

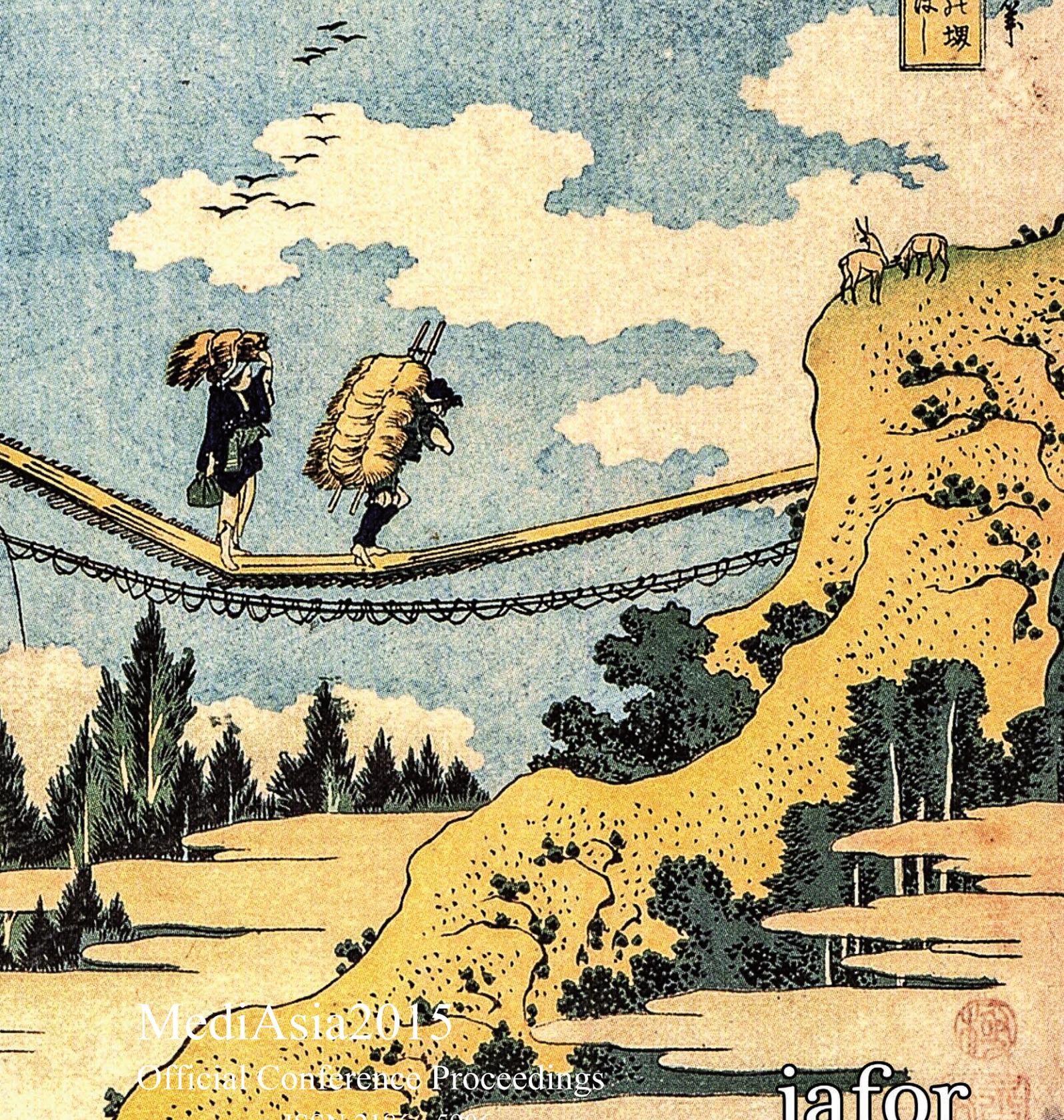
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News Framing of the Typhoon Haiyan Disaster Coverage: A Comparative Study of the Philippines Inquirer and The Wall Street Journal News Sites

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Abstract

Natural disasters, which strike without warning and leaves limited scope of preparedness, is a potentially traumatic event that is collectively experienced with severe consequences. With its high news values, natural disasters gain attention of the media, and therefore is given foremost and extensive coverage, particularly on news sites which allow readers to access to the updates anytime anywhere. Natural disaster coverage is always of great concern for people as it involves massive deaths, human suffering and brings huge impact to the aftermath life of the victims. Debates were going on that media depicted natural disaster from different perspectives, especially between the Asian media and the Western media, due to the geographical, cultural, political interest and ideological divergences. Therefore, by taking Typhoon *Haiyan* news coverage as case study, this research aims to investigate the differences of news frame featured in the Asian local media, *Philippine Inquirer* and Western media, *The Wall Street Journal* news sites. The findings indicated the news framing of Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster showed resemblance in primary news source and theme coded for both *Philippine Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Both local and international news media “mediatised” disaster which has gone beyond national spectrum of interest. The proliferation of new media, irrespective of Western or Asian media, has transformed the world of disaster into a global context.

Keywords: natural news disaster, framing, Typhoon *Haiyan*

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Introduction

Natural disaster news coverage is increasingly getting popular concern as it does not only involve enormous deaths and human suffering, but also brings huge impact to the life aftermath. Natural disaster strikes anytime without warning and leaves limited scope of preparedness (Hanusch, 2012). It may come in series or time-delimited and is a potentially traumatic event that is collectively experienced with an acute onset. The consequences of natural disaster are severe from physical, social, psychosocial, social economic, social demographic and even political perspectives (McFarlane & Norris, 2006; Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012, p.607).

In time crisis, effective communication is important for response, recovery and next-stage preparedness for the local and international community. At this critical moment, people are relying on mass media for updated information. People trust the information provided by media even though there is no further justification for the natural hazards. People are outrageous seeing the calamity of others but yet very interested in knowing more about the mass destruction due to the natural disaster (ZarqaAli, 2013). Apparently, what average citizens come to know about the disaster are primarily learned from mass media (Quarantelli, 1991). For the past few decades, natural disaster news has taken up foremost and extensive coverage of the mass media (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012).

Natural disaster reporting on the media always gains substantial audiences. Thus, when a big natural disaster happened, media suspend regular programming and start broadcast 'disaster marathons' by providing updated information and ongoing occurrences (Liebes, 1998). Reporters have to cover disaster news in hurry and provide developments of the disaster. In an unknown and hazard situation, they have to immediately reach the scene to get exclusive and first-hand news in the rush. According to Zarqa (2013), hype is accelerated by journalistic competition with a drive of being the first during disaster. ¹As during Hurricane *Katrina*, media were unable to gather contextually rich information about the causes and consequences of natural disaster (Miller & Goidel, 2009).

Given the point of people keep turning to mass media for providing description of what has actually occurred, the community recovery progress and the dreadful impact of the disaster, it is important to have constant studies on how media depict natural disaster, especially between the Asian media and the Western media which may report from different perspectives due to the geographical, cultural, political interest and ideological differences (Broinowski, 1999; Leach, 2005; Knight, 2005). As such, by taking Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster as case study, this research aims to examine the differences of news frame featured in the Asian media and the Western media, namely *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites (NPR, "Nothing is fixed", 26 Jan 2014).

The emergence of online news has posed a challenge to the traditional mass media particularly in the production routine and presentation format. News websites is a great source of news which involves lesser gatekeepers. The users could access to the

¹Typhoon *Haiyan* was reported as the strongest storm recorded at landfall, and unofficially the strongest typhoon ever recorded in terms of wind speed, which happened in Philippines on 8 November 2013, killed at least 6,000 people in that country alone ("Nothing is fixed", 26 Jan 2014).

news updates of their interest for 24 hours a day with a wide selection of news content (Mellese & Müller, 2012). *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites were chosen as they carry the highest circulation, both in printed and digital format, in Philippines and United States respectively (“Top 10 newspaper by circulation”, 30 April 2013; “Inquirer top newspaper, says poll”, 7 April 2014).

Research Questions

Framing analysis is used in this study to examine the selection of ‘some aspects of a perceived reality’ that makes those aspects more salient to a media audience. Framing is useful in analyzing, interpreting, organizing and understanding the information in order to define problem, diagnose causes or make judgments (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012, p.608). Alatas (1997) criticized that framing is the journalistic routine of giving a news article a central theme by focusing on certain aspects of a multifaceted event. Different frames define an event or issue causes this same event or issue to be understood in different ways (Gandy, 2001). As pointed by Price and Tewksbury (1997), how the news is presented will affect public opinion about the reported stories and actors involved in it. Thus, it is important to understand framing scheme. The framing scheme of this study is the news theme and news source. The framing scheme examined themes and primary source emphasized on *Haiyan* disaster news coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites. According to Tankard (2001), several news features such as headlines, subheads, photographs, photo caption and leads commonly convey frames. Thus, the news frames of *Haiyan* disaster coverage are addressed in the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the themes of Typhoon *Haiyan* news coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites?

RQ2: Who are the news sources in Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites?

Entman (1991) suggested that the possible frames for a particular event can be reliably detected by comparing the journalistic texts of two or more news-media outlets. Based on the Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster, this study focuses to compare cross-media framings, between Philippines and USA. Particularly, this comparative study investigates the themes and the news sources of Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites and highlights whether these themes change over time. The study provides an insight and better understanding on the news coverage of Asian natural disaster from the perspectives of both Asian and Western media. It is critically important to understand how the Asian disaster news is presented on Asian media and Western media. News stories often reflect the predominant cultural norms, political power structures, and media systems in which journalists work (Hallin & Manini, 2004). According to Hanitzsch (2007), journalists working in Asian countries are less likely to openly challenge the powerful. As such, this study compares the two news media from different countries because they have different political power structures and media systems that reflect broader differences in professional norms, cultural values and social ideologies (Frith & Mueller, 2003). Through a comparison of the news frames of Typhoon *Haiyan*

coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites, we address the third research question as follows:

RQ3: What are the differences of news frame featured in Typhoon *Haiyan* news stories on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites?

Methodology

Approach

This study employs quantitative and qualitative content analysis to examine how two online news sites frame the *Haiyan* disaster news. The study followed Matthes and Kohring's approach (2008) by coding different frame elements of the text.

Scope

The unit analysis is the individual news story. 'Haiyan' stories uploaded on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites were downloaded. The database search covered a 2-month time frame from 8 November 2013 which is the occurrence day of Typhoon *Haiyan* to 8 January 2014 by using 'Haiyan' keyword search. To qualify as a unit analysis, a news story has to relate to Typhoon *Haiyan*. After the process of screening and filtering, the total data set contained 509 stories that were related to Typhoon *Haiyan* found. *Philippines Inquirer* produced 336 stories whereas 173 stories were from *The Wall Street Journal*.

Variables

Based on past researches (Knight, 2005; Barnhurst & Mutz, 1997; Worawong, Wang & Sims, 2007), coding scheme was initially constructed. The coding variables included name of the news site, the dateline of the story, the headline, the first two paragraphs of the news story, the primary source of the news story-local government, foreign government, police, medical authorities, victims' relatives and friends, business organizations, non-government organizations, benefactors, eyewitness/victims, locals, prominent figures, religious groups, media and expert and the news theme –politics of local government, economy, health and environment, human interest, victim count, relief, fund-raising & donation, science & facts, communication, search & rescue, damage, recovery, rehabilitation & aftermath, religious matters, crime, politic of foreign government, aid effort, refuge and historical & tourism.

The categories of news theme used were initially drawn from the study of Knight (2005) which examined media reportage of the 2004 Tsunami. The appropriate news of each story was coded based on the story focus in the headline and lead. If the coder could not identify the theme from the story's headline and lead, then the rest of the story is examined until the theme is identified. Primary source in the study refers to the source the person who was first mentioned or quoted in the article. Source categories were also initially drawn based on two studies that focused on natural disasters (Knight, 2005; Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012).

Procedure

After defining coding categories, the coders pre-tested twenty *Haiyan* related news articles posted on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal*. After the pre-test, the coders resolved their disagreement through discussions to achieve intercoder agreement. This process was repeated twice. Then, changes were made to categories of news theme and sources. Three coders then separately coded all the 509 news stories.

After the coding process, through quantitative content analytic technique, the total of each category of source and theme was counted. Then, the result was analyzed by using interpretive qualitative approach.

Literature Review

The Concept of 'Disaster' and the Role of Media

Disasters, either natural or manmade, have always been one of the top news stories that best captured the general public's attention (Pew Research Center, as cited in Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012). The term 'disaster' has been defined and described meaningfully by the disaster researchers, as 'an event concentrated in time and space' or 'mass emergencies' that brings observable negative consequences, like 'physical harm and social disruption' (Fritz, 1961; NSC, 2011; Perry, 2006, as cited in Lindell, 2013). The characteristics of disasters, being 'unusual, dramatic, and often have great impact upon people's lives' have made disasters newsworthy, and driven by commercial imperatives that news outlets are 'expected' to report them (Belle, 2000). In short, media are pressured to report accurate information speedily and spread to the largest audience possible (Kodrich&Laituri, 2005).

A disaster's concentration in time can be defined according to temporal periods, e.g. pre-impact, trans-impact, and post-impact (Lindell, 2013). According to the emergency management of National Governors Association (NGA), the time frame can also be understood through the activities in different phases, e.g. hazard mitigation, disaster preparedness, emergency response, and disaster recovery (Lindell, 2013). The 'issue-attention cycle' proposed by Downs, attempted to illustrate the different stages of a disaster: (1) a pre-problem stage, (2) alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, (3) realizing the cost of significant progress, (4) gradual decline of intense public interest, and (5) a post-problem stage (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012). But what is crucial, is the amount of time since a disaster occurred, not only affects individuals and community at large in terms of needs, activities and concerns, but also influences the new coverage on the disaster over time (Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012).

Media involvement in disasters has contributed significantly to those who are in areas at risk, victims or those who show concerns. Though not exclusively, but yet recognizing the contribution of media, the Disaster Research Center has given the credit to mass media as the primary source of information that fulfills the average citizens' and officials' expectations about disasters, that they know and learn from the disasters that happened (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012). The roles of mass media, can range from communicating the risk warning, describing the real event, informing the public about post event, to contributing to individual and

community recovery and resilience when reporting a disaster (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche & Pfefferbaum, as cited in Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012).

Being an integral part of the social and political response to disasters, news media helps to foster immediate reaction of the international relief efforts, particularly in forming public opinions and shaping their demands for government policies such as the preparedness and prevention efforts for future disasters, as well as determining their support for relief aids (Belle, 2000). Besides, news media have also been 'shaping citizens' knowledge of natural disasters' (Cowan, McClure & Wilson, 2002).

In the 1970s, a survey done in the United States reported that 80 percent of respondents, whom has no direct experience with the natural disaster, relied heavily on firstly, the electronic media and secondly, the newspapers for disaster information (Wenger, Dkys, Sebok & Neff, as cited in Belle, 2000). Belle (2000) analyzed United States news coverage of foreign disasters using a set of contextual influences variables on the amount of coverage, indicating 'distance' of the event from United States demonstrates expected relationship with the amount of coverage when the magnitude of the disaster event is controlled.

Though it might suggest disaster news own great prominence in the media, nevertheless disaster reporting has also been claimed to influence people's judgments about the actual damage and their preparation towards disasters (McClure & Williams, 1996). Studies found that media coverage on disasters are lacking of coverage comprehensiveness, contain inaccuracies, overdramatize social and individual reactions, and interpret statistics without context (Wilkins & Patterson, 1987; Hiroi, Mikami & Miyata, 1985, as cited in Cowan, McClure & Wilson, 2002). Assuming representation of the disaster occurred is accurate, media have nevertheless, presented 'an inaccurate image of mass devastation' to the public (Cowan, McClure & Wilson, 2002).

The effects of disaster reporting towards its audiences as well as the normative roles of media have further discussed and challenged in the recent studies. Simon Cottle (2014) staged disaster in a global context, has adopted a more critical view. He questioned the way disasters was conceptualized, and argued that 'what's ruled in and what's ruled out' carries political or ideological implications. Echoed by Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz (2012), who questioned the implications of disaster coverage on wider political conversations about disaster-related issues, also urged an investigation on the normative function of media in relation to disasters.

The contemporary disaster has no longer confined geographically. Cottle (2014) argued using the studies of Hurricane Katrina, what was once 'national' has turned 'global' with the emergence of new media. Examine the roles of new media, specifically news sites, in the formation of a disaster community in Cyberspace after the Gujarat earthquake happened in India in 2001, Kodrich and Laituri (2005) wrote that the advancement of new technology, which is interactive in nature, has dramatically changed the way media report disaster, forcing the media to take 'an active humanitarian role' than the role traditionally taken.

Furthermore, media's involvement with the disaster has exceeded what was once solely reporting disaster news, but has intervened in disaster management

(Kodrich&Laituri, 2005). Murthy (2013) argued that blogs functioned as a democratizing agent in Sri Lanka during the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, where the new media has given the 'local' journalists 'global voices' to challenge disaster coverage which they found problematic. Also, drawing the case of Typhoon *Haiyan* which swept across Philippines in November 2013, Cottle (2014) quoted the efforts of Google, in developing online tools - 'crisis map' and a 'people finder' to assist people in the immediate disaster aftermath. In his conclusion, he claimed that the 'mediated disasters in a global age' today have become increasingly dependent on media and communications, and thus causing disasters to be 'defined, dramatized and publicly constituted' (Cottle, 2014).

Theoretical Framework

Framing and Framing Analysis

Entman's definition of 'framing' is "possibly the most widely accepted" (David, Atun, Fille&Monterola, 2011, p.330) amongst the scholars. Matthes (2009) in his analysis of media framing studies found that Entman's definition is the most influential definition in the studies of media frames. Framing means 'selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation for the item described' (Entman, 1993, p.52). He suggested that framing functions to define problem, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies. Recognizing the power of news media coverage, text and visual presentation in framing and formulating a picture of an issue in the mind of the public within a political realm, Entman (2004, p.6) argued that media frames are able to 'stimulate support or opposition to the sides in a political conflict' through emphasizing elements of depicted reality while de-emphasize elements that construct a counter frame.

Framing can occur generally within a culture, or in the minds of professional communicators and members of the lay public, or in specific media texts such as articles and broadcasts (Entman, Matthes&Pellicano, 2009). Frames are 'selective' in nature, and therefore suggesting ideas that construct reality in a certain way (Matthes, 2012). Through selecting and highlighting some information at the expense of others, news frame is capable of shaping the mind of audiences and influencing their interpretations towards issues, candidates and events. In short, framing is considered 'an active process of creating, selecting, and shaping the frames' (Matthes, 2012).

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) suggested news frames can be analyzed at macro and micro levels. Macro level emphasizes on the mode of presentation used to disseminate information which communicates an underlying schemas among the audiences, while micro describes how audience use the information and presentation features to make sense of an issue. Besides, news frame can also be studied from media and audience perspective (Matthes, 2009). Matthes (2012) commented in his studies on framing politics that although news frames are impactful, however, audience frame towards the political issues is not always consistent with what was suggested by political elite or the news media. In addition, frames tend to change over time, depending on whether the issues and events are well known (Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012).

Framing analysis today is found commonly used in news framing studies at national level (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012; Yang & Ishak, 2012; David, Atun&Vina, 2010; Dahmen, 2010) and recently, at cross-national level (Mellese & Muller, 2012; Oh, Hove, Paek, Lee, Lee & Song, 2012; Kwon & Moon, 2009). Amongst these studies, traditional news media like newspapers, broadcast and newsmagazine are commonly studied.

David, Atun and Vina (2010) analyzed news framing on population debate in Philippines comparing source and news frames in broadsheet newspapers. Even though some started to investigate online news reports, news sites and blogs, but comparative research in recent years has indicated a growing interest in exploring framing at a larger context, sampling the new media. Kwon and Moon (2009) took a cross-national approach, and ran a cross-media investigation between newspapers and blogs on collectivism in news framing. They highlighted two important aspects in the development of framing research. Firstly, “framing” carried cultural and national differences with the emergence of globalization. Secondly, the embedded values, based in current national interests, political ideology and cultural norms and values, that build the common frames bridging journalists’ news and public’s interpretation, need to be studied in the new media environment. Capturing a similar vision, Ohet *al.* (2012) conducted a cross-national study of US and Korean newspaper coverage, comparing the cross-cultural variations in news frames and sources.

Though studies of how disaster news is framed are not new, yet very few studies can be found on natural disasters. One of them is Li’s (2007) study of news framing on the television coverage of a human-made disaster – the September 11 terrorist attacks. The study suggested a coverage frame scheme based on Entman’s conceptualization of framing, and it has later adopted by Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz(2012) in their studies of news framing of natural disasters. Considering its applicability in analyzing disaster news, six main categories of coverage frames have been used to analyze the leads and headlines in disaster news, namely (1) political; (2) economic; (3) environment; (4) human interest; (5) criminal; and (6) other. Investigating the newspaper and news broadcasts coverage of natural disasters in the United States over a period of ten years, they also found that, disaster news today tend to emphasize on disaster economic while giving attention to the current impacts of disaster on humans, the built and natural environment, as well as the affected state and region. However, very little convincing evidence was shown that media play a role in contributing to the aspects of disaster preparedness, recovery and resilience (Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012).

Finding and Discussion

To determine the news sources and the news themes appeared in Typhoon *Haiyan* news coverage, a total of 509 stories were content analyzed within two-month (62 days) of *The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)* and *The Philippines Inquirer (PI)* reporting. Of this total, 173 items or 33.99 per cent of stories appeared in *WSJ* whereas 336 items or 66.01 per cent appeared in *PI*. The news coverage of Typhoon *Haiyan* in *PI*, happened in the country in which the media operates, is double in number of stories of *WSJ*. Table 1 below shows the total number of news and the percentage of Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage in *WSJ* and *PI*.

News sites	Number of News	Percentage of News
<i>The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)</i>	173	33.99
<i>The Philippines Inquirer (PI)</i>	336	66.01
Total	509	100.00

Table 1: The total number of news and the percentage of Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage in *WSJ* and *PI*.

The finding indicated that 67.63 and 62.50 per cent of the total news stories were covered, respectively for *WSJ* and *PI*, in the first 2 weeks (8/11/2013 – 22/11/2013) when the typhoon story was first reported. In the following weeks (23/11/2013 – 7/12/2013), the number of stories dropped significantly - 43.35 and 38.69 per cent each for *WSJ* and *PI*. Entering the 2nd month, the total number of stories covered by *PI* was 46 (13.69 per cent) whereas *WSJ* reported only 14 news (8.09 per cent) out of the total coverage for the entire study period. Table 2 shows the comparison of *WSJ* and *PI* news coverage from stage to stage.

News Site	Stage 1*		Stage 2*		Stage 3*		Stage 4*		Total
	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	
<i>WSJ</i>	117	67.63	42	24.28	10	5.78	4	2.31	173
<i>PI</i>	210	62.50	80	23.81	31	9.23	15	4.46	336

Table 2: The comparison of *WSJ* and *PI* news coverage from stage to stage.
 * Stage 1 (8/11/2013 – 22/11/2013); Stage 2 (23/11/2013 – 7/12/2013); Stage 3 (8/12/2013 – 22/12/2013); Stage 4 (23/12/2013 – 8/1/2014).

News stories were coded for the primary source and the main theme based on the first two paragraphs of the stories. This study found 14 categories of news sources cited by *WSJ* and *PI* in the news coverage of Typhoon *Haiyan*, which include 'local government' (232 items or 45.58 per cent), 'foreign government' (22 items or 4.32 per cent), 'police' (8 items or 1.57 per cent), 'medical authorities' (2 items or 0.39 per cent), 'victim's relatives and friends' (10 items or 1.96 per cent), 'business organizations' (28 items or 5.50 per cent), 'non-government organizations' (NGO) (49 items or 9.63 per cent), 'benefactors' (22 items or 4.32 per cent), 'eyewitness or victims' (32 items or 6.29 per cent), 'locals' (5 items or 0.98 per cent), 'prominent figures' (8 items or 1.57 per cent), 'religious groups' (10 items or 1.96 per cent), 'media' (65 items or 12.77 per cent), and 'expert' (16 items or 3.14 per cent). Table 3 below shows the comparison between *WSJ* and *PI* in news sources.

Source	WSJ		PI		Total	
	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%
Local government	55	31.79	177	52.68	232	45.58
Foreign government	14	8.09	8	2.38	22	4.32
Police	3	1.73	5	1.49	8	1.57
Medical Authorities	1	0.58	1	0.30	2	0.39
Victim's relatives and friends	2	1.16	8	2.38	10	1.96
Business Organizations	9	5.20	19	5.65	28	5.50
NGO	21	12.14	28	8.33	49	9.63
Benefactors	6	3.47	16	4.76	22	4.32
Eyewitness /victims	12	6.94	20	5.95	32	6.29
Locals	3	1.73	2	0.60	5	0.98
Prominent figures	7	4.05	1	0.30	8	1.57
Religious groups	0	0.00	10	2.98	10	1.96
Media	29	16.76	36	10.71	65	12.77
Expert	11	6.36	5	1.49	16	3.14
TOTAL	173.00	100.00	336.00	100.00	509.00	100.00

Table 3: The comparison between *WSJ*&*PI* in news sources

The finding indicated the top three sources cited by both *WSJ* and *PI* were the same, namely 'local government', 'NGO' and 'media'. The total cited sources for 'local government', 'NGO' and 'media' of *Haiyan* stories for both news sites separately were 232 items (45.58 per cent), 49 items (9.63 per cent) and 65 items (12.77 per cent). The news sources cited the least in all the stories were 'medical authorities' and 'locals' in which the percentage for each category is less than one.

Sources of 'local government' were widely cited by *PI* (177 items or 52.68 per cent) and *WSJ* (55 items or 31.79 per cent). They were given enormous highlight as the people whose statements were primarily, at time, extensively emphasized. This was followed by news source from 'media' in which the reporting is a compilation of data and facts by the journalists based on the researches done. Those stories with the 'media' as the primary source take up 36 items (10.71 per cent) in *PI* and 29 items

(16.76 per cent) in *WSJ*. On the other hand, the ‘NGO’ was another preferred source of the journalists. These sources included spokespersons from United Nations, World Bank, The Philippines Red Cross, Global Peace Mission Malaysia, Focus on the Global South, The Rural Poor Institute for Land and Human Rights Services (Rights) Network, Greenpeace, Save the Children and etc.

The remaining 11 categories of sources cited in the news carried almost the same percentage in the coverage of both *WSJ* and *PI*, except for ‘religious groups’, ‘prominent figures’ and ‘foreign government’. *WSJ* did not cite any single source from the religious groups in its reporting of Typhoon *Haiyan*.

As for the main themes of the stories in *WSJ* and *PI*, 19 categories were found in this study. Table 4 below shows the comparison between *WSJ* and *PI* in news themes.

Theme	WSJ		PI		Total	
	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%
Politics of local government	18	10.40	53	15.77	71.00	13.95
Economic	18	10.40	18	5.36	36.00	7.07
Health & environment	6	3.47	9	2.68	15.00	2.95
Human interest	18	10.40	41	12.20	59.00	11.59
Victim count	13	7.51	34	10.12	47.00	9.23
Relief	16	9.25	32	9.52	48.00	9.43
Fund-raising & donation	4	2.31	16	4.76	20.00	3.93
Science, technology & facts	11	6.36	9	2.68	20.00	3.93
Communication	3	1.73	2	0.60	5.00	0.98
Search & rescue	2	1.16	3	0.89	5.00	0.98
Damage	7	4.05	3	0.89	10.00	1.96
Recovery, rehabilitation & aftermath	26	15.03	42	12.50	68.00	13.36
Religious matters	0	0.00	3	0.89	3.00	0.59
Crime	4	2.31	13	3.87	17.00	3.34
Business	2	1.16	8	2.38	10.00	1.96

Politics of foreign government	8	4.62	5	1.49	13.00	2.55
Aid effort	11	6.36	38	11.31	49.00	9.63
Refuge	2	1.16	4	1.19	6.00	1.18
Historical & tourism	4	2.31	3	0.89	7.00	1.38
TOTAL	173	100.00	336	100.00	509.00	100.00

Table 4: The comparison between *WSJ* and *PI* in news themes

In the combined analysis, the three main themes covered by *WSJ* and *PI* were ‘politics of local government’ (71 items or 13.95 per cent), ‘recovery, rehabilitation and aftermath’ (68 items or 13.36 per cent) and ‘human interest’ (59 items or 11.59 per cent). Among others, the least frequent themes reported included ‘religious matters’, ‘search and rescue’ and ‘communication’ categories which carried less than one per cent of the total news coverage of Typhoon *Haiyan*.

‘Politics of local government’ theme was given great emphasis as to show strong leadership and confidence in assuring people that they were well-prepared for the devastation aftermath. The people were not alone and should have no worry with the aftermath. Local government was portrayed as a backbone for recovery and rehabilitation actions. With that ‘reality’ constructed by the media, the status quo of the Philippines government is secured. Along with calamities were some human interest stories which were poignant and included elements of heroism and etc. The stories of how ordinary people reacted in the calamities were widely covered.

Conclusion and Implications

Framing is a social construction of reality. The news media do not operate in a political, economic and ideological vacuum, and the ‘nature of news’ is not an objective reflection of truth. When journalists seek to actively classify and interpret their life experiences to make sense of what happens, they engage in a cognitive processed named ‘news framing’. The messages produced by the journalists are interpretation that has been crafted, among selected and highlighted competing facts, to reflect ‘reality’ that packaged efficiently for the audiences.

Framing is vital. The way a given piece of information is presented has the potential to influence the public opinion about the reported occurrences. It influences audiences’ interest, attention and comprehension of the news that they cannot witness directly. The audiences respond on the occurrences based on their perception and understanding to the ‘facts’ that journalists choose to play up or down in their reports. The audiences also tend to believe in the reality constructed by the journalists to be the most salient aspects of a natural disaster. In revealing the social world to the audiences, framing analysis debunk the myth of so-called ‘balance and objectivity’ of news reporting which is tainted with ideologies and operational constraints.

In this study, journalistic act of framing the news of natural disaster, Typhoon *Haiyan*, through core themes in *WSJ* and *PI* did not show much difference. That means journalists' choices of highlighting or reducing elements of the perceived reality to make them more or less salient are not obvious in both coverage. *WSJ* and *PI* have emphasized on the similar themes with consistent societal sentiments – humanitarian.

The same trend goes to the news sources in this study. Just as what was argued by Entman (1993) and Fahmy (2005), to certain extent, source is the story. It confines the simple nature of the stories, as well as the flow of information in the news media. In *WSJ* and *PI* news reports, local government was heavily cited as the official source which legitimizes the state and all its actions and policies. However, the hegemony of the Philippines Government is framed as being challenged. The State strives to prove that local strategies are relevant and sustainable, alongside with international aid efforts and fundraising.

The news framing of Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster shows resemblance in primary source and theme coded for both Western media, *WSJ* (an American English-language international news media) and an Asian media, *PI* (a Philippines-based English-language news media with the mission of 'We are a multi-media organization passionately telling the Filipino story'). In line with Simon Cottle's (2011 & 2014) findings, infused within natural disaster reporting on news sites, media has reached a new global height of extensity and intensity, in terms of speed and scale. With the universalizing technologies, media and communication environment changed. Natural disaster that strikes the country no longer remains as 'a state's misfortune'. Instead, it is a 'mediated disaster' which becomes 'globalised media event' that exhibits extensive scale. These communication technologies also provide greater prospects for the audiences from all over the world to "witness" disaster before they hurdle into humanitarian response. In other words, the proliferation of new media, irrespective of Western or Asian media, has transformed the world of disasters into a global context.

In today's global news ecology, both local and international news media 'mediatized' disasters from different views and values which could in pursuing of open to national integration, striving for political change or mobilizing sympathy for humanitarian response. Through borderless news reporting, journalistic framing has gone beyond national spectrum of interests to offer a philanthropic support to the storm victims. By such communication means, Typhoon *Haiyan* reporting on both *WSJ* and *PI* exhibits not only a 'national event', but a 'media event' that manifests public opinion at global public sphere.

Limitation of the Study and Recommendation for Future Research

This study focuses on "media framing" without empirical data from audience analysis. Therefore it is beyond the scope of this study to draw conclusion about audiences' cognitive understanding of Typhoon *Haiyan*. A future research could be done on "audience framing" to further comprehend the meaning constructed by audiences on natural disaster reporting. It would be remarkable to juxtapose the findings of this study with the impact of news frames on public's perception and opinion towards the disaster.

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Appendix A***Coding Sheet*****News Source and News Theme in Typhoon *Haiyan* Disaster Coverage**

1.	News Sites <i>(please tick ONE)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Inquirer <input type="checkbox"/> Wall Street Journal (WSJ)
2.	Date and time	
3.	News headlines	
4.	First two paragraphs of the news story	
5.	Primary News Source <i>(tick only one)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Local Government <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign Government <input type="checkbox"/> Police <input type="checkbox"/> Medical Authorities <input type="checkbox"/> Victims' Relatives and Friends <input type="checkbox"/> Business Organisations <input type="checkbox"/> Non Government Organisations (NGO) <input type="checkbox"/> Benefactors <input type="checkbox"/> Eyewitnesses/victims <input type="checkbox"/> Locals <input type="checkbox"/> Prominent figures <input type="checkbox"/> Religious groups <input type="checkbox"/> Media <input type="checkbox"/> Experts
6.	News Theme <i>(tick only one)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Politics of local government <input type="checkbox"/> Politics of foreign government <input type="checkbox"/> Economy <input type="checkbox"/> Health and environment <input type="checkbox"/> Human interest <input type="checkbox"/> Victim count <input type="checkbox"/> Relief <input type="checkbox"/> Fund-raising and donation <input type="checkbox"/> Science, technology and facts <input type="checkbox"/> Communication <input type="checkbox"/> Search and rescue <input type="checkbox"/> Damage <input type="checkbox"/> Recovery, rehabilitation and aftermath <input type="checkbox"/> Religious matters <input type="checkbox"/> Crime <input type="checkbox"/> Business <input type="checkbox"/> Aid effort <input type="checkbox"/> Refuge <input type="checkbox"/> Historical and tourism

Appendix B

Coding Scheme

Date and time: The day and time where the story was published / updated on the news site.

News Headlines: The headline of the online news story.

First two paragraphs of the news story: The first two paragraphs of the story start from the dateline.

Primary source: The main spokesperson of the story who appear in the first two paragraphs.

News theme: The main idea of the news story.

News Source

1.	Local Government	Local government includes the authorities of Philippines, e.g. Philippines president, ministers, senators, mayors, lawmakers, Justice, state or government authorized spokespersons. It also includes official statements, cabinet papers and media release.
2.	Foreign Government	Authorities of countries other than Philippines, e.g. President, ministers, senators, mayors, lawmakers, Justice, state or country authorized spokespersons. It also includes official statements, cabinet papers and media release.
3.	Police	The country authorized security personnel.
4.	Medical Authorities	Medical authorities include doctors, nurses, medical personnel, treatment centre and hospital spokespersons.
5.	Victims' Relatives and Friends	Family members and acquaintances of victims.
6.	Business Organisations	Trade companies and their spokespersons.
7.	Non Government Organisations (NGO)	Any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level, e.g. United Nations, international and national Aids Agencies and bodies, e.g. International Red Cross.
8.	Benefactors	People or organisations which have given financial

		or other help to the victims of the disaster.
9.	Eyewitness or victims	People who involved in the actual event and its aftermath, e.g. tourists, victims, survivors, journalists and etc.
10.	Locals	Ordinary people and members of the community, e.g. fisherman, shopkeeper, and etc.
11.	Prominent figures	People who are famous and popular in local or internationally, e.g. local personalities, boxing fighter, sport player, film star, community leader, former leader and etc.
12.	Religious groups	Religious group include priest, church father, monk and etc.
13.	Media	The reporting is a compilation of data and facts by the journalists based on research. There is no official or obvious sources coded but the story is very much depending on the facts presented by the journalists from the media organisations.
14.	Experts	People who has expertise in respective field such as scientist, economist, media analyst, etc.

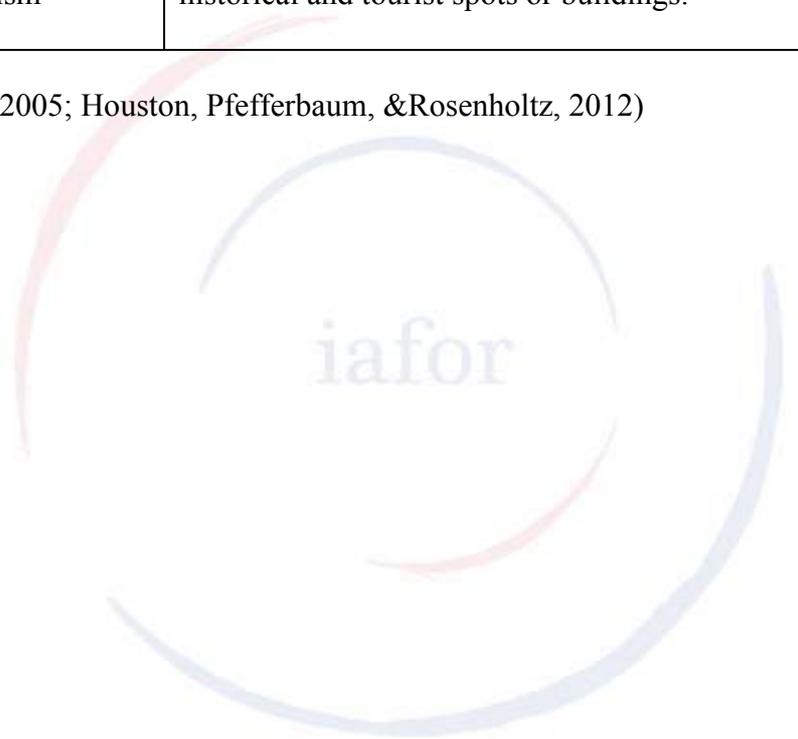
(Knight, 2005; Barnhurst&Mutz, 1997; Worawong, Wang & Sims, 2007)

News Theme

1.	Politics of local government	Reports of Philippines government, authorities or political leaders' effort in providing aids. It also includes policies, enactment and enforcement of laws and actions taken by Philippines President, mayor, senator, leaders of opposition party and the governmental department authorities.
2.	Politics of foreign government	Reports of foreign government, authorities or political leaders' effort in providing aids, policies and opinions.
3.	Economy	Economic issues, financial impacts or cost of events.
4.	Health and environment	Issues related to environment and health, hazard, disease and safety.
5.	Human interest	Stories related to victims' experiences; human well-being.
6.	Victim count	Stories that report on the progressive number of deaths, missing or injured.
7.	Relief	Stories that report on the application of aid and issues related to distribution of food and water supplies, shelter-box supplies, medical supplies and other supplies.
8.	Fund-raising and donation	These stories cover the "monetary support" issues and events for the survivors.
9.	Science, technology and facts	Scientific speculation, research, scientific data or technology issues of the disaster.
10.	Communication	Stories that report on the impacts of the event towards communication, e.g. telecommunication network disruption.
11.	Search and rescue	Stories report on the efforts in searching and rescuing victims.
12.	Damage	Stories related to the physical harm on the victims and local community.
13.	Recovery, rehabilitation and aftermath	Stories related to efforts in making victims' life return to normality, e.g. rebuilding victims' home, provide job opportunities, etc.
14.	Religious matters	Stories that were relating to a religion.

15.	Crime	Issues related to crime and investigation, e.g. looting.
16.	Business	Stories that report on the impacts towards local and small businesses, e.g. grocery shops, restaurant.
17.	Aid effort	Stories related to humanity efforts or actions provided to victims as a kind of mentally or moral support to ease their pain.
18.	Refugee	Stories related to impact caused by the refugees and issues related to refugees.
19.	Historical and tourism	Stories that report on the impacts of the event towards historical and tourist spots or buildings.

(Knight, 2005; Houston, Pfefferbaum, & Rosenholtz, 2012)

The logo for the International Association for Business and Economics (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, dynamic effect.

Internet Users' Attitudes towards Online Targeted Advertisements

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Abstract

Users leave their footprints about their interests while they are surfing on the internet. Companies have the opportunity of capturing user's implicit data on the internet by behavioral targeting. So that they can deliver the advertisements of the products or services that appeals to those consumers. Users are being exposed to targeted advertisements according to their demographic characteristics or web site choices. Each online behavior gives a clue about the consumer's product interests for the advertisers. Targeted advertising services such as these are currently provided by many companies including Google and Amazon. There are differences between the users' level of awareness and attitudes towards targeted ads. In this study internet users' attitudes and avoidance towards targeted ads were evaluated.

Keywords: Advertising, Attitude, Targeted Ads, Behavioral Targeting, Internet

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Introduction

Advertisers have started to attach more interest on the interactive methods for the promotion of their products and services together with the prevalence of the internet all around the world (Yaakop, et al., 2012). However, this paves the way for the new development. Consumers now want to have more control and are picky about the messages that they would like to have (Curran, et al., 2011: 26). Advertising professionals head for new techniques to minimize the avoiding behaviors of the consumers against the message bombardment. The advance technology gives way to store and track the majority of the data of the consumers for the institutions or businesses. Customers' mobile phone call, internet browsing or TV show that they have watched can be useful for storing the data with respect to the personal interests (favorite movies, music, restaurants or books etc.) and contents and advertisements can be provided fit for these behaviors (Kurkovsky and Harihar, 2006; Wang et al., 2009). This technique can be conducted both on individual basis and applied for the clusters for demographic targeting of the consumers. Advertisement network on the basis of the behavioral targeting are provided by the companies in particular to Google and Amazon (Zhang et al., 2010: 1416). These advertisements, which are referred with different names in the literature, are addressed as online behavioral advertising, targeted advertising or behavioral targeted advertising. The basic principle of such advertisements is to track the internet users at a wide framework, and evaluate their traces and show the best advertisement to the users, fit for their behaviors. In simple terms, advertisement networks select and provide advertisement suitable for the content of the web page in any web page. This is called as contextual advertising (Ur, et al. 2012: 1). The more complicated form is to provide tailored made advertisement to the consumers by using of the data related to the demographic, geographic features or web browsing behaviors.

Behavioral Targeting

Behavioral targeting is one of the new generation techniques, of which importance is getting increased day by day in the advertisement sector and which is used to improve the efficiency of the promotions by the internet advertisements. According to Wikipedia, BT uses information collected on an individual's web-browsing behavior, such as the pages they have visited or the searches they have made, to select which advertisements to display to that individual. Targeting marketing; is addressed as the general strategy used to reach the consumer by using these data and defining the characteristics shared by the consumers such as social, economic, age, sex or ethnical origin (Johnson ve Grier, 2015: 235). Behavioral targeting is one of the most attention grabbing methods among the online advertisement techniques. Behavioral targeting is used to target the best consumer for the advertisement provided to increase the effect of the online advertisement. Now, web search of the consumer can be easily protected and tracked by the browser and exposed to advertisements according to the consumer search behaviors. Social networks such as Facebook or search engines such as Google provide advertisements, suitable for the field of interest of the users by using the consumer generated data. Even if behavioral targeting yields positive results for the advertisers, there are some concerns in terms of the consumers.

For example; in the paper of Johnson (2013) titled as Targeted Advertising and Advertising Avoidance, it is concluded that consumers avoid of the advertisements

targeted to them (Johnson, 2012, 140). The advertisers are not target consumer groups that they can get feedback for their messages (Farahat and Bahiley, 2012: 111). The treatment effect for the targeted group should be higher than targeted group for behavioral targeting to be significant and valuable. Several studies show that online tracking systems are capable to comprehensively build the profiles of the customers' online field of interest and cover most of their online behaviors (Liu et. al 2013:1) Behavioral targeting is used to provide advertisements by filtering some of them from the huge advertisement data base and suitable for the field of interest of the users by following the online behaviors of the consumers. For example, a customer may see car advertisements at his Facebook page or movie web page. The reason is that he has visited the car web pages before. Targeted advertisements are useful for the advertisers. It has been seen as an opportunity to provide tailored made advertisement for the customer and specify who interested in more to the advertisement. For that reason, advertisement networks started to spend much more money to the targeted advertisement in comparison to the general advertisements. Online behavioral targeting provides suitable advertisements to the field of interest of the consumer and let him stay away from the unrelated advertisements. In technical terms, there are different ways to operate this system. The simplest way is that an advertiser may set a definitive cookie to the device of the consumer and relate it with the browsing activities of the consumer (Ur, et al. 2012: 2). It will be kept in that way since the technicality is not our field of interest. Several topics such as privacy, trust, sex differences, interactivity and refraining from the advertisement with respect to the advertisement have been the subjects of many academic researches. The method of proceeding of the same variables in the new advertisement media and advertisement application in these media have been studied.

There are two important factors related to the behavioral targeting. First of all, providing offers which are suitable for the needs of the users by providing user friendly advertisements. The second one is the discussions whether it violates the privacy or not, that in intervening the personal space of the consumer. The foundation of this research is the attitudes of the users towards these two factors. What do the internet users in Turkey think about the behavioral targeting and targeted advertisements and at which level are their avoiding or positive attitudes? This study has been conducted to find answers to these questions.

Methodology

We recruited 21 participants for an interview. All participants were recruited from the students of Anadolu University, Turkey. We choosed the participants who had no degree or job in computer science or information technology. We conducted a semi-structural interview. Interview questions were adapted from Blasé Ur's (2012) research. Some questions were removed and some new ones were added to the interview in order to adopt the semi-structural interview suitably for the research. At this stage, two academics expert in the field of view is taken. In addition, because of the reliability of the interview questions, pilot interviews were conducted with 4 participants, and the questions in the form were tested in terms of clarity and understandability. Due care was given to prepare an interview environment in which the participants would feel comfortable and peaceful to reveal their viewpoints, and a proper interaction medium was prepared. Information on the study was given to the participants during the interviews. A recording device was used in order to prevent data loss during the interviews. The participants were informed about the recording

device, and it was added that they could have some parts or the whole of the recording erased at the end of the interviews depending on their wishes.

The semi-structured interview form consisted of 2 parts and 9 items (except for the sub-questions). In the first part of the form, there were 3 items on the attitudes of the participants on Internet Advertisements. In the second part; firstly, questions on the information levels of the participants about Targeted Advertisements were asked. Then, questions were asked about the benefits of the Targeted Advertisements for the Internet users and other stakeholders. The participants were also asked about their information on the access level of the Online Behavioral Targeting activities. In addition, they were also asked about their ideas on the disadvantages of the Online Behavioral Targeting. The interviews were conducted face to face. Written notes were taken during the interviews.

Participants

21 participants were included in the study. 10 of them were female, and 11 of them were male. All of the participants were chosen among the undergraduate students of Anadolu University, and their ages varied between 18 and 23. Special attention was given for the issue of selecting those students who had no history on Computer Sciences or Information Technologies. Since the number of the sampling was limited, it is not claimed that the participants represent the universe of the Internet users. Therefore, in this study, the purpose is not obtaining statistically significant results; but rather, the purpose is to focus on the attitudes of ordinary Internet users on targeted advertisements.

Analysis

The interviews were recorded with a voice recorder, and written notes were taken during the interviews. After the interviews, the recorded information was converted into text. In order to ensure the reliability of the information, two people from the field listened to the interviews and read the texts to test the agreement between the recordings and the text.

After the interviews were completed, a table of codes consisting of forthcoming themes was formed. The raw data obtained from the interviews were encoded and the categories were defined. The data then were classified under these categories and made meaningful. The encoding and categorizing processes were performed in recurrent style. By doing so, the unnecessary encodings were eliminated sticking to the problem and to the purpose of the study, and new codes were added into parts where necessary. In the last stage, the findings were defined and evaluated. Also, some astonishing quotations, which reflect the viewpoints of the participants, were given.

Results

The general attitude of the participants on “Internet Advertising” can be evaluated as being *unreliable*. In addition, it was also determined that the awareness levels of the participants on the possibility of the Targeted Advertisement Networks accessing the personal information of the consumers were high. In this part, the attitudes of the consumers about the Internet Advertisements and Targeted Advertisements were given in titles.

Attitudes towards Internet Advertising

When the attitudes of the participants towards Internet Advertisements are considered, it is possible to claim that they have a negative perception on this issue. 16 of the 21 participants gave answers to the question “What is the first thought that crosses your

mind when you hear Internet Advertisement?” as follows; “They appear always, I am subjected to them even if I do not want, I cannot get rid of them”. For example, 7th Participant said “*When I hear internet advertisement, first of all, I remember the advertisements that prevent me from watching the video I want to watch and annoy me. In addition, it is also annoying when another advertisement comes right in the middle of the video and I have to wait for 5-10 seconds to skip that advertisement*”. 14 of the participants answered as “No” to the question “Do you like Internet Advertisements?”. 8 of the male participants used negative expressions about the Internet Advertisements. Based on this point, it is possible to claim that male participants have more negative attitudes towards such advertisements than the female participants. The number of the participants that answered as “Yes” to the question “Do you find Internet Advertisements useful?” is 11. Based on this finding it is possible to claim that although the first image that is formed in the minds of the consumers about Internet Advertisements is negative, they find them useful and beneficial. During the interview, the 1st Participant said “*In fact, many Internet advertisements help us to reach the products we want. I find the Internet advertisements useful because we can reach the information on the properties, the price and how to purchase the products*”.

Tailored Advertising

The participants were asked the question “*Do you think that the Internet Advertisements you are exposed on the Internet appear in accordance with your areas of interest?*”, and the majority of them answered that the advertisements on the Facebook were in accordance with their areas of interest. In addition, when they were asked whether the advertisements were useful for their areas of interest or not, it became obvious that 15 of the participants found the advertisements useful.

Again, the majority of the participants who had positive attitudes about the issue of encountering Internet Advertisements that were in accordance with their areas of interest consisted of females. 9 women participants said that they found these types of advertisements useful. The participants who did not find these types of Internet Advertisements useful showed the excessive exposure of the Internet Advertisements as their excuses. For example, the 4th Participant said “*For once, I am exposed to Internet Advertisements on the product I search for, sometimes for days. Each time I enter Facebook I face the advertisements of a product that I searched for days before or of a product even I have already purchased*”. The participants were asked the question “What are your opinions on how the advertisement companies determine your areas of interest?”, and 18 participants expressed similar opinions, stating that they were presented the Internet advertisements with the data captured from Google Search Engine. Some participants said that some of the questionnaires on the Internet were for archiving their information, and the companies made use of these questionnaires to reach their target customers.

For example, the 9th Participant said, “*Before I watch news or a video, I am subjected to questionnaires having some questions on my gender, age, profession and areas of interest. They have information on me because I fill in these questionnaires*”. The 18th Participant said “*We enter our information to Facebook, Twitter or Instagram accounts, and in addition, we give the information about ourselves even our identity number when we purchase something online, therefore, advertisement companies do not have difficulty in presenting the advertisements of their products targeted to us*”.

Attitudes towards Online Behavioral Targeting and Targeted Advertising

First of all, Online Behavioral Targeting for all consumers in general have beneficial sides; however, they also have some drawbacks like obtaining personal information. In this study, it was observed that the concerns on privacy are dominant after considering the Behavioral Targeting and after thinking on the fact that the personal information is more available rather than the beneficial sides of this technique.

The majority of the participants are aware of the beneficial sides of the targeted advertisements for the advertisement companies. 17 participants said “Yes” to the question “Do you think that targeted advertisements are beneficial for advertisement companies, and in your opinion, what are their benefits?”. 13 of the participants said that this advertisement type made it easier for the advertisement companies to reach their target audience; 4 of them said that it was a new source of income for the advertisers. The answer of the 6th participant to this question is extremely comprehensive. *“These types of advertisements are beneficial both for the consumers as well as the product/service providers. Think about it, how wonderful is it to know how to advertise and to know that the advertisement will not go in vain!”*

All of the participants answered as “Yes” to the question “Do Behavioral Advertisements have negative sides?” The point on which all of the participants agree is the privacy issue. Access to private life and personal information are the clearest reasons for avoiding Behavioral Advertisements. 4 participants said that they found the idea of being watched or being followed annoying. The 12th participant said *“While I am searching online, the idea of a company or someone knowing what I am looking for makes me feel annoyed. I do not find it correct when my data are obtained by people I do not know”*, and summarized the concerns of all participants.

As a result, when they were asked “What are your general viewpoints on targeted advertisements, and why?” 9 of the participants said that they found it beneficial, and gave answers showing that their attitudes about these advertisements were positive. 6 of the participants who expressed positive opinions on this question were female. 4 participants, on the other hand, said that these advertisements were unnecessary and disturbing, and they also stated that especially the idea of obtaining the search results by others was disturbing. 8 participants gave double-sided answers expressing that they found it sometimes useful and sometimes boring. The 5th Participant said *“I can shorten the duration of my purchase with the help of these advertisements. In addition, I have the opportunity of comparing the prices”* showing her positive attitude about the Targeted Advertisements. The 20th Participant said *“I am afraid of searching on the Google because of these advertisements. When I search for a product or a service, I encounter these advertisements on every website I visit, and this makes me annoyed”*.

The 27th Participant said *“Their obtaining my personal information and search records make me disturbed, but there are times when I find these advertisements useful, because I think seeing different alternatives and advertisements on my areas of interest is a useful opportunity”* showing that his viewpoints were not unidirectional on this issue.

The majority of the participants think that the advertisers reach their various information they share online together with their browsing history. The question “In your opinion, which of your information is reached by online advertisement networks?” was asked to the participants, and 17 participants answered that the advertisement companies could reach the city they lived in, mail addresses, and genders; 3 participant said that they could also reach their telephone numbers; 1

participant said that they could reach even their names. 5 participants said that the abovementioned information could be reached by companies and in fact they had heard that the companies shared their information with other companies, and even they sold the information to each other.

Discussion and Conclusions

In this paper, the attitudes of the participants about Targeted Advertisements and their awareness levels on this advertisement technique were examined. It was observed that the participants were aware of the benefits of the behavioral targeting both for the consumers and for the companies. It is possible to claim that the issue of privacy is the only problem that poses a handicap for the full adoption of the Targeted Advertisements by consumers. The most distinct finding determined in this study is the fact that although consumers do not deny the benefits of the Targeted Advertisements, and even find them beneficial, they stay at a certain distance to these types of advertisements because of the privacy issues and because the companies obtain their personal information.

Most of the time, consumers find Internet Advertisements disturbing and over-persistent. Generally, not having the control over the Internet Advertisements is the basic issue that disturbs them. They especially stated that Behavioral Targeting was an advantageous method for companies. It was understood that most of the participants did not have much information on Behavioral Targeting techniques. The participants have limited information on how their areas of interest are detected, archived and how their personal information is obtained. It was observed that the female participants were more open-minded about being subjected to advertisements on their areas of interest than the male participants. It was observed that the group with higher-level privacy concerns about targeted advertisements was the males. Consumers have concerns about their information being obtained by companies for Targeted Advertisements, and they also complain about being over-exposed to these types of advertisements. As the last item, although the attitude about Targeted Advertisements is positive in general, privacy concerns damage it.

