that promote aggressive sexual intimacy. The media content producers believe they will capture the audiences' attention by selling obscenity since it can attract more audience and results to high ratings among viewers. Television's treatment of sexual content in recent years has grown increasingly frequent and prominent, raising important societal concerns in an era where decisions about sexual behavior inevitably involve public health issues. Each year in the United States of America, one out of every four sexually active teens is diagnosed with a sexually transmitted disease (Institute of Medicine, 1997). From a broader perspective, approximately 19 million Sexually Transmitted Disease (STD) infections are diagnosed annually, with nearly half of them afflicting teens and young adults between 15-24 years of age (ibid.).

To be in line with the current trend of viewing patterns, it is not a big shock to see various Television programs that sustain its rank as 'most watched TV series' due to the obscenity content helps to boost the audiences' interest to watch the programs. Even though policy makers have taken a proactive step to impose strict laws and regulations as to curb the portrayal of obscenity in TV content, it doesn't ensure that audience—regardless of age, professions, or beliefs—will restraint themselves from watching such media content. Pornography can be associated with social illnesses such as prostitution and casual sex. It gives a significance impact to the society. In the past, intimacy scenes in dramas or movies were not as aggressive as today. Kissing or hugging was still considered as acceptable and unlike these days where sexual intercourse seems a 'must' to almost every TV series.

However, the Grey's Anatomy episodes are the most suitable example to show that inappropriate behavior had tarnished a medical practitioners' reputation. A hospital is no longer a place to treat patients but also a perfect place to have sex. From the high TV ratings value, this factor absolutely grabbed the audience attention as they want to know more on the dark-side story of doctors. Again, from the point of moral values, audience may perceive the obscenity issues in hospitals exist in reality and this phenomenon will lead to the negative judgment. The explicit portrayal of obscenity in TV series could be a factor to boost the audiences' interest to watch a program. As a matter of fact, the audiences' perception on hospital and medical practitioners is be no longer the same since Grey's Anatomy has given them ideas on how to perceive the medical arena.

Audience will have to deal with the obscenity issues as to go with the current flow of viewing pattern. Even though some obscenity scenes carry taboo messages society, it also carries significant moral values—for example, the usage of condom may decrease the risk of HIV/AIDS infection. The selectivity is choosing information. Even with all five senses operating at optimum efficiency, there is just too much going on around the audience and for them to interpret what they have watched (Wilson, Hantz & Hanna, 1986). Again, it is subject to the audience's interpretation on how they evaluate those obscenity messages. This determines whether sexual and obscenity messages has educated the audience and improved their level of maturity and understanding while exposed to the explicit portrayal of obscenity in TV series. Self-censorship could be one of tools to prevent audience from watching those obscene explicit materials. However, the researcher believes that what's most important is for the audience to choose after being exposed day-by-day to such media content. Cleland and Van Ginneken (1989) have discussed that safe sex messages involve individual's initial coital experience with any

partner using the sex protection tools. From a sexual socialization perspective, this is clearly a meaningful type of portrayal, particularly for adolescents—to promote a healthy sex life style.

Sexual Content: Educating While Entertaining

The findings from this study are an indicator that reflects the current situation that shape viewing patterns among the Malaysian audience. We are against any media content that portray the explicitness of obscenity. However, ratings are high for TV series such as Grey's Anatomy, which are preferred by its targeted audience regardless of age, gender, belief, and lifestyle. This phenomenon had varied the audiences' acceptance, expectation and interpretation towards such TV content. As they might interpret those visuals and dialogues differently, they also might have the tendency to imitate the characters' attitudes and behaviors. Somehow or rather, it will contribute to social illnesses such as rape, abortion, Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STD) infections or drug abuse. Perhaps this is the time where the Malaysian government needs to be proactive in dealing with this issue. When people watch television, it intends to be mainly descriptive of behavior and attitudes since it does not quite permit us to avoid an occasional attempt at partial explanation. Education has something to do with the shaping of attitudes toward television. The changes in life style involved in aging would seem to influence some perceptions of the medium (Bower, 1973). Audiences as viewers are exposed to obscenity values with the ability to choose their preferred media content. The information they received from specific medium will be interpreted according to their norms, culture and belief. To say no to obscenity is wise and noble, but to prevent it is even better. Thus, this study is aimed to answer questions below:

- RQ1 : How is sexual conversation being portrayed in the Grey's Anatomy television series?
- RQ2 : How is sexual behavior on the Grey's Anatomy television series portrayed?
- RQ3 : How the safe sex messages are being portrayed on the Grey's Anatomy episodes?

In justifying the obscenity elements in Grey's Anatomy, the research had replicated partial components from a previous research, a study done by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation called 'Sex on TV4, 2005'. A group of researchers from the University of Arizona –Dale Kunkel, PH.D., Keren Eyal, PH.D., Keli Finnerty, Erica Biely, and Edward Donnerstein, PH.D., were the enthusiasts who dedicated their efforts to study the sexual portrayal and behaviors in the Sex on TV4, 2005 research (Kunkel et al., 2005). The partial components which were replicated those variables are such as—Talk About Sex (Talk about Own/Others Sexual Interest, Talk About Sexual Intercourse Already Occurred, Talk Toward Sex), Sexual Behaviors (Physical Flirting, Passionate Kissing, Intimate Touching, Sexual Intercourse Strongly Implied, Sexual Intercourse Depicted, Oral Sex), Safer Sex Messages (Depiction of Risks/ Negative Consequences, Sexual Precaution, Sexual Patience).

Lowry, Love, and Kirby (1981) whose content analysis of daytime soap operas counted 6.58 sex acts per hour and twice as many characters engaging in intercourse outside of marriage as within it, expressed concern that a 'steady viewing diet of role models who engage in fornication and adultery may influence or cultivate viewers' attitudes and values concerning what is 'normal' and 'proper' in society" (p.96). Similarly, the results of another content analysis of soap operas

(Greenberg, Abelman, & Neuendorf, 1981) that showed that these daytime shows contain more sexual content (usually adulterous) than do primetime programs (although prime-time intimacies are racier) prompted the researchers to express concern about young viewers' sexual socialization.

Grey's Anatomy is an Emmy and Golden Globe award-winning American primetime television medical drama which also being showed to a number of Asian countries including Malaysia. It debuted on American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and is created by Shonda Rhimes. The series revolves around Dr. Meredith Grey (Ellen Pompeo), who began the show as a surgical intern at the fictional Seattle Grace Hospital in Seattle, Washington. She and other former interns became residents at the end of the third season.

Qualitative Content Analysis

For qualitative content analysis the researchers believed in the need of showing those obscenity values from the Grey's Anatomy TV series (through obscenity visuals and dialogues). This study had applied the coding procedures for the portrayal involving sexual content was performed at the episode level. Meaning, variables were measured solely on the basis of what happened within that carries all aspects of the Grey's Anatomy TV series as a whole. Distinct from the theoretical orientation are qualitative studies in which theory (or some other broad explanation) becomes the end point for a study. It is an inductive model or theory (Punch, 1998; Cresswell, 2003: pp. 132-134).

The Portrayal of Sexual Conversation (Talk about Sex) in Television Series

Talk about own/ other sexual interest in television series counted when there were scenes among the male or female (or both genders) in each episode talking sexually by using seductive words purposely to spark the moments of intimacy. From the findings, the scenes which involved talk about own/ other sexual interest usually occurred in the hospitals, specifically in elevators and even in the on-call room. The talk about sex involved words that carried seductive meaning that should be interpreted as obscene. From the findings, the researcher had identified that there was constant continuity of male and female characters having sexual conversations actively in certain episodes.

Visual:

Izzie (Dr Isobel Stevens) and Alex (Dr Alex Karev) tried to have sex in the supply room. Being half naked, Izzie explained to Alex her level of sexual desire after not having sex for quite period of time. Due to that, she had instructed Alex to take off his pants. Alex took off his pants at once without any objection.

Dialogue:

Izzie : Alex... I haven't had sex in eight months and twelve days. I'm horny, half-naked and saying yes. You want to talk metaphors or do you want to take off your pants?

Alex : (Nod his head and agreed to take off his pants)

In **Episode 25: It's the End of the World (minute of episode: 32:31—32:47)**, the conversation of talk about own/ others sexual interests was found when Izzie had expressed her sexual interest to influence her sexual partner to have sex. According to the dialogue, Izzie had confessed that she has had no sex for a certain period of time and desperately asked Alex to have sex with her.

Falling under the same category (sexual conversation), the variable of **Talk about Sexual Intercourse Already Occurred** were portrayed in the episodes of Grey's Anatomy when two characters or more (regardless of gender) shared their experiences in having sexual intercourse. From the findings, the scenes of Talk about Sexual Intercourse Already Occurred usually happened among the male and female characters in the hospital's cafeteria or even when the fictional doctors were busy checking on their fictional patients.

Visual:

George and Meredith saw Alex came out from Izzie's room. It was indirectly showed that Alex had slept with Izzie again after they broke up. Izzie assumed this situation shocked both George and Meredith and needed her to explain to them. The truth was George and Meredith were actually avoiding each other after they partnered their first night together.

Dialogue:

Izzie	:	Morning. Morning. What? So, I slept with him again. So I'm a big whore. A big horny whore who can't get enough. Can we get over the shocked silence already?
George and Meredith	:	(Speechless)

In **Episode 28: What Have I Done to Deserve This? (minute of episode: 02:53—03:15)**, Izzie told Meredith and George that she had started her relationship with Alex again after they broke up and had slept together. It tells the audience the sexual intercourse already occurred between them when Alex came out from Izzie's room and tried to put on his pants while walking.

Talk toward Sex is distinguished as sexual conversation due to its characteristics in bringing up intimacy issues when two people or more purposely discussing sexual matters in order to achieve a certain target from the conversation. Such conversations had resulted in further sexual behaviors between the communication encounters (such as kissing, hugging or sexual intercourse). In the Grey's Anatomy TV series, the Talk toward Sex scenes often involved two or more characters (concerning both genders) which led to greater behavior of sexual intimacy.

Visual:

Christina, Izzie, Alex and George—a bunch group of interns were watching Mark (Dr Mark Sloan) suturing his own face after got punched by Derek (Dr Derek Shepherd). Realizing her skills in suturing were not needed by Dr Sloan, Meredith joined her friends whom waiting outside the examination room. Christina and Izzie felt Dr Sloan had turn them on after watching him suturing his own face. In fact, Meredith, Christina and Izzie had decided to name Dr Sloan with 'McSteamy'.

Dialogue:

George : Why is he suturing his own face?
 Christina : To turn me on.
 Alex : Because he's Mark Sloan. The go-to plastic surgeon on the East Coast.
 George : The guy Addison slept with?
 Izzie : Can't really blame her, can you?
 Christina : No, not really.
 George : Yes, you can.
 Meredith : McSexy wants an X-Ray to check for fractures and I think it's a bad idea if I take him
 George : Why? Why?
 Alex : I'm on it!
 George : Why is it a bad idea?
 Christina : McSexy?
 Meredith : No?
 Izzie : McYummy.
 Meredith and Christina : No!
 Meredith : McSteamy.
 Christina : Ah, there it is.
 Izzie : Yep.
 George : Ugh! Just... chocking back some McVomit.
 Christina : Ooh.

In **Episode 27: Yesterday (minute of episode: 10:12—10:32)**, the talk toward sex element was found when the female characters had sparked their conversation sexually. The word 'McSteamy' given by the character of Meredith to name the fictional doctor—Mark Sloan, showed a constant interest among the female characters to talk toward sex constantly.

The Portrayal of Sexual Behaviour: From Hidden to Open Scenes

The variable of **Physical Flirting** is meant to seek for intimacy behavioral patterns between male or female characters. The physical flirting here would be considered when the character tried to seduce his/ her sexual partner that involved the movement of body gestures. The researcher, through his inter-coders, had agreed to code as YES for a scene that contained physical flirting even though it occurred only one time for the entire episode. To avoid redundancy, the researcher had observed every scene in each episode thoroughly.

Visual:

After suturing the male patient's wound, Meredith was about to discharge him. No harm for trying his luck, the patient had tried to flirt with Meredith. He came closer to Meredith and seductively asked her for a date. The male patient suddenly kissed her and say thank you before leaving. Derek who coincidentally seen Meredith being kissed by the patient needed her to explain that matter.

Dialogue:

Male Patient : Darling, I will do anything you want me to.

Meredith : What is it with you guys and your need to dirty everything up?

Male Patient : I don't know. May be it's just testosterone, eh?

Meredith : May be. You might want to see a doctor about that too.

In **Episode 3: Winning A Battle, Losing the War (minute of episode: 10:50—11:07)**, the physical flirting element was detected when the male character purposely seduced the female character and asked her to let him to fulfill her personal inclination. The 'personal inclination' here meant sexual intimacy rather than anything else.

Passionate Kissing involved obscene scenes among the characters that showed kissing in order to increase greater intimacy. In Grey's Anatomy, this type of sexual behavior could be seen almost in all episodes. Since there are various types of kissing behavior, the researcher and his inter-coders had agreed to categorized passionate kissing as to kissing between two characters with full of lust. However, the scene of kissing on the cheek (considered as friendship kiss) would not be counted.

Visual:

Darren and Todd—a homosexual soldier couple was having a discreet relationship. Darren was admitted at the Seattle Grace Hospital and was about to have brain surgery. Darren's father, who also a soldier called Todd to accompany his son (without knowing that they are couple). Feeling worried about the surgery, Todd motivated Darren to fight for the disease and promised to take care of him during the recovery period. Todd kissed Darren passionately and it seems both of them had not seen each other for a period of time.

Dialogue:

Todd : So what's the recovery period for brain surgery?

Meredith : It varies, but usually at least four to six weeks.

Todd : Well, looks like you'll be stuck with me for four to six

weeks.

Darren : You deploy in five days, man.

Todd : That was before I knew you had a brain tumor.

Darren : No, no. Don't screw this up for yourself. You're a soldier.
It's who you are. Besides, I'm probably not even going to make it through surgery.

Todd : Okay? So...

Darren : Cool.

Todd : Then I'll be good to go in about five days.

Darren : Dude, why did you come, man?

Todd : How could I not? God, you're so paranoid. (Started to kiss Darren passionately)

In the **Episode 75: The Becoming (minute of episode: 13:45—14:54)**, the kissing scene of two homosexual couple was being portrayed directly without using any metaphors. The two male characters kissed passionately (as what normal couple would do). It seems like Grey' Anatomy has a serious intention to promote the diversification of genders in intimacy relationship.

Intimate Touching is categorized as sexual behavior which was applied as variable in this study. From the findings, the researcher had observed that other sexual behaviors (such as passionate kissing or physical flirting) can be associated with intimate touching and those behaviors sometimes occurred simultaneously. Meaning, the characters may make contact with their sexual counterpart intimately and at the same time they could be using other sexual behaviors such as kissing and body grabbing.

Visual:

Meredith sobbing badly and Derek tried to calm her. Meredith worried for her mother and she doesn't want her to die alone. Derek helped Meredith to breathe and he had touched Meredith hand intimately and let her to lean at his shoulder.

Dialogue:

Meredith : (Sobbing) I don't... I can't, I can't, I don't... I don't... I can't... I don't want... I don't want my mother to die alone.

Derek : Slow down. Just slow down. Shh...
slow deep breaths
now. Slow deep breaths. Slow down. Slow down. Just breathe in the bag.

Meredith : (Gasping) I'm OK.

Derek : You're OK.

Meredith : Thank you.

Derek : You're Welcome.

In **Episode 24: Break on Through (minute of episode: 36:30—37:48)**, the intimate touching element was tagged after it involved physical contact among the characters (male and female characters). Although it had not resulted in any other further sexual behaviors, the scene where Derek touched Meredith's hand and let her to lean on his shoulder was categorized as intimate touching.

The next variable that fall under same category is the **Sexual Intercourse Strongly Implied**. For this type of scene, the researcher had observed sexual scenes from Grey's Anatomy that contained the sexual intercourse which clearly portrayed male and female characters having sex on a bed. In Grey's Anatomy, some common places were spotted for the sexual intercourse scenes were in on-call room, medical exam room for patients, and at the male or female characters' house.

Visual:

Dr Mark Sloan and Dr Callie Torres were having sex in the on-call room. Mark was clearly seen to be on top of Callie. He tried to bring her attention to fantasize about Erica (a newly appointed fellow attending of Seattle Grace Hospital) to join in the intercourse. It could be seen indirectly when Mark was having sex with Callie and how she reacted during climax.

Dialogue:

Mark : It's just you and me and Erica. And we're grabbing you, ripping off your clothes.

Callie : A-huh...

Mark : And then you're naked. You're so hot. And naked... And then Erica starts kissing you.

Callie : Hold on a minute.

Mark : Above your head. And then I watch as she uses one finger...

Callie : Hold on a minute! Okay, I'm sorry, 'cause that was good for me... that was really, really good for me. Good boy. But I have a big trauma coming in downstairs, so, um, we're going to have to do this the fast way, okay?

Mark : (Smiling and continue the intercourse)

In **Episode 77: Freedom, Part 1 (minute of episode: 06:06—06:55)**, the sexual intercourse strongly implied was tracked in the episode when it involved two characters (male and female) having sex. It showed directly to the audience the position of the male character who was on top of his sex partner. No metaphors were used to portray the intercourse scene and it should be considered as obscenity for this study.

Slightly different in meaning, the **Sexual Intercourse Depicted** is another variable that was applied in this study. As suggested by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation in Sex on TV4, 2005 research, sexual intercourse depicted involved a situation where two characters just had

sex. It is usually portrayed in the series when two naked (or covered by a blanket) male and female characters were lying in bed—for certain scenes, they were still awake or about to sleep after having sex. From the findings, the sexual intercourse depicted scenes in Grey's Anatomy always occurred when two characters just had sex on bed and were about to put on their clothes. Sometimes, it also happened in the supply closet at the hospital—an unbelievable place for a decent human being to express intimate feelings.

Visual:

Derek and Meredith had sex after they met at the bar. The scene started showing Meredith slept on the couch naked while Derek slept on the floor next to her. Meredith grabbed a blanket from Derek to cover herself and she woke Derek up by throwing a pillow at him.

Narration:

(Women voice) The game. They say a person either has what it takes to play or they don't. My mother was one of the greats. Me on the other hand... I'm kind of screwed.

Dialogue:

Derek	:	(Grunts) This is, uh...
Meredith	:	Humiliating on so many levels. You have to go.
Derek	:	Why don't you come back here, and we'll pick up where we left off?
Meredith	:	No seriously. You have to go. I'm late. Which isn't what you want to be on your first day of work, so...
Derek	:	So, uh, you actually live here.
Meredith	:	No.
Derek	:	No.
Meredith	:	Yes. Kind of.
Derek	:	Oh.

In **Episode 1: A Hard Day's Night (minute of episode: 00:04—01:02)**, the scene was categorized as sexual intercourse depicted after it portrayed two couple who just had sex instead of showing the moment of them having sex. Audience would interpret such scene as sexual intercourse depicted depended on the condition of characters who was seen topless and still in bed covered with blanket.

The Portrayal of Safe Sex Messages: Learning While Watching

The final observation for this study is to justify the portrayal of safe sex messages. The main objective of safe sex messages is to promote a safe sex lifestyle by using protection especially condoms. This effort was done to promote the audience to use protection in order to avoid the infection of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD) such as syphilis, gonorrhea and HIV/ AIDS

(Kunkel et al.). Perhaps, this is one of the ways for the audience to enhance their knowledge and be aware of the importance of safe sex in their daily lives.

The next variable of safe sex messages is **Depiction of Risks/ Negative Consequences**. This variable is meant for scenes that contained the consequences of unsafe sex lifestyle such as the infection of STD including syphilis or HIV/ AIDS.

Visual:

Dr Steven congratulated her patient for becoming a mother. However, the patient and her spouse did not happy with the news. The patient clarified that she is H.I.V positive and did not want to get pregnant. According to the couple, the condom broke during intercourse and made her pregnant. Worried the unborn baby would be infected, the patient and her spouse requested Dr Steven to schedule an abortion.

Dialogue:

Izzie (Dr Stevens) : I'm sorry that took so long. Congratulations. You're pregnant.

Female Patient : You're sure?

Izzie : It's a big day for Pregnant ladies. Pregnant ladies everywhere I turn. It's weird. So I'm only supposed to give you a couple of these, but this is, like, a month's supply of prenatal vitamins... samples, they're free.

Female Patient : No, I... we need to schedule an abortion (Started sobbing)

Izzie : O—Okay. Uh, I'm sorry. i...

Female Patient's Spouse : I'm sorry. I'm sorry.

Izzie : I—I don't mean to intrude, but... you might want to sit with this for a few days before you make your decision.

Female Patient : There's no decision to make. I'm H.I.V positive, and the condom broke.

Female Patient's Spouse : Oh, I—I got tested already, and, um, I will again s... in, um, six months, but, uh, so far I'm fine.

Female Patient : Please I just... I—I... I want to get this over with. Is there any chance that we can take care of it today?

Izzie : Yeah. Let me, uh... let me see what I can set up.

In **Episode 74: Piece of My Heart (minute of episode: 21:18—22:27)**, the safe sex message perpetuated the danger of HIV/ AIDS and its consequences on human pregnancy. The lesson that was conveyed to audience is HIV/ AIDS might be contracted even when they use condom for protection. As what being portrayed in the episode, the condom was broken and had made the women pregnant. Chances for the spouse and the unborn baby to be infected with HIV/AIDS were great. Perhaps, this episode will be taken by the audience to practice safe sex.

In one episode of Grey's Anatomy, there was a good example of safe sex messages where the male character (playing as doctor) was infected by syphilis after having sex with a fictional female nurse. In another episode (Grey's Anatomy Season 1), there was a scene showing the demonstration of wearing a condom. Ironically, the demonstration was done in front of all medical staffs (doctors and nurses), although they are the group that should be more concerned with the importance of condom usage. The scene with condom demonstration was actually related to another variable of **safe sex messages** which is **Sexual Precaution**.

Visual:

Chief Webber asked Patricia to do a safe-sex demonstration. She demonstrated the procedure of wearing a condom on a banana. The simulation was done among all medical staffs including doctors and nurses.

Dialogue:

Chief Webber : Patricia will now give you a safe-sex demonstration.

Members of the Floor : (Laughing hilariously)

Patricia : When the time is right, and, gentlemen, you'll all know when that time is, carefully open the condom packet and roll it on to the banana.

Derek : We should try and get down to do the MRI now.

Chief Webber : This isn't really a good time.

Derek : If you want to do this without anybody else knowing, you should do it now.

Patricia : Open communication is essential to a healthy relationship. In a responsible relationship...

Meredith : Poor George.

Christina : Yeah. You know, I think he really likes Typhoid Mary.

Meredith : Well, not many budding relationships survive a good dose of VD.

Christina : Yeah.

Patricia : When the banana is

finished...
 Meredith : Yeah.
 Patricia : ...gently peel off the condom
 and dispose of it properly.
 With every fresh banana, always use a fresh condom.
 Members of the Floor : (Continue laughing
 hilariously)

In **Episode 9: Who's Zoomin Who? (minute of episode: 22:02—22:58)**, the sexual precaution element was tagged in this episode when there was a scene showing the demonstration of wearing condom. This episode had emphasized the importance of blood test procedures in detecting STD infections. It was an effective way to promote a safe sex lifestyle especially among the Asian audiences. The researcher noticed that sex and condom are taboo to the Asian culture. Perhaps it conveyed a good safe sex message to audience (regardless of their geographical factors) to curb the increase of patients with STD.

The final variable of safe sex messages is **Sexual Patience** which again is meant to promote safe sex messages. From the findings, the researcher believes that the Grey's Anatomy TV series has conveyed this type of messages to the audience. **Sexual patience** was counted as YES in the coding mechanism if the episode contained a scene that involved male or female character who refused to have sex for certain purposes.

Visual:

Derek asked Meredith to date him after they had kissed couple of times. Derek wondered if he needs to carry breath mints and put condoms in his wallet (if Meredith agreed to date him). Meredith however refused to agree with Derek's idea.

Dialogue:

Derek : So we're kissing, but we're not dating?
 Meredith : I knew that was going to come out.
 Derek : Don't get me wrong. I like the kissing. I'm all for the kissing. More kissing, I say.
 Meredith : I have no idea what that was about.
 Derek : Is it going to happen again? Because if it is, I need to bring breath mints. Put a condom in my wallet.
 Meredith : Shut up now.

In **Episode 2: The First Cut Is The Deepest (minute of episode: 35:50—36:06)**, the episode again emphasized on the usage of a condom. The male character had emphasized the need for him to carry condom in his wallet to be proactive.

Discussions and Conclusions

For **talk about own/ other sexual interest**, the researcher identified that there was a constant continuity of male and female characters having the sexual conversations (talk about sex) in certain episodes. The element of **talk about sexual intercourse already occurred** explained that both male and female characters were willing to discuss their sexual intercourse experience. In explaining the characteristic of **talk about own/ others sexual interest**, the researcher found that the characters on Grey's Anatomy (male and female) often expressed their sexual interests in order to achieve certain intentions. One of the most recurring intentions was to influence their potential sex partner to establish a sexual relationship. The **talk about sexual intercourse already occurred existed** when the characters often discussed their intercourse experience openly. The **talk toward sex** was inclined to occur when the characters sparked their conversations intimately. The impact of talk toward sex may result in further sexual behaviors.

The **physical flirting** element involved the movement of the human body through gestures to persuade and achieve a sexual encounter. The characters were often seductive in order to attract their potential sex partners' attention. **Passionate kissing** was directly portrayed in the TV series. However, Grey's Anatomy seems to have serious intentions to promote the diversification of genders in intimate relationships. This is due to the fact that the homosexuality was promoted aggressively. Audiences are aware that the existence of such values in TV series would erase the long-standing opinions against the homosexual community. The element of **intimate touching** often involved physical contact among the characters. It did not necessarily result in any further sexual behaviors. For **sexual intercourse strongly implied**, Grey's Anatomy had portrayed directly the precise position of male characters during intercourse, where twice the male characters were seen on top of their partners. The **sexual intercourse depicted** applied in this study tells audiences that this variable is only applicable when it portrayed sexual intercourse without showing it (the moment of intercourse) directly. The researcher had observed and agreed that obscenity still existed in the episodes when audiences could still watch the characters (male and female) still in bed topless or covered with a blanket.

The element of **depiction of risks/negative consequences** conveyed good safe sex messages when the issue of syphilis was highlighted in one of the episodes. Audiences should be aware that the infection of STD is greater to those who are practicing unsafe sex lifestyle. The element of **sexual precaution** was tagged in Grey's Anatomy when the series emphasized condom usage among the adults. The interesting visual was the moment of condom usage demonstration which was simulated on a banana. Where, the banana resembled a male's private part. From the episode itself, it is important to be aware blood test procedures could help to determine STD infections within a few minutes and it is specifically meant for males and females who are sexually active. **Sexual patience** is the element of safe sex messages that restraint any sexual conversation (talk about sex) or sexual behaviors from occurring in an adult relationship. Sexual patience helped to limit intimate activities among adults.

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Journalizing Self and the Occident: Mahathir Mohamad, European Civilization and the Western Media

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Introducing

We consume the West in all its manifestations. The West means many things to many people. Why study Europe (and the West)? Our sources about ourselves come from Europe and the West. Our history does not belong to us. As much as we want to produce history from our own perspective, it belongs to the Occidental world. We live in a Eurocentric world.

Some years ago, I encountered a comment from journalist, editor and founder of the Indonesian opinion magazine, *Tempo*. Goenawan Mohamad¹ begins his essay by saying that the West always makes us disturbed. Placing 'the West' as an undefined area, Goenawan describes the West as

Peopled by those who once colonized us, with a power that placed us formerly at their feet, that humiliated us, and that now remains something in which we can see our own reflection. We scrutinize ourselves before this mirror: are we smaller than they, larger than they?(2002: p. 27).

I cite Goenawan as a prelude to framing Dr. Mahathir's discourses on the West. Dr. Mahathir, like us, embraces and resists the West at the same time; but perhaps unlike many of us, Dr. Mahathir has been profound and consistent over the last 63 years. His has produced a discourse on the West at all levels – the policy, academic and popular. In fact, Dr. Mahathir's discourses have helped re- defined the 'West' to Malaysia and the world.

Dr. Mahathir was not the first to delve into the West. One early discourse in the Malay world, probably the earliest to be engaged with the West in the cultural and intellectual sense was

¹ Goenawan Mohamad (2002). *Conversations with difference: Essays from Tempo magazine*. Jakarta: PT Tempo Inti Media.

Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, mainly through his *Hikayat Abdullah*. Subsequently, in what can be seen as various forms of embrace and resistance to Europe and the West, we can identify such discourses by Syed Syaikh al-Hady in his various newspapers, especially *al-Imam* and discourses by Malay intellectuals from the 1930's through the 1970's such as Ibrahim Yaakob, Ishak haji Muhammad, Mustapha Hussein and Aziz Ishak. Also in the post-colonial period, and generally identified as such, we find works producing such discourses about the West through Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Syed Hussein Alatas, Osman Bakar and Chandra Muzaffar.

If a convenient label is to be used on the engagement with the West, then, Occidentalism came into the nation's consciousness through Dr. Mahathir's presidential speech at the UMNO general assembly in 2003 titled 'Future Threats.' Suddenly the nation, if not the Malays, were told of the need and significance of knowing Europe and the European race for competitiveness and survival – and eventually putting ourselves on equal terms with the West. Until that time, Europe and the West were not in our intellectual agenda. European history and civilization were regarded as archaic and non-consumable knowledge – the terrain for the eccentric lone Malaysian scholar and intellectual. But since that speech, "Occidentalism" became a subject of awe and excitement, bringing to our intellectual shores the orientalism of Edward Said, and later that of Arab Occidentalist Hassan Hanafi.

The spark incited by Dr. Mahathir led to the idea and initiative to establish an Occidental Studies outfit – different from that of European Studies, which has earlier been established at Universiti Sains Malaysia and Universiti Malaya –in July 2003 when Universiti Kebangsaan submitted a proposal for the formation of the Institute of Occidental Studies (with its Malay acronym IKON) to the Ministry of Education. On October 1, 2003, Occidental Studies in Malaysia, through IKON, was officially established.²

It was a milestone in Malaysian intellectual history. Nevertheless there were voices cautioning against European bashing cognizant on Western hegemony and centuries of cultural and intellectual imperialism which has projected the European (and American) consciousness in thought and expression on the Other. There were apprehensions that the 'Malaysian Occidentalism project' would turn out to be a program for revenge in that it would produce Occidentalism and occidentalists. The sentiment is that *Occidentlism* is a derogatory word which smacks of a scandalized form of knowledge about the West. And many an academic have qualms over using the word 'Occidentalism' and 'Occidentalist,' even labels describing certain scholars as 'occidentalists' were deemed to be false and inaccurate.

An unencumbered definition is that 'Occidentalism' is a discourse and a corpus about the West or the Occident produced by the non-Western world; and an 'occidentalist' is one who studies in the sense of investigating and revealing the Occident by developing a consciousness on that geographical and cultural spheres through intellectual production and consumption.

² Six weeks later on November 18, IKON organized its first event – 'Wacana Kajian Oksidental dan Penubuhan Institut Kajian Oksidental (IKON) UKM' with speakers comprising Professor Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, the late Professor Syed Hussein Alatas, and myself, further setting the concept and the tone of Occidental Studies in Malaysia.

Dr. Mahathir as Write: Writing the Self and the Rest

Dr. Mahathir's interest on the West has not always been conscious to us. Central to his premise is the history of Europe and Western civilization. Although he talks about Asia, the Malaysian nation and the Muslims; although he had asked us to 'Buy British Last,' in the wake of looking East, Dr. Mahathir has always been a student of the West.³ The world and the nation has misread the man, and has misread him too much.

The 'West,' the Occident and European civilization have been instrumental in formulating Mahathir's sense of self, the Malay and national identity. From the beginning Dr. Mahathir Mohamad as student activist in Kedah has intellectually countered the West. And not many are aware of this. However, a useful insight on the man can be sourced from the perspective of Dr. Mahathir as a writer, articulating and expressing as an informed subject about his own society.

Dr. Mahathir started writing while in school, back after the Japanese Occupation at the age of 20 to complete his final year. Then being the editor of Sultan Abdul Hamid's College's *Darulaman* magazine, he penned a front-paged editorial for the single issue produced in 1945. In it he welcomed victory in the war by the "Powers of Right and Justice,"⁴ He later was editor of the journal published by the King Edward VII College of Medicine, the *Cauldron*. He began his medical studies there in 1947. That was the year the young Mahathir Mohamad started writing for the *Straits Times*. According to Wain, he began writing for the newspaper after taking a correspondence course in journalism.⁵ His article appeared on 20 July 1947 under the pseudonym C.H.E. Det, a variation on his nickname⁶ A *Straits Times* editor called him to the paper's offices in Singapore and asked if he was interested in a job as a journalist. No, he was not,⁷ was the medical student's reply.

Dr. Mahathir's discourse spans spans 63 years now⁸ since 1947. Dr. Mahathir not only writes about the Malays, Malaysian politics and society, science and technology, education, and Islam. Pertinent to this study is that he also writes about the West. In many of his later works in the form of speeches and books, Dr. Mahathir has incessantly indulged on Europe and Western civilization. Even by taking the nation for a 'Look East' Policy, Dr. Mahathir has in essence engaged us with the West. And this is what we also see in *The Early Years: 1947-*

³ Another reading of Dr. Mahathir's 'Look East' Policy is the tacit orientation in looking West, through Japan. Japan is also an occidental nation.

⁴ Barry Wain (2009). *Malaysian maverick: Mahathir Mohamad in turbulent times*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* Others like Khoo Boo Teik (1996) in *Paradoxes of Mahathirism: an intellectual biography of Mahathir Mohamed* (1996) gives some insights bearing upon young Mahathir's sense of identity. Citing Zakiah Hanum, who was once the director-general of the National Archives in Robin Adshead (1989) 'Che Det' was formed by adding the common Malay honorific to 'det', a familiar shortening of the last syllable of Mahathir. The adult Mahathir converted the 'Che' into 'C.H.E.', a set of European-like initials. The resultant 'C.H.E. Det' became Mahathir's European-sounding pseudonym in the articles published in from 1947 and through the 1950s. Mahathir's sense of identity was pronounced in those years. As a pseudonym, 'C.H.E. Det' was an artful improvisation, probably born of the self-consciousness of young adulthood for Mahathir employed it to 'conceal the fact that the views expressed [in his articles] were being written by a Malay,' Khoo, p.81. See Robin Adshead (1989). *Mahathir of Malaysia*. London: Hibiscus Publishing Company., pp. 26 and 34.

⁷ Wain, p.12.

⁸ As of July 2010.

1972.⁹ He told Barry Wain that his interest in politics was stirred up during the Japanese period. And he read a lot of history.

...and I felt that the Malays seem to be fated to live under the domination of other people...they used to be under the Thais...and they had to pay tribute to China. They had to submit to the British, the Portuguese...for 450 years...I read about thirteen colonies and how they struggled for independence and how the United States emerged...this influenced me a lot.¹⁰

Dr. Mahathir's early writings, rather, a conventional reading of it gives the impression of the man as a progressive and modernist Malay who provides a survey and an analysis of his community in the post-War period.¹¹

We find this in some his writings in the *Straits Times* and *Sunday Times* between 1947 and 1951.¹² This period was when Dr. Mahathir was studying in Singapore. A total of 21 articles were contributed to the dailies. *The Early Years* also includes his early 1960s articles to *Intisari*, the journal of the Singapore-based Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.

Table 1: Dr. Mahathir's articles in the *Straits Times* 1947-1951.

Date	Title
20 July 1947	Malay Women make their Own Freedom
26 September 1948	Malays and Higher Education
17 October 1948	Malays and Higher Education: Summing up
28 November 1948	Town Malays drop National Dress
9 January 1949	<i>Ronggeng</i> is Popular
23 January 1949	Picnic Time in the <i>Dusun</i>
6 February 1949	Rains Bring Fish to 'Sawahs'
24 April 1949	Malay – 'Modern' and Standard
24 July 1949	Malay Housewives are Busy
7 August 1949	The Rulers are Losing Loyalty
9 October 1949	Rulers and <i>Ra'ayats</i> –Climax is Near
30 October 1949	Malay Padi Planters need Help
20 November 1949	Changing Malay Marriage Customs
27 November 1949	Malay Progress and the University
8 January 1950	Malays in South Siam Struggle On
9 April 1950	New Thoughts on Nationality
23 April 1950	Plight of Malay Fisherfolk
9 February 1951	The Peninsular Malays Union

Those essays in the *Straits Times* appeared under Mahathir's pseudonym of C.H.E. Det. Historian Khoo Book Teik points out to the 'young' and virtually 'unknown' Mahathir.

⁹ Compiled and edited by A. Kadir Jasin who was then Group Editor of the *New Straits Times*; and published in Kuala Lumpur by Berita Publishing.

¹⁰ Wain's Interview with Dr. Mahathir on 20th March 2007. *Ibid.*, p.9-10.

¹¹ See Khoo, pp. 81-88.

¹² See *The Early Years*. Historian Khoo Boo Teik in his *Paradoxes of Mahathirism* (1995) however identifies Mahathir's earliest writing as appearing toward the end of 1948, "appearing fairly regularly in 1949, and began to taper off in 1950,..." (p.81).