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From Censorship to Rating System: Negotiations of Power in Thai Film Industry

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Abstract

This is a conceptual paper to analyze the transformation of Thai film censorship in Thailand. The study reviews literature on the history of Thai film industry and film censorship in Thailand. A brief discussion on film censorship is reviewed in the earlier part of this paper. Censorship has been perceived as an obstacle to Thai Film industry. The censorship law in Thailand was changed extensively from Film Act in 1930 to Film and Video Act in 2008. The significant change was the audiences' age restriction. In 2008, it was the first time to introduce rating system to every films distributed in Thailand. However, few films were still prohibited from Thai audiences. The paper examined case studies of contemporary banned films in historical, political, and cultural aspects. A conceptual framework is proposed to examine each film's taboo contents and their controversial issues. Conclusions are drawn that censorship is no longer a tool of absolute power but a way to compromise in order to achieve forms of consensus.

Keywords: Film, movie, film industry, cinema, censor, censorship, Thailand, rating system

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Introduction

Film is widely accepted as a medium with powerful influence among mass media. In 1895, *La Sortie des Usines Lumière (Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory)* of Auguste and Louis Lumière impressed and amazed audiences tremendously. Film as a new technology has become commercial products as well as aesthetic appeals. Consequently, film has been a popular entertainment medium for general public.

Thai film industry

Thai film industry has been passed its best era and its worst era. During 70s and 80s, it was golden days for Thai films, average number of Thai film production was more than 100 films a year. However, in the early 1990s, the domestic production dropped incredibly. From 113 films in 1990, there were only 64 films in 1993. After the introduction of multiplex theaters in 1994 and the government cutback of foregime film import tax to one-third, only 10 baht per meter, in 2001 there were more than 300 multiplex theaters in Bangkok only. Most of the show were Hollywood films, rising from 78 films in 1991 to 223 films in 1999. On the other hand, Thai films constantly decreased to 9 films in 1999. (Chaiworaporn, Anchalee and Adam Knee, 2006)

Fortunately, after reaching the bottom point, Thai film began its recovery stage. There were several factors involved, such as new directors from other media fields, new film graduated directors, government agency of film promotion, and various film festivals. Furthermore, globalization made Thai films move growingly forward to international stages and foregime markets. (Chaiworaporn, Anchalee and Adam Knee, 2006)

Thai Film Censorship

About film censorship, Thai government occasionally controlled pre- and post-production stages of films before the first Film Act in 1930. Thailand was then ruled by Monarchy and the King hold absolute power. The first film starred by Thais but directed by foregimeers was *Suvarna of Siam*. Henry A. MacRae from Universal Studios, the US, was granted permission from King Rama VI to shoot this film, with Royal Railway Department as his facilitator. There was a record of a leading actress's self-censorship. She allowed only a touch at her hands, no other parts. She even prepared a long wood stick to measure the distance during intimacy scenes. Besides, the actress never traveled alone, but she must accompanied with department's staffs and her guardian. (Jumreanluk Tanawangnoi, 2001) It reflected cultural ideologies of women in Thai society as reserving their purity. Women were treated as objects of protection that were weak and dependent in a patriarchy society.

The film *Suvarna of Siam* was censored before it was exhibited. There was a scene about death sentence by beheaded. The shooting was relatively convincing and provoking people around the shooting location. News spread and the committee was set to examine the film. The result was the cut of that scene because they were afraid that foregimeers would thought of Thais as barbarians and cruelty. *Suvarna of Siam* then was considered the first film to be censored cut before its first screening in 1923. A year after the film was shown in the US under the title *Kingdom of Heaven*. However, no record whether the controversial scene was in it or not. Consequently, this film led to censorship system later on. (Jumreanluk Tanawangnoi, 2001)

In the regime of King Rama VII, the film *Um Nat Meud* (Dark Power) was granted permission from the king to screen under the suggestions of unfavorable scenes of prostitute brothels and Chinese secret society (Ung Yee). However, Police department examined the film and then banned it from public showing. The director edited and reshot the film before changing its name to *Cha Na Pan* (Win the Wicked). Though the police did not ban, Bangkokian theaters refused to screen it. Finally, the film was shown only in some small local theaters and cost the director a fortune. (Jumreanluk Tanawangnoi, 2001)

When Thai films presented more explicit erotic scenes, it led to criticism. One of the famous case was the film *Long Tang* (Lost). The film owners sued the newspaper that criticized their movie. The defendant declared that their opinions based on public interest since the film's content offended Thai nation and contradicted Thai moral and value in its explicit love scenes. The case was then dismissed. (Jumreanluk Tanawangnoi, 2001)

The films with national political contents were frequently received particular control. The film *Sri So Phon*, was produced during Thai and Indo-China conflicts. But when it was about to screen, there was no more conflicts. The film was suggested of not compromising with peace. Then it was re-edited and renamed as *Leard Thai* (Thai Blood). (Jumreanluk Tanawangnoi, 2001) The example was very similar to the recent case of *Boundary* which presented lives along Thai-Cambodian border and touched about the conflicts between the two nations.

Film Act 1930

The thought about film control as to control the production and exhibition of films in Thailand was initiated years before Film Act 1930. The early reason was a films as a school for criminals but the newspapers tended to object this idea of censorship. Later, the opinions split into the supporters and the opponents.

The Film Act was originated in the regime of King Rama VI but issued in the regime of King Rama VII. In 1929, the movement for audience's age restriction was introduced for the first time. There were desires to forbid young children, restrict audience's age, permission with guardian's supervision, and ban baby care from theaters which were considered unhygienic. In addition, the film examination prior to screen was requested. Finally, Film Act was approved on 1930 and enacted on 1st April 1931 with the establishment of Film Censorship Board.

In 1932, Thailand was reformed from Absolute Monarchy to Democracy. During that year, Thai films were not produced. The production resumed later under Thai Film Act 1930 that endured uninterruptedly for more than 80 years. During its period, many Thai and foregime films were banned or cut. Mainstream filmmakers then avoided controversial contents and limited their films within few genres of comedy and ghost. The film act was considered an obstacle to the rising of Thai film industry.

Film Act 1930 then became outdated, especially the authorization of absolute control to a government body that was the police department. The curiosity was always about

the inconsistent standards, committees' qualifications, examination process, and challenge to citizen's right and freedom of expression and awareness.

The key interest was about the shift of censorship system to rating system which has been exercised in major western countries such as the US and the UK. Censorship system was considered directly affected imagination and creativity, limited a variety of film contents, and the ban-cut-erase method affected both film business and quality. In addition, censorship restricted the right and freedom of both filmmakers and film audiences as well as obstructed awareness and information access of individuals.

While Thai films struggled along a century, Thailand passed from the revolution of 1932 through World War II. There were several coups and 23 prime ministers. However, the movement for change of Thai Film Act had been exercised continually. Since 1990, many forums hosted by government bodies, such as Public Relation Department and Religions-Art-Culture committees, in collaboration with social groups, private and business sectors, academics, students, and general public, aimed to draft a new film act with the rating system.

Film and Video Act 2008

A new film act was official on 4th March 2008, during the government of the 24th prime minister, and enacted 90 days later, named Film and Video Act 2008. The Ministry of Culture took responsible of film examination, no more police involvement. While drafting, Thai filmmakers hoped for audience's classification to give adults an access to made-for-adult films, at the same time, to protect children from inappropriate materials. The Act classified films into 7 ratings; 1) Support meant that a film enhanced learning and audience's attendants supported, 2) For general audience, 3) Appropriate for 13 up audience, 4) Appropriate for 15 up audience, 5) Appropriate for 18 up audience, 6) No audience under 20 allowed, and 7) Ban from public showing in Thailand.

The major issues went to the first and the last rating. For films rated support, it was like two sides of a coin. One side, it may help supporting film industry to earn more revenues with rating as a promotional tool. On the other hand, rating would become a powerful and influential tool to frame public opinions, to install dominant ideology, even lead to propaganda, and to provoke nationalism against the outer, such as minority, handicapped, or homosexual. Besides, nationalism-theme films as rated support might result in racism among nations and affect international relations.

Especially ban rating, which empowered committees to order change or cut before deciding classification, was considered an heir of the old censorship system and oppose to the learning and freedom of people. In fact, the production or distribution of obscenity or offensive media contents was already forbidden under the Thai Criminal Law about obscenity and pornography or state security, with far more strict punishment, and then ruled by court.

Film examinations board hold high responsibility as a license to control right and freedom of the whole nation. During the age of Film Act 1930, police department appointed the board from police and representatives from professional bodies related

to particular film contents, film and media experts, film academics, film associations, cultural committees, and consumer committees. However, Film and Video Act 2008 stated the board's conditions of 27 persons, divided into 16 government officials tied to their position and 11 non-government officials (except university professors) - composed of 4 of film, video, and television experts and 7 juristic entity agents. The non-government committees were appointed by the Minister, a politician. The call for film examination board to become a free agency, non-government, has not yet been satisfied. The major change was that power to censor already moved from police department to ministry of culture, but nevertheless in government's hands.

Negotiations of Power

Film as a cultural product is considered a part of ideology's mechanism to install frame of thinking and giving meaning to individuals and the world surrounded. There are dominant ideology, alternative ideology and anti-dominant ideology. Some films challenged a boundary of acceptable presentation as well as dominant ideology. Audience was required symptomatic reading beyond what was presented, what was seen, and what was heard.

Saeng Sattawat (Syndromes and a Century) was a film that wrestled with film control system from one act to another act, from censorship to rating system. In 2006, *Syndromes and a Century* was premiered in Venice International Film Festival. It was selected the Best Film of 2006 by *Film Comment*, *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, and *Cinema Scope*. In April 2007 the filmmakers summited *Syndromes and a Century* to Film Control Division, Police Department, in order to ask permission to screen it in Thailand. The board demanded a cut of 4 scenes but Apichartpong the director denied. The film reels were seized and retained at the division since then. However, the filmmaker did not give up. He challenged the power of the board by holding a discussion, signing a petition, and making press conference to call for rating system to replace censorship.

After Film and Video Act 2008 was enacted, Apichartpong decided to appeal to the new film board. The result was quite disappointing when the board asked for the cut of those 4 scenes and other 2 scenes. He consented in order to get the reels back. *Syndromes and a Century (Thailand's Edition)* was screened in 10th April 2008. The director added black scratched footage in replacement of censored scenes to remind audience of the darkness with destruction network and silence. "If the censorship still exists, we shall watch the movie this way," he said. He expected further argument about right of filmmaker as well as that of audience.

Subsequently, two Thai films were banned under Film and Video Act 2008. The first film was *Insects in the Backyard* by Tanvarin Sukapisit. The story was about a transsexual father and his two teenagers. Tanvarin asked for rating of no admission for audience under 20 but the film was rated BAN. *Insects in the Backyard* composed of several taboo contents, such as third-gender, sex, ungrateful-children, drugs, and child prostitutions. The director and leading star refused to make any cut and showed the film at many universities just for "academic purpose" that was an exception according to the law.

The second film was banned titled *Shakespeare Must Die*. It was an independent film, written and directed by Samanrat Kanchanawach (Ing K). Its plot was adapted from the play *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare. The narration of the film was a play in a play, simultaneously. There were 2 parts of stage play and outer contemporary world. The main character was Mekdeth a bureaucrat who overthrown king's power and crowned himself a new king. He obsessed with power and scared of uprising. Then he killed others to uphold his power. The whole story was told through the viewpoint of Boonrod. The irony was that the film was funded by Film Grant of Culture Ministry during Abisit's government, and the film was banned by the very same ministry during Yingluck's government (later government). The board pointed that *Shakespeare Must Die*'s contents might cause disunited among Thais.

Manit the producer showed his stunning that a film about moral, greed, power obsession, and over ambitious was banned in Thailand. The movie's theme was about a power-thirst leader with injustice power was then overthrown. It was a film of political criticism that was taboo issue in Thailand at that time.

Following the ban of the film *Shakespeare Must Die*, the filmmakers filmed a documentary film *Censors Must Die* showing the battle of the filmmakers during the examination process which was full of secrets, confidential matters, and mysteries. *Censors Must Die* received a permission to screen without examination due to its factual film footage.

The last example of controversial films was *Pra Cha Tip Pa Thai (Paradoxcracy)*, by Pen-Ek Rattanareung and Passakorn Pramoolvong. This film used simple technique of interview similar to television documentary but this kind of contents have never presented on Thai television. The film outline was according to timeline from 1932 Reform, the Boverndej Rebel, World War, King Rama VIII, October 1973, May 1982, and present.

What was interesting about the film was not only its political contents which never expected to attract audience, but its presentation reflected the censorship system or film examination process. The first was to make the absence to be seen. The director showed moving images of persons' talking without sound. Besides, its English subtitles were marked black. It reflected Thai's democracy that there were still the unspeakable. The second was the jumped absence. There were a long period of time in Thai history that was opted out of the film. The third was interviewees without names. Although the film was narrated by an interview after an interview, their names were mentioned only once in the end credit. It was a diversity of opinions above conflicts. "What Thais should know the most, but know the least," repeated by the filmmakers.

Conclusion

Economically, film industry gains tremendous revenues. It was one of products and services of creative culture industry of every country, including Thailand. From case studies, directors did not take censorship or rating system for granted. They challenged power of censors as well as a boundary of acceptable presentation. While battling with the structure, they also negotiated with themselves. We can assume that censorship is no longer a tool of absolute power. The filmmakers have begun to challenge the power of the censor gradually, even darkness or silence can deliver the messages untold. In the world of globalization, audience plays an important role to drive the change. Negotiations of power is a way to compromise the conflicts in order to achieve some forms of consensus among every party, not only in a censorship room but also inside an individual, as in self-censorship as well.



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My Own Little Television: Implications of the Conflation of Internet Broadcasting and Television Broadcasting in the Korean Context

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Abstract

Internet broadcasting jockey (BJs) has been a lucrative occupation in Korea, but it has not necessarily been a legitimate job. However, the recent boom in independent internet broadcasting shows spearheaded by an online video streaming service AfreecaTV has brought these shows and the BJs into the limelight. Not only do some of the popular BJs earn millions of dollars, but they also garner fandom that surpasses television and movie stars. Whereas the line between these internet celebrity BJs and more traditional type of celebrities (TV, movie) have been clear with neither breaching into the others' realms, the delineation has been less clear recently. Some BJs move into television and some television celebrities are moving into BJ-ing. To go one step further, in 2015, a major Korean television broadcasting corporation decided to create a television show that imitates the structure of internet broadcasting. What is the implication of this increasing ambiguity between television shows and internet broadcasting? In the past, the merit of internet broadcasting has been the instant accessibility and interaction between the BJs and their viewers as well as its relative freedom from censure compared to television. It was connoted as the freedom of average viewer to become the producer of media content. Is this power dynamic rapidly changing with the conflation of internet broadcasting and television broadcasting? I will analyze Korean television and internet broadcasting systems and weave my findings with the theories on media power dynamic to take a stance on the implication of this movement.

Keywords: internet broadcasting, television, broadcasting jockeys, Korea, censorship, sexuality

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Introduction

Television and the internet are converging more than ever before. Through various websites like Hulu or Netflix you can catch up to television shows through your computer. In Korea, there has been a movement to reach a whole new level of convergence: a show is shot with a webcam and broadcast live on the internet with live feedback from the audience through internet chatting box, and then the same content is edited and broadcast on television a few weeks after it already aired on the internet. I argue that this collaboration between webcam streaming sites and traditional television broadcasting corporations are important areas of study for media studies as well as for gender studies because not only will this phenomenon give us a vision into what media would look like in the near future but also because this provides a chance in which sexual minorities or women who have not been equally represented in Korean traditional media can find a way to assert themselves more in the mainstream pop culture scene.

21st Century Media

Screens dominate our lives; it surrounds us in all shapes and forms. Compared to the 20th century when the only available screens were movie screens and television, nowadays, there are smartphones, laptops and any electronic device in between that we carry around. This leads to a decreased influence of one screen on our lives. According to Daniel Chamberlain, any entertainment screen in contemporary society is just one of many screens competing to occupy our attention (Chamberlain, 2010). However, this is not to say that all screens serve the same function and have the same nuances. In fact, each screen is understood to have different functions and even individual screens are perceived differently depending on which country you are looking at. A case in point is how computers are regarded in comparison to other screens. While the U.S views computers as a form of entertainment, from the beginning, computers were hailed as educational tools in Korea (Kang, 2014). Moreover, contrary to other entertainment screens, computer screens are deemed private.

Matter of privacy in relation to computers is an interesting topic in thinking about multiple screens in our lives because some screens are deemed social ones while others like computers are widely perceived to be private: “Whilst television is most commonly associated with the family space of the communal living room, the webcam is strongly connected with the even more personal space of the bedroom and the lone viewer – further re-enforcing its connection with the private and the extremely personal” (Creeber, 2011, p. 597). I agree with Creeber to the extent that the way television is utilized is much more social than the way computers are used. The physical distance between the user and the screen is different for television and computers. For television, you are not inches away from the screen; we watch it leaning back on a sofa several feet away from the television set and it is controlled by a remote control. There is rarely any tactile relationship between the television set and the audiences’ body primarily because it is unnecessary, and secondarily because in a group viewing setting, one person being too close to the screen may hinder other people’s viewing pleasures. On the other hand, the user is only a few inches if at most a feet away from the computer screen. There is a lot of physical relationship between the computer and the user. In the more modern computers, the screens are made as touch screens; the user can navigate her way through the screen with the tips of her fingers. Even if there is no direct touching between the user and the computer screen,

the user uses mouse and keyboards that are connected to the computer to make the screen show what the user wants it to show.

To this extent, although I agree with Creeber's argument that televisions are more social and computers/webcams more private, I disagree that it is merely because of its placement in the home. His argument only applies to people who are living with other family members, while for people living by themselves, the location of the television set and the computer does not matter much because you can get as much privacy wherever televisions and computers are located. Nonetheless, webcams are much more private in the way it is used than the way televisions are used. Just like keyboards and mouse that dictate what is shown on the computer screen, as an accessory to the computer screen, webcams also dictate what gets shown on screen. However, whereas keyboards and mouse are only able to pull up preexisting images (unless you use the mouse to draw something on the computer), webcams directly influence what gets shown on screen. The user captures his or her image through the webcam and their image is reflected back to them through the computer screen for themselves and others that they are interacting with to see. This function of the webcam and the way it is used in making UCCs (user created contents) in Korea is what I will discuss later on in the essay.

New Approach to the Media

The multiple screens that I described above are not merely competing with each other for attention; they are also converging with each other. In what Henry Jenkins calls convergence culture and Fang-Chih Iren Yang and Ping Shaw call interreferentiality, media in the 21st century no longer stand alone as separate entities (Jenkins, 2006; Shaw, 2013). To extrapolate on this concept, television and the internet as well as radio and movies reference each other and influence each other greatly. This interaction happens because each communication medium is trying to stay relevant and without referencing other communication outlets, one cannot stay relevant as an isolated entity. This inadvertently provides the audience with the potential to gain unprecedented agency in the information circuit. As Jenkins accurately expresses, "The current diversification of communication channels is politically important because it expands the range of voices that can be heard: though some voices command greater prominence than others, no one voice speaks with unquestioned authority" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 219). For example, some breaking news and videos emerge through YouTube videos or Twitter posts rather than major network news. This leads to online users getting more credence than ever before in this convergence culture. The Twitter information they posted online or a YouTube video of an incident that the shot with their smartphone can become something that is referenced in major network news programs or newspapers.

This theory on convergence culture and interreferentiality of the media is important in this essay because I will discuss two Korean television programs that took convergence to another level. Entertainment television shows Yetti TV and My Little Television are two shows that actively converge the webcam UCCs with television. Webcams have been popular in Korea for quite a while. A site named Afreeca TV and Daum TV Pot are some examples of sites where live webcam shows take place. The genre of the webcams range from educational and political channels to more bizarre ones such as ones where you can watch a person devour a huge meal during the course of several hours. There are even webcams where sexually explicit activities

take place in the form of live pornography. Regardless of the genre, the content creators who are performing on the webcam can actively interact with the audience through live chats. Especially in the case of Afreeca TV content creators, because they earn their pay through money that the viewers send them through live chats, the creators are in a way, forced to interact with the audience through the live chat by reading some comments, answering questions, and eating or cooking food that the audience requested them to eat. After the live streaming sessions are over, these webcam shows do not just get erased; they are archived on the internet through fan activity. As a matter of fact, if you search online in sites like YouTube, full record of the shows can be found. How and why does this happen? Jenkins argues that it is because of the spreadable character of the media in contemporary society.

Spreadable media is one similar to the concept of “viral” content except it gives more power to the audience than the word “viral”. Viral makes it sound as though the media contents spread by itself whereas spreadable media argues that a certain content becomes popularized because of the actions of all the audience (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013). This brings about the issue of piracy to the forefront so we are at the juncture in time when we are stuck in between the old ways of the media and the new ways of the media (aka spreadable media). Although various fan activities including piracy indicate that the old way can no longer satisfy market needs, the mega corporations are still trying to hold onto the old way of measuring viewership and viewing the audience as the passive mass. This is not because the companies are adverse to change but because they do not know how to change and nobody at this point knows what to expect from this change and how to benefit from it. While other companies are undecided as to how they should deal with newfound spreadability and convergence of the media, the companies and the people involved in making the two television shows My Little Television and Yetti TV took matters into their own hands to profit from convergence and spreadability.

Convergence of TV and the Internet

There are two Korean television shows that launched in 2015 which actively incorporated webcams. Yetti TV, which is broadcast on television on Friday nights at 1:30am, for 40 minutes is based off of a live streaming of the show on Wednesdays at 3:00pm on YouTube, Daum TV Pot, Afreeca TV and MyK, all of which are webcam user created content websites that allow direct interaction between the people performing in front of the camera and the audience through online chatting system (Ko, 2015). The televised show will be an edited version of the live streamed broadcast. It is a show that introduces the audience to interesting webcam videos/stars of the week. The two hosts of the show are webcam celebrities who have twelve hundred thousand and eight hundred thousand subscribers on YouTube and Afreeca TV. The two hosts and the people who participate in the creation of the show are what one would call content creators who are a part of the MCN business (Multi Channel Networks). MCN is a media business model where they combine individual content creators on YouTube or other UCC websites so that the content creators can maximize on their profit as well as have a professional system within which to create quality content. In a way, MCN is a management system within which individual content creators rely on to make money and to heighten their recognition in the internet community. Thus, the motivation of the show Yetti TV, according to its website, is to showcase UCC celebrities whom average television viewers may not

have heard of and to familiarize the viewers with the UCC and webcam aspect of the internet.

On a similar note, My Little Television is also a television show that is based on an edited version of a live broadcast of the show that happens on Daum TV Pot once every two weeks on Sundays at 7:30pm. The television air time is Saturday 11:15pm which is one of the prime time broadcasting hours in Korea (Park, 2015). Whereas Yetti TV, because of its time slot, does not garner a whole lot of attention from mainstream media, My Little Television's live webcam broadcast has at least 153,465 people tuned into it and the televised show ranks 10th overall rating among all the television shows broadcast in Korea with 7.8% rating.¹ Contrary to Yetti TV which focuses on creating new stars, My Little Television's content creators are well-known celebrities ranging from actresses, magicians, chefs, to authors and artists. Similar to Yetti TV, My Little Television also has direct interaction with the audience during the live streaming of the show on the internet through the online chatting system. In the edited televised version of the show, a few of the chats get picked out from the endless stream of chats on the chat room and gets introduced through captions.

For both of the shows, the online chat records officially disappear after the live streaming ends (unless the fans illegally copy the live shows with its active chat box). What gets recorded are the few chats that the television program directors deem to be appropriate enough to be introduced and edited into the television show itself. This is a case in point of why some people worry about the convergence of the internet with television. In his book, Henry Jenkins argues that traditional media is still more powerful than the new emerging media (Jenkins, 2006). Even if traditional media posits itself to be interactive, interactivity is limited and the extent to which one has interactivity is structured by the designer so that the audience do not become too powerful. Jenkins calls for our vigilance over what aspect of the new media "gets sacrificed, compromised, or co-opted by media companies as part of this process of mainstreaming the activities and interests of cult audiences" (Jenkins et al., 2013, p. 151). One of the perks of webcam shows is the direct interaction between the performer and the audience as well as the fact that anybody can be heard either by posting their thoughts on the chat box or creating their own webcam show. However, during the incorporation of the webcam show format into that of a television show, interactivity and equal opportunity for everybody to be heard by the public disappears.

Although webcams and UCCs are popular in Korea, they are by no means mainstream entertainment to the extent that televisions are. Therefore, within the small niche of the webcam shows' fan base, debates and discussions that cannot happen on mainstream media such as topics of sex, gender, and politics as well as religion used to occur aggressively. Moreover, overtly sexual shows portraying half naked women hosts, as well as shows hosted by transgender folks, and cross-dressers or other sexual minorities who are not represent on television screens found the place they were accepted and can express themselves through the webcam shows. However, all these "deviant" aspects of the webcam shows are weeded out in the process of it collaborating with television shows and becoming mainstreamed. The television producers exert their power to whitewash webcam shows and to portray it as benign extension of television without considering the ramifications it may have on the sexual minorities or the "deviant other" who may either feel excluded from this larger

movement of collaboration or no longer feel like the webcam shows are safe spaces in which they can present themselves and not be ostracized.

I argue that this mainstreaming process is closely tied to gender and sexuality issues. The number of women performers who have a steady presence in prime time Korean entertainment television has hit a low point. Apart from a few women celebrities, guest appearances in an episode, or a holiday special episode of the show, there are very few places for women entertainers on primetime television entertainment shows nowadays; it is dominated by male celebrities. Contrary to this television phenomenon, some of the most popular webcam performers are women and there seems to be an equal domination of the market by male and female webcam performers. Moreover, in terms of sexuality, there is only one television celebrity who openly came out as gay and is still able to appear on shows. Even he had to take several years off from acting and performing on television because no broadcasting companies wanted him to appear on their shows. Because of this attitude, there are very few shows that depict sexual minorities on television. However, in individual channel webcam sites like Afreeca TV, there are quite a number of transgender or cross-dressing performers who gain popularity. Needless to say, in the process of the webcam broadcasting collaborating with broadcasting corporations to make television shows, all this diversity is swept under the roof. My Little Television show has had more male performers on than female ones which goes with the current mainstream trend of depicting all-male or predominantly-male shows.

Despite these limitations of interactive television shows there is a potential that this collaboration between television and the internet may bring about some innovation in the way copyright laws are enforced and the way entertainment corporations treat its fans. What I mean by this is that traditional media corporations have been and still are hesitant about what to make of all the fan activities online such as parody videos, fan-made music videos, and other types of fan art that are borderline copyright infringements (Sandvoss, 2005). Although they are appreciative of fans who love their television shows, they cannot decide whether letting people pirate and spread their shows on the internet actually helps them profit or whether these fan activities are actually detrimental to the company's economic success. Even though some scholars go as far as to say that fan activities like the ones cited above are the things that actually keep media companies going in this era of spreadable and convergent media, not many traditional entertainment companies are ready to take the leap of faith in fans (Lothian, 2015).

The above two television shows are, in a way, actually embracing the assumption of piracy by having two separate broadcasting time. There is always a risk of the online live streaming version of the show being copied and spread online days before the show gets edited and aired on television. In other traditional shows with only one broadcasting time on television, spoiling pits producers against fans with knowledge being the object that each side fights to get: "Spoiling is an adversarial process—a contest between the fans and the producers, one group trying to get their hands on the knowledge the other is trying to protect" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 43). This is tied to revenues because most television programs profit through advertisements. The theory is that the more spoilers and pirated copies of the show floating about the internet, that less people are going to watch the actual show that is funded by advertisers.

However, in these two shows cited above, it is inevitable that there will be spoiling and an enormous risk of piracy. Instead of putting all their effort into preventing the inevitable, the producers go the other direction: they inundate the web with many versions of the television show. Especially in the case of My Little Television, there are official clips of untelevised scenes from the live broadcast, as well as exclusive interviews with cast members, and official clips of the edited and televised version of the shows flooding the internet. Ironically, (although further research needs to be done on this matter), because there are so many spoiler video clips online before the show airs on television, there seems to be less pirated videos of the edited televised version of the show floating around the internet. Whereas a brief search of other popular entertainment shows bring up dozens of pirated copies of the televised shows on YouTube or other search engines that is not necessarily the case with My Little Television or Yetti TV. I do not know the full extent as to how these two shows get funded and how their contracts with advertisers work. Moreover, I am not saying that these shows let piracy just happen; I am arguing that instead of confining the medium of transport to the television, the producers of the show incorporate the internet as yet another medium through which they can get their shows to be seen. Although further research is necessary, by the looks of how they navigate the internet fandom, it seems as though they are moving to change the way traditional show producers treated fans (as pariahs).

Advertisement tactics are changing with time. Previously it was all about placing advertisements before, in between, and after shows. Now, the companies are incorporating the products into the shows rather than have their own separate commercials in between programs (Boddy, 2004). Perhaps the above two television programs are an indication that television and marketing tactics will change even further in the near future. Whether this trend would be more empowering or less so for the average fans and audience of television is still up for debate. Nonetheless, in light of Henry Jenkins', argument that piracy is not actually about fans being unethical but about companies unable to satisfy customers (Jenkins et al., 2013), the above two shows are showing an example of how both the fans and the companies can benefit from a television program.

What Does the Future Hold for UCC?

In the above section, I have argued that the convergence between internet shows and television shows has had both a positive and a negative outcome from a media perspective. While it suggests a potential change in the way fans are understood and treated in media market, the two television/internet shows mentioned above seem to take away or erase the space in which women content creators were equal to men and sexual minorities could gain popularity and acceptance. Does this mean that the convergent media culture may not hold a subversive potential? I argue that it could actually be gender subversive in multiple ways.

First, as I have mentioned above, online broadcasting has been a relatively liberal space where people who cannot find footing in traditional media were able to find their niche. Moreover, production-wise, each performer acts on his or her own agenda because online broadcasting is an individual production system, not a collective one. This leads to sexual minorities and women being able to portray themselves online in ways that break stereotypes and undermine norms. Ien Ang says that positive portrayal is not that important when you consider that fantasy plays a role in people's

interaction with visual entertainment (Ang, 2007). I tend to agree with her except that in Korean media, there is almost no portrayal of sexual minorities at all, and in my view, having no portrayal is worse than having a bad portrayal to argue against and raise awareness. In this sense, the television-internet collaboration and the attention it brings to the webcam broadcasting culture could lead to more awareness of gender and sexual orientation issues that have previously been ignored in mainstream Korean media. This potential has not come to fruition yet; the above two television shows still adhere to the larger male-oriented trend of mainstream media with little depiction of sexual minorities. However, just because what can happen is not happening does not mean that it can never happen. Therefore, I argue that more feminist scholars should delve into this realm of convergent broadcasting to figure out a way that such liberating potential of convergence culture can actually come into being without stopping at merely being a potential.

Second, I believe that the different way that they market and interact with online fans may broaden the scope of copyright and fair use so that laws that supported male fan art more than that of women's become more gender neutral. Coppa Francesca and Rebecca Tushnet points out that laws like the YouTube content ID and Digital Millennium Copyright Act inadvertently police women fans' way of self-expression such as fan-made videos more than male fans art like parodic remix (Coppa & Tushnet, 2011). The way the show *My Little Television* goes about navigating the internet is different from traditional way that media interacted with its audience. Rather than just focusing on policing the web for copyright infringements, they provide an excess of clips of the show with web exclusive clips so that there is less need for people to pirate the shows. They are taking heed to internet fandom's needs and trying to satisfy it instead of labeling it as abnormal and illegal. Therefore, perhaps this collaborative show is an indication or proof for change in the relationship between media corporations and fans that may inadvertently bring about gender neutrality in permissible fan activities.

Although some scholars are doubtful about pop culture becoming a medium for feminism, others like Sarah Bennett Weiser argues that just because something is a part of mainstream culture does not mean it can no longer be subversive (Banet-Weiser, 2007, p. 207). I agree with Banet-Weiser but we must also take into account that the narrative of neutrality and objectivity that runs throughout mainstream media dissuade minorities from challenging the norms set by the dominant culture (Noble, 2013). Therefore, what we as scholars should focus on in media and gender studies is the "neoliberalism's residuals" (Chen, 2013). The people in the category of "residuals" are people who do not have the skills or the resources to make themselves heard, such as older women, women of color, sexual minorities, and the poor. By focusing on these groups of people and their interest during this tumultuous period of convergence culture, perhaps by the end of this period, the people who were unheard and unseen in the media in the previous decades can have more prominence and stake in the formation of mainstream culture.

Conclusion

It is difficult to surmise the path that media and entertainment will take in the future because it is a fast changing market. However, what we know now is that we are living in an era of convergent and interreferential media age. In this essay, I analyzed two Korean television shows that use the traditional broadcasting corporations and television as well as the webcam technology and the internet as a mechanism for creating and distributing entertainment programs.

I argued that even though it is adhering to the standards set by the traditional media, this phenomenon of collaboration between the old and the new media has a potential of subverting the power dynamics between media corporations and fans as well as the societal gender and sexual norms. So far, the shows haven't lived up to their subversive potential in that they still have limited interaction with the audience with the traditional media showing its power over the new media and its audience. Moreover, it goes along with the current Korean entertainment television trend of having predominantly male cast and only a few female ones. Even though the webcam shows themselves have approximately equivalent number of successful female and male performers as well as a significant number of queer content creators, this diversity does not get translated into the television shows. However, I suggest that there is still potential for current transition period in media from separate screens to convergent screens to bring about more diversity amongst performers and power to the audience. More scholars in both media studies and gender studies need to focus on such phenomenon to figure out what way the entertainment media needs to go for everyone to benefit.

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¹ For more information, visit <http://www.tnms.tv/rating/default.asp>





Covering Genocide Trials: The Discursive Position of Genocide Victims In Cambodia

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Abstract

In the Cambodian society victims of the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) are taking up an uncommon discursive position. Anyone who has suffered from the Khmer Rouge is considered to be a victim including former Khmer Rouge members who were brutally disadvantaged by their own party. Within this context perpetrators can also be considered victims.

This discourse, although laudable at first sight, generates and disguises negative effects. In the current Cambodian political and business system former Khmer Rouge members still fill powerful positions, maintaining an unjust kleptocratic structure of corruption, a deep rich/poor divide, and the seizure of natural resources. Fitting in wider Cambodian contexts the discourse on victimhood denies the actuality of injustice that is a continuum of the Khmer Rouge era.

A discourse analysis, based on the work of Laclau & Mouffe (1985), of the exhibition in former torture prison S-21 ('Tuol sleng genocide memorial') demonstrates this oppressive discourse.

Keywords: Cambodia, Khmer Rouge/Red Khmer, Khmer Rouge Tribunal, S-21, Discourse analysis, Ernesto Laclau & Chantal Mouffe

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It is forbidden to kill; therefore all murderers are punished unless they kill in large numbers and to the sound of trumpets.

Voltaire (1771)

Introduction

Cambodia has a violent and regrettable past. The absolute nadir is the killing of approx. 20% of its population (1.7 mln deaths, although the estimates vary) during the 1975-1979 Khmer Rouge regime (Kiernan, 2005, p. 458. Heuveline, 2001. Yale Genocide Program). At a superficial level Cambodia is coming to terms with the past: in former torture prison S-21 photographs of murdered people are displayed, and the five highest leaders (after Pol Pot) of the Khmer Rouge have been brought to court. In the 'Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia', better known as 'Khmer Rouge Tribunal', they face charges of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide (ECCC, NS/RKM/1004/006). Unique in the history of international tribunals victims can participate in the trial as 'civil parties'.

This seemingly open acknowledgment of victims (at least: survivors) is in contrast to their actual position in society. A discourse analysis, based on the work of Laclau & Mouffe (1985, 1990), of the exhibition in former torture prison S-21 reveals not only the submissive position of victims but also the oppressive political system that maintains injustice.

S-21 / Tuol sleng

Since the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime the former torture prison S-21 operates as the main museum preserving the memory of the past (nowadays also known as 'Tuol sleng genocide memorial' – see picture 1). But it does so in a typical way. The museum was set up by the Vietnamese conquerors that expelled the Khmer Rouge to the North-West periphery of the country. Central to the remembrance became the atrocities of the murderous regime and the idea that 'everyone' was a victim of the murderous regime. For example a tortured prisoner who used to be a member of the Khmer Rouge or a former Khmer Rouge executioner who was forced to commit his crimes to postpone his own death. Photographs of former inmates make up the majority of the exhibition, as can be seen in picture 2.



Picture 1: S-21 / Tuol sleng genocide memorial



Picture 2: Photographs of former inmates on display.

Adding to the idea that ‘everyone’ was a victim is the shock that of the approximately 14,000 prisoners only an estimated 12 survived S-21: without exception all the people in the photo’s were killed as a result of their imprisonment. But no matter how much photographs reveal, there is also always something that is not part of the image. In the words of Susan Sontag: ‘... to photograph is to frame, and to frame is to exclude’ (Sontag, 2003, p. 46). This raises the question what is not shown in the images.

Laclau & Mouffe's (1985, 1990) method of discourse analysis can help bring to light what is obscured by these photographs.

To understand identifiable points of reference that give coherence to a discourse, Laclau & Mouffe introduce the concept of 'nodal points':

[...] order – or structure – no longer takes the form of an underlying essence of the social; rather, it is an attempt – by definition unstable and precarious – to act over that 'social', to *hegemonize* it. [...] the social always exceeds the limits of the attempts to constitute a society. At the same time, however, that 'totality' does not disappear. If the suture it attempts is ultimately impossible, it is nevertheless possible to proceed to a relative fixation of the social through the institution of nodal points (Laclau & Mouffe, 1990, pp. 90-91).

Here, nodal points refer to the absence of absolute fixation of meaning, opening up possibilities for analysis what is not shown in the S-21 photographs. It is the 'logic of equivalence' that equates discourses ($A=B=C$) and excludes an 'outside' (D): $A=B=C \neq D$. The 'constitutive outside' is both needed to construct the 'logic of equivalence' as well as a threat as it prevents absolute fixation of meaning. So, what discourses are equated at S-21 and what is the 'outside'?

Analysis

Logic of equivalence

Two main discourses are at work in S-21. The first is that of victimhood.

[*description/analysis of photo's*]

Only a minority of the photo's are accompanied by text in the form of short stories of the few surviving victims. A tortured prisoner, for instance, tells about his former membership of the Khmer Rouge and his motives for joining the party. Also, there are photo's and text of the former S-21 killers. One of them states he wanted to leave the torture prison and the accompanying killing field, but that he was forced to do his murderous work on penalty of death.

The discourse of 'everybody being a victim', including former perpetrators, is grounded in a historical context. During the Khmer Rouge era enemies were thought to be everywhere: from opposing military forces to both high and low placed persons in own ranks, causing a widespread suspicion so that potentially everyone was a suspect and could be tortured before being killed. One of the reasons for this is the Maoist doctrine of 'permanent revolution': the struggle is perpetual. But where in Maoist China, due to a Confusion belief, people could be 'reeducated' in prison camps, Cambodian culture did not subscribe to the idea of a second change in life: an enemy had to be eliminated.

The second discourse at work in S-21 is that of the visitor. Although there are a few photo's of former perpetrators, S-21 can mostly be visited from the perspective of victims. Besides their photo's their cell blocks can be seen, just like a room (covered in blood stains) where high ranking Khmer Rouge members were tortured. In this

sense current day S-21 is like Auschwitz concentration camp: visitors take up the discursive position of victims when visiting the exhibition (in Auschwitz one cannot enter the guard's watch tower, just like in S-21 one cannot visit the guard's dining hall, etc). At S-21 this can partly be attributed to the Vietnamese conquerers who have founded the exhibition in line with their political interests.

The discourses at work in S-21 are those of 'everyone is a victim' (A) and of the visitor (B), who are connected through the logic of equivalence: A=B. When entering S-21 as a visitor one is also entering a very specific discourse of victimhood. But every chain of equivalence has a constitutive outside: something that is both necessary for and a threat to the equivalence.

Outside

As mentioned before, according to Susan Sontag '... to photograph is to frame, and to frame is to exclude'. So, what is not shown in (the photographs of) S-21?

One of S-21's tourguides lays the pathway to revealing what is excluded from the exhibition. A victim from the Khmer Rouge regime herself (both her parents were killed, she was forced into slavery and beaten regularly) she is bitter about the way the remembrance of the murderous era is constructed. In a history book with pictures (Dy, 2007) she pointed out the position of the reigning King of Cambodia at that time: he was present in some Khmer Rouge situations (e.g. at a train ride) but he is not depicted in the photographs. Frames are shaped in such a way that the King is literally excluded from the image.

Former King (from 1941 to 1955 and again from 1993 to 2004) Norodom Sihanouk has had a complex relationship with the Khmer Rouge: he at one point lent his support to the party but was also placed under house arrest when he resigned as the Head of State of Democratic Kampuchea (as Cambodia was known during the Khmer Rouge years). This complex relationship is not part of the public discourse of remembrance of the Khmer Rouge era.

If we take this a step further, we also notice an absence the depiction of current political and business leaders in Cambodia who were once connected to the Khmer Rouge. Former Khmer Rouge member Hun Sen is the current Prime Minister and one of the longest serving political leaders in the world – neither the fact that he was Battalion Commander of the Eastern region is recognized nor the related history of other current political and business leaders.

A lot is disguised from the discourses concerning the remembrance of Khmer Rouge era. But what makes up the discursive 'constitutive outside'? The atrocities of the 1970's are localised in both 'the past' and the 'top leaders' of the Khmer Rouge. Nowhere in S-21 is there a bridge to the present: injustice is limited to the 1975-1979 period.

[description/analysis of photo's/top leaders]

As the tourguides bitterly stated, the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, established in 1997, does not bring former Khmer Rouge leaders to justice except for five top leaders.

Conclusion

An exhibition, just like a photograph, both shows and disguises perspectives on the subject of portrayal – in other words: it constructs discourses of remembrance. In S-21 a chain of equivalence is created that resonates Cambodian culture. First, a curious discourse of victimhood comes into play through the subjugation of every Khmer Rouge era Cambodian (victims and perpetrators alike, except a handful of top Khmer Rouge leaders) to the nodal point of ‘victim’. Second, the discourse of ‘visitor’ is constructed as empathizing with victims (excluding for instance discourse on knowledge of political circumstances, military actions, and the 1970’s international context). These two discourses are then equated, but only through a constitutive outside: top leaders are portrayed as ultimate masterminds that held the country hostage (even though the Khmer Rouge were active until 1996 and had a seat at the United Nations until 1993), disguising the involvement of present day political and business leaders in the Khmer Rouge and thereby obscuring the actuality of injustice that is still part of Cambodia, but now in the form of corruption, a deep rich/poor divide, and the seizure of natural resources.

A constitutive outside is, as Laclau and Mouffe stress, always a necessity (in order to construct a chain of equivalence) and a threat: it can potentially break up the status quo. In the case of Cambodia’s remembrance of its Khmer Rouge past the country could merit from new discourses entering the public domain.

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The Role of Community-Based Media in Strengthening and Promoting Community Identity: A Case Study in the Thai Public Sphere

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Abstract

This paper analyses the role of community-based media in the Riverside community, an old and scenic location in Chanthaburi, Eastern Thailand. After being razed by conflagration and flood, the community has been regenerated by promoting itself as a cultural tourism destination. This community has started to produce its own media, and to use a wide range of media to promote itself to the nation. Exploring the role of locally produced community media will reinforce the idea that community media has provided much more effective communication channels for the local people.

This study aims to reconceptualise Habermas's (1989) concept of the single public sphere which represents the dominant mass media. While the mainstream media acts decisively in dealing with issues relating to subordinating groups in every part of the world, community-based media is already deeply implicated in representing the multiple public spheres, which is more preferable in a community environment. By using participatory action research as a methodology, this research is strengthened through a rich understanding of the community-based media on its concentration on planning, doing, observing and reflecting.

Keywords: community-based media, Thai, the public sphere

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Introduction

In media and communication studies, allowing people access to media and other information and communication technology (ICT), and then encouraging them to create their own local content, those people are able to become 'active citizens' (Rodriguez, 2004). People, then, are empowered by the media. This paper is a study of the role of community-based media operated in a rural community and how these media are used to strengthen and promote community identity in Thailand.

By community-based media, I refer to all participatory media tools that provide individuals or groups whose voices are excluded from mainstream media, with access to the tools of media distribution and production. The paper provides an appropriate context to analyse community-based media's role in constructing alternative and discursive spaces for the subordinating people.

Case study: The Riverside community

The case study is one of several research designs frequently used in media and mass communication research. It is chosen because it is the best method of in-depth examinations of groups of people. As Bill (2010) asserts, a case study is a unit of human activities in the real world. It also allows researcher to explore in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, or one or more individuals (Creswell, 2003).

The Riverside community is a 120-year-old town. It is located on the first street of Chanthaburi province which was historically called 'Chantebon' by western people. According to the Tourism Authority of Thailand's (TAT) 2015 Discover Thainess campaign, Chanthaburi is among the 12 provinces that are renowned for their unique history, culture and lifestyle. Chanthaburi is a province of Thailand with an area of around 6,338 square kilometres. The province is located in the east of Thailand, and on the border with Cambodia. Its neighbouring provinces are Trat in the east, Rayong and Chonburi in the West, Chachoengsao, and Sa Kaeo in the north. The main river of the province is the Chanthaboon River where the Riverside community is located.

As a part of Chanthaburi, the Riverside community was a centre of agriculture, transportation, and both national and international, commercial activities. Being located parallel to the Chanthaburi River, the main river of the province, water transportation is the main reason for the region's characteristic cultural diversity emanating from western countries, Vietnam and China. This cultural diversity is particular evident in the architecture of the area. With a Chinese wooden townhouse, and Thai-Chinese, European and Sino-Portuguese buildings adapted to the Thai style, this community has an ability to attract many tourists from various parts of the world. In the past, the Riverside community took advantage of its prime location next to the main river. The community gradually grew from a small market into a real commercial hub where the Chinese and Vietnamese were traders and merchants, and people could buy practically everything including gems and jewellery. As a result, the government offices and many markets were established within the area.

However, when the district was badly affected by a natural disaster like the flooding in 1999, many community residents began to move out of the area. Most of the important features such as government offices and the market were also relocated in other places. Many shops were closed, houses were abandoned and this once-bustling

neighbourhood, now inhabited mostly by elderly people, took on a desolate appearance.

In 2009, the Ministry of Commerce had projects focusing on rural and community development in every province of Thailand. It was to improve two important aspects of the communities: restoring retail shops, and developing culturally-based commerce and tourism. Thus, the community cooperated with the Office of Commercial Affairs and Chanthaburi started to promote both culture and historic buildings, and to preserve and restore local architecture. A group of community members set up as an association under the name of 'The Chanthaboon Riverside Community Development Committee', with the vision 'Culture leads trade', which mainly focuses on cultural preservation and community development instead of commercial activities. This was a starting point of cultural tourism along the Chanthaboon River by using this community as a central spot.

Method

There are approximately 100 households in the Riverside community. The population number of the community is around 250. My survey of a 100 participants from 100 households in this found that 59 per cent of the participants are aged over 50 years old. People who are at the age of 36-50 years old accounted for 24 per cent of the interviewees. Twelve per cent are 26-35 years old, and only 5 per cent are youth aged 18-25 years old. These age representations appear consistent with the general breakdown of age groups within the town and illustrate the figures on the demographics of the Riverside community.

The public sphere and its revisiting

This paper utilizes the notion of *the public sphere* based on the work of Habermas's (1989) and others (Fraser, 1990; Dahlgren, 1991; Calhoun, 1992). The concept of the public sphere was originally elaborated in the book, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, in 1962. According to Habermas (1989, p. 49):

By 'the public sphere' we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions – about matters of general interest.

Habermas demonstrates media as being within the sphere of private individuals who come together as a public to engage in a debate over the state's rules. However, his idea have been criticized and controversially debated. I feel that Nancy Fraser and others' critiques and suggestions of the concept of multiple spheres, which will be discussed in the following section, seem to be more realistic to today's complex media environment.

Fraser's work, *Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy*, was firstly published in 1992 after the publication of the *Structural transformation* in English. She states that the concept of the public sphere is not adequate for the current forms of democracy which exist in late capitalist societies (Fraser, 1990). Fraser (1990) denies that there should be no restriction on topics debated and neither should there be a guarantee that the outcome of such debates will be for the public good. A single public sphere does not provide a space for subordinated groups in which they can discuss their own ideas and assumptions about the world. Consequently, the idea of a multiplicity of publics is much more preferable to the concept of a single public sphere (Fraser, 1990) with each sphere likely to overlap to some extent.

Examples of other critiques are followings. Calhoun (1992) points out an absence of subordinate groups, including women and lower classes in bourgeois public sphere institutions. Dahlgren (1991) describes Habermas's idealization of the bourgeois public sphere as an "absence of reference to the complexities and contradictions of meaning productions". Squires (2002) mentions that the move away from the ideal of a single public sphere is important in that it allows recognition of the public struggles and political innovations of marginalized groups outside traditional or state-sanctioned public spaces and mainstream discourses dominated by white bourgeois males.

Community identity

The principle concept of community identity seems to imply two related suggestions. Firstly, the community members should have something in common. Secondly, the something in common should distinguish them in a way from the members of other groups (Wenger, 2004). McMillan and Chavis (1986, p. 9) also state that, "the sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together".

Community identity is the focus in order to explore how the Riverside community creates its identity or 'sense of self'. The 'sense of self' recognizes that this community is valuable because it is unique, and there is no one else exactly the same as it in this world. The community identity identifiers such as the historical background, culture and arts, community resources and pride can define the Riverside community area.

The Riverside community has a unique history. It is a long, historical community which can be dated back over a hundred years. The Riverside community extended for a kilometre along the bank of the Chanthaburi River. Decaying but charming French-built shops and houses and historic Thai-Chinese temples are tucked over narrow old alleys alongside the snake-shaped Chanthaburi River. The area attracts many tourists from around the world who enjoy the historically beautiful architecture and the timeless features. Furthermore, many households in the Riverside community engage in commercial activities involving the sale of food. There are numerous cafés, restaurants and an art gallery among the old wooden townhouses and shrines. Many food shops offer traditional Thai food cooked with local herbs such as Siam Cardamom (Krawan in Thai language) which are grown in the Khao Phu Soi Dao area of the Chanthaburi province.

The most important influence on the Riverside community culture seems to be religions including Buddhism. Thailand is a stronghold of Buddhism where majority of population is Buddhist. Many Thai beliefs and traditions have long stemmed directly from Buddhist principles. Respect is essential within the consciousness of every Thai. As a result, respect for elders and for those in higher social positions is important which influences hierarchies related to social status. Children are expected to respect their parents and teachers. The young must show deference to the elderly.

The Riverside community is also unique in its arts and architecture. The alluring power of the colonial architecture together with the clustered wooden buildings with lace-like wooden decorations, has turned this area into a popular location for the film and advertising industry since it can be converted into the set of an old town. Sino-European buildings line in the one kilometre, narrow road. Chinese and French architectural styles have an influence on many buildings in the community areas. There are two different types of charming architecture in this community. The first type is the colonial building with sculpted clay ornaments owned by the royal servants. Another type is the wooden home with intricate lace-like wooden decorations of the wealthy merchants (Panaram, 2010).

Beautiful and historic buildings are the pride of the Riverside community. The old quarter's sleepy streets and alleyways meandering along the Chanthabuti River are highly attractive. Baanluangrajamaitri Historic Inn is one of the proudest projects of the community. With the intention to rehabilitate the lives of the community residents, together with support from the architecture of the Arsomsilp Institution, a non-profit organization, the Architectural Preservation and Regeneration Project decided to renovate the Riverside Community to become a historical tourism destination. The creation of the "preservation with care" has occurred. The hundred and fifty year-old house owned by the Luang Rajamaitri family was chosen for renovation to become a historical inn or a museum inn. The rental contract was written to create value rather than money. The house owner, a Luang Rajamaitri heir, offered permission to the partners to manage the house with a thirty year rental contract and only one Baht monthly rental fee. This hotel project was opened to the community members and the Chanthaburi local people become part of the stakeholder group by purchasing a share for a thousand Baht. There are already more than three hundred shareholders including the locals and other interested people. The profit is returned to all shareholders and to support a cultural activity in the community. This campaign not only focuses on raising sufficient funds to operate the business sustainably but also to allow people and the country to realise that this historical heritage can be cared for while moving despite a rapidly changing world (Baanluangrajamaitri, 2013).

Community-based media in the Riverside community

Community media is defined by Howley (2009) as media which encompasses a range of community-based activities and can take many forms. It takes on different meanings, depending on whether the "felt need" of the community is practical. Community media can be defined as "an adaptation of media for use by the community, for whatever purposes the community decides" (Berrigan, 1981, p. 8). These definitions are able to represent community communication and media activities in the Riverside community. Information in this community is distributed by media which appears in many forms with various different the "felt needs" of community residents.

In the Riverside community, community-based media produced by community members include community leaders or people as media, community circulars, coffee shop activities, religious performances, newsletters, maps and information boards, screen printed T-shirts, photo and art gallery, community learning house and community events. Community-based media produced locally also include online activities such as community website, Facebook pages, videos on YouTube, and group chat in LINE application. Commercial media such as CTV, a local cable television and AboutChan magazine are also essential in the Riverside community although their media content is not only focused on the community, but also on many areas around Chanthaburi and neighbouring provinces. In addition, the community has been supported by the government. Broadcasting cars and community loudspeakers are free services supported by the local municipality.

These media characterize the essential characteristics of community-based media include 1) localism (Johnson & Menichelli, 2007; Wellmanee, 2008) which is all about community, 2) storytelling (Johnson & Menichelli, 2007) where the community tells historical stories from the past, 3) empowerment (Hamilton & Weiss, 2005) in which community uses media to promote itself to the nation, and 4) diverse participation (Johnson & Menichelli, 2007; Meadows et al, 2007) where each community member is allowed to participate in the communication activities. These four characteristics have the potential to reduce isolation among community residents and also empower those people by allowing them to voice their opinions.