According to Khoo, to his knowledge, the C.H.E. Det essays have never been seriously studied “but they wonderfully illustrate the young Mahathir’s immersion in the Malay world of the late 1940s and early 1950s. In attempting to reconstruct Mahathir’s worldview, Khoo explores the unexplored “world of C.H.E. Det’ in his essay in his conclusion of Chapter 3 of *Paradoxes of Mahathirism*. Khoo notes that the articles themselves may be categorized according to their contents as follows:

1. Observations of Malay customs and social life – as in the articles on ronggeng, fish, durians, marriage customs, and the housewives;
2. Analyses of the problems of the Malays – as in the articles on the Malay language, education, fisherfolk, and padi planters; and
3. Political writings – as in the articles on nationality, royalty and the Malays in South Siam (Khoo: 82).

To provide an insight on the genesis of Dr. Mahathir’s attitude toward the West, which are to be the themes of his future discourse, it would be well worth to delve into these writings. Dr. Mahathir would insert playful notes and light-hearted comments, as on the *faux pas* of ‘uninitiated *orang putehs* try[ing] to hold the ronggeng girls in their arms.’¹³ At his best, it was observed that Dr. Mahathir showed a feel for the changing texture of Malay social life “without betraying a maudlin nostalgia at the passage of certain customs.” Dr. Mahathir wondered how “the seemingly crude Malay dance, the *Joget* or *Ronggeng*, still holds its own among Malays” in spite of the popularity of Western dances and the large number of cabarets’ but notes that “even the dancing has been modernized and shows influence of the rumba and samba” (Khoo, pp.82-83).

This paper makes reference to Khoo’s engagement with C.H.E. Det with a view of Mahathir’s engagement with the West from the 1940s onwards. ‘Che Det’ was formed by adding the common Malay honorific to ‘det,’ a familiar shortening of the last syllable of *Mahathir*. Khoo notes that the adult converted the ‘Che’ into ‘C.H.E.,’ a set of European-like initials. The resultant ‘C.H.E. Det’ became Dr. Mahathir’s European-sounding pseudonym in the series of *Straits Times* articles in Singapore. Dr. Mahathir’s sense of identity was pronounced in those years. As a pseudonym, ‘C.H.E. Det’ was an artful improvisation, probably born of the self-consciousness of young adulthood for Dr. Mahathir employed it to ‘conceal the fact that the views expressed [in his articles] were being written by a Malay.’¹⁴

We find a list of ‘paradoxes’ in Khoo’s book that serve to inform us of the man and his relation to Western civilization. Below are statements that illustrate, in this context, the embrace and resistance of the West in Dr. Mahathir.

- Anxious to secure the survival of the Malays, Mahathir seemed prepared to see the end of ‘Malayness.’
- His Social Darwinism accentuated his Malay nationalism. His Malay nationalism checked his Social Darwinism.
- The ideologue of state-sponsored constructive protection, he became the advocate of capitalist competition,

¹³ *Ronggeng* is Popular, *Sunday Times*, 9 January 1949.

¹⁴ Khoo Boo Teik, p.81. Cited from Zakiah Hanum, former Director-General of the National Archives in Robin Adshead (1989). *Mahathir of Malaysia*. London: Hibiscus Publishing Company. But “we shall never really know, nor is it essential to be able to tell, whether this small guile was successful,” Khoo laments. He maintains that the little-explored ‘world of C.H.E. Det’ harboured the many dilemmas of the adult politician who became famous for disdaining to conceal any of his views.

- He would ‘Look East’ to catch up with the West.
- He personifies his class by personifying his race.
- He believes in History but is ‘terrified’ by it.

However, In reading *The Early Years* we must be cognizant that European history is part of our history. Dr. Mahathir deals with both his own society and that of its Other, the ‘Occident’ – a rare word used in popular discourse at that time. Surely Dr. Mahathir’s consciousness then was configured by a variety of diverse forces. The *Early Years* writings embedded in the nascent Malay political identity surging from the erstwhile ‘placid history’ and colonialism makes a pertinent study contributing to a further understanding of the man as integral to the nation’s history.

On European Civilization and the Western Media

Dr. Mahathir’s first article appeared with the title “Malay Women make their Own Freedom,” *Straits Times*, 20 July (Published in the *Early Years* 1995, pp.1-5.). I cannot help but be reminded of Syed Sheikh al-Hady’s novel, *Hikayat Faridah Hanum* (1925-1926), bearing the modern theme of women emancipation. But upon closer inspection, the article and subsequent articles are responses to a new world, to a milieu – to modernity and development. It is a response to European civilization and at the same time, a product of European and Western influence.

In the article (to be followed over the next six odd decades), Dr. Mahathir offers a dialogical construction of the world. He promotes the West writing through a semantics that is not always familiar in the Malay context – ‘political bodies,’ ‘economic and political progress,’ ‘constitutional problems’ and the ‘Occident.’ Dr. Mahathir delves on the “disturbing question of social reforms,” and when the time comes, “the thorniest question will be the emancipation of Malay women.”

Taking this article as an example, Dr. Mahathir declares his perspective on the world. He calls for the adoption of Western culture like the Chinese after World War I. Dr. Mahathir’s sense of tradition and reform was illustrated in his reference to

(T)he dewey-eyed ‘Lotus Flowers’, once so provokingly shy, were emancipated and became the objects of envy to Malay boys and girls. For a time Malay parents stuck to traditions and eyed with severe disapproval any modernistic trend among their children.

Dr. Mahathir unambiguously chastises the Malay response where

(R)eligious teachings were intensified and a campaign was started to make the word ‘modern’ as odious as possible. Vernacular papers took up the cry against the wickedness of Western culture and it was not uncommon even to hear stage comedians satirising a few unconventionalities that had become evident.

Dr. Mahathir manifests the tradition of self-criticism, like what we know of Abdullah Munsyi. He describes the refusal to change among ‘orthodox Malays’, and set the political changes during the formative years of UMNO, as set against “the placid history of the Malays.” He makes comparisons with the West and at the same time describes to his readers how the West was. In illustrating that Malay womenfolk can equally be useful to the

community as well as “in the Kitchens of their husbands,” Dr. Mahathir compares them to the English women.

Like the English suffragettes of the early 1920s they could point to concrete proofs of their abilities and eligibility for a new status at par with their menfolk. But unlike English suffragettes, they did not resort to violent methods and neither will they in the future.

That article, and the subsequent articles in the newspaper marks an important milestone in Malay intellectual history, and that of Dr. Mahathir’s consciousness of the West.¹⁵ In this case, in what is to be reminiscent of his 19th June 2003 speech to the 54th UMNO general Assembly, Dr. Mahathir urges the Malays to learn and comprehend the ways of Europe and the West. His 1947 public discourse debut through the empowerment of Malay women called for the availability of a sound education and a through knowledge of modern housecraft. And what he emphasises in countering a Eurocentric view of the world was that

Religious teaching designed to enable them to distinguish between the good and evil of Western culture must be initiated.

In what many may not realise, Dr. Mahathir has always been a student of the West. The ‘West,’ the Occident and European civilization have been instrumental in formulating Mahathir’s sense of being, the Malay and national identity. Dr. Mahathir represents post War modern Malay thought. In itself it is the outcome of the interplay of diverse forces inducing a Malay discourse on the West. Historically, Dr. Mahathir set a new beginning on Malay knowledge production, through his direct and didactic common-sense language, which were to build up through speech and writing in a rational and coherent form..” He has a particular mode of representation – and in this case both Malay society and ‘the West.’

In his early writings, we find Dr. Mahathir positioning himself as the subject – an informed rather than a passive one. He displays a critical sense of judgment on the presumed natural superiority of the West.

Subsequently he writes on “Town Malays Drop national Dress,” *Straits Times*, 28 November (Published in the *Early Years* 1995, pp.1-5.). Here, Dr. Mahathir rebukes Malay men in Singapore for forgetting that “their race has a national dress worthy of their pride, and that the art and desire to wear the national dress had been lost.

If one were to delve into the literature on media and cultural imperialism, or Cultural Studies of the Occidental kind, Dr. Mahathir’s comments in the 1940s precede its modern-day inquiry as academic themes in the universities. He observes then that

(T)he cosmopolitan atmosphere of this city, the American tourists and the cinemas have had their effects, and the result is none too pleasing. In upcountry towns, *Raya* days are occasions for a display of a riot of colours. *Gay kebaya* and *sarung* mingle with equally

¹⁵ And this consciousness can be seen throughout his discourse to the present.

colourful male attire of silk, satin and thread of gold. Occidental coats and ties are discarded and something of the atmosphere of a true Malay country is recaptured. In the same article, in what was to pre-empt the meaning of globalization four decades thence as manifested in ceremonial dresses, Dr. Mahathir notes that

the *pereman* with the *tengkolok* or headkerchief and the *kris* presents the perfect picture of the habitual dress of well-to-do Malays in the days before Occidental dress swept the East and destroyed its colour and glamour.

That was published on 28 November 1948. He was then 23 years old, having spent more than a year in Singapore. Seeing what was happening in the British colony, he feared the erasure of Malay identity by the West. Relocating from the fringes of empire to the commercial centre of colonial Malaya, Mahathir encountered a completely different world in Singapore.¹⁶ In an interview with Wain on 20 March 2007, Dr. Mahathir told him that Singapore opened his eyes to the possibilities of modernization and confirmed his worst fears about the Malays being dispossessed of their own country. He recalled

They were so very far ahead of us – hugh urban community, very sophisticated and very rich people – whereas I came from Alor Star, where the Malays in particular were very poor.¹⁷

Dr. Mahathir also wrote articles to a number of journals. One of which is *Intisari*, a journal published by the Malaysian Sociological Institute. In the 1962 issue of the journal, he wrote on “The Bases of National Unity.” This article later became chapter six in *The Malay dilemma* (1970). The article was Dr. Mahathir’s survey of nation and nationhood. Here he displays the meaning of loyalty towards and unity of a nation. Dr. Mahathir derives sources on the concepts and processes of nation-building from Europe. Essentially, it was a short course on European history, where he weaves through Imperial Rome, early city-states and principalities through the unification of Italy by Garibaldi. He then moves on to the English experiment in Cromwell, the French Revolution, the American The Thirteen Colonies and the Swiss example of unity induced by external forces. For Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir argues, the lessons of history were not available.

Obviously we have to look towards other multi-racial nations for guidance in this matter and the United States and Australia offer the most clear-cut precedents. The choice of English in these two countries is governed by the fact that the English-speaking settlers were the first to establish effective and internationally recognised governments. In both countries there were aboriginal people but these people had not been able to delineate their country, to govern and to be internationally recognised.

¹⁶ John Funston (1998) “Political Careers of Mahathir Mohamad and Anwar Ibrahim: Parallel, Intersecting and Conflicting Lives”, IKMAS Working Papers, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, no. 15, July: i-iv, 1-32,. Cited in Wain, p. 11.

¹⁷ Interview with Barry Wain, 20 March 2007, in Wain, *ibid*.

In 1976, Mahathir wrote the book *Menghadapi cabaran*, published by a publisher much associated with UMNO, Pustaka Antara. The book was then translated into English 10 years after with the title *The challenge* published by Pelanduk Publications. *The challenge*, although subdued in its public consciousness, is a significant repository of the ideas of Mahathir since the *Malay dilemma*. It spells out a reemphasis on Malay identity and Malay nationhood, and the Malay future. It was the precursor to his 2003 landmark speech, his last as UMNO president, titled 'Future Threats.'

Khoo Boo Teik argues that if *The Malay dilemma* "sought to lift the deadweight of the past, *The challenge* strove to provide the bearings of the future." In the Introduction to *The challenge*, Mahathir speaks in the language troubled by history, of the past 'missed' by the Malays:

...one of the saddest ironies of recent times is that Islam, the faith that once made its followers progressive and powerful, is being invoked to promote retrogression which will bring in its wake weakness and eventual collapse. A force for enlightenment, it is being turned into a rationale for narrow-mindedness; an inspiration towards unity, it is being twisted into an instrument of division and destruction (Introduction)

A more detached observer might be prepared to discover in the emergence of these 'radical,' 'retreatist,' and 'obscurantist' tendencies in Islam in Malaysia signs of a 'reflowering of Islam' in Malay social and cultural life. Khoo Boo Teik sees Mahathir as taking a different view of the emergence of doctrinaire and obscurantist Islam among Malay students, intellectual, government officers, and in the rural stronghold of PAS.

The Challenge saw in the 'radical' tendency the failure to realize- at best because of genuine confusion – that 'a balance cannot be attained between spirituality and materialism' (Mahathir, 1986: p.74) by which it meant an incompatibility between 'Islamic spirituality' (*Ibid.*, p.73) and the 'socialist and communist ideologies...[which] are based on materialism' (*Ibid.*, p. 113) Against the demands of 'socialist and communist ideologies' for 'material equality' (*Ibid.*, p. 62), it contended that these had nothing in common with the 'equality and brotherhood...not in material wealth but in religion' (*Ibid.*, p. 65) that existed 'in a staunchly Muslim society' (*Ibid.*). Based on the chapters 'Materialism and Spirituality' (pp. 56-82) and 'Spirituality and the Modern Challenge' (pp.104-16) in *The challenge*, Khoo Boo Teik sums up Dr.Mahathir's case against socialism(1995:p.38). Dr. Mahathir argues that:

The materialistic motivation as found in a socialist society is not part of Islamic philosophy. Equality in property is not the basis of justice and brotherhood in Islam. Possession of property is not equal in a Muslim society and there is no demand that all Muslims should own property of the same value (Mahathir, 1986:p.64).

Later in *The Challenge*, Mahathir says that 'Islam has never urged the rejection of worldly wealth.' (p. 107).Subtly resonating European history and Western philosophies, Dr. Mahathir makes his point in that

the choice before the upholders of spirituality is not between rejecting and accepting the world and its wealth. The world and its wealth and a myriad social activities will

exist irrespective of what philosophies of life and death dominate human mind. The choice before the spiritual group is whether to let greedy materialists own all the wealth of the world and the power that goes with it, or to own that wealth themselves. If the materialistic group own that wealth, the spiritual group cannot but face destruction. On the other hand, if the spiritual group owns the wealth, there is some hope that they can still avoid moral decadence (*Ibid.*, p. 113).

What *The challenge* finds objectionable, according to Khoo Boo Teik (1995, p. 59) was the Malay's suspicion of 'secular' learning or 'Western' education that led to the deprecation of many fields of 'worldly knowledge' (*Ibid.*, p. 114) for fear that 'faith in Islam will...be weakened by the mastery of such knowledge' (*Ibid.*, p. 36). Mahathir attributes such an attitude to the Malays' ignorance as to 'the contribution of Islam to world education since the fourteenth century' (Mahathir, 1986:p.24). Dr.Mahathir calls on the Malays to appreciate that Western or secular education, so-called, was 'neither Western nor secular' (*Ibid.*, p. 25). Dr. Mahathir reasons that:

The education and knowledge that the West and that the Western people have spread throughout the world are in reality Islamic. When the Muslims mastered these, Islam spread rapidly. It would not be too much to say that the knowledge helped the spread of Islam. Knowledge which was so effective in helping the spread of Islam cannot be said to be in conflict with Islam (*Ibid.*)

The challenge offers a concrete lesson to help the Malays 'in overcoming their suspicion of fields of knowledge that the West calls 'secular' or 'Western education' (Mahathir, 1986: p. 37). Dr. Mahathir argues that Muslims who hinder the mastery of knowledge related to the production and use of such equipment (of war), dubbing the knowledge 'secular,' may be committing treachery against Islam rather than preserving its integrity (*Ibid.*, 31). Against the background of Western and European influence upon the rest of the world and the Malays, Mahathir believes that where knowledge is concerned, there can be no division into 'religious; and 'secular' education. All education that is useful to mankind becomes part of the knowledge that Islam urges its believers to pursue (*Ibid.*, 27-8).

The Challenge offeres Dr.Mahathir's reading of Islam "which came not from an Islamic theologian but a Malay nationalist". The result was that the Malay dilemma was recast as a Muslim dilemma" (Khoo Boo Teik, 1995: 41). And this recast was set against 'The Decline of the West,' as Khoo had subtitled in his chapter 2 'Dilemmas of Malay Nationalism.' In configuring on the Malay self, *The challenge* does not contain forceful and combative, Malay-Dilemma-like appeals to Malay nationalism.

In *The Challenge*, Dr. Mahathir speaks of identity and destiny. "The fault may lie with others, but the Malays will have to shape their own destiny." (Mahathir, 1986:p.3). Dr.Mahathir appeals that "God will not change the fate of a nation unless that nation itself strives for improvement" (*Ibid.*). Khoo notes that for Mahathir, Malay 'destiny' and 'improvement' were inextricably bound up with Malay 'values' (1995: p.42). It was in defence of the values which "he thought the Malays needed that led Dr.Mahathir to detect a new threat facing the Malays" – what Khoo describes as from 'a West in decline' (*Ibid.*, p.43). Even though Mahathir describes the West of 'many undesirable Western values' (Mahathir 1986: p. 103). Dr.Mahathir describes the West as suffering from a perversion of values where 'good' is accepted as 'bad' and 'bad' accepted as 'good.' (*Ibid.*, p.91). Dr.Mahathir would later in 2001 in *Malays forget easily* lament that the Malays "have

missed and are not part of the industrial Revolution and the Industrial Age” (Mahathir, 2001: p.17).

One of Mahathir’s ideas about the West is illustrated through his rhetoric on democracy (or the lack of it). Dr. Mahathir was a critique of the democracy practiced under Malaysia’s first prime minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, describing UMNO as a party which had become ‘subservient to his person’ and held together ‘through a system of patronage and disguised coercion;’ and, a government which ‘was openly contemptuous of criticism, with [p]olicies...which completely ignored public opinion;’ a government ‘busy on devices to perpetuate itself (Mahathir Mohamad, 1970: 9. 11-12 cited in Johnson, 2004). Despite his apparent liberal democratic zeal, Dr. Mahathir had his own understanding on how democracy should work. His ambivalence toward Western democracy was made known in his speech at the 50th UMNO convention on 11 May 1996. He again delves into democracy in his 2001 speech at the 55th UMNO General Assembly on June 21 of that year.¹⁸ According to Mahathir, in the West, ‘democracy’ has been made a religion and had ‘bought with it undesirable consequences. On the one hand, Malaysian democracy is not a religion

...Democracy is not for democracy’s sake but for the good of the people and the nation. If the people and the country benefit then we will accept practices which are said to be democratic. If the people and the nation get only the worst from any practice that said to be democratic, we will give priority to what is good for the country and the people and put aside the question of whether or not it is democratic (Mahathir, 1996).

Dr. Mahathir articulated much on the Western media. One was at the International Seminar on Enhancing the Understanding of Islam in Kuala Lumpur, 30 June, 2000 which was published in *Encyclopedia of Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia*, vol.1, nd: pp. 63-74].

Here, Dr. Mahathir refers to the Library of Congress, in that the whole library is available on the internet. Software and search engines make it easy to gain whatever knowledge we want easily.

It is a wonderful world, this world of instant and unlimited knowledge. The media is given a central place in the dissemination of information about everything through the printed word and pictures, through radio and television, and through the Internet. The media cannot be contained and confined. Borders of countries mean nothing to the media. The whole world can be reached by and through the media instantly, in real time and at any time. If words cannot describe, picture can speak a million words.

There is now a fantastic opportunity for the media to play a role in the spread of the truth about everything, to clear the air, to create understanding, to promote what is good and banish what is bad. There is a golden opportunity for the media to help build a better, a fairer and more just world. There is a great opportunity for the media to enrich the world, to enrich everyone everywhere.

There is so much misunderstanding in this world, misunderstanding arising from wrong information or inability to get the right information. And because of this misunderstanding countries and regions, peoples and races and the followers of

¹⁸ Published as *Malays forget easily*. Subang Jaya: Pelanduk.

difference religions hate each other, glare at each other and very often fight each other. Yet correct information about each other can help reduce the animosity and suspicions and bring the groups together into a great family of people, humankind, to create a better world for everyone (pp. 64-5).

Dr. Mahathir then refers to the general perception of Islam as an example. He states that no other religion is more misunderstood than Islam; misunderstood not only by non-Muslims but by Muslims themselves. And

...because of this misunderstanding there is constant conflict and confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims and between Muslims and Muslims (p. 65).

Although not explicitly targeting on the West, Mahathir identifies stereotyping and labelling as 'one of the greatest weapons of the bigoted.' He cites terrorism as an example and explains that it involves people of every religious group, 'Christians, Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims and the sub groups of each.' But whereas terrorism by Muslims are invariably linked to the religion of Islam, terrorism by non-Muslims are not linked to the religious beliefs of the terrorists even though they were perpetrated in the name and in furtherance of the interest of the particular religion. He argues that Hindus attacked Muslims in the name of Hinduism but they were not call Hindu terrorists. Aum Shinrikyo, a Buddhist sect in Japan poisoned with gas but are not called Buddhist terrorists. The Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland terrorised each other but are not call Christian terrorists. But if misguided Muslims attach non-Muslims or other Muslims they are labelled Muslim terrorist. Why this discrimination against Islam by the media? (*Ibid.*)

We take the question to mean the Western media. By not verbalising the media as Western, Dr. Mahathir supposes that the media has the greatest opportunity to correct the misinformation, the wrong perception of Islam.

If the media makes use of this opportunity it can contribute so much to greater understanding between Muslims and the followers of other religions, and so bring about greater harmony and peace to the world (p. 66).

Dr. Mahathir admits that Muslims are also to be blamed for the bad image of Islam and Muslim society. Muslims caused Islam to be reviled by others under the name of Islam. He reminds us that extremism and tolerance is not advocated by Islam.

But small Muslim groups when put in authority would like to force everyone to be pious forgetting of course that force piety is not piety at all. But despite this our detractors cannot be free from blame. They and the media have given the Muslims this bad image (*bid.*)

The Muslims are ready to correct that image, and in order to do that, 'we need the cooperation of the media, particularly the Western media.' Dr. Mahathir refers to such countries as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Chechnya. In these countries the Muslims

are oppressed. The story needs to be told. The killings in Srebrenica needs to be told. The arrest, torture and killings need to be told. While terrorists of Muslim faith are

called Muslim terrorists, no one talks of Muslims who have been oppressed, massacred, and expelled from their homelands as Muslim victims (p. 67).

As if directly addressing to the West and the Western media, Dr. Mahathir asks

Can their story not be told factually, without bias, without the usual condemnation? Can the reasons for their apparently cruel acts not be told? Can there not be a description also of the way they were terrorised, their oppression by their enemies, their tormentors? (p.67).

Referring to the invasion of Iraq, just because its leader is not like by the West, the country was made to suffer. Dr. Mahathir asks should not the (Western) media

tell the true tragedy of Iraq, the suffering of the people? Shouldn't the press campaign for an end to sanctions. Even the United Nations officers charged with overseeing the 'criminal' activities of Iraq have condemned the barbarity against that country and have resigned. Yet the story of these people who resigned have not been told fully. And the people of Iraq continue to suffer (p. 68).

While not using the West as a category, Dr. Mahathir evokes to the religion of Christianity. Implying that the sanctions against Muslims have been effective,

The sanctions against Serbia is not effectively enforced. It is because they are Christians and their crime is after all only against Muslims? (*Ibid.*).

Dr. Mahathir's argument is pregnant with the allusion to the West. Using stealth-like imagery, he creates an image of the West by not creating it.

Acts of terrorism have no place in Islam. But there will be those who become so bitter and frustrated over the injustice perpetrated on Muslims and their lands that they ignore the teachings of Islam and try to fight its cause in their own way, in fact in the way that they see others fight. *For terrorism is not a Muslim invention. They learnt it from others (Ibid.)*¹⁹

In the subsequent paragraph, Dr. Mahathir refers to the hijacking of aircrafts.

*Hijacking aircrafts for example is not invented or initiated by Muslims. Non Muslims started this. They were not described as terrorists, nor linked to their religions.*²⁰

Dr. Mahathir's argument tells of the reproduction of the 'captive mind' syndrome by the Muslims. While the Muslim world does not condone acts of terrorism, Muslims themselves refused to hear the other side of the story, "(T)he very powerful non-Muslim countries have a biased view against us"

And the media from the West are invariably biased. Their reporting, their analyses, their stories are all skewed and distorted in order to make out that the doings of a few misguided and frustrated Muslims reflect the wishes and the direction of the Muslim ummah of a billion people (p. 69).

¹⁹ Emphasis mine.

²⁰ Emphasis mine.

The Western media is called upon to mitigate the circumstances. But almost without exception the Western media

aggravate matters by exaggerating and telling deliberately slanted stories about Muslim terrorists. Has the media forgotten that the terrorists in many of the colonies of the West have since been described as statesmen and were in fact freedom fighters struggling to liberate their countries? And after achieving independence they are recognised as responsible leaders in the governments of their independent countries. Who was Jomo Kenyata, President of Kenya, if not a terrorists? (*Ibid.*)

He reemphasises that ‘the irresponsible fighters against oppression’ of today are ‘the imitators of Western methods of fighting for a cause.’ In the future, these fighters would be statesmen. If at all they do become statesmen, who would have imagined so? Such a condition have been induced by the marginalization and oppression of the Muslims. Short of calling the West oppressive, Dr. Mahathir expresses that

(T)here is not a single Muslim power in this world. They are totally bereft of the capacity to protect themselves. They are totally dependent on their detractors and those who are covertly or overtly against them. Any kind of injustice can be perpetrated against Muslims and the perpetrators will not only get away with it but will be actually glorified (p. 70).

Constructing the image of self and other, the former the oppressed, the latter, the oppressor, Dr. Mahathir tells the story of the Serbs and the Muslims Bosniacs as aired over television.

In one case a British officer was very upset and furious as he condemned the burning of a house where women and young children were still inside. Thousands were murdered by the Serbs in Srebrenica even as the European forces who were supposed to be protecting them retreated and looked the other way (*Ibid.*).

Dr. Mahathir accuses the West of being unfair in not giving a fair reportage of the non-Western world. The Muslims are not as asking for the media to be biased toward them, but “(A)ll they are asking for is fair reporting.

At the very least after a biased or an unfavourable report against them, they should be given an opportunity to be heard, to give their side of the story. Without doubt they will not be able to explain and justify all the things that they have done in the name of Islam and justice or whatever but the world could have an opportunity to make their own judgment (*Ibid.*)

Dr. Mahathir depicts the Western media as powerful and “even more powerful” when they act together. And

power as we all know corrupts. The almost absolute power of the Western media corrupts almost absolutely (p. 72).

Dr. Mahathir counters the Western media by asserting that it has its “own agenda now.

The media wants to shape the world. It is not what the world, or the leaders of the world, think that shapes the reporting by the media. It is what the media thinks, what the media considers to be right for the world that counts with the media now.

And consequently if the media is against anything or for anything, then the reports in the media will reflect this. But the media, like any other interest groups can be wrong. And when it is wrong and it insists on promoting its views the damage done can be considerable.

Dr. Mahathir evokes the character of definitions and resonate how definitions have a way of differentiating between “us” and “them” and how one’s self-definition gives identity to the Other. Dr. Mahathir defines Muslims as “not Westerners almost by definition.”

Some may be pro-Western, very pro-Western sometimes but all are lumped together as Muslims, and their countries as Muslim countries. As such they are not deserving of sympathy, of fair reporting by the media. And because the reporting is not fair, is biased against the Muslims, it augments the misunderstanding and bias of the Western people against the Muslims. The media thus perpetuates the confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims. Perhaps there is something to be gained from this but for sure more would be gained if the confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims ends and we all regard each other as members of the human race as prone to do wrong as all humans can (*Ibid.*).

Dr. Mahathir maintains that the Muslims “are not inherently against the West, the Christians or the Jews.” The Muslims, like anybody else in this world, want peace and a share of the earth’s bounties. Dr. Mahathir believes in the “Global Village.” Advances in communication technologies have presented itself as a “golden chance” and the media must not miss the chance. He reminds us on the challenge facing the media and the power and influence that the Western media yields. With the hope that the distorted view of Islam and the Muslims by the rest of the world be banished, Mahathir cautions that:

What you decide to do and to contribute towards the understanding of Islam and the Muslims by the rest of the world can shape the Global Village that is fast taking shape. Distort it and it will be distorted for the whole of this third millennium. Mould it into a thing of beauty and it will last forever.

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Finally it was the speech to the 54th United Malay National Organization Assembly on 19 June 2003 - the speech that evoked the nation’s consciousness on the West – especially coming from within Malaysia’s intellectual and political establishments. The speech began with changes that the country has gone through, followed by “(B)ut the world has also changed.” Dr. Mahathir resonates Marshall McLuhan. The 1960’s media guru prophetically evoked the emergence of a ‘Global Village,’ where the world becomes smaller.

All the countries of the world are now close neighbours. There is nothing that can be hidden or kept secret.

Dr. Mahathir continues that

The concept of non-interference in the internal affairs of independent nations has been replaced by the concept of involvement indirectly or directly, including in changing certain Governments by foreign powers. If necessary force will be used for this purpose.

Dr. Mahathir speaks of a unipolar world with the collapse of the Eastern Communist Bloc. His concern that the bloc that won, the capitalist, would allow only the capitalist free market and the liberal democratic system to operate. That is globalization, “designed by the Western countries to facilitate their control of the world economy.”

Here is where Dr. Mahathir specifically mentions the Europeans, that they (the Europeans) wish to control the world again. Although at first the control is indirect, it then involves various forms of invasion and rule in certain countries, ostensibly for their security but in fact exploiting the wealth of the non-European nations.

The economies of East Asia grew rapidly since the end of World War II. Beginning with Japan; South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Southeast Asia grew rapidly. But the focus of attention is now China which dropped the Centrally Planned economy and accepted a limited free market system.

Such a development has not only frightened China’s close neighbours and the old enemies of China, i.e. Japan and South Korea, but also the West. The West feels uncomfortable about China becoming an economic power with a powerful military as well. Mahathir rationalizes that this made the Europeans to demonstrate “a desire to return to their fierce old ways.” He notes that the Malay historical experience with the British can provide a rough guide regarding the character of the Europeans. Cautioning on the possibility of the Malays and other Asians being recolonized by the West, Dr. Mahathir refers again to the Malays being colonized by three European races²¹ where “(F)or 450 years we have been under their colonial rule.”²²

Dr. Mahathir then emphasizes the need to know the Europeans. This may be the first time in post-colonial history that the Malays hear the clarion call to *know* the West, but it is the most significant in terms of its ramifications. Owing to post 1990 developments in dominated by globalization,

...we need to know the European well for our fate, our life will depend on how we interact with them and people of their origin. Her Europeans include those who migrated and set up new nations in America, Australia and New Zealand. They are often called white men or Westerners. But many are white and many live in the West who are not Europeans. The Europeans are people of the nations of Europe. That is why I call them Europeans, not even *Mat Saleh*. The English say “call a spade a spade.” Call anything by its real name. And so in this speech I will call the Europeans, Europeans.

Dr. Mahathir was quick to establish that he is not anti-European. By his own admission, he is not against Europe or its inhabitants whom he calls the Europeans. “I am not anti-European,” Mahathir professes.

²¹ This was the Portuguese, Dutch and British in that order. The recolonizing impulse of globalization would refer to the Euro-American type, an extension of the period of imperialism.

²² Note this reference to his previous works.

I have many friends and acquaintances who are Europeans. I am embarrassed to criticise Europeans because those whom I know will feel hurt. The European countries which are friendly towards us will feel hurt. Certainly their media will condemn me as racist. But I consider exposing who the Europeans are has become so important that the risk must be taken.

Dr. Mahathir begins on the traits of the Europeans by saying that they have the same origins and culture, i.e., based on the Greek and Roman civilizations. He acknowledges that the Europeans are “very clever, brave and have an insatiable curiosity.” He sees the Europeans as never satisfied with what they have and always want to improve on them, to make them better, more productive for whatever purpose.

There is nothing, whether instrument or system or ideology which is not continuously improved by them. Sometimes in their frenzy to improve everything they damage things and bring bad results. But they are not deterred and they continue to try to improve things which they have or which other people have. Unfortunately they are also very greedy and like to take forcibly the territories and rights of other people. Their 2000 years history is full of endless wars to seize territories and enlarge their power, worldwide. At first their seizure was limited and confined to Europe. But when they mastered the skills of long distance sailing they extended their seizures and wars throughout the world. The Chinese, Arabs and Indians reached Southeast Asia earlier but did not fight to conquer this region. But when the Europeans arrived, the territories of Southeast Asia,, like the territories of Africa, North and South America, Australia and the Pacific Islands were seized by force of arms by them in order to make these territories their own, to seize the Wealth, to oppress and denigrate and to commit genocide. Because they like to wage war and seize other people’s territories, their main interest is the development and production of weapons to kills people more efficiently. There is no implement that is not modified to become lethal weapons, to give victory for them in war.²³

Dr. Mahathir then compares the Chinese to the Europeans. The Chinese invented explosives and used them to make noise in order to chase away the ‘dragons’ and “stop them from swallowing the sun and the moon during eclipses. Or simply as fire crackers during festivals.” But when the Europeans came across the Chinese explosives, the first thing that they thought was how to use them to propel their cannon balls further.

Since then many weapons were invented to kill from long distances. The cannon was followed by bombs, rockets, missiles, nuclear warheads and many more. Today the nuclear weapons that they have can destroy the whole world, but still they are not satisfied. They are still researching and developing warheads which are more powerful and effective. In the history of the world only the Europeans have dropped nuclear bombs which destroyed cities causing the biggest number of people to be killed instantly merely with just two bombs.

²³ In recent years, Mahathir Mohamad has been a vocal advocate to criminalize war. His discourses, through conferences organized by the Global Peace Foundation bear much on his engagement with the West. The structure and tenor of his arguments resonate the 2003 speech on the need to know Europeans.

Dr. Mahathir observes the evolution on improvements made out of specific inventions. The motorcar gave rise to the armoured car. The airplanes resulted in bombers and fighter planes. Merchant ships resulted in warships and submarines, “and all these are improved constantly in order to kill more people more efficiently.”

In his 2003 speech, Mahathir spoke at length, rather triggered a discourse on the Occident in post-colonial Malaysian history. Never before in the history of the nation that the prime minister has taken such a stance on the West. In what is to become another advocacy in the contacts of criminalizing war, Dr. Mahathir rebukes the West for the billions of dollars spent to develop more sophisticated weapons, “supplying them to their war machines, training their forces for war, getting ready to fight even though there are no enemies presently or in the future which threaten them.

And they demonstrated that they are ready to invent false allegations in order to go to war to kill children, old people, sick people and just anyone and consider all these people as mere collaterals, which cannot be allowed to come in the way of the achievement of their objective.

He then cites a trait of the Europeans, and takes a swipe at their awards, in particular reference to the British.

Fighting and the skills in killing are regarded as honourable by the Europeans. The champions among them are given the honorific title of ‘knights.’ Every now and then they would launch an attack to expand the territories of their Masters or Lords. That is why since ancient time their villages and town are surrounded by stone walls and wide moats.

Another characteristic of the Europeans according to Dr. Mahathir is the concept of rights. The differences amongst the Europeans must be settled by tests of strength. “(W)hoever wins is right and is entitled to take all for himself. The loser loses all,” he asserts.

What Dr. Mahathir sees of European history is that it is “the history of wars, the history of tests of strength.²⁴ When Europe came into contact with the non-Europeans in Africa, America and Asia, they went to war immediately in order to seize the territories of the local people, and to set up new countries and empires. There was no display of charity or kindness. The colonized were chased away and killed without compunction. Many were the tribes which were made extinct by their attacks.

Genocide for them is the final solution.

Dr. Mahathir finds a parallel in what the Europeans have done to the non-Europeans and to what had happened to the Europeans earlier on. According to Dr. Mahathir, the Europeans should sympathize for the local inhabitants because they themselves were expelled from their own countries in Europe.

²⁴ Refer to Dr. Mahathir’s position on warfare and his calls to make war a crime.

But when they reached what they consider the New World which is the old world for the inhabitants, they chased off the local inhabitants from their own land and seized all the properties of these people. Whoever resisted were attacked, killed or enslaved.

Dr.Mahathir also notes that the Europeans also fought among themselves in their attempts to seize as large a territory as possible to create new empires. And “(O)ften the locals were forced to take part in their wars and pillaging.”

This increased the enmity between them because each wanted to expand their territories, to build empires, to become the most powerful nation in the world. This leads them to launch bigger involving all the nations in the world. Dr.Mahathir refers to the First World War in 1914 which lasted for four years, where 20 million Europeans were killed and billions of dollars worth of property were destroyed. Still, he says, they were not satisfied.

Only 20 years after the First World War, they fought again in the Second World War. This time the destructive violence of the Europeans reached a peak. More than 50 million of their people and those of their empires were killed. They employed carpet bombing to flatten whole cities with all the people.

Finally they dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, in a non-European country. Although these nuclear bombs gave victory to them, the Europeans were shocked at the power of nuclear weapons and the radiation which could kill the victims years after the bombs were dropped.

This fear, according to Dr. Mahathir, leads the Europeans to make international agreements to control the production, testing and use of nuclear weapons in war. The fear is more of a nuclear war between the Europeans themselves. The agreements were to prevent Europeans from, being killed and their nation states destroyed by nuclear weapons.

But several of them refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They continued to study, develop and test various new nuclear devices for their bombs and warheads.

Dr.Mahathir reveals the relation between Europe and the Jews.

The Europeans hated the Jews even before they embraced Christianity. When they became Christians they blamed the Jews because a Jew had betrayed Christ to the Romans and was killed by crucifixion.

Because of this until after the Second World War the Europeans oppressed the Jews who had migrated to their countries. Every year they carried out Pogroms and Inquisitions indulging in the massacre of the Jews. The attempt to resolve the Jewish problem reached a peak during World War II when six million Jews were killed. But after the Second World War the Jews were still in Europe. To force the Jews out of Europe, they seized the territory of the Arab Palestinians to create the state of Israel. Not only were the land, houses and farms of the Arab Palestinians seized, but the Arabs were chased out of their land which became Israel.

Dr. Mahathir attributes the Palestinian question and the ‘hijacking’ of peace in West Asia to the Europeans. The attempts of the Palestinians to get back their territory was opposed by the Europeans.

(I)instead they supported Israeli’s seizure of more Palestinian land and the killing of Palestinians.

The throwing of stones by Palestinian children was met by bullets from Israeli forces which killed the children. But the Europeans did not condemn Israel. Instead the suicide bombings by the Palestinians were condemned by them.

In this regard, Dr.Mahathir clarifies that the problem in West Asia, and that of Palestine was induced by Europe. Hence, Europe has made Palestine and Israel as their problem. Europe has produced the knowledge of Palestine and Israel. This was one of the advocacies of Palestinian-born American scholar the late Professor Edward Wadie Said of Columbia University. In Said’s many narratives on the Palestine question, he was not explicit in locating it under the rubric of orientalism.

Dr.Mahathir subsequently specifies on the “Anglo Saxon Europeans.”

The Sept. 11 (2001) attack on America which supported Israel was made an excuse for the Anglo Saxon Europeans to return to their old violent ways.

Their strategy to fight terrorism is through attacking Muslim countries and Muslims, whether they are guilty or not.By making all kinds of baseless accusations they launched attacks against Muslim countries, using their weapons of mass destruction, killing civilians and destroying the town.

Mahathir chides the Americans and the British for ignoring the condemnation of the world against their actions. This includes opposition by their “own people.”²⁵ According to Mahathir, they wish to show the world how powerful they are and anyone challenging them would be attacked by their military forces.

What I say here is all true.

Dr. Mahathir clarifies that It is not his intention to “frighten us, so that we will take seriously the danger that we will face.” He then reiterates that

...I am not anti-European or racist. It is not my wish to create hatred for the Europeans. But it is very important that we know this race and their activities in the past because they will play a big role in our life and our race, our religion and our country. Our failure to know them will make it difficult for us to prepare and strategise for our own safety.

Dr. Mahathir recalls the prosperity that the world has achieved after the Second World War, “(B)ut the Europeans tried to improve things by changing the systems and practices of commerce, politics and social norms so as to become better and more fair.”

²⁵ Taken to mean their ‘White’ countrymen, and not necessarily the citizens of those countries, who also comprise many non-European ethnicities.

Japan which was so successful before has become a victim of this new system. Until now the Japanese cannot resurrect their ailing economy. Japan, and the prosperity and the peace after the Second World War has been brought to an end because of the attempt to improve on what was already working well. With the introduction of new approaches in the development of the economy of the world, with the frenzy to acquire wealth, with the disregard for the poverty and sufferings of so many in this world, with allowing the seizure of territories here and there, all the progress that had been made before has been destroyed.

While addressing the Malays and the nation, Dr. Mahathir also at the same time addresses the West. While admitting that “democracy is the best system of government ever invented by man

(B)ut it is not free from defects. For those who do not understand the limits of democracy, the likelihood is that governments which are weak, or corrupt will rule. At time anarchy will result from practising liberal democracy.

Dr. Mahathir warns of the how democracy can go wrong.

Democracy depends on popular support. This support can be obtained because the candidate or the party is skilled at governing and developing the country. But popular support can also be obtained because of racialism, because of deliberate misinterpretation of religion, or through bribing the voters.

Revealing major defects in democracy, Mahathir cautions voters in a democratic system that they can also make use of racialism, religious injunctions or bribery. Hence the winner which forms the government will not be the qualified and able, but those “with thick racialism, or those who misinterpret religion or those who are corrupt. Government by such people will ruin the country, while the able and clean party will lose.

Dr. Mahathir is cognizant of the good intentions of the West “to force the acceptance of democracy” amongst the non-European nations. He acknowledges that Europeans’ belief that democracy will help “the developing countries they way it helped their own countries.”

But they forget the long period of time they took to understand and get benefits from this system. The struggle for power in a newly democratic developing country has caused hundreds of parties to be formed. A strong Government cannot possibly be formed if the electorate is divided by hundreds of parties. There will not be a party which will get enough representatives to form a strong Government.

Dr. Mahathir accuses the West for not being happy with Malaysia because they want “to see frequent changes of Government.” “We in Malaysia have succeeded in practising democracy” but their (the West) new slogan is ‘Regime Change.’ Because there has been no change, and Malaysia remains “peaceful and successful they accuse us of being undemocratic and dictatorial.”

Dr. Mahathir questions the West on the accusation that the Malaysian government is dictatorial: “Who are they to accuse our Government as dictatorial? Referring to the West as

‘former colonialists,’ he asked are not their rule dictatorial and oppressive and have they just not invaded a weak country²⁶ killing civilians in order to gain power over that country? Calling on the West to reflect upon themselves, he asks the Europeans to

Look first in the mirror. The problem with the Europeans is that they award themselves the right to judge over their own views.

By Way of a Conclusion

In countering the rather simplistic and reductionist nature on previous observations on Dr. Mahathir’s engagement with the West, this study shows the complexity of the discourse. It is quite clear that we need to comprehend the context, and re-read his discourse over time. Dr. Mahathir understands history and is ever-conscious of developments and ideas in European civilization especially in the early modern and modern periods. His reminders on colonialism and domination and concern over human rights evokes a conscience that feeds on peace and co-existence. What is significant is that a dialogical reading of his discourse informs us of the concern for self and nation building by the process of locating Europe and the Occident as the other.

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²⁶ Referring to the invasion of Iraq by the West in 2002.

**POWERFUL FORCE OF THE MEDIA TO ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND ITS
CONTRIBUTION TO ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEERS**

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Topic : Mass Communication, Society and Globalization

The logo for the International Association of Business Communication (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, semi-transparent circular arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a dynamic, swirling effect.

POWERFUL FORCE OF THE MEDIA TO ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEERS

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Abstract

Environmental Engineers are generally unable to proclaim their projects or their engineering solutions against any problem to large masses. Environmental Engineering includes two fundamental approaches: preventing the pollution, and solving the pollution problem after it is arised. Although the first one is preferred by the engineers, in many developing and less developed countries the general tendency is as the solution of pollution after generation. Neither politicians nor public are willing to pay before seeing the threat of the problem, and tend to pollution prevention, although they should be. This conflict decelerates the engineering works to keep the environment and increase the non-success stories and problematic situatons. Although the issues of environmental problems have been expanding in an ever more complex way, growing concern in pollution problems gave rise to intensive coverage of the media as one of their main public responsibilities. Because the influence of the media has been regarded as a powerful force in society for many years, the coverage of environmental problems increase the awareness and reduce the resistance against the engineering works. Under these circumstances this study focuses on the effect of media on public awareness and their participation in the solution of environmental problems. When the journalists are aware of their role in environmental issues, the program will be of high quality and accomplishes the objective, therefore supporting the Environmental Engineers in creating solutions. As a sample, a national Turkish commercial broadcasting company programs were investigated via contents analysis and discussed.

Keywords: Environmental issues, engineering, media, TV

1. Introduction

The term 'media' refer to a range of diverse mediums from commercial television to public broadcasting, from radio to the Internet. Media is effective in informing and persuading people to think or do something (Rowland, 1979). Within one medium, for example TV, there are many ways in which the environment can be presented beyond the newsroom: from the ruralities to the gardens, i.e. from factual to the fictitious, and vicious, nature. The power of the media to create, construct or change social attitudes and behaviours is well-known by not only the media itself but also the public and different workgroups like doctors, engineers as well as commercials. Through media, large masses can be reached at home, where it serves as catalyst for change in the whole environment (Heinich et al, 1982). The study of media and the environment is long standing within the field of mass communication from a wide range of perspectives. Empirical studies typically focus on the effect of media on public awareness, attitudes and behavior against any type of environmental issues (Ji et al, 2009; Sampei and Aoyagi-Usui, 2009; Holbert et al., 2003; Davies, 2001; Sudarmadi et al, 2001; Thapa, 1999; Burges et al, 1998; Gorney, 1992; Greenberg et al, 1989; Rowland, 1979). But none of the studies focused on the effect of media on success and acceptance of engineering works in environmental issues. Moreover, studies have not investigated the public awareness and their participation in terms of their contribution to the engineering studies for the solution of

environmental problems. Therefore, this study mentioned the contribution of mass media coverage of environmental issues to engineering works, especially to Environmental Engineering. The types and scopes of the programs affect the public awareness, acceptance and involvement in engineering works. The contribution of the specially prepared television programs to these were investigated and discussed on “NTV Green Screen” which is a private national Turkish broadcasting company.

1.1 Engineering Perspective of Environmental Issues

The main mission of the engineering is to generate, design and apply the technical solutions to various problems related to their specialization. The main consideration is to solve the problem with the easiest and the cheapest way. In other words, engineering requires an extensive feasibility study. In general the engineering works and solutions are seen only by interested parties, not by the whole public. But in case of environmental issues, the engineering work, whether or not it is seen by the public, should be known, accepted and kept by everybody. Otherwise the results affect them adversely. For example, the sewerage system design is a voluminous work starting from the land survey to the on-site construction of the pipeline. At the end of the work, when the trenches are closed and roads are reconstructed, nobody see the system and nobody remember/know how much work has been done. In this case, public has nothing to do during the project, but awareness and attitude is required to keep the system. Otherwise the system will not serve them and what happens if the sewerage accumulate on the street?

Engineers are unable to proclaim their project or their solutions against any problem to large masses. Especially in Environmental Engineering, this become a much more complicated difficulty because of the prejudice about the job and the misunderstanding of the contents of the job. Prejudice arise from the fright that Environmental Engineers always require treatment of your waste and so cause high costs. This unlucky approach is mainly due to the lack of knowledge about the real structure of the job. Environmental Engineering does not always produce costly solutions, but the job can not introduce itself sufficiently. The second problem is about the misunderstanding of the job. Many parties of the public think the job as if it is related to the physical environment like trees, flowers, gardens, insects etc. Additionally the job is confused with some other jobs like city and urban planning, landscape architecture etc.

Actually Environmental Engineering deals with the protection of natural resources, air, water, soil, minerals, earth; and this protection process includes the analysis, design and application of the technological solutions. This combination adds another important work to the job: Environmental Management in which environmental impact assessment take a big part. One of the key steps in environmental impact assessment is the public participation. Its procedure starts with the announcement throug newspapers, local televisions etc.

Environmental Engineering works include two fundamental engineering approaches: preventing the pollution before it is generated, and solving the pollution problem after it is arised. Although the first one is preferred by the engineers, in almost all developing and under-developed countries the general tendency is as the solution of pollution after generation. Neither politicians nor public tend to pollution prevention unless they have any idea about the results of that pollution. They are not willing to pay before seeing the threat of the problem. This conflict makes engineers unable to apply the pollution prevention approach.

Most of the literature that applies ecological modernisation theory concentrates on environment–society relationships in post-industrial societies in developed countries (Ji et al, 2009). Yet rapid industrialisation has seen mass environmental movements emerge in many developing countries. However, in developed countries, environmental movements emerged in relatively open societies. Environmental protection is not as sensitive as some political issues and its success depends to a large extent on popular support and participation. When the journalists are aware of their role in environmental issues, the program will be of high quality and accomplishes the objective, therefore supporting the Environmental Engineers in creating the public participation in solution issues.

Many of the action activities dealt with relatively minor environmental problems. In fact, activities ought to focus on more serious problems (water pollution, hazardous wastes, population problems). Involving people in working to solve real environmental problems is clearly a role out-of-school organizations can use to help improve the environment and to develop environmental action skills. The educational value of these activities could be improved by including issue analysis activities (Howe and Disinger, 1988).

People have positive attitudes about an issue that they know about. Therefore, the contribution of them to environmental problem solving procedures is closely related to the awareness. Awareness is first measured, then programs can be organized to increase its level. A survey is periodically done about the attitudes of European citizens towards the environment (Eurobarometer Report, March 2008). In that report, the question: “When people talk about "the environment", which of the following do you think of first” was asked to European citizens and the percentages of each environmental issue are indicated in Figure 1.

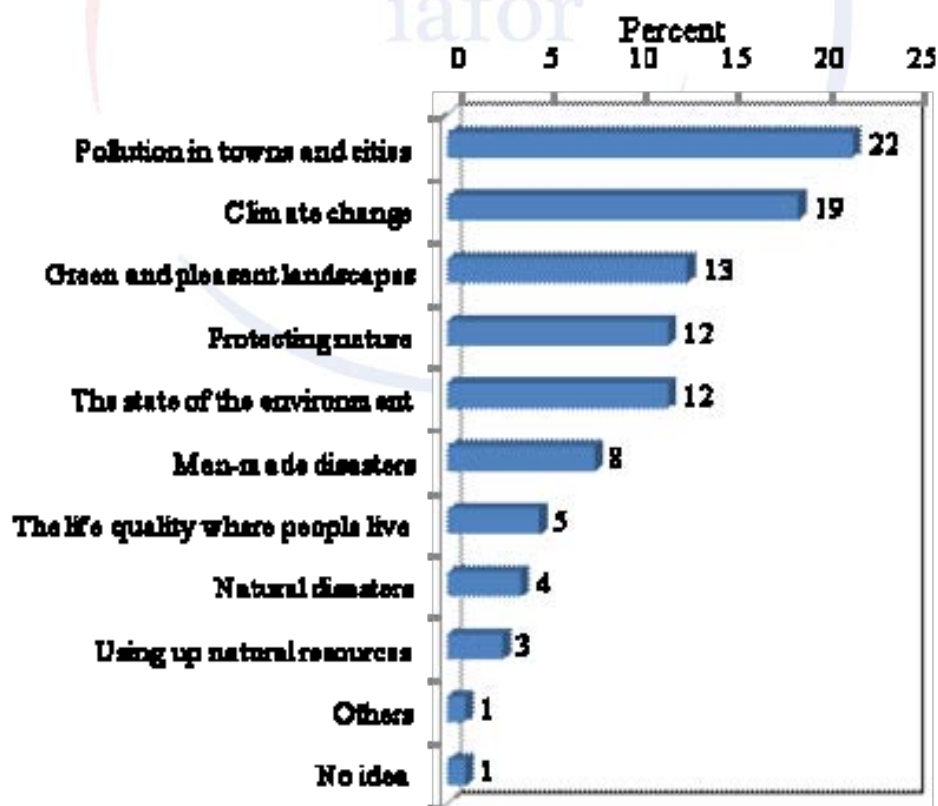


Figure 1. The percentages of the environmental issues that European people think of.

According to the same survey 22% of the European people trust television about environmental issues while only 8% trust the teachers at university (Eurobarometer Report, 2008). Scientists were also found trustworthy, but the Professional engineers could not take part in that list. These values also indicate the unawareness or insufficient awareness of public about the technical people. This needs to be increased by the help of extensive media coverage about their solutions.

The European people were also asked to point out the five main environmental issues they worried about, and the percentages of environmental issues having place in the first five were indicated in Figure 2 (Eurobarometer Report, 2008). Note that except the natural disasters, the top five was all about man-made pollution-related issues. Actually, Environmental Engineers do work extensively about each of them, feasible solutions are generated and most of these solutions require public awareness, attitudes and participation. Participation is not expected in design stage. Engineers only demand the contribution in keeping the work during application stage of the solution.

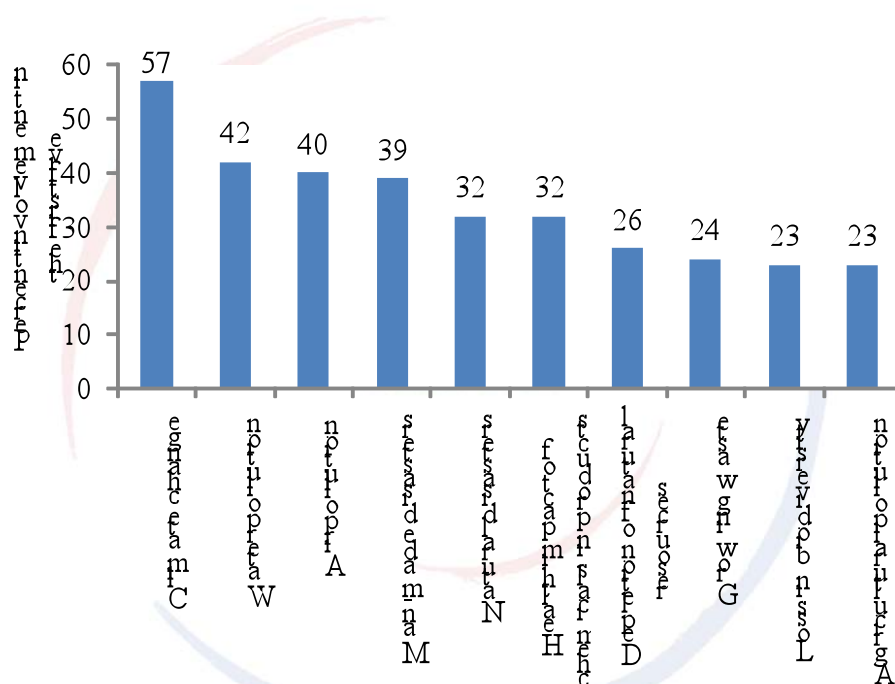


Figure 2. Percentages of environmental issues having place in the first five.

In another study by Abdul-Wahab (2008) questionnaire indicated that respondents were knowledgeable about international environmental problems such as climate change, global warming and the depletion of the ozone layer. Correct answers up to 79% was addressed by the author to TV programs, daily newspapers and the internet by which the public are often exposed to such issues. When asked to select the 3 most useful methods to increase environmental awareness, respondents considered television (24.7%) as the most important method in the study of Abdul-Wahab (2008). Iozzi et al, (1984) indicate that many students report the mass media (primarily television) as their major source of environmental knowledge. For most adults, mass media is rated as an even more important source of environmental knowledge. Mass media, particularly television, has made a significant impact on students attitudes and values.

These indicate that popular and easily achievable methods involving entertainment always helpful in gaining the people. Mass media undertake such a big mission, which would be useful in supporting engineering works if used effectively.

1.2 Media Perspective of Environmental Issues

Growing concern in pollution problems gave rise to intensive coverage of the media, but issues of environmental problems have been expanding in an ever more complex way. Stories about the risks associated with ongoing environmental public policy debates or particular individual-level environmental behaviors receive substantially less coverage.

Generally, the media's regard of environmental issues is rather dramatic, and often negative way. Environmental issues seem to offer their own questioning of technological achievement, and mostly involve non-success stories for a particular problem. Several studies have found that journalists tend to cover specific, dramatic environmental events, most often those with negative consequences (Holbert et al, 2003) especially in television.

Several studies find that coverage of major environmental events often fails to provide adequate scientific detail to place the risks of the event in their proper context, leading some scholars to conclude that television news coverage of the environment is often more influenced by the dramatic value of a story than by the actual inherent risk in a story (Shanahan & McComas, 1997; Gorney, 1992; Greenberg et al, 1989).

The coverage of dramatic events and negative consequences, i.e., those having news value, is certainly necessary and helpful to pay the attention of the public. But not sufficient especially in terms of contribution of media to engineering works.

2. The Effects of Media Coverage of Environmental Issues on Public Opinion, Attitudes and Behaviors

The influence of the media and mass communication is regarded as a powerful force in society for many years. Many public opinion surveys in developed countries have shown that mass media play an important role in shaping public opinion through television, radio and the press, and television in particular was shown to be a powerful instrument for changing public attitudes (Sampei and Aoyagi-Usui, 2009; Davies, 1999; Burgess, 1990).

Ramsey et al. (1992) demonstrated that environmental awareness is the first major step in preparing people to solve environmental problems. In societal dimensions approach, solutions to environmental problems were found to lie in the alteration of human attitudes. Public, in general, are aware of the environmental problems that are directly related to their health (Schultz, 1994).

The study of the relation between environmental attitude and environmentally responsible behavior is very important (Thapa, 1999). Social settings or lived environments are crucial in shaping attitudes and opinions (Burgess et al., 1998; Blake, 1999). The media's message is discursively examined in a social setting by the audience rather than directly assimilated into the public consciousness. If a social norm for responsible environmental behavior existed, more people might behave responsibly, even if they did not have strong attitudes about environmental protection (Newhouse, 1990). The source of information is critical and the relationship between the source and the recipient crucial. Tarrant and Cordell (1997) indicated

that although the 1990s have witnessed high levels of environmentalism in regard to public attitudes, environmentally responsible behaviors have not increased. Why do people fail to practice environmentally responsible behaviors while expressing attitudes that are supportive of environmental protection?

Determining what people know about the environment, how they feel about it, and what actions they take that may help or harm the environment is critical to establishing the sustainability of a community (Sudarmadi et al, 2001). This point is the common objective of engineers and the media. The reason for public participation studies in environmental impact assessment procedure is the same.

A research was conducted on the role of publics in environmental policy-making and critical debates about the appropriate motivations and mechanisms for facilitating greater public participation in environmental actions (Owens, 2000). A concrete opportunity for this research could be the current preoccupation with mass media advertising environmental awareness campaigns, which are based on an 'information-deficit model' (Blake, 1999) of public participation in environmental policy. This model sees information provision through adverts as a means to 'correct' public attitudes and actions towards the environment. The information flow about the environment in this case is one-way, top-down from experts to publics. People will respond positively to the information in the adverts and take action to reduce the environmental impact of their everyday lives. Such a policy response makes a number of assumptions that need to be tested. First, there is the view that people will respond to 'facts' about the environment and their role in its protection. Second, there is the position that people fail to act positively towards the environment because they do not have information. Finally, there is the assumption that the audience will trust the information that is being provided that the presenter and the medium used to present the information have some authority and legitimacy (Davies, 2001).

3. NTV-Green Screen

NTV is a national broadcasting company in Turkey. It has been aired over several environmentalist programs especially during the summer season for three years. The number, duration and the scope of the programs has been increasing over the years. The 2010 main theme was "food and biodiversity". The programs were introduced as those who will save the world (www.ntvmsnbc.com), and they are listed in Table 1 with their names, weekly schedules and durations.

Table 1. The Programs by which "the world will be saved" (as introduced by NTV)

Name of the Program	Schedule	Duration
Green Journalist	Monday, Tuesday 16:35	25 min
Mr. Green	Monday 21:00	70 min
The Earth Notes	Tuesday 21:00	60 min
Time Traveller	Saturday 21:00	60 min
Hot and Fresh	Saturday, Sunday 12:30	120 min
Tuncel and His Pals	Thursday 21:00	90 min
While you are Sleeping	Weekdays 19:30	20 min
Nature Alone	Wednesday 21:00	60 min
Natural Documentaries	Friday 22:00	90-120 min
Ecoists on Work	Teaser, once a day	5 min
Green Tips	once a day	5 min

The scopes of the programs are explained briefly in this study. In writing them the explanations taken from the original program text, available on-line (www.ntvmsnbc.com), were combined with the personal observations of the authors after viewing the program.

Green Journalist: NTV journalists pointed out the environment, foods, species under threat, etc., everything related to green. Some of their subjects were about the pollution in Gocek Bay, pollution of Menderes River, pollution in GAP (the abbreviation of special name of the Great Southeastern Anatolian Development Project), solid waste mountains near Black Sea, threatened birds etc.

Mr. Green: Prepared by Celal Pir to investigate the environmental problems on-site. This was the second year of the program. It was a program where people can meet to discuss issues that affect people's lives and talk about prevalent issues involving all interested parties: the people living that area, related bureaucrats, investors, scientists, engineers, NGO's etc. depending on the subject. The most important aspect of the program was the intellectual follow-up for the fate of previously discussed environmental problems, achieved solutions and precautions. All were besides this year's main topic: foods and biodiversity. Some example subjects were marble processing plant wastewaters in a river and estuary, open-pit coal mine and reclamation, low quality foods, illegal dumping of solid wastes into the sea etc.

The Earth Notes: Prepared by Journalist Miktat Kadioglu and Biologist Rifat Cig. They focused on natural life of Turkey from a different unusual perspective on-site. Endemic flowers, jungles, rare butterfly species etc. were investigated in the program, but not in a formal way, the main unknown and original properties were introduced. For example, there are totally 10000 floral species in Turkey, 3000 of which are endemic to Turkey; the second highest oxygen-producing forest after Alpes is on Kazdaglari, and many similar information was mentioned in the program. They discussed the meanings of signs, fossils, clues that they found during the trips. The nature became a big puzzle in the program.

Time Traveller: Ahmet Yesiltepe was prepared the program. This was the second year of it pointing out the ancient places throughout the Anatolia. He involved the forgotten stories as well as short histories of the places.

Hot and Fresh: The program, whose purpose was giving the recipes of healthy, tasty and environmentalist foods and meals, was prepared by Defne Koryurek. The main purpose of Defne Koryurek was to call the people's attention to forgotten foods, such as 'real bread', 'real yoghurt' etc. People do not consider the reality and health of such foods due to inertia caused by the supermarkets, and resultantly consume many industrial foods. This program aims to remind people how to prepare fresh foods in city life to improve the life quality.

Tuncel and His Pals : Tuncel Kurtiz is a theater and serial artist. He is also a nature-friend with his own farm, Zeytinbagi around Kazdaglari (Turkey). He has a large fruit and vegetable gardens established with variety of organic seeds. Each week he hosted one or two friends and talk about environmental problems, the secrets of the nature, herbal wealth, organic foods etc.

While you are Sleeping : Defne Joy Foster, a famous joyful artist in Turkey, prepared some "green" questions and ask them to the people on the street in a contest format on weekdays. Several questions ended up with a grading, which indicated how much environmentalist did the person was. She also point out some environmental issues and give suggestions and tips during the contest. Some example questions were: "What does recycling mean for you?",

“How many flights do you have yearly?”, “Do you shut down the electrical instruments completely, or stand-by?” etc.

Nature Alone : Serdar Kilic indicate the ways of surviving alone in the nature. The program aimed to investigate whether the nature is dominating the human or vice versa. This was introduced as the exam of the human with nature. How to find food and drinking water in jungle? If clean water is unavailable, how to treat? How to light the fire? How to construct shelter? These types of questions were answered visually during the surviving of Serdar Kilic.

Natural Documentaries : Natural documentaries often present natural habitats relatively undisturbed by humans and stress the importance of trying to maintain these environments over the long term. Nature is often revealed for its own beauty in these programs and narrators provide detailed information about how these landscapes evolved over time (Holbert et al, 2003). NTV Green Screen aired over several famous documentaries which have Oscars and some other high-prestige rewards. Among these are The Cove, Food Inc., Life etc.

Ecoists on Work : The famous names in Turkey gave messages on food and biodiversity theme in order to “save the world”. These were the short programs like thesers. The famous people point out different subjects shortly in an amuzing way.

Green Tips : This was the short program continued from last year. The tips were given together with their differences in daily life. The program also indicated that many environmental problems are not solutionless. Some of the tips were: boil the water in the pot by closing its cover; shut down the television from the power button, not from remote sensor; check the air pressure of the tires etc.

4. The Contribution of NTV Green Screen on Engineering Works For Environmental Issues

NTV aired over at least two programs a day and at least one of them was on prime-time during the 2010 summer season. This keeps the viewer on fresh about the environmental issues and increase the awareness and attitudes. The four of eleven programs, namely Green Journalist, Mr Green, While You are Sleeping, and Green Tips, were directly related to the engineering works. The scopes of these programs include the subjects that engineers try to proclaim, and to generate awareness, opinion and behavior. The selected main subjects are also those having the highest percentages in Figures 1 and 2. Green Journalist and Mr Green were much more related programs to engineering works. Especially in Mr Green engineers and scientists were hosted and their knowledge was consulted. This provided the engineers oportunity to make their knowledge and voices heard.

Another four programs, namely The Earth Notes, Tuncel and His Pals, Nature Alone and Ecoists on Work, were indirectly include the engineering works and engineers’ messages about environmental issues. The programmers pointed out some critical environmental issues in an indirect manner and the viewer perceived the message by finding himself in the real-life examples. This increased the awareness and attitude.

In all the programs, public opinion, awareness, attitudes and behaviors were heeded, as well as the contribution of the programs to increase these. To achieve this increase, extensive feed-backs were collected. The type and effect of feed-back will be discussed later.

In this last part, the contribution of NTV Green Screen on engineering works for environmental issues was investigated on the example program Mr.Green, which had the most contribution.

Mr Green focuses on problematic issues and demand the contribution of the local public for the problematic works with “call us” approach. In an example program he tackled an industry who cause serious environmental pollution near a small town. Its main pollutants were wastewater and dust. Wastewater was discharged to the stream near the town possibly without treatment. The stream water became turbid, colored, fish population decreased and photosynthetic organisms unable to survive. The dust was caused by the raw material carried by trucks and in the site continuously moved to the production assembly. It is carried by the wind and accumulate on the soil and leaves. Thus affecting the agriculture and planting adversely.

If this pollution had been determined by an engineer, what can he/she be do were limited.

a)If the engineer works for a related ministry or other governmental organization, he/she can visit the industry but face with many obstructions and/or threats. He/she can report his observations within the limits of legislation. The sanctions are to be applied by higher authorities in the organization and they may not be rigid enough indicating the national economy and profits as reason.

b)If the engineer is from the local public, his ability is more desperate. He/she is not allowed to approach close to the site. Two alternatives he/she can do: apply to related governmental organization, which will result in the above case, or apply to the court, which is costly and non-guaranteed procedure taking possibly a long time. By the help of programs like Mr Green, this engineer may be the person who “called” the programmer. This opportunity has the possibility to reach a solution discussed below.

c)The engineer, especially if he/she is an environmental engineer, his/her no chance to come together with the industrial authorities in goodwill and produce the solution.

d)If the engineer is already working for the industry, he/she point out the hazards and solution alternatives depending on professional ethics. But the decision-maker is always the investor. Therefore the engineer has nothing to do unless he/she is the investor himself/herself.

When such a situation is subjected in the program, what happens, how the situation changes? The industry may gladly accept the programmers with the aim of advertising. There will be no problem as the program involve the positive aspects of the industry. When the pollution is mentioned, the authorized person of the industry will first reject and say “that pollution is not caused by us”. If the programmer advocate that the pollution is observed by him, the industry will still reject. This is the point where engineers contribute the programmers in environmental issues. That’s why Mr Green involve the engineers and scientists among the interested parties. Because the objection of the true and scientific knowledge of technical people by industry will be meaningless and the industry will have to accept its pollution problem.

At this point the problem in the program was ended via one of the three alternatives:

1)The industry understands the dead-end and acts with the “best defense is attack” approach, become aggressive and argues with the programmers and other participants.

2)The industry accepts the pollution but defends himself with its compatibility with the legislation, tries to transfer the responsibility to legal deficiencies. Industries in developing and underdeveloped countries often try to hide behind this excuse.

3)The industry accepts the cooperation with the engineers and local organizations. This alternative seem very utopian under the previous unfavourable story, but it can be possible by such television programs as Mr Green due to the feed-back. As the program turns back to the previous subjects and show the fate of the cooperation, the industry will feel under the responsibility of keeping its image. In mediatory approach the industry will have good image against the viewer, and the public will not be against it. Mr Green achieved such a result several times. The programmer followed whether this cooperation was executed or not and involved the result in the program. Feed-back is known both by the viewer and the industry, therefore forcing the industry to be truthful in solution. This is another way of contribution to engineering.

5. Conclusion

The developing world involve numerous environmental problems in all kind of countries, under-developed, developing and developed, at different levels and ways. The engineers are generally accepted as cost-causing problem-solvers especially in under-developed and developing countries. Unless they are being at decision-maker level, their efforts to solve problems are often useless. On the other hand, engineering ethics require utilization of technical knowledge for the improvement of social welfare. This makes them in conflict between the conditions and the profession.

The mass media are known as very influential tools for widening and creating public opinion, awareness, attitude and behavior through several kinds of programs about environmental issues. Engineering involving and engineering supporting programs have several benefits and contributions to the engineers and the public.

The first contribution of such programs to have the attention of public, government, industry and all other interested parties. The effect of the program on each of these are different. The public have the opinion about the environmental issue and who is doing what about that issue. The government follows the issues from a different perspective: environmental problems also indicate the insufficient control mechanism of them on the issues, which is mostly the case in under-developed and developing countries. The industry understands that the public is conscious and may respond to “call us” invitation when faced with the problem. The engineer and other technical parties know that they have one-more thing to do against environmental problems.

All these help to establish a control mechanism on all types of corporate structure such as public, government, industry, politics, engineers etc. When interpreted sufficiently and correctly, this control mechanism is advantageous for all the parties and supports the development.

Programs like evaluated in this study created public awareness and opinion which results in attitudes and behaviors. This “public” includes all the parties named above. The attitudes does not necessarily be positive, but always directs the behaviors in the positive way from the engineering point of view. The fear of being subject to programs such as Green Screen directs the behaviors whether or not the problem creator wants to solve the issue. The fear of depreciation is very critical for brand industries and they do not want to depreciate. That’s why they are sensitive for environmental issues and do not hesitate to involve engineering solutions whatever the cost is.

NTV was the first channel has been making such programs for three years. But after observation of the above positive effects, another channel started to make programs involving environmental issues.

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*“Aesthetics and Operativity of Journal Covers in Poland and Germany
from 1945 to Ipad”*

(Visual Communication)

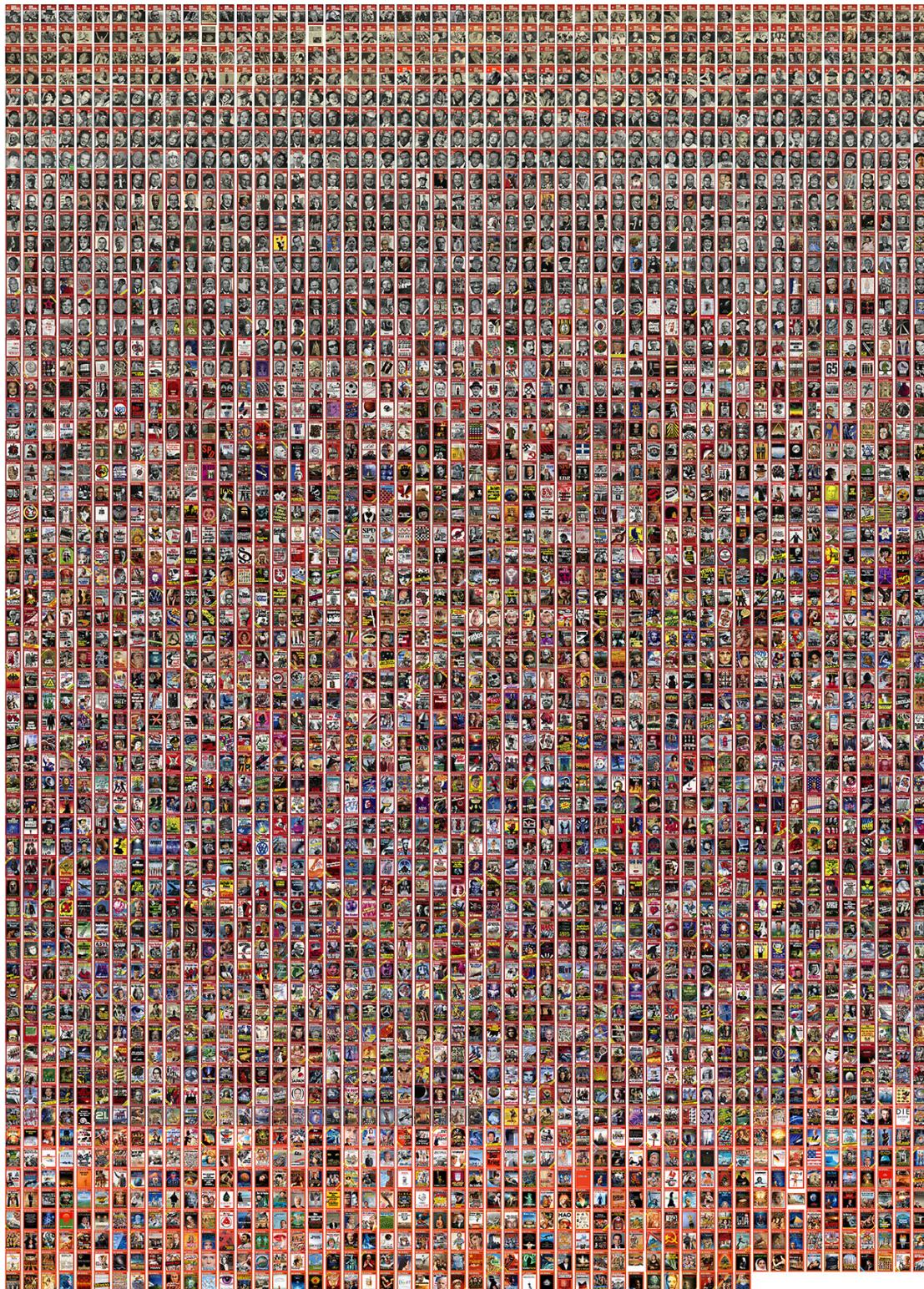


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1. Introduction



The content analysis of news journal covers, which will be addressed in this paper, is an interdisciplinary field in which key research issues relating to artistic, journalistic, linguistic and communication science are engaged. The problem incurred in the process of making scientific research in this field is that different research issues are often linked and therefore cannot be treated in isolation, but are rather tied to discipline-specific methods and discourses that focus primarily on the production of text and text meaning.