In this research, the objectives of media discursive activities are categorized from both the community aspect and the tourism aspect. The community aspect, in this sense, includes communication among community residents in their everyday lives especially community matters, community issues, and community well-being. On the other hand, the tourism aspect concerns communication for the sake of tourism in this community which aims to benefit tourists.

The role of community-based media in strengthening and preserving community identity

Empowering cultural preservation and transmission is also one of the most beneficial roles of community media. Community media has been chosen as channels to represent, to strengthen and to reinforce a unique ethnic identity.

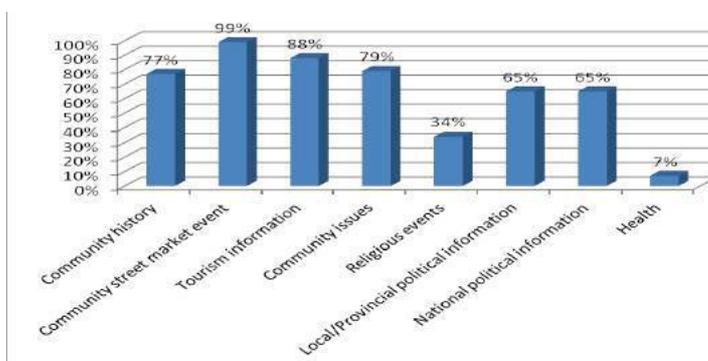


Figure 1: Media content

In the Riverside community, the high percentage of media content about community history, accounted for 77 cent, shows how community members preserve their value and facilitate their identity and culture to others and the nation by using their own produced media. As Forde et al (2009) point out, community media is more able to convey the nation's social, identity and cultural diversity which I found to be practical in this community. The highest percentage of media content about community history shows how community members preserve their value and facilitate their identity and culture to others and the nation by using their own media outlets. For example, in the past, Vietnamese handicrafts such as mats were popular in this community. Those handicrafts are promoted again via community media to show that at one time, the community was one of the multicultural centers in Thailand.

Another significant media activity which local people conduct to preserve their identity and history is exchanging old pictures of the community via the LINE application. LINE is an application for communication on electronic devices such as smartphones, tablets, and personal computers. LINE users can exchange text messages, photos, voice recording, videos. They can also have a free call and conduct video conferences through this application.

A group chat named 'the Riverside community people' is formed with the aim of daily chats, news and information sharing, and social discussions. Community members have exchanged various old pictures of the community by sharing them on the chat room, and assembling them as a photo collection. Pokabal (personal communication, December 23, 2014) says:

Firstly, it was a kind of showing-off. I wanted to show that my photos are much older and more precious. Then, when I and my friends see a lot of old photos in the group chat. We feel like it is not just a chat room but an online old photos exhibition of our community.

The role of community-based media in promoting community's identity (tourism)

Cultural tourism can become a platform for community residential discussions around place and identity (Carson, 2013). This means while it is the way the visitors to feel included, at the same time, local residents could begin to see their community in regenerating and new way. The Riverside community is a new cultural tourism destination in Thailand, and also the new cultural destination at international level as the community's historic inn was named one of four winners of Awards of Merit in the annual UNESCO Asia-Pacific Awards for Cultural Heritage Conservation

Many community-based media productions are used to promote community as a cultural tourism destination to the nation. Media outlets produced as a result of tourism promotion include community newsletters, maps and information boards, postcards, screen-printed T-shirts, videos on YouTube and a commercial magazine. The messages of these communication tools aim to benefit community tourism. Information such as community history, art and culture, walking directions, food restaurants and attractions can generally be found in the tourism media.

Messages are sent of beautiful attractions, local food, and valuable community history. Within the community, participants give examples of walking maps and

direction boards which help tourists to travel along a kilometre of the community area. Because the media helps to attract more people to their community, the people gain further income which benefits community economics.

In the Riverside community, such evidence suggests that social media plays a vital role in the promotion of tourism which can no longer be examined purely in relation to geographic places or spaces. The Facebook activity in this community, an example, shows particular characteristics of social media including: *participation, openness, conversation, community, connectness* (Mayfield, 2007, p. 5). *Participation* can be seen from the number of followers of the Facebook page, their feedback and opinions. *Openness* can be seen from the number of the followers which is not limited to the community members. Conversation is a two-way interaction between the Facebook creator, Bamrunghai, and the followers. *Community* shares common interests like the historic inn which has great community pride. Lastly, Facebook creates *connectness* by making use of links to other sites such as Thai Local Government Administration website. Because of these benefits, this social networking toolkit transmits messages from this community to the nation, especially in the promotion of community tourism. It shows that social media has the potential ability to reach a wide audience.

Bamrunghai (personal communication January 2, 2015) illustrates the benefit of Facebook in order to reach a wide audience. She says, “the first time we created the Facebook page (community historic inn page), we were not quite sure who our target groups really were. We were quite blind at that moment.” Then she just started by sharing the Facebook page with her friends and people she knew like some of the villagers. Later on, the Facebook followers were not just the people she knew but “There were a lot more strangers who were interested in this project,” she points out.

Community media as community transformation: changing of community communication purpose

Arguably, the media has a vital role in putting emerging destination on the global tourist map, thus helping to boost the local economy, and it has proved to be of significance in the process of each community development (Tabing 2000). Community-based media is an effective tool for the Riverside community to develop itself from an old community to a new cultural tourism destination.

This research finds that the number of media which serves local people’s needs and the number of media which have a tourism aspect are quite the same. It can be assumed that the community-based media producers emphasize the importance of people matters as much as tourism in the community. Then, the question emerged from this point about whether the tourism aspect already challenges and reduces the importance of local people residents in the Riverside community or not. The findings from the information that the Riverside community members receive from community-based media helps to address this issue.

People’s perception of community media content (Figure 1) shows that the media content concerning commerce and tourism has the most influence on this community. Ninety-nine per cent of people state that they receive information about community commercial events like a street market, and 88 percent involves community tourism. While media content concerning community issues is ranked third at 79 per cent, and community history is about 77 per cent. Although there is still a significant proportion

of media content concerning people and their roots, the table shows that the tourism aspect has already deeply challenged localism in the Riverside community. The primary purpose of local communication has changed since 2009.

Communication in the Riverside community has substantially changed since 2009 when the community first recognized itself as a tourism place. Chadmalai (personal communication, December 24, 2014) states that in the past, communication in the community was mostly about neighbourhoods, health, flood crises, political situations, elections and traffic. "Everything has recently changed" (Chadmalai, personal communication, December 24, 2014). It can be assumed that community-based media with the community aspect has begun before media concerning tourism. Communication activities such as community leaders as media, community circulars and people's discussions at the coffee place have been in the community communication process for a long time. As a result, there is nobody who could recognize when these media exactly started (Chadmalai, personal communication, December 24, 2014; Pokabal, personal communication, December 23, 2014)

When taking a closer look at media activity, it is apparent that there are changes to the primary purpose of community communication following the embrace of a new cultural tourism in Thailand. For example in Facebook page creations, initially, there was an official Facebook page for the Riverside community which was a forum for community members to discuss community problems such as neighbourhood noise, teenage alcohol consumption and community improvement. It was entirely focused community matters. However, in 2014, when the new tourism project emerged, this Facebook page was closed and transformed into a new page, Ba-an Ruang Ratchamaitri Historic Inn. Communication on Facebook seems to be about the new attractive accommodation which centres on a community pride. The messages about community matters have been replaced by details of the historic inn and customers' reviews.

At this stage, I draw the conclusion that the primary purpose of community-based media in the Riverside community, which was once to serve the needs of community members, had already changed since the community was promoted as a new cultural tourism destination. Community-based media then played an important role in the community transformation from an old community to a new one in terms of tourism.

Conclusion

This research reinforces the idea that multiple spheres seems to be more realistic in regard to today's complex media environment (Fraser, 1992; Calhoun, 1992; Dahlgren, 1991; Squires, 2002), and community-based media clearly is already deeply implicated in representing the multiple public spheres. The research results also support the hypothesis that community media is a cultural production which community residents produces, owns and uses to benefit their community. For the Riverside community members, community-based media has two outstanding beneficial aspects which are community identity preservation and tourism promotion.

This old community has become reinvigorated through their media activities after the decline produced by fire and flood. The community-based media is produced and used by community members which can strengthen the bond between them and construct community identity as a whole.

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***Mobile Telephony for Community Networking:
A Study of Thai, Rohingya and Hmong Communities in Multicultural Australia***

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Abstract

In situations of displacement from beloved landscapes and acquired tastes to the unfamiliar land, it is common for immigrants to retrieve what they have missed. Their actions may include the potential to recreate the atmosphere of their homeland in their new receiving lands, to maintain strong connections with people of the same groups, and to find their own places or channels that will allow them to enjoy their traditional ways of life. Smartphone, an emerging affordable new communication technology has become one of the most common ways through which minorities are empowered to sustain and constitute their community connections today.

To bring such telecommunication technology and a cultural study together, this Higher Degree research focuses on mobile phone usage amongst Australia's multicultural communities. It aims to better understand the ways in which ethnic community groups communicate via mobile phones.

The project explores whether communities are using these technologies to sustain and constitute their connections and cultures by also investigating what broader impact this technology is having on minority communities in Australia. Three communities — Thai, Rohingya and Hmong — are explored in this study. This study employed a case study methodology as the main approach which also includes the application of Ethnographic Action Research (EAR). This approach allows the research questions to be explored more deeply and contextually through the real experiences of the selected community participants and their cultural environments.

Keywords: Mobile telephony, Multiculturalism, Australia, Network technology, Network society

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Introduction

Mobile phones have become integral part of human daily life. Every aspect of people's professional lives is certainly involved either directly or indirectly with the mobile phones. They significantly enable people across the globe to freely communicate when, where, and with whom they wish. Nowadays, mobile phones range widely in price and functionality. Besides basic voice and texting communication features, most mobile phones in the market are equipped with smarter tools such as a high resolution camera, GPS functions, portable music players and internet access. As a consequence, it is not surprising that the mobile telephony has easily permeated across cultural groups, economic strata and age cohorts.

As well as other people, Australia's ethnic minority groups enjoy using the wireless communication technologies for many reasons (Sanders, 2002, Meadows et al. 2007). One of those which this research project set up to explore is the use of the mobile telephony for the practical purpose of maintaining and creating community connections and networks while living in multicultural Australia.

The primarily focus of this research will be on mobile phone uses as related to user needs rather than on the mobile phone features which associate with the mobile phone marketing perspective. Mobile phone users from three collective communities in Australia: Thai, Rohingya and Hmong communities are requested to reflect on their mobile phone experiences, opinions, attitudes, needs, perceptions and observations in their own words. The findings from each collective group were then be considered with the main research questions in mind to ascertain the influential factors that significantly encourage the mobile phone usage in their everyday live. Moreover, the relevance of cultural dimensions for mobile phone usage was determined and evaluated to find out whether the differences in traditional cultures and background particularly impact on the mobile phones usage of members of the three community groups.

This research on smartphone usage by minority people in Australia aims to develop the better understanding on the mobile phone uses behaviour and provide an insight on how the new communication technology assists ethnic minority people in Australia in the process of sustaining and constituting their community connections.

Australian Multiculturalism

Australia has a diverse population with people from all over the world. These people range from small religious groups living in local communities to large ethnic groups living side-by-side with the majority population, where people importantly contribute different ideas, religions, languages and customs. According to the Australia Multicultural Council (2011), Australia is made up of a majority population from a roughly homogeneous ethnic background and a number of minority populations. In addition, one in four of twenty-two million Australian residents (44%) were recorded either as having been born overseas or having at least one parent who was.

The Australian nation is a product of a unique blend of established traditions and new influences. Integration of people from different countries, ethnic or tribal groups and

religions has made this country one of the most ethnically diverse societies in the world (Australian Government, n.d.).

Multiculturalism is a concept and policy which has been formulated to respond to the notion of the recognition of co-existence of a plurality of cultures within the nation (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2011). The term 'multicultural society' was first presented in a famous speech entitled 'A multi-Cultural Society for the future' delivered by the Minister for Immigration under the Whitlam Government, Al Grassby (Lopez, 2000). The term was used to highlight that government services and programs must be responsive to the needs of the country's culturally and linguistically diverse communities as the presence of ethnic communities was viewed as an enrichment of Australia. In respond to the matter, a Migrant Task Force was established to investigate the needs of ethnic minority communities. Moreover, there were improvements in the welfare and education systems to help the new Australian residents to become accustomed to the reality of a multi-ethnic society. Ethnic Communities Councils were instituted in all states across the Australian nation.

The suggestion that Australia had become a multicultural country was commonly accepted. Having the essence of multiculturalism at the core of the notion embraced minorities' shared values and cultural traditions. The ethnic rights and responsibilities are acknowledged as enshrined in the citizenship pledge and supported the rights of all Australians to celebrate, practise and maintain their cultural heritage, traditions and language within the law and free from discrimination.

Ethnic minority cultures are now welcomed and celebrated as enriching Australian national culture rather than threatening it. To understand an inclusive view of Australia, it has become impossible to exclude the consideration of the multiculturalism. Until the present, multiculturalism remains situated in the heart of national policy. A statement written into the Australia's 2011 multicultural policy, the People of Australia (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2011, p. 2) reads: "Australia's multicultural composition is at the heart of our national identity and is intrinsic to our history and character". The People of Australia policy reinforces strong encouragement for a socially-united nation with an expression of cultural and linguistic diversity.

Mobile telephony: the Network technology and the Network Society

While the specific patterns of mobile diffusion differ across geographic regions and social groups, it is clear that mobile technologies are becoming an integral part of people's everyday activities. The ubiquitous influence of mobile technology has been signified in recent years by the emergence of a series of "m-" neologisms, such as m-commerce, m-learning, m-government, m-literature, m-entertainment, m-gaming, m-etiquette, mobil-ization, and moblog. The list goes on, and the spread of mobile technology will continue to change the ways in which people conduct their lives.

The above statement written by Castells et al. (2007, p. 77) indicates that as advances and familiarities with mobile communication technology continue, people across the globe could find the very broad range of their social practices permanently changed. People's routine seems to be constructed or relied greatly on the mobile communication technology. In other words, Goggin (2006) insists that mobile phone

has played a significant role in surrounding and constituting people in many different dimensions of their everyday life.

In today's world, cell phones, particularly feature phones and smartphones, have come a long way beyond voice telecommunication devices. Converged with other technologies such as the internet and camera, mobile phones are not only enabling easy communication across vast distances as analog phones have previously done, they also contribute "an attrition of the limitations and conditions locations and time otherwise exert on human communicative" (Barney, 2007, p. 48). Habuchi (2005) developed the term "tele-cocooning" in reference to an expression used to describe human computer interaction through personal devices supporting communication. Habuchi (2005) states that in the world of the personal computer and mobile phone, the concept of tele-cocooning can be used to represent global society where people rely heavily on communication technologies to achieve their communication with others without having physical interaction. With the help of the digital network technology, people are not limited to face-to-face communication. They are able to experience new or more intense ways of interacting and to participate more fully in their culture.

The ranges of new communication technologies continuously develop and enlarge the range of options for conversation for people, who are also considering taking greater advantage of the benefits offered by new and smarted technologies. A considerable number of added-on, non-voice functions on mobile phones are importantly and widely adopted to enable people to communicate and maintain connection with others beyond geographical, cultural and logistical barriers in certain degrees (Potts, 2010).

Online social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest, Myspace and LinkedIn are among the main communication methods that many people use to create a new form of social interaction, dialogue, exchange and collaboration in today's digital culture. Since mobile phones became mass-consumer products that meet the connectivity gap of people around the world, the growing accessibility of social media networking is much easier than ever before and has become the dominant presence in people's lives (Eyrich et al. 2008; Barners and Lescault, 2011). The 2010 *Measuring the information society* report conducted by International Telecommunication Union (ITU) reveals that there is growth in the number of people who access social networking sites over their smartphones. Their statistics (ITU, 2010) show that at a global level, the number of mobile broadband subscriptions reached an estimated 640 million at the end of 2009, driven by the increasing demand for smartphones. ITU (2010) report also denotes that in 2010, there could be more than one billion people who access new applications and social networking services.

Case study: Thai, Rohingya and Hmong communities in Multicultural Australia

This research project is a critical analysis focusing on mobile phone use amongst Australia's multicultural communities. The research sets out to explore the ways in which various ethnic community groups are using communication via mobile devices and to explore whether communities are using these technologies to sustain and constitute their community connections. The study is also interested in what broader impact this communication technology is having on minority communities in

Australia. There were three minority communities — Thai, Rohingya and Hmong — that were examined as cultural collectives in the research. These three cultural collectives were chosen to stress the central focus of the project limited to Asia, the region from where I come (Thailand). Moreover, I was aware of synergies between these and the Thai community to which I belong. The reasonable familiarity with the range of cultural backgrounds, values and practices that the three communities have shared would help me understand, explore and reflect better on the criteria for interpreting the finding. The cohesive of the unit of analysis was believed to be more likely to produce meaningful outcomes.

In Australia, according to the latest Australian Census in 2011 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011), the number of Thai people living in Australia was 45,465— an increase of almost 48.8 percent from the 2006 census. The most recent census also records the estimated number of Thai people distributed throughout the various states and territories. New South Wales had the greatest number of Thai people (17,541), followed by Victoria (10,766), Queensland (7,022) and Western Australia (5,662).

Rohingya, the Muslim ethnic minority, is one of the refugee and asylum seeker communities in Australia. Rohingya people mainly migrate to Australia as refugees as they encounter increasing levels of oppression in their homeland, Myanmar. The number of Rohingyas residing in Australia is difficult to quantify. However, Australia's Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2011) reveals that the majority of stateless maritime arrivals to Australia are from Kurds, Palestinians and Rohingya.

Hmong is one of the Australia's smallest ethnic minorities. There is no official report from the Australian Government indicating the estimated number of Hmong people in Australia. However, Tapp and Lee (2010) reveal that there are more than 2,000 Hmongs distributed in four of Australia's eastern states. The appearance of Hmong communities in Multicultural Australia has been first recorded in March 1976.

Research Methodology

This research project employed case study methodology as the main research approach and could be recognised as a multiple-case study as it was consisting of three units of analysis—Thai, Rohingya and Hmong communities. The cases have been selected to predict similar or contrast result.

This research also included the application of Ethnographic Action Research (EAR) methods. The application of EAR research methodology in this project allowed the research questions or issues to be explored more deeply and contextually through the real experiences of the selected community participants and their particular cultural environments. The participant technique that I employed to explore the central research question of this study is in-depth interviews. Each in-depth interview was last approximately forty minutes and was designed to encourage participants to talk freely. There were seven people from each community group participating in the in-depth interview sessions.

All in-depth interview participants were expected to have mobile phone experiences. They had to use mobile phones to communicate with their peers in Australia and elsewhere. Moreover, they were willing and able to comment on the nature of their activities. As a consequence of this requirement, one hundred percent of in-depth interview participants adopted the mobile phone. In addition, the majority of mobile phones used by the participants were smartphones. There were only two participants, one from the Hmong group and the other from the Rohingya community, who possessed Nokia feature phones.

In this research, I also applied the methodology of participant observation. The purpose of exploiting this method was primarily to gain an understanding of the communication processes that operate at community level. At the same time, it significantly helped to identify possible interviewees from Thai, Hmong and Rohingya communities.

Imagined Community and Mobile phone use

According to Anderson (1983), vernacular print capitalism played a central role in sustaining national consciousness. Daily newspapers become a vital technical means to bond people together where Anderson (1991, p. 36) states that “Newspapers made it possible for people to think about themselves, and relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways”. By reading the daily newspaper, people have the feeling that everyone else in the nation is reading the same source of national information and they are equal in terms of access to the information.

As time passes, not only print media, but also other communication methods including mobile telephony have played an important role in articulating a community imagining. The growth of communication technologies has made it possible for people to link themselves to others much more conveniently and effectively (Tsaliki 1995). As a consequence, it is not surprising that Anderson (1991) acclaims mass communication as a significant factor holding the fabric of imagined community together (Anderson 1991). However, in the 1992 article entitled ‘*The new world disorder*’, Anderson proposes the other factor which is ‘mass migrations’ as one of the most significant aspects together with mass communication that influentially generate nationalism and construct imagined community.

The movement of people from an origin to destination, or from a place of birth to another destination across international borders has often been acknowledged as the difficult trend to measure, model and forecast. It is a phenomenon that is growing in scope, complexity and impact which interconnects world’s populations. In situations of displacement from beloved landscapes and acquired tastes to the unfamiliar land, the relocated people need to adjust their new lives to the new ways of living and cultural differences as well as retrieve what they have missed. Their actions may include the potential to recreate the atmosphere of their homeland in their new receiving lands, to maintain strong connections with people of the same groups, and to find their own places or channels that will allow them to be able to enjoy their traditional ways of life. Shavit (2009, p. 24) insists that “these efforts were constructive in reducing to some extent yearning feeling and in bridging some of the gaps between individuals and their homelands”.

In order to fulfil the need to maintain strong links and identification with the tradition of the homeland, this research found that technological use and communication practices are one of the most common ways through which ethnic minority employed as key strategies to work around the problem. The mobile phones facilitate resources which are available and important for the reinvention and reconstruction of cultural identity.

Mobile Phone Practices for Community Networking

For Diasporic Connection

In an age of digital communication technology where mobile phones are widely perceived as the greatest communication innovation of the century, it is not surprising that mobile phones are significantly adopted by many migrants including Thais, Rohingyas and Hmongs as a means to strengthen diaspora identifications and connections.

Stories from in-depth interview participants demonstrate the difficulties people encountered in the situation of displacement from their home country and settlement in Australia. Foremost is the need to access and use communication to remain connected to family and friends overseas. As the mobile phones in today's world allow users to communicate more effectively and experience new or more intense ways of interacting, the participants from three communities report their use of voice functions and other non-basic features such as social networking sites and video calls to keep in touch with their family members overseas.

The crucial role of mobile phones in facilitating connection with family members and friends overseas is clearly evident in the Rohingya participants' responses. As it is almost impossible and/or very difficult for Rohingya refugees to travel back to see their family and friends who are living in their native homeland and refugee camps, many Rohingyas use their mobile phones as the only means of communication to remain contact and reassure their family members, relatives and friends that they are unharmed and still alive. According to one Rohingya participant (2015, pers. comm.), the more intense ways of interacting via smartphones he has experienced support and enhance his emotional well-being despite his distress while he is living away from his loved ones.

Mobile phones are not only employed as a means to maintain the connection with their family, friends and acquaintances regarding personal matters, they are also utilised to correspond with others of the same community across the globe to request assistances with particular issues as well as to keep abreast with the latest news relating to the particular community. According to participants' responses, mobile phones crucially function as a platform for community strengthening and development. The mobile phones are employed to organise activities to advocate, raise awareness, and provide resources for the benefit of the particular community.

For Cultural Reinvention and Reconstruction

Living in the diasporic space, ethnic minorities encountered many positive and negative changes in their lives. They need to adapt and re-adjust themselves and their perspectives in order to successfully and smoothly live in their new homeland. At the same time, it is understandable that they state their need to maintain some dimensions of the traditional ways of living and their need to reinvent their cultural identity while living in Australia.

A sense of loss and displacement importantly drives people to engage with other of the same groups who have shared the same cultural background and some forms of common identity. Being able to stay close to the people of the same ethnic group importantly ensures that they could enjoy their traditional and comfortable ways of living. The research found that many research participants employ the mobile phone as a means to sustain and constitute their community connection in Australia. However, the use of mobile phones in this role is noticeably more intense in the Rohingya communities than the others two. Through discussion with the Rohingya participants in the field, I found that most participants wish to talk about and share some of their past experiences. The sharing experiences predominantly include many trauma stories, where the narrative under the scope of 'life without security' appears to be the most frequently mentioned theme. Those stories are often revealed in association with greater levels of well-being, freedom and security that they experience while living in Australia. Such responses suggest that the refugee trauma experiences, which may be embedded in the Rohingya participants' minds, could influence their strong motivation them to feel safe and secure. Inevitably, the use of mobile phones among the Rohingya participants demonstrates the needs to maintain intimate social relation to the group to generate a safe environment where the Rohingya know that there is no assault, challenge or denial of their identity, of who they are and what they need.

With the help of mobile phones, research participants report that many cultural activities and events such as food sharing activities, performances and cultural sports, are organised to strengthen ongoing links and to build new connections among people of the same group. Most activities are set up as fun, in a friendly, sharing, relaxed and informal atmosphere, which is believed to create a better sense of belonging and social cohesion.

According to the interviews, members of the Thai, Rohingya and Hmong communities emphasises the need to maintain strong links with others in the community. As a consequence, there have been community organisations, community websites and Facebook pages established to make a significant contribution to support members of the particular community. Those aim to be an important source of news and information and entertainment that suits the needs of the particular group of people in Australia. In addition, they offer a place where particular culture is communicated. Their roles have paved the way for one identity, language and culture to establish its place as part of the Australian society. Furthermore, they provide comfort to the target people by allowing them to connect to other people who have similar backgrounds and interests.

The emergence of the community media, particularly in the form of social networking sites and new media, underlines the customary use of modern technology to communicate with other people while they are living in Australia of the migrants. Although it is arguable that Rohingya people have a very low level of technological literacy and have less experience with mobile phones due to the unlawful treatments which include a strict ban on ownership of mobile phones, all Rohingya research participants interestingly revealed the immediate possession of a mobile phone after their arrival in Australia. They also indicate the improvement in their telephone skills after a certain period of owning modern mobile phones.

While the community organizations and other community media dedicate their role in empowering people of the community and fostering community connectedness, the members of the particular community themselves also do their part to maintain, strengthen and develop their close connections among their community members. Participants from the Thai, Rohingya and Hmong communities reveal their high commitment to sustaining their links with friends and building good relationships with new friends. By doing so, research participants believe that the atmosphere of one community public sphere is healthily recreated in Australian public sphere.

Ullah (2014, pers. comm.), a Rohingya participant, reveals that, through the use of mobile phones, his relationships with the Rohingya friends remain dynamic and powerful. The mobile phone offers him rich possibilities to actively engage with friends and make his social networks more complex and extensive with a few clicks. His narrative precisely demonstrates his pleasure in using his mobile phone. Ullah (2014, pers. comm.) says:

It comforts me. Having it, I know that I can never be lost, never go missing. I mean I can find my friends and they can find me anywhere and any times. We're always in touch.

Mobile phones do not only help ensure the growing sense of belonging and connectedness in the people's community, they also importantly enable the circulation and dissemination of cultural materials. The ability to read, write, hear and speak in their own language through the use of mobile phones is frequently mentioned by a majority of the research participants. Some of their comments were: "I feel more comfortable talking in my language"; "it's how I celebrate my identity while I am here (Australia)"; and "it (communicating in their own language) creates some private and special zones".

The ability to communicate in their native language facilitates a culturally safe and secure community environment, where the members of the community feel more comfortable and confident to consume, produce and publicise their proud identity. As languages do not only emerge as a way of communication, it also conveys people's culture and identity. Therefore, the use of one language certainly is the embracement of the culture and identity as it generates a special space where only members can access.

Conclusion

This research provides an understanding of mobile communication practices for community networking in the three small minority community in Australia; Thai, Rohingya and Hmong.

The use of mobile phones for the purpose of social interaction was found the first and foremost mobile communication practice that all research participants from the interviews were aware of. While living away from their homeland, the need to maintain their social connections with their own group is paramount. By using mobile phones, the needs are possibly fulfilled. The minorities are able to maintain their interpersonal ties and cohesions within family and friendship groups by employing their mobile phones. In addition, an integrated email capability and internet browsing through compact mobile phone models allow the mobile phone users to more intensively participate through interacting with content and other users in the online world. The ability to keep in touch and connect with family, friends and other encourages them to feel interpersonally close to others, perceive other people as friendly and approachable and also be able participate in social activities. Therefore, it is not surprising that the mobile phone has been denoted as the future of networked communication (Yuan, 2012).

Using the mobile phones, local dialects and languages, local issues, and local codifications of social reality of a particular group have come to acquire its own status. The maintaining of language which is an important part of “a structure of behaviour” through the media, helps by promoting a sense of local identity, and strengthening the ability to stand up to stronger, neighbouring language communities. Moreover, it allows the community to develop some sense of public sphere. Therefore, it is not surprising that the mobile phone has been denoted as the future of networked communication (Yuan, 2012).

It could be argued that the mobile phones certainly help foster new and meaningful relationships and also reinforcing the pre-existing friendships. This uses of mobile phones encompasses the motivational need to feel a sense of belonging and companionship among their social groups.

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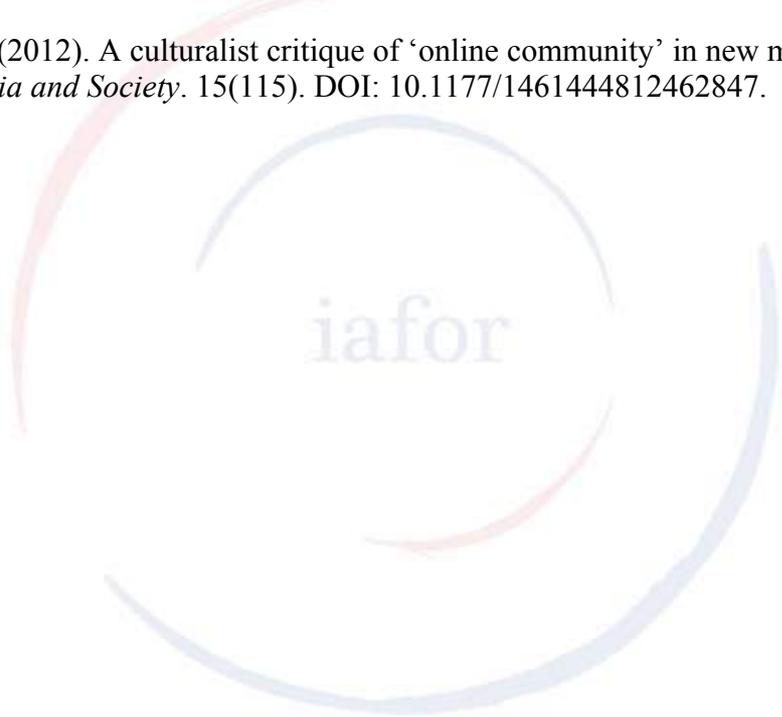
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***Shumang Leela – A Platform For Cultural And Development Communication
Discourse***

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Abstract

Shumang Leela which means ‘Courtyard performance’ is a Manipuri theatrical art form considered to have developed in the 19th and 20th century. The paper discusses how the theatrical art form broke the monopoly of art as being accessible only by the upper caste, the so called elite sections of the society and began acting as a community development media having the role of entertaining, enlightening, instructing, educating and sensitizing the public on various issues relevant to the society within the cultural context and space of the Manipuris. Though secular in nature it has found its ritualistic space as the theatre form is integrated in different life cycles of a person in the Manipuri culture. It is a medium of development communication to spread social awareness to people through its meaningful themes and enactments which portray the socio-politico-economic issues of the people not only in Manipur but also globally. Shumang Leela is popular for its ‘Nupi Shabis’ who are actually male actors performing female roles. The paper further explores the important issue on Transgender identity of the performers known as ‘Nupi Shabis’, as the theatre form is their platform and community. Shumang Leela is a stage for cultural communication of the Manipuri society. It is also a model for development communication using traditional media, a communication system embedded in the cultural context. Even where mass media has penetrated, Shumang Leela has proved its validity to sensitize people’s thinking to promote change.

Key words: Development and Cultural Communication, Courtyard play, Transgender identity

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Introduction

Shumang Leela which means Courtyard performance is a theatrical art form of the Manipuris. Manipur is a state in the North-eastern part of India with an area of 22,327 square kilometres. The theatrical art form has the role of enlightening, instructing, entertaining, educating and sensitizing the public in various issues relevant to the society within the cultural context and space of the Manipuris. Shumang Leela is considered to have developed from the comic plays termed as Phagee leelas, which gained popularity in the 19th and 20th century during the reign of Chandrakirti Maharaj (1856-1886) and Churachand Maharaj (1891 – 1941). Another school of thought believes that Shumang leela originates from the ritual ceremony of Lai-haraoba (pleasing god). Some scholars credit its emergence to the expedition for a temporal space, an unofficial art form accessible to the common public as opposed to other Manipuri theatrical performances which could not break the cultural dominance of the elites and were constrained and restricted to religious and royal receivers of the medium. Like all art forms the world over, theatrical performances in Manipur was also accessed only by the upper caste, the so called elite sections of the society. This scenario began to change in the early 20th century as a result of formulation of a more secular and egalitarian space. Hence, depending on the media text, theatre can be categorized as Devotional or Temporal.

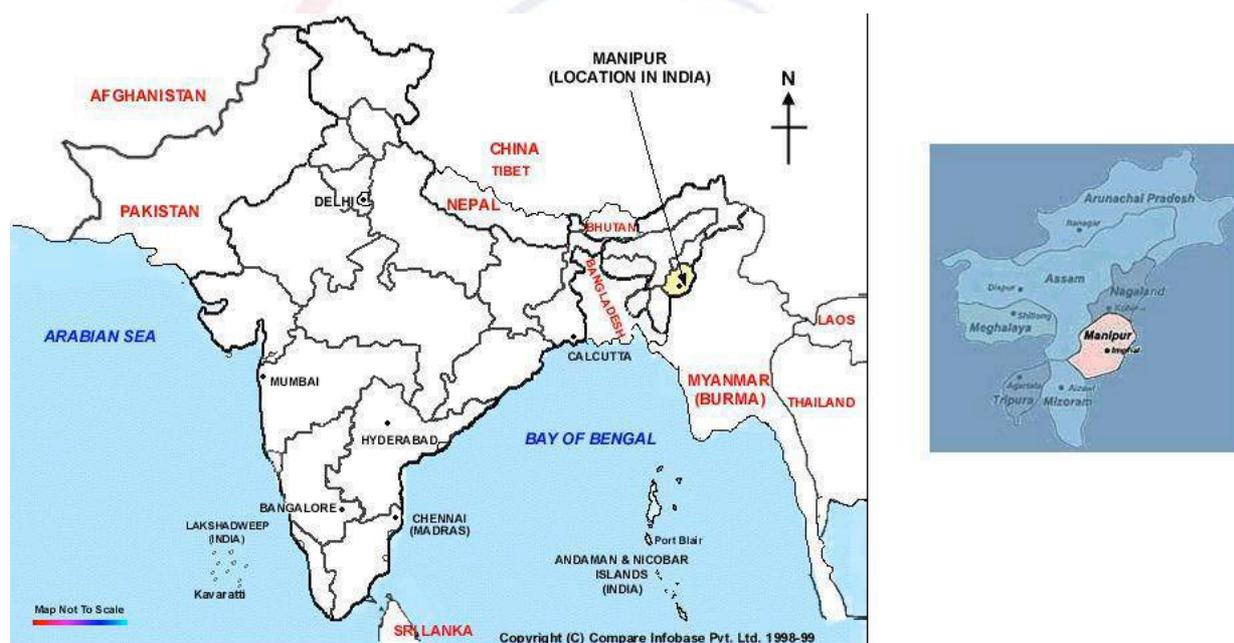


Figure 1: Manipur, India

Premise of Shumang Leela Plays

Shumang Leela is mainly performed to entertain people. However, it also acts as the major medium of development communication to spread social awareness to people through its meaningful themes and enactments which portray the socio-political-economic issues of the people not only in Manipur but also beyond. Theatre is entering into the avenues, which were once solely occupied, by religion and politics (Schechner, 1983). The focus of Shumang Leela semiotics is the signs found in its texts. For example, a play 'World Trade Centre' was enacted in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 attack to depict human suffering and loss. Plays also revolve around themes like environment issues, insurgency problems, unemployment, corruption, HIV and AIDS etc. The theatre acts as a platform which compares the actual situation

of social structure to an ideal construct to sensitize the society at large. Shumang Leela is in line with Wang and Dissanayake's (1984) definition of folk media as a communication system embedded in the culture which existed much before the arrival of mass media, and which still exists as a vital mode of communication presenting a certain degree of continuity, despite changes.

People-centered development model look for newer concepts of development such as self-help, grassroots participation, the two-way communication, development support communication etc. Traditional media like Shumang Leela serve as vehicles of information, education, persuasion and entertainment. This art form through its narratives addresses issues in the light of development context related to development of quality of life for all through education, health, nutrition, housing; development of poor, marginal by creating employment opportunities, development of rural population who live in rural areas and have limitations of economic resources. For example, Family Planning Bureau's Shumang Leela "Chayam Pokpa" and Chana Lukhoi's "Anouba Mangal" carried family planning messages; "Kanagi Maralno" was on Polio Immunization. The Department of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, Government of Manipur used the medium to bring awareness on sanitation through plays like Anouba Mangal and Amambada Meingal. The Science and Technology Department also produced play on environment entitled "Anouba Yenning". Shumang Leela "Senphu Hangba" was produced for generating awareness on national savings insurance; "Makhong Taragi Cheingak" was produced under the State Veterinary and Animal Husbandry Department, Manipur for awareness generation on animal husbandry services. "Naitom Satpi" was a successful Shumang Leela based on leprosy disease.

The traditional art form is generally executed by a touring group of 12-13 performers. These groups are either exclusively female (Nupi Shumang Leela) or exclusively male (Nupa Shumang Leela). Creation of Mise-en-scène in Shumang Leela is very simple with minimal props. Table, chairs, orchestra, poles for dangling microphones and tube lights are the common set ups used. Intricate use of actor's voice, body and mime is the most important element of performance. Using the Multimodal analysis which involves the analysis of communication in all its forms, the interaction and integration or 'modes' of semiotic resources in Shumang Leela for communication can be seen to function at a simplified level yet serving the persuasive communicative functions of the text, by reflecting the society and educating the Manipuris with constructive information.

Shumang Leela begins with the mandali puja which takes place with offering of fruits, betel nuts and leaves and lighting of incense. This ritual makes the performance space sanctified, wherein both the performers and the audience have to remove their shoes if they step on the stage. The performers also offer prayers to Khangoplemjeng Lairembi, the goddess of theatre seeking her blessings. This is followed by the Actors' march (Kouwaj) which is accompanied with playing drums (dholak) and cymbals (kartal). The ritual is performed to give respect to the god. Although Shumang Leela is categorised as a theatre in the Temporal space, a lot of influence of the religious theatrical performances as conducted in the temples can be seen in its symbolic rituals. The theatre form also follows a ritual of conveying reverence to the audience by singing a song called Beitha. One interesting shift that has also been noted is that earlier god (Krishna) and goddess (Radha) were invoked with the singing of Kouwaj

to consecrate the performance space. However, this has been replaced by secular songs and themes in the orchestra playing to better engage the audience. Multimodal forms of communication which is central to any form of human communication, be it theatrical, can be seen in this evolution of Shumang Leela with the conjuring of abstraction and material in semiosis.

Nupi Shabis – the transgender performers of Shumang Leela

Shumang Leela is popular for its Nupi shaabis who are actually male actors performing female roles. Owing to the nature of the theatre form, actors had to travel to different places for performances. Manipuri society being conservative in nature, did not find it conducive for women performers travelling with men to distant locations. Hence, there was a dropout in the number of women performers and men had to step in to play the female roles. Nupi shaabis have to undergo rigorous training in the practice of physicality and vocal skills. The practice generally was that the Director of a troupe would look for suitable boys and seek the parents' permission to train the boy as Nupi shaabi. Upon getting the consent of the parents, the boy would be consecrated on an auspicious day at the teacher's residence. The induction would first start with habituation of household chores done by women so that they are type-casted into the feminine nature. It is only after they have perfected themselves in this role that the real acting in terms of dialogue delivery and feminine movement are taught. Throughout this grooming stage, the future Nupi Shaabi is treated as a daughter. Here again, there is the power play of a patriarchal notion of how an "ideal" woman should be. This "ideal construct" of feminine disposition as perceived by a patriarchal society leads into the transformation and construction of a Nupi shaabi.



Figure 2: Nupi shaabis (source:epao.net)

Herein, a psychological change also takes place which is reflected in the trainee's demeanour. As Swar Thounaojam states, "This image-making of a woman in Shumang Leela comes with its own share of problems. The aim of actor training for nupi shaabis till date has been to maintain a neat male/female binary, not blur or question it. Generations of male directors have codified the feminine gestures, appearance, physicality and costume in such a way that the audience's heterosexual (and of course patriarchal) expectations from a woman character are met by the nupi shaabis". There have been instances when Nupi shaabis have not been accepted by the audiences because of their looks as not being beautiful enough to be a woman. Such non acceptance deeply hurts them and leaves an emotional scar in them as failures.

Many of these Nupi shaabis carry on with their feminine roles off stage, as transgender. Some are so popular for their looks that they get marriage proposals from men. Whereas some Nupi shaabis are very specific about their identity as men and that they are men performing female roles. They would not want to be identified as Transgender. However there is a more complex identity issue which is emerging for the Nupi Shaabis:

“A new generation of self-identified nupi maanbis (trans-women) have joined Shumang Leela to perform as nupi shaabis. Their entry has complicated the gender queerness of Shumang Leela and challenged the internalised homophobia and trans-phobia that still exist within the Shumang Leela community. Bishesh Huiem, 24, is an emerging nupi shaabi. She identifies herself as a nupi maanbi and within theatre where body is key, her transition from nupi maanbi into nupi shaabi for a Shumang Leela raises many interesting questions. Bishesh asserted her identity as a nupi maanbi when she was a pre-teen. She took part in many transgender beauty contests and won quite a few. She got her first role as a nupi shaabi right after her Class 10 exams. Her family was quite against it, but they came around after a lot of persuasion. She performed for three years and left Imphal to study fashion design at Garden City College in Bangalore. She did the college fashion circuit...

... She returned to Imphal in 2009 to open the Bishesh Institute of Fashion and Design and began performing as a nupi shaabi since 2011. The roles she plays in Shumang Leelas has nothing to do with her life experience. Directors give her straight women roles, which would actually have been a fabulous gender bender if Shumang Leela didn't have such a poor track (or non-existent) record of engaging with transgendered experience and performances. Interestingly, in an incredible casting choice, Bishesh has played the role of a trans woman in a 2002 film called *Ang Tamo* which traces the life of a nupi maanbi. The film is shaped by autobiographical elements collected from many nupi maanbis living in Imphal but due to its lack of craft, it fails to create a trans narrative that examines the limits of gender regulation. Trans performers in contemporary theatre often use their bodies to tell their stories because such autobiographical performances challenge and confront the audience with transgender femininity or masculinity. However nupi maanbi artistes like Bishesh are yet to experiment and critically explore their own and societal understandings of gender using the arts they practice as a medium for it. When I ask Bishesh about the possibility of using Shumang Leela to explore gender identity, she is cautious. Yes, I think it is important. It will take some time. I have been given an opportunity to work as an artiste. Whatever be the role, I look at it as a service to my society. And slowly I hope that nupi maanbi will also get the space in Shumang Leela to tell our stories. I think what we really need are writers who will be able to tell our stories with care. I am not a writer. I am an actor. I would love to work with a good writer if I want to tell my story” (S. Thounaojam, 2014).

It is in this context that Shumang Leela can raise an important issue on Transgender identity as it has been their platform for many years. Some Transgender join Shumang Leela because they find a community here, they find acceptance. As in their daily walk of life they are treated as second class citizens or sex objects. The very moment, they came out of the stage; they are ridiculed as a second class citizen, and treated as

sex objects. No other art form in Manipur gives so much importance to Transgender. Many people watch Shumang Leela because of the Nupi Shaabis.

Ritual and social construct of Shumang Leela

Performance in Shumang Leela involves ingenuity where the artistic representation of the actor must synchronize with the thought process of the viewers. These 'modes' of semiotic resources include aspects of speech such as intonation and other vocal characteristics, the semiotic action of other bodily resources such as gesture (face, hand and body) and proxemics. A symbolic communication process takes place between the audience and the performers, as Peirce argued that interpreters have to supply part of the meanings of signs (Peirce, 1880). Different semiotic resources used in Shumang Leela thus bring with them their own practicality and limitations, both in isolation and in permutation, as well as challenges in terms of the natures of the media, the detail and scope of analysis, and the complexities arising from the integration of semiotic resources across the theatrical media. Shumang Leela performances is particularly challenging as the actor is directly in front of a large audience without the usage of any screen or curtain. The performance space is open to the audience without any barrier. For example, in general stage performances darkness can be realistically constructed with the usage of lighting system whereas in case of Shumang Leela the seclusion and shadows are constructed with the actor's gesture and kinesics, accompanied by background music in some cases.

Shumang Leela is a theatre of the people both in terms of its 'form', 'content' and its community social relationship. The audience are mostly seated on floor as per their seating preferences with the men folk on one side and the women on the other. The audience structure is representative of the societal milieu. Shumang Leela unifies the audience as they are fully engrossed in the play by the actors and they are taken to performance space through its content and form; prevalent social stratifications are forgotten as free intermingling takes place. Demand of Shumang Leela performance has increased in local events and festivals because it caters to the popular taste with its secular elements. Some feel that the sanctity of certain religious festivals like Laiharaoba is diminished with the inclusion of Shumang Leela which incorporates secular components viz. film music, dances, etc.

The theatre form is integrated in different life cycles (birth, marriage and death) of a person in the Manipuri culture. Shumang Leela is associated with marriage ceremony. The groom's side funds a play from a theatre group of the bride's choice. The play is staged in the bride's courtyard a couple of days prior to the wedding. Shumang Leela is also performed on the eve of Soisti Puja of a new born baby. It is a birth ritual performed on the sixth day after the birth of a child. In some cases the Leela is also performed on during Sorat which is a death ceremony held on the thirteenth day after a person passes away. Shumang Leela in this sense also attains a ritualistic fervour, seeing very less departure from devotional theatre forms. Some political parties also use the theatre art for political campaigns. Thus, the art form is multifaceted in nature. Kidd (1984) mentions: "the plays grew out of the situations, experiences, and analysis of the actors ... They create their own dramas out of their own collective analysis of their immediate situation and the deeper structures in which they are embedded. This is a genuine expression of the people".

Conclusions

Though the market of Shumang Leela is small, it is slowly expanding by finding a platform reaching out to global and national audience. There are challenges from other forms and medium of entertainment like cinema, digital and electronic medium which appeals more to the youth. Shumang Leela enjoys more popularity than stage shows owing to its mobility as it can be performed in any courtyard. However, electronic reproduction of the theatre form through video recording and live telecast of the same has brought about a different counterbalance in the performance and revenue generation arena of Shumang Leela. This can be in the line of arguments raised by postmodernist social theorists that reality has been replaced by hyperreality, which suggests that the sign is now more important than what it stands for. Hyperreality, a term associated with the effects of mass production and reproduction and suggesting that an object, event, experience so reproduced replaces or is preferred to its original: that the copy is “more real than real” (Baudrillard and Brooker, 1992).

MacBride report (1980) states that, “even where modern media have penetrated isolated areas, the older forms maintain their validity, particularly when used to influence attitudes, instigate action and promote change. Extensive experience shows that traditional forms can be effective in dispelling the superstitions, archaic perceptions and unscientific attitudes that people have inherited as part of tradition, and which are difficult to modify if the benefits of change are hard to demonstrate. Practitioners of the traditional media use a subtle form of persuasion by presenting the required message in locally popular artistic forms. This cannot be rivalled by any other means of communication.” For over a decade now, there has been a movement in the Manipuri society to conserve the Manipuri culture. It is in this light Shumang Leela brings a blend of cultural preservation by also being socially relevant with its strong community oriented messages. Semiotics of Shumang Leela constructs meaning of the Manipuri society and culture that it depicts through its powerful texts and narratives. These representations of Manipuri signs are understood to be combinations of signifiers. Crucial codes and conventions which make the signs into a narrative performance generate meanings which have been used for development communication.

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Government Officials' Perceptions of Public Relations in Indonesia

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Abstract

This research attempts to illustrate the perception of Public Relations (PR) profession in Indonesia. Adapting past research from Sterne in 2010 which research described media perception in New Zealand, this particular research explore the perceptions not from the media, but from government officials.

Information was extracted from representative of government officials since they represent the various types general public. In Indonesia, it is compulsory for every government office belonging to a department (headed by a state minister) to have a PR officer. Government officials with various backgrounds represent the variety of government department in Indonesia. The informants were carefully selected, choosing only individuals not directly involved or associated with any PR institutions and/or activities.

Several notions emerge that shape the embodiment of perception of PR profession in Indonesia, based from the government officials. The most dominant notion is gender stereotyping, where PR is considered as area of work suitable for female professionals. Other notion is the misconception of PR work as spin-doctors rather than actual PR with sets of rules and ethics. Previous two notions and other findings of government officials' perception are classified into three categories: relationship-related; job-description; and social status. Irony arises, where government offices' are obligated to have a PR officer by state-law, yet this study's findings indicated their lacking of knowledge for ideal/actual PR work.

The research propose further research based from a model developed from this research to allow a more thorough understanding to the general public's perception of PR Profession in Indonesia.

Keywords: Public Relations, Public Relations Practitioners, Public Perception, Communication Management, Indonesia

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Background

In Indonesia, it is compulsory for every government office belonging to a department (headed by a state minister) to have a Public Relations (PR) officer/division. There are several regulations introduced by the government that regulates the practice of Public Relations within the organizational structures of Government Institutions.

The first one is, *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 14 tahun 2008 tentang Keterbukaan Informasi Publik* (Indonesian Law no. 14/2008 about public information disclosure); a government offices/institutions are not allowed to withheld information important for public consumptions. Sensitive information must be delivered using a 'single gate policy', where each government institutions must use a designated spokesperson or PR officer.

The second regulations is, *Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri no. 13 Tahun 2011 tentang Pedoman Pelaksanaan Tugas Kehumasan di lingkungan kementerian dalam negeri dan pemerintah daerah* (Minister of Interior regulations no. 13/2011 related to the guidelines for implementations of PR practices within the ministry and provincial/local government offices) and *Peraturan Menteri Negara Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Birokrasi Publik No. 30 Tahun 2011 tentang Pedoman Umum Tata Kelola Kehumasan di Lingkungan Instansi Pemerintah* (Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform regulations no. 30/2011 related to the guidelines for implementations of PR practices within government institutions). The two regulates the definition and scope of PR, and explains about the functions and proper PR procedures for government institutions. Some of the more important issues that are discussed in the regulations are the definition of PR and scope of Government Public Relations (GPR).

According to the regulations, the Definition of PR; PR in a government institution (government PR/GPR), is an individual/organizational activity by a person and/or division of a government office, whom/which practices the management functions in the field of communications and information to the public, stakeholders of an office and vice versa.

Also found in the regulations, is the Scope of GPR; PR management, professional relations and coordination between government offices, media analysis, communication crisis management, dissemination and documentation of information, PR practice monitoring, PR practice evaluation

The laws in detailed, regulates how PR as a profession and/or management functions, should work strategically within each government offices management structure, to co-create important messages and manage communications with/to the public.

Yet, there was a very interesting statement delivered by Mr. Rudiantara (2015), Indonesian minister of communications and information technology related to the demand of professional PR within the government; "The Profession of Public Relations is not new to the public, but only few really understand about the importance of PR as a profession and on how PR works are done. Government Public Relations are also lacking in competence."

The statement reflects how the government sees the existing condition of GPR in Indonesia. The statement was delivered simultaneously with a massive recruiting effort from the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform to recruit 150 GPR officers nationwide, to be placed in strategic government offices as an effort to improve the quality of PR practice by government offices.

It is very critical to discover how would government officials perceive the profession of PR, as it would serve as foundation for better PR practice within the government in Indonesia.

Purpose and Method of Study

This research attempts to illustrate the government officials' perception of Public Relations (PR) profession in Indonesia. Adapting past research from Sterne (2008, 2010), which in 2008 attempts to describe the business perceptions of PR in New Zealand, and in 2010 described media perception in New Zealand. Different to Sterne's study, this research explores the perceptions from government officials; Information was extracted from representative of government officials with various backgrounds to represent the variety of government departments in Indonesia.

The informants were carefully selected, choosing only individuals not directly involved or associated with any PR division and/or activities (not belonging to any department which is responsible to do PR activities). 30 people belonging to the middle to top management in various government office were interviewed about how they see PR as a profession and what do they think about the relationship of PR with their organizations.

Originality/Value

This study should serve as bases for further study concerning the perceptions of Public Relations in Indonesia, as no such study has been completed in Indonesia, so this this study can also provide information for comparison of similar studies of perceptions of PR. This research also provides insight for PR practitioners in Indonesia on the role of PR within a government institution/office.

Research Limitations

Due to resource limitations, geographically, the research fails to accommodate every possible population in terms of provincial division, as the researcher only interviewed government officials from West Java, Special Capital District of Jakarta, and Banten Province. Careful considerations should be taken when generalizing the result of the study to generalize the entire population of government officials in Indonesia.

Past Research on PR Profession Studies

Sterne (2008, 2010) studied about Business and Media Perceptions of PR in New Zealand. In the 2008 research, the study showed that business CEOs had a low opinion of public relations practitioners. They tended to see PR as an integral part of doing business. They also saw reputation management as best conducted by themselves rather than a consultancy – except in a crisis. A clear distinction was made

between PR (consultancy based) and corporate communication (in-house). None of the companies used the term PR in their in-house communications titles. Communications managers distanced themselves from PR, claiming instead to offer integrity-based, transparent communication. Marketers saw PR as serving marketing. CFOs and Legal Counsel saw PR as serving strategic objectives but were skeptical about the competence of communications practitioners to deliver strategic communication.

In the 2010, media perceptions of public relations in New Zealand are largely (but not exclusively) negative. The relationship has four faces – sworn enemies; traditional rivals; close collaboration; and being in a different place (not connecting). Antagonism from media practitioners is largely based on experiences with public relations practitioners but also on self created identities. Variations are due to power differentials such as self and other definition, realities in the media landscape, and perceived misalignment of interests.

Damayanti and Perbawasari (2015) studied about how university students in Indonesia perceive the strategic role of PR. University students believe that (1) the strategic role of PR is related to how close the PR Officer to the decision maker. If a PR Officer is not close to the decision makers, one cannot influence strategic PR works. (2) PR science that are learned in higher education, is relevant to the current PR Practices. (3) PR Officers should have standardized PR competencies, computer literate, and foreign language is a plus.

Ali and Roy (2013) studied about the perceptions of Public Relations from Communications Scholars and PR Practitioners in Bangladesh. The study was conducted due to the widespread negative attitudes create misunderstanding about this profession, which ultimately degrade the status of this job. Ali and Roy's paper aims to deconstruct the negative perceptions of public relations through examining the views of communication scholars and public relations practitioners of Bangladesh. The most important finding in this study is that the majority of respondents agreed that PR is an ethical and honorable profession, which has enormous importance in society. The respondents think that it not only provides media relations, but also a managerial and spokesperson position that bridges the gap between the public and the ruling class.

Ferdiana (2010) studied how employees of Perum Perhutani in Kediri (a state-owned plantation company in Kediri, East Java) consider PR position and function within the company. The perceptions of government workers on PR practice within their organizations is generally good, where the respondents believed that PR practices are conducted well and provide a beneficial result to the institution. Internally PR practices help with information traffic, and externally help maintain the institutions image to the public. PR officers also serve as information gatekeeper, delivering important information to stakeholders.

The study from Amalia (2011), attempts to illustrate the perceptions of government employees in Banten province regarding code of ethics on PR practices. The study shows that PR staffs from Banten province are aware of the ethics and code of conduct of PR practices, but in reality, putting practice into practice is very difficult

due to circumstances in the province. For example, the media has a habit for paid publicity by GPR officers for a news expose in the media.

Sani (2011) studied the Optimization of GPR functions in Indonesia. Relevant to this particular study, the research from Sani (2011) was also prompted by the implementation of Minister of Interior regulations no. 13/2011 related to the guidelines for implementations of PR practices within the ministry and provincial/local government offices. The study takes on GPR staffs works within the ministry of interior in Indonesia at shows that GPR staffs acknowledged the Minister of Interior regulations no. 13/2011 related to the guidelines for implementations of PR practices within the ministry and provincial/local government offices, pushes GPR within the institution to step up the level of professionalism and as an effort to push public participations. The study also acknowledges four important notions that arises from the regulations' practices related to GPR activities which are; public information service, public affairs, media content analysis, and crisis management.

Findings

As explained in the previous part, this research explores the perceptions from government officials where information was extracted from representative of government officials with various backgrounds to represent the variety of government departments in Indonesia. Several department and government offices was randomly selected,

30 people belonging to the middle to top management in various government office were interviewed about how they see PR as a profession and what do they think about the relationship of PR with their organizations. Sampling method was not employed, as subjective approach in determining informants was required. This study decided to take informants that are willing to cooperate and be interviewed and has to fulfill certain criteria for the research purpose (Babbie, 2010). Since past research from Sani (2011), Damayanti & Perbawasari (2015), also Ali & Roy (2013) indicates that people with more knowledge on PR practices tend to know more about the ideal PR practices, this particular research decided to select informants choosing only individuals not directly involved or associated with any PR division and/or activities (not belonging to any department which is responsible to do PR activities). The number of informants was decided based on the limited amount of resources that could be allocated for the study, in terms of time and financial support.

Adapting Sterne's study about business perceptions of PR in New Zealand (2008), informants were interviewed with open-ended questions, probing with issues related to GPR practices within informants' offices/institutions. The interview also started with some openers to warm up with such as top of mind responses to terms like "advertising", "social responsibility", "marketing". Structured questions such as, "What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of PR?" were followed up by exploratory funnel questioning about social responsibility, the place of PR in the institution, and who has responsibility for such things as reputation management, crisis communication, image building, community relations and tracking on changes in stakeholder opinions. The research also explores about the general activities and job descriptions of GPR officers and what is their opinion on PR activities, related to their work.

For analyzing the data, this study utilized symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) to explore definitions and concepts with the goal of uncovering embedded sources of discourse creation (Griffin, 2000; Babbie, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

The research findings were categorized into three groups, (1) relationship-related, (2) job description, and (3) social status. The following are the explanations related to the research findings. Several responses that were similar in responding to a common theme are grouped into one defining statement, and the numbers in parentheses indicates the number of people that provided the statements.

Relationship-related

This category includes how government officials see GPR based on their relationship with GPR officers on their regular activities. Participants were asked on how would they identify their relationship with PR and how would their work should relate to PR activities. It is quite alarming to know that most of the responses are quite negative for this category as follows:

- PR not involved with strategic meetings (2)
- PR only inform news and policies, not involved with decision-making (3)
- PR too nosy about office information (10)
- PR is unimportant, only complementary function within office (9)
- PR should not interfere with regular activities of the office (5)

PR should not be involved in strategic meetings and not involved with decision-making. Some informants believe that instead of working strategically within the management functions (Cutlip, Center, & Bloom, 2000), PR should not be involved in such activities.

“It is to my understanding that GPR work on informing the media and public should be based on our (top management) instructions.” Other informant also noted the same opinion: “PR officers should just do their work. I don’t think they need to take part in important meetings that is not related to their activities.”

These insights reflect a poor understanding on the strategic role of PR. Some of them didn’t believe that PR should take on the strategic role within an institution for their work. And relevant to the previously explained notions, some informants also thinks that PR shouldn’t know important information and tends to get ‘too nosy’ about office information.

“...I really don’t like it when (a) PR officer start asking around about critical information that is not related to PR works. It is none of his business. I don’t think that PR should know all information, right? ...They should only know what they should write in the releases to the media.”

“PR is only for handling media. If it is not regulated by the state, I think the position is only a waste of resource... my office doesn’t really need a PR. PR works can be handled collectively.”

What is most alarming is the notion that PR work is not important and should not interfere with office activities. The statement of PR work as unimportant is quite humoring as the importance of PR has already been acknowledged in a state law. In

terms of internal relationship aspect, PR works may sometimes interfere with regular office activities and relevant to previous notion, PR officers should also have a good understanding to internal issues (Cutlip, et al., 2000).

Job Description

This category explains the GPR job-description based on government officials point of view. Some of the informants already have a good understanding of regular PR works related with the media such as:

Write news releases (11)
 Create promotional activities (13)
 Liaison for media (7)

Most informants are very well informed about the relationship of PR with the media:

“...When we (our office/institution) have a new policy, it is PR’s responsibility to spread it to the media.” Others also noted: “If a reporter come to our office, we always send our PR guy to help them with inquiries and other activities.”

PR is also known to take responsibility in creating promotional activities:

“Our PR always do the promotion in the media and create events for awareness related to our office’s policy.”

Although there are also some responds on misconception of trivial works that are somehow stereotyped for PR works, which includes:

Take pictures during official events (7)
 Accept guests (25)

The stereotype for PR officers to work as ‘official photographer’ during official events and ceremonies in Indonesia is quite common, as many businesses also do the same practice.

“...Yes we always have our PR officers taking pictures during ceremonies and seminars.”

PR officers are also the one to meet should an official guest come to visit a government office, especially for people with official purposes.

“When a guest is present, and he/she doesn’t know which specific department to visit, we always send the guest to the PR department.”

The most alarming findings about PR works are the informants’ responds related to crisis and/or critical situations in a government office. Most of the believe that PR works as ‘fire extinguishers’ that handles crisis if one should occur, and it is acceptable to spin facts or lie if necessary, and the most surprising finding is about PR as scapegoat. Should a government office made a mistake, PR should take the blame and become the shield to the office. The following is the recap:

Fire extinguisher; if crisis occurs handle at all cause (24)
 Spin Doctors; spin facts, lie if necessary (15)
 Scapegoat; if crisis occurs, GPR are to blame (8)

“It is PR’s responsibility to put out the fire. Handle the media, deal with the community, do some CSR to clean up the mess.” Other informants also stated: “...White lies is necessary, particularly during the time of crisis.” And similar to the statement, other informants also mentioned: “Facts can be bent to suit our need. It is PR job to do so.”

Regarding the role of PR as a shield when a crisis occurs, one informant uttered:

“...Well, that’s why we have PR. The superiors can stay clean, while PR deals with the media to explain the mistake...”

This kind of ‘spin doctors’ stereotype of PR, still occurs today and even some PR people do practice the activity up to this date. It is not the actual PR work, where PR should work based on fact and delivering the appropriate information to the stakeholders (Cutlip, et al., 2000).

Social Status/Classification

The other findings are classification and social status of PR officers based on the responds the informants. The result can be summarized as follows:

Prefer Female (28)

Educated/skilled in communications (7)

Good personality (19)

Can be accepted by every stakeholders (9)

The latter three criteria are somewhat relevant to the ideal qualities needed for PR works (Cutlip, et al., 2000), while the former is a nationwide preference of PR officers. Business and also government offices prefer PR officers to be female, past research from Smith (2006) indicates that Australian GPR are predominantly female, with the number of 71%. Kurnia and Putra (2004) conducted a qualitative study of gender preference of PR professionals in Indonesia, observing in the area of Yogyakarta, Java. The research concluded that the service industry, prefer female PR officers, and more than one per third GPR officers in government institutions are female. The preference of PR female workers is within the technical areas, where institutions prefer female to be ‘the face’ of the office.

Conclusions

Irony arises, where government offices' are obligated to have a PR officer by state-law, yet this study's findings are quite concerning--it indicates the lacking of knowledge for ideal and/or actual PR work from government officials. The most concerning findings are related to fact of PR as spin-doctors, and also as scapegoat. Gender preferences should also be taken into account, as there is a dominant female preference for GPR officers.

The research propose further research based from the categorization developed from this research to allow a more thorough understanding to the general public's perception of PR Profession in Indonesia. A more measured attempt with larger sample to confirm the perceptions of government officials' perceptions on PR is proposed, as it will give a measurable depiction on the reality of PR practices in Indonesia. The question of why has also not been answered, why would the

perceptions of government officials' are quite low when it comes to knowledge and ideals related to PR practices. The government should utilize the research to carefully decide on future strategic policy related to PR practices in Indonesia.



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Socio-Political Influence on the Ideologies of Daniel Craig's Bond Films: The Power that Lies Within

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Abstract

James Bond is arguably one of the widest-reaching, longest-standing and most influential film franchises of our time. In this sense it can also be seen as a source of great power, a medium by which certain ideologies can be conveyed to many people. When it comes to deciphering these ideologies and their origins, much as been written about the influence of the Cold War on the ideas and themes contained within the earlier Bond films. However, the socio-political backdrop for the Daniel Craig era has been rather different so how might this have effected its ideologies? Craig's films are interesting to look at in this regard as they have been particularly sensitive to socio-political shifts even within the actor's tenure. It can be argued that contextual factors such as the Anglo-American War on Terror and the London 2012 Olympics have contributed to a shift in the representation of Bond's national identity between *Casino Royale* and *Skyfall* and, most recently, *Spectre* represents another set of values and ideas that can be linked with the relinquished interest in Britain post-Olympics, and growing fears surrounding ISIS and public surveillance. This paper attempts to map some of the ideas and themes conveyed in Craig's Bond films to possible influences from their socio-political contexts, with a particular concentration on *Skyfall* and *Spectre*.

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Introduction

Gramsci's concept of Hegemony, now a canon text for social theorists, argues that the public are 'living out Marxist thought' by engaging in cultural activities that reinforce dominant ideology (Gramsci, cited by Fiori, 1971, p. 112). Bringing this concept into a contemporary environment, scholars such as Todd Gitlin, argue that popular culture and media texts serve as important tools in conveying dominant ideology of the time:

The artifacts are produced by professionals under the supervision of cultural elites themselves interlocked with corporate and, at times, state interests; meanings become encased in artifacts, consciously and not; then the artifacts are consumed. (Gitlin, 1987, p. 240)

Gitlin goes on to explain that the media's role in promoting dominant ideology is a complicated one that involves acknowledging a small amount of 'watered-down' oppositional opinion in order to convince the public that their interests are being reflected: 'The hegemonic commercial cultural system routinely incorporates some aspects of alternative ideology and rejects the unassimilable.' (1979, p. 251)

In light of these theories, it seems important to look at the ideologies conveyed by the James Bond films, which have reached such a wide audience since they were first brought to the big screen over 50 years ago. While the ideas and themes in the earlier James Bond films can be linked to the influences of the Cold War, the Daniel Craig era presents us with a new set of ideologies derivative of a more contemporary socio-political environment. Shifts in the contextual factors within the Craig era itself can also be linked to differing ideas and themes between each of his films and *Skyfall* (Sam Mendes, 2012) and *Spectre* (Sam Mendes, 2015) present interesting case studies as the former indulged in the hype surrounding Britain during the London 2012 Olympics while the latter is placed in the aftermath of this British love affair: Scotland voting to leave Britain and a renewed fear of terrorism via ISIS.

This paper will attempt to map links between some of the ideas and themes in Daniel Craig's Bond films and socio-political factors of the time, with a particular concentration on *Skyfall* and *Spectre*. As part of this aim to establish links between Bond film ideology and contextual factors it is important to understand the enduring relationship that the franchise has with its socio-political environment.

The Bond franchise and political ideology

The Bond franchise is one that has grown out of socio-political influence. It began life as a series of spy novels written by Ian Fleming, a former naval intelligence officer, who used his experiences in the Second World War to influence his stories. In the 1960s the novels were translated to the big screen via North American producers Albert R. Broccoli and Harry Saltzman at a time when the Western news and political agenda was dominated by the Cold War: a state of political and military tension, following the Second World War, between powers in the Western Bloc (including the United Kingdom and the United States) and the Eastern Bloc (led by the Soviet Union). The influence of the cold war on the early Bond films is clear as they were aimed at Western audiences who watched the British spy hero single handedly save the day in a world constantly threatened by tensions with the Soviet Union. Many of the Bond villains were explicitly linked to the Eastern Bloc and the SPECTRE

organisation of villains provided an obvious reference to the real life Soviet counter-intelligence department SMERSH.

Writing about ideological influence on the early Bond films, cultural sociologist Tony Bennett considers the context for the 1960's Bond films: the Cold War and 'swinging Britain.' He argues that in planting the narrative in an ongoing battle between the Capitalist West and the Communist East, and regularly showing instances of Bond's free and independent sexuality as a Western citizen in a hierarchy-less society where anything is possible, 'Bond provided a mythic encapsulation of the then prominent ideological themes of classlessness and modernity' (1987, p.34). Bond was effectively promoting Western ideals. Tony Bennett summarises this interplay between Bond films, ideology and audience by arguing that political and cultural ideologies of the time infiltrate both the construction of the films and their reception as part of a three-way relationship in which the ideologies 'mediate the relations between texts and audiences' (1987, p.6)

The cold war influence on the Bond franchise endured throughout the 1970s and 1980s as the films continued to show our sexually free British hero, thwarting villains associated with the Eastern Bloc and maintaining a rivalry between the Security Services of the British (MI6) and the Soviet Union (KGB). This continued all the way up into Pierce Brosnan's tenure in the 1990s with the plot of *Goldeneye* (Martin Campbell, 1995) being particularly influenced by the history of British-Soviet relations.

However, following the end of the Cold War and the change in the socio-political landscape throughout the 1990s and 2000s it is useful to consider Tony Bennett's model when looking at Daniel Craig's revised version of Bond. Leading up to Craig's first Bond film, *Casino Royale* (Martin Campbell, 2006), the socio-political landscape was dominated by the Anglo-American war on terror and it can be argued that this had an effect on the downplaying of Bond's Britishness and Craig's portrayal of a more Anglo-American hero, representing Western values in the face of terrorism. The plot of *Casino Royale* concerns Bond's mission to bring down a financier of terrorism, he even thwarts a terrorist plot to blow up a plane, and Craig's interpretation of a more vulnerable hero, both emotionally and physically through the sight of his injured body, signals a move for the British hero to adopt traits of a more American one, thus becoming a representative for the West. As Lisa Funnell explains, *Casino Royale* took Bond in a new direction towards a physical body focus, reminiscent of the American action film stars of the 1980s and also in line with an 'emerging trend in Hollywood... to integrate the moral dilemmas of the new man with the visual iconography of the hard body' (2011, p.461).

In Craig's second film, *Quantum of Solace* (Marc Forster, 2008), any trace of Bond as a British hero seems almost eradicated as a combination of corrupt government and service officials, an organisation of evil insiders and a personal vendetta lead Bond to relinquish clear national allegiances. Writing about this in 2011, Georgia Christinidis also discusses this shift in Bond's national identity and states that 'the process that has, over time, turned him into an international hero has been completed' (2011, p.87).

However, in *Skyfall*, there is a rather dramatic shift to a patriotic, British Bond and this is a theme that was made explicit before its release through promotional material, thus it represents an important ideology for the film. It is interesting to look more closely at this theme and to consider the socio-political context that may have influenced its inclusion.

Skyfall

The sense of British nationalism is rather overwhelming when looking at the preview literature and marketing materials that were released in the build-up to *Skyfall*. Several of the film posters and sponsor products use the flag of Britain, the Union Jack, or Big Ben to establish a firm affiliation with Britain. The images released to film magazines such as *Empire* for their preview article on *Skyfall* (entitled 'In Defence of the Realm') also evoke patriotism as Bond looks out over London, one can see Big Ben and a Union Jack flying in the background, thus making his Britishness explicit. This particular *Empire* article also refers to the rather large selection of well-known British cast and crew members hired for *Skyfall*: the director Sam Mendes, Judi Dench, Albert Finney and Ralph Fiennes. It certainly feels like the producers were trying to strengthen Bond's affiliation with Britain. Leading up to *Skyfall*'s release it was also confirmed that Adele would perform the theme song for the film, the first recognisably British act to do so since Duran Duran with *A View To A Kill* in 1985. (Garbage, who performed *The World Is Not Enough* in 1999, were a Scottish-American rock band and thus not distinctly British.)

The first teaser trailer released for *Skyfall* also begins with Bond standing on a rooftop looking out over a recognisable London backdrop as we hear a voice say 'country' and Bond responds with 'England'. The British references continue as the audience is presented with images of Union Jack adorned coffins and the crashing of an iconic London underground train.

Perhaps the most obvious indication of *Skyfall*'s British nationalist ideology was the James Bond sketch Daniel Craig filmed for the London Olympics opening ceremony in July 2012. In this short sequence, Bond is taken out of his fictional world and portrayed as if he really is working for the British Queen as he reports to her at Buckingham Palace. In an attempt to further cement James Bond's association with British nationalism in the run up to *Skyfall*'s release, the producers also allowed images of Bond to be used in a VisitBritain campaign for the British Tourist Authority.

With such dominant themes of British patriotism, especially after two films that had downplayed Bond's British national identity, it is interesting to consider the socio-political context for *Skyfall*, which may have influenced this shift in ideology.

Worldwide interest in Britain began to grow in late 2010 with the royal engagement of Prince William and Princess Katherine. A media frenzy ensued and the Wedding was broadcast live worldwide with people travelling from other countries to catch a glimpse of the couple going into Westminster Abbey. This event demonstrated that traditional British ceremonies, such as a Royal Wedding, are highly valued by a global audience. At this point, international audiences were also looking to Britain as

it prepared for both the Olympic Games and the Queen's Jubilee in 2012. *Skyfall* seemed to capitalise on this global interest in Britain and ideas of Britishness.

Looking more closely at the film itself one can analyse how these themes of British nationalism are represented in order gain an understanding of the particular ideas that are being conveyed.

Skyfall makes its ideological shift from *Quantum of Solace* explicit through the 'reincarnation' of Bond. In the opening sequence, Bond appears to be killed, and is presumed dead by his employers at MI6. Following this, a terrorist attack at MI6 kills several of Bond's colleagues and M (played by Judi Dench) looks over their Union Jack adorned coffins in one of the strongest nationalist moments of the film. Linking Great Britain's flag with death in this way is to emphasise that the murder of British subjects has taken place: an attack on people who serve British society and therefore an attack on British-ness itself. This is what provokes Bond to 'resurrect' himself by coming out of hiding and 'reporting for duty'. The patriotic Bond of old seems to have been reborn. This is made even more explicit when the villain of the film, Da Silva, later asks Bond what his hobby is to which he replies 'resurrection'.

Skyfall includes an unprecedented use of British settings for a Bond film and this emphasises Bond's 'home turf' and the foreign terrorist, Da Silva, from which he is defending it. An action sequence set on the London underground sees Bond chasing Da Silva through the iconic train carriages and out onto the streets of Westminster. Later, in the film's climax, comes the literal depiction of Bond and M defending the country as they turn Bond's Scottish estate into a fortress and British actor Albert Finney joins in the fight against Da Silva. There is real sense of patriotism here - of a 'coming together' to fight for Great Britain - a country that's worth fighting for. In this sense the producers have made a distinct decision to move away from the premise of *Casino Royale* and *Quantum of Solace* whereby the villains were working within the trusted organizations of the West. In the case of *Skyfall* the threat is from the outside coming into Britain to wreak terror and it is up to Bond to save the day. This plays on the idea of British pride, already prevalent thanks to the Royal Wedding and the Olympics mentioned earlier. This also taps into Western audiences' continuing anxieties over terrorism following the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent war on terror.

Skyfall was a huge success making \$1 billion internationally by the end of 2012. However, since then the global hype surrounding Britain has well and truly died down and it can be argued that the British public itself have become somewhat disillusioned with its own country. This makes for an interesting shift in the socio-political backdrop for Craig's next outing as Bond: *Spectre*.

Spectre

In 2013 British comedian Russell Brand became a champion for the British public's growing frustration with its political establishment. Public anger and unrest had previously been expressed through the nationwide riots in 2011 and in public outcry at the MP expenses scandal: the revelation that members of British parliament had been over-claiming their expenses and thus using tax payer's money to fund things such as their second homes. However, Russell Brand, being a public figure, personified this anger and was able to infiltrate the 'home turf' of politicians by

challenging them on news and political television shows such as the BBC's Question Time. In July 2013 Brand was even interviewed by political commentator, Jeremy Paxman, on Newsnight, at which point Brand called for a revolution. Since this Britain has seen a Scottish independence referendum, in which Scottish residents very nearly voted to separate Scotland from Britain and this event has since sparked conversations about Wales holding their own independence referendum. The general election of 2015 also presented further evidence of the public's disillusionment with British government as much of the lead-up coverage predicted a hung parliament in which no party gains enough votes for an overall majority. When the results came in the Conservative party won with a very slender majority. Certainly these events demonstrate that the former sense of British pride and patriotism that was rife leading up to the release of *Skyfall* has disintegrated somewhat, but what other ideas can one deduce about the socio-political context for *Spectre* on a wider scale?

Terrorism continues to dominate Western political and public agendas and the emergence of terrorist organisation ISIS has been a big part of this. The last few years have seen online propaganda videos created by ISIS aimed at Western countries and footage showing the beheadings of captured American and British civilians. ISIS initiated attacks have also included the shooting of European holiday makers in Tunisia in 2014 and the attacks in Paris in November 2015 that have resulted in the deaths of 130 civilians. This has added fuel to the Anglo-American war on terror as British and American military presence in Iraq and Syria has been increased to fight against ISIS.

The use of media and technology by terrorists has been a factor in the increase of public surveillance through laws such as America's Patriot Act and the UK's Investigatory Powers Bill, which is currently being drafted. However, this has, arguably, created its own form of fear as the loss of information privacy has become an issue of much debate and concern. In 2013, Edward Snowden, a former CIA employee, claimed that a number of global surveillance programs were being run by America's National Security Agency with the cooperation of European governments. The most controversial of these programs has been PRISM, which was described by Glenn Greenwald of the Guardian newspaper as allowing officials, 'to obtain targeted communications [including internet search history, emails, file transfers and live online chats] without having to request them from the service providers and without having to obtain individual court orders.' (June 2013) Snowden's revelations have fueled many concerns about government surveillance.

With all of these socio-political factors in mind how might they have had an influence on the ideology of *Spectre*? When looking at the marketing and publicity material for the film one can identify some emerging themes in line with the relinquished interest in Britain and British pride after *Skyfall*.

As soon as the film's title, *Spectre*, and the cast and characters were announced, back in December 2014, there was much speculation about whether the film was going to delve deeper into Bond's dark past. This is not only because the title indicated the return of the organization SPECTRE that had given Bond his most formidable enemies in the earlier films, but also because Christoph Waltz had been cast as Oberhauser, who, in the original novels, acted as a father figure to a young Bond and was later shot, leading Bond to seek revenge. The first publicity shot of Craig for

Spectre is very simple and serious, perhaps an indication of this delve into Bond's dark roots and certainly a far cry from the image of a suited and booted Craig in front of a London backdrop, which was the dominant image from the *Skyfall* publicity material. *Spectre*'s move away from such British nationalist themes can be seen to reflect the drop in interest in Britain after *Skyfall*.

Looking at the teaser trailer for *Spectre*, the first shot used seems to visually depict and thus confirm this breakdown of British patriotism as we see the bombed wreckage of the iconic MI6 building in London. The trailer goes on to include the villainous Mr White from Craig's first two films and also shows us what looks like a meeting of a secret organisation. This indicates a return to the ideas set up in *Casino Royale* and *Quantum of Solace* whereby a secret organization of villains dispatched members to infiltrate the trusted political and security organizations of the West, including MI6. This had Bond not knowing who to trust and brought British organisations' integrity into question - a far cry from the distinctly good British versus the evil foreign terrorist in *Skyfall*.

This trailer also indicates that Bond himself has something dark to hide as he holds a photograph and Moneypenny tells him 'you've got a secret, something you can't tell anyone.'

The first full trailer for *Spectre* expands on this when it seems this secret is causing Bond to act behind the back of MI6 as his boss, M scolds 'you had no authority...none!' and Bond later asks Q to make him disappear. It is also later suggested that he has a link with the SPECTRE organization. All in all this suggests a far cry from the patriotic, country-serving Bond of *Skyfall*.

In the film itself, it is indeed Bond's personal, unauthorised journey to find out about a dark element of his past, which drives the narrative. However, a subplot also sees Bond and MI6 dealing with the repercussions of terrorist attacks. The socio-political influence here is made particularly explicit when Bond is informed of a bombing in Tunisia, thus tapping into the audience's memories and fears surrounding the shootings there in 2014 and reinforcing the 'war on terror' agenda. As *Spectre* moves along we learn that it is terrorist attacks like this that have led to the development of Central Network Surveillance (CNS) an organisation led by the sinister 'C', who wants total public surveillance and regards James Bond and MI6 as obsolete in today's world of terrorism. The film then sets out to prove 'C' wrong, of course, by showing the negatives of surveillance and with Bond and MI6 ultimately saving the day. One can argue that this taps into the debates surrounding information privacy and maintains the interests of the audience in this way. However, in this surveillance subplot, it is also interesting that so much onus is placed on 'C' as a bad guy. Firstly, the actor playing C, Andrew Scott, is recognisable to Western audiences as the evil Moriarty from the BBC's recent adaptation of *Sherlock*. His character is also placed in direct opposition with well-known good character M, and they repeatedly engage in a war of words. In general, 'C' is not a nice character – to add any more to this at this point may spoil the plot for those who have not yet seen *Spectre*. All of this is important because it means that the negative aspects of surveillance are directly attributed to 'C' – a bad individual. As M says in the film with regards to surveillance 'it's important who is controlling it.' Thus *Spectre* reflects an issue relevant to the audience – fears around public surveillance - but it is careful not to completely dismiss the idea of surveillance by suggesting that any negative impacts it might have

are down to who is controlling it rather than the technology itself. This idea is reinforced by the fact that the heroes of *Spectre* are working for MI6, which is a security service that essentially surveys certain people, and Bond's ally, Q, uses surveillance technology for good in the film.

Returning to the theories about ideology introduced at the beginning of this paper, one can argue that *Spectre*'s surveillance sub plot, provides an example of Todd Gitlin's idea of the complicated role that media texts can play in promoting dominant ideology. In this case the public's concerns regarding surveillance appear to have been voiced, however, *Spectre* plays out this concern in a way that keeps it in-line with dominant political ideology: the Western political agenda to maintain some form of surveillance in the fight against terrorism.



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***Police-Community Relationship in Kuwait:
Public Relation Approach***

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The Asian Conference on Media & Mass Communication 2015
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Abstract

Police force is an important element of society which has been vigorously investigated by scholars and thoroughly examined by social researchers. This paper intends to explore the Kuwaiti police in relation to its community from a public relations perspective. The co-creational approach, a major public relations theoretical concept, assumes that both the police and the Kuwaiti community are co-creators of meaning. Therefore, identifying these co-creators' perspectives is essential in order to understand the phenomenon at hand. This paper utilizes the qualitative paradigm that acknowledges the importance of the participants' frame of reference. Twenty-two participants, of community members and police officers, are interviewed and their answers coded and transcribed. These semi-structured interviews have been the basis of the data collection process, which is structured around formally existing concepts (relational elements of trust, satisfaction, control mutuality and commitment). The qualitative sampling techniques of quota and purposive sampling are also used. In the analysis, the two themes of Faith and Communitarianism emerge, representing a key context for the public relations theorist. They contribute to our understanding of public relations in the context of Kuwaiti police-community relations. The findings highlight important issues that form obstacles to a better police-community relationship. The most salient of which is the organization's communication style. This paper has extended the body of knowledge on public relations in the specific context of police public relations in Kuwait. Furthermore, this thesis demonstrates how environmental/contextual factors (Kuwaiti history, culture and economic conditions) could influence organization-public relations.

Keywords: police, public relations, community, power

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Introduction

This paper explores current police-community relationships in Kuwait. No previous research on this particular topic is known; therefore, I am breaking new ground. As a result, I have formulated the research question and its qualitative, thematic methodology to cover all possible aspects. Specifically, the question is: *What is the current relationship status between the Kuwaiti community and its police?*

The reason for the general nature of this question is important because it allows the research to be flexible enough to cover all possible aspects of this unknown phenomenon. In answering this question, the research is driven by a public relations focus equipped to address the police-community relationships as seen in the rest of this paper.

Kuwaiti police

Kuwaiti society existed, survived, and progressed for more than two hundred years without organized police. Policing was the responsibility of these localized communities, the structure of which was organized through other institutions, and motivated by social responsibility (Crystal, 2005). This function and mentality of the Kuwaiti police is related to its purpose for existence and evolution. The Kuwaiti police did not emerge “to handle regime- threatening internal dissent” (Crystal, 2005, p. 180), but were instead established to keep peace and order within the state, to protect people’s property, and to enforce the law (Ministry of Interior, 2013).

At this point of history, the obligations and accountability of the police towards the Kuwaiti community is clear, which means that the police organisation is legitimized in the community eyes, since it represents the community's values and needs. However, the police organisation has been through a “complex process... [that] occurred in conjunction with the development of Kuwait as a modern nation state” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p.1). During the 1950s and 1960s, this mirrored that of a crude oil revolution that realized a sudden rise in wealth for the country and its citizens.

The police organisation began “as a small domestic police service... and emerged into a small national armed force in the mid-1950s” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 89). The police department has grown in complexity along with the government: its powers expanding and its role more explicit (Al-Refaei, 1990). However, the police become an “an instrument of the State” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 89). Control now falls under the Ministry of the Interior, which itself is governed by the Emir. This is in accordance with the constitution of Kuwait, which states that “the Emir of the State is considered to be the chief of the police” and the Ministry of Interior is the immediate superior of the police (Constitution of Kuwait, 1962).

By better understanding the context of the force’s creation and purpose, one is also better able to understand the relationship between the police and community. Therefore, the philosophy of policing practiced by the police institution and manifested through its communication approach is an essential element in co-creating this meaning with the community.

Kuwaiti community

Kuwaiti community is collectivistic high-context culture, and so there is an emphasis on the group rather than on the individual. In this sense, the members of Kuwaiti culture are primarily concerned with the needs of the group and thus tend to view 'self' as entrenched in group relationships (Al-Husaini, 2004). This feeling strengthens the rule of 'obligations' over 'rights'. For example, those decisions essential to one's life, such as marriage and career, are influenced by group decisions and may be more group-oriented than in a low-context community (Al-Krenawi and Graham, 2005).

Arab society, both traditional and contemporary, considers the family as the basic unit of social organisation (Barakat, 1993). The Kuwaiti family is heterogeneous due to the fact that Kuwaiti people are descended from different cultures and civilizations, e.g. from Saudi Arabia, Iran and Iraq (Hadi and Al-Fayez, 2002). Kuwaiti society is family-oriented, where the family is generally very closed and private (Al-Thakeb, 1985). It consists of a closely-knit, yet extended family circle, with some members only distantly related. Thus, the family is a cohesive institution, with individuals helping out with the many different tasks within the family, supporting each other, rallying around in times of difficulty, and often pooling resources for business ventures or to overcome hardship (Al-Mekaimi, 2003).

In high context cultures, as Kuwait, the emphasis is on non-verbal communication and subtlety, rather than frankness. Thus, ambiguity and obscurity characterize conversations in a high-context culture (Zaharna, 1995). Furthermore, High context communication is identified by Hall as involving "more of the information in the physical context or internalized in the person" (Hall, 1976, p. 79). In other words, greater confidence is placed on the non-verbal aspects of communication than on the verbal aspects.

The origin of Kuwaiti ideology is to be found in the Islamic religion as well as tradition and culture (Alsuwailan, 2006). Arabs are heavily influenced by their religion, to the degree that most Arabs use the words Muslim and Arab interchangeably, which causes confusion as to what is religion and what is culture (Bledsoe, 2005). Religion is often practised as if it were part of Arab culture and old culture is adopted by some who think it is Islamic (Hill, Loch, Straub and El-Sheshai, 1998). Kuwaiti culture itself is derived from Arab tribal tradition –the original *Utub* were tribal Arabs (Bedouin) from the interior of Arabia, who changed to a settled way of life on the coast. Bedouin tradition has been reinforced over the centuries by the constant migration of tribes through Kuwaiti territory (Ghabra, 1997).

Public Relations in Kuwait

Arabs have utilized public relations for thousands of years (Alanazi, 1996). A famous example is the press release, first used by the Babylonian government in the year 2000 B.C., for the purpose of teaching Babylonian farmers ways of increasing crop yields (Sriramesh, 2009, p. 997).

An interesting fact is that the word 'public' (i.e., a group of people) does not exist in Arabic public relations textbooks (Al-Enad, 1990). Public relations literally translated,

the Arabic term means 'general relations'. Al-Enad (1990) provides two possible explanations for this: it could be a result of the political sensitivity to the word, shunned in order to distinguish it from the similar idea of 'public opinion', or it could be the result of unintentional mistranslation in the past that no one has attempted to change (p. 24).

The fact that such concepts and words are lacking in Arabic texts hints at vagueness in the field. Al-Enad (1990) describes this by noting the differences in developing countries, where modern public relations is imported from Western societies based on a democratic atmosphere, technological development, middle class growth, large scale business, etc. (Al-Enad, 1990). Most developing countries lack such infrastructure; thus, applying similar ideas to such a different culture creates the vagueness with which it is taught. In addition, there exist many Arab-centric conditions that are unique, some of which are noted by Kirat (2005), including the relatively short history life of modern public relations practice, the perception of public relations as a governmental tool, and the collective nature of the Arab culture and its effect on the idea and practice of individual freedom and opinion.

In practice, most Arab public relations practices function to disseminate public information (Al-Enad, 1990, Kirat, 2005). Kirat (2005) goes so far as to say that most public relations practitioners' duties are "secondary PR jobs such as assisting customers, guests, fulfilling hospitality functions at the expense of professional public relations, strategic planning, research and providing top management with sound advice" (p. 324). Although Kuwait has a fair atmosphere for public relations, including considerable advances in advertising, a relatively free media and political structure, as well as a strong economy, it is still in its relative infancy when it comes to public relations (Musallam, 2004).

Public relations in public sector

According to Al-Enad (1990), public relations in the Middle East, especially in the public sector, is different in terms of its purpose and mission from that of developed countries. He believes that one of the reasons behind such differences consists of "environmental factors", such as the authoritarian theory of the press. He also believes that public relations in governmental agencies in the Middle East work as information offices to achieve one or two goals: a) to educate the public on subjects related to the clients' fields of work, increasing their knowledge of pertinent issues, and persuading them to behave or act differently (e.g. to go to school, immunize, obey traffic rules, etc.), and, b) to publicize the achievements of clients and/or society as a whole in order to encourage public satisfaction (Al-Enad, 1990).

Police public relations departments are not much different from others in the public sector in terms of purpose and shortcomings. It began in the Ministry of Interior in 1955 as the press sector, charged with entertaining police force members and conducting awareness campaigns (Al-Refaei, 1990). Furthermore, as a whole, the police public relations department has virtually no role in the decision-making process of the police structure or organisation. Its mission is solely to distribute the organization's message and interpret the media and public's response. The role fits Al-Enad's (1990) general description of governmental public relations in Middle East, marked by a "purpose [which] is unbalanced, and the tools are the mass media which

not only publish and transmit whatever comes from government public relations but have no power to edit or change any part in most cases” (p. 25).

Theoretical frame

In order to accurately illustrate the current relationship, this research utilizes two major theoretical concepts: the co-creational approach (relational approach and community theory) which focuses on organisation-public relationships.

The Co-creational Approach

The co-creational perspective is the newest. It has shifted public relations from a functionalistic approach, where the goal of public relations is a means of achieving organisational goals (Botan and Taylor, 2004), to an analysis of meaning from the perspective of the public. In essence, the public and the organisation act as co-creators of meaning. Within this perspective there exist several theories and approaches, the most salient of which are the relational approach, co-orientation theory, accommodation theory, and dialogue theory. This paper has selected the relational approach and community theory which “explicitly share [the co-creational] values” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652).

The relational perspective

Ferguson (1984) was credited with this new regard for public relations—she proposed a paradigm shift in the public relations field, from focusing on effective communication towards an analysis of organisational-public relationships (OPRs); she used the relational approach, but only as a unit of analysis for public relations research. Ehling (1992) described this change as “an important change in the primary mission of public relations” (p. 622). In contemporary public relations theory, the new concept of ‘relationship’ (as a unit for analysis) has been both accepted and pushed further toward a comprehensive paradigm.

The emphasis on value-recognition is the motivating factor behind the relational perspective, where ‘value’ is defined as an approach’s ability to deliver a message while simultaneously reducing costs. The theory states that this is best accomplished by building long-lasting, strategic relationships with the public.

Furthermore, the relational approach, as a co-creational theory, is applicable and valuable in this research context. The police-community relationship case is approached from the public relations perspective; that is, from the co-creational angle, focused on building and maintaining a healthy relationship with the community. Since there is no available data describing the current relationship, the first step in this direction is to assess the current relationship status of the police- community relationship.

Therefore, the relational dimensions of trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality have been implemented. Although the relational perspective has identified more than twenty dimensions, these four are the most often utilised and validated in organisation-public relations studies (Cortese, 2008). Furthermore, the focus of the relational approach on the relationship as a unit of analysis helps this research reveal the current status of the police-community relationship.

Community theory

Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) are credited with having been the first to support community relations in public relations studies (Hallahan, 2004). The authors believe that the mission of public relations should be the restoration and maintenance of the sense of community, where “the greatest stakeholder—the ultimate environmental consistency—is society itself, to which such corporations are ultimately and irrefutably answerable” (p. 59). By embracing such a view, an organisation should be able to accommodate community differences, thus reducing conflict. Ledingham (2001) explains that “in this perspective, public relations techniques and processes act to resolve differences within the social system comprised of organizations and the publics with which they interact” (pp. 286-87). Other public relations scholars (i.e. Wilson, Culbertson, and Chen) also understand the importance of community and have called for a greater focus on the community in public relations (Hallahan, 2005). For example, Wilson (1996) believes that “public relations must begin to think of our publics and our organizations in the sense of community” (p. 74).

In short, this co-creational perspective is useful in this research for two primary reasons: 1) this approach has the unique “potential to identify an appropriate framework or methodology to effectively evaluate the relationship between an organization and its public” (Jahansoozi, 2006, p.78), and 2) applying such a framework could help the police better serve their public by improving the public relations as more than just “protocol tasks, publicity functions and secondary roles” (Kirat, 2005, p.326).

Methodology

The methodological qualitative approach is design to tackle the issue using the co-creational approach. The interview was the main qualitative method used in this research. The rationale behind employing interviews as a data collection method is to obtain first-hand information about the police-community relationship. However, it is worth mentioning that the interviews were structured around existing concepts (relational elements of trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality) rather than having a more open approach. However, the interviewees were also asked questions relating to their understanding of the role of the police force, their experiences of the police force, and their opinion of the purpose of the police force in Kuwaiti society. In this research, two groups were included in the population sample: 1) community and police members, and 2) the community and the police elite.

This study uses a combination of two sampling techniques; specifically, that of quota and purposive sampling, where quota sampling is used to identify members of the Kuwaiti community. Purposive sampling is used to identify special participants with unique contributions. The implication of quota and purposive sampling techniques on this research sample produced four categories of participants including community members, police members (quota sampling), community elites, and police elites (purposive sampling).

Findings

The resulting interview data was reviewed using thematic analysis, which is a process that searches for patterns and meaningful themes within the interview data. In conducting this analysis, Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide to a six-phase analysis was used. The data also were analyzed using deductive and inductive approaches. The deductive approach is represented by the use of relational factors developed prior to the data collection. Through this process, the fruit of which consists of two identifiable themes: *police role* and *police-community relationship*.

Police Role

Police role is an overall theme discovered while coding the data, based on the inductive thematic approach. Within this overall theme, it appeared that multiple themes help determine an individual person's conception regarding the intended purpose and actual role of the police in Kuwaiti society, each falling under one of two worldviews, i.e. *Faith*, whose proponents presume that the police must exist because society needs a police force, and its members, are sacred, at times even idealized; and *Communitarianism*, whose proponents assume that the police force is yet another one of many necessary government institutions that exist to service the community.

Faith

With the *Faith* worldview, interviewees expressed their unconditional support of the police and their ability to keep social order. This worldview premise regards social order as paramount and the police as the pre-requisite for this social order, even for society. Therefore, a society without police is a society headed for demise. In terms of characteristics, this view idealizes the police by describing their presence and power with the Arabic term “*Kudwah*” which is an Arabic reference to political power, or “swagger”.

The emotional attachment of the *Faith* worldview influences the participants' perspectives on police ineffectiveness and abuses because they hold social order (and the police force's ability to provide order) as more important than occasional police abuses. In effect, the *Faith* view influences the participants' perspective of the police, where they project positive attributes onto the police beyond what the police actually deserve. This is done because of the feeling that the police are not only necessary, but are also comforting when one believes that their police force is fair and effective.

Communitarianism

This term, *communitarianism*, is a philosophical theory of social obligations and relationships which emphasises the social-community role in terms of the way a country ought to function. Such an idea of the importance of community was articulated by the participants in this research. However, that was through the police-community relationship, where some interviewees acknowledged the community's importance in the relationship, as opposed to those with the *Faith* worldview.

In other words, the community believes that it should have the power and, furthermore, the responsibility, to determine the role of police. With the

Communitarian worldview, police exist to serve the community, where their performance is based on how well they do so in serving the community's needs.

In comparison with the *Faith* worldview, the *Communitarian* worldview is less emotionally committed/ loyal. It is more practical, where citizens constantly evaluate police behavior in order to decide whether it supports their stated role. Regardless of community composition, however, the *Communitarian* view ascribes no sanctity to the role of the police officer beyond that which the community grants him; rather, the worth of a police officer is measured by his contribution to the community as the centre of this relationship. In this view, community members have the right to monitor police performance through the country's civil society institutions.

Police-Community Relationship

The study applied four relational elements in discussing the police- community relations; however, the trust was the most discussed element and had significant influence according to the interviewees. The other three elements had mild effect in relations the police- community relationships. Therefore, trust exclusively presented in this research findings.

Trust

Regardless of the participants' perspectives, in terms of the influence of the worldviews, every interviewee acknowledged the existence of such trust issues. However, the interviewees held diverse perspectives. For instance, the *Faith* worldview is one that is completely in favor of trusting the police implicitly, often ignoring or justifying police mistakes. On the other hand, the *Communitarian* worldview is critical of police performance.

Actually, Goldsmith (2005) acknowledged that such trust might exist in relation to the community's trust in the police because the police have power and control in society which places them (p. 445). Therefore, the *Faith* worldview encourages trust in the police regardless of their performance.

The *Communitarian* worldview emphasises the idea that the police are merely a function to protect and keep order within the community. With this view, community members monitor police performance. Their view is more critical of police performance, since there is no need to revere police in order to feel safe; thus, there is less obligation to trust the police beyond police performance.

Police behavior and communication style were the most visibly discussed issues in relation to trust. In this context, the behavior of the Kuwaiti police force was the most discussed sub-theme during the interviews, perhaps because police behavior is the most visible aspect of police duties. The interviewees discussed all sort of police misbehavior ranging from rudeness, lack of sympathy, impoliteness, carelessness, incompetence, to the criminal behavior of police brutality and torture.

The *Communitarian* view seems to have the most vocal of critics in regard to this point, insisting that the police do not correctly understand their role as community servants. In other words, the behavior of the police force towards the community

indicates that the police lack understanding of their position in the power dynamic between themselves and the community they serve. The *Communitarian* camp tends to look at the flaws in police conduct so that the force can become better at protecting and serving the community in future.

This contrasts with the *Faith* worldview, which recognizes occasional police indiscretions but largely ignores them because there is the belief that the police are necessary for civil stability. This worldview believes that the police officers are the community elite who have been chosen to do an honorary task which is to protect civilians. In this sense, the police are an elite force and the holders of arbitrary power that “know what should be done” (Gaines and Worrall, 2011, p. 36).

Furthermore, the interviewees showed great interest of police communication style. However, as expected, the two worldviews have contradictory perspectives of the obligations of communication. The *Faith* view emphasises the community’s cooperation with police as central to the community's stability. However, with the *Communitarian* worldview, the community as the centre of this relationship where the police accountable by informing the community.

With the *Faith* worldview, the police have a central position; a glorious mission that helps to secure community stability. Therefore, the media, along with other institutions, need to cooperate with the police to accomplish such a goal. The media's role in such a scheme is to enforce the positive image of the police. The media's effort should therefore be for the encouragement of the community’s trust in the police, since trust is obligatory for the police-community relationship to thrive. The *Communitarian* view, on the other hand, incorporates the belief that the media are not obligated to trust the police. They are however, obliged to report on police performance without positive or negative bias.

In short, *Faith* desires positive reports so as to maintain faith in the institution (i.e. the police) and keep social order. Therefore, the negative coverage of the police is destructive, not only to the police-community relationship, but to the way that people think of police in general. On the other hand, in the *Communitarian* view, the media monitors police behavior, abuses, and performance; it checks the police against its communitarian purpose—to keep order in society without abusing police power.

Interestingly, both *Faith* and *Communitarian* perspectives were critical of police public- relations performance, though for very different reasons. The first blame the department for the negative image of the police by not better controlling the information flow, while the latter blame the police for not being more transparent. The *Faith* view of police public relations is as a gatekeeper, a sentiment that is related to the functionalistic approach and one that “creates and disseminates information that helps the organization to accomplish its goals” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). In this perspective, the public relations department is expected to maintain a positive police image regardless of actual behavior.

The *Communitarian* view of police public relations functions is at odds with this perspective. According to Taylor (2010), communitarian PR falls under the co-creational approach, which perceives the police and community as co-creators of meaning. According to this approach, public relations “uses communication to help

groups to negotiate meaning and build relationships” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). However, there is a feeling that the police PR department has fallen short of its community function, instead focusing on protecting the police department and its management from attack. That was clearly articulated by some interviewees and their concerns with police PR incompetence.

Discussion and Conclusion

The results show that the co-creational approach is a suitable alternative for the current practice of a functionalistic approach to police public relations. The approach assumes that both the police and the Kuwaiti community are co-creators of meaning, where community input in decision making is valuable and appreciated. This approach encourages the police organisation to be open to the community and to communicate more transparently. More importantly, this shift in police public relations practice will improve “protocol tasks, publicity functions and secondary roles” (Kirat, 2005, p. 326), where more members of the force are brought into management activities and decision-making. In short, the co-creational approach to public relations will improve the relationship with the public. Moreover, this shift from a functionalistic towards a co-creational approach will improve the efficacy of the public relations department.

Despite the fact that this traditional view has been abandoned by many cultures (Anderson, 2005), the Kuwaiti police still follow traditional ways. Policing scholars also agree that the emergence of community policing is a result of pressured change with regard to traditional policing.

The adoption of the community policing approach will help to improve behavior and communication styles by addressing the root issue. This adjustment will require the police to adjust its goals and mission, aligning it to the goals and mission of its community. The openness of the communicative system will help the policemen to understand the community members’ attitudes towards the police. This will consequently improve police effectiveness, as they will be “actively engaged with the environment and creating many boundary-spanning roles linking the organization to its immediate task environment as well as social, cultural, and economic environments” (Greene, 2000, p. 314). Furthermore, community policing will bring about accountability through the acknowledgment of the police's role in the community.

Communication style will, by definition, become more open. It will shift away from a functionalistic approach and transmits its point of view, as opposed to listening to input from the community. Community policing and a co-creational communication approach will help to remedy this issue. This leveraging of the PR department will eliminate some of the need for media voices regarding police affairs. Consequently, the department will acquire a more prominent role in community dialogue.

In summary, this paper has added to public relations theory as it has extended the body of knowledge on public relations in the specific context of police Public Relations in Kuwait. This will help to round-out existing police PR data, especially by adding a Middle Eastern and Arabic perspective to otherwise Western theories (e.g. Relational, Community). Furthermore, this paper demonstrates how environmental

factors (*Faith* and *Communitarian* worldviews) could influence organisation-public relations.



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Insights into the Coverage of the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis in Japan's English-Language Newspapers

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Abstract

This paper presents the preliminary findings of a study into the reporting of the 2011 Fukushima nuclear crisis in Japan's two major English-language newspapers. Coverage in the print editions of *The Japan Times* and *The Daily Yomiuri* (now *The Japan News*) between 11 March and 12 May 2011 was examined to determine, primarily, whether it could be said to have been alarming, reassuring, or relatively balanced and neutral. This assessment was undertaken in response to conflicting criticisms that the media was sensationalizing the nuclear crisis while the Japanese government and Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO), the utility in charge of the Fukushima nuclear plant, were downplaying the severity of the situation. A mixed-method content analysis, with both a quantitative coding component and a qualitative critical discourse analysis component, was used in the study and data meeting and going beyond the primary research objective were obtained. This paper focuses on findings pertaining to the framing of the nuclear crisis, use of sources, keywords, representation of the energy and political authorities involved, and the reporting of radiation information in the two newspapers. The implications of the findings fall beyond the scope of this cursory working paper, but a call is made for further analysis and research.

Keywords: Fukushima, nuclear crisis, radiation reporting, disaster coverage, newspaper analysis.

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Introduction

On March 11th, 2011, the northeastern region of Japan was struck by a magnitude nine earthquake that caused a series of tsunamis. More than 15 000 people were killed, with many thousands more injured (IAEA ..., 2011). Over one million buildings were damaged (Fukushima Accident 2011, 2013). The natural disaster also resulted in a loss of cooling capacity at the Fukushima nuclear power plant complex in Fukushima Prefecture, with the release of large quantities of radiation into the atmosphere and ocean. A nuclear emergency was declared and people within 20km of the plant ordered to evacuate (Fukushima Accident 2011, 2013). The nuclear crisis continued over the following months, eventually receiving classification as a Level 7 event - the highest level - on the International Nuclear Event Scale (Fukushima Nuclear Accident Update Log, 2011), putting it on par with the 1986 Chernobyl disaster.

While the Fukushima nuclear crisis raged, the Japanese government and Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) were accused both of withholding information (Słodkowski & Saito, 2013) and downplaying radiation data (Onishi & Fackler, 2011), with a subsequent loss of public trust. At the same time, the mass media were strongly criticized for alleged fear-mongering on the one hand, and being overly reassuring on the other (Harper, 2011; Tollefson, 2013; Brasor, 2012).

In times of disaster, the media play a key role in communicating information to the public, who are generally unable to access the area or facts on their own. Media reports may influence people's perceptions of and decisions about a crisis (Vasterman, Yzermans, & Dirkzwager, 2005). As a result, content analyses have been performed on the coverage of the 1979 Three Mile Island nuclear accident in the mass media (Rubin, 1987), Chernobyl (Friedman, Gorney & Egolf, 1987), and Fukushima¹ (Perko, Turcanu, Geenen, Mamani and Van Rooy, 2011).

Japan's English-language newspapers, while serving a large non-Japanese readership, have been largely ignored in disaster communication studies. It was thus deemed pertinent to examine their coverage to determine whether it could be said to have been alarming, reassuring, or relatively balanced and neutral. The results of this assessment are presented below, following insights from the large quantity of additional data that were obtained during the study.

Newspaper Profiles

Basic data on the history, structure and readerships of the two newspapers are necessary to provide contextual insight into the study, and are provided here.

The Japan Times was founded in 1897 and is Japan's oldest, as well as only independent, English-language newspaper. It is published by The Japan Times, Ltd (The Japan Times: About Us, n.d). Since October 2013, it has been printed and sold with *The International New York Times*. The circulation of *The Japan Times* is over 45 000 copies, with 62% of copies delivered directly to homes (The Japan Times/International New York Times Media Information, 2014). Actual readership

¹ A study of Belgian newspapers.

figures are two to three times higher, with one copy being read by several people. 72% of readers are non-Japanese.

The Daily Yomiuri was officially launched in 1955; a tabloid that evolved into the (non-identical) broadsheet sister publication to the Japanese-language *Yomiuri* newspaper. It was renamed *The Japan News* in April 2013. The newspaper has official partnerships with *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Times* in the United Kingdom (The Japan News – the best ..., n.d). As of 2015, the circulation of *The Japan News* was over 24 000 copies, with 75% delivered directly to homes (The Japan News Media Data, 2015). The actual readership figures are estimated to be 1.4 times higher. 40% of *The Japan News* readership is non-Japanese. The *Yomiuri* is part of The Yomiuri Group, Inc, Japan’s biggest media conglomerate. The newspaper is viewed as having right wing, nationalistic tendencies (Gaulene, 2010).

	<i>The Japan Times</i>	<i>The Japan News</i>
Price	210 yen	150 yen
Slogan	"All the news without fear or favour"	None
Frequency	Monday - Saturday	Every day
Year Founded	1897	1955
Headquarters	Minato, Tokyo	Otemachi, Tokyo
Number of Staff	160	2 500 (Yomiuri)
Circulation	45 620	24 681
Readership	127 700	34 500
Associated Publications	<i>The International New York Times</i>	<i>Yomiuri, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, The Times.</i>

Figure 1: Basic comparative data on *The Japan Times* and *The Japan News*.

Methodology

A mixed-method content analysis, comprising a quantitative coding component and a critical discourse analysis component, was used to examine the coverage in the two newspapers.

For both newspapers, all texts containing the term “Fukushima” in the date range March 11th, 2011 to May 12th, 2011, were retrieved from electronic databases. After eliminating duplicates and unrelated articles, 137 texts remained from *The Japan Times*, and 247 remained from *The Daily Yomiuri*. All of the these were read and coded for: area focus; issue focus; keywords used; units of measurement used for radiation data; radiation risk comparisons; focus of radiation risk coverage; sources; inclusion of criticism of TEPCO, the Japanese government, foreign media and foreign governments. Coding sheets and a guiding booklet were designed specifically for the study.