In the following discussion of this topic, I will endeavour to assemble the findings and methods of the above disciplines and approaches and apply these to aspects of the production and control of visual attention used in news journal covers from 1945 to the present. Three methods will form the main axes of the proposed analysis: a method structured around social science content analysis, an art historical iconographic and iconologic method and a self-developed method of visual analysis.

2. Sociological Content Analysis and Art Historical Iconography

In the field of social science in German-speaking countries the most elaborate and frequently cited theory and methodology of content analysis can be found in the work of Klaus Merten¹ and Philipp Mayring². Both authors describe a broad spectrum of content analysis methods focussing primarily on text-oriented objects of study. Merten and Mayring deal briefly with the possibility of using content analysis to explore image material, but do not pursue the topic further. In order to be able to perform content analysis of news journal covers with respect to the visual forms and especially the typography, I would therefore suggest the application of content analysis in combination with an iconographic method, in order to develop an image description.

The tools from art historical analysis best suited to this type of research can be traced back to Erwin Panofsky's method of iconography and iconology³, through which Panofsky dissolves boundaries with other disciplines, so that Art History is treated as one among many related Humanities disciplines that all appeal to iconologic interpretation for analysis. This method consists of three consecutive steps:

- 1) The pre-iconographic description – this description should account for visible objects, people or phenomena that are present in the image, and all specialist knowledge associated with the objects in the image possessed by the coder should be excluded.
- 2) Iconographical analysis – this description relies on the coder's knowledge of the depicted themes and concepts, and how these are linked to artistic motifs and the picture's composition.

¹ Merten, Klaus (1995): *Inhaltsanalyse: Einführung in Theorie, Methode und Praxis*. Opladen

² Mayring, Philipp (1983): *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim

³ Panofsky, Erwin (1955): *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. New York

- 3) The Iconological interpretation – the coder deduces intrinsic meaning and content from the inner structure of the picture, in reference to related literary texts and “knowledge of history of cultural symptoms or symbols in general”⁴

It becomes clear that in each of the three steps the coder will be required to use three different knowledge banks in order to formulate a description. It also becomes clear that the steps of analysis recommended by Panofsky are structured around an increase in subjectiveness – from “practical experience (familiarity with objects and events)”⁵ in the pre-iconographical description to “synthetic intuition (familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human mind)”⁶ in the iconological interpretation.

It is therefore important to consider how to work around the resulting subjectiveness when using Panofsky’s method in connection with the methods of qualitative content analysis. In order to provide a valid content analysis, any subjective interpretation should be avoided and therefore the results of the ekphrasis should be empirically tested for the degree of variation when compared with the results of other coders. The opposite approach, which I would like to use, attempts not to rely on a given analytical grid based on existing knowledge, but instead purposefully relies on the first impression and lateral understanding of the coder. Awareness of the subjective quality of the first impression affords distance in the following analytical stage of the description. The coder should hold on to his initial aesthetic impression and keep this clearly in mind at the beginning of the content analysis procedure. Such an approach is important in order for the specific nature of the journal covers’ visual material to be fairly analysed and so that in the second stage of analysis a certain distance from the research object can be achieved.

3. Exemplary analysis of parallel front pages from “*Polityka*” and “*Der Spiegel*”

Following the end of the Second World War and subsequent efforts to stabilize political order, communication science was increasingly searching for enhanced approaches to explore mutual understanding between nations worldwide. The modernist idea that media coverage of other countries could also affect international relations formed the background for these efforts.⁷ The role of the press in the production and dissemination of national stereotypes is highlighted in this report, which the nations themselves and other nations then maintain. It is under these circumstances that such stereotypes can be manipulated not only in a positive sense but also in a negative sense in order to create tensions and misunderstandings, an aspect that Merrill criticizes in his study of the topic.⁸

Within the context of my research, comparative studies of such stereotypes are conducted using visual material from news journal covers spanning 1945 to 2010.

⁴ Panofsky, Erwin (1939): *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York; p 15

⁵ Panofsky, Erwin (1955): *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. New York; p 41

⁶ see above

⁷ White, Llewellyn/ Leigh, Robert D. (1946): *Peoples speaking to peoples : A report on international mass communication from the Commission on Freedom of the Press*. Chicago; p 1

⁸ Merrill, John C. (1959): *The Foreign Press: A Survey of the World’s Journalism*. Louisiana; p 7

Of the three most published political news journals in Germany (“Focus”, “Der Spiegel”, “Stern”) “Der Spiegel” will be used as the research object. The key criterion for this selection was the magazine’s historical continuity (first edition January 4, 1947) and the political and social influence of this journal. “Polityka” (First published January 2, 1957) was selected from the three most influential news journals in Poland as the second research object according to the same criteria. It is the only continuously published magazine in this category in Poland today.



The first visual comparison already shows significant variations, firstly between the two countries and secondly evolutionarily, when each journal cover is observed along a temporal axis. These visual differences allow us to construct the hypothesis, using the vocabulary of systems theory, that journal covers in both countries, understood as subsystems within the system of the mass media, developed different programs for the treatment of the same irritations from the system's environment. Furthermore, the second hypothesis concludes that these programmes developed themselves in the systems autopoietically for the purpose of producing elements and operations of visual attention. The proposed communication program for the sub-system of news magazine covers therefore operates with the code: "attention / non-attention". The proposed internal mode of communication is "orientation"; and the external mode is "interest".



4. Visual-Explorative Analysis

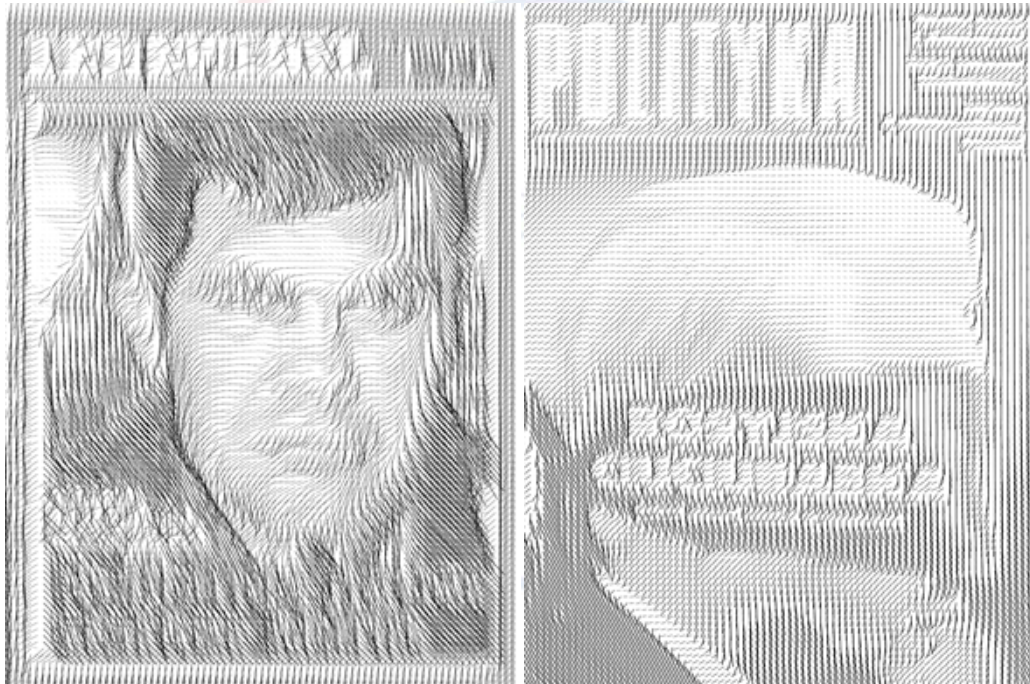
The operativity of deliberate production and the control of visual attention is based on the three operational modes mentioned above of: Attention, Orientation and Interest, which may be best understood if we evaluate the composition of the magazine covers through visual content analysis. For this purpose I will use two visual explorative methods. In the following example consisting of two journal covers, "Polityka" and "Der Spiegel" (both dating from June 1996), these methods are demonstrated.

Following the visual material one can assume that in the creation of the journals' covers the existing design intentions are based on the multi-staged process of

production and reflection. If we accept the argument that today's journal covers are no longer designed as they were one or two generations ago, then we must also recognise the argument that it is unlikely that we would be able to analyse them using the same methods as in the previous one or two generations, which were primarily or even exclusively text-oriented. This phenomena is described by design theorist Gui Bonsiepe in four words: "from discourses to viscourses".⁹

At this point I would like to present two such viscourses with two visual explorative analysis procedures. Both are based on the open-source programming language called Processing, which was initially developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to carry out design tasks.¹⁰

The first method, which I would describe as "static / dynamic line analysis" is inspired by the sketches of Paul Klee from his Bauhaus lectures in 1924. During the course of the lecture series Klee developed a visual construction method in which he outlines "horizontale Näherungswerte" and "wandernde Senkrechte und Abweichungen vom Lot bei einem links-rechts beweglichen Augenpunkt" as his description of the process.¹¹



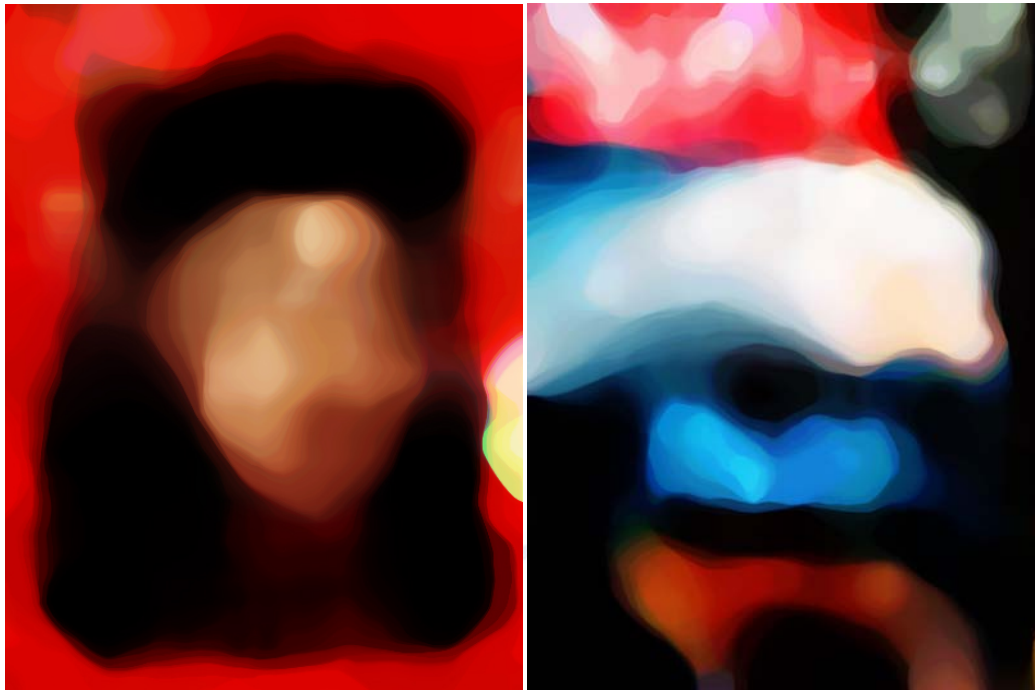
This method is transferred to the study using an algorithm that traces the change of direction in the vectors of the depicted forms. The most significant changes within the examined surface emphasize the areas with particularly dynamic object outlines, and

⁹ "Viscourses" as Visual Discourses see - Bonsiepe, Gui (2004): *Von der Praxisorientierung zur Erkenntnisorientierung: Die Dialektik von Entwerfen und Entwurfsforschung*. In: *Erstes Design Forschungssymposium*. Swissdesignnetwork. Basel; and Knorr Cetina, Karin (1999): 'Viskurse' der Physik. *Wie visuelle Darstellungen ein Wissenschaftsgebiet ordnen*. In: Huber, Jörg/ Heller, Martin (1999): *Konstruktionen Sichtbarkeiten: Interventionen 8*. Zürich; p 245-263

¹⁰ <http://www.processing.org> (2010/08/30)

¹¹ Klee, Paul (1956): *Das bildnerische Denken*. Basel; p 190

thus, according to the rules of perception, to the areas with particularly strong potential to produce visual attention.



The second method aims to analyze the intensity of colour contrasts, which were also identified as attention-directing factors in empirical studies of perception. In order to do this I propose to use an algorithm based on the Voronoi diagram, which takes a predetermined area in which is located a series of given points and then divides the area into regions of colour. These constructed regions have the special quality that every point within each region is closer to its own centre than to all the other regions' centres. Once the "voronoi-regions" are created, the tessellation of these regions then creates the final overlay. This process is then repeated 20 times. The result of the process is the creation of a colour diagram, within which the points of specific colour intensity are stressed.¹²

4. Conclusion

In the context of this paper, the visually explorative reconstruction of the formal structure of journal covers aims to analyze the elements controlling attention within the evaluated material. This process results in an understanding of the production and control of visual attention in news journal covers, through which the covers are not only evaluated on the basis of the text or other individual elements carrying meaning, but instead must be considered seriously in their entirety as visual manifestations. It is

¹² A short digression on the subject of diagrammatic reasoning - the Voronoi diagram can be traced back historically to the 17th Century and the famous drawing by Descartes depicting the structure of the universe in "*Principia Philosophia*". In this early diagram stars correspond to surrounding areas, partitioning the solar system into convex regions of influence. The matter in each region then revolves around its corresponding star.

of great importance that every perceptible, and therefore attention-giving, element is taken into account in the analysis.

Such an approach alters the methodology of content analysis outlined in the beginning of this paper as described in the following three points:

1. It blurs the divisions of standardized methods previously used in the fields of art history and communication studies.
2. It divides the research into a series of mutually complementary heuristic analytical steps.
3. It shifts the focus from the textual meaning to the typographical design, the importance of which is largely neglected in communication research.

The dual nature of script as a linguistic and visual system of symbols places the typography of journal covers in a state of tension between their linguistic and visual functions. The graphically variable and at the same time mechanically reproducible structure of print allows variably shaped semanticizations to be manifested in typographical characteristics. Such characteristics offer the reader a range of emotional stimuli, historical allusions or cultural-ideological content. An accurate account of the symbiosis of text and image systems produces a connotative description of the typography together with an analytical description of the images, and forms a system-theoretical structural coupling of the notational iconicity.

Due to the regular publication of journals over long periods of time, it is necessary for the covers to present aesthetic consistency, while at the same time adding variety and originality. In journalistic practice, this duality means a high degree of concentration on individual events and topics, strictly bound in its visual format to the commonly accepted aesthetic zeitgeist.

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**SENSE-MAKING APPROACH IN DETERMINING INFORMATION SEEKING AND
USAGE: CASE STUDY IN HEALTH COMMUNICATION**

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The logo for the International Association for Public Opinion Research (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by two concentric, semi-transparent circular arcs. The inner arc is light blue and the outer arc is light red, both appearing to be made of multiple overlapping segments.

SENSE-MAKING APPROACH IN DETERMINING INFORMATION SEEKING AND USAGE: CASE STUDY IN HEALTH COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

Most communication research view communication as a process of transferring information from the source to the receiver to influence an individual's behavior. The focus of past research have been on the transmission of information involving the channels, media and not on the suitability of information needed by individuals. The aim of this research is to study communication as information seeking efforts. Therefore, one of the objectives of the research is to look at factors influencing the seeking of needs and usage of health communication among the public. The research utilizes the sense-making approach as its theoretical framework. In general, the research indicates a significant relationship between situational factors and efforts towards fulfilling information needs and information seeking. There research findings differ from the approach acquired by traditional communication research that focuses more on the effect of information on individuals. This research strongly indicates that individuals who face a health situation will actively seek suitable information to overcome their health predicaments.

Keywords – Sense-making, Health, Information

INTRODUCTION

Many communication studies view communication as a process of transferring information from source to receiver with the intention of influencing an individual. Based on this assumption, the main focus is the transfer of message involving channels and media and not the quality of information received by the individual involved in the communication process. Several studies suggest that communication should be viewed as human behavior and focused on the individual or humans involved in communication (Grunig, 1972; Dervin et.al., 1981, 1983). Information seeking is an important concept in mass media studies which attempts to explain how and what the motivating factors are which influence individuals when seeking information. Past studies indicate many scholars tend to focus on the characteristics of target audience, the information itself and individual situational context. Previous studies indicated that many scholars had the tendency to focus on the characteristics of the target audience, the information itself and the individual situational context.

Research on information seeking states, how and what are the motives of an individual when selecting certain types of information. It is suggested that individual seeking information for a variety of reasons should have an existing attitude and opinion to equip themselves with information for future interaction and with current issues as well as to reduce uncertainties (Atkin et. al, 1990). This is because relevant information related to an individual situation (Donohue et. al., 1974) will close the gap between current situation and reality (Atwood 1980 and Dervin et. al., 1981, 1983. Sense making approach proposes that when individuals are experienced, they will seek information to enable them to get out of their current predicament. If

the situation of the individual is unique, information seeking is a good predictor for the individual.

In fact, a number of studies have found that the individual situation is a good predictor in information seeking compared to variables such as gender, age, income, education and race (Dervin et. al., 1981; Atwood and Dervin 1981). Apart from that, an individual will not pay attention to information unless it is relevant to him/her. The information must be relevant to an individual before he/she decides to pay attention to evaluate and use it. Information that is considered not relevant to self and family and other close friends will be ignored. This behavior according to du Pre (2004), Thomas (2006) and Corcoran (2007) is due to the fact that everybody has different problems and health issues at varying times. This is because the target audience has individual choices and is psychologically able to choose and expose themselves to a situation where they would accept or remember a message from the mass media.

Based on the above scenario, it is assumed that if an individual is afflicted by a disease or has some health concerns, he/she will be more compelled to seek information. At that level, an individual should be discerning when seeking information, know about information providers and know how to access the information to enable him/her to acquire the information accordingly. This goal will not be achieved if needs and objectives as well as barriers are not identified earlier. Therefore, the problem of this study is to identify the main factors that motivate individuals towards information seeking activities and consequently examine the relationship between information seeking and needs, fulfillment and utilization of health information on behavior modification.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of study are as follows:

- 1) To identify the situation among the public towards existing public perception towards healthcare)
- 2) To identify the extent of information needs information-seeking efforts and utilization of information among members of public pertaining to health care.
- 3) To investigate determining factors (psychological and barriers) that motivate the information seeking of health information.
- 4) To investigate in a relative manner, the salience of a category of variables that encourage information seeking.

SENSE MAKING

Dervin's Sense Making Theory (1989) states that sense making is applied with four elements i.e a particular situation at a particular time and a gap which means when a problem arises, a gap is identified as the difference between the existing situation and an ideal situation, outcomes, effects of sense making, a bridge and some fillers to close the gap between the situation and the outcome. The strength of Dervin's model is in the methodology especially in the relationship between behavior and information seeking whereby this model guides us in examining the situational problem and the level of information use to reduce uncertainties, confusion and the type of outcome as a result of information use.

This model has also been consistently used in micro time, based on the time limit for interviews with indicators of interview questions which is very helpful in providing information service and disseminating information. For the purpose of this study, the researcher used the information seeking model that was introduced by Brenda Dervin known as Sense Making Information Seeking model. This is a generic model explaining the behavior of information seeking among members of the public. Dervin (1989) introduced four constructs in information seeking, namely situation, gap, bridge and outcome.

According to Dervin (1992, 2003) when a person is faced with an uncertainty in making a decision or how to solve a problem due to the absence of information (gap), he/she will look for a way to bridge the gap (getting information) which usually results in an outcome. In her model information seeking, Dervin proposes four attributes namely situation, gap, bridge and outcome in the information seeking process in order to make a decision or to reduce uncertainties. The behavior of information seeking can be clearly explained through this model. For instance, if a person is suffering from heart problem (situation) but does not have the information on how to cure the ailment (gap), the individual will seek relevant information from various sources such as the mass media, Health Ministry, shaman (witch doctor) friends (bridge) to enable him/her to cope with it or practice a healthy lifestyle (outcome).

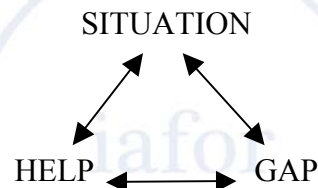


Figure1. The sense-making triangle: situation–gap–help (source: Dervin 1992, 69)

Sense making has seven characteristics

1. People enact the environments they face in dialogues and narratives (Bruner, 1991; Watson, 1998; Currie & Brown, 2003). As people speak, and build narrative accounts, it helps them understand what they think, organize their experiences and control and predict events (Weick, 1995).
2. Retrospection provides the opportunity for sense making: the point of retrospection in time affects what people notice (Dunford & Jones, 2000; Abolafia, 2010), thus attention and interruptions to that attention are highly relevant to the process..
3. Sense making is a social activity in that plausible stories are preserved, retained or shared. However, the audience for sense making includes the speakers themselves (Watson, 1995) and the narratives are ‘both individual and shared...an evolving product of conversations with ourselves and with others’ (Currie & Brown, 2003: 565).
4. Sense making is ongoing, so Individuals simultaneously shape and react to the environments they face. As they project themselves onto this environment and observe the consequences they learn about their identities and the accuracy of their accounts of the world (Thurlow & Mills, 2009). This is a feedback process, even as individuals deduce their identity from the behavior of others towards them; they also try to influence this behavior. As Weick argued, “The basic idea of sense making is that reality is an

ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs” (Weick, 1995).

5. People extract cues from the context to help them decide on what information is relevant and what explanations are acceptable. Extracted cues provide points of reference for linking ideas to broader networks of meaning and are ‘simple, familiar structures that are seeds from which people develop a larger sense of what may be occurring.” (Weick 1995: 50).
6. Identify and identification is central – who people think they are in their context shapes what they enact and how they interpret events (Currie & Brown, 2003; Weick,; Thurlow & Mills, 2009; Watson, 2009).
7. People favor plausibility over accuracy in accounts of events and contexts (Currie & Brown, 2003; Abolafia, 2010): "in an equivocal, postmodern world, infused with the politics of interpretation and conflicting interests and inhabited by people with multiple shifting identities, an obsession with accuracy seems fruitless, and not of much practical help, either" (Weick 1995: 61).

Each of these seven aspects interacts and intertwines as individuals interpret events. Their interpretations become evident through narratives – written and spoken – which convey the sense they have made of events (Currie & Brown, 2003).

Sense- making approach assumes that reality is subject to changes, never permanent, incomplete, and always filled with gaps. This approach also assumes that information does not exist in a vacuum; in fact, information will only be meaningful when it is given meaning. Information is meaningless if humans do not translate it into reality based on their intelligence and wisdom. Humans determine the need for information depending on time, gap and situational factors. The researcher used the sense making model because it is pertinent to know the extent of information seeking behavior in order to help individuals overcome the information gap. This serves as a variable to measure the utilization of information which tends to change from time to time. According to this model information seeking is a dynamic process, ever changing. Although individuals are perceived as static, they are able to process, receive or reject information that is not relevant to their present situation.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Focus group discussions were used for the purpose of data collection on the health situations of individuals, barriers and psychological factors influencing health information seeking. Sense making requires the researcher to acquire the actual feel of the situation of the individual’s state of health. According to Meriam (1998), the constant comparison method is used to develop grounded theory. Although grounded theory is not an actual theory, it sets the foundation for proposing categories and dimensions and determining the relationship among the categories studied. This technique does not require comparing every element. Instead it focuses on comparative themes, categories and relationships based on problem statements and research questions.

Sampling Procedure

Theoretical sampling was used in this study assisted by a selection based on identified criteria. In addition, purposive sampling is where a certain sample is chosen because of its ability to provide

massive information which enables the researcher to come up with detailed and in depth responses to the problem statement and research questions. In this study, health information seeking by an audience was chosen with purpose in the form of unique sampling. This is because the phenomenon related to health communication issues has not really been studied in a qualitative manner. Many of the health communication studies generally focused on the use and effects of media but not on how an audience interacts with the media. This focus justifies the unique sampling chosen as the method of sampling which is based on the uniqueness of location, target audience, time and event. This sample selection technique was chosen since it is rarely used (Merriam, 1998).

Informant Selection

The informants for this study were selected using purposive sampling but under maximum variation and through critical sampling. Maximum variation sampling means although the sample is small, it is selected with varying characters, thus yielding a variation of results (Merriam 1998) this study selected those who were 30 years and above since they are perceived as being matured, generally employed and possess high school certificates. Moreover these informants are perceived as being concerned about their health and have been exposed to the Healthy Life Style campaign that was launched in 1990. At this particular age range, the informants have their own insights on their health care and health practices.

Ethnicity was a criterion for sample selection since the bulk of Malaysian population is made up of the Malays, Chinese and Indians. These three ethnic groups make up the major components of Malaysian society with their own beliefs, norms and values towards how one should take care of one's heart. Thus, socio-cultural differences should be able to exhibit the types of involvement for those involved in the Healthy Life Style campaign.

A pilot study using the focus group method and an actual fieldwork was conducted by the researcher himself. The themes and main focus of this study were used as the protocol for the interview. They are as follows:

- 1) To observe the individual experience pertaining to health care in the society
- 2) To examine barriers to health care.
- 3) To identify the sources that can provide health information.
- 4) To investigate the needs, information seeking and utilization of health information among audience.

The questions discussed during the focus groups were based on the main themes which were:

- a) Based on your experience, what are the common health problems that you face?
- b) What are the causes of your current health problems?
- c) In your opinion what are the factors which contribute to your health problems?
- d) What types of health information do you need?
- e) What information are you looking for in relation to your current health problem?
- f) What and who do you refer to in order to get health information?
- g) What are the barriers you encounter in searching for health information?
- h) How does the information gained help you to deal with your current health problems?

Background of focus groups

Focus Group One

This group consists of four male and four female participants from the Malay ethnic group. Their ages range from 30 to 53 years old. They are mainly professionals and management staff in the government and private sectors. Informants mainly reside in Shah Alam and Subang Jaya and are married with families and live in their own terrace or bungalow houses. Their incomes range from RM 3,500 – RM 8,000.

Focus Group Two

This consists of four Malay female informants and four Chinese females. They live in Kuala Selangor but work in Kelang and Kuala Lumpur. They are mainly businesswomen and also work for the private sector. The informants' ages are between 30-45 years old. They are married and their income range is RM 2000- RM 4000 per month.

Focus Group Three

This group consists of 10 participants who are 50 years old and above. Three of them are Malay housewives, three Indian housewives and four retired Malay men. All the Malays live in their traditional villages while the Indians in an estate in Ijok, Kuala Selangor, Selangor. All of them do not have any regular income but receive money from their husbands or pensions monthly.

Focus Group Four

This group consists of nine males: four Chinese males, two Indian males and three Malay men. They work in the government and private sectors as support staff with incomes between RM 1500 and RM2500 per month. They are between 30 - 45 years old. They rent their houses and live in low or medium- cost houses in housing estates around Kelang, Selangor.

RESULTS

Individual Health Situation

With regard to their health situations or problems, all informants in all the focus groups cited their respective health problems. Most of them suffer from more than one ailment including one high risk ailment that needs to be monitored at all times. For the women, the common ailments among them are joint pains, breast cancer, cervical cancer, headaches, migraine, high blood pressure and diabetes. Among the male informants, common health woes are high blood pressure, heart problems, diabetes and joint pains. Those aged 30 – 40 years old are mostly affected by headaches, stress, fever, influenza, cough and chest pains while those aged between 40 – 50 years old generally *suffer* from gout, cancer, heart attack, high blood pressure, asthma, problems with nerves and joint pains.

For those 50 years old and above, they feel tired most of the time and suffer from joint pains, heart disease, high blood pressure and diabetes. Interestingly, this study found four people namely two women from Group One and two Chinese women from Group Two who do not suffer from any critical illnesses. They only experience the normal fever, cough and flu. Evidently, they practice a healthy lifestyle through regular exercise, a good diet and abstinence from smoking.

Causes of Health Problems

All informants were questioned if they knew the cause of their health problems and all answered that they knew the root cause of their problems. Among the causes are those related to an unhealthy diet which contains high fat, salt and sugar content. Some cited fatigue and long working hours. Other reasons include lack of exercise, obesity, heredity, smoking, age factor and the general process of aging.

Information needs

This study is based on the assumption that the health situation corresponds with the information needs of the informants to overcome their health problems. This study found that the information was needed in order to address the issue of curing the illness, prevention from further spread, symptoms or effects of illness, medicine needed, available clinical treatment, alternative treatment, the actual cause of the illness, who can help cure their illnesses and information from people who have had the same illness. They also want to know the stage of the illness and the information on how to prevent the illness.

Sources that can provide information

The analysis on sources that can be trusted to provide information needed by the informants revealed that most of them selected government doctors, followed by *bomohs* (witch doctors), specialists, and private doctors, those who have experienced the illness, the Internet and mass media.

Information seeking

All the informants are searching/usually search for the information that fulfills their needs. Overall information search is focused on the prevention of illness and its progression, required treatment, alternative treatments through massage, *bekam* or *guasa*, information on the causes of the illness and information provided by doctors. Other information search is on the symptoms of the illness and its effects, information from survivors of the illness, anybody who can heal the illness, reading materials or references on further information, types of medicines, survival rate, correct exercise and diet.

Information Utilization

Informants from groups 1, 2 and 4 cited that the information acquired helped in controlling their illnesses. The information also relieved their anxiety and sufferings, lessened their stress and was able to calm them down. The information acquired managed to help them be vigilant about illnesses. Illnesses can also be detected earlier with the information acquired so that preventive measures can be taken.

MAIN THEMES IMPLICATION

Based on the eight themes organized through verbatim construction from the focus group discussion, several salient points have been identified:

1. Various health situations and illnesses experienced depend on how we take care of our health or conduct preventive measures. An individual health condition determines the need for health information seeking. Hence, for the campaign planner it is essential to first analyze the individual's state of health before embarking on a health campaign. The effectiveness of a campaign is not only determined by the information provided but also,

more importantly, by the extent of how the dissemination of the information helps people address their problems. The sense making (Dervin, 1983) approach consists of interconnecting variables such as situation, gap and utility. Situation which is related to space, time and place is relevant to sense making. Situation is also contributory to the existence of gaps. Gaps are reasons identified for information need or questions the audience has, in order to make sense/meaning and changes within time and space. Information utility means helpful information that is beneficial to the individuals in addressing their situation including its utility.

2. Individuals with health problems will try to overcome or escape from their predicament through relevant information seeking. Sometimes the information seeking efforts are fruitful when it is appropriate and the language medium is easily understood. Sometimes the information gathered is not relevant or enough. Barriers are also encountered in information seeking. Information seeking, for those who have high incomes, is not a problem especially when it involves surfing the Internet, consulting a doctor or a health consultant. However, this group of informants faces time constraints due to the demands of their jobs. Meanwhile, those with low incomes face financial constraints, usually do not know how to look for information and do not have access to information seeking.
3. Individuals with illnesses and health problems will always have questions in their minds such as, “How do I overcome my illness? Or ‘Where can I get treatment?’ and many others. These are questions that need to be answered in order to provide some sense of calm or relief from the situation currently experienced. The information required concerns details of preventive measures, treatment, causes and alternative treatment. However, this information seeking changes with present needs. Knowledge about information seeking is essential because many times the information provided by the campaign planner is not relevant. The sense making approach assumes that reality is something that is always changing, incomplete and separated by gaps. This approach also assumes that information does not exist in a vacuum outside of human sense making; in fact, information is only meaningful when it is accorded meaning by humans themselves. Information is meaningless unless humans translate it into reality based on their intellectual capacity. This approach states that information seeking is an activity that enhances meaning and not just a matter of dissemination. People determine useful information based on time, space and situational factor.

CONCLUSION

Every individual will seek information because they want to close the gap between information and existing knowledge or knowledge required. Information seeking is critical because the individual is focused on relevant information that can be utilized to resolve the current situation. Information required to close the gap is also different based on the time and space factors. This is because information required is based on ‘needs basis’ from time to time to close the information gap in the individual’s life.

In conclusion, behavioral changes related to health involve early planning by observing information seeking factors and beliefs pertaining to health among the audience and their orientation toward health thus determining behavioral modification. Findings of this study are

relevant to health communication in its effort to develop a behavioral model which explains how an individual's health situation affects information seeking behavior and thus develops a need to modify planned behavior. The findings also indicate that behavioral modification must take into consideration situational dimensions and barriers in obtaining information and physical obstacles among audience since these are the determining factors for an individual when trying to decide whether to accept or reject change in behavior.

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**LOCAL YOUTH, GLOBAL EVENT: EXAMINING THE CELEBRATIONS AND
CONTROVERSIES OF THE VANCOUVER 2010 WINTER OLYMPICS THROUGH
THE LENS OF MEDIA EDUCATION**



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TOPICS

Media Education, Youth Production, Global Media Events

LOCAL YOUTH, GLOBAL EVENT: EXAMINING THE CELEBRATIONS AND CONTROVERSIES OF THE VANCOUVER 2010 WINTER OLYMPICS THROUGH THE LENS OF MEDIA EDUCATION

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Abstract

Despite the pervasiveness of popular culture in our everyday lives, formal educational institutions have yet to prepare students to critically respond to the media-saturated environments they inhabit. The integration of media education into contemporary classroom curricula is crucial for developing young people's capacity to address the power of the media industries, especially when they encounter direct representations of their own communities. This paper describes the implementation of a photojournalism project at a secondary school in Vancouver, Canada, as participants challenged the way in which news agencies, entertainment outlets, and advertising companies branded their hometown as a world-class city and tourist attraction during the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics. Among the glossy images of Vancouver presented by the mainstream media to the international community, very few competing messages, marginalized voices, or diverse perspectives were able to emerge through the visual bombardment. This project provided a series of capacity-building workshops which culminated in participants producing their own images, revealing how a highly commercialized and globalized media event is experienced locally and documenting their realities to be shared within the surrounding communities. As an outcome, participants learned to creatively engage in social commentary through digital photography, while enhancing their production theory and visual literacy skills. It becomes evident that media education, made relevant to the lives and experiences of learners, can have a profound impact on students' ability to both question and create media depictions of people, places, and events.

Introduction

As the world watched the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics unfold, a group of Vancouver secondary school students participated in a photojournalism project to explore issues of identity, representation, and community in the midst of this international attention and the visual bombardment of seductive city images. This project makes a case for studying the Olympics and other global media events through the lens of media education, prioritizing the ways in which

diverse audiences make meaning of, and respond critically to, these extraordinary spectacles and large-scale international affairs. The concept, necessity, and relevance of media education are explored alongside the challenges and complexities of its implementation. Examples of the students' work and an examination of the teaching and learning processes highlight some of the realities of preparing students as critical scholars and active participants in globalized, media-saturated society.

Media Education: For a New Generation of Learners

As social commentators and public intellectuals continue their fervent attempts to define the role of new generations in increasingly media-saturated environments, the characterizations of youth have ranged from vulnerable, uncritical audiences of popular culture to empowered, active players in the new media landscape. Yet young people themselves have few, if any, opportunities to be a part of that conversation or to carry out their own debates on the nature of their relationship to media culture. Formal educational institutions have largely ignored the issue altogether, while scholars in the field of media education have argued the necessity of studying these relationships and experiences for their impact on identity development. As Stephen Goodman (2003) asserts, "While the precise impact of this media consumption is subject to debate, it is clear that over time, as these messages are repeated in numerous forms day in and day out, they contribute to young people's evolving sense of identity, community, and worldview" (p. 2). Likewise, David Buckingham (2003) states that "The media are embedded in the textures and routines of everyday life, and they provide many of the 'symbolic resources' we use to conduct and interpret our relationship and to define our identities" (p. 5). Schools have been slow to react or even actively resist addressing these realities for a variety of reasons, including fear, confusion, or lack of resources, support, and training (Butler, 2010). But the matter is growing urgent and the obvious disconnect between pedagogy and everyday life continues to pressure administrators and teachers in their efforts to manage classroom learning. Official curriculum needs to incorporate a study of the media in order to be relevant to the lives of individual youth and to the wider society they inhabit (Buckingham, 2003). Education should enable students to develop as critical media scholars in conjunction with their development outside of school as sophisticated media consumers, producers, editors, and distributors (Butler, 2003).

At its foundation, Buckingham (2003) describes media education as "the process of teaching and learning about the media," while media literacy is "the outcome – the knowledge and skills learners acquire" (p. 4). Media education should involve critical thinking of, and active participation in, mainstream and user-generated content (Buckingham, 2003; Butler, 2010; Goodman, 2003; Hartley, Burgess, & Banks, 2008; Kellner & Share, 2007; Tyner, 1998). There is a common emphasis on both analysis and production that has been reasoned in several ways.

Kathleen Tyner (1998) argues that the “analysis-production formula creates a spiral of success: analysis informs production, which in turn informs analysis” (p. 200). Through the process of deconstructing and reconstructing multimedia texts, students learn valuable lessons about the codes, conventions, and language of other people’s – and their own – media products (Tyner, 1998). Douglas Kellner and Jeff Share (2007) believe that technology can be used as tools of empowerment by marginalized or misrepresented populations to tell their stories or express their concerns, but that technical skills taught without critical analysis will fail in the potential to creatively challenge dominant narratives. Buckingham (2003) also writes that the “participatory potential” of new technologies enables students to communicate their voices, contributing to the “basis for more democratic and inclusive forms of media production in the future” (p. 14). Above all, enhancing young people’s existing capabilities in analysis and production prepares them to make informed decisions as consumers and citizens, equipping them with the survival skills required to navigate the intensely globalized, fast-paced, mediated societies that are emerging around the world.

The Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics as a Global Media Event

In the constant flow of media texts through highly interconnected societies, certain international affairs have widespread, long-lasting impact. As Roel Puijk (2009) explains,

“Within a short time span [these affairs] generate huge media publicity and capture their audiences in a way that they feel they are witnessing something of importance unfold. Not only royal ceremonies, but also issues related to sports, politics, or catastrophes can engage the media and their audiences in a way that they are remembered decades later” (p. 1).

These global media events seem to serve as “apparent moments of media-induced global solidarity,” as articulated by Maria Kryiakidou (2008, p. 274). Media education is crucial for helping young people make sense of, and critically respond to, these types of powerful messages and spectacles. Media education is especially pertinent when students encounter direct representations of their own communities as part of these international affairs. Typically, students have little to no control over the creation and circulation of these images – by news agencies, entertainment outlets, and advertising companies. Thus, to not only question and evaluate these images, but to also become their own image-makers, serves to unravel their subjugated positions in school, in society, and in global media events. Examining the significance media education in these cases, Tyner (1998) writes that production

“gives voice to students who are otherwise silenced in their schools and communities. It allows students to represent their experiences and their communities as cultural insiders, instead of the incessant representation and misrepresentation of them by media producers outside their communities. It allows them to see the ethical dilemmas presented by representation and media from a much broader perspective than simple watching, criticism, and evaluation can provide” (p. 185).

As media education should strive to make curriculum relevant to the lives and experiences of learners, global media events provide a particularly worth entry point to examining one’s own experience as a ‘cultural insider’.

To demonstrate one example of a global event – the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics – as a moment and an issue worth examining through the lens of media education, we must first contextualize what the event has meant for the host city and the imagined audiences. The Olympics offer extraordinary publicity for the host city, a “nearly unparalleled global communications opportunity” to set a “global marker” or a “gold standard” of what a city can achieve, as explicated by Meg Holden, Julia Mackenzie, and Robert VanWynsberghe (2008, p. 884). In light of this worldwide attention, carefully constructed images of the city are vital to the packaging and presentation of localities as “multicultural, diverse, and entertaining” as well as “friendly, enjoyable, and cohesive communities woven together by locally enmeshed cultural and emotional ties,” as articulated by Katherine McCallum, Amy Spencer, and Elvin K. Wyly (2005, p. 25). The more popular visuals used in promotional materials to represent Vancouver included images of totem poles, Native art, historic Gastown, Chinatown, Little India, the Pacific Ocean, city beaches, coastal mountains, forests, and the Canadian flag – the most stereotypical, recognizable, and identifiable markers on which to build international recognition for the city with beautiful natural surroundings and a richly multicultural population (McCallum, Spencer, & Wyly, 2005). But, as James Higham (1999) notes, celebration is not met without controversy:

“Host cities may stand to lose more than they gain in terms of destination image. Capacity constraints, financial costs, the displacement and, in some cases, physical removal of host residents, political activism and terrorism offer huge potential for negative publicity. Crowding and congestion are often associated with the staging of events with local residents often excluded from participating in their event for reasons of ticket allocation and cost. The role of local residents in hosting sporting mega-events, it seems, is often less glamorous than some attempt to portray” (p. 84-86).

Indeed, as virtually all Olympic Games in recent past have been surrounded by different degrees of controversy (Vancouver being no exception), tensions are often felt by local and international audiences as they experience the contrast between the representations and realities of these global media events.

Yet much of the media events theoretical debates center on the spectacle itself, with insufficient focus on the varied experiences of the diverse viewers (Hepp & Krotz, 2008; Kyriakidou, 2008). Kyriakidou (2008) acknowledges that it is in the responses of audiences that media events are “negotiated, endorsed, challenged or transformed” – in other words, given meaning (p. 274). Similarly, Puijk (2009) contends: “It is clear that the meaning of the [events] was not universal, but complex, multi-layered and differentiated according to the positions of viewers and the discourses with which they were confronted” (p. 8). In a moment of intense publicity, youth in Vancouver encounter a visual bombardment of glossy visuals that brand their locality as a world-class city and tourist attraction for the international community. What are some of the ways that young residents, as ‘cultural insiders’, make meaning of the Olympics? How does the global media event inform or shape their sense of identity, community, and worldview (Goodman, 2003)? What follows is a case study in media education, as students in the Vancouver School District undertake a project to deconstruct promotional images of their city, produce cultural

knowledge as image-makers, and contribute their diverse perspectives in the school community setting at the precise point in time that the 2010 Winter Olympics unfolded in their own locality.

Media Education Case Study: The Vancouver Olympics as a Teachable Moment for Vancouver Youth

In the context of such a unique and extraordinary moment as the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, a special opportunity presents itself for schools and students to take part in a global media event as an immersive learning experience. As an independent scholar and media educator, I was fortunate on this occasion to be able to collaborate with a curious and opinionated Grade 8 class of 13-year old teens and their Socials Studies teacher, as well as their student teacher. I designed the curriculum to parallel their study of historic social issues with present-day social issues surrounding the Olympic Games. The teacher and student teacher were valuable in helping to bridge that content and act as additional instructors while I took the role as lead facilitator for the media education project. The project took place during the same period on alternating days over the span of approximately one month. In this section I will describe the project implementation, process, and parameters.

To begin, I conducted a series of capacity-building workshops to enhance the students' existing skills in critical thinking, media literacy, and production theory. Starting with their experiences, we discussed their roles in the media-saturated landscape – specifically, the nature of their participation in accessing, using, making, editing, sharing, and judging media texts. With my guidance, we established a collective definition of 'media literacy' as our anchor point through the entire project – a definition that takes into account the value of production and analysis. There are two aspects to this definition: (1) To understand the complexity of, and question the nature of, our relationship to the media; (2) To be an active participant of mainstream and user-generated media, with a keen awareness of the power and responsibility of that participation. With this foundation, we practiced deconstructing a variety of media texts, including news images, advertisements, and international youth-produced videos. I adopted Buckingham's (2003) student-centered approach to facilitating critical analysis in media education: "Critical analysis is seen here as a process of dialogue, rather than a matter of arriving at an agreed or predetermined position" (p. 14). I encouraged open discussion and interpretation of these texts, challenging students further with questions about access, participation, circulation, distribution, representation, and messaging (Buckingham, 2003). These were endeavours in "making the familiar strange" (Buckingham, 2003, p. 71), to unpack the various elements of media and understand them as constructions, which may otherwise seem 'normal' or 'natural'.

To provide students the opportunity to examine a variety of dynamics between form and content, many of the media texts covered a range of social topics and mediums. However, a certain

portion of the texts consisted exclusively of images of the Olympics and the City of Vancouver from international press agencies. Some of these photographs took a promotional tone, while others aimed to reveal a darker and more controversial side of the global media event. We discussed photojournalism as a genre, with its standard codes and conventions, narrative and storytelling functions, as well as agendas and motivations. Using a selection of examples that I collected from various sources online, students considered basic photo theories – such as framing, angle, colour, lighting, depth, and perspective – to negotiate meanings in other people’s productions and to begin to imagine the possibilities for their own. After several periods of media analysis, students were eager to engage in production to explore their own interests and concerns about the Olympics. By this point, we were right in the middle of the event, with related discourse and commentary barely contained across global media outlets, the local community, and the classroom.

The next stage required students to apply the techniques of photojournalism, documenting their realities as local residents experiencing a global media event. Students were asked to focus on a debate or issue of their choice related to the Olympics, and to produce two photographs that would represent their point of view on different aspects of that theme – including environmentalism/sustainability vs. waste/overconsumption; security restrictions/protections vs. freedom of speech/movement; cultural inclusion vs. cultural exclusion, and so forth. My decision to focus on photography, rather than attempt video or other more complex mediums, had to do with the limited access to technology, resources, and funding within the school district. Furthermore, as Buckingham (2003) argues, “it is important to keep production activities small-scale and manageable, particularly in the early stages. Students will avoid disappointment if they understand the limitations of the available technology and adjust their ambitions accordingly” (p. 83). The logistics of the production process are not simple; it requires a lot of planning, organization, and collaboration. The school could only provide enough digital cameras for half the students; fortunately, with today’s prevalence of mobile electronic devices for personal use, the rest of the students were able to use their own equipment. We discussed issues of responsibility, safety, and respect in photographing around the community. Students helped each other with technical questions about camera functions before setting out to take pictures, and afterward, they consulted each other in choosing between their ‘best’ shots and writing effective captions. Below are some of the results. **Names have been changed in order to protect student confidentiality.*

Example #1

“I’m inspired by environmentalism, and my topic is about the Canada Line and the Cauldron for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics. The photo of the Canada Line shows an efficient and clean transportation system, while the photo of the Cauldron shows waste of energy. I blurred my first photo to show motion, and I organized the shot for my second photo using a variety of

lines and framing. I believe that VANOC should have been energy efficient in all parts of the Olympics.”



Daniella* highlights a significant contradiction of the Olympic Games. Despite VANOC (Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games) touting sustainability as a top priority, the burning Cauldron is an undeniable waste of energy resources. Conversely, the multimillion dollar Canada Line project represents an environmentally-friendly public transportation system. In stating, *“I believe that VANOC should have been energy efficient in all parts of the Olympics”* she suggests a lack of consistency and a lack of accountability. Her aesthetic choices appear to be thoughtfully suited to the subject of each image – a blurring effect to create a sense of motion on the Canada Line, and bold framing

and leading lines imposed on the Cauldron as a visual metaphor of the barriers to accessing the highly elite Olympic events.

Example #2

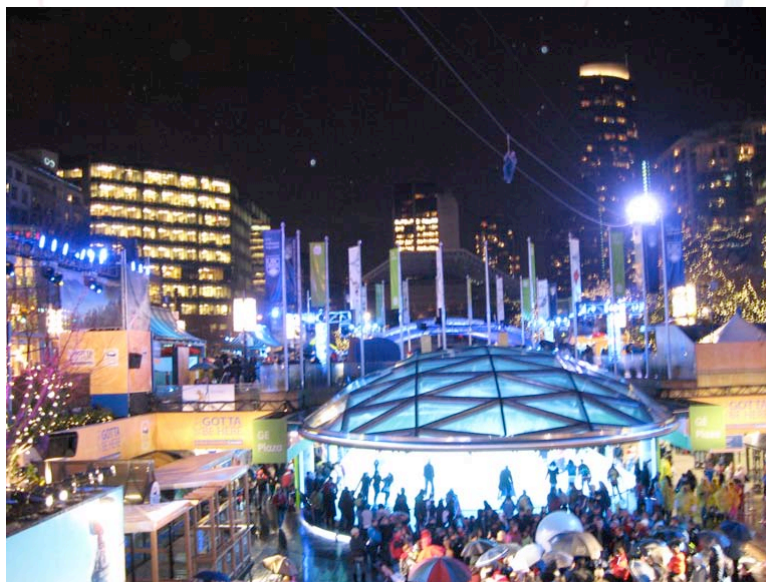
“The topic for my pictures is security. The message I’m trying to portray is what normal life used to be like versus what life is like during the Olympics. The photo theory rules I used in these photos were leading lines, symmetry, and the rule of thirds. What inspired me to take these photos were the colors. The first picture is busy and has bright colors, and the second picture is calm and relaxing so I thought it would contrast nicely.”



A potential point of confusion in the message Samantha* is trying to portray has to do with her use of two different locations to show how city spaces have been transformed during the Olympics. Perhaps the street in the second photograph had not been affected because it is not near any of the Olympic venues. However, from the first photograph we are able to get a sense of how movement and access have been restricted in some areas of the city. While this set of photos does not give us a depiction of the same space 'before' and 'after' the Games, it does contrast the spaces that have been left untouched (such as the one in her neighbourhood) with spaces that have been taken over by authorities and organizers (mostly in the downtown area). The first photo, in particular, has a strong composition following the rule of thirds, with a slanted angle to express a feeling of disorientation. Additionally, the stark, neon colours of the orange traffic cones and red street sign contrast significantly with the natural, calm colours of the pink cherry blossoms and green grass and trees in the second photo representing "normal" times.

Example #3

"These photos were taken downtown. I was walking with my family at night to see the wonderful sights and saw many people, trash and a waste of energy. There is no contrast really but both photos show different things. I went with using night shot for brighter pictures and I tried to show more than one meaning for each picture. I want you to remember these words next. The waste of energy did not just happen when the Olympics occurred, it happens all the time but it doesn't have to be like that. Just don't waste energy or toss trash on the ground."





Bryanna* has shown us not only the waste of energy used on the lights and spectacles of the Olympics in the first photo, but also the kind of trash that accumulates unrelated to the Olympics (that “happens all the time”) in the second photo. Yet given the overflowing garbage cans and trash spilled on sidewalks all across downtown, it appears that the balloon station in the second photo may not be most obvious example of waste. At the same time, this unexpected choice makes for an interesting, detail-oriented statement that every bit of litter counts – even if it is only balloon scraps. Responsibly, she has not photographed the face of the person, and conveniently, it leaves more space in the frame for us to see the litter strewn across the ground.

Conclusion

It must be emphasized that, in the process of analysis and production, there is much learned by students about the media that may not be communicated through these finished products, which in many ways are explorations and experimentations with content and form. As a crucial part of the learning process, students presented their work and received feedback from classmates and instructors, allowing their productions to re-inform the analysis they had developed at the beginning of the project (Tyner, 1998). Furthermore, Buckingham (2003) explains that “In evaluating their own and each other’s practical production work, and audience responses to it, students are encouraged to consider the relationship between intentions and results, and hence to recognize some of the complexity of meaning making” (p. 84). Indeed, these examples also demonstrate the challenges and complexities of *teaching* young people to convey content through visual and digital mediums. Hopefully, these photographs also make apparent the *value* in teaching students to creatively engage in social commentary through digital photography or any other kind of production, drawing from their own environment and from the moments that directly affect their lives. Media education not only makes learning relevant, but it gives voice to

their diverse perspectives through critical analysis and active participation in mainstream and user-generated media culture.

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New program projects selecting for TV companies

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Abstract

Selecting new program projects plays an important role for TV companies. Balanced scorecard (BSC) which links financial and non-financial, tangible and intangible, inward and outward factors can provide an integrated viewpoint for decision makers to select optimal new program projects. This study combines BSC with analytic hierarchy process (AHP) to help Taiwanese TV company managers make better decisions in new program projects selection. Moreover, the practical application of the proposed approach is generic and also suitable to be exploited for Taiwanese TV companies.

Keywords: Analytic hierarchy process; Balanced scorecard; TV industry

Introduction

New product development (NPD) is one of the key to get competitive advantage and maintain growth of the firm (Chang and Cho, 2008; Liao, Hsieh, and Huang, 2008; Wang, 2009). However, NPD is a risky process (Ozer, 2005). Less than 15% of NPD projects are commercially successful (Cooper, 2001). As the result, the vital issue in NPD is how to evaluate the future success of new products (Balachandra, 1984; Benson, Sage, and Cook, 1993). In Taiwanese TV industry, the product is its program. The rating would be influenced by programs. The amount and fees of advertising obtained by TV companies would be affected by the rating. The TV companies depend largely on advertising to maintain their operation. In other words, evaluating and selecting new program projects plays an important role for TV companies.

Nevertheless, most of the evaluation approaches merely focus on the effect of financial benefit, quality, possible amount of potential customers and so on (Oh, Suh, Hong, and Hwang, 2009). The decision makers need a comprehensive evaluation model for the future success of new program projects. BSC proposed by Kaplan and Norton (1992) is widely applied to evaluate business performance. BSC links financial and non-financial, tangible and intangible, inward and outward factors can provide an integrated viewpoint for decision makers to evaluate the new program projects. AHP, proposed by Saaty in the 1970's, allows factors to be compared, with the importance of individual factors being relative to their effect on the problem solution (Saaty, 1980). AHP has been widely applied for decision-making problems. We combines BSC with AHP to help Taiwanese TV company managers make better decisions for new program projects selection.

In this paper, we firstly present BSC. Next, AHP as selection tools is described. The proposed approach within the context of selecting the optimal new program projects is shown in Section 4. The conclusion is given in Section 5.

Balanced scorecard (BSC)

BSC proposed by Kaplan and Norton (1992) is widely applied to evaluate business performance. BSC is with the intent to keep score of a set of measures that maintain a balance between financial and non-financial measures, between internal and external performance perspectives. Of the BSC 4 perspectives, one is financial and the other 3 involve non-financial performance measurement indexes: customer, internal business process and learning and growth. The financial perspective is about how the strategic action contributes to the improvement of revenue. In customer perspective, customers are the source of business profits. Hence, satisfying customer needs is the objective pursued by companies. The objective of internal business process perspective is to satisfy shareholders and customers by excelling at business processes. The goal of the last perspective, learning and growth, is to provide the infrastructure for achieving the objectives of the other 3 perspectives and for creating long-term growth and improvement through systems, employees and organizational procedures (Kaplan and Norton, 1996).

Method: Analytic hierarchy process (AHP)

AHP, proposed by Saaty in the 1970's, is designed to structure a decision process in a scenario affected by independent factors (Saaty, 1980). AHP allows factors to be compared, with the importance of individual factors being relative to their effect on the problem solution. Priorities are established using pairwise

comparisons. The weight assigned to each perspective and criterion may be estimated from the data or subjectively by decision makers. It would be desirable to measure the consistency of the decision makers' judgment. AHP provides a measure through the consistency ratio (C.R.) which is an indicator of the reliability of the model. This ratio is designed in such a way that the values of the ratio exceeding 0.1 indicate inconsistent judgment.

Application

The sample company consists of a family of 4 major channels and own almost 900 staff. There are 3 new program projects in the case study. The decision committee includes 3 managers. We depict AHP selecting process as follow.

Step 1. Hierarchy construction and problem structuring

Reviewing literatures about BSC, we collect criteria for new program projects selection of Taiwanese TV companies. The Likert 9 point scale questionnaires based on criteria of BSC are sent to 48 executives to obtain the importance of criteria for selecting the new program projects. According to the geometric mean values, we choose top 4 criteria under each perspective to structure the hierarchy for new program projects selecting, as shown in Figure 1.

Table 1. Definitions and literatures of selecting criteria.

Criteria	Definition	Literatures
C ₁ : Profit	The profitability of new program.	Cebeci (2009); Liao and Chang (2010).
C ₂ : Cost	The cost of new program.	Lee, Chen, and Chang (2008); Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Liao and Chang (2009a); Liao and Chang (2009b); Tseng (2010).
C ₃ : Budget	Budget management.	Liao and Chang (2009a); Liao and Chang (2009b); Liao and Chang (2010).
C ₄ : New market	New market expansion.	Hubbard (2009).
C ₅ : Audience	The satisfaction index of audience.	Eilat, Golany, and Shtub (2008); Lee, Chen, and Chang (2008); Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Liao and Chang (2009a); Liao and Chang (2009b); Wu, Tzeng, and Chen (2009); Liao and Chang (2010); Tseng (2010); Yüksel and Dağdeviren (2010).
C ₆ : Brand	The reputation of brand.	Cebeci (2009); Liao and Chang (2009a).
C ₇ : New audience	New audience acquisition.	Chang, Tung, Huang, and Yang (2008); Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Hubbard (2009); Wu, Tzeng, and Chen (2009); Tseng (2010); Yüksel and Dağdeviren (2010).

C ₈ : Market	Market sharing.	Chang, Tung, Huang, and Yang (2008); Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Hubbard (2009); Wu, Tzeng, and Chen (2009); Liao and Chang (2010); Tseng (2010); Yüksel and Dağdeviren (2010).
C ₉ : Lead time	Lead time of new program.	Cebeci (2009); Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Hubbard (2009); Tseng (2010).
C ₁₀ : Risk	Risk minimization.	Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Liao and Chang (2009a).
C ₁₁ : New technology	New technology adoption.	Yüksel and Dağdeviren (2010).
C ₁₂ : Facility	Facility utilization.	Cebeci (2009); Hubbard (2009); Liao and Chang (2009b); Tseng (2010).
C ₁₃ : Well-being	Employee well-being.	McPhail, Herington, and Guilding (2008).
C ₁₄ : Capability	The capability of employee.	McPhail, Herington, and Guilding (2008); Tseng (2010); Yüksel and Dağdeviren (2010).
C ₁₅ : Training	Employee training.	Lee, Chen, and Chang (2008); Cebeci (2009); Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Hubbard (2009); Liao and Chang (2009b); Wu, Tzeng, and Chen (2009); Yüksel and Dağdeviren (2010).
C ₁₆ : Satisfaction	The satisfaction index of employee.	Cebeci (2009); Chen, Huang, and Cheng (2009); Liao and Chang (2009a); Liao and Chang (2009b); Wu, Tzeng, and Chen (2009); Liao and Chang (2010); Tseng (2010); Yüksel and Dağdeviren (2010).

Table 2. The pairwise comparisons and priority weights of perspectives.

	Financial	Customer	Internal business process	Learning and growth	Priority weights
	$\lambda_{\max} = 4.0877$		C.R. = 0.0295		
Financial	1.0000	1.4422	3.1072	1.2599	0.3703
Customer	0.6934	1.0000	1.0000	1.2599	0.2322
Internal business process	0.3218	1.0000	1.0000	0.7937	0.1708
Learning and growth	0.7937	0.7937	1.2599	1.0000	0.2267

Step 2. Determine the perspectives and criteria weights

A series of pairwise comparisons made by a decision committee are applied to establish the relative importance of perspectives. In these comparisons, a 1-9 scale is applied to compare 2 perspectives. The pairwise comparison matrix and the development of each perspective priority weight are shown in Table 2. Subsequently,

we apply pairwise comparisons again to establish the criteria weights within each perspective, showing in Table 3 to 6.

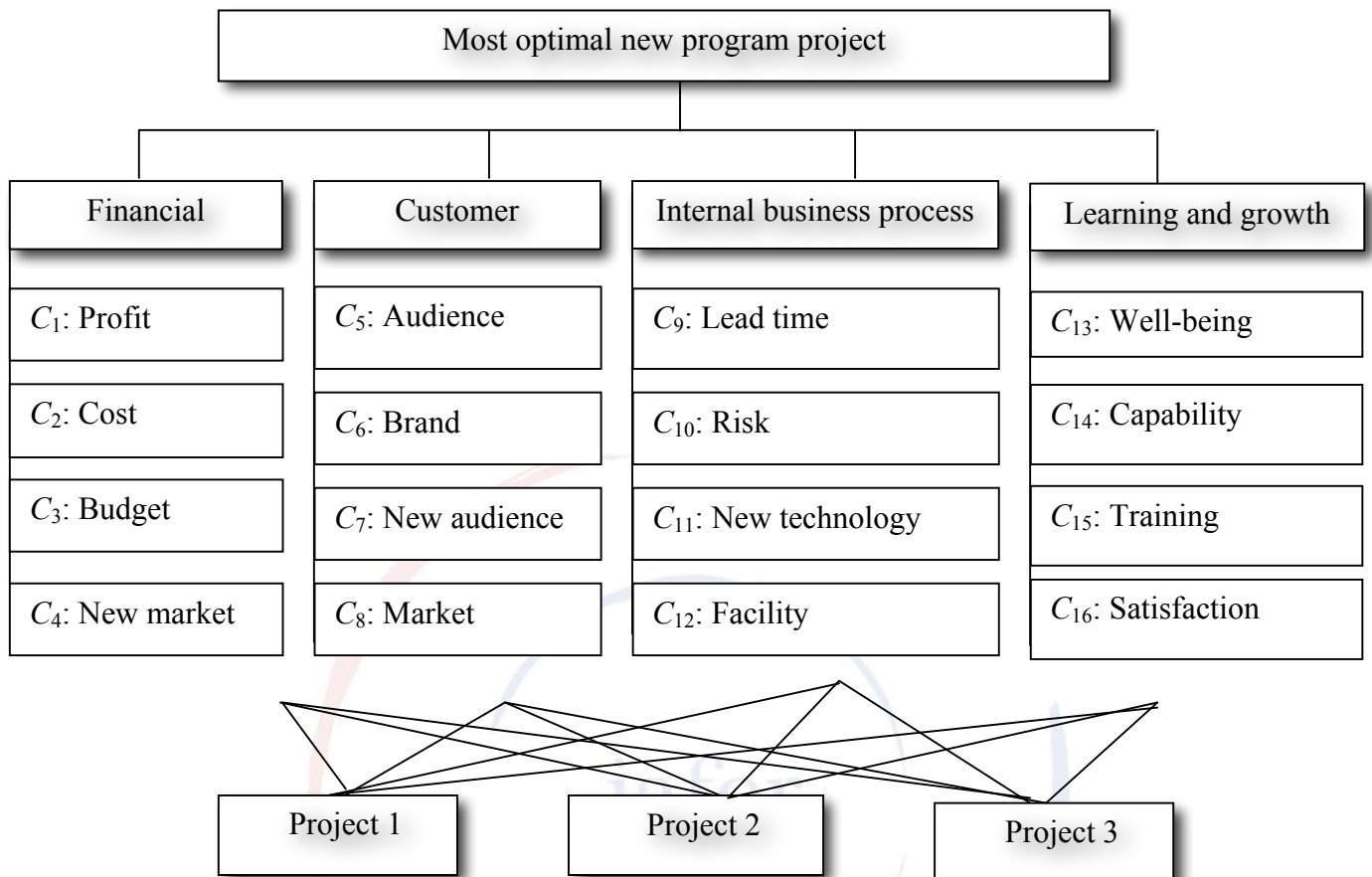


Figure 1. Hierarchy for new program projects selecting.

Table 3. The pairwise comparisons within Financial perspective.

	Profit	Cost	Budget	New market	Priority weights
	$\lambda_{\max} = 4.0554$ C.R. = 0.0187				
Profit	1.0000	2.1544	3.9149	1.0000	0.3759
Cost	0.4642	1.0000	1.0000	0.5503	0.1568
Budget	0.2554	1.0000	1.0000	0.2752	0.1136
New market	1.0000	1.8171	3.6342	1.0000	0.3536

Table 4. The pairwise comparisons within Customer perspective.

	Audience	Brand	New audience	Market	Priority weights
	$\lambda_{\max} = 4.0271$ C.R. = 0.0091				
Audience	1.0000	1.3572	4.6416	3.9791	0.4595
Brand	0.7368	1.0000	2.2680	3.5569	0.3206
New audience	0.2154	0.4409	1.0000	1.0000	0.1140
Market	0.2513	0.2811	1.0000	1.0000	0.1059

Table 5. The pairwise comparisons within Internal business process perspective.

	Lead time	Risk	New technology	Facility	Priority weights
	$\lambda_{\max} = 4.0989$ C.R. = 0.0333				
Lead time	1.0000	1.8171	4.8203	5.2415	0.4901
Risk	0.5503	1.0000	4.6416	3.6342	0.3287
New technology	0.2075	0.2154	1.0000	0.4368	0.0704
Facility	0.1908	0.2752	2.2894	1.0000	0.1109

Table 6. The pairwise comparisons within Learning and growth perspective.

	Well-being	Capability	Training	Satisfaction	Priority weights
	$\lambda_{\max} = 4.1435$ C.R. = 0.0483				
Well-being	1.0000	1.4422	2.4101	3.6342	0.4136
Capability	0.6934	1.0000	2.7144	2.2894	0.3161
Training	0.4149	0.3684	1.0000	0.4368	0.1115
Satisfaction	0.2752	0.4368	2.2894	1.0000	0.1589

Table 7. The weight of each alternative with respect to criteria.

	Project 1	Project 2	Project 3
C_1	0.4366	0.2500	0.3134
C_2	0.4145	0.2618	0.3237
C_3	0.4718	0.2886	0.2396
C_4	0.5769	0.1973	0.2258
C_5	0.2995	0.3503	0.3503
C_6	0.1907	0.2932	0.5161
C_7	0.3244	0.2693	0.4063
C_8	0.1989	0.2962	0.5049
C_9	0.4416	0.2391	0.3193
C_{10}	0.3689	0.2633	0.3678
C_{11}	0.5324	0.1228	0.3447
C_{12}	0.3034	0.5412	0.1554
C_{13}	0.6027	0.2554	0.1418
C_{14}	0.4630	0.2435	0.2935
C_{15}	0.4967	0.1979	0.3054
C_{16}	0.6494	0.2054	0.1452

Step 3. Determine the composite weights of AHP

The weight of each alternative with respect to the criteria is shown in Table 7. According to Table 2 to 7, we can aggregate the composite weights of AHP shown in Table 8.

Step 4. Final decision making

According to Table 8, the ranking is Project 1, Project 3, and Project 2. We provide the result to the case company for consultation. The case company executes Project 1, according to our conclusion.

Conclusion

NPD is one of the key to get competitive advantage. However, NPD is a risky and complicated process. The vital issue in NPD is how to evaluate the future

success of new products. In Taiwanese TV industry, the product is its program. The TV companies depend largely on advertising to maintain their operation. The amount and fees of advertising obtained by TV companies would be affected by the rating. The rating would be influenced by programs. In other words, evaluating and selecting new program projects plays an important role for TV companies. The decision makers need a comprehensive evaluation model for the future success of new program projects. BSC links financial and non-financial, tangible and intangible, inward and outward factors can provide an integrated viewpoint for decision makers to evaluate the new program projects. AHP, proposed by Saaty in the 1970's, has been widely applied for decision-making problems. We combines BSC with AHP to help Taiwanese TV company managers make better decisions for new program projects selection.

Table 8. The composite weights of AHP.

	Project 1	Project 2	Project 3
C_1	0.0608	0.0348	0.0436
C_2	0.0241	0.0152	0.0188
C_3	0.0198	0.0121	0.0101
C_4	0.0755	0.0258	0.0296
C_5	0.0320	0.0374	0.0374
C_6	0.0142	0.0218	0.0384
C_7	0.0086	0.0071	0.0108
C_8	0.0049	0.0073	0.0124
C_9	0.0370	0.0200	0.0267
C_{10}	0.0207	0.0148	0.0206
C_{11}	0.0064	0.0015	0.0041
C_{12}	0.0057	0.0103	0.0029
C_{13}	0.0565	0.0239	0.0133
C_{14}	0.0332	0.0174	0.0210
C_{15}	0.0126	0.0050	0.0077
C_{16}	0.0234	0.0074	0.0052
Composite weights	0.4353	0.2619	0.3028

In this paper, we firstly review literatures about BSC to collect the selecting criteria. The Likert 9 point scale questionnaires based on criteria of BSC are sent to 48 executives to obtain the importance of criteria for selecting new program projects. According to the geometric mean values, we choose top 4 criteria under each perspective including: Profit, Cost, Budget, New market, Audience, Brand, New audience, Market, Lead time, Risk, New technology, Facility, Well-being, Capability, Training, Satisfaction to structure the hierarchy for new program projects selecting.

We employed specialized EXCEL software to process the data provided by the decision makers to derive the optimal alternative. In this paper, we find that the C.R. of each pairwise comparison was less than 0.1, which means that the reliability of data was accepted. Moreover, a practical application to select new program projects presented in Section 4 is generic and also suitable to be exploited for Taiwanese TV companies.

The hierarchy proposed in this paper considers 16 critical criteria. We suggest that future research studies can incorporate more criteria in order to conduct more accurate estimates. Additionally, AHP assumes that factors in the hierarchy are

independent. Considering the interdependent relation among factors, another decision making approach, analytic network process (ANP), can be applied to handle such problems. Moreover, AHP ignores the fuzziness of executives' judgment during the decision-making process. We suggest that follow-up researchers could analyze this topic with the concept of fuzzy sets.

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Objective Journalism or Partisan Press? Approach of Sabah Newspaper to Political Parties In March 29, 2009: Local Elections Exemplifying The Partisan Press in Turkey

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Abstract

Partisan Press appeared in the United States in the latter half of the 18th century. In this period, the press got out of the political government control, however, it came under the control of political parties. Today, as in some other countries, Turkey also experiences cases of partisan press intensively. The problem of partisan press is closely related to economy-politics of the media. In this study, the historical background and development of partisan press is outlined, the development of press in Turkey is explained. Considering the role of media this study has the purpose also to discuss media's 4th Estate role in liberal-pluralistic democracies. Therefore it introduces the way news about political parties is presented in a newspaper during the local elections in Turkey and tries to find out newspaper's approach. Here the main concern is to understand newspaper's objectivity or partisanship to each political party. Thus the present study presents Sabah newspaper's approach to political parties during March 29th, 2009 Local Elections in Turkey. It includes news 15 days before the Elections and analyzes newspaper's approach to political parties of Turkish Grand National Assembly. The findings of the study show that Sabah newspaper has a partisan press positioning during the elections and supports AKP, the government party. This is a very critical situation for Turkish media because it constitutes a threat to media's objectivity and society's primordial role of being informed objectively.

Key Words: Partisan Press, Objective Journalism, Media Monopolization.

Introduction

The present study introduces Sabah newspaper's approach to political parties during March 29th, 2009 Local Elections as an example of political partisan press in Turkey. The study draws the attention to press' social role, mentions the historical development of both

partisan press and Turkish press and discusses Turkish media's present monopolistic situation and the partisan press. Çalık Group close to actual government holds Sabah newspaper and Atv broadcasting channel. Supported also by the government Çalık Group grows stronger and is classified according to Sözcü newspaper (AKP, 2009: 4), among the most successful holdings of the last 6 years where Prime Minister's son-in-law Berat Albayrak is the General Manager. The Group, 17 companies in 2002 doubled and reached 34 companies in total in 2009. Group's assets attained 3 billion US where it used to be 600 million US in 2002. According to another source, Kaya who mentioned that Sabah is partisan press, this amount is 2 billion US. Çalık Group cooperates with Italian ENI in Samsun-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline construction (Kaya, 2009: 264). In this perspective Sabah newspaper can be exemplified as a partisan press. The study includes news 15 days before the Elections and analyzes newspaper's approach to political parties of Turkish Grand National Assembly such as government party Justice and Development Party (AKP), main opposition party Republican People's Party (CHP) and opposition party Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). Partisan press issue has a considerable importance in journalism and in media because partisan newspapers are unable to fulfill their primordial social role of being objective and by the way satisfy public's need of being informed objectively.

Press in Social Role Context

In plural-liberalistic approach media is supposed to be the 4th Estate after Legislative, Judiciary and Executive Estate. Media fulfills this function by reflecting public opinion in social agenda and controlling the ruling power. In other words media is assumed to have the gatekeeper role and create an opinion market in liberal democracies. Consequently media is the "guarantor" of continuous democratic system and citizens' contribution to that process (İrvan 1995: 76). This attribution of this role to press relies on perception which appeared during press freedom struggle era (Keane, 1993). In this frame it is absolutely required to present objectively the news according to newsworthiness criteria and respect the ethical rules. In this way, in the frame of liberal press understanding there are three dimensions: objective news ideal, newsworthiness criteria and news ethic principles (Özer, 2008).

Liberal press' approach to news and media can be expressed as follow: News can be presented objectively according to approaches; reporter is a professional keen on understanding and communicating the social realities, he searches for the source and has/should have an equal distance to each source. He can/should write well-balanced articles. He can/should have different interpretation. He can/should deliver his source without any interpretation or in quotation in the name of objectivity. Journalism is a professional

occupation. All this help to reflect the social realities. Positivist method reveals news partisanship; this emphasizes the objectiveness of news. Autonomous journalist in an organization can/should write objective news. Media is independent. News is the reality. Journalism is an autonomous/free/distinct profession. Therefore news should be handled and analyzed separately and it should reflect “what and how” of an event. Media is the 4th Estate and can fulfill this function (Özer, 2008).

Partisan Press in History

Lippmann introduces four stages in the development of journalism. In the first stage press is exclusively owned by the government. During the second stage press is under the control of parties. In the third stage press is free of parties' and government's control and becomes a profit making organization. The fourth stage which falls on I. World War professionalism arises (Quoted by Schudson, 1978: 40). These stages should be completed by the addition of “partisan press's return all around the world in 2000's. However partisan press period is equal to Lippmann's second stage.

During the War of Independence in USA, several newspapers appeared, had a huge impact and played an important role, the partisan is supposed to appear during this period. When English Military Forces invaded the country *Boston Gazette* played an important role (Jeanneney, 2006: 56). This is the same period where politics entered the press. In these periods it is hard to be objective for newspapers than being partisan (Schudson, 2003). There are moderate newspapers as well as royalist. In 1775 the war started and newspapers were forced to choose their sides: they had to be radical patriotic or loyal royalist; there was no other choice. The war affected the patriotic and the conservative press however royalist press disappeared a little later.

Reformist newspapers reserved an important number of pages for profitable ads during the war. Patriotic newspapers had 8 thousand readers and at the end of the revolution American media grows stronger by the emergence of multiple books, magazines and newspapers. Press had been through a challenge all this time and won out (Sandman et.al., 1972: 30-31). Views are shared about the huge contribution of newspapers to American Revolution even this revolution could not happen without newspapers (Jeanneney, 2006: 55).

After the revolution class distinction became sharper. There is American aristocracy on one side requiring for a strong and central government power: they call themselves federalists. On the other side there are farmers and wage earners supporting the federation formed by local government: they are called republicans. The constitution is of value to powerful. Thereby newspapers had to choose one side again as it used to be during the

Revolution: “being federalist or republican”, there is no other option. However the division does not start firstly in the media. Division in media follows the division in social structure. Federalists do not sympathize with press freedom. On the other hand republicans do believe in press freedom and do realize the vital importance of press freedom for American democracy. Despite everything the Constitution had been approved in 1788 (Sandman vd., 1972: 31-32). During this period federalists dominated the press (Schudson, 2003).