Hand-coding was used throughout, with the author coding all of the articles. To confirm reliability, two other people were trained and asked to code 50 articles each. This number is taken as the minimum sample size to be used when checking reliability (Neuendorf, 2002). Inter-coder reliability was then calculated using Krippendorff's Alpha, suggested as the standard reliability measure for content analyses (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). Krippendorff's Alpha was found to be 0.711, which indicates an acceptable level of inter-coder reliability.

The quantitative coding was followed by an extensive critical discourse analysis of the coverage. Following guidelines set out in the literature (Richardson, 2007; Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Van Leeuwen, 2013a and 2013b), repeated close readings of the texts (including headlines) were performed, with agency, descriptive language, emotive images, viewpoints, and framing the aspects focused upon. Criticism and praise were considered where present.

Findings

Of the 247 total texts from *The Daily Yomiuri*, 197 were classified as news articles, and 50 were opinion pieces (editorials and columns). 112 of the 137 *Japan Times* texts were news articles, with 25 opinion items. The main findings of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of these texts are presented, very generally and (due to publication restrictions, necessarily) in brief, below. These and other findings, not presented here, are discussed comprehensively in Finn-Maeda (2015).

Overall, *The Daily Yomiuri* was found to be slightly more moderate than *The Japan Times* in its framing of the nuclear crisis itself (that is, events at the plant). *The Daily Yomiuri* tended to use fewer threatening emotive words, and more formal and technical language, except in texts that featured a struggle/solidarity² narrative or were critical of the Japanese government. Interpretation and analysis was not common.

The language of *The Japan Times* tended to be more casual with more frequent use of threatening emotive language, and the texts generally included more interpretation and analysis, arguably rendering them more accessible to readers. *The Japan Times* also made use of shorter, albeit slightly more alarming headlines than *The Daily Yomiuri*, which favored longer, more technical headlines.

Each newspaper text was checked for instances of 12 categories of keywords: fear, calm, trust, distrust, threat, safety, control, chaos, struggle and support words, and the terms Chernobyl and Three Mile Island. Both chaos and threat words were identified

² Tollefson (2013) identifies and explains this as texts that emphatically highlight the difficulties faced by people directly affected by the nuclear crisis, such as evacuees, or have a rallying call urging support from the rest of Japan. These are problematic in that they silence expressions of anxiety and criticism and interpellate readers into a position of dutiful solidarity to their fellow citizens. This quote from an article about the hardships of emergency workers at the nuclear plant, that used only nameless sources, exemplifies the above: "The woman told her daughter, 'Dad chose to go because of his sense of responsibility toward his job. Now he's working for everyone.' The daughter smiled and replied, 'My Dad's great. He's a hero.'" (Goto, Mori & Maeda, 2011).

in a slightly higher number of news articles in *The Japan Times*. Chaos words were found in 62% and 49% of news articles in the two publications, and threat words in 83% versus 75%.

A struggle/solidarity narrative was prominent in *The Daily Yomiuri*, but almost entirely absent from *The Japan Times*. Related to this is that when looking at the geographic foci of the newspaper texts, *The Daily Yomiuri* was found to have a substantially greater focus on Fukushima Prefecture. A significantly higher percentage (27%) of *The Daily Yomiuri* news articles contained struggle words compared to *The Japan Times* (12%). This difference is reflected in to *The Daily Yomiuri*'s higher focus on the issue of affected people and their difficulties.

Incidentally, the words Chernobyl and Three Mile Island were mentioned in just 17 out of 112 news articles and four of 25 opinion pieces in *The Japan Times*, and 10 out of 197 news articles and eight of 50 opinion pieces in *The Daily Yomiuri*. Three Mile Island appeared in the body of five news articles and one opinion piece in *The Japan Times* and 10 news articles and four opinion pieces in *The Daily Yomiuri*. Where the words were mentioned, it was mostly in the context of distinguishing the nuclear events. They were not used as alarming comparisons except in a handful of headlines in *The Japan Times*.

Regarding the reporting of radiation, coverage in *The Japan Times* was found to be more frequent clear and thorough than *The Daily Yomiuri*. The percentage of news articles that in some way acknowledged a significant level of radiation-related risk was almost the same in both newspapers (just under 50%), but this risk was depicted more concretely and directly in a greater proportion of news articles in *The Japan Times* than *The Daily Yomiuri* overall. *The Daily Yomiuri* often characterized the risk in vague terms or backgrounded it entirely, resulting in a downplaying effect.

It was also found that *The Daily Yomiuri* characterized public fears about radiation as irrational, while *The Japan Times* did the opposite, expressing a sense of empathy in its articles. For example, *The Daily Yomiuri* said in an editorial: "The government should carefully explain the vital differences between the Chernobyl and Fukushima Prefecture accidents to prevent public anxiety from spreading and to control damage that could be whipped up by groundless rumors" (Nuclear accident's ..., 2011). *The Japan Times* were less inflammatory, making statements like, "trust in Japanese products and services won't be restored until Japan can be counted on to provide correct information about the crisis (Trusting imports ..., 2011)".

Examination of information sources found that both newspapers primarily relied on the Japanese government and TEPCO. 69% of news articles in *The Japan Times* contained Japanese government sources, compared to 57% of news articles in *The Daily Yomiuri*. TEPCO was quoted in 33% of articles in *The Japan Times*, and 35% of articles in *The Daily Yomiuri*. This reflects the global tendency of newspapers to primarily use government and industrial sources in articles (McCombs, Holbert, Kiouis, & Wanta, 2011; Freeman, 2000). Many of the articles in *The Japan Times* and *The Daily Yomiuri* used these sources exclusively, evidencing a high level of establishment bias (Singer & Endreny, 1993).

It was noted that *The Japan Times* included more alternative voices as sources, such as Greenpeace and WHO. These were absent from *The Daily Yomiuri*. The latter had more single-source articles that seemed like press releases from the Japanese Self Defense Forces, U.S. military, and technology companies.

The critical discourse analysis of *The Daily Yomiuri* revealed a strong pro-U.S. bias, the construction of a collective national “us” in editorials (through consistent use of the pronoun “we”), and support for the retention and further development of nuclear power. Editorials and even news articles were harshly critical of Prime Minister Kan³ specifically and, for the first few weeks, sympathetic towards TEPCO (thereafter becoming equally critical of the power company).

The Japan Times was found to be more broadly, and less emotively, critical; questioning TEPCO and the Japanese government as well as the broader nuclear industry. The newspaper also expressed support for alternative energy sources. The publication was found to be more liberal overall than the pronouncedly right-wing *Daily Yomiuri*.

Many of the findings stated above are, as can be observed, peripheral to the underlying research objective, which was to determine whether the coverage in the two newspapers could be said to have been reassuring, alarming or relatively balanced and neutral. Taking into account and going beyond the above findings, several conclusions can be drawn from the results of the mixed-method analysis.

As an extra part of the coding process, the newspaper texts were rated as alarming, reassuring or neutral by the coders, based on framing, word choice, headlines and overall impression. This rough classification found 38% of the news articles and 40% of the opinion pieces in *The Japan Times* to be alarming. Only 14% of news articles and two opinion pieces were categorized as reassuring.

In *The Daily Yomiuri*, only 16% of news articles and 12% of opinion pieces were found to be alarming. Similarly, 14% of news articles and 18% of editorials were classed as reassuring. These percentages were confirmed during the critical discourse analysis stage of the study.

Overall, it was found that both newspapers mostly occupied a relatively neutral, balanced middle ground. The higher frequency of threatening emotive words and more broadly sceptical, critical approach of *The Japan Times* resulted in a higher proportion of its texts being classified as alarming. However, the newspaper was consistently more objective, and sympathetic to readers concerns. Thus, the finding that the newspaper’s coverage had more alarmist characteristics does not mean that it can be immediately written off as sensationalistic, or otherwise poor, in its reporting.

The Daily Yomiuri was, as previously noted, found to be moderate in its coverage except where stories constructed a struggle/solidarity narrative or criticized the

³ Kan was the leader of the opposition Democratic Party. *The Daily Yomiuri* is aligned with the Liberal Democratic Party (Tollefson, 2013), which may have influenced the critical approach taken by the newspaper. *The Daily Yomiuri* described Kan’s management of the crisis as “bungling” (Kan must refrain ..., 2011) and called on him to either work with the opposition LDP (Public wants ..., 2011) or step down (Pressure grows ..., 2011).

Japanese government. Though the same proportion of texts in both newspapers was reassuring, it was found that the editorials in *The Daily Yomiuri* were more frequently and emphatically reassuring than those in *The Japan Times*, which were far more frequently alarming.

As mentioned above, *The Daily Yomiuri* demonstrated right-wing biased, nationalist tendencies in its coverage and downplayed the risks of the radiation from the Fukushima nuclear plant, depicting the public's nuclear-related anxieties as irrational.

The study noted that both newspapers were strongly critical of the Japanese government and TEPCO despite their reliance on them as sources, which could have positive inferences for the role of (at least one section of) the Japanese press.

While the potential implications of the preliminary findings stated here are manifold, consideration thereof falls beyond the scope of this working paper. Further analysis is necessary, and it is hoped will provide a valuable contribution to the (lacking) body of literature on the English-language media, and media in general, in Japan.

Conclusion

This short paper has presented the preliminary findings of a mixed-method analysis of the coverage of the 2011 Fukushima nuclear crisis in *The Daily Yomiuri* and *The Japan Times*. Insights into the framing of the nuclear crisis in the two newspapers, information sources used, criticisms expressed, and reporting of radiation risk have been shared in addition to the results of the guiding research objective, which was to determine whether the coverage could be said to have been alarming, reassuring or relatively balanced and neutral overall. As has been shown above, while the coverage was mostly relatively neutral, the answer is complex. Further analysis is not only recommended, but required.

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Advertorials as a Public Relations Tool and its Impact on Newspapers and Readers

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Abstract

The declaration of an advertorial (by printing the word 'advertisement' on the article) although counter-intuitive, produces positive impressions on the reader about the publisher. This study began by investigating the effect that inserting the word 'advertorial' has on the readers' impressions of the publishing house, by exhibiting a collection of advertorials. The first part of the study explored what factors readers felt contributed in building the credibility of newspapers, and the ethical practices surrounding advertorials.

The subsequent experiment measured the change in perceived credibility within two similar groups of readers who were shown the same advertorial; one was simply given the advertorial piece while the other was informed so.

The research followed both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Qualitative analysis, comprising of a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and Depth Interviews was conducted to list out the possible factors that affect creditworthiness of any newspaper. Further that output used in the quantitative analysis to understand which factor was rated most important.

This academic research is empirical in that it draws out the factors that affect creditworthiness. It is deductive insofar as it quantifies the degree to which perceived credibility is affected by the term 'advertorial'. This study uses two-way ANOVA approach to analyse the data.

The study established that readers perceived different levels of credibility for different newspapers. Upon revealing that the article exhibited was an advertorial, the perceived credibility rating improved. This result can be explained by the current shifting views of modern society that seek honesty (or disclosure) in even unconventional scenarios.

Keywords: Public Relations, Advertorial, Source Credibility, Self-disclosure

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An Introduction

Advertorials are a potent communication tool with a reputation for deception. This portmanteau of the words advertising and editorial¹ (Oxford Dictionaries) refers to any piece of communication in any media that is sponsored by a brand and endorsed by a publisher. Advertorial differ from editorial content by the exchange of money or favours moving from the brand to the publisher for the endorsement.

This expanding practice unsettles the media industry by undermining the credibility of editorials, a tested Public Relations (PR) tool with legitimacy. Advertorials are accepted in degrees ranging from approbation to rejection and are acknowledged by professionals as popular, if not infamous.

Most studies have inspected the audience's perception of advertorials, with emphasis on their consumer behaviour. This paper, however, explores public perception of ethicality in advertorials, and the effect such knowledge has on the reader's impression on credibility of the advertorial piece.

Aim and Objectives of the Research

To study advertorials used as a PR Tool, from the readers' perspective and thereby understand the changing credit rating of the publication and the overall impact on the publishing industry. Specifically:

- i. To study readers' (changing) impression of advertorials and understand their expectation of newspaper credibility and ethics;
- ii. To link whether information about article/newspaper, when self-disclosed alters readers' impression about the publishing house regarding credibility and ethical practices; and
- iii. To learn if declaring advertorials is regarded by readers as self-disclosing information about newspapers.

Literature Review

Type of Advertorials and the Scope of this Essay

Advertorials were defined by Goodlad, Eadie, Kinnin, and Raymond (1997) and rephrased by Robinson, Ozanne and Cohen (2002) as 'print advertisements executed in the editorial style of the host publication'. As its use widened (Elliott, 1984), the definition extended to native advertising and infomercials (Prounis, 2004). Notably, the quality of execution and resemblance to the host publication varied (Goodlad et al, 1997; Fry, 1989). This paper will exclusively examine the editorial content in newspapers.

¹ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/advertorial>

The History of Advertorials

The nature of the subject² has been explored extensively and as early as 1984, Elliott's paper investigated the idea of credibility. When revisited by Cameron (1994), Balasubramanian (1994), Cameron and Curtin (1995), followed by Cameron & Ju-Pak (2000) and Kim, Pasadeos & Barban (2001) the leading question of legitimacy yielded to an inspection of the format of the advertorial. Sandler and Secunda's study 1993³ of the indistinct boundaries between editorials and advertising was followed by Dix and Phau (2009), Wang (2006), Ellerbach (2004), Eckman and Lindlof (2003), Angus (2000), Cameron and Ju-Pak (2000), to name a few; inspection had given way to comparison against advertisements up to the 2010s. The dominant emphasis, however, has been that editorials are more effective than advertisements⁴.

Effectiveness of Advertorials

In 1991, Kotler prophesied the growing importance of editorial credibility stating that consumers were five times more likely to be influenced by 'editorial copy than by advertising'. Advertorials top the Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC) order⁵ (Loda & Coleman, 2005) and are regarded an improved marketing tool over advertising (Dahlen and Edenius, 2007; Agee & Martin, 2001; Cameron and Ju-Pak, 2000).

The foremost advantage of the editorial format is its enhanced believability (Beenstock, 1998). Schudson (1984) notes "if an item appears as news, it has a legitimacy that advertising does not have". Cameron and Ju-Pak (2000) and Cameron (1994) further observe that traditional advertising is considered less credible considering personal gain of the source, intent to persuade and bias of the source. The phenomenon called third-party endorsement which is the implicit approval of the medium in which the text is published (Beltramini and Stafford, 1993) could mitigate ill-feeling. Advertorials incorporate this and thereby achieve brand messaging with complete efficacy.

Ethical Considerations

An early study by Cameron and Haley (1992) observed that advertising professionals were unconcerned about deception⁶. Opinions changed in time based on its effectiveness as a tool balanced against the ethics of the practice (Sharma, 2013). The implications of PR ethics on advertorials is little addressed and understood even less.

² Examples of which include: Kim et al., (2001) ; Cameron & Curtin (1995) ; Cameron Ju-Pak (2000)

³ Although that paper was a benchmark study that assessed the attitudes towards the gap between advertising and editorials

⁴ Voice of dissent: Elliott and Speck (1998), Franzen (1994)

⁵ The IMC is a term frequently used in marketing. It refers to the use of various tools by marketing professionals, such as advertising, public relations, direct marketing, to achieve holistic communication.

⁶ This is the overtone that authors cast in their research. Examples of which include: Kim, B-H., Ju-Pak, K-H. & Cameron, G.T. (1995) Trends in the use and abuse of advertorials in magazines and Cameron, G. T. & Ju-Park, K.-H. (2000). Information pollution? Labeling and format of advertorials in national newspapers. *Newspaper Research Journal* 27(1), 65-76.

Advertorials - Legitimate Tools in Public Relations

Press Management has been a principal area of operation⁷ and Press Releases⁸ an important tool⁹ whereby third party endorsements on the client improve their image with the reading masses. Advertorials¹⁰, as dated by Merriam-Webster, goes as early as 1946, and appear to be a recent cousin to the Press Releases. Their reception has been mixed.

Some publishers claim infrequent and cautious use whereas others use it more indiscreetly, even openly. A third group has claimed to find a middle ground (Filloux, 2013). In a specialised survey conducted in 1999 in the UK, only 30% of the trade publishers, who responded, admitted to using advertorials (Gray, 1999); The surveyors however opined that the number was significantly higher than reported (Gray, 1999). If the base premise is third party endorsement – i.e., if credibility is the core of the PR industry – then advertorials are erosive tools; calling for legitimate concern when practitioners use it.

Gray (1999) alludes to a tacit understanding within the publishing industry concerning advertorials. It has caused some incidents of deception and lapses in high-brow journalistic practices (Sharma, 2013); the ripples are felt in PR. Governing bodies urge for integrity and the Press Council of India established a code of conduct when issuing advertorials.

Source Credibility: The Basis of Trust in PR

‘Source credibility’ was defined by Hovland and associates in 1953; the term subsequently became popular. Accordingly, there are two key factors that contain source credibility: expertise and trustworthiness (Hovland et al. 1953; Hovland and Weiss, 1951; Ohanian, 1991).

Source credibility for the reader is changeable and situation-dependent (Berlo, Lemert, & Mertz, 1969; Hayes, 1971; Chaffee, 1982) and individual considerations such as age, education, gender, and knowledge about the media and the topic (Stockwell, 2006; Westley & Severin, 1964; Lewis, 1981) mould it.

Source information is crucial to credibility because it is the foremost consideration for judgments (Sundar, 2008); not knowing the source of information or its intent makes it difficult to know whether to trust it (Metzger et al, 2003). Thereafter, readers (routinely) use heuristics to ascertain the credibility of a medium (Metzger & Flanagin, 2010, 2013). Bradlee said in 1981 that “the credibility of a newspaper is its most precious asset, and it depends almost entirely on the integrity of its reporters.” Newspapers are perceived as more credible than magazines and other printed media (Flanagin & Metzger, 2000) primarily because newspapers direct to an authority, be it the reporting journalists, or even the name of the newspaper. Authority is an important heuristic that readers use to assess source credibility (Sundar, 2008). Deploying advertorials affects the newspaper’s credibility in interesting ways because it distorts the authority equilibrium.

⁷ although the status quo shows signs of change (Prindle, 2011).

⁸ Press Management tools are many including not only the Press Release, but corrigendums, Press Meets etc

⁹ Some commonly touted ones include press releases, press conferences, familiarisation trips, events etc.

¹⁰ Some dissenting academics, however, distinguish advertorials from other rightful hybrid tools (van Reijmersdal et al., 2005).

Research Gap

Informed readers today discern that under-hand dealings are more prevalent than ever (Jacob, n.d.), which in turn affects their decisions and opinions (Jacob, n.d.). Transparent communication implies revelation of the content provider and the intent behind the content, lest the public be wrongly persuaded (Balasubramanian, 1994; Cole & Greer, 2013; Hallahan, 1999; Jo, 2004; van Reijmersdal et al., 2010). To paraphrase Taiminen et al. (2015), the onus of proper representation rests with the newspaper, especially to clear its name. However, very few studies have been conducted on this point (Taiminen, et al., 2015; Connor, 2010) and the literature on advertorial ethics is yet to achieve saturation¹¹.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Readers are constantly assessing, classifying and reassessing sources on levels of credibility. The relationship between changing impression and the credibility of the news source is complex (Stockwell, 2006; Vallone, Lepper, & Ross, 1985).

Like a self feeding system, Perceived Source Credibility¹² is affected by information that the newspaper provides, *even of itself*. Refer Figure 1. If non-disclosure of information defeats the journalistic ideal, in theory, disclosure should uphold it. The newspaper's best PR agent is itself.

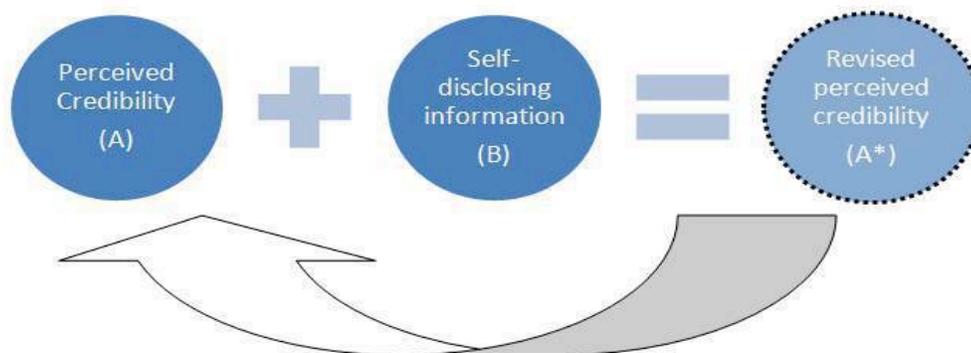


Figure 1. The self-feeding system where self-disclosure feeds back on Perceived Credibility

In doing so, the newspaper opens itself to two prospects: a reaffirmation of the journalistic standards, and an act of credibility. If readers accept and welcome self-disclosure it ultimately raises the ethical standards and sustains the notion of unbiased, third party endorsement.

Researchers have identified variables in source credibility's constitution: accuracy, completion, balance, fairness, believability, trustworthiness and honesty of information source (Epstein, 1994). Additional factors were enlisted by Andrews & Shimp (1990), Artz & Tyout (1999) and Yalch & Elmore-Yalch (1984). The author proposes a new factor: 'self-disclosure'.

¹¹ One lacuna concerns the influence advertorials effect on the image of the publishing house.

¹² This research observes the construct of Source Credibility from the readers' perspective, and the words Perceived Source Credibility and Source Credibility mean the same. Therefore this research uses the word Perceived Source Credibility interchangeably with Source Credibility.

Self-disclosure is a new and distinguished construct. It is neither *information style*, nor *honesty of information source* and also not *transparency*. Information style (Choi, 2013) refers to the editorial style of reporting whereas Self-disclosure is an act independent of style. While the source of information is clarified by printing the word ‘advertorial’, self-disclosure is beyond mere clarification – it is an admission. Furthermore, transparency according to Karlsson (2010) ‘relates to the disclosure of statements about how information is selected and produced and how the news content is verified’ which is procedural, unlike self-disclosure, which is an immediate admission.

Hypotheses and Assumptions

H1: the knowledge that the (newspaper) article is an advertorial does not affect how a reader perceives the credibility of the newspaper.

The key dependent variable is Perceived Source Credibility (PSC). To test h1, the ensuing experiment tested other null hypotheses (h2, h3, h4).

The key assumption is that readers discern advertorial messaging regardless of the quality of execution. While low quality advertorials are easily recognisable (Goodlad et al, 1997) and whilst the success – and therefore recognisability – of an advertorial is dependent on the execution (Robinson, Ozanne & Cohen, 2002.), this research will not account for the quality of execution.

Methodology

This research is empirical since it extracts the factors that affect creditworthiness. It is deductive as it quantifies the degree to which perceived credibility is affected by the term ‘advertorial’.

The research¹³ followed first qualitative then quantitative techniques. The first part of the study comprised of a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and Depth Interviews to list out the factors that readers felt affected the creditworthiness of any newspaper. Thereafter, a survey was framed based on the factors and readers rated them in importance.

In the first part of the survey readers were presented an article. They rated the newspaper with (and without) knowledge that the article was an advertorial. This double combination was applied across three different newspapers, *The Hindu*, *The Indian Express* and *The Times of India*¹⁴, resulting in 3x2 i.e., 6 surveys. The objective of this question was to determine how readers coloured their view of the newspaper based on the article, and the extra information provided. Refer Table 3.

¹³ This academic research is empirical in that it draws out the factors that affect Perceived Credibility. It is deductive in that it presents a hypothesis – Perceived Credibility is affected by the term ‘advertorial’ – and tests the validity of the same. The research followed both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

¹⁴ These newspapers were chosen on account of the wide circulation and popularity in India

Table 3

The division into 3x2 groups basis the information provided in question 1 of the surveys

Group A <i>The Hindu</i> -Normal Article	Group B <i>The Indian Express</i> -Normal Article	Group C <i>The Times of India</i> -Normal Article
Group D The <i>Hindu</i> -Article is an Advertorial	Group E The <i>Indian Express</i> -Article is an Advertorial	Group F The <i>Times of India</i> -Article is an Advertorial

Table notes: All six surveys presented the same article, under question 1 and the background information provided were different, as shown above.

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

Seven Depth Interviews, using the Visual Prompts method followed the Focus Group Discussion. 25- 55 year-old persons were targeted for both for their reading habits, consumer choices and peer-influence. Eleven exhibits (a collection of newspaper articles and advertorials that were difficult to discern) were shown to them.

The Summary of the Focus Group Discussion:

Newspapers seemed weak preservers of justice and poor custodians of integrity because ‘corporations owned media houses’, linking politics to newspapers and implicit bias which sharpened for polarizing subjects. Advertorials were reportedly difficult to recognize. The reasons for trusting newspapers were: a particular, confidence inspiring writing style; the familiarity of family newspapers; the input of peer groups; the preferences for particular editors. Authenticity emerged as a keyword and the corresponding difficulty in determining the same was considered. Ethics remained crucial and newspapers needed to offer balanced views upholding the journalistic spirit.

The Summary of Depth Interviews:

Labels are hard to notice and need pointing out which retroactively alters opinions. Aesthetics change the readers’ views in two main ways: first by hinting at the name of the paper and thereafter, changing the existing perception. The last exhibit was cloaked and the task to identify the newspaper demonstrated readers’ perception.

Codes Developed: The themes crystallised into the following coded words. They underscore other ideas (as it emerged from the data gathered):

- i. Gravity: the overall mood of the newspaper
- ii. Familiarity with the newspaper: how reference groups increase familiarity affecting opinions
- iii. Writing style: how one writing style appeals over another
- iv. Perceived eligibility of stories : the newsworthiness of stories and adherence to those standards
- iv. Perceived 'good' reputation of the newspaper: the opinion accepted, from even outside one's reference group

The Experiment

The experiment attempted to note variance in credibility when it is known or not to be an advertorial and to note variance in credibility between the different newspapers.

Three hundred respondents of ages 25-55 completed the survey. Respondents, divided into six groups of 50, received a survey in which respondent rated on an 11-point scale from 0-10. Apart from question 1, the other questions remained the same for each of the six groups.

Analysis of the data using Two Way Anova

The two -way Anova was used since there was one measurement variable and two nominal variables, and each value of one nominal variable was found in combination with each value of the other. It tested three null hypotheses: that the means of the measurement variable are equal for different values of the first nominal variable, that the means are equal for different values of the second nominal variable, and that there is no interaction (the effects of one nominal variable don't depend on the value of the other nominal variable). Refer Tables 4A and 4B.

In this case the first factor X1 was the information the groups received regarding the type of the article which was whether it was an advertorial or not. The second factor X2 was the media houses that published the article which were *The Hindu*, *The Indian Express* and the *Times of India*. The analysis was performed using Microsoft Excel.

Table 4A:
The Anova: Two-Factor with Replication Measuring Perceived Source Credibility on a 11 point scale (1-11)

SUMMARY	Normal	Advertorials	Total
The Hindu			
Sum	329	354	683
Average	6.58	7.08	6.83
Variance	2.412	2.320	2.405
The Indian Express			
Sum	277	353	630
Average	5.54	7.06	6.3
Variance	4.253	2.873	4.111
The Times of India			
Sum	212	276	488
Average	4.24	5.52	4.88
Variance	3.411	4.051	4.107
Total			
Count	150	150	
Sum	818	983	
Average	5.453	6.553	
Variance	4.236	3.578	

Table notes: 300 responses were taken where the sample size was 50. The scale range is from 1 to 11. Higher scores indicate greater Perceived Source Credibility.

Table 4B:
Summary of Data

Source of Variation	SS	Df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Sample	203.327	2	101.663	31.572	3.79E-13	3.026
Columns	90.750	1	90.750	28.183	2.18E-07	3.873
Interaction	14.220	2	7.110	2.208	0.112	3.026
Within	946.700	294	3.220			
Total	1254.997	299				

The following hypotheses were tested and the resulting observations were analysed.

h2: Publishing house: The null hypothesis was that there was no difference in the means between the groups that were informed about the source of each article.

H0 (Factor X1): $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3$

Alternate hypothesis was that there was a difference in the means between at least one pair of groups.

Ha (Factor X2): ($\mu_i \neq \mu_j$);

The analysis shows that there is significant difference in the means between the groups $F > F$ crit ($28.183 > 3.873$). The p-value ($2.18E-07$) is significantly lower than the alpha 0.05 which corresponds to a confidence level of 95%. Hence the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternate is deemed true. This result means that the information about the source of the article (publisher) significantly influences the perception of creditworthiness in the article. In this survey *The Times of India* came out as the publishing house with the highest creditworthiness. Refer Table 4B.

h3: Advertorial or not: The null hypothesis was that there was no difference in the means between the group that knew that the article was an advertorial and the group that did not.

H0 (Factor X1): $\mu_1 = \mu_2$

Alternate hypothesis was that there was a difference in the means between the two groups.

H1 (Factor X1): ($\mu_1 \neq \mu_2$);

The analysis shows that there is a significant difference in the means between the two groups $F > F$ crit ($31.572 > 3.026$). The p-value ($3.79E-13$) is lower than the alpha 0.05 which corresponds to a confidence level of 95%. Hence the alternate hypothesis holds and the null is rejected. This means that the information that the article is an advertorial does indeed influence the perception of creditworthiness in the article. Refer Table 4B.

h4: Interaction between the two factors: This tests the null hypothesis that the two factors do not interact with each other. In plain words this means that the knowledge about the source of the article does not influence the perception of its creditworthiness with or without the information that it was an advertorial or not.

The analysis shows that there is no significant difference in the means between the groups $F < F_{crit}$ ($2.208 < 3.026$). The p-value (0.11) is higher than the alpha 0.05 which corresponds to a confidence level of 95%. Hence the alternate hypothesis is rejected and the null is deemed true. This result means that the information about the source of the article (publisher) has no influence on the perception of creditworthiness in the article when seen as a normal editorial and when seen as an advertorial. Refer Table 4B.

The latter part of the survey required respondents to rate the importance they gave to the following five parameters that impact credibility: Gravity, Familiarity, Writing style, Eligibility of printed storied and Perceived Reputation. Table 5 details the same.

Table 5:
The Frequency of each factor against the newspaper

Advertorial- ed Survey (Groups D to F)	Newspaper	Gravity	Famili -arity	Writin g style	Eligibility of printed storied	Perceived reputation
	<i>The Hindu</i>	6.9	6.9	8	8	8.3
	<i>The Indian Express</i>	7.3	7	6.2	7.2	6.8
	<i>The Times of India</i>	6.9	4.9	5.9	5.7	4.8
Normal Survey (Groups A to C)	Newspaper	Gravity	Famili arity	Writin g style	Eligibility of printed storied	Perceived reputation
	<i>The Hindu</i>	5.3	5.7	5.3	7	5
	<i>The Indian Express</i>	5.9	6.6	6.2	6.1	6.9
	<i>The Times of India</i>	3.1	3	3.3	3	3.2
Averaged		5.9	5.68	5.81	6.16	5.83

Table notes: Responses were on an 11 point scale from 1-11. The averages are given.

When informed that the article was an advertorial (in the first part of the survey), respondents applied that knowledge to the following questions, even when asked for a general opinion. Surveys in Groups D to F consequently suffered and the overall rating thereby dropped. 'Eligibility of Printed Stories' topped the charts as the parameter readers felt were most important, at 6.16 by a margin of 0.26. Refer Chart 1.



Chart 1. The frequency of the various parameters that influence credibility, as suggested by readers

Findings and Discussion

That people form and retain pre-conceived notions about newspapers' credibility has been confirmed within this cohort, by the first Anova result (for h2). The different Perceived Credibility ratings observed are bolstered by the idea that personal experience and peer review form impressions which act as a filter when processing new information.

The second Anova result (for h3) determines that disclosure positively influences the perception of creditworthiness indicating that, as a rule, labeling advertorials elevates the Perceived Credibility of the newspaper. All three newspapers showed an increase that was statistically significant and, *The Times of India* benefitted the most when it ranked the lowest under normal conditions.

The key finding is that self-disclosing information positively reforms preconceived notions especially information such as ethics, standards, compromises, leadership etc.

Lastly, the third Anova (for h4) resulted in the combination of newspaper title and its being an advertorial or not, was not statistically significant. Perceived Credibility is, thus, NOT heavily dependent on the title of the newspaper, or in other words, the information about the source of the article (publisher) has no significant influence on the perception of creditworthiness in the article when seen as a normal editorial and when seen as an advertorial.

Self-disclosure in summary benefits the newspaper by improving its credit rating, and this improvement is independent of the name of the newspaper, upholding the alternate hypothesis (h1).

Ultimately the labels 'Advertorial' and 'Advertisement' are construed as self-disclosing information which tacitly express a third party influence, informing the reader that the editor has distanced himself from the article. It even suggests that the article was produced by an interested third party. Remarkably, these words taken out of context are liabilities.

Conclusions and Limitations

There were constitutional (inherent in the research question) and technical limitations. Each individual reader's perception is formed by many factors¹⁵ which are arbitrary as the reader assigns them himself and measures the newspaper against it. This operation poses a conundrum: all readers insist on adherence to an undefined personal set of standards, which when transgressed by any newspaper lowers its self-image. The importance of a set of predefined universal standard is apparent as is the ludicrous impossibility of achieving this.

These material limitations are threefold. First, the sample size could have been wider for improved results. Here adequate resources¹⁶ were used to cross the minimum threshold. Secondly, the data collection required for this paper needed to reach saturation point, which was beyond the scope of the resources available. And lastly, there were no controls on the demographics. Readers aged 18 upwards formed the sample and factors such as the reading habits and styles, frequency, the quality of execution of the advertorial¹⁷ etc were unaccounted for. Furthermore, advertorials appear in many forms and so may not be distinguishable from the outset, to most readers. And older audience may not be as accommodating of the idea of 'self-disclosure' and the results could vary accordingly.

Despite the many hurdles, this study confirmed the following. The wide prevalence of advertorials generated varied opinions about itself: some readers view it as an inevitable object of the times, and others (in minority) reject it as an obtrusive development. To officially declare an advertorial *ipso facto* indicates non-adherence to the journalistic ideal – a defeatist proceeding. This point, ironically, was never recognised by participants, raising many red flags. People have either acquiesced to advertorials being the status quo, or journalistic integrity is a non-issue.

This implies that, subconsciously, people believe the age of journalistic courage is in its twilight and newspapers are soon becoming businesses. The same era, remarkably, views self-disclosure to be an act of 'honesty'. An act of honesty, nonetheless, is sharply different to an admittance of slipping. And herein lies the enigma: to declare or not to declare; to uphold journalistic standards or to admit the slack.

This study submits that disclosure appears more strongly as an act of honesty and less as an official bail-out. It is paradoxical how the terms 'Advertorial' – or 'Advertisement' – which taken alone are negative words suddenly seem compelling honest; a point mentioned earlier.

In effect the alternate hypothesis (h1) was upheld which affirmed that disclosure of advertorials positively affects the source credibility of any newspaper.

¹⁵ even if they have not actively engaged with the publication themselves.

¹⁶ The population size is 353409 based on Q4 IRS Report in 2014. At 95% confidence level and at confidence interval 8, the sample size needed is 150

¹⁷ A poorly drafted advertorial body is more likely to stand out as one. Readers may identify it more easily (without the need for labels) impacting the image of the newspaper, presumably negatively

For PR, however, the effects are still unsettled. The principle purpose of PR and newspaper tactics is brand image improvement and the ramifications of advertorial labeling on the brand is another topic altogether. It is possible that any positive effect evoked might channel to the brand, in turn raising its image. But this is yet to be established. PR, ultimately, advances with the raised ethical standards and practices. Simultaneously, the non-advertorial content will savour the fruits of its forthrightness, implying that PR outside of advertorials is in the winning. At present advertorials continue to assist the newspaper.

The conclusions above hold true under the given conditions. It is possible that at another time, with a more diverse cohort, and under different conditions, dissimilar results may be observed. The changing landscape of media ethics caused a flux of opinions and is yet to settle one way. Advertorials for now are increasingly viewed with ambivalence and received with shifting prejudices.

Two things are certain for the present: self-disclosure prevails and readers are receptive to the changing purpose, structure and nature of the publishing industry. One thing is certain for all time: this glad acceptance of self-disclosure is bound to the present, given circumstances. The future is open to speculation.

Recommendations and Further Study

Future study could explore whether people consider the drop in ethical standards to affect perceived credibility beyond the repair that disclosing advertorials bring in. The Press Council of India advised printing the word advertorial on the article to improve ethical practices and arguably, the act conforms to best ethical practice. PR should support the editorial responsibility and the right to claim journalistic quality for the content shown in the context of the media, according to Taiminen, et al., (2015) and this is one way forward.

This report may assist the Press Council of India¹⁸ in urging publishing houses to print the word ‘Advertorial’ on every paid-for piece of article. Advertorials are vehicles of credibility. To rhetorically spin McLuhan’s maxim¹⁹: it is now possible for the medium to surpass the message.

¹⁸ The Press council of India is statutory body established to ensure the freedom of Press and the highest standard of conducted, are maintained. It is a self-regulatory body with powers that (albeit are legally unenforceable) are able to propel changes in journalistic practices and trends. It is has been argued that the PCI should be afforded punitive powers. The PCI has been pressing legislation in favour of disclosure of advertorials. E.g., Economic Times, September 20, 2011 & The Hoot, December 5, 2011

¹⁹ Marshall McLuhan’s famously said that ‘The medium was the message’. This statement bears new meaning in light of the present argument. Retrieved from <http://marshallmcluhanspeaks.com/>

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*The Undercurrents of Media Convergence and Development of
Viewers' Gratification to News Consumption*

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Abstract

A transform to digital television (TV) has the significant impact on news consumption and production where the media convergence is considered influencing to Thai media landscape. The research was thus aimed to explore gratification development of the youth to news consumption. Three possible ways to develop the gratification include adaptation (i), shaping (ii) to existing environment and selection (iii) of new environment. Conditioning factors are news consumption, news content and gender. The quantitative research was employed with a five-point scale based on the means differences and the analytical statistics of correlation coefficient.

Three prominent findings are that the youth performs a high level of gratification when consuming news through the converged TV, the adaptation is mostly taken, and that sport news is most potential to the gratification development, especially in shaping approach. Among a variety of news content, life & entertainment is most viewed while business and economy is least accounted. Moreover, adaptation and selection approaches are statistically significant to the youth's gratification development. Both life & entertainment and sport news show the statistical significance to the shaping approach of news gratification. Gender is also reported as the significant factor, with 99% confidence, to identify the gratification to news consumption and content of climate & environment, politics and world news. In conclusion, news professionals are challenging for a flow of media convergence which is behind the increase of uses and gratifications to news consumption.

Keywords: Media convergence, Media gratification, News consumption. TV-Internet

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Introduction

In digital age, people are all surrounded by a variety of converged media. All mainstream media within a market; TV stations, radio stations and print publications, are diversifying into a so-called medium of new media or multimedia by incorporating the Internet with media advantages. The real media convergence provides an era that all kinds of media are used in relation to one another. Media will be everywhere so everyone can transmit information across channels, with a fast and convenient pace [1-3].

1.1 Media convergence. Media convergence is an ongoing process. It occurs at various intersections of media technologies of computers, the Internet, audiences and related-media industries, such as content, programs, studios and equipment services, and so on. Internet news is not only a one-stop source for all aspects of information and entertainment, but also keeps traditional media survived in the recessional period [4, 5].

In Thailand, a transform of TV media from an analog device to a digital system, which has started since 2012 and switches over by 2015, becomes a powerful catalyst to the changes of media landscape. Coupled with the 2014 data about a high percentage of broadband penetration and the increases of mobile subscribers and Internet users [6], a need for media convergence is importantly situated in Thai media industry.

After five decades with only 6 free-TV stations, there has been a big change in TV broadcasting. The frequencies acquisitions of broadcasting services throughout nation have been reallocated by the National Broadcasting and Telecommunications Commission (NBTC) who is an independent regulator under the latest telecommunication and broadcasting law. A total rises to 48 stations, including some 800 satellite-and-cable pay TV operators [7]. All 48 free-TV stations are classified into 3 aspects; 12 channels for public purpose, 24 channels for commerce and the rest targeted for community. A variety of emerging markets is considered highly potential for digital-TV business as soon as the newness of broadcasting law is effective. By convergence, the mainstream media are driven to the Internet media so that they can be away from any business loss [1, 8]. There exist for 'thaitv3.com', 'CH7 Online', 'MCOT 9.com', 'NewTV' 'Thairathonline', 'Nation TV', 'Manager Online', 'TVPool Online', 'Bangkok Post E-paper', and so on.

According to the Five Forces Model, business value of TV broadcasting is declined in due [9]. Among the forces are too many players, short supplies of program producers and increasing power of viewers due to many choices. There are many opportunities for new comers to TV industry but not for withdrawal. The last force is a wide variety of substitutes, with multiplatform and the Internet property. Eventually, structural changes in media competitiveness and in value chain are challenging for Thai media professionals [10].

1.2 News consumption. In general, news content can be categorized for breaking news or hot news, politics, economy, sports, climate & environment, live & entertainment, art and cultural and world news. Due to a wide variety of news story, news reporting is a popular program designated for almost all converged media [11-13]. Internet and brand journalism are considered influential to increasing news

consumption [4]. They are delivering a wide variety of news story and social movements in life, as at sources and within the journalism aspect [14]. The Internet brings the effective communication across all barriers and gives way to a means of communication. When viewing broadcasted news, the audience can be shaped by news type and techniques of news delivery [15]. They are melodramatic animation, news talk, and frequency and time period of broadcasting. It means that many converged media are shaping our lives and the world around us with a conducting environment [5, 16].

Based on news production, there are many different kinds of news stories and articles and many different ways to write them both. The journalists reveal the certain social movement as well as facilitate public discourses those uplifting the situation as well as contributing to human development. New generation is seemingly declined to newspaper reading in the morning[17]. Their pattern of news consumption is alternated by those in line with the multimedia, including subscription of news and content service through social media [3, 18, 19]. Several reports on media consumption among Thai youth indicate that mobile internet is the popular device for internet use. Smart phone is most used as their communication tool. The likely format to view TV program is smart TV on social media application and multiplatform. Finally, the Internet is considered most necessary for their educational progression. News consumption becomes a proxy indicator for many new possibilities. This includes the literacy in media exposure where its direct and indirect consequences are substantially concerned. It would say that news consumption not only satisfies a need to be inside the mainstream behavior, but it also represents as to how people are literate in media uses and gratifications to news story [18, 20, 21]

1.3. Gratification Development. The reasons for media uses and gratification are different. They vary from a companionship, social interaction, information seeking, interpersonal learning, entertainment and occupied-time when nothing better to do. These cover four directions: to identify, to educate, to entertain, and to have a social interaction[21, 22]. Public actions for social issue may increase if the message content and message delivery is effectively communicated [23]. Media gratification is on the one hand reconciled with the experience of social life and the pursuit of pleasure [3, 14]. On the other, the way of gratification development becomes a reflection of media literacy [20, 22].

Referring to the concept of wisdom in information literacy [24], there are three stages of gratification development to information in life: adaptation, shaping, selection. The scale that people can modify themselves to fit existing environment reflects the ability of adaptation (i: adaptation). In case, the audiences try to modify environment to fit what they seek of it, they are shaping it in a way that makes them go over the stage of adaptation (ii: shaping). If failing in adaptation and shaping to existing environment, they may perform a selection of new environment (iii: selection).

In psychological view [25], the stages of covert and overt activities and experiences that individuals engage in their behavioral patterns are conceptualized for an interplayed set of thought and action. Behavioral pattern might be inconsistent with the attitude. This manner is eventually regarded as a difference of thought and the real actions indicating the gap between the areas of action and the readiness to act. According to communication process, audiences can reach the indirect experiences in

all aspects with full imagination that are known to be affecting to the gratification development [8, 20]. As with Sze's statement, human beings are actually shaped their lives on social action in order for a greater adaptation to existing environment [26]. Consequently, a change to new environment, which requires the different inputs, is less considered for the stages of thought and action [24, 27-29].

Thus, this study is conducted to present the evidence-based evaluation for a more understanding of gratification development to news consumption in the realm of converged-TV media. The questions are about what and how are the youth's practices in news consumption? Which type of news content and how is related to viewer's gratifications? Is there any correlation between news consumption and gratification development? Does the gender create the differences of news consumption and gratification development?

Methodology

2.1 Scopes of study. First, an internet-TV was referred to as the medium of news consumption in this study. The research framework is based on the three stages of gratification development to news consumption. The development include (i) adaptation to existing environment, (ii) shaping to existing environment, and (iii) selection of new environment. Seven types of news content stated in alphabetical order in this paper are the conditioning factors those covering *breaking news, business & economy, climate & environment, life & entertainment, politics, sports* and *world news*. The coeducational schools were determined to represent a reality of gender factor.

2.2 Population and sampling. Population is the high-school students. According to Yamane formula of sampling method, the significance level is based on more or less five percent ($\pm 5\%$), at population over 100,000 units. The study was thus conducted with four hundred students randomly selected from private and public coeducational schools located in Bangkok city.

2.3 Procedure. A set of questionnaires was first prepared by separating to two parts. The first part dealt with the youth's interest in news consumption by new content. The other was assigned for the differences of gratification development. Questions on a five-point scale were employed for both parts. The range value of 0.80 was used for interval distribution. Level determination began with the lowest scale, followed by low, medium, high and the highest, respectively.

To ensure validity in the questions, the expert agreement was used to address the adequacy and representativeness, which brought about item editing before distribution. The response rates of four hundred sets were targeted. Any invalid and wasted responses were replaced, accordingly. When finishing collective data and screening, the statistics of the mean, the standard deviation (S.D.) and the F-test were used to interpret the correlation, with 95% confidence. The t-test was also assigned for a nominal variable of gender.

Results and Discussion

3.1 News consumption. As the data in Figure 1, the overview of news consumption among the youth is at the high level (3.51). The most favorite news content to be

consumed belongs to *life & entertainment* at the high level (4.02), while *business & economy* captures the lowest level (1.80). Most respondents moderately consume *breaking news* (3.18), *climate & environment* (3.01) and *world news* (2.91). *Sports* and *politics* are at low level. The results is concurrent to the statement that news story are marked by a simplicity and directness of expression of a factual story that is deemed significant to public interest. Actually, news can flow to the receivers at any time, through several channels, and by their own decision in which they keep interested [1, 11]. Similarly, a study about Thai students' behavior towards the Internet revealed that they were likely to consume news via digital media, and that the Internet was their major factor to finish the assignments from schools [10].

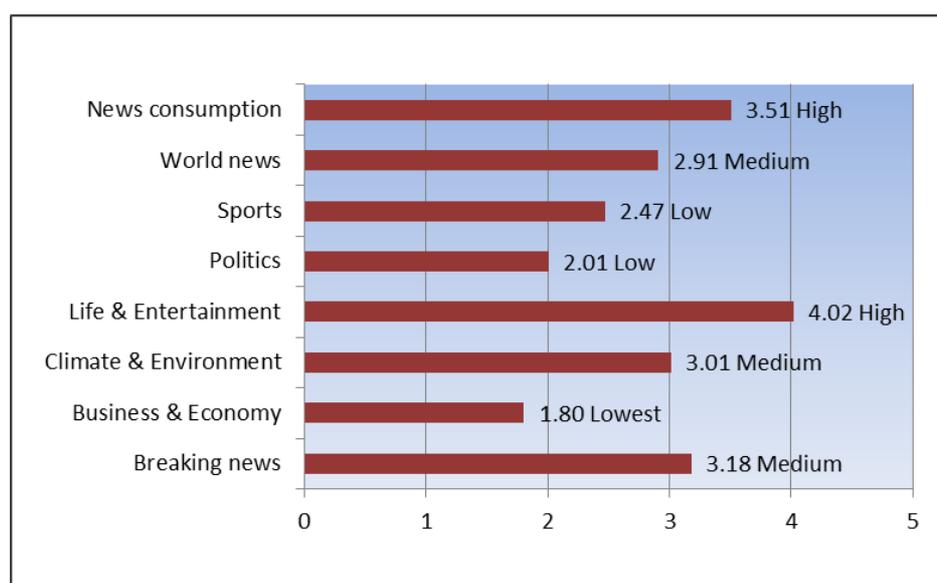


Figure 1: The use of converged-TV media for news consumption distributed by news content and in a five-point scale from the lowest to the highest level.

3.2 Gratification development. The data in Table 1 show that a total for the gratification development to news consumption among the samples is scaled up to the high level (3.55). The gratifications to news content capture only high and medium levels. The stages of shaping to existing environment (3.01) and selection of new environment (3.28) are at the same medium level while the adaptation is highly performed (4.10). As the results, it can say that words, images and sounds delivered through the converged media in a format of a one-stop source are shaping our lives and the world around us. Referring to the statement about digital media power [11, 18, 27], consumers who considered themselves as a high awareness of media impact probably behaved contradictory to attitude. That's because humanities are likely to perceive things that can satisfy the sense of fulfillment associated with the experiences of social life and the mainstream behavior [11, 19, 20, 30].

In identifying the value of gratifications to news content, the descriptions are based on four datasets regarding each stage of gratification and a total. The samples are highly adaptive to nearly all types of news contents, excluding contents of *business & economy* and *life & entertainment* those corresponding to the medium level. In case of

shaping, the low and medium levels are most taken. Only *life & entertainment* news can gratify them at the high level. The lowest is for *sport* news. For the stage of selecting new environment, *political* news is highly influential. The contrary is *climate & environment*. The others share the same medium level. The fourth dataset deals with a total gratification development. In most case, the gratifications are high for *breaking news*, *world news*, *politics* and *business & economy*. The rest are average. The results are concurrent to the fact that people want to be inside the mainstream behavior in society [20, 31]. Figure 2 and 3 are drawn hereunder displaying sensitivities of the youth's gratification to news consumption associated with news content.

Table 1: Level of Total Gratification and Individual Stage to News Consumption Distributed by News Content

News content	Gratification Approach							
	Adaptation		Shaping		Selection		Total Gratification	
	Mean	Level	Mean	Level	Mean	Level	Mean	Level
<i>Breaking news</i>	4.10	High	3.37	Medium	2.85	Medium	3.76	High
<i>Business & Economy</i>	3.17	Medium	3.03	Medium	3.29	Medium	3.51	High
<i>Climate & Environment</i>	4.08	High	1.95	Low	1.82	Low	2.95	Medium
<i>Life & Entertainment</i>	2.71	Medium	3.59	High	2.84	Medium	3.37	Medium
<i>Politics</i>	3.83	High	2.09	Low	3.58	High	3.50	High
<i>Sports</i>	3.82	High	1.57	Lowest	3.13	Medium	3.17	Medium
<i>World news</i>	4.09	High	2.47	Low	2.72	Medium	3.42	High
News consumption	4.10	High	3.01	Medium	3.28	Medium	3.55	High

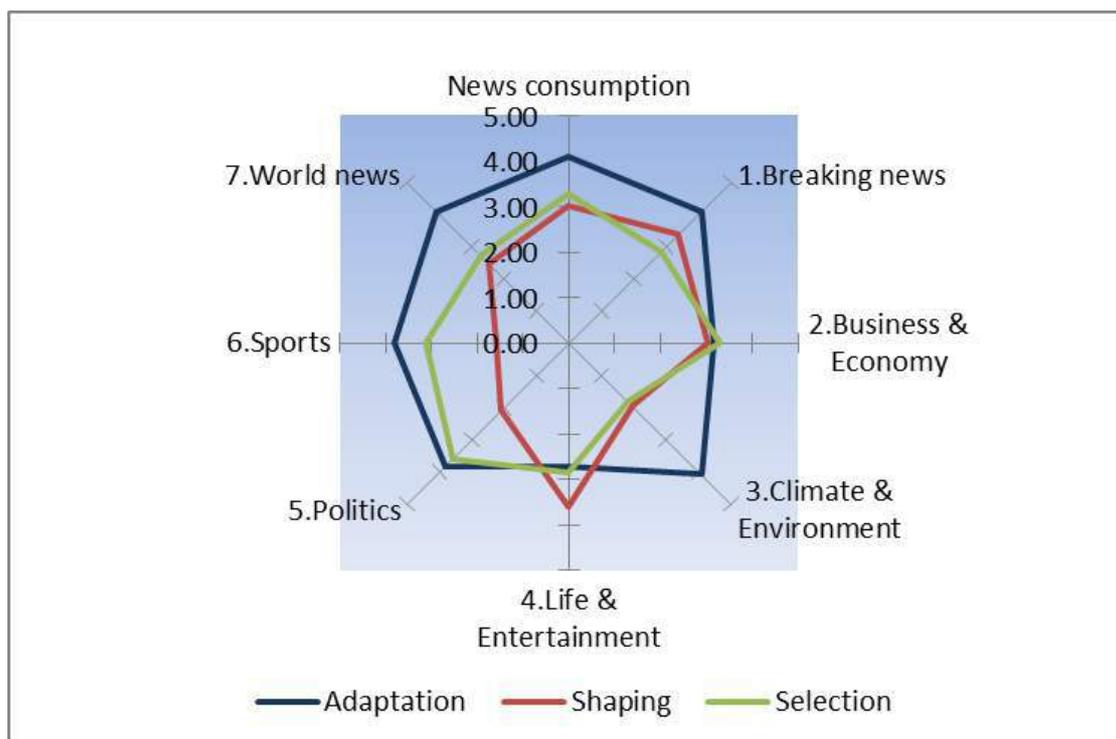


Figure 2: Sensitivity of gratification development to news content in three stages; adaptation, shaping, and selection.

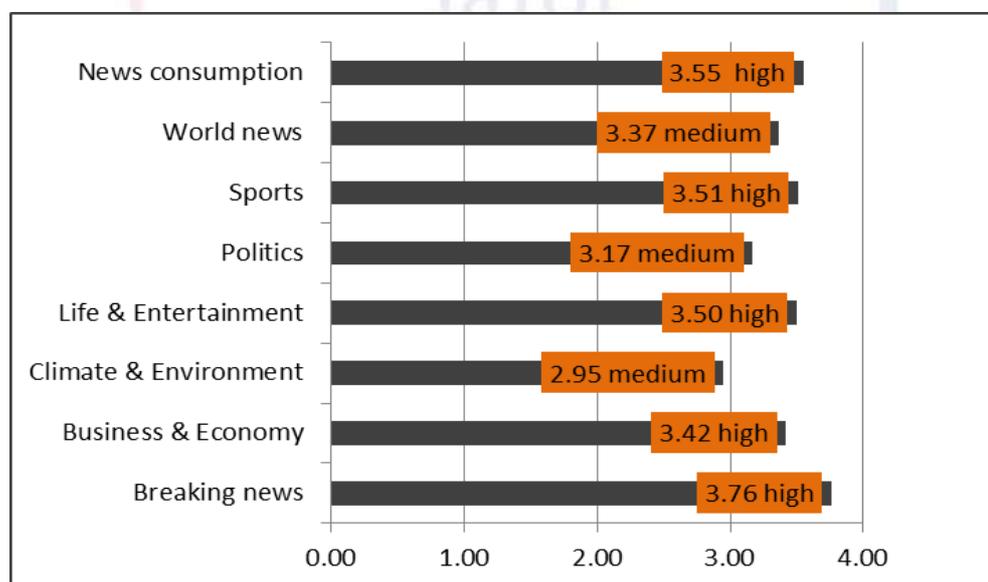


Figure 3: Youth's gratification to news consumption and to each type of news content in a five-point scaling.

3.3 Significance tests. According to Table 2, the results reveal that news consumption is statistically significant to the gratification development with 95% confidence (.015*). The similar confidences are also contributed to individual approaches of adaptation (.021*) and selection (.032*). *Sport* news is only one in seven types of news content that reflects a statistical correlation to gratification development, with the

99% confidence (.000**). There are two types of news content: *life & entertainment*, *sports*, exhibiting a statistical significance to the shaping approach, with 95% and 99% confidences, respectively (.040, .000).

Table 2: Correlations of News Content and Consumption to Gratification Development

Independent Variables	Adaptation		Shaping		Selection		Gratification	
	r	Sig.	r	Sig.	r	Sig.	r	Sig.
News consumption	.053	.021*	.073	.142	-.022	.032*	.059	.015*
<i>Breaking news</i>	-.060	.234	-.048	.342	-.067	.181	-.020	.690
<i>Business & Economy</i>	.054	.284	.015	.768	-.042	.398	.017	.734
<i>Climate & Environment</i>	.036	.474	.070	.164	.021	.681	.040	.430
<i>Life & Entertainment</i>	.071	.154	-.103	.040*	-.007	.886	-.013	.796
<i>Politics</i>	.070	.162	.069	.167	.079	.113	.037	.460
<i>Sports</i>	.082	.101	.378	.000*	.095	.059	.222	.000*
<i>World news</i>	-.092	.067	.043	.393	.005	.927	.011	.821

Remark: * represents 95% confidence, while ** exhibits 99% confidence.

It is apparent that the advances of communication technology ensure the reduced time of information access and encourage many new possibilities [24]. The importance of source of information and its qualities are possibly devalued by the opportunities to consume and share news one another [11]. Due to the media uses and gratification theory, the audience's gratification initiated by specific interest can be differently developed in relation to behavioral pattern [21]. The performances of adaptation and shaping to existing environment, when receiving information in repeats, are conditional to the development of human wisdom and intelligence [24, 32]. Eventually, a viewer's gratification development is essential for identifying the user's media literacy [17, 20, 22].

3.4 Gender factor. In term of gender, the values of male and female are equivalent to 40.50% to 59.50%, respectively. As shown in Table 3, the correlations of a gender factor to gratification development and, especially, to selection approach are at the 0.01 level. Among the statistical significances are news consumption, with 95% confidence, and the types of news content those corresponding to *climate & environment*, *politics* and *world news*.

Table 3: Significance Tests for Gender Factor

Dependent variables	Gender		
	Statistics value	Sig.	Confidence
Gratification development	9.849	.002**	99%
Selection approach	19.655	.000**	99%

News consumption	4.197	.041*	95%
News content:			
<i>Climate & Environment</i>	3.933	.048*	95%
<i>Politics</i>	5.781	.017*	95%
<i>World news</i>	16.350	.000**	99%

Remark: * represents 95% confidence, while ** exhibits 99% confidence.

Conclusion

A use of converged-TV media for news consumption and a variety of news content result in Thai youth's gratification development. They highly use the converged-TV media for news consumption. The practices in news consumption are that life & entertainment news is mostly consumed while business & economy is on the contrary. The youth are much more common to an adaptation approach than those of shaping and selection. The adaptation is mostly performed when consuming breaking news, while a shaping manner is favored for life & entertainment news. The extreme manner in selection is consistent with political news. Two in three stages of gratification development, adaptation and selection, indicate the correlation to their news consumption. Acting in shaping approach shows the significant relation to the consumption of life & entertainment and sports news. A factor of gender distinguishes the scales of gratification development and news consumption, too. In conclusion, the undercurrents of media convergence in the realm of progression in news consumption can cause a profound impact to the youth in evidence.

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Critical Discourse Analysis of Thailand's Film Acts (B.E. 2473 and B.E.2551)

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Abstract

Critical discourse analysis of Thailand's Film Acts was studied by using the Critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough as an important system to analyze the authority and ideology of Thailand's Film Acts, especially in film control laws, which are Film Act, B.E. 2473 and Film and Video Act, B.E. 2551. According to this study, King' sovereignty in B.E. 2473 Act was as the supreme governor and occupied all rights of determination. However, after the government revolution from Absolute Monarchy to democratic form of government with the King as Head of State in B.E. 2475, the King's authority in determining the laws has to be only under advises and agreements of the National legislatures.

In addition, the Film Act, B.E. 2473 indicated that boards of Film Act who are authorized in investigating films and enforcing the use of laws are only related to government structural positions without considering any other qualifications that affect the understanding in film investigation, whereas, in B.E. 2551 Film and Video Act indicated that the authority of film investigation is not only related to the government structural position but other proper characteristics are also specified for authorize inquiry official. The point related to ideologies indicated that, from the past to the present, ideologies that have been used in controlling film content are composed of the ideologies in royal institution, religion, morality, culture, tradition, politics, gender and nationality.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Film Acts, Ideology

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Introduction

Considering the historical timeline of the birth and development of mass media that were collected by Frederick Williams in 1982. In the late 19th century or in 1895, the film was born in time when there were mass media like publications, journals and newspapers. The film came to social media during that period. The film media provided with distinction and attention as Richard S. Randall (1968, p. 9 - 10) had discussed the features of the film that can present an image of a fantasy that has never been done before because media images appeared motionlessly. Moreover, the basic techniques of film draw the audience closer to visual reality. The film itself is a medium that attracts creative minds not only an illusion of reality only but also a large communication process that can be easily understood by itself. Viewers do not need to have any knowledge or intelligence, they can watch and understand the movie with features and capabilities of media to create amazing movies. Contain substances that attract people like this. As a result, religious and moral, as well as politicians have always believed that. Film influential result people can change ideas, beliefs, politics morality (Krisada Kerdee, 2005, p. 11), the movie has been watched since its inception in early either. From women's, civic, welfare, and religious groups have worried about the effect of movies upon children, upon the mentally, emotionally, or morally retarded, and the whole society (Ruth A. Inglis, 1947, p.21), especially, in the moral and culture dimension. Film is seen as an important part of the stimuli that cause the impact of such changes on people in society, especially, about sex. These anxiety and fear is called "The moral panic" by sociologists which Cohen (2004, cited in David Garland, 2008, P. 10) discussed the moral panic that the circumstances caused by a person or group of people were defined or already believed to be a threat to good values and the overall interests of society. Normally, the natures of these threats are often presented in the form of modern media and those who took action to eliminate these things consist of editors, journalists, politicians, religious leaders, who have been socially accepted as an expert in detecting and solving problems of society. Therefore, concerns of the film about its influences are the main reasons that cause the film censorship before being released in several countries, including Thailand. The United States was the first country to launch such an operation.

For Thailand to carry out the film by law from film Act 2473 by which the bill refers to beliefs about the content of films that will affect the society at mimicking the action or the film may be a cause of action against improper influence in culture and morality. The Film and Video Act 2551 refers to obsolescence of the 2473 Film Act that is out of date for the changing circumstances in society, the leap development of technology and overlapping of agencies that act in consideration, including the need to support the film industry as economic revenue for the country. However, the central theme and still the basis belief in both two film acts is the film must be controlled of the content due to the belief in the influence of the film that can be a prototype of society unpleasant behaviors or may be bad role models in society. Which can be seen from the evidence of the content restrictions shown or presented in both film acts, in spite of over 80 years difference in time of their proposed.

The process of film censorship carried out by state authorities and who are involved with the films that have been selected and appointed by the state. This is a form of control that section of political control which measures the political, administrative authority of the person or government official who is the arbiter. There was a study

case about the mass media consideration; there were also government laws and regulations to support that power. While the legal measures used legal principles, civil and criminal justice from the judiciary as judge panel. (Surapongse Sotanasathien, 1990, p. 268-269), The film control law is considered as a state support tool for the prohibition of identifying and appointing a person who considers the film and also a requirement that the social acceptance of compliance. Considered the law used to control the film in two dimensions which are administrative state dimension and the dimension of content restrictions to appear in the film. Film Act B.E. 2473 and Film and video Act B.E. 2551 concur with the concept "Ideology State Apparatus" and "reproduction" of Althusser

Althusser (1970) discussed the mechanism used in the control of the state was composed of "Repressive State Apparatus" with state government organization; military police, courts, prisons. This is a mechanism that implies in terms of using violence to control society. While the Ideology State Apparatus consists of various social institutions, such as religion, education, family, law, politics. The legal institutions are both the Repressive State Apparatus and the Ideology State Apparatus. Althusser stated about "Reproduction" that it is working through the legal system of the state and carrying out the Repressive State Apparatus and the Ideology State Apparatus concurrently. If there is no reproduction, ideology is not able to exist. Therefore, the content of Film Act B.E. 2473 and Film and Video Act B.E. 2551 that both specify the restrictions of content appeared in a film as to reproduce the Repressive State Apparatus and the Ideology State Apparatus. According to Althusser's concept, the researchers have been focused on the reproduction of unique ideology that turns into content prohibition presented in films. The approach for the interest of this issue is Critical Discourse Analysis as a course of study that focuses on the discussion of the law structure, the stability cause, the legitimacy, the reproduction and the relationship challenging between power and domination in society. (Van Dijk, 2001, P. 353).

Research Objectives

1. To study the power that embeds in the Film Act
2. To study the ideology that appears in the Film Act

Approach

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis was used to study Film Act, which Fairclough (1995) stated that in the current social democratic, power comes from consents over the use of force and also expanded the relationship between power and discourse. In a democratic society that renders the resulting acquiescence, the authoritarians in society discourse to convey meaning, values, ideals, practices and identity to benefit the parties, so that an analysis of the critical debate explores the relationship between discourse, ideology and power.

The study on the issue of power

The results of studies on both film acts in the issue of power resulted in the changes of power as follows. 1. Changes in power because of the government revolution; Film Act B.E.2473 was drafted and adopted in the era of absolutism monarchy regime. The

king is the sovereignty with power and authority in the administration and the law in order to control society and has to decide for himself. But when the change came into democratic rule with the King as Head of State in B.E. 2475, the power of kings has been reduced under constitutional laws. That he is not in position of sovereignty, including the inability to no longer determine the law as it seems fit. The decision on the law will be subjected to the advices and consents of the National Assembly only. So, the power of the king depicted in the Film and video Act B.E. 2551, which controls current films, is only the prerogative as he deems appropriate to the enactment of this Act, not power up in total. Political changes resulted in the concept of rights and freedoms; the main component of democracy and widely extended to the masses, whether they are intellectuals, students and media, in particular, the newspaper that, in the past, have contributed greatly to the fight against the state and driven to attempt to acquire the rights and freedom of expression in politics. The Film Censorship was controlled by Film Act 2473 continue to conduct intensively. Committee of the films can order cutbacks, blurring, audio blocking, including order not to allow screening of the film. Although the rights and freedom of communication was identified as a significant part of the Constitutional law, but also Film and Video Act B.E. 2551 schedules restriction in order to maintain the stability of the state, to keep the peace order or public morality and to prevent or stop the deterioration of mental or public health. These provisions have been adopted as the basis for determining appropriate levels of content based on the age of the audience, which is consider the film in a start since the year 2551 (B.E.) to the present.

The power shift in Thailand's Film Act

The power shift in this case is to change the absolute right to be in control of a group of state officials to authorize the government to regulate increasingly diverse. The legal principles govern the law as a tool to empower and assign duties to the person who will become the guardian or the legal authority. These individuals will not take power without the support of the relevant legislation, including the scope and responsibilities are clearly individuals who have the authority to require the authority to achieve the objectives of the law. Film Act B.E.2473 empowers the Minister of Interior to act implementation of this Film Act and have the authority to issue rules and fee rates in order to comply with this law. It also has given to the Chief of Police the authority to appoint officials who consider the film. The Council considered that the film consists of police officers and other persons that the chief of police discretion.

The Film and Video Act B.E.2551 providing more power distribution networks are the responsibility of the National Film and Video. Prime Minister and Minister of Tourism, Culture and Sports vice president are responsible for strategic promotion of the film industry and appeal an order of the Registrar and the Board of Directors for the film cases of disputes arising from the consideration of the film. Committee for film and video are composed of experts in foreign affairs Film, arts, culture, journalism, or the environment, which is not affiliated with the movie business and is responsible for granting permission to establish a foreign film in the Kingdom of Thailand. To consider and determine the type of film that will be released in exchange for rent or sale in the Kingdom of Thailand.

Considering that the legislation must empower the individual to take over the duty to apply the law in Film Act B.E.2473, the power to control the film is based on the Ministry of Interior and the Police Department. During that period, the police

department is also part of the Ministry of Interior and the power to appoint officials who consider the film and the Council of the film under the conditions under which the chief of police discretion. This means that the law does not determine who is qualified to consider to the film clearly. It allows the chief of police with the ability to determine the properties of the appropriate authorities, because the law is allowed to take power. Although according to the law, the scope of the term "appropriate", who received this power, must conduct a reasonable review of their own. The objective of this law are to control the content of the film, to offer content that violates the peace or contrary to good morals but in practice it is found. Council considered the film that operates under the Film Act B.E.2473 to control the content of films strictly by the proportion of the expertise in media and film participants to consider a less than those who have been appointment came from other government agencies. The Film and Video Act B.E.2551 are allocated in such a way that the clear division of responsibilities between the strategic development of the film industry with the specific interventions to consider and determine the filmmakers and the film. The Act requires that the responsible authorities in line with the changing economic situation and the film industry can generate income for the country in terms of tourism and foreign filmmakers come into the Kingdom of Thailand as well as to export Thai cultural commodities industries to the world stage.

Although these requirements to make films have been regarded as more socially useful than in the past was regarded film as a medium that could cause impact on the mind and promote socially negative behaviors. But these concerns have also been concurrently developing the film industry in Film and Video Act B.E.2551 which contributed and controlled films in order to consider the appropriateness of the content. The age of the audience that are consistent from board films and videos that have been inducted into action by ministers within the framework of the properties that are defined in the text of the law, such as experts in the film, T.V., arts, culture, etc. In addition, the proportion of qualified films come from state agencies, no more than four people, and the law also allowed the agents who specialize in film from the private sector to the Board, the film not over 3 person, a ratio of 4: 3 is not very much different advantages. It can be said that Film and Video Act 2551 will empower and assign responsibilities to the relevant person and has a more extensive set of features that will serve them well. Moreover, the opportunity is also provided for the private sector to participate in the consideration of the appropriateness of the film as well.

The study on the issue of ideology

This ideology found as a result of analyzing the law that prohibited content presented in the film. Since publishing the first version of Film Act until the present Film and Video Act that the restrictions are very similar, moreover, was regarded as the ideological reproduction. It was found that the ideology that has been reproduced comprising the monarch, moral, religious, cultural, traditional and political ideologies, including ideologies about gender and ethnicity.

Ideology about the monarchy is tied to the belief since ancient times that he is a fictional deity, and he has the power to govern regarded as sovereignty in the region. He used his authority to rule the people with the Virtues or principle 10 of the occupying power. Especially, in the ancient need to fight with these neighboring countries to protect, salvage and preserve national independence or to expand the kingdom given. King will have an extremely important role as a leader in the battle.

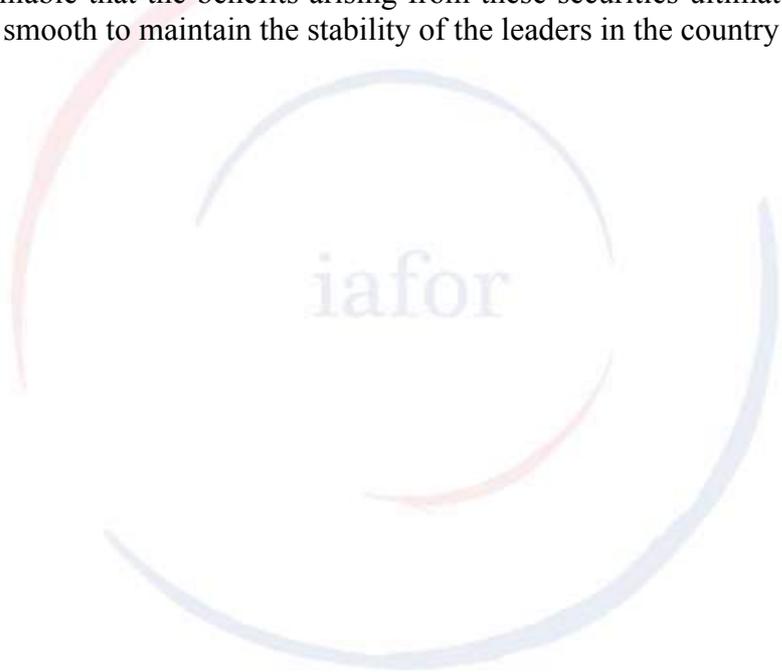
Upon entering the era of colonization in the reign of King Rama V although Thailand would lose territory to foreign colonialism, but with his ability in diplomacy, so take the country to escape from a dependency. Until the rule change in the reign of King Rama VII, he can still play a role in supporting democracy. He will relinquish the prerogative of God to the people of Thailand. Today, the monarchy will not have any authority to reign supreme in the past already. The monarchy still has a close relationship with the people of Thailand. Since King Rama IX has made the task of caring for suffering and happiness of his subjects closely. Conceived and developed projects Thy people can see a substantial throughout the country. Therefore, revered monarchy in Thailand is not concerned just about belief in God as a hypothetical only but also due to the complementary relationship of sacrifice and compassion to the people of Thailand received from this institution.

Ideological, religious, moral and cultural traditions that were prohibited under the Act include prohibiting film in offering content that is cynical. A disgrace to religion, the disrespect for the precursor material, bethel doctrine that is contrary to public order, morality or decency cultural traditions for Thailand; these are closely linked together seamlessly. The foundation of Buddhism is the state with Thailand since the Sukhothai period. The role of the Buddha's teachings inherited and spread out by the priest becomes the base idea of people from the past, it is because the role of the monastery and the monks were not limited to religious places, people and religious heritage but also as a source of collective knowledge. The course is open to all schools as well as the source of morality, goodness valid. It can be said that in the past the temple in Thailand is a major hub of the community, a center anchor for the soul and is an important area in the religious establishment. The tradition of Thailand will be linked to the religion by a priest as a leader who made a complete composition as Songkran tradition. Although there are other institutions came and replaced temples and monks as the place of learning and teaching in schools, the role of the measure and the clergy of the source of the religious establishment preaching, teaching as a psychological anchor and as important as tradition would continue with these characteristics. Religion has a role to link the moral culture and people in the community together under the faith in purity. And the teachings of every religion that focuses on the presentation of any image, however, the destruction of the movie Critical Beliefs and goodness of religion, morality, culture and traditions cannot be presented in the film.

Prohibited content that will not be allowed to appear in the copy of the film's political ideology; ideologies about gender and ethnicity content with sexual intercourse, genital orgasm or with other content that affect international relations, cynical disdain or humiliation, and content that affect the democratic regime of government with the King as the Head of State. These limits are continuously displayed. Issues related to gender or sex in Thailand were seen as a taboo subject. Embarrassing to be ineligible to receive communication or dialogue without which it will become a culture. But in fact, the other side will find information about sexual communication in literature offered in the proposal that are qualified to have sex with poetry. Visual presentation of the coupling depicted as a small part of the frescoes in the Buddhist temple to communicate the emotion of the artist's paintings. Until the reign of King Rama 4 started with a surge of Victorian culture, with a focus on sexual secrets must be controlled because it is dirty. The Authority will be set up practice or expression of gender to have sex with operating characteristics shameful and dirty like natural. But

in fact, was created to take control over people in society by defining the concept through the legal system.

In general, the operations of the world will have to rely on each other in terms of stability of the country and the international economy in both neighboring countries and further away. These actions require a good relationship between the countries linked together and each country needs to maintain good relations if there are any errors or problems arise. In addition to the conflict to take place by then may reduce the level of relations between the countries and help. Especially, if the conflict between neighboring countries or countries with territory adjoining the problem also results in the country. People along the border of the parties would have come out with. So it is reproduced ideologically to the state security in terms of preventing international issues that may arise. As well as the determination not to offer content that affect the democratic regime of government with the King as the head, which maintain order to prevent conflicts from happening in the country. These ideals can control the thoughts of people in society with a framework of good accurate reasons. It is undeniable that the benefits arising from these securities ultimately will directly affect the smooth to maintain the stability of the leaders in the country itself.

The logo for iafor (International Association for Applied Research) is centered on the page. It features the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by two concentric, semi-transparent circular arcs. The outer arc is light blue and the inner arc is light red, both appearing to be composed of multiple overlapping segments.

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***Power and Silence: Australian Media Portrayal of Israeli and
Palestinian Casualties during the Gaza War of 2014***

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Abstract

At one stage of the long-lasting Israeli–Palestinian conflict, Israel launched a military operation, Protective Edge, on the Gaza Strip in July–August of 2014. As a consequence, approximately 2,280 people died and over 11,000 people were injured, the majority of them Palestinian civilians (including children and women). These numerous casualties resulted in a pronounced interest in this particular event by international media such as CNN and the BBC, as well as other Western media including the Australian media.

This paper investigates how Australian print and online media portrayed the Israeli and Palestinian casualties during the 2014 Israeli war on Gaza. Specifically, through using critical discourse analysis, it examines how the casualties were represented by four Australian news sources: *The Australian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, ABC and Crikey.

Based on the concept of framing theory (a technique used to shape an event or issue, reflecting the power embedded in media texts), the paper analyses news items published in Australian mainstream media during the 2014 Israeli war on Gaza to identify the frames employed in reporting Israeli and Palestinian casualties.

The conflict frame was dominant in the Australian print and online media coverage of casualties during the Gaza War of 2014. As a result, this coverage did not provide the contexts of news stories about casualties who were portrayed in a statistical frame. Officials and medics' voices were dominant, while the voices of Israeli and Palestinian casualties themselves were largely excluded from the Australian media representations of Gaza War casualties.

Keywords: Australian media, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Gaza War, Framing, Critical discourse analysis

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Introduction

Israel launched its military operation “Protective Edge” on the Gaza Strip in July 2014. Two months of continued shelling of different areas in the strip resulted in the death of more than two thousands Palestinians including women and children, whereas Israel lost seventy-two soldiers during its operation in Gaza, and six civilians by Palestinian rockets targeting Southern Israel. Among Palestinian civilians not only were the number of deaths considerable, but also the number of injured citizens, was extremely high: for instance during the war approximately eleven thousands Palestinians were injured, yet only about two thousands Israeli were recorded injured.

International media such as CNN and the BBC took a pronounced interest in this particular event. Generally the Australian media do not prioritise covering the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; however, they were interested in covering events related to the Gaza War in July and August 2014 due to the numerous casualties among civilians.

This paper examines how Australian media framed casualties during the Gaza War of 2014. We analysed a sample of news items published in Australian print and online media during July and August 2014. The sample discussed in this paper includes two newspapers *The Australian* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and two online news websites ABC and Crikey.

In our analysis we aim to identify how representations of casualties during the Gaza War of 2014 reflect the Australian media’s preferred discourse. Our approach is to critically analyse how actors and voices are represented in the Australian news reports and we then comment on the power of news media to include certain voices while excluding others. Subsequently, we consider the relationship between discourse and power by drawing on Fairclough’s (2001, 2015) critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework. From applying CDA to the Australian media representations of Israeli and Palestinian casualties during the Gaza War of 2014, we found that particular voices dominated creating a media discourse, which reflected the power of related actors. While the casualties’ voices were mainly excluded, the Australian media relied on both officials and medics’ voices. The approach can assist our understanding of how power shapes media portrayal of casualties during conflicts and whether those casualties were framed employing humanistic aspects.

Framing Theory

News media’s inclusion of particular voices while excluding others reveals the way in which the media frame events and issues. News framing is considered by media scholars as one of the crucial techniques used by the media to shape an event or issue (Hossain, 2015; Melki, 2014). Lecheler and de Vreese (2012) as well as Brantner, Lobinger and Wetzstein (2011) note that frames are patterns of interpretation of events and issues which are reported by media. These media scholars found that framing theory uncovers how media production shapes the news because framing reflects “the editorial direction and the ideology of the news writer or media outlet” (Yusha’u, 2011, p. 282). The frames used by news media to report on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, for instance, are applied as Fahmy and Al Emad (2011, p. 218) puts it to create and demarcate striking and significant social realities about the conflict.

We found in our study, media representations of events, including international news coverage, tend to highlight some aspects of these events and to exclude others through news frames. As Entman (2002, p.391) contends “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality” and by doing so the reality is made more noticeable and significant within the news report. The key point here as Lecheler and de Vreese (2012, p. 149) identify is the news medias’ “selective function” for news reporting frames which voices are included or excluded – that is, whose voice(s) is pushed behind the scenes. Events are framed according to Entman (2002, p. 392) by using elements in news reports, such as “certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information etc”, texts that ultimately leads to particular voices or actors to be either included or excluded.

Actors are not limited to just people in framing theory. Kandil (2009) refers to actors as people, organisations, political parties, or countries that are involved in one way or another in an event. We found several actors connected to events of the Gaza War, these include: Israel (Netanyahu, the Israeli Army and casualties); Palestinians (Hamas, Abbas, officials, medics and casualties); and international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), its bodies and countries such as the United States (US). In our study, voices are the sources that the media relied on when covering and reporting the Gaza War casualties.

Another important aspect of news framing also evident in our study is source selection. Hossain (2015, p. 526) recognises that sources are not only used by media outlets to obtain information about events but they can manufacture the news so it appears “authentic to the audience”. Whether sources are quoted directly or indirectly on sound bites in reporting, according to Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2012) they shape the framing of the news. A key reason that sources are significant as a framing device is that when news media rely on specific sources, the standpoint of the source shapes the reporting (Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011).

Our study of the conflict during the Gaza War (2014) also showed that when media outlets relied on specific sources in their news coverage, there was a disparity with regards to which voices were included or excluded in the media texts – thus the power of media reporting was exposed. As a result, using frame analysis to examine media representations of wars and political conflicts requires a three pronged approach: i) analysing how related actors are represented by media; ii) assessing which voices or actors are dominant; and iii) identifying the sources that the media outlet relied on during the conflict.

Method and Approach

We began examining a sample of news articles, published during July and August 2014 from selected Australian media outlets. The sample specifically focuses on the news articles related to the Israeli and Palestinian casualties during the Gaza War of 2014; news articles which discuss other events related to the Gaza War such as ceasefire talks between Israel and Hamas in Cairo were excluded.

The sample is mainly representative of Australian mainstream print media. Print media usually has far more in-depth coverage compared to audio and visual media. Mainstream national newspapers like *The Australian* play a significant role in setting

the political agenda “because they have the biggest newsrooms and every day they originate far more stories than any other news medium” (McKnight, 2012, p. 8). When choosing our sample of Australian print media we accounted for variations in ownership as well as the interest in media coverage of Gaza War of 2014. Hence, two newspapers were selected, *The Australian* which is the only national newspaper in Australia and is owned by News Corporation, and *The Sydney Morning Herald* “the oldest continuously published newspaper in Australia” (“The Sydney Morning Herald,” n.d.), which is owned by Fairfax Media and it reports on international events. Both newspapers represent the two major news proprietors in the Australian media (Han, 2011).

The sample also includes two online news websites: the public Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) news website, www.abc.net.au, and the largest independent news website, Crikey, www.crikey.com.au, which has a remit to cover international news. Each of these online websites were chosen as the Internet is one of the main sources of news for most people nowadays, as well as being a medium for numerous researchers interested in investigating media coverage of war and conflicts (Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011). For instance, between 2012 and 2013, 83% of people in Australia were Internet users (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014), so a substantial number of those people would have accessed their news online.

The print news articles were accessed through the Factiva database using the keywords Israel, Palestinians and Gaza. The news articles published on both news websites were collected from their online archives, using the same keywords. In total, 212 news articles were collected; the breakdown was 82 from *The Australian*, 46 from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 78 from ABC and 6 from Crikey.

Two research questions were proposed to guide the data collection and the application of critical discourse analysis:

1. How did Australian media represent Israeli and Palestinian casualties during the Gaza War of 2014?
2. How did the Australian media representations of the casualties during the War of Gaza 2014 reflect the power of related actors and voices?

CDA is particularly valuable for our study because it is explicitly critical: firstly in relation to its concern to reveal how discursive positions create discourses which can have inordinate influence on public opinion; and secondly in its commitment to progressive social change (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2001). CDA aims to investigate practices, events and texts that are shaped by power relationships (Fairclough, 2010). In our study of the news media’s reporting, CDA enables us to develop an in-depth understanding of how news reports are constructed and positioned to influence reader’s understanding.

Another aspect of CDA that is important to our study is to examine which voices and actors are included or excluded in reports about events in news article; this is the most significant framing device. When journalists or editors exclude actors and voices in their reporting it can be either intentional or as a result of blindsots, or bias. As van Leeuwen (1996, p. 38) surmises some exclusions in media representations are “innocent”, because reporters or editors assume the information is already known or

irrelevant to the reader; while other actors or voices are excluded due to media positions towards events or issues.

In our use of CDA in this study, we drew on Fairclough's (2001, 2015) three-dimensional analytical framework that consists of three stages: i) we began by describing the language, structure, and headlines of the text; ii) next we analysed the relationship between the production and possible interpretations of the text; and iii) finally we assessed the production and interpretation of the text within the social context of reporting on war conflicts and casualties. It is noted by Richardson (2007, p.100) that texts cannot be viewed or examined in isolation because news articles (texts) are neither produced, nor consumed by readers in isolation.

We examined the news articles about the Gaza 2014 conflict in relation to other articles on a similar topic. Here we used the concept of intertextuality to show the relationship between what is reported and the context of the reporting. According to van Dijk (2001), accounting for intertextuality allows the researcher to observe what might have interfered, reinforced or then transformed the reporting of the event. For our study this meant that framing the Gaza War casualties in Australian media (a particular type of text), there are other texts and voices which are also relevant and could also be part of the reporting of the event (see Figure 1).

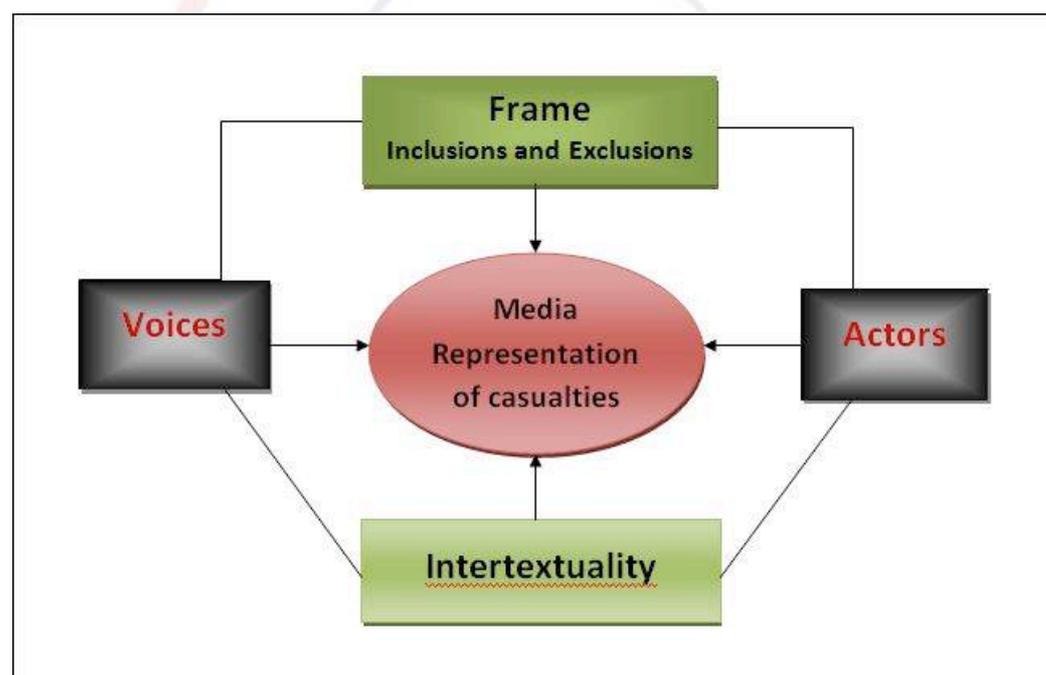


Figure 1: Analytical framework for analysing Australian media representations of the casualties during the Gaza War 2014

Findings

In our study, we examined Australian media representations of Israeli and Palestinian casualties during the Gaza War of 2014. From our analysis we found that the conflict frame was dominant in the Australian media portrayal of casualties during the war. We also found that the inclusions and exclusions of details and facts that were made by the Australian media shaped their representations. Ultimately, in examining the voices and sources Australian media relied on in their coverage of Gaza War

casualties, particular voices such as officials and medics' voices were dominant; and other voices including casualties' voices were excluded. After investigating how Australian media portrayed relevant actors to the Gaza War events, we found that casualties were portrayed in a statistical frame except in a few instances. We elaborate on each of these findings now.

Frames:

From our study a number of significant frames were evident throughout the Australian media reporting about events related to casualties during the Gaza War 2014. The most significant and dominant frame was the conflict between Israel and Hamas as well as the frame of attributing responsibility to Hamas, Israel and both sides. These frames were evident in most media reports about both Israeli and Palestinian casualties. Of a lesser significance was the frame of human interests, and the least significant frame was the victim frame.

Not only the frame of conflict was dominant in Australian media coverage of casualties during the Gaza War, but also the frame of attributing responsibility to Hamas, Israel and both sides. Australian media used the frame of attributing responsibility to Hamas for causing deaths among Palestinian civilians. This frame emerged due to Israeli claims that Hamas used its civilians as human shields, and fired missiles from inhabited areas and shelters used by civilians such as UN schools:

According to Gaza's Ministry of Health, at least 70 per cent of the dead and 1200 injured are civilians.

Israel said Hamas was using civilian premises as "human shields" when firing missiles, which is why many such facilities were hit. (Lyons, 2014a, p. 9)

The Australian media used the frame of attributing responsibility to Israel for deaths among Palestinian civilians including children. For instance, in its coverage of killing four Palestinian boys on a Gaza Beach, targeted by an Israeli shelling, the ABC attributed the responsibility to Israel, when it was stated: "In one incident, four boys aged between eight and 11 were killed on a Gaza beach when they were hit by Israeli fire in full view of several foreign journalists" (Cooper, 2014, para. 11). In other ABC reports, the responsibility was attributed to both Hamas and Israel for deaths among Palestinian civilians. An example is an indirect quotation from the Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop who said: "the retaliatory acts from both sides that have led to civilian deaths and injuries are deeply regrettable" ("Israel, militants trade fire," 2014, para. 15).

The human interests and victim frames were occasionally used during the reporting. Frames such as these were most noticeable when reporting on large numbers of casualties (mostly on the Palestinian side). In particular, these frames emerged during the events of the Israeli shelling of UN schools in Jabalia and Rafah Camps in Northern and Southern Gaza Strip; and the Israeli ground military operation in Shejaiya neighbourhood in Eastern Gaza and Khuza'a village in Southern Gaza. These events were written about by media correspondents at the site of the conflict. One of the reports written by Ruth Pollard, the *Sydney Morning Herald* correspondent in Gaza about the Israeli shelling of a UN school in Jabalia Camp, for instance uses the human interests frame:

"I was sleeping when the first shell landed," said 15-year-old Rezeq al-Adham as he lay in Kamal Adwan Hospital awaiting surgery to save his injured right leg. "I escaped into the school yard and that is when the second shell landed." His father saw him fall to the ground bleeding. (Pollard, 2014b, p. 16)

Inclusions and exclusions

When examining the inclusions and exclusions in Australian media coverage of casualties during the Gaza War, we found that events and information excluded from one media outlet's coverage, were included in another's, or included in other reports published by the same outlet. For example, 'the knock on the roof' system used by the Israeli Army when shelling Palestinian houses, caused increasing deaths and injuries among civilians, but was excluded from most media reports covering Palestinian casualties. Yet, it was included in only a few reports and articles in a similar way to Lyons (2014c, p. 8) account below:

Israel has deployed the "knock on the roof" policy, under which it fires a missile without a warhead on to a building as a warning before firing a follow-up with explosives. It says it gives residents 15 minutes to leave the building but at least one video has shown only one minute passing before the second missile hits and destroys the building.

The inclusions and exclusions shaped the representations of casualties during the Gaza war as well as the voices used or quoted by the media. The sources that the media took their news items from also shaped the representations of those casualties. For instance, Australian and print media published news articles written by numerous writers who reflected their own points of view about the conflict and those casualties in Gaza. In August 11, 2014, *The Australian* newspaper published an article by Andre Oboler, who thought that the large numbers of Palestinian civilian casualties included a number of non-civilians. He claimed that "the high civilian casualty rate in Gaza is very likely to conceal many Hamas combatants" and "has been used not only to justify and mobilise hostility to Israel, but also to defend outright anti-semitism including comparisons to the Holocaust" (Oboler, 2014, p. 16). However, in another article also published in *The Australian* written by Matti Freidman (2014, p. 17), Palestinian civilians were portrayed as innocent victims when he stated that: "People were killed, most of them Palestinians, including many unarmed innocents".

The writers of news reports also adopted their own points of view in terms of attributing the responsibility for causing large numbers of casualties among Palestinian civilians to Hamas and Israel. This resulted in exclusions of some details and facts. Two examples are two articles published on the ABC website in which the responsibility was attributed to Hamas and Israel on the deaths of Palestinian civilians. First, in his article published on July 25, 2014, Glen Falkenstein attributed the responsibility for the death of Palestinian civilians to Hamas only as it "deliberately enmeshes itself within the civilian population, which means that innocent people will die despite Israel's best efforts to take precautions" (para. 1). Falkenstein wrote about the Israeli system 'knock on the roof', claiming that Israel was trying to warn civilians of impending strikes so that they would not be harmed. However, he excluded the fact that this system in which the Israeli Army fired

warning missiles to warn a few minutes before shelling the target area by destructive missiles, did not prevent the deaths and injuries among civilians. Second, in another article that was also published in July 25, 2014, Ben Saul attributed the responsibility for the deaths of Palestinian civilians to Israel, due to Israel's military operations in the Gaza Strip which "cause excessive civilian casualties, illegally destroy property, and sometimes even deliberately target civilians" (Saul, 2014, para. 11). In each of these reports writers presented their personal point of view. Table 1 shows the number of news items which were written by writers and commentators.

Table (1): Numbers of news items taken from various sources within the four media

Sources of news items	The Australian	Sydney Morning Herald	ABC	Crikey	Total
Correspondent/Reporter	43	15	5	1	64
Writer/Commentator	12	12	5	5	34
Agency	1	-	22	-	23
Agency/Other sources	4	-	44	-	48
Reader	11	14	-	-	25
Other	11	5	2	-	18*
Total	82	46	78	6	212

* *Note.* Other = Undefined sources and media reporters and other sources

Voices

Although Australian print and online media employed various voices to portray Palestinian and Israeli casualties, official and medical sources were still dominant. This included both Israeli and Palestinian officials and medics. At the same time, this reliance on officials and medics resulted in an exclusion of eyewitnesses' voices such as injured people and families of dead:

Gaza's Ministry of Health said 165 Palestinians had been killed and more than 1000 injured since the war began six days ago.

The Israeli army says it has hit at least at least 1320 targets in Gaza. Hamas has fired more than 800 missiles towards Israel. (Lyons, 2014b, p. 8)

Voices of casualties emerged when Australian media were covering events that resulted in large numbers of casualties as well as events related to the Israeli shelling of UN schools in Gaza Strip. For example, Australian media included the voices of eyewitnesses in their reports about the Israeli shelling of UN school in Jabalia Camp, which Palestinian civilians were using as shelters during the war:

Four days before his death, Suliman had made the agonising decision to separate his extended family of 30, dividing them between the four local schools sheltering Palestinians.

"Let's not die together," he told his wife and children when the shelling from the Israeli tanks around their home in Beit Lahiya became too much to bear and they were forced to flee. The 42-year-old strawberry farmer died alongside two of his cousins but the rest of his family survived. Thirteen others also died and a further 100 were injured. (Pollard, 2014a, p. 25)

International sources such as the UN, US's and Australian officials were included in Australian media coverage of the Gaza War casualties according to what sources the reporter needed. The focus was on the international voices, which called for a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas and showed concerns about targeting civilians:

"The Security Council members called for de-escalation of the situation, restoration of calm, and reinstatement of the November 2012 ceasefire," the 15-member body said in the statement.

It also expressed "serious concern regarding the crisis related to Gaza and the protection and welfare of civilians on both sides" and called for respect for international humanitarian law, including the protection of civilians. ("Israel, militants," 2014, para. 16–18)

Portraying Main Actors:

When examining how the Australian media portrayed relevant actors to events related to the Gaza War of 2014, we focused on representations of the main actors including casualties, Hamas and Israel.

Casualties reported by Australian media during the Gaza War were framed in numbers only, except in a few instances. As a consequence, the humanistic aspect was less apparent compared with the statistical aspect. Details such as the names, ages and the context in which Palestinian casualties were killed or injured were excluded. For instance, Johnson (2014, para. 1) wrote: "An estimated 190 Palestinian children have been killed and close to 2000 families have lost their homes to date (in less than three weeks) due to Israeli strikes that are purported to be targeting 'militants'". On the contrary, some details including the names of Palestinian casualties were included when the deaths were leaders or commanders in Hamas or other Palestinian factions:

The deadliest single strike took place shortly after midnight (local time) when a missile slammed into a house in the northern town of Beit Hanun, killing Hafez Hammad, a senior Islamic Jihad commander, and five of his family members, including two women and two children. ("Israel vows," 2014, para. 11–13)

Australian media used the same statistical aspect when portraying Israeli casualties. One example is published in *The Sydney Morning Herald*: "Two Israeli civilians and a Thai agricultural worker have also died, along with 43 soldiers from the Israeli Defence Forces, all killed since Israel began its ground invasion of Gaza on July 17" (Pollard, 2014c, p. 12). However, in some cases media reports showed the context in which Israeli deaths were killed as well as their ages as illustrated in this ABC report: "An Israeli citizen was killed by the rocket fire - the first Israel fatality in the fighting. A spokesman for the Israeli emergency services told AFP the 38-year-old was delivering food to soldiers serving in the area" ("Israel resumes," 2014, para. 3–4).

Overall casualties were mainly portrayed in Australian media coverage of most events related to the Gaza War of 2014 in a statistical frame – they were represented as victims and innocent civilians. During the war, these specific representations emerged when the media coverage was of a large human toll on the Palestinian side where "many hundreds of innocent people have been killed, including women and children" ("Gaza conflict," 2014, para. 7).

Due to the use of voices and the particular news sources each media took news from, various representations of Israel and Hamas emerged in Australian media coverage of the Gaza War of 2014. For example, Hamas was portrayed as a militant group, weakened rabble and a terrorist organisation that is responsible for targeting Israeli civilians. Miller's (2014) article is a case in point where Hamas was represented as an "Islamist terrorist" group (p. 18). Hamas was blamed for using Palestinian civilians as human shields and causing large numbers of deaths among them. Hamas was framed as "[s]uch a hate-filled organisation, with the cruelty to use its own children as human shields to protect its weapons and to stir up international hatred of Israel, cannot play a role in any peace process." ("Time," 2014, p. 23). Hamas was portrayed also in a headline of one of the Australian's editorials as "Gaza's worst enemy" who "puts its people at risk by operating in heavily populated residential areas" ("Hamas," 2014, p. 13).

On the contrary, sometimes Israel was portrayed as a strong military force that is responsible for the deaths among Palestinian civilians, and "an outlaw state, exploiting its power over Palestinians to take and keep what it wants" (Saul, 2014, para. 22). At other times, Israel was represented as a Western-style liberal democracy and a country under attack, defending its security and civilians' lives from Hamas rockets, as well as trying to reduce deaths among Palestinians:

Approximately two-thirds of those killed have been combatants but, despite Israel's unique policy of warning the residents of any house about to be bombed, Gaza civilians have, tragically, been killed, a direct result of the terrorists' longstanding tactic of using civilians as human shields. This is a war crime known as perfidy. (Hyams, 2014, p. 14)

The previous examples show different representations of Israel in news articles published by the Australian media according to different writers' positions. The quotations from sources or voices that media used shaped the representations of relevant actors, including Israel. One quotation from the Federal Labor member for Fremantle and former United Nations lawyer, Melissa Parke, published on the ABC website indicates this:

"Israel is the occupying power, Israel is the military might and if Israel and states like the US and Australia, which has a seat on the security council, would stand on the side of peace and justice then I think we would see a settlement happen,". (Borrello, 2014, para. 7)

Conclusion

Our study examined the representations of casualties during the Gaza War of 2014 in Australian print and online media. We analysed 212 news items published in two newspapers and two websites during July and August 2014.

We found that Australian print and online media employed a conflict frame when covering events related to the casualties during the Gaza War of 2014. This Gaza conflict was framed mostly as a conflict between Israel and Hamas, ignoring that the Gaza War is a stage in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Thus, Australian media

coverage did not provide the contexts of news stories about the Gaza War casualties. The dominance of the conflict frame on Australian media coverage resulted in portraying casualties in a statistical frame. Further, related details such as casualties' names and circumstances in which they were killed or injured were largely absent. While Australian print and online media framed some events related to large numbers of casualties in a human interest frame, the media coverage overall lacked the humanistic aspect. Therefore, there is still a need for more balance of Australian media between their coverage of conflicts and contexts relevant to victims' stories.

Australian media portrayal of casualties during the Gaza War of 2014 has showed how the dominance of particular voices or sources played a role in representing actors of related events as those representations varied according to the media use of sources. Our findings revealed that the media mainly relied on Israeli and Palestinian officials and medics as well as some international voices such as the UN and officials from countries such as the US, Australia and Egypt. On the contrary, the voices of Israeli and Palestinian casualties were excluded from Australian media coverage about related events to the Gaza War of 2014. This includes voices of injured people, families of dead people and eyewitnesses. A key finding from our study is that particular voices dominated the media discourse on the Gaza War and this reflected the power of relevant actors such as government and army officials. Casualties and victims of the Gaza War were the actors who have the least power, as their voices were largely absent in the media coverage. For now our study shows that actors such as the Israeli Prime Minister and the Palestinian president as well as other officials such as the spokesmen of the Israeli Army and Hamas have more power to present their perspectives about the conflict, which enabled them to have the hegemony over media discourses.

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The Relationship Between Social Support and Self-Esteem to the Self-Disclosure of Social Media on Older Adults

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Abstract

Social Media profoundly changed people's daily life experiences. Whether it is to collect information, consumer trading, and express their viewpoints, participate in activities or making friends all connected with social media. Social Media is also the future of global mainstream business opportunities, although the elderly is not the main users. During 2009-2010, media survey reveal that 88% of middle-aged (50-64 years old) using a network growth trends, and the elderly (over 65 years) with a growth rate of 100%. The trend of an aging population makes the older adults become a mainstream consumer market, but also have to face the inescapable media impact. The group of older adults into using social media is the target. Self-disclosure is the individual's behaviors in relationships with others to maintain performance; social support is the individual whether or not to accept the external recognition and finally support feelings; self-esteem is a long-term evaluation of the individual. The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship among self-disclosure, social support and self-esteem on social media. Three types of perceived social support, emotion, information and tangibility of social support, and amount, depth, honesty, valence and intentionality of self-disclosure were also examined. The results show that older users with high self-disclosures, especially on the depth, honesty and intentionality are higher on social support and self-esteem. Intentionality and depth of self-disclosures can significantly be predictors of older users' emotional and tangible support. Honesty of self-disclosures can significantly be a predictor of older users' self-esteem.

Keywords: Social media, Self disclosure, Social support, Self-esteem, Older adult

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Introduction

Many older adults believe that they make less of a contribution to society and that they participate in fewer social activities than in their past. Being older has traditionally also been associated with low status and non-competitiveness, especially in Asian cultures, such as Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea (Cuddy *et al.*, 2008). Currently, many older adults are more confident, active and hold a stronger position in society. They feel good about this stage of their lives, use information and communication technologies to contact friends and may attend e-learning programs or activities to improve their lifestyle.

Social Media and Self-disclosure

Social media, presented as a combination of all previous communication technologies, have become immensely popular (Bargh and McKenna, 2004). Indications are that social media primarily involve the consumption of digital media, and are primarily used for communication and interaction, rather than to acquire information. This includes services such as chatting, instant messaging, micro blogging and social networking sites. The trend of using social media is being accelerated by the pervasive use of the smart phone. It has become a tool for bringing individuals with the same interests or social connections into contact (Ellison *et al.*, 2007), allowing users to sustain and strengthen their social relationships by exchanging information, announcing events through status updates, posing for photos or reading news feeds. The use of social media may result in stronger relationships than may be possible through face to face methods (Lenhart *et al.*, 2010; Ross *et al.*, 2009).

Building trust online with strangers seems to be difficult and with lower internet experience and minor functional limitations (Chadwick-Dias *et al.*, 2007), but older adults engaging in social activities would increase their chances of their enjoying a successful retirement. Older adults' well-being was significantly increased by their use of the internet, i.e. by increasing interpersonal contact (Sharpira *et al.*, 2007). Social media seems well suited to the needs of older adults, particularly to keep them connected to friends and family members, but also to increase their opportunities to partake in social activities.

Self-disclosure is considered as an important concept in social psychology and a behavior which involves disclosing personal information and sharing privacy (Attrill

& Jalil, 2011). Over time, the breadth and depth of self-disclosed information would enhance a sense of trust and the feeling of intimacy between individuals. As such, self-disclosure is also an important factor in relationship development (Derlega et al., 1987). An individual would not reveal information about oneself to another person arbitrarily. A process of reciprocal information exchange is essential for two parties involved in communication. That is, the other party has to reveal personal information in order to facilitate relationship development (Park, Jin, & Jin, 2011). According to research on self-disclosure behavior on social media, in the self-expression process in the community, the users gain opportunities to establish connection and social relationships with others, thus in turn, enhance their subjective sense of wellbeing (Ko & Kuo, 2009). Hollenbaugh (2010) proposed that an individual's self-disclosure behavior is subject to gender, personality traits, and the intention to satisfy various utilitarian and recreational purposes, all of which stimulate the volume and depth of self-disclosure. Park, Jin and Jin (2011) stated that the amount and positivity of factors in self-disclosure would enhance friends' impression and fondness of users, and further reinforce their friendship and intimacy. However, the honesty and intentionality for self-disclosure have no direct association with the extent to which the friendship is reinforced.

Social Support and Self-esteem

Social support is a mode of interaction when individuals seek emotional or substantive support when they are under stress or encounter setbacks. Social support includes instrumental, informational, and value support. Faced with changes in the environment, individuals could use some positive support from other people, groups, or organizations. Cobb (1976) proposed that social support has the effect of giving information support and forming a reciprocal interpersonal relationship. Such exchange satisfies individuals' social needs and has the function of protection. When stress in life becomes too overwhelming for an individual to cope with, his/her self-esteem would be threatened. Positive social relationships give the individual a more balanced psychological state and reduce the individual's negative psychological state. Also, the regulatory function of such social relationships gives support to the individual's emotions and affirms the individual's self-worth. On the contrary, an instable state is likely to lead to assaults or unfriendly attitudes.

Self-esteem is an overall emotional judgment that an individual makes after factoring in the individual's self-perception, self-value, and perceived self-importance. Self-esteem has a close association with self-consciousness. Psychologists define

self-esteem as a lasting personality trait, an indicator of subjective wellbeing, and an important factor in psychological health and the quality of life. An individual could have high self-esteem or low self-esteem. High self-esteem has a positive relationship with positive features such as life satisfaction, social support, independence, adaptation, and positive adjustment. In contrast, low self-esteem leads to negative emotions, and negative psychological states thoughts lead to various non-adaptive psychological states and behaviors, which affect an individual's attitudes towards life and interpersonal relationship performance (Gibbs et al., 2006).

There is a positive correlation between social support and self-esteem, both of which are indicators of an individual's social psychology. This study observed older adults' self-disclosure behavior on social media, in order to infer the extent of the social support they receive and their sense of self-esteem. Compared to traditional media, social media have changed the modes and immediacy of interpersonal communication. Hence, the behavioral models of social media have become effective tools to understand regulatory function of social relationships for individuals and individuals' self-evaluation.

Research design

The subjects of this study were 229 older adults aged between 45 and 79 years old, in the early stage, onset stage, and middle stage of seniorhood, and have the experience of using social media. The questionnaire was based on a 5-point Likert scale. SPSS was employed to test the research hypotheses. T test and Pearson correlation and regression analysis were adopted to the research significance and correlation. The first part of the questionnaire concerns the subjects' basic information and usage of social media (Facebook); the second part explores the subjects' self-disclosure on social media; the third part investigates the subjects' self-evaluated social support and self-esteem.

Self-disclosure is measured by using a self-disclosure scale proposed by Gibbs et al. (2006). The scale contains five dimensions of self-disclosure: amount, depth, honesty, valence and intentionality. In particular, "amount" refers to the frequency and duration of self-disclosure; "depth" refers to the depth of information that an individual discloses; "honesty" refers to the truthfulness of information that an individual discloses; "valence" refers to the different impacts of the disclosed information, including positive and negative information; "intentionality" refers to an individual's intentionality to disclose information about him or herself voluntarily.

Social support is measured by using the multidimensional Berlin Social-Support Scales (BSSS), which covers three aspects, including tangibility, emotion, and information (Ralf & Ute, 2000). Self-esteem is measured by using the broadly-applied Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (RSES), which has confirmed reliability and validity (Schmitt & Allik, 2005; Leung & Wong, 2007).