Partisan press had its golden age the last quarter of 18th century. In 18th century and even in 19th and 20th century opinions and interpretations are mixed up about partisan press. Moreover this situation is valid even for the same article (Sandman vd., 1972: 34). In 19th century partisanship in American journalism is extremely high (Schudson, 2003). Partisan press goes on until the 20th century. In second half of 19th century political culture too is partisan (Kaplan, 2002). Partisanship continues in 1800-1830 and certainly this situation is reflected in press. Newspapers support parties instead of supporting the candidates. However the beginning of 20th century newspapers breaks their ties with political parties and journalism for the public became important. Ethical rules as well as objectiveness principles become the most crucial concerns in journalism.

From State Newspaper to Partisan Press: Press in Turkey

First newspaper in Turkish Takvim-i Vakayi was published in November 11th, 1831 by the efforts of reformist Sultan II. Mahmud (Topuz, 1996: 7). This newspaper is published 227 years after the first published newspaper in the world. Takvim-i Vakayi was the official newspaper until November 4th, 1922 with short term interruptions (Gevgilili, Yılsız: 39). Under the rule of Ottoman Empire other newspapers were published. One of them published by Şinasi, representative of the bureaucracy considers the newspaper as a part of education. According to him the newspaper should have an educative-instructive mission through which the public will learn how to think. Name he chooses for the newspaper reflects also this idea (Özerkan ve Kabaş, 2005: 199).

During The Ottoman Empire, press was under censorship, received penalties, and was sanctioned by law for long periods. Even though there were few newspapers during this period they all received penalties and stopped being published (Topuz, 1996). Newspapers devoted themselves to acquire independence during the War of Independence of Turks against imperialists. One of them is Hakimiyeti Milliye newspaper. During the national war journalists supported and even took part in the Independence War. Hasan Tahsin is one of them (Topuz, 1996: 75). Ulus newspaper is the voice of first republican party (CHP) of Turkish Republic founded in October 29th, 1923 where Atatürk’s reforms are diffused to

public. During this single-party era newspapers supported intensively Atatürk's reforms. However Ulus newspaper cannot be qualified as an example of partisan press because there isn't a profit-making relation between the party and the newspaper even though Ulus is the mouthpiece of the party. The social structure does not present a duality especially during the II. World War there was a pressure on press (Güvenir, 1991).

In Turkish History "Transition to Democracy Period" in 1945-1950 press had a relatively flexible period (Özerkan ve Kabaş, 2005: 200). There were right-wing, conservative and partially left-wing newspapers (Topuz, 1996: 101). Büyük Doğu magazine owned by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek is the progenitor of today's Turkish Islamist partisan press. "Political partisan press and ideological partisan press" differentiations started at that period also. In fact social split is reflected to the press right away. However there isn't a real profit relation between Democrat Party (DP) and the press that's why we cannot talk of a partisan press. Nevertheless, some newspapers such as Vatan newspaper entered into an alliance with CHP's rival DP and published this party's speeches. However these publications were sanctioned by the government (Gürkan, 1998'den aktaran Özerkan ve Kabaş, 2005).

In 1950 the government has changed and DP supported considerably by the press had the political power. In fact press trusted DP and first press code has been signed under DP government. Nevermore there were newspapers supporting CHP. First years of 1950's Turkish press is divided to three different kinds of newspapers: Objective newspapers; newspapers supporting CHP and supporting DP (Öymen, 2009: 80). But DP-press good relations did not last long as the public does not appreciate DP's operations because DP could not respond to the economical expectations of the public (Topuz, 1996: 107). 1954-60 Turkish press had to deal with infinite legal cases. DP applied censorship with new legal codes, imposed penalties and blocked the press freedom. DP's legal codes were criticized at foreign press's headlines. DP government created also a supporter "servant press". It is correct to name these years as partisan press years: Servant press is partisan press.

After 1960 Turkey had 3 military coups. After the first one in May, 27 1960 press won some legal rights nevermore March 12th, 1971 and September 12th, 1980 military coups brought pressure and censorship to press. Before 1980 media changed hands and was owned by holdings. This period is followed by the entrance of financial holdings desiring to use media as a commercial tool (Tokgöz, 1998). The first entrance of the holdings to media sector started in 1982 by Kozanoğlu-Çavuşoğlu Group's Güneş newspaper acquisition. This firm is known by its huge accumulations from Libyan constructions (Sönmez, 2003). Later on Asil Nadir, Cypriot businessman active in UK received an invitation from Prime Minister Turgut

Özal and bought some of the Turkish newspapers. In fact this attempt could be explained as Turgut Özal's efforts to create a partisan press. However it did not work and Asil Nadir had to leave media sector as he could not succeed. In 1990's, in media sector, oligopolistic media organizations based in İstanbul got the possession of any kind of diffusion organs and started to regulate the production, distribution and advertising. So in Turkey this is the period where vertical, horizontal and diagonal monopoly was present (Özer, 2004). Besides in 90's and 2000's, media monopoly cooperated with international corporations and partnerships with foreign media corporations have been formed.

Today there are 6 big monopole groups in Turkey setting the agenda of the society. These are Doğan Group, Merkez Group, Çalık Group, Doğu Group, Çukurova Group and Samanyolu Group. Groups which marked the last quarter of Turkey by their media activities are: Doğan Group, Çukurova Group, Doğu Group, Turgay Ciner Group, Dinç Bilgin Group, Uzan Group, Erol Aksoy Group, İhlas Holding-Enver Ören Group (Kaya, 2009: 248). Çalık and Samanyolu groups should be added to these groups. In Turkey media monopoly has changed hands from time to time. These media monopolies are the owners of broadcasting channels, radios, daily newspapers, magazines and internet sites and digital platforms. Additionally they do not own only media institutions they are active in other sectors. For instance Sabah newspaper's owner Çalık Group is active in following sectors: Textile, energy, telecommunication, finance, logistic and technology. Çalık Media called also Turkuvaz A.Ş. possesses the following broadcasting corporations: Television: ATV, Radio city, Sabah, Takvim, Günaydın, Yeni Asır, Fotomaç, Bebeğim and Biz Merkez, Sinema Merkez, Home Art Merkez, Şamdam Plus, Yeni Aktüel, Para, Global Enerji Merkez, Transport, Kukuki Perspektifler magazines (Kaya, 2009: 264-265).

In 1990's Turkish television passed by a transition period where commercial broadcasting became greater. According to Prof. Dr. Haluk Geray (Personal interview), Özal found out he could not effectuate neo-liberal politics with government's broadcasting channel TRT so he let his son to be the partner of a commercial broadcasting channel even though it is against the Constitution. By the way commercial broadcasting era started. During this time, TV broadcastings were very irregular because of insufficient social, economical, cultural, educational and legal infrastructure. Even in 2000's there was not a real system or regulation concerning the commercial broadcasting in Turkey. It is possible to explain this situation by Karl Marx's quotation about feudalism-kapitalism "death catches up the live" (Marx, 2004): irregularities and chaos of 90's catches up 2000's irregularities and chaos in media.

In addition to Turkey's intensive monopoly problems another problem arises in 2000's: Partisan Media. Partisan media emerges following the split in social structure. In Turkey AKP government caused a division in social structure. This division is between "Laic democratic Republicans and second Republicans". Government and media supporting the government desire the second Republic. Media monopoly in Turkey is in the meantime partisan press. For example, Çalık group supports the government with all its broadcasting institutions. It is not possible to see news or articles criticizing the government in media giving support to the government. Nevertheless there are almost every day supportive and positive news or articles, suggestions about the government. These institutions support the government without reservation all together. This behavior is valid during the elections and after the elections.

On the other hand, Cumhuriyet is a laic democratic republican newspaper attached to that ideology officially. In Turkey "Laic democratic Republican" media organs do not support directly and openly a party but they can have a critical attitude to the government. However during the elections, they give support to parties of their own political view. For instance Cumhuriyet supports CHP, Ortadoğu supports MHP. We can suggest that Ortadoğu newspaper's general publishing policy relies on supporting MHP and criticizing the government. Partisan press concept in Turkey is divided in two; government-partisan and government-opposition. In other words, laic democratic republican media has a government-opposition position rather than supporting other parties outside the elections period. In fact, this situation reflects some of the parties' (especially CHP and MHP) attitude. However it is not correct to name government-opposition press as partisan press. Nevertheless press' role is to criticize the government and the troubles of the society and this is what they do.

Another important issue is that the government cannot stand criticism, warn media owners when they make criticism about the government and take decisions to economically destabilize them. For instance Doğan media owner Aydın Doğan, accused of tax fraud is sentenced to pay huge amount of money. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan warned media owners and advised them to have a control over their columnists' articles.

Partisan press in Turkey has another interesting characteristic in addition to its interactivity with media monopolies. This is "political partisan media and ideological partisan media." Ideological partisan press is partially formed by Islamist media. Conceptual base of Islamist media is founded in 1945's by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek's magazine entitled Büyük Doğu. Later on the real base of Islamist media is founded in 1980's. Military coup in September 12, 1980 erased completely right and left wings and Islamist young generation

showed themselves off the universities. Islamist magazines dedicated to sects, later on targeted the young generation.

In 1990's Islamist newspaper, magazines and broadcasting channels appeared (Çakır, 2003). The appearance of Islamist media institutions is certainly the proof of Islamist wing's growing power in Turkey. This is interactivity. In fact 1980's Özal governments played an important role in Islamist wings ascension. Today Islamist media supports unconditionally AKP government because of their ideological union. Samanyolu broadcasting channel, Zaman and YeniŞafak newspapers are the pioneers. News and columns of these institutions support the government unconditionally. It is not possible to avoid the support of these media corporations to AKP. As a matter of fact their base is the same. However when another party with the same political interest arises one can support it. On the other hand Cumhuriyet newspaper is positioned with the official ideology and Ortadoğu newspaper is positioned with a nationalist outlook. So these newspapers support CHP and MHP political parties. There are newspapers to support Kurdish nationalism, some of them are closed.

Political partisan media gives support to a political party in order to protect media owner's interests. Media owner's choice of party support changes whenever the interests of the media owner change. But political and ideological partisan press exploits each other's components. In other words, there is not exclusively political partisan media or ideological partisan media. Sabah newspaper is an example of political partisan media. "Media institutions require the Second Republic" – such as Sabah newspaper- supports unconditionally the government.

Method:

Sabah newspaper's news and visual elements about party leaders of TBMM published during March 15-29, 2009 are analyzed in the frame of this study. This period of time is sufficient to reveal Sabah newspaper's attitude toward other parties. Just as, beginning from this date there are news especially about AKP every day. The analysis includes firstly a quantitative inventory of news and visual elements. Accordingly news is classified by its general characteristics. This classification is for finding out explicitly newspaper's attitude toward the parties and it helps to find out. Hereafter the analysis focuses on finding out which themes of AKP leader's speeches are highlighted by Sabah newspaper. Quoted passages from the news are given as examples in the analysis. However every news article is not mentioned. This process aims to discover in which level the newspaper supports AKP.

Findings:

A. Quantitative Data:

Here are the quantitative data presented on a table:

Table 1: Number of News, Photographs and Caricatures about Parties

	News	Photographs	Caricature
AKP	30	29	1
CHP	10	11	
MHP	8	7	

Sabah newspaper published mostly AKP's news and photographs. AKP is followed by CHP and MHP.

B. General Characteristics of News:

Here are the general characteristics of news:

1. News about AKP are announced on first page and presented in inside pages. There is not such an application to other parties.
2. AKP news covers more space than CHP and MHP news. This space is two times more in favor of AKP.
3. In inside pages of newspaper AKP news take first place. AKP news is generally presented on top-half part of the page. Other parties' news is placed on bottom of the page.
4. AKP news usually takes the headlines however other parties' news is never on the headlines.
5. Photographs of election speeches of AKP are crowded but this is not the case for other parties. CHP and MHP's photographs include only the leaders (for CHP except one photograph) but in AKP photographs the leader is seen in crowd.
6. Other parties excluding AKP, CHP and MHP are subject to news only when their leaders make an allegation against CHP and MHP.
7. Only AKP's meeting news occupies the headlines although the same day there are the meeting of 5 different parties in İstanbul. Differently than this news, headlines convey information about meetings. They emphasize AKP's huge crowd. News reflects that CHP's crowd is lesser than AKP's.

C. Highlighted Themes of AKP in Sabah:

1. **Achievements of AKP:** Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan during the opening of Kağıthane-Piyalepaşa Tunnel and Sütluçe Congress and Culture Center in İstanbul noted that they achieved important organizations the last five years and said "We are and you are Şirin. We walk and we will walk in this journey of civilization by piercing the mountains. Others backbite and gossip behind us".

2. **Insult to Rival:** Erdoğan said for Baykal during the meetings of Kırklareli and Tekirdağ “if you give him 10 sheeps he’ll lose, he cannot manage”.
3. **Criticism to Rival:** News includes most of Erdoğan criticism about other parties. For instance: “They only put rocks to service caravan”. “They do not have the concept of service. The only thing they know is to scratch, to fling dirt, make demagogy.”
4. **Measures to Economic Crisis:** Erdoğan said “All institutions, Our Treasury, Our Central Bank, follow the crisis closely” and added: “Until now we took approximately 40 measures and started to apply them. Turkey is in safe hands. Corruption, prohibition, poverty... We are determined to carry on our struggle against them.”
5. **Defense to Critics:** Erdoğan overreacted to “Most of governors graduated from religious high schools” critics and defended himself by “I have graduated from a religious high school but I have never been in such a discrimination” statement.
6. **Warning to Employer:** Erdoğan, “Do not lay-off, there is short-time work, we propose you to pay half of short-time work. We, the government, will give you this support for six months. There are people who do not respect this. They will pay off.”
7. **Promise:** Prime Minister Erdoğan gave to peasants a piece of good: “We extend the terms of agricultural credits of Ziraat Bank. Investment credit terms will be extended to 7 years from 5 years and business enterprise credit terms to 24 months from 18 months.”
8. **Particular Criticism to CHP leader Baykal:** News about public speeches of AKP leader Erdoğan includes several criticisms especially about CHP leader Baykal. Erdoğan said for Baykal, “He does not have the ideal to be in government. Public proclaimed him eternal opposition leader”. Erdoğan added “Baykal accepts his defeat now discusses how many goals he will concede. Yesterday he was pissed off in Çağlayan and said “you cannot invoke İnönü’s name. You do not hold the title of my mouth.”
9. **Criticism to Yüksek Seçim Kurulu (Presiding Office) about Turban:** Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan just before the elections flayed YSK about its decision to prohibit headscarf of Polling Board Officers.

Results:

Sabah newspaper during the local elections of March 29th, 2009 supported obviously AKP and became a partisan press. The support is pronounced by the allocation of a higher amount of news and photographs to that party. It is carried on by the use of news also (general features of news). Additionally newspaper reserved an important place to AKP leader Recep

Tayyip Erdoğan's statements, promises and criticism to his rivals so by the way supported the party by these themes.

This attitude is in contradiction with plural-democracies' 4th Estate role of the media. Elections are the most important sign of democracy and a newspaper's obvious partisanship to a party indicates a real problem. Partisan press should be then criticized. Press partisanship means democracy is invalid. However, the press is supposed to be the 4th Estate after Legislative, Judiciary and Executive Estate. This role is primordial for plural democracies (İrvan, 1995). Press should be the voice of public opinion and control the ruling power, in other words the press should criticize. A press without criticism cannot fulfill its active social role. These roles can only be fulfilled by being objective and by making objective news (Özer, 2008). However partisan press cannot be objective. This means that where there is partisan press the democracy has problems like in Turkey's case today...

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**EVALUATING ADVERTORIAL NEWS THROUGH THE MAGAZINE
 SUPPLEMENTS OF TURKISH PRESS IN TERMS OF CRITICAL
 POLITICAL ECONOMY**

Abstract

Along the last quarter of twentieth century, it can be assumed that western capitalist societies, with the developing peripheral countries like Turkey, have entered a new phase and the structure of societies has been determined by the new economic dynamics. In the context of *critical theory*, power relations, economic life, and social foundations considered as superstructure should be inspected altogether and how anti-public benefit structures achieve reproduction should be interpreted.

As the last phase of capitalism having begun and continued in the last quarter of twentieth century, mass media is assumed to raise its ideological significance with its new emplacement in the centre of ideological reproduction. As such, the contents disseminated through the magazine supplements of Turkish newspapers have been examined in context of the texts published in media and the position of the *new middle class*, which is both the producer and the consumer of such contents. That new middle class has been defined as *new cultural mediators*.

Within the scope of *mainstream media studies*, the *informative function* of media for citizens is highlighted. Despite this fact, violating ethic principles and professional codes, media's presenting advertisements to the reader under the disguise of news or amalgamating the frame of news -concerning products related to the news matter- with the advertisements are regarded as advertorial news. In this context it is supposed that, media performs on the reproduction of power relations, on behalf of the benefits of ruling classes. As cultural intermediaries, new middle class plays the key role in keeping masses inside the system by being both the producer of the texts in advertorial news (directly or indirectly) and the consumer of such contents and products, and also being the representative of new life style/cultural posing that are disseminated through advertorial news.

Today, as in the rest of the world media, advertisements and advertorial news, along with the sales revenues from circulation, compose the primary sources of income for the magazine press in Turkish media. As such, the evaluation of advertorial news placed in magazine press within political economy aspects and the assessment of the effects of such contents on the democratic involvement among citizenship form the subject of the study.

Some issues of two newspapers selected among the highly circulated ones in Turkey, have been sampled as the analysis unit, from the determined period of June 2009. Considerably, within the period of one month, the advertorial news through the weekend magazine supplements of the newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Akşam* have been analyzed with the method of content analysis. As a result, findings derived from the analyses of advertorial

news contents have been evaluated inquiring for their effects on *public space*, contextually within political economy approach.

Keywords: Critical political economy approach, new middle class, popular press, magazine supplements, advertisement, advertorial news, public space, civil rights.

EVALUATING ADVERTORIAL NEWS THROUGH THE MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENTS OF TURKISH PRESS IN TERMS OF CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

Introduction

Advertorial news can be defined as giving the news in news format or in disguise of news. However, it is not always possible to discern such content. Today, advertisement has become a strategy used not only by advertiser business corporations but also by public relations sector. The most important element in the background of this strategy is that advertorial news is easy to distinguish. This is actually the target point of the media.

Facing the gravity of ethical and structural problem emerging with advertorial news, it would be necessary to scrutinize the liberal commercial journalism as a whole and the principles it abides by (objectivity in news, independent media, public responsibility, corporate benefit and democratic function of the press). This problem of the media requires a political economy relations analysis of media organizations in general and the social status of journalism profession. In such a structure some journalists may become the cultural mediators and producers of the ideological structure which hides itself beneath social power relations. In that sense, it could be said that there are media employees in Turkish press that comply with the new cultural mediator definition and these symbolic elites are part of the general economic structure which manipulates the content.

In this study, advertorial news is analyzed through the contents of magazine supplements. In Turkish media, advertisements and advertorial news, along with the sales revenues from circulation, compose the primary sources of income for the gossip journalism. In this context, the analysis of advertorial news published in daily magazine supplements of monopolized press in terms of political economy of the media lays the problem of this study. Two newspapers selected from the highly circulated ones published in June, 2009 in Turkey have been sampled as the analysis unit of the study. Within a one-month period, the advertorial news published in the weekend magazine supplements of *Hürriyet* and *Akşam*

newspapers are analyzed with content analysis and the findings are evaluated qualitatively within political economy approach.

Post-Fordist Production, New Middle Class and Cultural Mediators

Between 1969 and 1971, the unemployment rate boosted, wages decreased and the growth came to a halt in the United States of America (U.S.A.) (Heffernan, 2005: 27-28). The inflationist policy that the U.S.A. pursued to fight against unemployment caused the breakdown of the Bretton Woods Agreement on fixed exchange rates with the overvalue of dollar. As a result, the U.S.A. abandoned Keynesian economics and gradually withdrew the state support on real sector. That brought a shift to money market and banking oriented monetary policies (Mishkin, 1998: 412). The growth in service sector with the banks and intermediaries, as opposed to the real sector, created the circumstances for the birth of cultural mediators, that is, new journalists and advertisers of the next period.

The economy politics of the new liberalism were gradually carried into effect. Conservationism was a means of providing mass obedience to the new liberal economy politics. The rise in capital mobility caused a contraction in working class rights and decline in nation states. The rise of private sector made the state abandon market mechanisms giving up its effort to manage markets. Thus, the markets were under the control of individual profit phenomenon and the invisible state hand.

It could be agreed upon that media, standing out among the other superstructural institutions during the mentioned period, placed itself at the center of ideological reproduction. In the context of critical paradigm; social power relations, economic life and social institutions accepted as superstructure have to be examined altogether and how anti-mass structures could reproduce themselves has to be understood.

In the context of *mainstream media studies*, the function of media to inform the citizens is emphasized (Mc Quail and Windahl, 1981). Despite ignoring ethical principles of liberal journalism, media intensively publishes advertisements in the shape of news. This asserts the conclusion that media acts in favor of the dominant classes in reproducing the hegemony relations.

The term *cultural mediators* by Pierre Bourdieu means cultural positioning of occupations and subjectively individuals (1992: 230). *New middle class*, as a related term, can be regarded as the social class that the cultural mediators belong to in the discussed economic structure. Cultural mediators and the new middle class are both the producers of the content in advertorial news (in some cases the news source) and the consumer, and as the representative

of the lifestyle presented with these, it also plays a key role in keeping the masses within the system (Dağtaş, 2006).

According to Bourdieu, new middle class, who could also be named as cultural mediators, work in jobs that mostly comply with the definition of service sector. The most significant function of cultural mediators is to produce goods and services which have symbolic value. Unlike intellectual capital, *pleasure, taste, desire and lifestyle* are sold to people in these jobs which require *cultural capital*; therefore a path to consumption is guided. Bourdieu defines this as *cultural imitation/cultural representation*. According to him, through a certain lifestyle and discourse, cultural mediators, thus, seem as if they had the high income level and high culture which actually they do not (Quoting Swartz, 1998: 160). It is aimed to glorify consumption by elevating the pleasure that the citizens take (Swartz, 1998: 180).

Among the *professionals* that Bourdieu counts while explaining the social positions based on new middle class and consumption are the new type journalists (Bourdieu, 1992: 230 and 270). New type journalists and their bosses are role models for dependent classes with the representation of their lifestyle as both the producer and the consumer. Advertorial news, in that sense, points out the social hegemony and cultural/ideological production of these media professionals.

Advertorial News in World Press

Advertorial news is the affirmation or direct advertisement of the products and services marketed by institutions or individuals aiming at gaining economic profit and political government sharing. Media organizations owned by diagonally monopolized corporations active in every field could be in vast and complicated relationships based on self interest. There might be a number of reasons why advertisement leaks into the news: representation of lives of the famous and people seeking to be famous, protection of powerful corporations' products and services from criticism, etc. In this framework, the subject is multidimensional as both a structural and an ethical problem.

According to Edwin Baker, since the first newspapers, publishing advertisements in the newspapers has affected content and media organizations even without advertorial news. The attitude to have good relations with the advertisers results in a kind of ideologically mild journalism which is afraid of scaring the advertiser capital class. Ultimately, selecting the news context in parallel to the advertisement is the inevitable result of publishing advertisements (Baker, 1992: 2139).

Since the beginning of television news reporting, the advertisement-news relation which began with the firms sponsoring the news programs emanated in elimination of the news which might damage the firms' image (Mitchell, 1994: 230). Afterwards, a legal adjustment was made with definitions of news, advertisements and sponsors made by official commissions. Despite that, regarding audience guidance, advertiser-publisher relationships continue affecting the content through various methods (Mitchell, 1994: 233).

According to Neil Henry, advertorial news is commonly used in company advertisements and political campaigns particularly for the public relations sector. For example, cosmetics sector is worth millions of dollars and they spend enormous amount of money on advertorial news. With a functionalist approach, Henry focuses on media's mission to inform the public and states that besides hindering media's basic functions, advertorial news threatens the ethical principles. Advertorial news also oppresses the freedom of editors and white-collar workers to make news (Henry, 2007: 30 and 237).

In Australia concrete examples regarding advertorial news can be given through lifestyle magazines. Presentation of lifestyle stands out as the dominant content in these publications which cover issues like celebrity lives, youth news, music-film industry, man-woman relations, hobbies, sports, healthy life and personal care. In these representations, a considerable number of advertisements and news about products and services are used. News items which introduce a particular brand's product as a desired and must-be-bought object are also very common (Mc Knight, 2005: 34-35).

One of the pioneers of American television news, Edward S. Murrow emphasizes that "if news is regarded as a commodity and picked up based on its profit rate, it cannot be called news anymore" (Quoting Sperber, 1998: 229). Originated in America, functionalist philosophy tradition is a pragmatic approach. This tradition defines market economy, family and ethics phenomena, all of which are the products of the same social formation, as separate and conflicting areas. However, Marxist philosophy based on dialectic materialism deals with all these and their conflicts as parts of the same economic structure. Thus, it places its attitude on changing the economic structure (Fuchs, 2009: 71).

Keeping a similar attitude in its subject due to social change, 20th century neo-Marxism accepts that the mentioned superstructural institutions are relatively independent. It assumes that these structures could be used for opposite social arrangements as well as the hegemony and the ideological production of the existing order. Approaches like critical political economy and instrumentalism which are considered as critical approaches are evaluations accepted as part of the neo-Marxist philosophy (Fuchs, 2009: 72-73). In this context, as well

as the analysis of advertorial news as a form of economic and cultural production in terms of critical political economy and its function to create hegemony, examining the conflictive condition of liberal press ethics is also significant for this study.

Post-Fordist Process in Turkey, New Structure of Media and Advertorial News

Since the early 20th century, Turkey has followed a planned development policy based on state-leading industrialization and state-subsided private sector. In the country where media is shaped in accordance with these policies, it could be argued that transition to post-Fordist structure and to the new liberal policies it requires was painful. In the post-World War II period, Turkey, which tried to attach itself to the Western structures, underwent serious problems throughout the crisis period in 1970s. On January 24, 1980, *economic decisions* which embodied post-fordist traces were taken in the axis of liberal foreign trade policy. These decisions were applied by National Unity Committee of the coup period and Motherland Party which was “elected” following the heated coup conditions.

In this framework, it could be assumed that the mentioned change and the structures it contains in Turkish economy are realized through so-called legal and suppressive-when-needed ways, preceding the country’s own market mechanisms. Shaped in the aftermath of deregulation, and in a sense called as *regulation*, this process is applied in all social areas including media. Tabloidization in media content, advertorial news and journalism ethics, etc. created a structure in Turkey similar to the West from which all these were imitated. Common media in Turkey implements a cultural production which is distant to the country’s particular cultural structure and indifferent to poverty-oriented economic problems. It could be argued that the fundamental reasons behind this are work practices in media and diagonal monopolized structure emerged with ownership structure of the media which aims at attaching itself to the global structure.

We can discuss that the ideological function of advertorial news and their effect on journalism practices bear similarities with the Western examples analyzed above. Reformed media sector has grown more supportive of ideological production in context of its complicated relations with the state and its institutions. In an environment where politics and claiming one’s rights through democratic ways are restricted, widespread publishing of gossip column content and a common tabloidization in content provides the opportunity for the masses to feel relieved imagining a life and welfare that is never going to be reached. In the new period, the middle class masses of the previous phase have become more impoverished due to unemployment and low wages. Celebrities who gained fame and luxury without having

any talent objectively create role models in that sense and give hope to the masses. In this framework, the idea to reach an appealing life by legalizing the system consciously or unconsciously renders the necessities such as questioning and analyzing the existing establishment worthless (Dağtaş, 2006).

Advertorial news, in this general atmosphere of gossip column and tabloidized media, has to be evaluated in the context of presentation of lifestyles and media's economy-politics structure. Advertorial news creates objects of desire with a representation of consumption based lifestyles. In this study, the advertorial news examples published in weekend supplements of the analyzed newspapers (*Akşam* and *Hürriyet*) attribute different meanings to a commodity beyond its usage value. The new products' promising a happy and full of desire life in context of gaining new identities requires a need to question the political economy structure of the system that media and cultural mediators are in.

Quantitative and Qualitative Findings of the Study

The weekend magazine supplements of the analysis unit newspapers of the study can be considered as free commoditized supplements of the two diagonally monopolized media conglomerates. As two giant corporations, *Doğan* and *Çukurova Group* are competitive in gossip column market. Operating in telecommunication, oil, energy, banking, etc, these conglomerates are competing to have a say in the cultural industry field of Turkey. With the changing political powers, media ownerships in Turkey change as well; however, monopolized structure in media maintains its existence. In that sense, despite periodical changes in media ownership, no difference in the sense of publishing advertorial news is observed.

As of June, 2009, analysis unit newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Akşam* published “Cumartesi (Saturday)” and “Pazar (Sunday)” magazine supplements at weekends. In addition, differing from *Akşam*, *Hürriyet* published “Kelebek Cumartesi (Butterfly Saturday)” magazine supplement on Saturdays; *Akşam*, on the other hand, published a tabloid formatted magazine supplement named “Siesta” free for its readers on Sundays.

In addition to the above-mentioned magazine supplements, both newspapers offered their readers catalogs advertising products and services directly as free supplements of the newspapers. The distribution of the advertised products and services are as follows: cosmetics, house appliances, computer and electronic products, bathroom products, kitchen products, clothes, jewelry and ornaments, fast food products, holiday resorts, etc. These catalogs are arranged considering both middle class and middle upper and upper classes.

Since the analysis period coincided with high school and university graduation ceremonies in Turkey, and Father's Day was celebrated on the same month, there appeared a quantitative increase in the number of advertisements and advertorial news. Two-paged supplements in both catalogs and on free magazine supplements' front pages given as "this is an ad" are evaluated in advertisement category. Besides, advertorial news pieces infiltrated into the content of the magazine supplements. In addition to its magazine supplement "Saturday", for instance, *Akşam* offered its readers an eight-paged exclusive supplement named "Father's Day". This supplement included numerous advertorial news pieces.

In "Hürriyet Saturday" supplement, 22 advertorial news pieces on June 6, 33 on June 13, 21 on June 20 and 45 on June 27 were published. A total of 121 advertorial news pieces are counted in a one-month period of supplement's issues. In the other magazine supplement of the same newspaper called "Kelebek Saturday", 6 advertorial news pieces on June 6, 5 on June 13, 14 on June 20 and 10 on June 27 were published. A total of 35 advertorial news pieces were placed in the supplement. Considering both supplements, we can state that an overall total of 156 advertorial news pieces were included in their content.

In "Akşam Saturday" supplement, 5 advertorial news pieces on June 6, 9 on June 13, 34 on June 20 and 9 on June 27 were published. A total of 57 advertorial news pieces are counted in a one-month period of supplement's issues. The same newspaper's exclusive and free issue on June 20 "Father's Day" included 53 advertorial news pieces. Considering both supplements, a total of 110 advertorial news pieces were carried onto their pages.

At this point, both press corporations who try to grow their market share bear a resemblance in terms of including numerous advertorial news pieces in their contents. One of the main reasons why *Hürriyet* included more advertorial news pieces in its "Saturday" supplements compared to *Akşam* is the difference in the number of the pages. "Hürriyet Saturday", allocated 2-4 pages into direct advertisement out of its 20-paged content on average. Comparatively, "Kelebek Saturday" had an average of 10-paged content, and it used 3 pages for advertisements in some issues. "Akşam Saturday" came out in a 12-paged content on average and it used 1-2 pages for advertisement in some weeks.

Along with these, sectoral distribution of the advertorial news pieces published in the analysis unit newspaper supplements and the comparison of the two newspapers' supplements in that way is also crucial. Considering both "Hürriyet Saturday" and "Kelebek Saturday", sectoral distribution of the advertorial news pieces was mostly in the following fields: Entertainment venues 37, clothing/design 21, restaurants 21, holiday resorts 14 and shopping

shops 12. Advertorial news pieces regarding the other sectors (food, liquors and sodas, home supplies, cosmetics, accessories, etc.) were fewer in number.

In “Akşam Saturday” supplement, on the other hand, had the following sectoral distribution density of the advertorial news pieces: Clothing/design 27, shopping malls 20, accessories 16, restaurants 12, electronics/computer products 11, and cosmetics 9. Advertorial news pieces regarding the other sectors (holiday resorts, liquors and sodas, health, music, etc.) were fewer in number.

It has been observed that throughout the analysis period certain companies sponsored the pages concerning the news pieces/issues that could be considered in the context of advertorial news dealt with in the related pages. The examples of this have been come across both in “Hürriyet Saturday” and “Akşam Saturday” during the analysis period. For instance, on the June 6 issue of “Hürriyet Saturday” supplement, an advertisement of “strawberry” product by Binboğa vodka brand was released. In that sense, it could be said that the brand Binboğa purchased one whole page of the newspaper supplement. Furthermore, by giving information about the same product in the content of the news texts, this becomes a good example of advertorial news. On the health column of the same issue of “Akşam Saturday” advertorial news pieces about skin and care products by “Dr. Scholl” are made with the purchase of the whole page by the company. In the same period, the sectoral distribution of the advertorial news pieces made by purchasing the whole page in both of the two newspapers’ supplements is as follows: credit cards, GSM, health appliances, house appliances, food.

On “Sundays” in the analysis period, Hürriyet published “Hürriyet Sunday”; Akşam published “Akşam Sunday” and “Siesta” (tabloid magazine). In “Hürriyet Sunday”, consecutively 3 advertorial news pieces on June 7, 5 on June 14, 5 on June 21 and 3 on June 28 were released. A total of 16 advertorial news pieces are counted in a one-month period of supplement’s issues.

In “Akşam Sunday”, consecutively 2 advertorial news pieces on June 7, 5 on June 14, 20 on June 21 and 6 on June 28 were released. A total of 33 advertorial news pieces are counted in a one-month period of supplement’s issues. In the same paper’s other magazine supplement called “Siesta” 22 advertorial news pieces on June 14, 19 on June 21 and 16 on June 28 were released. Totally 57 advertorial news pieces were included in “Siesta”.

Considering both supplements of the newspaper, it can be pointed out that an overall total of 90 advertorial news pieces were included in their content.*

The total number of the advertorial news pieces of the magazine supplements published on “Sunday” decreased when compared to the number of the ones published on “Saturday”. The number of pages in *Hürriyet*'s “Sunday” supplement was not reduced (20-22 pages on average) and it is observed that some of the pages were allocated to direct advertisements. However, fewer advertorial news pieces were included compared to the ones released in “Saturday” magazine supplements. This could be seen as the editor's preference. Moreover, *Hürriyet* decided to publish only one magazine supplement on “Sundays” in the given period.

One of the essential reasons why *Akşam* allocated more advertorial news pieces in “Sunday” supplements when compared to those of *Hürriyet* is its offering a second magazine supplement “Siesta” to its readers. The eight-paged “Akşam Sunday” supplement set two of its pages for direct advertisement only for one week in the analysis period.** 16-paged magazine supplement “Siesta”, on the other hand, had 2 pages of direct advertisement and 14 pages of news content. Therefore, the total number of advertorial news pieces published in “Akşam Sunday” and “Siesta” caused a discrepancy when compared to that of “Hürriyet Sunday”. This condition leads to the conclusion the two media corporations in their competition to share the market share weekends (Saturdays and Sundays) not only for advertisements but also for advertorial news. Still, it has been analyzed that relatively *Akşam* released more advertorial news pieces (200 advertorial news pieces) when compared to those *Hürriyet* (172 advertorial news pieces) throughout the weekend days.

The sectoral distribution of the advertorial news pieces in the analysis unit newspapers' “Sunday” supplements shows differences from each other. In “Hürriyet Sunday” supplement, the distribution of advertorial news pieces is as follows: Restaurants 5, holiday tours 4, liquors and sodas 3. Considering both “Akşam Sunday” and “Siesta”, the distribution of advertorial news pieces is as follows: Restaurants 29, entertainment venues 18, music 11 and holiday resorts 10. In the magazine supplements published by the two newspapers, advertorial news pieces on different sectors (health, automobile industry, clothing, food, accessories, cosmetics, etc.) are also seen.

* June 7 issue of the magazine supplement “Siesta” is not included in the analysis as it was unavailable.

** June 14 issue of “Akşam Sunday” was published with a 12 paged content; and it included a 4-paged advertisement.

During the analysis period, a great number of advertorial news pieces are presented in the newspaper supplements. A wide range of information about the facilities of food, entertainment and holiday places, their prices and reservation phone numbers were included in the news content. Besides, a variety of advertorial news pieces on shopping store discounts, product diversity and brands, liquor brands, accessories, electronics/computer products stood out on the pages of the supplements. In this context, it could be claimed that the magazine supplements of the analyzed newspapers are full of examples which prove the stated condition.

In addition to that, *Akşam* also included advertisements in its supplements related to *diagonal promotion*. There was 1 advertorial news piece in "Akşam Saturday" and two in "Akşam Sunday" concerning Digiturk, which is an encoded satellite television provider owned by diagonally monopolized Çukurova Conglomerate. Advertorial news pieces of the same corporation's men's magazine called "Maxim" (3) and "automobile magazine" called "Autocar" were published in "Siesta" every weekend throughout the analysis period.

Conclusion and Evaluation

Along the last quarter of twentieth century, it can be assumed that western capitalist societies, with the developing peripheral countries like Turkey, have entered a new phase and the structure of societies has been determined by the new economic dynamics. Undoubtedly media is not out of the picture with its diagonally monopolized structure.

In this context, as a result of the analysis of the weekend supplements of the analysis unit newspapers; other than advertisements, *advertorial news* and advertisements regarding *diagonal promotion* make up an important part of the income source. Dallas Smythe (1977) emphasized the need to attribute political economy of media to the analysis of the commodity they sell. In Smythe's opinion, audience is a commodity which completely belongs to media. The main function of media is not to present opinion packages to the audience but to meet the audience with the advertisers.

During the analysis period, it has been observed that the advertorial news pieces published in the newspapers' magazine supplements are similar to each other quantitatively and qualitatively. Analysis period's coinciding with "Father's Day", "university/high school graduation ceremonies" and the start of "summer" holiday made the advertorial center around basically food/entertainment/holiday/shopping stores and other related sectors such as clothing, accessories, and electronic commodities.

On the other hand, the advertisements reflected on the pages in the axis of promotion are shown as tax write-off by the related press corporation. Thus, monopolized media corporations increase their profits by deducting these expenses from the tax.

As a result, political economy dynamics are determinant on the inclination of analysis unit supplements towards advertorial news. Hence, to gain a profit is one of the important elements in choosing the content of weekend magazine supplements of the newspapers. While net sales ratio and direct advertisement profits are the driving forces in the continuation of the supplements, advertorial news and diagonal promotion advertisements gain importance as the profit raising variables. In that sense, media's dependence on mentioned sources of income causes them to see the audience as a consumer/client.

The producers of advertorial news pieces in these supplements are new middle class and cultural mediators, including some media employees. Besides the fact that advertorial news is contrary to journalism ethics and principles, media's sense of public responsibility and public profit, the evaluations of advertorial news to be made by the Turkish media employees as cultural mediators requires a new study regarding the sector.

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- Akşam Pazar**. June 1-30.
- Hürriyet Cumartesi**. June 1-30.
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The logo for the International Association for Far Eastern Research (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, curved lines in shades of blue and red, creating a circular, abstract design.

The Role of Media in Democracy

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Introduction

The role of media in democracy has long intrigued both communication and political science scholars. Media has been espoused as the Fourth Estate – a watchdog – and a platform that provides opportunity for public discussions. While this may aptly describe media in some developed countries, it may not be the same for the less developed or developing countries, who see the role of media from a different perspective. In these developing countries, media is associated with development, often collaborating with the government of the day, for a greater good i.e. the development of the nation. However, in some, if not most cases, the media has ended-up being stifled in the name of development and national interest.

But the emergence of the new media or rather the “*encroachment of the internet*” on the existing media seems to suggest that these new media and related technologies have created a new public space for political discussion (Gurevitch, Coleman and Blumler, 2009; Papacharissi, 2002). But some researchers have opined that the new media is merely a place for some people to vent and express their anger or more precisely place “*hasty opinions*” – a place for people to “*shout more loudly*” (Abramson et al, 1988 and Jones, 1997 as cited in Papacharissi, 2002).

New Media

Emerging communication technologies and its applications have often been associated with new media (Marvin, 1988 as cited in Tomasello, Lee and Baer, 2009). Lievrouw and Livingstone (2006) define new media as “*information and communication technologies and their associated social contexts.*” Axford (2001) has distinguished the old media from the new media in several ways – systemic, technological and aesthetic differences and differences in logic. Using these above definitions, the new media encompasses a variety of media and its applications. These include one of the most common media associated with the new media – the internet and its applications (blogs, websites, email, social networks etc). Digital technologies such cell phones and its applications such as SMSes are also associated with the new media.

Media and Democracy

Merrill (2009) says democracy is not something that should be forced upon the people; they themselves must want it while the media supports and promotes it. Over the years, democracy and media have both evolved and continue to undergo transformation. Rather than being media-centric, scholars opine that an array of variables and factors shape and influence democracy, but they generally agree that media help maintain continuity for democracy (Dahlgren, 2001). The rise of Internet has presented both political opportunities and perils. Despite giving people access to cheap or free information and eventually lead to increased political participation, there are also concerns. Detractors cite the *echo chamber* effect with user’s exposure limited to like-minded people as they are able to select and customise the information (Golde and Nie, 2010).

Often, the media is associated as a lifeline of a nation furnishing citizens with local and global news developments that may shape or change perceptions and public opinion. Media reach and its influence on the public has always been recognised and never disputed, thus becoming the instrument of choice for delivering messages to the masses. While democracy is a government of the people, for the people and by the people, the media is seen as a placard that could raise or reduce the popularity index of local administrations. The way it serves the masses is based upon level of literacy, degree of emancipation and participation by local citizens, acceptance by the populace and non-erosion to local cultures. In a

“developing” democracy, public opinion has to be generated consistently and agencies are appointed to lubricate the machinery of mass communication, which in turn, mobilises national opinion. This is the only way that a democracy can survive.

Democracy requires for the active participation of citizens. Ideally, the media should keep citizens engaged in the business of governance by informing, educating and mobilizing the public. The main concern of Liberal Democratic Theory was ‘to grant individuals civil liberties against the incursion of the state’ (Bobbio, 1987, p.10). For Italian political sociologist, Norberto Bobbio, Liberal Democracy assumes that citizens, “once they are, entrusted with the right to choose who governs them”, are sufficiently well-informed “to vote for the wisest, the most honest, the most enlightened of their fellow citizens” (Ibid., p.19).

Therefore, the defining characteristics of a democratic regime comprises of constitutionality, participation and rational choice. The political participation is typically defined as direct citizen involvement in, or influence over, governmental process (Bucy & Gregson, 2001). For those who participate in the democratic process, they must comprise what Bobbio terms a ‘substantial’ proportion of the people. Here, citizens are given the rights to participate in politics and decision-making process through elections in the country. An election is the fundamental of a democratic society. Another condition of democracy is the availability of choice where the citizens have the ability to exercise their choice rationally. Democratic theory also stresses the primacy of the individual, the political process nevertheless demands that individuals act collectively in making decision about who will govern them.

Consequently, the five functions of the communication media in ‘ideal-type’ democratic societies are suggested such as:

- They must inform citizens of what is happening around them;
- To educate as to the meaning and significance of the ‘fact’;
- To provide a platform for public political discourse;
- Facilitating the formation of ‘public opinion’; and
- Feeding that opinion back to the public from where it came, to give publicity to governmental and political institutions, as a watchdog role of journalism, and to serve as a channel for the advocacy of political view points (McNair, 2007, p.20).

In short, democracy presumes “an open state in which people are allowed to participate in decision-making, and are given access to the media, and other information networks through which advocacy occurs” (Cooper, 1991, p.42). From the perspective of communication, democracy entails the freedom of citizens to articulate their views in the public domain. It provides them the opportunity to exercise their right to engage in a discussion or debate, and to offer criticisms that collectively contribute to the common good of a society (Anuar, 2000).

The press in a situation of control becomes inept in playing the adversarial role of watchdog. Consequently, this situation makes it difficult for citizens to exercise their right to information and their right to making informed choices (Wang, 2001). Many government leaders in the developing world justify their control over the media in terms of jealously guarding and guiding its members toward the supposedly noble path of national development and to ensure that the media do not fall into the “wrong hand”. In other words, state control over the mainstream media has clearly been justified in the name of national development as well as national security (Anuar, 2005). Therefore, the public sphere in Malaysian society

has been further constrained that ordinary citizens and concerned civil society groups have not been able to fully express their views and to directly participate in the country's democratic processes (Ibid., 2001). And the existing media have been criticised on grounds of their apparent inability to foster public discussions by espousing divergent social opinion.

The public sphere is critically important for modern societies. It serves as a forum to communicate collectively on relevant issues, and allows citizens to inform themselves about societal developments and to observe and control political, economic and other elites. It is an open space for communication. A public sphere has four basic elements: (1) publics; (2) spaces where publics may assemble for communication; (3) media of communication, such as newspaper and books; and (4) discourses (Yang, 2003). By recognising its substantial role, many scholars have formulated normative theories which describe how the public sphere should be structured in order to ideally fulfil this role. The most prominent such normative theory is certainly the '*participatory*' (or '*discussion*') model, with Jurgen Habermas as its strongest advocate (eg. Habermas, 1989,1992,1998; cf. Calhoun,1992, as cited in Gerhards & Schafer, 2010). Accordingly to this model, public communication should include a wide range of relevant topics, evaluations and arguments and should strive for the '*widest possible empowerment*', i.e. extensive '*popular inclusion*' of different actors (Ferree et al., 2002a;296ff, as cited in Gerhards & Schafer, 2010).

The internet is shown to have had reinforcing effects on information-seeking and sociability. Recent findings confirms that certain web uses contribute to civic engagement and trust (Shah et al., 2005), increased volunteerism (Jennings & Zeitner, 2003), enhanced personal interactions (Hampton & Wellman, 2003) and increased news consumption (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000). The new media also allow people to form opinions, rather than just to express them. And the question here is, does internet offer a new, more powerful medium of the promotion of democracy? The media can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. The Malaysian first fully online newspaper, *Malaysiakini* gained prominence soon after its inception. It is also through this website that many Malaysians found avenues to articulate their views and grievances that would normally not see the light of day in the mainstream media.

The popularity of the Internet among Malaysian seems to have put the government in a dilemma. On the one hand, the government hails the Internet use as one of the successes of its much-touted Multimedia Super Corridor project. On the other, the Internet is also a cause for concern especially when it has become the favourite and convenient means of communication among critics of the government and pro-reformasi (reform) supporters (Anuar, 2000).

The Internet offers the most powerful communications medium yet for maximising information flows. It enables that efficient promotion of political option and provides individuals with access to a huge amount of up-to-date information by which to make their choice (Dahlberg, 2001). The new media are also not connected to political power and capital, and it has the capacity to facilitate various new types of interactions among citizens (Chang, 2005). Somehow, the participation is limited by the problems of assembling large numbers of people, of the ignorance of ordinary citizens, and of the inequalities in the distribution of resources which affect people's capacity for involvement (Mackay, p.388, 2000).

For now, the Internet remains the last outlet for publication of commentaries, opinions, and thoughts that are deemed too sensitive and controversial for the conventional media (Lim, 2007). And in long run, the internet may democratise the public sphere and lead to strengthened political interest and participation among citizens (Dahlgren, 2005; Sarcinelli, 1997, as cited in Gerhards & Schafer, 2010). A virtual space enhances discussion; a virtual sphere enhances democracy as Habermas saw the public sphere of rational public debate. Ultimately, informed and logical discussion, Habermas argued, could lead to public agreement and decision making, thus representing the best of democratic tradition (Habermas, 1962, 1989, 1991 as cited in Papacharissi, 2002).

Somehow, access to the internet does not guarantee increased political activity or enlightened political discourse, and connectivity does not ensure a more representative and robust public sphere (Gerhards & Schafer, 2010). Jankowski and Van Selm (2000) also expressed reservations that online discussion, much like real life ones, seemed to be dominated by elites and who were unable to influence public policy formation. It provides public space, but does not constitute a public sphere.

Youth, Media and Politics

Young people are often seen as a key indicator group of the new social phenomena. They seem to display higher levels of cynicism, apathy and disengagement with the formal political process. Some studies suggest that young people are less engaged with political process. Being early users of the new media technologies, their usage of media in relation to politics has attracted interest among scholars (Huggins, 2001). The Young people lack of participation in politics has often been associated with limited reading of the news. With less time being spent on reading of news, they seem to be less knowledgeable in politics (Calenda and Meijer, 2007).

In Malaysia, a survey by the Federation of Peninsular Malay Students shows that 70% of undergraduates were found to be disinterested in politics with 10% being pro-government and 20% choosing to be open. Political observer Dr Sivamurugan Pandian of University Sains Malaysia notes that with the availability of advanced information technology and the emergence of the new media, the young generation no longer access information from the conventional media but are churning out information and forming their own opinion (MalaysianMirror, 16 March 2012). Commenting on young voters and how they would vote in the 13th General Election, University of Malaya associate professor Dr. Abu Hassan Hasbullah said, "They no longer have a classic belief in politics." Another political analyst Ong Kian Ming indicated that overall, between 25 and 30 percent of Malaysian voters are expected to be below 35 years old by the next general election. And in total, this is about six million potential voters who are most likely, to be opinionated, internet savvy and idealistic (Malaysiandigest.com, 27 June 2010).

Malaysian Media and Politics

For some, the Malaysian press emphasises national unity and development and practicing editorial self-censorship. Ethnic diversity and economic disparity are sensitive issues and to preserve order and stability, the government has defined the role of the press as promoting nationalism and development (Yin, 2009). Azizah (2008) notes that the role of the Malaysian media in shaping public opinions and perception about political, economic and social issues has "long been the subject of study, speculation, accusations and debate." Statistics show that Malaysia currently has 15,868,000 Internet subscribers. It is also interesting to note that in a decade, the number of registered voters increased by 50%, while Internet subscribers

increased 328.9%. Today, the Internet penetration reaches 62.8% of the Malaysian population (Deuntzer, 2009).

Malaysian Political Background

For the first time, the ruling Barisan Nasional (BN) coalition lost its two-thirds parliamentary majority at the federal level in the 2008 general election. It also lost control of five state assemblies (but would later wrest control of one of the states). Heralded as a political tsunami, the beneficiary was a loose coalition of opposition parties (then) namely, the Islamic party PAS, multiracial party Parti Keadilan Rakyat, and DAP a mainly Chinese party. They have since formed a coalition called Pakatan Rakyat.

Calls have been made to study the impact of the new media and its ability to “capture the imaginations of the masses” (Azizah, 2008). Some media practitioners feel that the winds of change swept not only the political landscape, but also the media environment and that they should do soul-searching to stay relevant and accurately feel the pulse of the nation. It has been claimed that mobile democracy – the SMS – may have been the most effective weapon that knocked out the BN (Wong, 2008).

Research Objectives

Based on the abovementioned scenario, the following are the aims of the study:

- a) To examine to what extent the new media shapes the perception of Chinese youth on politics.
- b) To explore the perception of Chinese youth on the new media and its role in democracy.

The scope of the study covers Chinese youth aged between 20 and 24.

Further Literature Review

New media research about the internet and digital communication technologies is thriving and expected to continue (Tomasello, Youngwon and Baer, 2009). Gerhards and Schäfer (2010) found only minimal evidence to support the notion that the internet is a better communication space as compared to print media. Another research in Japan found that the new media – blogging and the Internet – played little role in the ruling LDP’s defeat. Instead, the DPJ ousted LDP partly through the use of mainstream media, especially television. (Duncan McCargo and Lee Hyon-Suk, 2010). An exploratory survey result hinted at an intermingling of social, professional, political, information and entertainment-seeking and academic activities on the web. (Hall and Caidi, 2003).

The effects of online news on political behaviors in the US found that online news readership significantly increases interest in politics but does not affect subsequent outcomes such as political participation or polarization. Constant exposure to news online (political and other) may lead people to report being interested in politics. Moreover, the relative ease and costless process of sending more information online may indeed lead people to become more interested in politics. The study notes the nature of online news as an additional source of information that supplements a media environment saturated with political content. (Golde and Nie, 2010).

Another study found that the Internet leads to additional political participation but does not trigger a shift from ‘old’ to ‘new’ politics. The research finds that the extent of online political participation is influenced by both the level of Internet use and the extent of offline political participation. The second finding is that the level of Internet use cannot

explain the orientations towards online political participation. The study concludes that the online political world is indeed a natural extension of the offline world (Calenda and Meijer, 2007).

Syed Arabi and Khaizuran (2010) explored the role of blogs and democracy in relation to a by-election in Malaysia. The study suggests that blogs cannot operate in isolation. The constituency for the by-election was Malay dominated but half the blogs were in English and the issues raised were above the immediate concerns of the voters. Voters who were likely to be low educated and from the low income group did not relate to blog posts. Blogs open the space for interested citizens to have their say on the current local political scene yet they may not be particularly engaging voters or directly campaigning for the election. The study illustrates voters may not share the same views as bloggers as the ruling party (BN) won the by-election despite the bloggers' strong support for the opposition party.

Methodology

The study involved a survey consisting of a structured questionnaire with regards to respondents' background and usage of / exposure to new media, new media and politics and new media and democracy. The new media and politics part contained 16 statements on a five-point Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree) while the new media and democracy section had 13 statements also on a five-point Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). The study had 253 respondents comprising young ethnic Chinese aged 20 to 24. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the data collected. The results were interpreted using factor analysis and regression in order to obtain insights into the data collected over a period of two-weeks.

Findings and Results

The Cronbach alpha for new media and politics and new media and democracy were 0.798 and 0.852 respectively. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was 0.810 for the former and 0.817 for the latter. Of the 253 respondents 69.2% were females and 30.8% males.

Data Reduction: New Media and Politics

A factor analysis was conducted to reduce the large number of variables to a smaller number of factors. For the new media and politics, 16 variables were entered into a factor analysis of principal components using the promax rotation and suppressed at 0.4. The results of the pattern matrix can be seen in **Table 1**.

Table 1: Pattern Matrix^a

	Component		
	Usage Reasons	Influence	Consumption
I use the new media because it allows me to obtain political information at any time.	.897		
I use the new media for political information because of its variety of viewpoints.	.804		
I access the new media for political information because it's easy to obtain.	.762		
I use the new media for political information because it allows me to be in contact with like-minded people.	.497		
I am knowledgeable in politics.		.899	
I am influenced by the new media on political issues.		.711	
I am influenced by the new media on my views about political leaders.		.498	
I use the new media because I don't trust the traditional media.			.828
I have reduced my consumption of political news from the traditional / mainstream media.			.803

The pattern matrix shows that there are three factors. The first factor consists of four items concerned with reasons for using the new media for political information. This factor was named "Usage Reasons." The usage of new media to obtain political information at anytime had the highest loading. This was followed by using the new media for its variety of view points, using the new media for political information because it is easy to obtain and using the new media to be in contact with like-minded people. The second factor was named "Influence." Two items were related with ability to influence perception on political issues and on political leaders and another was "I am knowledgeable in politics." We referred this second factor as "Influence" bearing in mind that to be influenced, one may have to be knowledgeable and interested in politics. The third factor was related to the distrust of the traditional media and reduced consumption of political news from the mainstream media hence we named it "Consumption." This is not surprising as lack of trust may lead to reduced consumption. These factors were then used as a basis to run regression analysis (**Table 2**).

Table 2: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Blogs	Usage Reasons	8.570	4	2.143	2.608	.037
	Influence	7.037	4	1.759	2.268	.063
	Consumption	3.644	4	.911	.969	.425
Discussion boards	Usage Reasons	2.272	4	.568	.692	.599
	Influence	9.971	4	2.493	3.213	.014
	Consumption	4.480	4	1.120	1.191	.316
Email	Usage Reasons	1.623	4	.406	.494	.740
	Influence	5.458	4	1.365	1.759	.138
	Consumption	1.204	4	.301	.320	.864
Mobile (SMS)	Usage Reasons	8.178	4	2.044	2.489	.044
	Influence	2.025	4	.506	.653	.626
	Consumption	13.696	4	3.424	3.641	.007
Online news websites	Usage Reasons	17.398	4	4.349	5.295	.000
	Influence	19.234	4	4.809	6.198	.000
	Consumption	3.869	4	.967	1.029	.393
Social Networks	Usage Reasons	1.033	4	.258	.314	.868
	Influence	4.259	4	1.065	1.373	.244
	Consumption	6.095	4	1.524	1.620	.170

*Significant at 5%.

Table 2 shows that email and social networks were not significant (p value less than 0.05) for all three factors. Blogs, mobile and online news websites were statistically significant for Usage Reasons. Discussion boards and online news websites were statistically significant for Influence while mobile was significant for Consumption.

Usage Reasons

This factor was affected by online, blogs and mobile. Based on the estimated marginals, the highest mean (0.758) was for those who access online news websites “always” (**Table 3**) and blogs “often” (mean =0.303) for political news and information. This would imply that those who use these two media frequently use it because of the ease of obtaining political information and the variety of the information that they offer. Gender was not significant for this factor.

Table 3: Estimated Marginal for Online news websites

Dependent Variable: Usage Reasons

Online news websites	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Always	.758	.230	.304	1.211
Often	.302	.215	-.122	.726
Sometimes	.228	.173	-.113	.569
Rarely	-.061	.194	-.443	.322
Never	-.725	.273	-1.262	-.188

Influence

Discussion boards, online news websites and gender were found to have effect on influence. The estimated marginals show that those who “always” (mean = 1.122, **Table 4**) use online news websites and discussion rooms for political news and information are more likely influenced on their perceptions on political issues and political leaders. The estimated marginals also reveal that males are more influenced by the new media on political issues and leaders than females (**Table 5**).

Table 4: Estimated Marginals for Online News Websites

Dependent Variable: Influence

Online news websites2	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
always	1.122	.205	.718	1.526
often	.688	.210	.275	1.101
sometimes	.248	.166	-.079	.575
rarely	-.127	.191	-.504	.250
never	-.094	.253	-.592	.405

Table 5: Estimated Marginals for Gender

Dependent Variable: Influence

Gender	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Female	.228	.145	-.058	.515
Male	.506	.162	.186	.826

Consumption

Gender has significant effect on this Consumption factor. It was found that more males than females have reduced consumption of traditional media and distrust the mainstream media (as shown in **Table 6**). Furthermore, those who “often” and “sometimes” use mobile (SMS) for political news have reduced consumption of traditional media and have distrust of the mainstream media.

Table 6: Marginal Estimates for Gender

Dependent Variable: Consumption

Gender	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Female	-.043	.160	-.359	.274
Male	.231	.176	-.115	.578

Data Reduction: New Media and Democracy

Thirteen variables were entered into a factor analysis of principal components using the promax rotation and suppressed at 0.4. The results of this pattern matrix are seen in **Table 7**.

Table 7: Pattern Matrix^a

	Component		
	Platform	Participation	Hasty Opinions
The new media allows greater freedom for people to express themselves on political issues.	.772		
The new media has created a forum for people to exchange opinions on political issues.	.741		
The new media provides space for political discussion.	.726		
The new media fosters public participation in the process of democracy.	.651		
The new media would eventually enhance democracy.	.615		
The new media improves the defects of the traditional media by allowing equal opportunity for airing views.	.531		
The new media has led to my greater participation to discuss political issues.		.888	
New media has led to strengthened political interest in you.		.779	
Debates and discussions on new media are more exciting and open.		.414	
The new media is a tool to shout loudly but not rational political discussion.			.895
The new media is a tool to vent anger on political dissatisfaction.			.718

The pattern matrix (**Table 7**) shows that there are three factors. The first factor consists of six items concerned with role of the new media as a forum of expression. This factor was named “Platform” The statement that the new media allows greater freedom for people to express themselves on political issues had the highest loading. The second factor was named “Participation.” It had three items. The item with the highest loading was that the new media has led to greater participation to discuss political issues followed by the statement that the new media has led to strengthened political interest and that debates and discussions on new media are more exciting and open. The third factor related to “Hasty Opinions”. The item with the highest loading was that the new media is a tool to shout loudly but not rational political discussion. These three factors were then used as a basis to run regression analysis (**Table 8**).

Table 8: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Blogs	Platform	6.708	4	1.677	1.829	.124
	Participation	6.145	4	1.536	1.672	.158
	Hasty Opinions	1.300	4	.325	.326	.861
Discussion rooms	Platform	2.918	4	.730	.796	.529
	Participation	4.455	4	1.114	1.212	.307
	Hasty Opinions	1.819	4	.455	.455	.768
Online news websites	Platform	4.856	4	1.214	1.324	.262
	Participation	10.438	4	2.610	2.840	.025
	Hasty Opinions	4.861	4	1.215	1.217	.304
Social Networks	Platform	10.144	4	2.536	2.765	.028
	Participation	4.618	4	1.155	1.256	.288
	Hasty Opinions	1.950	4	.487	.488	.744
Mobile(SMS)	Platform	7.765	4	1.941	2.117	.080
	Participation	2.400	4	.600	.653	.625
	Hasty Opinions	3.706	4	.927	.928	.448
Email	Platform	2.860	4	.715	.780	.539
	Participation	3.011	4	.753	.819	.514
	Hasty Opinions	4.529	4	1.132	1.134	.341

Using social networks for political purposes for the Platform factor and using online news websites for political purposes for the Participation factor were significant at 5% respectively.

Platform

From the regression analysis, it was found that those who access the social network “always” more likely perceived the new media as a platform or space to exchange opinions on politics. Gender was not significant for this factor.

Participation

Gender and online news websites were statistically significant for this factor. It was found that males (mean = 0.594) had higher levels of participation compared to females (**Table 9**) while those who “always” (mean = 0.888) access the online news websites for political news and information see the new media has a participatory tool in the process of democracy (**Table 10**).

Table 9: Estimated Marginals for Gender

Dependent Variable: Participation

Gender	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Female	.220	.127	-.030	.470
Male	.594	.153	.293	.895

Table 10: Estimated Marginals for Online news websites

Dependent Variable: Participation

Online news websites	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Always	.888	.205	.483	1.292
Often	.513	.208	.104	.923
Sometimes	.363	.155	.058	.668
Rarely	.125	.172	-.213	.463
Never	.146	.240	-.327	.619

Hasty Opinions

None had effect on this third factor.

Discussion

Chinese youth who frequently use the new media (online news and blogs) for political news and information use it because of the ease of obtaining such information, and also for the diversity of viewpoints. Results indicate that Chinese youth with higher exposure to online news and discussion rooms are influenced by these media on their perception about political issues and political figures. This was evident in those who “always” access these two new media for political information and news. Findings also reveal that gender has an effect on the ability of the new media to influence the Chinese youth perception on political issues and political leaders. Male Chinese youth are more influenced by the new media in the shaping of their perception on political issues and political leaders as compared to females. This may be probable as male Chinese youth being more interested and knowledgeable in politics are more likely to be influenced than their females’ counterparts. The results also show that Chinese males have reduced consumption, reliance on the traditional media and are sceptical towards the traditional media in relation to political news and information content as compared to their female counterparts.

Concerning the characteristics of the new media and its role in democracy, the results show that the new media is opening up a previously unavailable avenue for youth to exchange opinions on political issues, for those who want their voices to be heard. The new

media has also brought correspondence to greater heights in terms of participation. Furthermore, those who accessed social network sites perceive the role of new media as being a platform for expression.

The results suggest that gender and online news are significant for the factor of participation that touched on politics and thus may generate higher level of interest and engagement in politics. Chinese males (in comparison to females) view the new media as a platform for greater participation in politics and discussion as they may find it to be more exciting (feeling the sense of empowerment and attaining a form of recognition) when engaging in a discussion. Chinese youth who “always” access to the online news for political information and news also view the new media as a participatory tool that promotes more active participation in political issues as found by Calenda and Meijer (2007).

All these show that new media has provided another platform to encourage more active participation from the citizens (in this case Chinese youth aged 20 to 24) in relation to political information and news. This is very important as one of the key criteria in democracy is the active participation of citizens, and the media as a participatory tool makes this more possible. Somehow, the terms used by Bobbio (1987,p.10), ‘*substantial*’ proportion of the people in democracy is challenged as the new media are only available to those who have the access, therefore the overall idea of democracy is hazy despite the active participation of those who have the access.

Results also reveal that Chinese youth who are frequent users of the new media choose these new media to obtain political news and information as it convenient. This can be explained by the features equipped by new media which is fast, updated, and convenient, as political news and information can also be obtained from online news websites, blogs or mobile media (SMS). Furthermore, the information obtained from new media are also of greater variety in viewpoints and it is important to supply a variety of viewpoints to them to have a rational decision making (with more choices) in the democracy process. The new media also helps to allow them to be in contact with like-minded people, as what has been discussed in Louw (2005, p.31-35) that media in democracy also served as ‘public builders’, to form a social glue, constructing and holding together public opinion. Another probable aspect is that the new media may be amplifying the echo chamber effect. Further research would be required on this aspect. Therefore, the new media offers a unique dimension and platform as an alternative battlefield terrain to persuade current electorate and most importantly, to influence future voters that will ensure the preservation of democracy or its evolution.

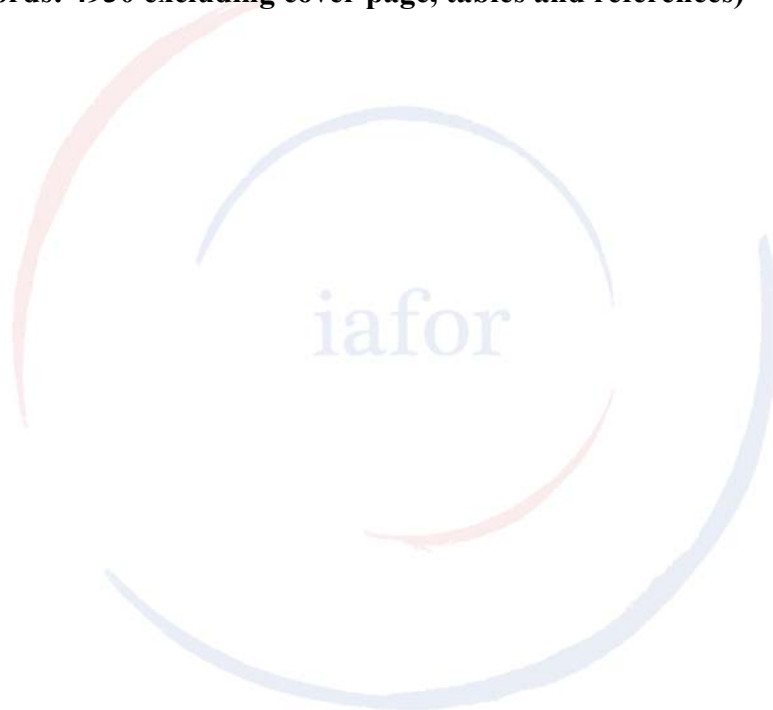
Limitations

The study only looks at one of the three main ethnic groups in Malaysia – the Chinese youth. Two other main groups, the Malays and Indians are not included. To fully understand how the new media is shaping the political landscape and their perception on its role in democracy, all the main ethnic groups would have to be studied. A more comprehensive study encompassing all those aged 21 (or 20) to 40 would be appropriate across all three ethnic groups in Malaysia to truly reflect the new media impact in shaping their perception on political issues and the democracy process.

Conclusion

The new media (online news websites and discussion boards) are shaping the political perception of Chinese youth who frequently use these media for political news and information. But a more comprehensive study would be required to understand the extent of this influence especially amongst difference races. Furthermore, online news is also the most important medium for political news and information amongst the Chinese youth. This is not surprising as Malaysia is seeing new and improved online news websites emerging with most of them offering free content. This in turn may be leading to a declined dependence on mainstream / traditional media for those with higher exposure to online news for political news and information. The study suggests that the Chinese youth who use the new media frequently perceive the new media (i.e. social network) as a platform to discuss political issues and as a participatory tool (i.e. as in online news websites as they often enable comments), and thus maintain the role of media in continuity for democracy.

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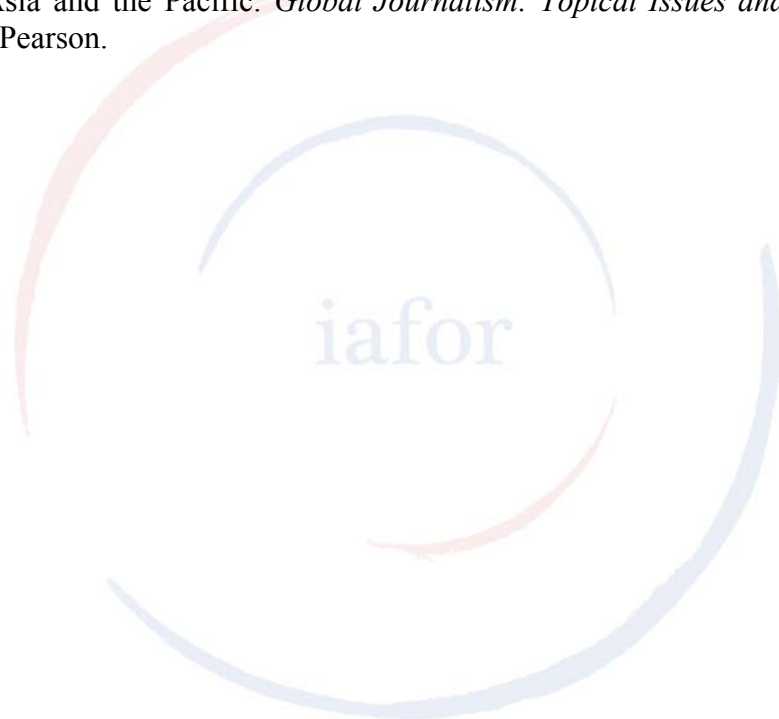
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Critical Success Factors in Digital Libraries Implementation: A Review

Fatemeh Lagzian

Abstract — Digital Library, one of the tools emerged from technology, has been integrated in many information centers. There are several factors that need to be considered while developing or implementing digital libraries. This paper is intended to specify digital libraries critical success factors (CSFs) as perceived by digital library specialists. The published digital libraries critical success factors were surveyed and grouped into 3 categories namely: technical factors, human factors, and aspect factors. Each category included several critical success factors. The categorization was tested by specialists of surveying nine of digital libraries in Iran. The results revealed digital libraries CSFs that are approval by those specialists.

Index Terms — Digital libraries, Success factors, critical success factors

1 INTRODUCTION

In 1980s there was a main question that why some company and organizations are very successful than other. The answer to this question appeared as “Term Critical Success Factor (CFS)” in articles (Slim, 2007). CSFs is “that thing that must be done if a company is to be successful” (Freund, 1988).

In some research Boynton and Zmud (1984) had been defined CSF concepts, they emphasized critical success factors are those few things that must go well to ensure success for a manager or an organization, and CSFs include issues vital to an organization’s current operating activities and to its future success. (Boynton & Zmud, 1984)

With browsing in Wikipedia (the free encyclopedia), Critical Success Factor (CSF) is defined the term and conditions for a system members that is essential to achieve its mission. At first the term was used in business and data analysis (From Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia).

Rockart (1979) defined CSFs as “the limited number of areas in which results, if they are satisfactory, will ensure successful competitive performance for the organization” (Rockart, 1979). In a more recent study, CSFs are described as “being necessary and sufficient for success: each factor is necessary, and the set of factors are sufficient” (Williams & Ramaprasad, 1996). According to Williams and Ramaprasad (1996), an individual factor may be identified as critical because it is frequently associated or highly correlated with success. (Kim & Pan, 2006)

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2 RESEARCH AIM

Many research studies have determined several critical success factors in Digital libraries implementations (see table 1). These studies, however, discussed the success factors from different prospective and in different contexts.

The aim of this study is having two parts: to identify the most cited Digital libraries critical success factors in the literature and to organize these success factors in an organized and perfect set in order to have a clearer picture and a better understanding of the factors that are considered to be crucial for a successful DLs implementation.

3 METHODOLOGY

This study is a review of literature on Digital libraries. We decided to focus our study on articles that discuss particularly on critical success factors and Digital libraries implementation; all the articles that we selected are published in some high quality journals. All the article surveyed were extracted from different databases related to Library and Information Science such as Springer, Emerald, Science Direct and ACM Digital Library. We used the terms Digital libraries, Information system, Digital libraries success factors. We limited the search date to be between (2001 and 2010) in order to get relatively up to date articles. To better analyze the articles, we divided them into three categories based on the CSF topic they discussed. The three categories can be grouped into: (1) technical factors; (2) human factors; and (3) aspect factors

4 FINDINGS

The purpose of this study is to identify some of the critical success factors of digital library, this study identified three success factors, and these factors are technical factors, human factors, aspect factors, For each major part of this key concepts, it has been defined a number of quality dimensions in following:

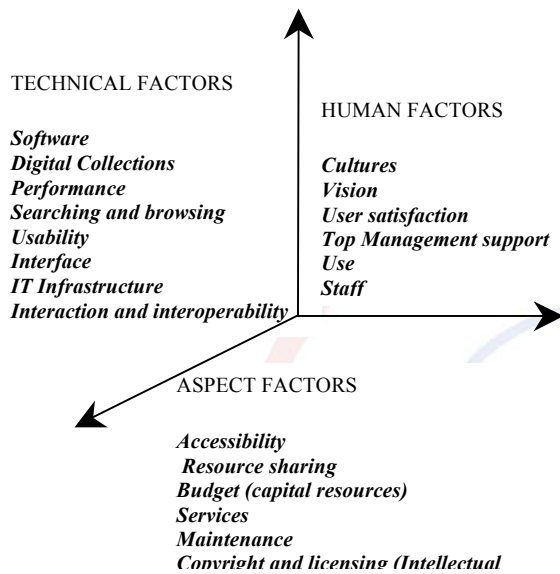


Fig. 1. Three dimensions of success factors for digital libraries development.