The purpose of this research is intended to explore the correlations among high/low self-disclosure, social support received by the subjects, and their self-esteem. Second, it aims to determine whether the five dimensions of self-disclosure could be used to predict variables of social support and self-esteem of older adults show use social media.

Analysis

The results of the reliability test showed that the Cronbach's α of self-disclosure is .724, that of social support is .820, and that of self-esteem is .772. This suggests that the items have high consistency. In other words, the questionnaire items on older adults' self-disclosure, social support, and self-esteem are fairly reliable.

Among the subjects, 54.1% are male and 45.9% are female; 45.4% are aged 45-54 years old, 31.4% are 55-64 years old, and 23.1% are 65-79 years old; 78.6% have an educational level of high school/vocational high school; nearly 70% work part-time and not retired; 47.6% have individual income of over \$40,000 NTD (about \$1250 USD).

The results of descriptive statistics on the subjects' use of social media (Facebook) showed that most of subjects have used social media for 1-3 years, followed by over 7 years; 65% of the subjects use social media once per day or more, most of which spend less than 60 minutes on social media; 34.1% have 10-50 Facebook friends, and 17.5% have over 200 Facebook friends. Given that 22.3% of the subjects have used social media for over 7 years and 30.6% spend 1-3 hours per day on social media, it is clear that though older adults have only been exposed to social media for a relatively short time, there are heavy users.

The results of differential test on self-disclosure, social support, and self-esteem revealed that for the main variables and all dimensions, $p < .05$, showing a statistically significant difference on the subjects' self-disclosure, social support, and self-esteem (see Table 1). The test results on the correlation of high/low self-disclosure with

social support and self-esteem showed that social support, emotional support, instrumental support, and self-esteem all have a p-value less than .05, indicating that older adults' different extent of self-disclosure has no significant difference on informational social support (see Table 2).

Table 1 T test of self-disclosure, social support and self-esteem

	N	Mean	SD	DF	T	P
Self-disclosure	229	3.28	.395	228	11.073	.000**
SD_amount	229	2.67	.612	228	-8.070	.000**
SD_depth	229	3.14	.815	228	2.736	.007**
SD_honesty	229	3.51	.606	228	12.721	.000**
SD_valence	229	3.54	.575	228	14.319	.000**
SD_intentality	229	3.56	.508	228	12.019	.000**
Social Support	229	3.85	.501	228	25.710	.000**
SS_emotion	229	3.85	.611	228	21.158	.000**
SS_information	229	3.90	.539	228	25.311	.000**
SS_tangibility	229	3.79	.607	228	20.092	.000**
Self-esteem	229	3.93	.508	228	27.802	.000**

Note: *P<.05, **P<.01

Table 2 The relationship of social support and self-esteem on high and low self-disclosure

High/Low self-disclosure		SS	Df	MS	F	P
Social Support (SS)	within	.975	1	.975	3.933	.049*
	between	56.298	227	.248		
	total	57.273	228			
SS_Emotion	within	2.739	1	2.739	7.544	.007**
	between	82.409	227	.363		
	total	85.148	228			
SS_Information	within	.011	1	.011	.036	.849
	between	66.367	227	.292		
	total	66.377	228			
SS_Tangibility	within	1.453	1	1.453	4.079	.045*
	between	80.840	227	.356		
	total	82.292	228			
Self-esteem	within	1.506	1	1.506	5.952	.015*
	between	57.429	227	.253		
	total	58.934	228			

Note: *P<.05; **P<.01

The results of Pearson correlation on the variables indicated that there is a significant correlation between the three dimensions of social support and self-esteem. However, there is no correlation between the amount of self-disclosure, social support, and self-esteem. The depth, honesty, and intentionality of self-disclosure are significantly correlated with emotional and tangible support. There is no significant correlation between informational social support and self-disclosure. The valence of self-disclosure is only correlated with self-esteem (see Table 3).

Table 3 Person correlation of self-disclosure (SD), social support (SS) and self-esteem (SE)

SD1	Amount	SD1							
SD2	Depth	.316**	SD2						
SD3	Honesty	.085	.500**	SD3					
SD4	Valence	-.236**	.044	.299**	SD4				
SD5	Intentionality	-.156*	.280**	.328**	.262**	SD5			
SS1	Emotion	.051	.274**	.234**	.118	.263**	SS1		
SS2	Information	.057	.127	.057	-.084	.125	.595**	SS2	
SS3	Tangibility	.094	.208**	.218**	.086	.228**	.653**	.560**	SS3
SE	Self-esteem	.034	.220**	.363**	.182**	.187**	.426**	.344**	.335**

Note: *P<.05, **P<.01

Table 4 A logistic regression analysis on self-disclosure and social support

Model Summary(c)

Model	R	R square	adj of R square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	sig
1	.243(a)	.059	.055	.487	14.256	.000**(a)
2	.302(b)	.091	.083	.479	11.341	.000**(b)

a. Predictor: (Constant), Intentionality of self-disclosure

b. Predictor: (Constant), Intentionality of self-disclosure, Depth of self-disclosure

c. Dependent variable: Social support

Coefficient (a)

Model		Unstd. Coefficients		Std. Coefficients	t	sig
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.245	.164		19.821	.000**
	Intentionality	.170	.045	.243	3.776	.000**
2	(Constant)	3.015	.181		16.676	.000**
	Intentionality	.133	.046	.191	2.887	.004**
	Depth	.115	.041	.187	2.826	.005**

a. Dependent variable: Social support

See table 4, $F(1,227)=14.256$, $p<.01$ and $F(2,226)=11.341$, $p<.01$, intentionality and depth of self-disclosure can be predictors of older adults' integrated social support. See table 5, $F(1,227)=18.485$, $p<.01$ and $F(2,226)=14.397$, $p<.01$, intentionality and depth of self-disclosure also can be predictors of older adults' emotional support. See table 6, $F(1,227)=12.442$, $p<.01$ and $F(2,226)=9.162$, $p<.01$, intentionality and honesty of self-disclosure can be predictors of older adults' tangible support. See table 7, $F(1,227)=34.400$, $p<.01$, honesty of self-disclosure can be a predictor of older adults' self-esteem. Sum up, Intentionality and depth of self-disclosures can significantly be predictors of older users' emotional and tangible support. Honesty of self-disclosures can significantly be predictors of older users' self-esteem (see Table 4-Table 7).

Table 5 A logistic regression analysis on self-disclosure and emotion of social support

Model Summary(c)						
Model	R	R square	adj of R square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	sig
1	.274(a)	.075	.071	.588	18.485	.000**(a)
2	.336(b)	.113	.105	.578	14.397	.000**(b)

a. Predictor: (Constant), Depth of self-disclosure

b. Predictor: (Constant), Depth of self-disclosure, Intentionality of self-disclosure

c. Dependent variable: Emotion of social support

Coefficient (a)						
Model		Unstd. Coefficients		Std. Coefficients	t	sig
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.207	.156		20.615	.000**
	Depth	.206	.048	.274	4.299	.000**
2	(Constant)	2.726	.218		12.517	.000**
	Depth	.163	.049	.218	3.335	.001**
	Intentionality	.172	.056	.202	3.100	.002**

a. Dependent variable: Emotion of social support

Table 6 A logistic regression analysis on self-disclosure and tangibility of social support

Model Summary(c)						
Model	R	R square	adj of R square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	sig
1	.228(a)	.052	.048	.586	12.442	.001**(a)
2	.274(b)	.075	.067	.580	9.162	.000**(b)

a. Predictor: (Constant), Intentionality of self-disclosure

b. Predictor: (Constant), Intentionality of self-disclosure, Honesty of self-disclosure

c. Dependent variable: Tangibility of social support

Coefficient (a)						
Model		Unstd. Coefficients		Std. Coefficients	t	sig
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.116	.197		15.818	.000**
	Intentionality	.191	.054	.228	3.527	.001**
2	(Constant)	2.716	.258		10.526	.000**
	Intentionality	.147	.057	.175	2.587	.010*
	Honesty	.159	.067	.161	2.373	.019*

a. Dependent variable: Tangibility of social support

Table 7 A logistic regression analysis on self-disclosure and self-esteem

Model Summary(c)						
Model	R	R square	adj of R square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	sig
1	.363(a)	.132	.128	.474	34.400	.000**(a)

a. Predictor: (Constant), Honesty of self-disclosure

b. Dependent variable: Self-esteem

Coefficient (a)						
Model		Unstd. Coefficients		Std. Coefficients	t	sig
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.867	.185		15.535	.000**
	Honesty	.304	.052	.363	5.865	.000**

a. Dependent variable: Self-esteem

Discussion

Social media activities, social support received by older adults, and their self-esteem are influenced by the opportunities to interact with other people. Older adults are positively and highly satisfied in the emotional, informational, and tangible dimensions of social support, indicating that social media have the value of meeting and satisfying older users' social needs. Compared with people who have low self-disclosure behavior, those with high self-disclosure behavior do obtain more emotional support and self-approval. That is, when older users are willing to take the initiative to express themselves and share with others, their connection with others and their social relationships would be improved, their self-worth would be enhanced, and their interpersonal relationships would be better. In particular, the depth, intentionality, and honesty of self-disclosed information are the most important. It means that when older users give their personal information, reveal truthful information and personal intentionality, they can effectively improve their friendship with others in the social community and others' emotional feedback. However, neither does the amount of information nor the positive or negative content of information affect older users' positive support and self-evaluation.

Conclusion

This study explored older adults' self-disclosure behavior on social media, in order to understand the difference in their social support and self-esteem. The observation on the subjects' self-disclosure behavior revealed the support and evaluation that older adults receive on social media. Based on this, we could have an understanding of users' traits so as to establish grounds for selecting a particular group or determining the effects of communication. The majority of subjects in this study are still in the workforce, highly receptive to social media, and some of them are heavy social media users. It indicates that older adults' ability to give up a conservative attitude towards emerging media is associated with their positive and open acceptance of the mobile trend. There is a correlation between social support received by older adults and their self-esteem. Also, most social media users are in the category of high social support and high self-esteem. Older adults' high digital information literacy skills would continue to manifest in social communication and behavioral performance in the future. The impacts of social media on older adults will expand in the future. It is foreseeable that many years from now, older adults in the late stage of seniorhood might become a new generation that could interact and communicate on social media more comfortably. The impacts of social media may continue their impressive buying power and effects of communication.

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Panic in the Peninsula: A Case Study on the Religious Model Reporting Style and Mediated Moral Panics in Malaysia

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Abstract

The issues concerning moral panics and music subcultures have often been overblown in the press coverage in Malaysia. Various models have been adopted by the authorities via the press to put a face on these so-called moral panics by appropriating the fashion and styles of music subcultures. Western popular culture has often had a volatile relationship notably with conservative, religious societies (even more so in non-Western countries) and the controversy surrounding the introduction of each popular medium frequently represented a form of moral panic (Shuker, 2001, p. 16).

From the mid to the late 1990s, music genres such as rap, hip-hop, heavy metal and punk have taken the center stage of personifying the rhetoric concerning 'social problems regarding the nation's youth'. In light of the country's current increasing conservatism, shaky political hegemony, and religious and racial rhetoric in the mainstream media, the 2001 moral panic which resulted in the so-called 'Black Metal crackdown' serves as an instrumental case study on how the religious model reporting style and mediated moral panics is exercised in Malaysia.

Keywords: Malaysia, music subcultures, media studies, mediated moral panics, religion, politics, news

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The issues concerning moral panics and music subcultures have often been overblown in the press coverage in Malaysia. Various models have been adopted by the authorities via the press to put a face on these so-called moral panics by appropriating the fashion and styles of music subcultures. Western popular culture has often had a volatile relationship notably with conservative, religious societies (even more so in non-Western countries) and the controversy surrounding the introduction of each popular medium frequently represented a form of moral panic (Shuker, 2001, p. 16). From the mid to the late 1990s, music genres such as rap, hip-hop, heavy metal and punk have taken the center stage of personifying the rhetoric concerning 'social problems regarding the nation's youth'. The 2001 moral panic resulted in what has been dubbed the 'Black Metal crackdown'.

A period of moral panic, as described by Stanley Cohen in his seminal book *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1972), consisted of:

...A period, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions...the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. (p. 9)

Heavy metal has gained notoriety in the past, notably in the United States, in regard to moral panic including court actions against heavy metal bands by parents and politicians blaming and holding them accountable for youth suicides, Satanism and other social ills (Bennett, 2001, pp. 53-55). Black metal has in particular raised concern in Norway where black metal bands have appropriated the genre to anti-Christian and racist sentiments that had apparently resulted in the burning of churches and racial murders and incarceration of the offenders. However, these tend to be isolated cases and do not represent the general black metal listeners and followers, who have been identified as being mostly passive despite their critical ideology concerning society (Bennett, 2001, pp. 55-56).

Black metal therefore has had an even more notorious history especially concerning religion and occults. Rap, hip-hop and punk subcultures tend to be more socially and culturally based and centers primarily around the music and the ideology it represents as an alternative lifestyle that revels in their identity and marginalised position. These subcultures also seldom incite religious hatred or racially discriminate (unless Nazi-skinheads are accounted for).

Research questions

This paper involves an analysis of the reporting style of the 2001 'Black Metal Crackdown'. The research questions are as follows:

Was the 2001 'Black Metal crackdown' in Malaysia primarily a simulated moral panic? If so, what models were used and why? If not, what evidence is there of a real moral panic?

The reporting style can be identified as that of a religious model. Whether this was used for political means may be implied later in the analysis of the progress the reports take during the crackdown.

The appropriation of black metal as a moral panic is more volatile considering Malaysian ethnic and religious structure is brought into attention: the ethnic majority consists of the Malays and Malays are often born into Islam. In fact, all Malays, by definition, are Muslims (Milne & Mauzy, 1999, p. 12). While moral panics in Malaysia often involve the rhetoric concerning the social ills among youth, the concerns can be identified as religious as most of those identified as being involved the so-called black metal occults and Malay youths.

The panic and fear could very well stem from the appropriation of heavy metal iconography which has over the course of the genre's existence evolved towards fantasy and satanic imagery – most visible in album cover artworks and band t-shirts. These fantasy and satanic imagery conjures images of the devil which is in opposition to any religious belief and a threat to a religious faith. The combination of the Islamic background of the Malays in general and the conservative values Malay culture adopt and adhere to, Black Metal can be seen as the most successful for moral panic in Malaysia.

Methodology

The analysis of the reporting style will be done by doing a textual analysis of the press reports that covered the incident. The textual analysis will look at the press reports by the Malaysian National News Agency (the official news agency – all news agencies are owned or at least partially owned by the government) from the beginning of the 'witch hunts' that began on July 16th 2001 to the last available press coverage on August 18th 2001. The press reports are taken from the ProQuest electronic database and the reports have no authors or journalists accredited to. The analysis is therefore limited to this scope. A comparison to the initial actual newspaper reports (the national daily *New Straits Times*) will be used to identify any similarities in reporting style. The analysis examines how the iconography associated with heavy and black metal was reported and the recurring times it appears in opposition with the religious, Islamic model used. Cohen's writing and theory on moral panics and reporting style is the basis of the analysis and will be used to identify how the Malaysian reports mirror the theories.

The 'witch hunts' began in the Northern state of Kedah and like other northern Malaysian states, such as the Islamic ruled states of Kelantan and Terengganu, is also known as very Islamic and conservative. The 'witch hunt' included stripping students (boys and girls) in schools to find any tattoos or the concealment of black shirts that would suggest an occult leaning. Even youths with long hair and who generally wear black were detained or questioned or threatened with haircuts. Among the behaviour and practices of the so-called black metal occults reported included animal sacrifices and blood drinking, digging graves, free sex, drug use/abuse, stepping on the Quran and viewing pornographic material.

What the textual analysis and research question hopes to achieve is the identification and dissection of the evil icon in opposition with the dominant Islamic model and the dialectic between good and evil in the reporting. Since the actual reasons behind the 'witch hunt' campaign cannot be easily identified, the political assumption behind the campaign will be speculated based on other available news reports covering the same time-line.

Analysis

The sequential model as described by Cohen (1972) used to describe the phases of a typical disaster seems to parallel that in the 'Black Metal crackdown' reporting:

1. *Warning*: during which arises, mistaken or not, some apprehension based on conditions out of which danger may arise. The warning must be coded to be understood and impressive enough to overcome resistance to the belief that the current tranquility can be upset.
2. *Threat*: during which people are exposed to communication from others, or to signs from the approaching disaster itself indicating specific eminent danger.
3. *Impact*: during which the disaster strikes and the immediate unorganized response to the death, injury or destruction takes place.
4. *Inventory*: during which those exposed to the disaster begin to form a preliminary picture of what has happened and of their own condition.
5. *Rescue*: during which the activities are geared to immediate help for survivors. As well as people in the impact are helping each other, the suprasystem begins to send aid.
6. *Remedy*: during which more deliberate and formal activities are undertaken towards relieving the affected. The suprasystem takes over the functions the emergency system cannot perform.
7. *Recovery*: during which, for an extended period, the community either recovers its former equilibrium or achieves a stable adaptation to the changes which the disaster may have brought about. (pp. 22-23)

The hypothesis that the crackdown is a simulated moral panic can be based on the third sequence, the *impact*, in which there had been no actual proof of damage done by the Black Metal groups other than the damage to Islamic ‘belief’ and ‘morals’. The initial sequences of *warning* and *threat* had not been substantially supported by an actual *impact* and the only evidences reported mostly consisted of Black Metal paraphernalia and ‘reformed’ ex-Black Metal member(s) confessions. In fact, there had been many false alarms concerning certain youth gatherings and such that had turned out to be ‘innocent’ gatherings or totally unrelated to Black Metal groups. The lack of any strong voice and opinions (if any) from academic or independent professionals from non-governmental organisations being interviewed in the reports also show considerable loopholes in the sourcing.

The first four initial reports (July 16th, two reports on 17th and 21st) by the Malaysian National News Agency relied on quotes by authority figures in the order from the National Unity and Social Development Minister (describing it as a “street gang”), the Education Director General (describing it as a “group”), the Deputy Prime Minister (describing it as a “menace” and “a social problem”) and a Minister in the Prime Minister’s Department (describing it as a “dangerous virus” and a “cancer...which will lead to the destruction of Muslims in the country”).

The expressions used in these initial reports at first suggests a *warning* that warrants further investigation and the words used to describe Black Metal followers (“street gang” and “group”) did not imply grave social concerns as these descriptions merely imply deviant social groupings, nothing *too* serious. However, by quoting an authority figure of the stature such as the Deputy Prime Minister leads on to imply an escalating *threat* and the word used (“menace” and “social problem”). This is further supported by a quote in a report four days later from a Minister in the Prime Minister’s Department who uses the strong words such as “dangerous virus” and “cancer” and implies the *threat* it poses to Muslims in the country. Within the span of five days the image of these Black Metal ‘members’ (mostly high school students and youths) had escalated from mere isolated ‘deviant’ social groups to a huge threat to society, Muslims particularly, and that warrants a crackdown.

It is a common tactic for those in positions of leadership in social institutions who are given the responsibility of managing situations such as moral panics to adopt the public demeanor of calm father figures managing the irrational outburst of an adolescent – once the emotion subsides, it is assumed, the panic will go away (Horsfield, 1997, p. 5). This is exactly what had happened – the binary opposition of the paternal, adult father figure of the authorities versus the adolescent members of the Black Metal groups and later the binary opposition between the ‘good’, righteous religious Muslim leaders (a position also adopted by the politicians) versus the ‘evil’, ignorant youths of the Black Metal groups. If the panic was indeed pure simulation, it may explain the fact that it eventually disappeared within a month, at least in the reportings.

What is evident in the events reported is this seemingly clear cut binary oppositions (‘adult rationalism’ versus ‘adolescent irrationality’ and ‘good’ versus ‘evil’) and the

rapid succession from the initial *warning* to the *remedy* and *rescue*. The entire fiasco lasted just over a month. The reluctance of the police to intervene (the Inspector General of Police is quoted also on July 21st as saying that “it is not a national security problem ... more social than criminal” and later by the North-East District Police Chief who stated that “it would be futile merely to investigate what could be just another modern day fashion” on July 24th) might allude a political bias in pointing the finger too quickly. The rapid progress from a religious concern (July 21st) to a political concern (“...aimed at bringing down the government...it was used by the opposition to show the failure of the government to curb social ills among the youth” on August 4th) also seems a bit rushed considering the fact that the *remedy* and *recovery* sequence by the authority offered up a rather quick, clean and simple, and effective solution: by treating Black Metal followers with medicine to complement counseling and motivational programmes (August 12th), using local music personalities to combat social ills (August 17th) and by the ‘integrated action’ between the Education Ministry, the police, the Home Ministry, the National Unity and Social Development Ministry, the National Security Division and the Malaysian Islamic Advancement Department (JAKIM).

The Religious Model and Exaggeration

The association made between the Black Metal followers and drug use and viewing pornography also can be seen as an attempt to scapegoat Black Metal as an icon symbolically associated with social ills and evils (the burning of the Quran, animal sacrifice, blood drinking etc.). The involvement of Muftis (a professional jurist who interprets Muslim law), the Kedah State Exco for Religious Affairs, JAKIM and the Kedah Islamic Affairs Council certainly helped propagate a religious concern thus a religious model. The frequent mention of “threat to religious beliefs”, “faith” and “Malay youths” in the same discourse of an imminent ‘evil’ consisting of “occult worship”, “Devil worship” which could lead to the “destruction of Muslims” favors the authorities who take a religious model to propagate a panic and launching a crackdown campaign.

With an already established religious model, such generalizing and phrases based on the associated Black Metal iconography is further exaggerated in the mode and style of ‘over-reporting’ which distorts the alleged damaging effects which is still yet to be proven by concrete evidences or events. The sensational headlines, the melodramatic vocabulary and the deliberately heightening of those elements are also characteristic of most crime reporting (Cohen, 1972, p. 31). Religion, while very personal, can work to great lengths in this case since most of the alleged members were from religious schools. By brandishing Black Metal as a ‘demonising’ property, like a criminal on the run, it became mythical immoral and inherently evil entity, a ‘virus’ as described earlier, which threatens the very fabric and structure of the Muslim community, specifically the ‘fragile’, ‘confused’ and ‘irrational’ Muslim Malay youths.

The demonising of its associated genre, heavy metal, had not occurred prior to this. In fact, more than 10 years earlier (December 5, 1988), the *New Straits Times* ran an article which rather trivialized heavy metal and associated it with Malay youth rebellion (Lockard, 1998, p. 258) and most of the heavy metal followers are described as ‘kutus’

(head lice) and seen merely as loafers who laze around shopping malls. The suggestion by one State Minister (July 30th) that three youth groups identified as having “high risk tendency of being influenced by the Black Metal occult group” can be found “usually loafing around shopping complexes on weekends or public holidays and at concerts” does not warrant a ‘demonising’ tag. It inherently points to the religious model in providing solutions and contrast rather than tackle the social (or even economic) issues associated with the behaviour.

Political Aims?

What can be implied, by considering other events before and during the crackdowns began, is that the Black Metal groups were used as a scapegoat to symbolize the social problems (such as increasing reports of rape cases, drug abuse and the authority’s attempt to curb pornography) that were going reported on *and* also as a political tool to divert the public’s attention from more serious political issues concerning the ruling government (such as the use of the Internal Security Act to subdue student activists and the opposition) . This section will examine the other news stories and events reported in the national daily *New Straits Times*. The month of July 2001 was full of events that were both socially and politically alarming. Among the reports by the *New Straits Times* coverage in July 2001 included:

- July 5th - a cover story of a 16 year-old student being raped and murdered in the southern state of Malacca;
- July 6th – a cover story on the arrest of a student activist under the Internal Security Act (ISA);
- July 8th – a cover story on the arrest of a second student activist under the ISA; and an ‘amok’ incident in which a man (believed to be a drug addict) kills his father and stabs his mother and sister;
- July 9th – a headline about a ‘New ruling to enter university – helping students to focus on studies and stay away from unproductive activities’ in which concern was raised in regard to student, particularly Malays, who consider the university as a center to rally against the government;
- July 16th – a page 13 report (no reporter credited) about the arrest of 31 people, including seven women, who involved in an illegal gathering in front of a detention camp protesting about the ISA and asking for the release of detainees (the police said they were supporters of the Opposition).

The July 5th report about the rape and murder case and the July 8th ‘amok’ case are one of many crimes that were reported during this period (a suggestion that something is going wrong in Malaysian society). The first report about Black Metal groups was on the July 17th edition, in page 7 (‘Ministry to check on group called Black Metal’). During this period, there were also concerns, in most of the news coverage, about the activities of university students on campus that included anti-establishment, anti-government and pro-opposition activities.

The rising number of people being detained by the ISA (including the arrest of nine opposition leaders in April 2001 and the two student activists – subsequently released later – in July) for allegedly spreading anti-establishment and anti-Government sentiments and support could be one of the main political reasons in instigating a moral panic to distract the public, notably the rural and non-metropolitan population. At the same time, there was a hotly contested by-election in Likas (East Malaysia) where the Government coalition had accused the Opposition of deploying ‘phantom voters’. It is worth noting that the entire crackdown eased and remedies were procured after the by-election had ended, although to what extent this was influenced by the by-election remains to be explored.

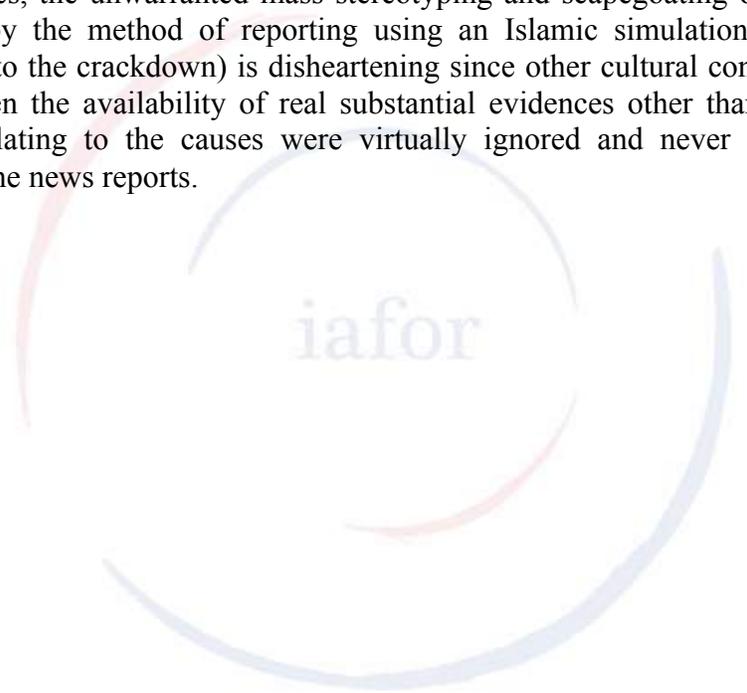
One action involving the ‘witch hunts’ which raised eyebrows was the raiding of shops selling black metal paraphernalia or CD and VCD sales: even illegal VCD stalls were raided for this purpose. *Time* magazine (September 10, 2001) quoted a then-deputy of the opposition party who suggested that the entire black metal fiasco was merely an attempt to cur the opposition because such VCD stalls also held the VCDs of opposition parties. There is indeed a rising trend among opposition political parties to distribute their views and manifestos via VCDs which can be produced at a low-cost since there is virtually no room for the opposition in the predominantly state-owned and controlled media. This could explain the insistence on raiding VCD stalls for purposes of eliminating the sale of pornographic VCDs that is repeated throughout the reports (and linking it together with free sex as a staple Black Metal activity). There was also massive crackdowns on VCD pirates and sales of pornographic VCDs (July 17th) with authorities raiding illegal VCD factories and stalls during this period to the point that top officers were allegedly getting death threats (July 20th) from the pirating syndicates (which a majority of were run and owned by gangs). Two other cover stories on July 20th included findings about the number of crimes committed by secondary students from 1999 to May 2001 (12 cases causing deaths, 123 rapes, 51 robberies and break-ins) and a teenager charged with murder, again implying via reporting an escalating problem among youths warranting action by the authorities. The July 20th issues also included the most comprehensive initial reports linking Black Metal with Satanism and occult activities (also in outlining the progress of the crackdowns) in pages 10 and 16 and the headline on July 21 reported on the Prime Minister’s concern over the moral degradation and crime among youths. The coincidence of the breakdowns of ‘morality’ in the number of the news reports during the span of these couple of days suggests, again, a parallel between the instigation and construction of a variety of moral panics and the Black Metal crackdown, which was already under way, as an affirmative action in prevention by the authorities in simulating a ‘solution’.

Another issue that can be explored further is the relationship between popular music and politics in South East Asian countries and the possibility that the campaign was used as a subtle warning to any member of the music community to avoid anti-government sentiment. To a certain extent, the ignorance of a popular culture discourse by the Islamic elite in relating to Malaysian Muslim youths (and the rise of a consumerist culture as an

alternative model) in building a cultural and political identity can also be explored (Noor, 1996, p. 1) as a precursor to such panics or concerns.

Conclusion

In the end, it may be hard to exactly pinpoint the reasons behind such moral panics and the subsequent crackdowns but by comparing it against parallel social and political events, various assumptions, notably political diversion (or to display successes in governing and maintaining order), as the analysis has shown can be made. It is discouraging to note that figures of authority continually blame the absorption of Western popular culture among Malaysian youth groups as the source of all social ills and the style of reporting leaves little room for any other possibilities or arguments. Although there may actually have been an actual Black Metal occult which had carried out the alleged activities, the unwarranted mass stereotyping and scapegoating of youth groups accompanied by the method of reporting using an Islamic simulation model (which eventually led to the crackdown) is disheartening since other cultural considerations and discourses (even the availability of real substantial evidences other than t-shirts, CDs, VCDs etc.) relating to the causes were virtually ignored and never really explored thoroughly in the news reports.

The logo for the International Association for Business and Economics (IABE) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several concentric, semi-transparent circular arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a stylized, circular emblem.

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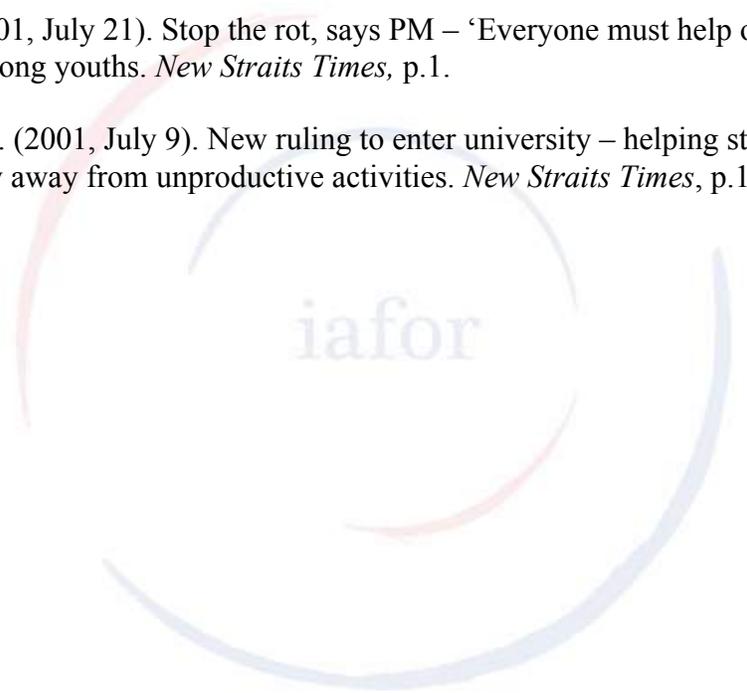
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Rise of Media Technologies and Emergence of a New 'Political' Popular Culture in South Asia

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Abstract

The advent of media technologies changed the whole course of communication and its dissemination. The convergent global media brought a popular culture that provided a 'third but common space' to the people of different cultures. Of late, South Asia has been observed as the crucial region for the growth in media technology use with a direct effect on the audience in terms of creating a new 'political' popular culture.

The popular culture in South Asia was observed in the socio-cultural change through adoption of cultural traits, fashion, language posed by television, films and music. Apparently, the increasing participation in media consumption and production has given a way to the change in political culture. This development is truly global in nature as it blurred the international boundaries in terms of audiences. As a result, we see a kind of 'global public' that not only participates in its own national political issues but also registers its voice in the matter of international politics. However, it is interesting to note that like 'other' culture, it is still in making and it is providing rather 'pop-up' effects, than being a real *raison d'être* of political change at large. For instance, Democratic movement in Myanmar; and the '*India Against Corruption*' Campaign. By using secondary data, the present study makes an effort to read the discourse surrounding new 'political' popular culture which is a result of the ferment in socio-political process brought by media technologies and its implications especially in the South Asian region.

Keywords: New Media, Popular Culture, Pop-up Effect, Political Change

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Introduction

South Asia including India has witnessed swift changes in the socio-politico-economic fabric. One of the reasons for these changes is the advent of media technologies. Not earlier than two decades, we observed convergent and global media with the advanced media technologies together with satellite television and internet. Sailing on route through the global media, cultural traits and customs saw no boundaries. However, this cultural floating could not break the 'dominant' cultural structures within regions. Consequently, a popular culture that provided a 'third but common space' to the people of different cultures emerged amidst elite and low cultures. The growing media technologies are continuously at work of transforming the social structures hence forth. In this respect, South Asia sets an example not only in the escalating use of new media technologies but also in terms of an interesting form of popular culture. In the 'politically activated' South Asia region, the rise in media technologies is giving a way to the new 'political' popular culture.

The popular culture in South Asia came with adapted cultural traits, fashion, language posed by television, films and music. It was the change in culture socially. Apparently, there is not only a change in media itself but the nature of audience is also changing with increasing participation in media consumption and production as well. This has given way to the change in political culture. The new emerging popular culture can truly be called as 'global' since it blurs the international boundaries in terms of audience, though most of its audience has no prior 'dominant political frame' of reference. As a result we see a kind of 'global public' that not only participates in its own national political issues but also register its voice in the matter of other political regimes. A large public support through the use of media (particularly new media) to the Democratic movement in Myanmar from corners of South Asia is but one example of it.

On the basis of secondary data, evidences and observations on the recent political activities in South Asia, the present chapter highlights the interesting phenomenon of creation of a political popular culture in the region which is, like 'other' culture, still in making and providing rather 'pop-up' effects, than being a real *raison d'être* of political change at large. The implications as traced in Anna Hazare Campaign (India Against Corruption) and the campaign against Delhi gang rape case, for instance indicate how socio-political movements spring up and grow fast with communication process speeded up by media technologies. Nevertheless, they can not be sufficiently called as reaching to a true political consciousness of the people. Such movements run for short period, lead to repression, conflicts and violence and create a 'political' popular culture which is still placed somewhere else than the dominant as well as the participatory political culture.

New Media and Popular Culture

Popular culture is a term which never got a concrete definition and has always been loosely defined. Scholars in cultural studies have defined the 'popular culture' in various ways based on different approaches from quantitative to qualitative. Based on the notion of 'popularity among people' the scholars (Storey, Bennett, Nachbar and Lause) quantitatively defines popular culture as '*simply culture which is widely favoured or well liked by many people*'. However, when one observes the beliefs and

practices involved as the basis of demarcation between cultures – elite and popular; high, mass and popular – one comes across various contextual descriptions of popular culture. For instance, Burke defines it as *'the culture of the non-elite'*; *"The culture which is left over after we have decided what is high culture."* (cited in Parker:2011:151)

Even after drawing certain qualitative as well as quantitative lines to define popular culture, the scholars found little consensus. Consequently, due to the cultural practices and complexities involved in differentiating between folk and popular; or, mass and mass culture, we come across a varied views on defining popular culture. From an aesthetic sense, definition of popular culture moves towards its modern technology base. This school of thought believes the technology of the new age as the real harbinger of popular culture. The popular culture, here is not only brought by TV or celebrity related fandom but by participation in *'mass production and consumption'* and John Fiske's virtue of *'resistance'*. Contrary to this, Parker (2011) views popular culture as a practice of maintaining the status quo, as he states: *"One of the most prevalent features of popular culture (both pre- and post-industrial) to which theorists point is precisely its bricolage: the reuse, refashioning, reappropriation of the acts and materials of elite culture."* (155)

However, the unclear boundaries and this *'dialectics'* (Fuchs:2014) of the popular culture as well as of the new media and its communication provide a common singular characteristic. Popular culture and new media, both have a similar character to frequently adopt 'new'. However, the continuity of the process itself provides a consistency even when they do not possess anything for long. *"...it forces us to ignore stable and established media, even those that have perhaps not received any critical or analytical attention, and to always be looking for the next development."* (Beer, 2013, p.6)

Eventually, the popular cultural content on new and particularly social media has expanded from socio-cultural realm of arts and artifacts to the political sphere. The user-generator of the social media content is increasingly seems politically active on the internet. The social media users have been observed to talk on the issues of global politics along with the issues of their home countries. However a closer scrutiny suggests that it can not be called as pure 'public sphere' of Jürgen Habermas (1962/1989) or 'subpolitics' of Ulrich Beck (1997). The study of the new media content and related ideologies lead us rather towards the concept of a political popular culture that works on the central postulation of a dialectical theory of the internet based social media.

Conceptualizing 'Political' Popular Culture

Extending the term *'subpolitics'* defined by Ulrich Beck as politics which is not 'governmental, parliamentary, and party politics,' but exists in *'all the other fields of society'* (Beck, 1997,52), we can define the political activities of social media as non-politics of politics. Reason – most of the political conversation on new/social media platforms is taking place as an effort of the people to enter into the elitist class of politics and in doing so – *"gathering some people on many dispersed sites fragments the public and results in 'a huge number of isolated issue public'*

(Habermas:2006:423) which is taking them towards a political form of popular culture rather than transforming them in a public sphere.

The recent ferments in socio-political arena of South Asian countries and their relation with the new media technologies could be seen as struggle against and for dominant order. The movements initiated on the social media platforms aim at the establishment of a democratic society and are *'based on communication commons as part of structures of commonly- owned means of production'* (Fuchs, 20011b). However, the analysis of online political activities suggests that such movements though have a common motive of 'desire for power', they lack a common ideology. Interestingly, user-activists of social media see the production, dissemination and consumption of the online content in terms of power relations but are not able to create a participatory political system enabled with decision making and implementation of the same. The creation of *'public sphere'* (Habermas), political *'participation'* (Fuchs) asks for *'transformative capacity'* (Anthony Giddens) i.e. the power/right to make and alter decisions related to the governance, structures of dominance and *'courses of events, even where others might contest such decisions'* (Giddens:1985:9).

Fuchs (2014) further sees dominant *'ideology and coercion'* as the *'forces of power in contemporary society'*, which deter people from counter-power struggle since they *'keep people occupied with struggling for survival so that they have no time, energy or thoughts for counter-power struggles'* (77). Eventually, the online political activities end up in being what Morozov (2009) calls as *'slacktivism'*. Morozov defines *'slacktivism'* as – *"feel-good online activism that has zero political or social impact. It gives those who participate in 'slacktivist' campaigns an illusion of having a meaningful impact on the world without demanding anything more than joining a facebook group"*.

In the whole process, social media also takes us towards *cultural industry*. Like popular culture which *"includes those things that require only small amounts of cultural capital to produce (dances, whether folk or raves), and also the things that require only small amounts of cultural capital to consume (movies, sports)"* (Parker: 2011), political popular culture online and offline includes those things which are easily approachable. As a result, *"The category of the internet prosumer commodity does not signify a democratization of the media towards a participatory or democratic system, but the total commodification of human creativity."* (Fuchs: 2014:199) This course of action, when expands, sometimes, beyond the media technologies, takes shape of a political fermentation in the societies. The observations tell how such fermentation either is quickly setting down without reaching the desired destination or resulting in the continuing bloodshed (in the name of insurgency) and political instability.

Here, the concept of political popular culture should not be compared with the 'political prospective' of online fan communities idealized by Henry Jenkins (2008) where he sees them as *'preparing the way for a more meaningful public culture'* (239). Unlike this notion where the entire argument evolves surrounding the practice of lobbying by the fans for their respective celebrities, the political popular culture is based on the premises of the questions raised by Toby Miller (2008). While proving a critique of Jenkins, Miller asks about the issues of *'labour exploitation, patriarchy,*

racism, or neo-imperialism’ and broadly, ‘*a difference to politics beyond their own selves*’ when relating these to fan politics (220). The conceptualization of political popular culture looks into the behaviour of people using media technology in relation to the governance and politics. Therefore, it can not be called ‘politics within popular culture’ but ‘popular culture in political sphere’ or ‘popular culture of politics’.

Not only the previous studies of digital data of social media, their accretion, organisation and flow indicate towards creation of a popular culture, but also, a microscopic analysis of the political moves of South Asia in the recent past provide the concrete evidence of the creation of such political popular culture which has been built surrounding the newly developed media technologies. The further part of the study, with the help of experiential data from South Asian countries in general and particularly India, endows with the questions – how do media technologies bring such change in the society in relation to the political institution? Why are we moving towards the political popular culture? Also, the study includes the empirical data that offers the answer to the question revolving around its implications in near future.

Changing Political Spheres – Governments and the Public

Before reaching at the role of rising media technologies in political arena, it is necessary to observe the political history and processes of the South Asian region. Most of the part of this region had seen their dark period of colonialism and some of the members of the SAARC are still the countries with lowest per capital income, lowest literacy, high malnourishment, high infant and maternal mortality, high rate of unemployment and social disparities, etc. With the moves of adoption of industrialization and technological advancements, especially in media, the good and inclusive governance was expected through creating a public sphere and participatory democracy in these countries. Yet, due to respective inherent problems of the South Asian nations, the pace of political transformation of the nations into true inclusive-democratic societies is slow. For instance, the introduction of democratic institutions, universal suffrage, industrialization, mass media, etc. were expected to bring democratic values and participatory political culture in India. However, caste, religion and ethnicity have a big share in politics here. Even during General Elections 2014, where social media and other new media tools were heavily used for campaigning by almost every party and which were said to be based on the ‘issue of development’, use of divisive politics, bargaining along with a ‘political-bureaucratic-corporate nexus’ was well evident.

On the other hand, radicalisation and a tilt towards militant groups, is increasingly reflected in the Pakistani society. For example, the militant group, *Jamat-ut Dawa* had successfully brought various religious and political parties on single platform during the Lohore Rally in favour of Blasphemy laws and former Minister Sherry Rehman dropped the idea of drafting a bill to reform blasphemy laws in view of the threats to her life. Thus, “*Pakistan is recognised not as a secular state with an extremist problem but as an Islamic state overburdened with political ambitions couched in religious terms*” (M.P.Shibu:2013:196). After the dramatic moves to restore Supreme Court, the resignations of President Musharraf and Prime Minister Gilani, Pakistan’s constitutional system has moved to a significantly weak centre and more powers to the provinces.

A densely populated, Muslim-majority country, Bangladesh has been witnessed of dialectical situation of having radicalism, fundamentalism, and terrorism, and at the same time, a *'concept of negotiation' 'that is more conducive to the establishment of liberal democracy'* and *'democratic institution building'* (Oberst et al.:2014:260). From a one-party, single-leader government of Mujibur Rahman in 1971 to the victory of Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina in 2009 and onwards, Bangladesh has been greatly suffered from inconsistency and lack of institutional leadership, corruption and *'criminalization of politic'* (Sobhan:2004) taking place. Looking at urban unrest that ignited the movement of Shahbag Squire which was said to be pushed by new media activism, political leaders are paying greater attention to urban areas than to rural ones in Bangladesh.

Political front of Sri Lanka in the recent past (2005 onwards) saw fast changes with the defeat of LTTE. However, President Mahinda Rajapaksa was severely criticized for the *"decline in media freedom, widespread attacks against political opponents, attacks against foreign and domestic nongovernmental organizations, and passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution, enacting a number of controversial proposals, all of which increased the president's power"* (Oberst et al.:2014:354) The government was also alleged of human rights violation for its military operation to remove LTTE. However, the mass dissatisfaction resulted not in the agitations but the total vote-cast against the incumbent government.

Lack of infrastructure, absence of educational institutions and low literacy rates hinders the democratic state building and public participation in politics in Nepal. The erstwhile monarchy has witnessed chronic governmental instability after 1951 and the problem persists today. The movement against the king Gyanendra (2005-6) can be seen an exemplar of the culture of democratic agitation. The king was finally forced to relinquish power after nineteen days of mass demonstrations in the Kathmandu Valley in April 2006 with support from civil society and an agreement in Delhi to join forces. Meeting with her immediate challenge, Nepal is now ready with a new constitution on 20th September, 2015; however, its acceptance among all sections of the people is not out of question yet.

The New media and Political Popular Culture: Instances from South Asia

South Asia emerges as an important actor not only in world affairs but also in terms of rapidly expanding consumer market of media technologies. Nevertheless, the countries of South Asian region have not been seen as mobilized on any issue as the developed nations of the West have been observed. The reason is that the issues of the Regional block make headlines only 'on the social media' and not on the ground. Since, the people are so engaged in their own issues and problems related to governance for which only momentary protests take place.

The factor of anonymity with social media, which on one hand proved as the strength of new media, has also been a point of criticism on the grounds of *"a form of 'clicktivism' and 'slacktivism' that soothes the conscience of concerned middle-class people who do not want to take risks"* (Fuchs:2014:4) When the scholars (Carpentier and De Clean:2008; Van Dijck:2009) indicates towards *'a minimalist notion of participation'* and *'more passivity'* it becomes pertinent to note how the new media culture is generating a popular culture which is inconsistent and 'trendy' on the lines

marked by the political elite. The following observations on various movements from South Asia clearly signify the pop-up effects of these movements which were able to seek the attention of all and fermented in no time to create a global environment through the use of new media technologies, however, somewhere failed to provide a strong alternative or participatory politics against the hegemonic traditional political elite.

In **India**, Jan Lokpal Movement and Delhi gang-rape case agitation can be seen as deterrents against the views of James Curran (2012) that *“If the rise of digital communications technology did not cause the uprisings, it strengthened them”* (54). In fact, the built-up movement for Jan Lokpal in India shows how internet based political culture failed to keep the movement consistent when civil society stopped to back it. While initiating the Jan Lokpal Movement in India in 2011 which was *‘the first major beneficiary of the media technology’*, *‘Team Anna (Hazare) recognized the might of new media technology and used it extensively from launching the official website, entering the social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, etc. to getting to people through mobile SMSs.’* (Sharma: 2012:144) But, the new media technology, which was earlier, unlike the mainstream traditional media, proactive and consistent in its approach to give a boost to the movement, in due course of time, just like the traditional media, lost the ground as soon as the civil society ceased to be an actor for the movement. The argument gets further empirical support on the basis of the status of the web applications – as the free mobile application which was launched for Android platform ‘Anna Hazare Anti Corruption India’ is no more active and the movement is only existent on the official website of Anna Hazare i.e. annahazare.org.

Then again, the Delhi Gang Rape Case of 16 December, 2012 which resulted in a total unrest and outburst of massive agitation of Indian youth who were mobilized with the help of new media technologies, though, brought certain prompt decision by the ‘pressurized government’, however failed to bring justice to the victim and her family. Even after stringent laws for crime against women based on Justice Verma Committee have been put to action, the women in India could not be provided a safe environment. The family of victim ‘*Nirbhaya*’ is still waiting to get justice on one hand and the rate of atrocities and crime against women is on its peak, on the other hand, the new/social media is no more seems ‘active’ towards the movement.

Looking at the internet usage in **Pakistan**, Google, Facebook, YouTube, Yahoo, Blogger.com, Wikipedia and Twitter are the most popular websites in the given order. (Alexa.com 2013) Pakistan is the first country in the world to implement such technology, which is designed to provide high-performance, high-speed Internet access over a larger area than other wireless technologies that offer either greater coverage or greater bandwidth can provide. (OpenNetInitiative 2012) *“On the one hand, Pakistan is regarded as among those few countries in the world that is grasping the latest high-end Internet technology with greater bandwidth. On the other hand, Pakistan continues to implement the most controversial laws regarding the use of online media by its citizens.”* (Arif, Rauf:2014:31) However, the Lawyers’ Movement for restoration of Judiciary (2007-2009) could be seen as a mass political protest that used social media. As a result of the movement, Musharraf had to quit and Judiciary with Democracy was restored in Pakistan in 2008. However, the problems such as, issues of governance, blasphemy law, problems of minorities are still there and the government of Nawaz Sharif is not strong enough to come out the shadow of military

rule even today. On the other hand, the elite class is ruling the social media because of their command on English language and the common people are far from creating the public sphere, though the use of mobile technology has increased to 53% in 2014 from 5% in 2002 who use the technology mostly for 'taking pictures and videos' (Dawn.com).

Put forth as a 'national awakening' the Shahbag protest of 2013 in Bangladesh sets another example in the row. It was begun as a massive movement with the demand of capital punishment for war criminals. The social media activists demanding capital punishment for Abdul Quader Mollah, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment, and for others convicted of war crimes by the International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh, successfully mobilized people to come to the grounds of Shahbag Squire. The 'unruly' protest of forceful confrontation turned into sporadic violence. Though, hundreds of people joined the movement in January at the beginning, but their numbers had declined by mid-April and the original protest site is no more there. *"All of these developments, which clearly indicate a gradual fraying of the political fabric"*, however could not keep the movement consistent and *"have troubling implications for the future of democracy in Bangladesh"* looking at the nature of protest (Oberst et al.:2014:311).

In **Srilanka**, the issue of Tamil Eelam has remained a burning issue not only till the militant operation and defeat of LTTE, but the political discourse is still alive online. *"The new generation of Tamils particularly those born after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination tend to be more emotional and expressive on the question of Tamil Eelam and even display undeterred resolution in supporting the cause of Tamils in Sri Lanka"*. (Jegannathan:2013) The activists on social media calls the online discourse as 'Sri Lanka's new war zone' (Jegannathan:2013), yet it is not at all vocal on real grounds because the social media activism not gaining the support of civil society in the country which is rather weak. According to the socio-political scholars, the interest groups are controlled by major parties. The interest groups have a close affiliation with either the ruling government or with an opposition party and thus they do not play any adversary role against the state. In such situation, *"access to power is indeed a personal affair"* (Oberst b:1985:34) and *"Interest groups tend to be ad hoc"* (Phadnis:1976:273). As a result, people active on new media platforms try to chase the power and be participatory in political issues at some moments.

Till now, lacking constitution, **Nepal** has also been facing the crunch of basic infrastructure related to education, communication, health, etc. However, like other South Asian countries, internet based mobile telephony is getting a pace in business and so is the social media use with Facebook having a more than 5% of penetration among the population of Nepal (Kshetri: 2012). Facebook is the most used social network in Nepal (97.25%) of the total usage for non-political or meager-political use followed by Twitter with 2.38% (Statsmonkey.com). Still, the country having a culture of protests and bandhs, is not getting to find a fine momentum on the virtual grounds. Eventually, the violent protests *sans* active participation from civil society and intelligentsia, is somewhere failing to achieve a democratic-participatory society. Like, Sri Lanka, here too, compromising ideological differences, many civil society organizations and NGOs work in close connection with various political party leaders. *"As political loyalty and affiliation seem to pay off more than being independent, many in the media, professions, and academia nurture their relationships with*

political leaders and political parties. This becomes a problem when the civil society is small and a large proportion of it has partisan affiliations” (Oberst et al.: 2014:447)

The 8-8-88 pro-democratic movement of **Myanmar** matured in time with adoption of a new constitution in 2008; General elections in 2010 and President Thein Sein instigating sweeping reforms; by-elections in the 2012 and the main opposition party, the National League for Democracy (NLD) winning 43 seats in parliament one of which was won by Aung San Suu Kyi. This democratic transition was well focused by the global and social media that highlighted the images of brutality by military on the agitators, time to time. Employing new media technologies, the Burmese pro-democracy movement, from an early stage in its development, consciously transformed itself into a transnational/global social movement (Dale:2011; Strefford:2014). However, the movement was tactfully twisted and turned by the political elite at times and ‘participatory public’ came in role during the “politics of opportunities” as thought beneficiary by them. For instance, the recommendation to the BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party) Congress by Ne Win to have a referendum on a multi-party political system (which was turned down by the Congress) provided a focus for the pro-democracy movement that it had not previously had. This announcement provided the protestors with a political opportunity (Bertil Lintner (1995) cited in Strefford:2014).

Thus, the instances show that new social movements are somewhere failing to connect the policy makers (political institutions) and civil society “*because of an assumption that they will inevitably co-opt the social movement*” (Dale:2011:13) and hence the possibility of influencing the decision-making process.

Implications of New Media driven ‘Political’ Popular Culture

Though social media initiates a movement through a post, however, it makes people to forget it by ‘overloading’ of myriad of newer momentary information by other posts upon it. Each time a new ‘activity’ takes place on the net, each time the ‘particular’ social issue and related movement is lost in the social media networks.

Since power and elite has been seen by the rest as an aspiration and the common perception sees a close link between political elite and the forces necessary for upward social mobility, everyone wants to follow the political elite. However, politically the people are not able to find such place since political sphere is occupied by politicians (political elites) and public sphere by the members of civil society (again, who most of the times act as political elites). As Holt N. Parker (2011) noted, “*By this is meant the structure of the distribution of instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed*” (p.160), the material cultural goods, artifacts and cultural traits of popular culture give them a feeling to be at par. The aspirations of the ‘left overs’ has been, thus, met on the digital platforms particularly on social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter that becomes a part of the material culture in the process. The ‘likes’, ‘shares’, ‘hashtags’, ‘one-liner posts’, etc., thus, tend to be the material culture of the ‘popular’. There was ample evidence of the emergence of such popular culture during the Jan Lokpal Movement where people were using this ‘virtual’ material culture along with the real material culture such as – Tricolor flags, Gandhi caps, posters, etc.

The people who seem, thus, 'active' in political sphere, however remain deter from the hard political affairs and a spiral of silence works even online. The statistics show how twitter topics are dominated by entertainment and politics is not a particular important topic in contrast to entertainment (Fuchs: 2014:190). "*Mutual symbolic interaction is rare in political Twitter Communication mostly consists of one way comments.*" "*File sharing is political. A website is political. Blogging is political. But this very immediacy rests on something else, on a prior exclusion. And, what is excluded is the possibility of politicization proper*" (Dean: 2005:65). Along with this, even when some real activism start to take shape, the extremist moves (as has been observed in Bangladesh where prominent political bloggers like Niloy Chatterjee, Ananta Bijoy Das, Washiqur Rahman Babu and Avijit Roy were killed) discourage the people to come up.