Table1 presents the main factors revealed from the literature review and that are found to be necessary for successful Digital libraries implementation:

Searching and browsing	Jeevan, (2004); Khoo, (2008); Feng, (2005); Qing & Ruhua, (2008); Byamugisha, (2010); Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat, (2008); Bertot et al. (2006); Zabih et al., (2006);
Usability	Tsakonas & Papatheodorou, (2008); Karen, (2005); Jeng, (2004); Tsakonas, (2008); Qing & Ruhua, (2008); (Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat, 2008); Kim & kim, (2008);
Interface	Burns & Madey, (2001); Yanchun & Jin, (2009); Lee, (2002);
IT Infrastructure	Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim, (2007); Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim, (2007); Byamugisha, (2010); Rezaei, (2009); Poon & Wagner, (2001); Lee, (2002);
Interaction and interoperability	Suleman, (2002); Alipour-Hafezi, (2010); Oguz, (2007); Westell, (2007); Byamugisha, (2010); Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim, (2007); Shen (2006); Alsmeyer (2005), Arms et al., (2002);
Cultures	Byamugisha, (2010); McMenemy, (2007); Shearer, (2003);
user satisfaction	Burns & Madey, (2001); Yanchun & Jin, (2009); Deng and Li, (2008); Yumin Zhao and et al, (2010); Qing and Ruhua, (2008); Poon & Wagner, (2001); Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim, (2007); Shearer, (2003);
staff	Lamont, (1999); Byamugisha, (2010); Poon & Wagner, (2001); Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim, (2007); Mullins, (2001); McCray and Gallagher, (2001); Liu, (2004); Choi and Rasmussen, (2006); Chang and Hopkinson, (2006); Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat, (2008); Shearer, (2003);
Top Management support	Culler, (2009); Biehl, (2007); Fowler, (2007); Rezaei, (2009); Poon & Wagner, (2001); Yumin Zhao and et al, (2010);
Use	Poon & Wagner, (2001); Shearer, (2003);
Vision	Beckworth, (1994); (Olson and Zhao); Poon & Wagner, (2001); Keshavarz, (2008); Shearer, (2003);
Accessibility	Shearer, (2003); Jeevan, (2004); Poon & Wagner, (2001); Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat, (2008); Bawden and Vilar (2006); Bishop (2001); Jaeger (2002); Adams and Blandford (2002);
Resource sharing	Jeevan, (2004);
Budget	Rezaei, (2009);
Services	Thibodeau, (2007); Yanchun & Jin, (2009);
Maintenance	Westell, (2006); Yumin Zhao and et al, (2010);
Copyright and licensing (Intellectual property)	Mahesh & Mittal, (2009); Byamugisha, (2010); shearer, (2003);
Open access	McCray & Gallagher, (2001); Shearer, (2003)

Table 1. Critical success factors in DLs implementation

4.1 Software

Critical Success Factor	References
Software	Wu,(2008); Dion Hoe-Lian Goh et al, (2006); LI & MAN, (2008); Shearer, (2003);
Digital Collections	cole, (2002); Jeevan, (2004); Yanchun & Jin, (2009); Deng & Li, (2008); Byamugisha, (2010); Karen, (2005); Mahesh & Mittal, (2009); Heery, (2000); Shearer, (2003);
performance	Yanchun & Jin, (2009); Yumin Zhao and et al, (2010); Tsakonas & Papatheodorou, (2008);

software should be suite for building and distributing digital library collections, and empower users, particularly in universities, libraries, and other public service institutions, to build their own digital libraries, handles all the tasks of browsing, retrieving and maintaining digital content, metadata and policies, and it also provides an interface for the user, it should be able to Share, Search, Browse, Create, Capture

resources from personal computers or download resources from Internet, software stability is indispensable factor for DLs working well. (Wu, 2008)

Ying-xing LI and Zheng-xing MAN provide a quantitative method of software quality assessment for the digitizing system; they state which quality factors of digital software can be divided into three modules to evaluate. Namely, data collecting including three indices (suitability, accuracy and security), picture processing including two indices (compression ratio, fidelity) and information querying including three indices (rationality, recall fallout ratio and accurate detection ratio).

Other features comprise usability including three indices (understandability, learnability, and Operability), reliability, efficiency, portability and maintainability every which including four indices (adopt fault tolerance, time behavior, stability, adaptability). (LI & MAN, 2008)

4.2 Digital Collections

Collections of digital libraries reflect the content of the digital libraries, and they are the core of the digital libraries, some indicators were illustrated by Yanchun & Jin (2009) which is explained some variables in criteria Collection quality, it is included: Scope, Authority, Accuracy, Completeness, Currency, and Copyright. (Yanchun & Jin, 2009)

In research was done by Deng & Li (2008) four important indicator are essential to the library collection meet the needs of users, namely Comprehensiveness, Effectiveness, Practicability, Diversification. (Deng & Li, 2008)

4.3 Performance

The objective of digital libraries is to facilitate users finding the information that they need, this shows that efficiency and effectiveness, precision and recall are very important for System performance (Yanchun & Jin, 2009)

Yumin Zhao and et al. (2010) have been argued for evaluating based on performance in DLs in following three layers: The underlying technology of system core, The information retrieval technic, The service technic for the user. (Yumin Zhao and et al, 2010)

4.4 Searching and browsing

Qing and Ruhua (2008) have believed Searching is always a crucial factor that should be considered by every digital information system, they examine Searching service in two factors named Approach and Technique, Approach

comprising retrieve unique identifier or construct URL with identifier; use the interface for quick or advanced or experimental search, browse by journal, browse by author/editor, subject, book/journal, country & year, and Technique comprising Boolean search, phase search, exact search. (Qing & Ruhua, 2008)

Byamugisha have believed systems will probably have complex human-computer interfaces to facilitate the search and retrieval process. (Byamugisha, 2010)

According to Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat (2008), Functionality is defined as the extent to which the information and services of a DL perform the expected observations and provide the content that they are designed to provide.

According to Bertot et al. (2006), functionality testing determines the extent to which a DL, in whole or in part, is able to perform desired actions (e.g. basic search, multiple languages).

4.5 Usability

Judy Jeng (2004) in her research proposes methods and instruments for assessing usability of academic digital libraries. Criteria in this study are effectiveness, efficiency, satisfaction, and learnability. It is found that there exist interlocking relationships among effectiveness, efficiency, and satisfaction. (Jeng, 2004)

Kim and kim (2008) established a usability evaluation framework, composed of four categories: (1) satisfaction ;(2) supportiveness ;(3) usefulness, and (4) effectiveness

The research was done by Qing and Ruhua (2008) designs an evaluation framework of DLs, the paper uses three variables to assess the usability of DLs repositories: effectiveness, efficiency and satisfaction. (Qing & Ruhua, 2008)

4.6 Interface

In the research was done by OoK Lee on the Korean national digital library, he believed that the interface of digital library should be user friendly and understandable because it's the librarian of the digital library.

4.7 IT Infrastructure

Byrd, Sambamurthy & Zmud defined IT infrastructure as the shared information services delivery base within an organization that is built around information technologies and a specific

body of knowledge such as skills and experience. (Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim, 2007)

Many users can use the web at a faster and cheaper rate if the IT infrastructure be developed. (Lee, 2002)

4. 8 Interaction and interoperability

Ability of a DL to work cooperatively with other DLs in an attempt to provide higher quality services to users (Suleman, 2002; quoted in Alipour-Hafezi, 2010)

There are three basic models of interoperability: (1) federated; (2) Harvesting, and (3) gathering, these three models of performing interoperability are all employed in digital libraries, (Alipour-Hafezi, 2010)

Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim (2007) found that IS integration is among the top-ten dimensions of IS function performance assessment. IS integration refers to the degree to which different systems are integrated in terms of data, functionality and appearance. (Hussein & Selamat & Abdul Karim, 2007)

4. 9 Cultures

Five important areas where digital libraries can promote human development include dissemination of human information, disaster relief, preservation and propagation of indigenous culture, locally produced collections of information and then, new opportunities to enter the global marketplace. (Byamugisha, 2010)

Other characteristics such as Organizational culture also affect the growth and use of IRs. (Shearer, 2003)

4.10 user satisfaction

User satisfaction has been identified as the most important success factor in DLs implementation projects. According to Yumin Zhao and et al. (2010), there are some indexes of evaluation system of digital library; these indexes in evaluation based on user are (1) strong human-machine interaction function; (2) good interface; (3) nice place; (4) clear navigation system (5) friendly representation of the resource. (Yumin Zhao and et al, 2010)

According to Qing and Ruhua (2008), Users' feedback is a source of learning about user needs by pointing out the existing problem of the systems, so developers must provide feedback channels as many as they can to acquire users' suggestion. Contact is the most important one. (Qing and Ruhua, 2008), according Yanchun & Jin

(2009) User satisfaction is other factors that are emphasized in System performance.

4. 11 staff

As indicated in the definition of DLs, one of the vital elements for the success and dynamism of DLs is specialized human resources, namely librarians.

It is apparent that the importance of training librarians and making them familiar with the theoretical and practical issues of DLs has been properly understood. (Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat, 2008)

4. 12 Top Management support

The Project Management Institute (2004) supported Top Management Support as a critical success factor by documenting the activity as a best practice in the PMBOK Guide. (Culler, 2009)

4.13 Use

It is logical that if the system ceases to be used, it cannot provide any benefit to users and then cannot be seen as successful. (Poon & Wagner, 2001)

4.14 Vision

The organization should make a detailed plan regarding all aspects of the resources of the organization. This includes staffing, structural implications, technical features and requirements, hardware and software arrangement, training plans, communication plans, etc. Outcomes of the planning (Olson and Zhao)

A light policy framework was adopted in implementation of digital libraries. (Shearer, 2003)

4.15 Accessibility

According to Nadler and Furman (2001); Bawden and Vilar (2006), Accessibility involves making digital library content available to and usable by people with disabilities and it is considered as making everything immediately available and accessible to a wider community of users. (Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat, 2008), In general, it can be said that increased accessibility may lead to the realization of more usable DLs. (Isfandyari-Moghaddam & Bayat, 2008)

4. 16 Resource sharing

Resources digitized could be easily shared among members of the library network or Consortia, if each library does its bit to digitize even a part of the collection. (Jeevan, 2004)

4. 17 Budget

Ein-Dor and Segev (1978) and Wixom and Watson (2001) have found a significant relationship between resources and IT project implementation. They observed that having sufficient funding, appropriate people and enough time have had positive effects on a project's outcome. (Rezaei, 2009)

4. 18 Services

Mission, User community, Traditional library service, unique services are some variables in criteria service quality that is presented by Yanchun & Jin (2009). (Yanchun & Jin, 2009)

4. 19 Maintenance

A national strategy for the preservation and migration of digital content is under discussion and an important component is the willingness of the heritage communities to work together. With the possible exception of the one large repository, there is no evidence on the web sites of long-term preservation plans. (Westell, 2006)

4. 20 Copyright and licensing (Intellectual property)

Every government must adopt common laws and procedures so as to eliminate misuse and theft of information. Filtering systems should be used so that genuine users are not inconvenienced. The protection of intellectual property rights and privacy are the two areas the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) seriously is concerned with. Its December 1996 Diplomatic Conference produced two treaties: the WIPO copyright treaty and WIPO treaty on performances and phonograms. (Byamugisha, 2010)

5 LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH

At present, we do not claim that a perfect review has been conducted to recognize the critical success factors, and the main success factors for DLs implementation. Anyway, the need for seeks to validate the DLs success model with applying

CSFs is necessary, this study helped us at this stage to evaluate the related DLs literature and gain theoretical base on the subject which shall prepare us for a enormous-scale study in the future, because there is a little articles related to CSFs of digital libraries.

6 CONCLUSION

The research is attempting to develop a framework which will enable the success of requirements process to be determined, there is some considerable research into measuring the success in systems development that it will be reviewed the DLs literature and identify the critical success factor in DLs implementation. It provides insights for some success factors which may consider implementing DLs in some organizations. The paper identifies the most cited success factors in the literature and illustrates their significant importance in DLs implementation.

when undertaking an DLs implementation, Combinations of factors have to be considered including: Software, Digital Collections, Performance, Searching and browsing, Usability, Interface, IT Infrastructure, Interaction and interoperability, Cultures, Vision, User satisfaction, Top Management support, Use, Staff, Accessibility, Resource sharing, Budget (capital resources), Services, Maintenance, Copyright and licensing (Intellectual property). For future work, there is a need to expand on this research to develop a structural model.

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Coming in from the Margins: Migrant Voices, Community Broadcasting and Social Inclusion

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Abstract:

The paper describes an investigation into worldviews of the people whose cultural identity and socio-economic status mark them as minorities, and who live in deprived inner city areas in the UK. This study provides fresh insights into the process of social exclusion by comparing it with the discourse of developmentalism to offer a wider theoretical understanding of the issues related to marginalisation and powerlessness.

The study argues that people experiencing exclusion from the social and economic processes are further left out in a media environment largely biased against minorities, driven by commercial considerations and protected by tight regulatory regimes. As an alternative to this media situation, the thesis explores the role of small-scale and community-based media in developing a contextual approach to communication that can help to validate marginalised points of view, and develop a dynamic link between people's experiences and expression.

These arguments are illustrated through a participatory action research project using an interdisciplinary framework informed by a variety of emancipatory, spiritual and critical perspectives.

Looking specifically at the pertinent issue of inequalities in health faced by the members of the Mirpuri community in the UK, the thesis examined the role of Radio *Ramzan*, a faith-based community broadcasting initiative, in facilitating a communicative interaction during a multi-agency health education campaign.

Introduction:

This paper is the result of the coming together of many perspectives and practices, including my own experiences and politics, to challenge the presumed universality of Western knowledge and to explore the possibilities of validating alternative ways of knowing and doing things.

The paper based on a study to explores the role of various forms of cultural expression in foregrounding marginalised worldviews, benefits from the case study of Radio *Ramzan*, a faith-based radio station in Nottingham. This locally owned and managed community initiative, run during the month of *Ramadan* of the Islamic

calendar, provides a socio-cultural context to the spiritual life of the members of the Mirpuri community, who largely live in clusters in and around the Forest Fields area of Nottingham. The study examines how people can fight social exclusion by drawing support from their cultural practices and experiences, looking specifically at their efforts to address the issues emanating from the inequalities in health which characterise the life in many deprived areas of the post industrialized cities in the UK.

The study specifically chronicles a month-long health education campaign engaging the social aspects of life with the spiritual to develop a unique health promotion programme. The Health Education Awareness Project (HEAP) run on Radio *Ramzan* is delivered within a religious ethos to make the messages culturally sensitive and socially relevant to the listeners of this radio station. The members of the Muslim communities enter into debates and discussions about their position and situation to develop initiatives for empowerment through critical reflection and collective action. The HEAP project develops a dynamic partnership between the statutory and community organisations within a familiar environment on the one hand, and on the other uses local resources and voices to bring proximity and legitimacy to the health promotion programmes. In this process, the legitimization of subjectivity becomes epistemologically and methodologically critical, as marginalized voices and experiences enter into the research.

This approach of 'privileging' the experiences, raising awareness and conceptualising multiplicity of subject positions through 'creolised insights', is influenced by a number of critical, emancipatory and liberation theology perspectives (Harding, 1998, Hill, 2000; Brah, 1992; Davis 1993; Freire, 1972). Such a framework also share epistemological plurality with many contemporary social and political movements like women's, environment, 'Third World', human rights, anti-racism, anti-capitalism and anti-war campaigns which emphasize emancipation from all levels of oppression and inequalities.

The complex relationship between the social condition, geographic location and the ethnic and racial background is well established (Townsend, 1979; Power and Wilson, 2000; Hardill et al., 2001; Wilkinson, 1996; Macpherson, 1999). The situation is further complicated by the essentialized and unproblematic conceptualization of the community that suppresses the diversity of human life and brackets people together into fixed categories (Eade, 1989; Shaw, 1988, Shah, 1998). So an important part of the process of restoring people's knowledge and experience is to challenge the fixed notion of community, and to develop a sustained critique of Western knowledge and institutions for dismissing the worldviews of the victims of the process of modernisation.

The paper draws parallels between the discourses of developmentalism and social exclusions to illustrate the influence of Western knowledge and its socio-scientific principles, especially that of modernisation as a process and ideology in constructing the 'Third World' and the inner city. The assumed link between the 'beneficiaries' of aid in the East and the welfare benefits in the West brings the concept of 'Third World' closer to the construct of the inner city where generations of immigrant communities are caught up in a vicious circle of disadvantage and discrimination. The study examines how power can shift from institutions and structures to 'individuals and communities' (Wang and Dissanayake, 1984a; Melkote and Steeves 2001).

The study engages, at length, with various emancipatory and critical perspectives including feminism, poststructuralism and liberation theology to explore questions of subjectivity and power, on the one hand, and liberation theology on the other to learn how social and spiritual experiences can help in the recovery and validation of marginalized knowledge. Recognising that such dynamic framework is not possible within conventional research rigidities, the study develops a non-essentialist interdisciplinary methodology that approaches the issues of participation and empowerment from the intersection of various disciplines including communication studies, human geography, cultural studies and social anthropology.

This inquiry influenced by feminist post-structural approach with multiple positions (Lather, 1991), reveals complicated, many-sided and often unstable conceptions of ethnicity, community and identity. This approach, challenging the 'established' disciplinary practice, leaves the thesis vulnerable to criticism from many quarters. However, the study is influenced by the practice of experiential and contextual learning which encourages a democratic relationship between the knower and known and, at the same time, rejects false dualisms (Stacey, 1988). Exploring such a dynamic framework within Foucauldian analysis of power relation opens up possibilities of looking at things from a variety of perspectives and standpoints, especially in situations where mono-theoretical frameworks are ineffective.

Taking a critical look at the concept of community the paper problematises the often 'taken for granted' view of the community as a homogenous mass of similar people. In order to move away from this essentialised understanding of the community. The paper maps the heterogeneities, diversities and fragmentation within the concept of the community to examine a more strategic and tactical concept wherein the community remains a flux of changing loyalties, interests and concerns. These arguments learn from the juxtaposition of Muslim, Mirpuri and minority concepts to highlight the kaleidoscopic nature of community where spiritual, political and social aspects of life blend and break, depending on the situation and context.

The paper finally tests these arguments through the case study of Radio *Ramzan*, a community radio station in Nottingham. Specifically examining a multi-agency health campaign, run on the radio station, the paper brings together the perspectives of place, faith and media to look at how a community-based approach can offer an equitable and effective approach in dealing with inequalities in health.

This research project was bound by a particular time limitation. It refers to a specific time period of July 1997- July 2001 and has thus intentionally omitted the discussions and debates on 9/11 and 7/7. The time period of this research, however, witnessed growing debates on institutional racism, discrimination, assertiveness and social divide. The Stephen Lawrence case and subsequent report on it by Lord McPherson (1999), along with the Cattle and the Ousley report (2001) into the disturbances in northern towns in England, revealed the dimension of racism and the extent of social deprivation faced by the people belonging to the black and minority ethnic group, along with a very small number of white groups who shared the same excluded geography. This was also the period when the British Muslim communities were still angry about the wars in Bosnia and Chechnya and were ever-passionate about the situations in Palestine and Kashmir. In the light of these arguments, it is worth mentioning here that before and during the time frame of this research project, the Muslim communities felt excluded both socially and politically and saw themselves

as the target of negative perception and images. While the post 9/11 discussion falls outside the time frame of this study, it can be suggested that the post 9/11 and 7/7 scenarios had a historical and social continuity with things happening in the past.

There are many theoretical perspectives, which resonate between the discourses of developmentalism and social exclusion. Besides the striking similarities observed in the conceptualization of the 'third world' and 'inner city', modernism as an overarching discourse seems to be behind both processes. It won't be out of place to mention that social exclusion is an extension of developmentalism in the west as the discourse only gets reframed, not fundamentally altered. The process of social exclusion is generally attributed to non-white minority groups, mostly generations of the immigrants from South Asia. These people originate from the parts of the world (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), which has gone through the experiment of developmentally for decades, and in some cases developmental agencies and western governments still continue with the politics of aid there. This assumed relationship between the 'beneficiaries' of aid in the east and welfare benefits in the west creates another interesting 'link'.

The programmes and initiatives of social inclusion including economic regeneration, neighbourhood renewal and social cohesion are all based on the principle of modernity characterised by managerialism, top to bottom strategies and seen largely to be biased towards the knowledge and experience of marginalised people. As in the 'third world', the victims of poverty are blamed for it as their cultural practices are seen a liability rather than an asset to help them take control of their situation.

In order to develop an argument from the margins, it is important to understand critique of the 'authoritative foundation of knowledge' from a variety of perspectives and disciplines. This helps to develop a non-positivist and participatory research approach which offers an epistemology and methodology that addresses people, power and praxis underlying the importance of action, participation and critical consciousness. Thus knowledge creation or validation of 'other' worldviews is reached in a collaborative way where research methodology (approach) and methods (tools) become integral part of this process.

In this paper I explored a number of shifting and strategic, real and symbolic concept of ranging from the idealized *Ummatic* concept to a more racialised ethnic minority notion and from a politicized black categorization to a romanticized 'back home' view of community. While all these notions remain in flux but it is the discursively created concept of socially excluded community that brings the burden of being a Muslim, ethnic, black, immigrant and 'other' into a disadvantage. This disadvantage brings with it whole lot of issues about poor health, poor housing, under achievement in education, higher rate of crime, higher dependency on welfare benefits. Whether these realities gravitate people to cluster together into deprived areas or are pushed by the 'collective failure' of the system to look for communal and kinship support, the concept of community is very much live though not in a fixed form and shape.

However, at a time when there is a growing assertiveness about the identity politics among the marginalized communities, the fixed, racialised constructs are being challenged along with demand for other way of living and knowing. Within this paradigm shift, it will be interesting to explore how a dynamic construct of

community engages with fights against the inequalities and injustices faced by the marginalized groups.

This process of managing people's lives through efficient management systems has come to be known as 'Healthism' wherein roles and responsibilities come before choice and power (Prudy, 1999). Within this process, people are made more responsible rather than being empowered to deal with inequalities. Many excluded people and communities feel being further marginalized through this process of 'healthism' and 'governmentality' as the government is seen shrugging off its responsibility of providing a caring system and instead making people responsible for staying disease-free (Clarke, 1995).

When seen in combination with racism and discrimination faced by the people belonging to the marginalised communities, the racial background of many minority ethnic groups becomes 'etiologically important in the development of illness' (McKenzie 2003; Karleson and Nazroo 2002). However, the relationship between health and ethnicity is not a simple one as many white people living in the inner city areas, sharing a common geography with non-white groups, face similar problems. The social conditions and place of living are as important as the ethnic background and minority status when looking at the health inequalities.

Community radio- a common frame

Although identity formation is a contested and highly debated concept, it is very much associated with peoples' rituals, cultural practices and traditions. Werbner (2005:19) sees this association as a 'mode of the transaction and relatedness', as well as a 'discursive imaginary of selfhood, identity, subjectivity and moral virtue'. Whether identity formation is the capacity to draw attention to the issues of 'representation' (Hall, 1997), or the tendency to gravitate towards a 'shared culture' (Desai, 1963) or an expression of 'socio-cultural particularism' (Raghuram, 1999) it needs tangible spaces and contexts where people can express their group and collective aspirations.

The emancipatory use of media is believed to help in 'collective mobilization' through a decentralized and interactive process (Enzensberger 1974) with emphasis on 'communication' rather than on 'distribution system' (Brecht 1983: 169). Within this framework, community based media are seen to harness the 'cultural identity' of local people, and facilitate their 'participation' (Servaes 1999: 88). This approach allows the possibility of 'context based approaches' depending on 'felt needs, and the empowerment of the most oppressed sectors of various societies at divergent levels' (Ibid: 271). Many scholars, mostly coming from critical perspectives, have underlined the importance of small-scale media that 'give voice' to voiceless, and help facilitate an informed debate. Historically, these media have evolved from the critique of the state and the corporate uses of communication (Wasko and Mosco, 1992).

The debates over the role of communication in development has moved from understanding communication as a 'linear information transmission/diffusion process' to support modernisation (Shannon and Weaver, 1949, Lerner, 1958; Schramm 1964) to conceptualising communication as a process of 'shared meaning' that is inseparable from the context; a process of resistance, empowerment and freedom (Boderave 1977; Zimmerman and Rapport, 1988; Crush 1995). The dialogic process as advocated by

Paolo Freire (1972) and others is thought to be key to such emancipatory communication, which 'enables participants to identify and explore issues that a common meaning for them' (Steeve and Melkote, 2001: 39).

The study of media with the community, rather than communication, as the focus has taken place against the background of the 'theoretical shift from a persuasion model to one based on cultural democracy, from a transmission to an empowerment process, and from a linear to a two-dimensional model (Dagron 2001; McQuail 1994). Many alternative media movements draw inspiration from the Gramscian concept of counter-hegemony to 'generate alternatives in public debate' and to oppose the 'agency of domination'. The 'common sense' and 'taken for granted' view of hegemony, which legitimizes the interest of the bourgeoisie as 'natural' is disrupted and questioned by the very presence of alternative points of view (Downing 2001: 15-16) The defiance to the dominant through counter-hegemony is analysed by Downing in his seminal work on new social movements and alternative media. He stresses the 'dialectical' relationship and 'interdependence' of New Social Movements (NSM) and radical media, arguing that both 'represent dynamic expressions of resistance' (Ibid: 23-24).

Radio Ramzan in Nottingham:

On the 29th of December 1997, when Radio *Ramzan*¹, Nottingham started broadcasting on 97.5 FM, it became the fourth such station to be awarded a license to broadcast during the month of Ramadan in the UK. The station was allowed to broadcast under the Restricted Service License (RSL²) scheme run by the Radio Authority³ (now Ofcom).

Operating within spiritual ethos, Radio *Ramzan* intended to provide a platform to develop a community-wide discussion on social, cultural and political issues confronting the Muslim communities in Nottingham. The fact that people could hear Adhan (call for prayers) in their homes, cars, shops and businesses five times a day added a new cultural dimension to the organization of daily life.

The radio station added significance to this month as it broadcasts daily five times Adhan (calls to prayer). These timings are crucial to determine the beginning and end of fasting. This focused the attention of whole Muslim community on the radio, so it

¹ The station is named Radio *Ramzan* (Urdu version of Ramadan) to give it a South Asian flavour and to keep it within the *Barailve* tradition, where the Arabic letter (ض) 'Da' is pronounced with the 'Z' sound while in the Arab world this letter is pronounced with 'D' sound. For the sake of authenticity, I will use *Ramzan* for Radio and Ramadan for the month of fasting.

² The Radio Authority (now OfCom) in the UK would allow community and special interest groups to broadcast on FM and AM for a limited period of time to celebrate festivals and events. This limited licensing would be normally for a period of one month and was called Restricted Service License or RSL.

³ The Radio Authority was responsible for licensing and regulating Independent Radio in accordance with the statutory requirements of the Broadcasting Acts 1990 and 1996. It plans frequencies, awards licences, regulates programming and advertising, and plays an active role in the discussion and formulation of policies which affect the Independent Radio industry and its listeners.

was not just in the background to fill the space, but a critical factor in time, providing a social context to the spiritual life. In a local situation the radio helped to forge that communal feeling by organizing communal activities and socially re-organises the community by providing locally relevant information. Certain differences within the community are overcome while others are acknowledged. One example of this negotiation is the programme schedule of Radio *Ramzan*, which reflects a variety of languages (Urdu, Arabic, Mirpuri, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati and English) and formats to suit various ethnic and sub-ethnic groups within the construct of Muslim community (Appendix I, Copy of Programme schedule, flyer).

Traditionally, many people of minority ethnic origin have experienced powerlessness as mainstream media fail to represent their voice. While this right has remained concealed in a media situation where the BBC and the commercial radio almost have copyright on what to say and what not to say, with the coming of Radio *Ramzan* people were realizing the power of saying things and influencing public opinion. This power in turn leads to other powers like influencing institutions, policies and individuals. The discursive aspect of power relations help to understand how an individual may be positioned or subjectified in restrictive ways by others. The positioning by the mainstream media of those who live on the margins can be understood by analyzing the process through post-structuralism.

But this process should not be seen as irreversible as within the paradigm of alternative media, this subjectification moves to a more privileged position where being on the margin is not abnormal or a deviation but another way of being. Within post-structuralism, identity or subjectivity is understood to transpire through one's positioning. This standpoint gives the individual a privilege as an active agent rather than passive object to be fashioned "according to the dominant position of the time" (Lowe 1998: 207). Looking at the example of Radio *Ramzan*, it was found that people get involved for various reasons: loyalty, compassion, conviction and so on. Emotions and feelings play a big part in such participation. The emotions, which gear individual and collective involvement, are subjective, chaotic and weak but are believed to ignite creative energy and involvement (Putnam & Mumby 1993:4). Whether one feels discriminated against or marginalized, the feelings of being not treated fairly makes people think of alternative institutions and means to resolve issues. This 'expanded consciousness' (Freire 1972) has been argued to be critical to 'democratic participation and empowerment' (Zimmerman and Rappaport 1988).

The radio station being located within the heart of the Mirpuri community in the Forest Fields/ Hyson Green area, had made it part of the community calendar in Nottingham. Hence the expectations of the 1999-2000 Radio *Ramzan* from its listeners were high. There was already a section of the community who wanted a permanent station, but there were others who opposed this idea. The last two Radio *Ramzan* had raised the profile of the *Karimia* Mosque and it had attained the distinction of working on social and economic issues pertinent to the community. This experience helped *Karimia* to network with the Police, Housing, Health and Leisure Departments, along with the local council officials and politicians flocked to the radio. Broadcasting through this medium was proving a cost-effective way to reach out to the 'hard to reach' groups. Radio *Ramzan* also gave the legitimacy to the information provided due to its association with the *Karimia* Mosque and the fact the broadcasting was taking place in the month of Ramadan.

It was not just content but the context which was critical in this process of communication. While education and employment remained the focus of the previous two *Radio Ramzans*, the third radio series was dedicated to the issues around the health of minority ethnic groups, especially that of Mirpuri community in Nottingham. In association with the Specialist Health Promotion Service of Nottingham Health Authority, *Karimia* Mosque developed a comprehensive health education project using *Radio Ramzan* as a vehicle to reach out to the community and seek their participation in developing culturally sensitive and socially relevant strategies to fight inequalities in health.

This partnership approach between public and voluntary sector has become part of a new discourse in which the concepts of community mobilization and local participation are sought to reduce health inequalities and promote good health among marginalised groups. Supported by many surveys and research findings, the participatory approach in health education and delivery is highlighted in various health policy documents (Acheson, 1998, Department of Health 1999a, 1999b, Social Exclusion Unit, 2000). This approach is also present in various international declarations supported by World Health Organisation (WHO) including Alma Ata Declaration (1978), the Ottawa Charter (1986), Amman Declaration (1996) and Jakarta Declaration (1997). However, the populist paradigm of participation has come under attack for its technical, theoretical, political and conceptual limitations. There is a range of critiques available about the populist participation approach (Bastian & Bastian, 1996; Nelson and Wright 1995). Although there are critics of this approach who question the rhetorical use of participation and demand clarification on terms, mechanism and conditions of partnerships and alliances (Cook and Kothari, 2001), the approach of involving victims of inequality to fight inequality does make sense when participation is on the terms of victims.

Against this background, *Radio Ramzan* developed a month long multi-agency intensive health education campaign bringing together health professionals, community workers, religious leaders, volunteers and statutory organizations to find a common ground to fight inequalities in health faced by the Mirpuri community living in inner city Nottingham. The project resulted from a partnership which had developed between the Specialist Health Promotion Service (SHPS), Nottingham Community Health NHS Trust, the *Karimia* Institute of Nottingham and City Central Primary Care Group (PCG).

The project was basically a partnership project between the City Central Primary Care Trust (PCT) in Nottingham and the *Karimia*. The objectives of the HEAP project included:

- Generate and share knowledge from the experiences of health from participants, which can be used as guidance for change to promote health education and mobilization for culturally relevant action.
- Develop a contextual approach in addressing some of the pertinent health issues among the Mirpuri community by acknowledging and adopting the cultural practices prevalent in this community.
- Facilitate the participation of marginalized people in local health initiatives so that they can take a more pro-active part in looking after their health and the health of others in the community.

- Raise awareness about health services in general and about rights and responsibilities of people in particular.

The details of the project were:

- Production and broadcast of 12, one hour-long interactive, radio shows on various health issues pertinent to minority ethnic groups.
- Production of Public Service Announcements (PSA) of 60 seconds duration in Mirpuri, Urdu, Bengali (Syelhetti) and English. These PSA to be played on the hourly basis round the clock during the month of Ramadan.
- A competition on health issues to keep the community involved with the project. A seminar at the end of the project to get feedback from public and evaluate the success of the HEAP.

As the third year of Radio *Ramzan* approached in Dec. 1999, the Primary Care Group (PCG) City Central – a city focused health initiative of the National Health Service (NHS)- was introduced to address the health inequalities in the area. The role of the PCG to improve health through developing partnerships with the local community presented a great opportunity for the *Karimia* Mosque. The PCG covering the geographical area within which the *Karimia* institute was based was City Central. When the PCG City Central was approached to formalize a partnership they were not only very keen but excited to work with the *Karimia*. The following topics were identified to as appropriate for the Radio shows:

- Introductory show- Health Inequalities
- Coronary Heart Disease and Diabetes
- Stroke and Physical Activity
- Smoking
- Diet and Nutrition
- Asthma
- Accident Prevention
- Sexual Health
- Mental Health
- Thalassaemia
- Domestic Violence

Conclusion:

This study, as pedagogy of inclusion, explored the multiple connections between agency, identity and social mobility. In doing so, the project took a contextual approach, and looked at the issues of marginalisation from the intersection of various disciplines and perspectives which helped to take this research closer to people's day to day lives and their cultural practices. Working on the premise that in many post-

industrial Western cities, a complex relationship between social conditions, geographic location and the ethnic and racial background of people create a culture of disadvantage (Power and Wilson, 2001; Hardill et al., 2001), this study based on a critique of the modernisation model, developed a multi-disciplinary framework that allowed the people's experiences, knowledge and points of views to develop a dynamic, holistic and engaging theory.

With Radio *Ramzan* providing a context, this study developed a dynamic framework by bringing feminist, poststructuralist and liberation theology perspectives closer. This approach, though uncertain, nevertheless opened up the ways for thinking outside the disciplinary rigidities and essentialist reading of community and communication. This framework, on the one hand, helped to raise a critical consciousness about the causes and consequences of marginalisation, and on the other explored the possibilities of dealing with.

The case study of the Health Education Awareness Project (HEAP) campaign on Radio *Ramzan*, which brought into focus the inequalities in health faced by the people belonging to the Mirpuri community living in inner city Nottingham, helped to ground the concept of communication as a process of social interaction for sharing experiences and formulating actions. Although this was not a straight-forward process, as many conflicts came to the surface, the radio station, however, provided the context for the members of the Mirpuri community to engage through mediated and interpersonal communication to reproduce and represent their shared interest. It will be naïve to assume though, that the community-based communication initiatives like Radio *Ramzan* can offer solutions to the complex problems of social exclusion but, as was demonstrated during the month of Ramadan, the radio station provided a 'frame of reference for a shared interpretation' of the community life (Hollander and Stappers, 1992:19-20).

Radio *Ramzan* was not only a platform that debated the bigger issue but it also helped people to keep a focus on the everyday life matters like sharing information on cultural events, car boot sales, births, deaths, funerals, weddings, lost and found, and so on. This was possible in a situation where the medium was embedded in the social and cultural life of the community it served.

This implies that participation becomes meaningful and empowering when there is a shift from the media to the people and from persuasion to participation. This paradigm shift cannot take place within the existing mass media where the whole emphasis, in the war of ratings, is on increasing numbers; on quantity rather than on quality. While the BBC is not commercial in the sense that it does not allow advertising on its domestic services, it follows the principles of commercial media to determine its popularity. It uses the Radio Joint Audience Research (RAJAR)⁴ figures to show how many people are listening to its services. While the commercial stations use these figures to determine their advertising rates, the BBC uses them to justify licence fees which every British resident pays. Many people 'othered' due to their immigration status, cultural background, ethnicity, sexual orientation and socio-

⁴ RAJAR is the official body in charge of measuring radio audiences in the UK owned by the BBC and the RadioCentre on behalf of the commercial sector, uses quantitative methods to figure out how many people are listening to various national and regional BBC and commercial radio station.

economic ability, are further pushed to the margins in this ratings war by both the commercial and the public service media.

In such a media situation, community media, whether representing a geographic community or a community of interest, or both, provide marginalized people an opportunity to promote their own point of view. Within the normative media discourse, it is media that create audiences and then sells the numbers and figures to advertisers to generate revenue.

But in the context of the community media, it is the people (audience) who create their media. In the latter framework, the use of medium is more contextual to reflect the living experiences of those marginalized by the commercialized, standardized and westernized content of the distanced, vertical and highly structured mass media.

Radio *Ramzan* provided a voice, both in reality and symbolically to help people to propagate and validate their own knowledge and worldviews. The communicative interaction facilitated by this radio station in practice is described by critical scholars as 'participation through media' for self-representation in the public spheres for collective decision making (Couldry, 2003). Symbolically, the radio provided a 'frame of reference' to belong, to share and to celebrate what is common in a highly fragmented and changing world (Hollander and Stappers, 1992).

It would be, however, wrong to suggest that the radio station had solutions to all the issues and problems faced by the members of excluded communities in Nottingham. Radio *Ramzan* was a time-bound experiment which exhibited its potential in generating alternative voices but, at the same time, revealed a number of deficiencies in this project including the gendered nature of the station, the dominance of religious elite and the divisions and difference of opinions within the community itself.

But in the absence of a radio station these feelings and contestations would have remained out of the public debate. The community-based project, specifically, cannot claim to have the complete involvement of all people or give representation to all shades of opinion all the time. To make such a claim will be misleading. Radio *Ramzan*, as has been stated in the introduction to this thesis, emerged against the backdrop of a number of conflicting realities and multiplicities on the one hand, and the common experiences of marginalisation and discrimination on the other.

The radio station, in fact, reconciled through some of these multiplicities using the process of dialogic communication. The project has helped to conceptualise the role of small-scale faith based media in facilitating the participation of disadvantaged groups in collective action through communication, reflection and action. The social gain value of such media can be gauged from the fact that while transnational media like CNN, BBC and Hollywood create mainstream audiences for their popular genres of news and entertainment, at the local/communal level people create their own media to help them engage in interactions relevant to their day to day life.