Because of the lack of *universal access* and *quality of political discussion* most of the 'Facebook movements and protests' could not be realized on ground. Many 'participants' in calls for protests on Facebook, but at least 70% of them don't show up at the actual demonstration. Another factor is the short existence of the social media websites itself. The history of these sites shows how once popular, Orkut disappeared in no time after Facebook grabbed the popularity. At present, the market analysts indicate at the decreasing popularity of Facebook as compared to Twitter. Eventually, online activism either ends in showing up the supporters of political parties like the traditional political ground reality or just ends up in nothing but like a bubble burst, as seen during the political movements of most of the South Asian countries, particularly, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Myanmar.

Conclusion

It is, thus, evident that the media technologies have brought ferment in socio-political process; however, it is more of a path to achieve some other motive, than the motive in itself. The patterns of media production and consumption have undoubtedly created a global audience and in turn, change in political culture. The participatory audience of new media is increasingly becoming politically active on domestic as well as global issues. Yet, it has not given space to the 'decision making enabled participatory politics' as outlined by the political *Gurus*, and instead has created a political popular culture due to the cultural practices of collective individuals who intend to be in power relations. As soon as the people think themselves to be a part of political elite, they do not make attempts to be associated with the movements any further. Consequently, the political fermentation quickly sets down before reaching the desired destination, if not supported by the civil society.

Nevertheless, the popular political culture which, as of now, is far from the dominant or the participatory politics, should not be seen as a passivity, since it indicates towards the transition of political systems in South Asia and the upward mobility in terms of political awareness among 'the public' (outside the political elite and civil society). The continuity of such a popular culture in the long run would prove to be a precursor of the '*participant political culture*' in which individuals are oriented towards an activist role of the self in the polity (Almond and Verba: 1998:18).

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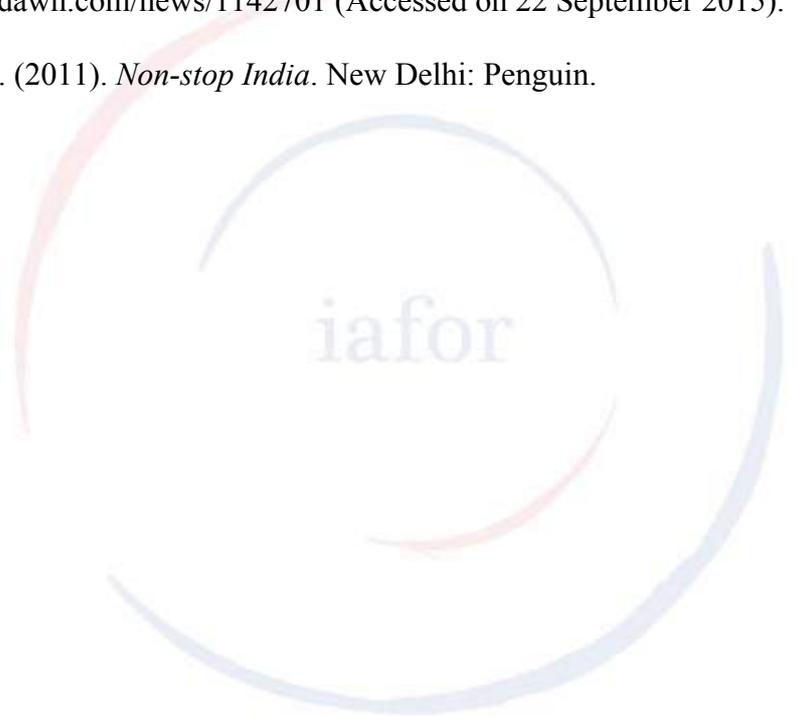
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The logo for the International Association of Forerunners (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by a circular graphic composed of several overlapping, semi-transparent arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a sense of motion or a globe.



***National Identity or Cultural Opposition: News Media Discourse About
Controversial High-School Curriculum Guidelines Event in Critical Discourse
Analysis***

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The Asian Conference on Media & Mass Communication 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This article aims to analyse how the news media reported the Ministry of Education (MOE) implementing minor adjustments to high-school curriculum guidelines event. For example the social sciences and history textbooks, downplaying of the White Terror era, the 2/28 incident, and conceivably using a China-centric focus. This trend has triggered many protests against the government by teachers, students and the masses. This article will use an interdisciplinary framework from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as well as analytical tools to examine the press reportage of this event. Linguistics is another method of analytic hierarchy, construction, context, grammar, semantics and words. The print media's use of text, headlines and discourse giving the label for press reportage, also manipulated by journalists to construct a view that best reflects their ideologies and political stances. From the analysis of newspaper schema and statistics, we found the press reportage is not random, but rather is the hidden ideology of the social activists by observing the interaction between social structures and cognition. However, this is not only includes social cognition, but also the government, news media, people's ethnic identity, national identity and history that all contribute to the construal of a linguistic ideology from the CDA (e.g. van Dijk's Ideological Square Analysis). We argue that the social elite and the media shaped the ideologies of their readers or viewers, which is generally symbolic and persuasive and appeared in two ideologically opposed newspapers.

Keyword: Mass Media, Political Media, Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Education1

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Introduction and Methods

The newspapers report the Ministry of Education (MOE) resolved to implement minor adjustments to high-school Curriculum Guidelines (CG). Is this just an educational debate? How news are represented and constructed? We explore the relationship between language and ideology in Taiwanese news discourse.

First stage is quantitative analysis of the distribution of categories of news discourses, but the main analytic method undertaken this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As van Dijk (1998) has provided the study of the intricate relationships among cognition, discourse, and society, i.e. triangle theory of discourse on production and comprehension, and macro-structure and microstructure of the reports are analyzed. The semantic macrostructure is the main topics (themes) of news discourse, i.e. the news schema. In addition, the various discursive strategies and features used to construct each topic, which is microstructure, includes local coherence, syntax, lexical style and rhetoric, i.e. words and strategic meaning (van Dijk, 1988 & 2008). The analytical methods, we explore implication and presupposition is effected by ideology, which links among the news discourse, ideology and media.

Database and Analysis

The data for this study were collected from a online corpus of two newspaper in Taiwan, The United Daily News (UDN) and The Liberty Times (LT) — two ideological opposed newspapers (Kuo, 2005 & 2007; Sung, 2012). The news is from 16th January 2014 to 31th August 2015. We sifted the data carefully as show in table 1-1, each newspaper has their own favorite topic of coverage.

As can be seen from Figure 1-1, the newspapers select news sources, topics and report newsworthy-ness, which happen to favor attention to and the interests of various elite actors, persons, groups, classes, institutions, nations. This processes not only the ideologies about news, but also the social power reconstructions by the news media. The LT's journalist covered students on protestation; the UND reported the messages from the MOE and official.

Table 1-1 Categories of News Discourse & Percentage of Items

	Contents	Process	Textbook Selection	Protest actions	Communication	Politics Parties	Other	Total
LT (N=353)	8.20%	12.50%	9.10%	27.50%	10.50%	17.80%	14.40%	100%
UDN (N=111)	12.60%	9.90%	10.80%	21.60%	21.60%	9.90%	13.50%	100%

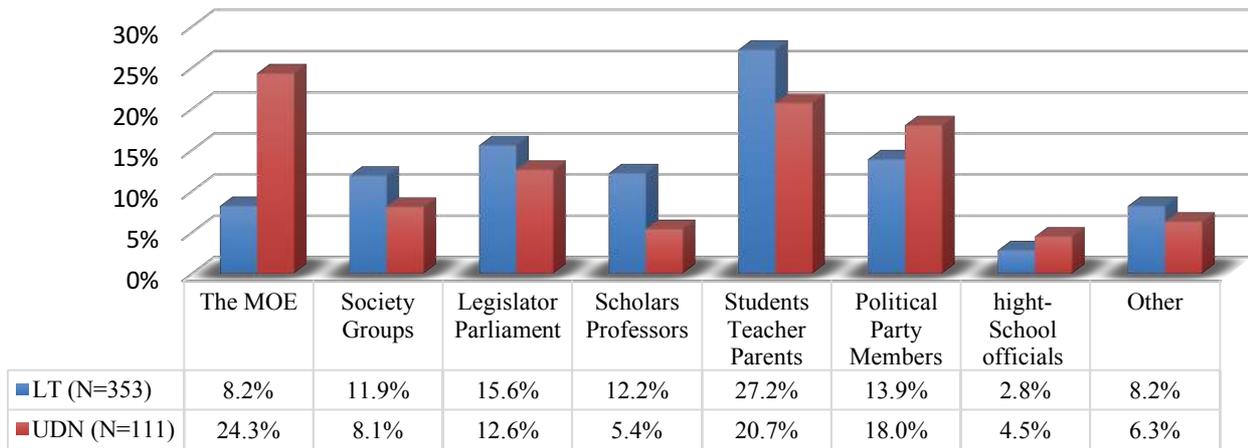


Figure 1-1 Percentage of Distribution of Different News Sources

Discourse Analysis

1. Macrostructure

The news schema is a hierarchical structure (Figure 2-1). It is top-down and relevance-controlled. The particular writing style constructs an ‘inverted pyramid’. A top-down realization occurs, if this top-down organization of general to particular also coincides with the important—less important dimension case. When the important information of other topics has need expressed, earlier topics are reintroduced with lower-level details.

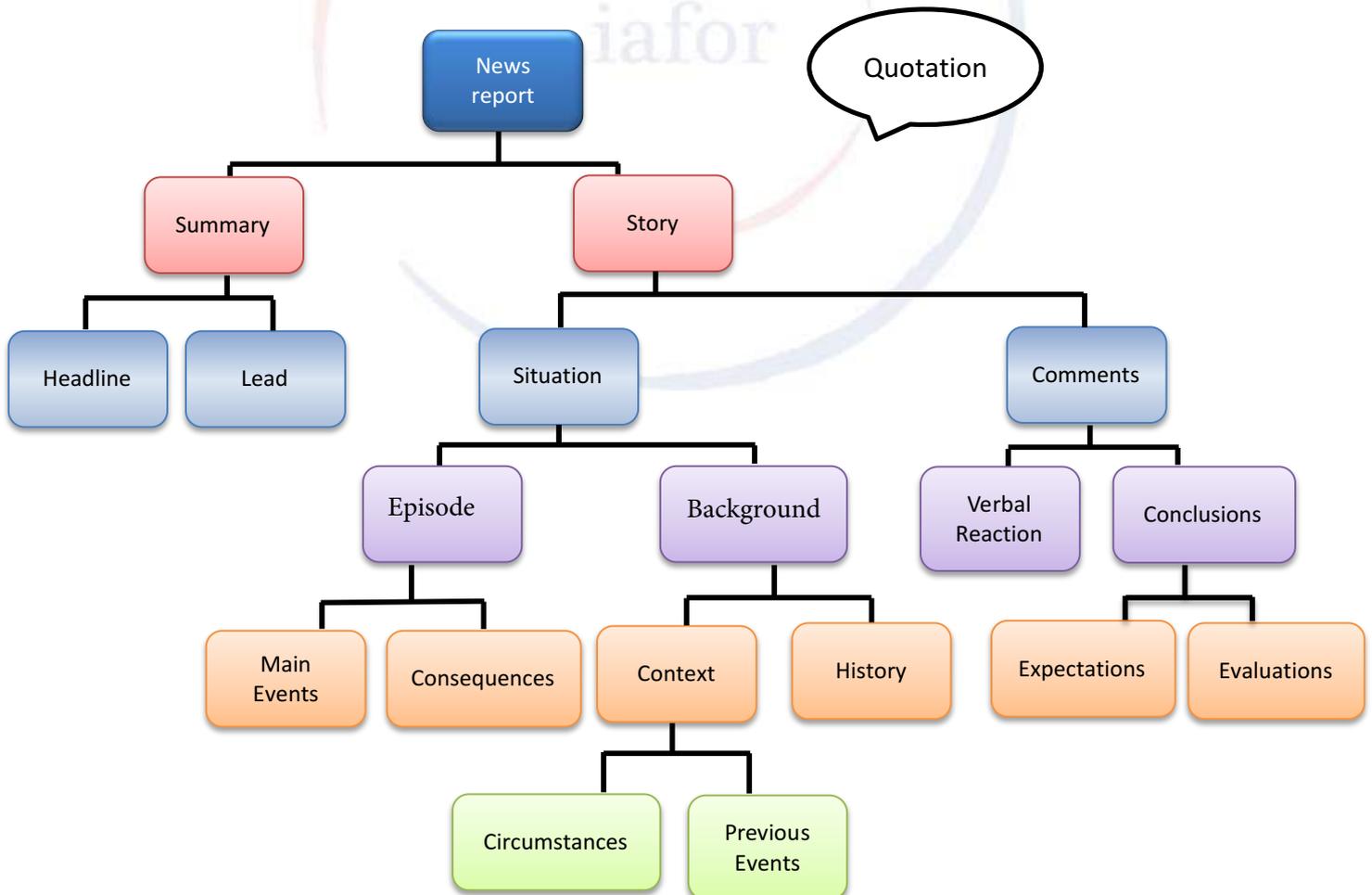


Figure 2-1 Hypothetical structure of a news schema (van Dijk 1988a:55)

The journalists are able to construct a real discourse, which chooses topics, sources, and arranges quotations of elite that serves news ideologies and interests. The UDN is a traditional schema and describe CG's History and Previous Events. There are 3 quotations of the MOE's public official and just one civil deputation's indirect quotation. In order to balance their report, they quote a professor Lee's proposal opinion at the end of text (Fig.2-2).

In contrast example (on 28 January 2014), the LT divides three sub-topics as a summary: meeting, minor adjustment of content and protest but no mention of previous events. There were 3 scholars of the quotations, rather than deputations. The LT's report strategically constructs an atmosphere of opposition between government and the social activists (Fig.2-3). The following analysis, expose the news stations' position by investigating the microstructures of the political events.

2. Microstructure: Headlines and Content

Headlines are brief, 'printed on top', large bold type, and summarizing the most important information of the report. It is used by the reader to construct the overall meaning of the news to process of understanding, and have cognitive and ideological functions (van Dijk,1988).

We found two newspapers represent different topics and focus through their headlines of "lexical style", the LT's words are mangan, qiangdu "to force and gao "to spoof" ,to emphasize the MOE's behavior is illegal and even is a hegemony. Compared with the UDN choice of guoguan "to pass", dingan "verdict", and the MOE's minister said it is legitimate. The UDN is no any negative lexical, whereas the LT tendency to describe the MOE's negative position. Although two newspapers describe PROTESTERS, use verb kangyi" to protest", but the LT's yongshi "warrior" and rexiasheng "fiery-spirited" to highlight high-school students, but the UDN seeks to downplay or ignore (appendix A). The use of words in newspaper headlines is never neutral but has ideological implications.

Local coherence in discourse is linking meaning between sentences (propositions), also is a extension or enhancement of functional syntax (Fairclough, 1995). This is not only help reader's comprehension, in fact, to explore the hidden language of news reports and ideological prejudices. The same example, the UDN—"although people protest ...BUT, At LEAST, STILL (the MOE) passed the CG..."; and "The MOE was surrounded by protesters" of passive structure (bei) to emphasize the negative effect of the protest. Whereas the LT—"Young man to roar with fury in front of the MOE (on 29 April 2015)" is active. In the CDA, active-passive transformation is one of the syntactic variations which may represent underlying ideology.

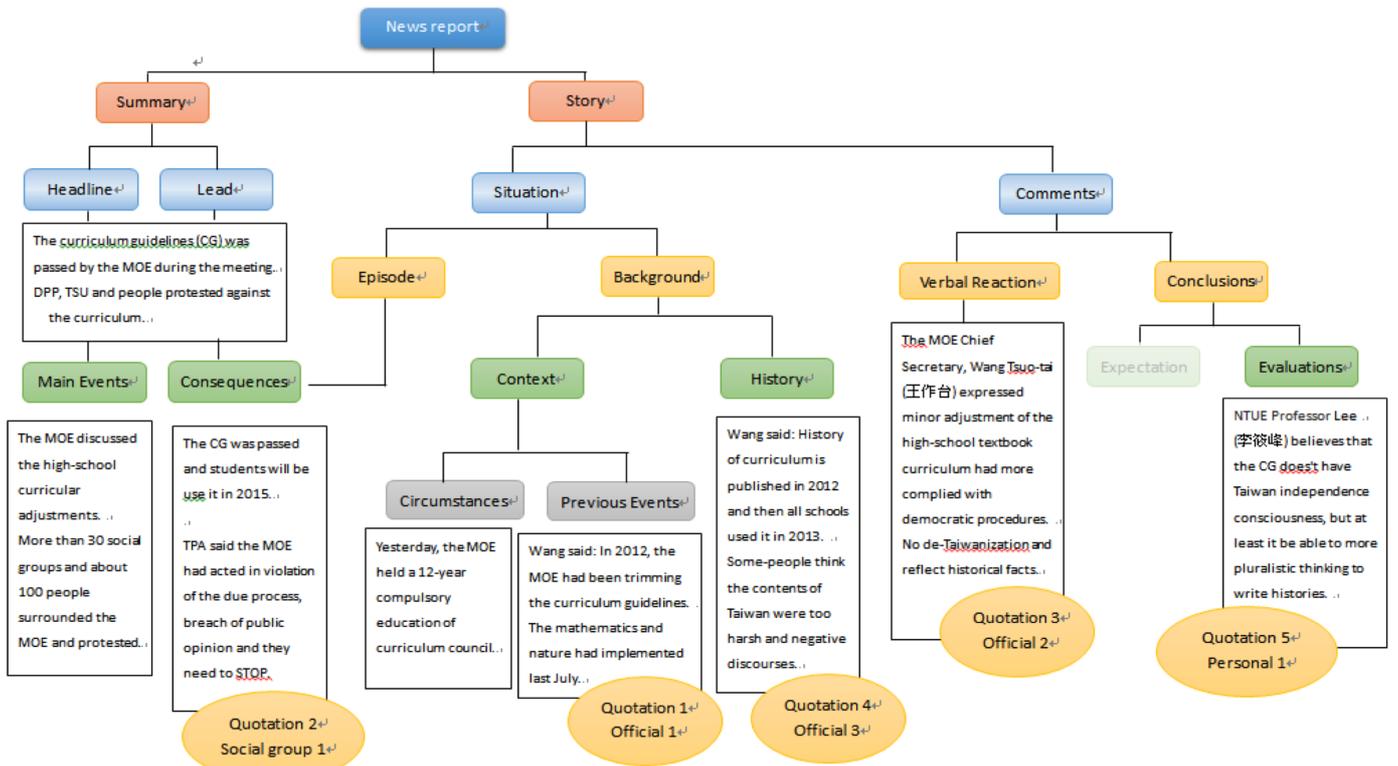


Figure 2-2 The schematic structure of the UDN News report on people protest the CG was passed (28th January 2014)

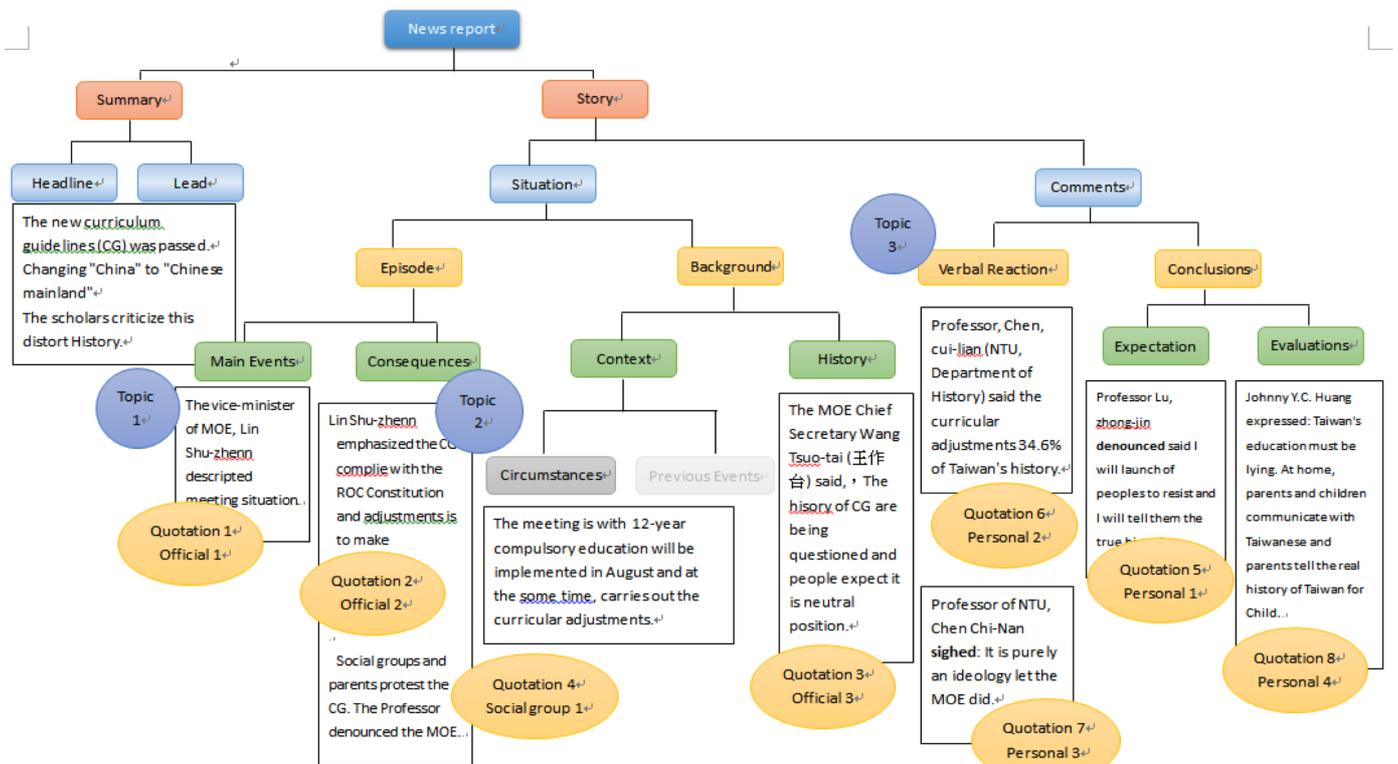


Figure 2-3 The schematic structure of the LT News report on people protest the CG was passed (28th January 2014)

Conclusions

The educational news usually focuses on quotations of governmental officials (the UDN) and academics (the LT), and a same news are reported and used specific discourse structure or lexical choices. At the same time, news discourse is constructed by social cognition and then comprehended. We have found this is not arbitrary but are well motivated by their underlying ideologies and strengthen the powers of 'somebody'. van Dijk's (1995, 1998) 'ideological square': positive in-group description and negative out-group description, provides a plausible explanation for our findings.

In conclusion, media discourse is biased and it shouldn't just a 'news', but the social elite and media discourse of 'politic' representation, and reflect the conflicting opinions held within the Taiwanese society.



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APPENDIX A

News headlines of LT and UDN

Liberty Times (LT)		United Daily News (UDN)	
(1a)	gao zhong ke gang mi shi qiang du 「 da zhong guo shi guan 」 xi nao To force the HCG pass in a chamber, it is a brainwash to "great Chinese History". (LT16,01/28/2014)	(1b)	gao zhong guo wen 、 she hui xin ke gang kang yi sheng zhong guo guan The new HCG of Language and Social Sciences of high-school amid protesting in a trick. (UND3,01/28/2014)
(2a)	tou du ke gang an li wei yao Jiang Wei-Ning xia tai Smuggling the HCG case, legislator want to Chiang Wei-ling stepping down. (LT26,02/07/2014)	(2b)	jiao yu bu zhang Jiang Wei-Ning ding diao : “ke gang wei diao he xian 、 he fa 、 he cheng xu ” The MOE’s minister Jiang Wei-Ning call the tune: “curricular adjustments is constitutionality, legitimate and lawful process”. (UND10,02/07/2014)
(3a)	jiao bu man gan gong gao da zhong guo shi guan ke gang The MOE announcements great Chinese History's HCG in force. (LT44,02/11/2014)	(3b)	-
(4a)	ke gang wei diao gao hei xiang ? Tang Zhi-Min : quan ze zai jiao yu bu Spoofing curricular adjustments like a black-box? Tang Zhi-Min : powers and responsibilities of the MOE. (LT130,02/14/2015)	(4b)	chi hei xiang Tang Zhi-Min : hui yi xian chang you kai piao Tang Zhi-Min denounces black-box and say: Have Billing results at the meeting scene. (UND165,08/04/2015*)
(5a)	ji e 28xiao shi gong min jiao shi jin shi kang yi xi nao ke gang Hunger 28 hours, civil teachers fast and protest to the brainwashing HCG. (LT83,03/01/2014)	(5b)	fan ke gang wei diao 5 gong min shi ji e jing zuo Against curricular adjustments, there are 5 teachers fast and sit still with a peaceful mind. (UND32,03/01/2014)
(6a)	jiao zhang qie zhan tao zhu miao xue zi yu chuann gong The MOE is funk, Students say come forward to talk. (LT239,06/15,2015)	(6b)	Wu Si-Hua : shen qie fan sheng Wu Si-Hua: Deeply introspect it. (UND194,08/08,2015*)
(7a)	zhong yi zhong 、 zhu zhong re xue sheng jie tou xuan dao fan ke gang TCFSH, HCHS’s students are fiery-spirited and propagandize curriculum protests in the streets. (LT289,07/09/2015*)	(7b)	
(8a)	jiao zhang cheng nuo po gong ke shen wei yuan ming dan bu gong bu Minister Broken his promises because He did not publish a list of review members. (LT432,08/14,2015)	(8b)	ke gang zheng yi Wu Si-Hua : fu wan quan ze ren The curriculum protests, Wu Si-Hua: I will fully responsible for it. (UND121,07/31,2015)
(9a)	huan dao fan ke gang yong shi jin fan zhong dian jiao bu A warrior around the island to against the HCG, Will go back to the end of the MOE, today. (LT442,08/18/2015)	(9b)	fan hei xiang ke gang 2 gao-zhong sheng tu bu huan dao Two high-school students gainst the HCG of black-box, Walking around the island. (UND99,07/26/2015*)

Emotions That Constitute Daily Pleasure In Music And Pictures: Intensity And Modality Specific Features

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The Asian Conference on Media & Mass Communication 2015
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Abstract

Ideas, contentions, and life events are communicated ever increasingly through images, music, and audiovisual materials in various digital media, and are an extensive part of daily life. The online contents are constantly uploaded, downloaded, and shared in various platforms, raising the need to explore how such consumption of images and music are emotionally experienced. Both music and images hold power to evoke the perceivers' emotions for the use of the information provider. Yet, we are able to say little about the emotional, social or cognitive impact because there is a lack of theoretical understanding of the mechanisms through which these behaviors impact our experience. This study approached the complex issue of an individual's emotional engagement by exploring the experience of pleasure induced by daily auditory and visual objects. The main objective was to specify which emotions contained within the daily stream of visual and auditory stimuli engage us by inducing pleasure. Modality-specificity was also explored by comparing the object types of music and visual images. Participants (n=109) were asked to choose either a visual object or a piece of music that produces pleasure in their daily life, and then answer questions about particular emotions evoked by the chosen object. The analysis consisted of descriptive and correlational statistics. The results indicate that while both object types hold great potential in providing pleasure, they may typically do so in combination with slightly different emotional contents.

Keywords: Emotions, images, music, pleasure

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Introduction

Pictures, including different types of visual materials as well as various audiovisual and music-based materials have become tools that are used to elicit specific emotional reactions in people who see or hear them. These stimuli are often created simply to give us pleasure. By appealing to our emotions, the information provider, such as a friend or an advertiser in social media, is able to affect how we direct our attention and make consumption decisions by selectively presenting emotion-evoking information. Visual and auditory stimuli work best at this attention-capturing and decision-guiding task when they are emotionally well saturated. Certain images or music pieces work as such stimuli because they are able to suggest stories or myths that we have absorbed from the surrounding culture. For example a landscape, or an image of a meaningful symbol, or a particular music piece representing personally significant contents, may elicit powerful emotions. This is because such stimuli are full of multiple, yet also often contradictory, meanings and associations.

Exploration of the subjective emotional constituents of daily pleasure thus constitutes the foundation of this study. This article presents the results of a recent study exposing a comparative view of emotional constituents of pleasure induced by music and visual objects. The aim is to investigate the differences in emotional contents in conscious, evaluative response (Scherer, 2004; Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003) induced by these different types of stimuli. The secondary aim is to look if the strength of pleasure, induced by the objects, correlates with particular emotional contents. The study is based on data collected with a pilot survey. A larger survey was developed based on the features of the pilot version, and it will engage in a deeper comparison between auditory and visual modalities.

Methodology and Analysis

Participants' emotional engagement in daily art experiences induced by music and visual objects was investigated through an online-survey. The study was executed as a semi-structured online questionnaire (N=109) in order to provide a detailed description of the subjective experience and the engagement features related to the personally significant objects. Data collection was carried out over a three-week period in the first quarter of 2015. The questionnaire was delivered to potential participants through social media, such as Facebook, and student associations' mailing lists at the University of Jyvaskyla. Those who volunteered to answer the questions did so online, using as much time as they wanted. Confidentiality and anonymity of participants was assured. Participants were not given any incentives. Respondents in all age groups were encouraged to respond to the questionnaire.

Measures

Respondents were instructed to select one object they consider to induce pleasure and hold personal significance in their daily life. The object could be a) a music piece, or b) a particular visual object¹. The object selection was not limited in any ways. Visual object could be, for example, an art object, picture, utensil, or urban or other constructed environment, natural or digital environment. The object selection was

¹ A variety of different types of visual stimuli, whether they are images, digital environments or other, are discussed here, for clarity, by using the expression *visual object* covering different types of objects. Also music pieces are referred as objects when the specification of the object type is not necessary.

relatively equally distributed between visual objects and music: Visual object was selected by 55% (N=60) of respondents, while musical piece was selected by 45% (N=49) of respondents.

The questions after the object selection targeted the chosen object so that participants were asked to think about the object when responding to the questions. In the first set of questions, they were asked to evaluate the strength of the object-induced emotions through 53 emotion terms. Ratings were provided on a scale ranging from 1 to 7. The selection of emotion terms was influenced by a variety of research traditions and approaches in art-related emotion research (e.g. Juslin & Laukka, 2004; Zentner & Scherer, 2008; Russell, 1994; Silvia, 2005). However, the aim was not to strictly conform to any particular pre-identified model. Instead, the aim was to provide a novel, data-driven, and interdisciplinary basis for conceptualizing and measuring the phenomenon. For the analyses, and when reporting the results, the emotion terms were translated from Finnish to English using back-translation.

Respondents were also asked to evaluate the strength of emotions and the strength of pleasure induced by the chosen object, and about the perceived significance of the musical and visual environment in terms of pleasure. As the study was preliminary in nature, and did not seek to compare individual differences, the demographic questions were limited to define respondents' gender, age, and professional background, whether the respondents had continuous training or other affiliations in the fields of music or visual arts.

Participants

The sample (N=109) mostly represented young adults. Age of the participants ranged from 18 to 64. The gender distribution was 84 females (77%) and 25 males (23%). The mean age of male respondents was 30 years, and female respondents 28 years. Median age was 25.0 within both genders.

Analysis

Analyses were conducted in order to identify the most relevant emotional characteristics of pleasure in both music and visual objects, and also to identify possible differences in the emotional responses between music and visual objects. The data were first approached descriptively, and correlations were then calculated between ratings for pleasure and particular emotions, separately for music and visual objects, in order to find the most relevant emotional characteristics of pleasure within the object types.

Results

The distribution of the object types was relatively equal, although selection revealed a slight emphasis on visual rather than musical objects: Visual object was selected by 55% (N=60) of respondents, and music piece was selected by 45% (N=49) of respondents. The selected visual object was typically an image, an art object, or a broader visual environment, such as particular home environment. Within the music genre options, rock, alternative/indie, and pop genres were the most often selected singular genres.

Respondents were asked to evaluate the general level of strength of the emotions, and the strength of pleasure attached to the chosen object. The mean values of those

variables were high and didn't show much difference between the object types (see Table 1). The self-evaluations regarding the general intensity of emotions drawn from music pieces varied from 4 to 7, mainly falling between 6 and 7 on the scale of 1-7 (M=6.0, (S.D. .78)), indicating a generally high strength of emotional experience. For the strength of pleasure, self-evaluations varied as well, from 4 to 7 (M=6.0, S.D. .83)). The general intensity of emotions experienced to visual objects varied from 4 to 7 (M=5.8, S.D. .91), and for the strength of pleasure, from 4 to 7 (M=6.1, S.D. .78). No statistical differences were observed for either of these variables. Thus, overall, the perceived pleasure and intensity of emotions was equally high in musical and visual domains.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics concerning the strength of pleasure, strength of emotions in general, and the importance of visual and musical environments for inducing pleasure in daily life.

	<i>Mean/music</i>	<i>Std./music</i>	<i>Mean/visual</i>	<i>Std./visual</i>
<i>Strength emotions</i>	5.98	.78	5.77	.91
<i>Strength pleasure</i>	6.02	.83	6.07	.78
<i>Imp. visual env.</i>	5.96	1.1	6.50	.62
<i>Imp. music env.</i>	6.47	.94	5.65	1.29
N	49		60	

Participants were also asked to evaluate the general importance of both music and visual objects in inducing pleasure in daily life, and this revealed differences between participants (Table 1). For the participants who had selected a piece of music, the evaluations of the significance of visual environment as a source of daily pleasure varied from 3 to 7 (M=6.0, S.D. 1.1), and for music from 4 to 7 (M=6.5, S.D. .94). Within those participants who selected a visual object, the evaluations of the significance of visual environment as a source of daily pleasure varied from 5 to 7 (M=6.5, S.D. .62), and for music pieces from 2 to 7 (M=5.7, S.D. .129). Thus, participants who had selected a piece of music appreciated the significance of music over visual environment as a source of daily pleasure, and vice versa, suggesting, that the selection of an object reflects the participants' preference of one modality over the other. These differences were also observed to be statistically significant (for the importance of visual environments: $t(72.56) = -.07$; $p = .003$; for the importance of musical environments: $t(105.73) = 3.84$; $p = .000$).

Overall, then, respondents evaluated the strength of the emotions and the strength of the pleasure induced by the object they had chosen to be very strong. In addition, respondents who had chosen music as their object evaluated music to generally hold higher significance as a source of daily pleasure than a visual environment. Conversely, respondents who chose a visual object evaluated the visual environment as holding higher significance than music in inducing daily pleasure. Both object types thus appeared to hold strong potential in inducing pleasure and emotional experiences, but the results show that people are likely to have personal preferences about which modality better works for them.

Respondents were asked to evaluate the strength of the 53 particular emotions induced by the object they had selected. Table 2 shows the mean values and the standard deviations of the emotions induced by music and visual objects that reached a mean value of 5.0 or higher. The table presents the emotions ordered according to their

mean values from highest to lowest. Emotions that appeared within both of the object categories are in bold face.

Table 2. Highest rated emotions in music and visual objects ($M > 5.0$)

Emotion / Music	Mean	Std.D.	Emotion/ Visual	Mean	Std.D.
Enjoyment	5.8	1.5	Positivity	6.1	0.9
Empowerment	5.7	5.7	Enjoyment	6.0	1.1
Strength	5.4	1.6	Happiness	6.0	1.0
Happiness	5.4	1.4	Joy	5.9	1.0
Love	5.4	1.7	Easygoingness	5.9	1.2
Freedom	5.3	1.5	Relaxation	5.8	1.3
Unconstrained feeling	5.2	1.5	Empowerment	5.8	1.5
Cheerfulness	5.1	1.5	Calmness	5.6	1.5
Positivity	5.1	1.6	Tranquility	5.6	1.4
Easygoingness	5.1	1.7	Unconstrained feeling	5.6	1.4
Feeling blue	5.1	1.7	Freedom	5.5	1.5
Emotionally moving feeling	5.1	1.6	Agreeableness	5.4	1.4
Sensitivity	5.1	1.7	Warmth	5.1	1.6
Joy	5.0	1.7			
Agreeableness	5.0	1.6			

As regards the abovementioned list of different emotions, the results reveal several similarities between the emotions evoked by the object types. Common emotions strongly experienced to objects that induce pleasure within both categories were enjoyment, empowerment, happiness, freedom, unconstrained feeling, positivity, easygoingness, joy, and agreeableness. The emotions specifically evoked by pleasure-inducing music were strength, love, cheerfulness, feeling blue, emotionally moving feeling, and sensitivity. Regarding the pleasure-inducing visual objects, the characteristic emotions were calmness, tranquility, and warmth.

Overall, the emotions relating to the pleasure-evoking visual objects associate to general positivity and relaxation. Meanwhile, the pleasure-inducing music appears to be related – in addition to general positivity – to strength, but also to sensitivity and melancholy (see also Maksimainen & Saarikallio, 2015). Emotions induced by visual objects generally reached higher mean values and somewhat lower values for the standard deviation than the emotion ratings for music. This indicates that the emotions were experienced more intensively and uniformly between the participants when induced by the visual objects, while opinions of the emotional content were more widely spread in the context of music.

Correlations between pleasure and particular emotions

Table 3 shows correlations between the strength of pleasure and the particular emotions. The suitability of the data for running correlations was tested based on skewness and kurtosis, because we assumed that data could be negatively skewed for the pleasure ratings due to the nature of the design. However, the test results (-.497 Skewness, and -.297 Kurtosis for music, and -.328 Skewness and -.794 Kurtosis for

visual objects) indicated data to be acceptable in terms of providing normal univariate distribution.

Table 3. Correlations between pleasure and particular emotions in music and visual objects.

Emotion (music)	Pearson correlation	Sig	Emotion (visual)	Pearson correlation	Sig.
Cheerfulness	.446	.001	Cheerfulness	.380	.003
Positivity	.413	.003	Positivity	.523	.000
Joy	.559	.000	Joy	.399	.002
Enjoyment	.486	.000	Enjoyment	.432	.001
Happiness	.420	.003	Happiness	.468	.000
			Enthusiasm	.337	.009
			Warmth	.371	.004
			Calmness	.455	.000
			Easygoingness	.428	.001
			Tranquility	.458	.000
			Unconstrained	.507	.000
			Empowerment	.535	.000

The results showed that the strength of pleasure correlated statistically significantly (Sig. .01 level) with *cheerfulness*, *positivity*, *joy*, *enjoyment*, and *happiness* within both object types. In addition, regarding to visual objects, there were also correlations with *enthusiasm*, *warmth*, *calmness*, *easygoingness*, *tranquility*, *unconstrained feeling*, and *empowerment*. This indicates that there is more variation in terms of the core emotional contents of pleasure induced by visual objects, compared to the pleasure induced by music.

Conclusion

Different visual and auditory environments, and the emotions they induced, appeared to hold high significance in inducing pleasure in people's daily life. The general experience of pleasure evoked by both object types was strong, but the results also suggested some differences between the object types regarding the emotional nature of the experience. Common emotions that were found to relate to pleasure within both object types included the following: enjoyment, empowerment, happiness, freedom, unconstrained feeling, positivity, easygoingness, joy, and agreeableness. Object-specific emotions relating to pleasure induced by music were strength, love, cheerfulness, feeling blue, emotionally moving feeling, and sensitivity; and in the context of visual object, characteristic emotions were calmness, tranquility, and warmth. Emotions relating to the experience of pleasure associate to general positivity and relaxation regarding visual objects. To the pleasure induced by music, also sensitivity and melancholy feelings were typical.

Pearson correlations were carried out in order to further elaborate the relations between the respondents' evaluation of the strength of pleasure and emotion attached to pleasure. Independent of object type, whether it is music or visual object, cheerfulness, positivity, joy, enjoyment, and happiness appeared to be common emotional contents constituting the core of pleasure. However, there was more variety in these emotional contents induced by visual object. Enthusiasm, warmth, calmness, easygoingness, tranquility, unconstrained feeling, and empowerment can be specified as such characteristics.

This examination of the respondents' pleasure-related emotional responses to music and visual objects provides new understanding concerning the emotional basis of pleasure, and allows elaboration of the emotional contents through which everyday stimuli engage us. Limitations of the study concern the issue of using self-report methodology on complex emotional experience. This study focused on emotions that were explicitly evaluated through self-report in a survey, revealing how the information, whether visual or auditory, is perceived when it is considered pleasurable through conscious evaluation. However, unconscious processes are also an integral part of performing the most complex functions, such as emotion regulation (e.g. Gross & Thompson, Hassin, 2013) and in order to understand how the unconscious processes determine the pleasure experience and direct how individuals, under certain contexts, to orientate towards the stimuli producing them, requires methodologies addressing both explicit and implicit (Gyurak et al., 2011) aspects of emotional experience.

Overall, this study provided preliminary insights into the emotional characteristics of pleasure obtained from both music and visual objects. The obvious contents of positivity, enjoyment and happiness were identified as core components, but more detailed shades like empowerment, freedom, or tranquility were also identified. The results indicate that while both object types hold great potential in providing pleasure, they may typically do so in combination with slightly different emotional contents and that there may also be individual differences in preference for modality. More comparative research on the object types and individual differences is warranted.

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Media and Human Rights: India's North East in National India Media

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Abstract

With the dawn of India's independence in 1947 and subsequent consolidation of its territory, and reorganisation of international borders with her neighbours, India's North East as a distinct geographical region is explicitly palpable. More than just a geographical region, culturally, socially and historically people from the region are different from mainland Indians. In due course of times, it leads to the emergence of complex problem and violent movements. To counter-balance the emergence of armed movements, Armed Forces (Special) Powers Act 1958 was enacted thereby making the region the bedrock of security forces. Today, with the exception of Sikkim no state in the region is free from some amount of conflicts that account for strain relationship between the state and the people. In spite of blatantly violated all norms of decency and democratic rights of the people, militarisation become a "way of life" in this part of the country. The subject related to this issue may be irregular but not uncommon in the national India media. Amidst this development, media become part of the public discourse only as a result of reaction to the events. National media coverage was largely focused on processes rather than causes/reasons of the issues. The paper has analyses media discourse of human rights with respect to India's North East in following discourse analysis method of three national English dailies for duration of twenty days.

Introduction

The concept of human rights is relatively recent origin though the idea of rights may have long tradition. It was not before the Second World War that human rights become the subject of interest amongst the scholars and thinkers. The language of human rights can trace to the Western Enlightenment, which has found expression in two important documents that emerged from the revolutionary turmoil of the late eighteenth century- French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) and American Bill of Rights (1791). The terminology of both documents can be still found in human rights law of the early twenty-first century. Yet, the rights they guaranteed were far from universal since they were limited on grounds of gender, colour or wealth, and they were hardly comprehensive, addressing only civil and political issues (ICHRP, 2002, p. 23). Given the scope and nature of human rights, “agreeing on a single, universally accepted understanding of the origins of human rights has also been impossible. International law and international statements about human rights are silent on this subject” (APF, 2012, p.5). Though the idea of rights was not new, modern understanding of human rights with “defining characteristics of universal, indivisible and enforceable” (ICHRP, 2002, p. 22) was the culmination of the post-Second World War. Primarily because “before the Second World War human rights were not a subject of international relations. The exceptions were very few, such as the nineteenth century efforts to end the slave trade and the twentieth century work on eradicating slavery” (Donnelly, 1999, p. 71). From every practical consideration thus, “natural rights, in terms of human rights, were revived in the sphere of international politics only during the Second World War” (Chandler, 2013, p. 111). Attempt was made “after World War I, the victorious powers discussed proceedings against the defeated Ottoman leadership for crimes against humanity as represented by deaths, deportation, and other atrocities inflicted on ethnic Armenians particularly during that war. But no institutionalised measures resulted as other concerns took priority...” (Forsythe, 2012, p. 63). In the long history of human civilisation thus other issues superseded human rights until the mid twentieth century.

Media Discourse of Human Rights and Region’s Movements

India’s North East as a distinct geographical region becomes fairly obvious with the dawn of India’s independence in 1947 and subsequent consolidation of her territory, followed by reorganisation of international borders with its neighbours. With this development, the region was territorially marginalised as it was left connected with the mainland India with just 22 kilometres popularly known as Siliguri Corridor.¹ Subsequently, on account of inherent historical, cultural and political factors have led to the birth of movements in the region demand ranging from statehood, autonomy to self-rule and issue of human rights is intrinsically linked with movements. To begin with, in Naga Hills—the then district of Assam, low-level conflict movement centering on the independence movement was started in 1952, although the seed of the movement was sown in 1918 with the formation of the Naga Club.² Today, various armed rebel groups in the region perceive the Naga independentist’s strategy of ethno-nation building as the role model however, the Government of India (GOI) considered the Nagas as the mother of all insurgencies. This was followed by Mizo rebellion in 1966.³ Proliferation of recent armed conflict movements include 1970’s in Assam⁴ and Tripura,⁵ 1980’s in Manipur followed by Meghalaya in 1990’s. Although in Arunachal Pradesh,⁶ the activities of the state’s militant organisation is relatively

inactive, Naga militants are active particularly in the districts of Changlang and Tirap, and Assam based militant groups such as ULFA and NDFB⁷ in border districts adjacent to Arunachal. With the exception of Sikkim, violent movements thus become a paradigm to describe the North East states leading to strain relationship between the state and the people. Far from prioritising them as national importance, often issues are relegated as 'law and order' whereby the Central Government would relieve its responsibility to resolve but allow the same to perpetuate. The perpetuation of violent movements and the approach to tackle the same with violent methods gave birth to issue of human rights violation. This vicious circle in turn creates a history of blamed and counter-blamed politics.

Human Rights and Media

Media and human rights cannot exist in isolation. When media is considered as the "watchdog of democracy", it is expected to watch among others the violation of human rights as a result of coercive state's action and state excessiveness (Jenifer, 2009, pp.596-97). In the event of the media failing to underline the issue of human rights violations by whatever forces, the very independent media will be at stake. Healthy human rights environment is essential for the growth of effective media. The triangular links of media, human rights and democracy is so close that it is just not possible to talk in isolation. To examine the media health of a nation is to study the health of its democracy and human rights. However, in a democratic India, its national media is yet to make its mark in India's North East. It may sound strange but "the extreme indifference of the mainstream media makes the region invisible to the outside world" (Sen, 2014, p. 93). Media discourse of human rights from the region is of recent origin though India is a signatory to the International Bill of Human Rights consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights since 1979 (Jaswal, 1996, p.49). Though initially there was some coverage on the region's turbulent situation from Calcutta based press, "it was not until Oinam (Operation Bluebird) happened in 1987 in Manipur that the human rights violation actually became news" (Kashyap, 2015, p. 59). While following security centric approach in the round up to violent movements, "in the past decades, particularly since the mid 80's Indian state was charged for having committed many human rights violation on the Nagas. All this happened without being known to the outside world because of inaccessibility of the region and backwardness particularly in the media world. In fact, there had been wide-scale abuses of human rights including killing, torture and extra-judicial execution during the combine operation. No social workers, human rights activists nor pressmen were allowed to go to the area" (Phukon, 2006, p. 159). Even though there was blatant violation of human rights, it was hardly known to the outside world. Such actions were all done in the name of "law and order" as violent movements threatened national integrity they need to tackle in a most violent form. However, issues of human rights violation should not be leaked out as it is internal matter, best that media does not get coverage. In following security centric approach, "when bad news from Northeast India reaches the global media or international human rights forums, Indians in the rest of the country find the reports to be a source of embarrassment rather than an occasion for moral anguish about the health of Indian democracy" (Baruah, 2007, p. 4).

This may sound unbelievable but “from 1955 to 1960 the press had been blacked out in the Naga hills. So while people knew a war was on, very few knew just what was happening, who was fighting whom, and where or why” (Sen, 2011, p.1). The withdrawal of British with the dawn of India’s independence led to the wrapping up of White colonisation, but for the Nagas the worse is yet to come. The newly independent nation-state of Indian Government has isolated the Nagas from outside and media observers and gradually deployed security forces with an orgy of killings, torture, rapes, force public groupings, burning villages and granaries (Bendangjungshi, 2011, p. 92). The situation has not changed much even after fifty-five years. When Wooldridge and his team arrived in Kohima in November 1997 after the cease-fire agreement between the Government of India and National Socialist Council of Nagaland–Isak Muivah (NSCN-IM) in July 1997, to find the ground realities by themselves, while interacting with the Naga elders, this is what they said, “our BBC team were the first representatives of the international media to meet them in fifty years” (Wooldridge, 1997). This reflects how both national and international media has ignored the Naga movement.

The issue is not of low coverage or invisibility but on how the media painted the region. More than invisibility, controlled reporting is an indication of the crisis of media representation. Even after six decades of India’s independence, “the engagement of mainstream India media with Northeast remains marginal. Furthermore, the coverage that the Northeast does receive remains trapped in stereotypes” (Sen, 2014, p.89). As a results of such manipulated coverage, “whole areas of cultural, social and political experience that do not fit neatly into hard and soft news agendas are never becoming part of public memory” (Hasan, 2004, p.126). Media fascination with violence has led to deepen the perception that the region means anything but ‘terror’, ‘undemocratic’ and the likes. Such deep preoccupation is the possible reason why foreign journalists are not welcome to give coverage on region’s movements (Baruah, 2007, p.4). The media, in turn, is feeding the audience with full of half-baked information.

Not to mention of human rights violation, the very existence of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (*AFSPA*) violates core aspects of human rights as enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which India is a signatory. Though *AFSPA* could amounts to international scrutiny due to violation of human rights, India is able to respond by saying that violent movements in the region is not just internal security threat but also exceptional. So, under normal circumstances *AFSPA* would not be there but given the exceptional circumstances such law is essential (Bordolio, 2014). Another convenient justification is that since the region shared over ninety-nine percent international border with neighbouring countries, such law is required. A further tactic has been to attribute blame for insurgency on foreign hands, located in Bangladesh, China, and Pakistan (Duncan, 2009, pp. 260-61). Human rights violation is far from considered as detrimental to democracy, at least for the region. Besides, the region is constructed as a violent borderland, a distant and disturbed periphery of “undifferentiated” and “nameless insurgencies” (Baruah, 2005, p. vii), which justified the use of extreme law.

Sample and Methodology

To examine media discourse of human rights with respect to India's North East, three national English dailies (The Times of India,⁸ The Hindu⁹ and The Indian Express,¹⁰ Delhi Edition) were selected for duration of twenty days (5th -24th June, 2015). The duration was purposively chosen to examine conflict reportage of the attack on 6 Dogra Regiment in Manipur's Chandel district, on June 4, 2015 by joint forces of Naga Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khapang (NSCN-K), Kanglei Yawol Kunna Lup (KYKL) and Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP). In the attack, at least 18 Indian soldiers were killed and over a dozen injured. All the news stories related to the attack were collected from three national dailies.

All together eighty-five news stories were collected. Out of the total news stories, five were in the nature of articles, there were seven editorials, one was interview and the rest were news reporting. Out of the three dailies, the *Times of India* had maximum news stories with forty-one in all, which include thirty-seven news reporting, two editorials, one article and an interview. The next was the *Indian Express* with twenty-eight news stories that consist of twenty-five news reporting, two editorials and an article. The least number of news stories was in the *Hindu* with sixteen, which comprise of twelve news reporting, one editorial and three articles. The analysis followed the method of discourse analysis. Broadly, the analysis is categories into attack reaction, action plan and respond, and operation and human rights.

Attack Reaction

Besides any other things, the conflict reportage provide minutes of how the attack would have been planned and executed. The sequence of the attack was constructed as "the attack, which started with an Improvised Explosive Device (IED) blast, took place when the convoy reached a hilly area between Paraolol and Larong along the New Samtal road, about 125 km from Imphal city and around 15 km from the Myanmar border. The attackers then fired down from a hillside nearby using rocket-propelled grenades and heavy automatic weapons" (Roy, 2015a, p.1). The ambush was the "deadliest attack in the last 33 years" and "the biggest militant attack on the army in recent years" of militancy history in India's North East, which was partly as the result of negligence due to region's geographical distance from New Delhi. There is lack of serious engagement to tackle the region's issue as compare to Kashmir. Not just the media but equally those in power concentrated more on matter related to Kashmir as compare to region's problem. Unfortunate but the hard reality was that "the ambush rudely brought the Indian security establishment's focus back to the northeast, often neglected due to its geographical distance from New Delhi — as compared to terrorism-hit Kashmir — despite its long porous borders with Myanmar and Bangladesh" (TNN, 2015, p. 1). As typical national India media was, the focus was again on 'security establishment' rather than stressing for political engagement. Though the scale and size of the region's issues is in no way less than Kashmir, the latter got far better attention, be it from the policy makers or from the media.

There was detailed account of the reaction from Indian authorities. Prime Minster condemned the attack as "mindless and "distressing", President while condemning call it as "random attack", Defence Minister condemned as "cowardly attack", Minister of State for Home described as "extremely unfortunate", and Manipur's

Home Minister calling it as “most unfortunate”. Urgency of the meetings on how to response the attack and actions need to be executed was highlighted. A glimpse of what the reporting was, “hours after the attack, Home Minister Rajnath Singh chaired a high-level meeting that was attended by Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar, Army chief Dalbir Singh and National Security Advisor Ajit Doval, apart from senior officials, to evaluate the situation” (Express News Service, 2015, p.1). There were hectic meetings of the need to take strong action as “Thursday's attack was the worst on security forces under the NDA¹¹ regime, which rode to power with a tough posture on security matters” (TNN, 2015a, p.13). Well planned and executed by joint forces of NSCN (K), KYKL and KCP after the former unilaterally withdrawn the cease-fire in March 2015 was seen as aiming to derail the ongoing Naga peace process. Interestingly, junior Minister of Home noted that “some people want to disrupt peace process” and Defence Minister stressed that “army will continue to work towards bringing peace” (Express News Service, 2015, p. 2), when army has had a history of blatant human rights violations. More disturbing was the words “will continue” as it perceives that the army had worked for peace in the past. The trade record of the army would show that large scale deployment of security forces gave birth to militarisation and institutionalisation of violence.

Well noted the strategic location of Chandel, Manipur's Southeast district where various armed rebel groups have setup their bases. Indeed, Chandel is a place of struggle for dominance by different militant groups. Yet there was failure of the government to notice the warning signs and took it for granted the situation in Manipur just because there was appeared to be certain tranquility in recent years (Routray, 2015, p. 9). It also noted of the lack of understanding between the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) led NDA of present regime and Congress led UPA¹² in dealing with the Myanmar. In the wake of the attack, in addition of asking the Myanmar government to not let the militants operating from its soil target India, it plans to enhance “intelligence network” to monitor the porous 1,643 Km land border with Myanmar (Pandit, 2015, p.15). There was perception within the establishment that the NSCN (K) unilaterally abrogation of cease-fire and subsequent attack was not free from the foreign hands particularly the PLA¹³ although the Chinese intelligentsia and academicians ruled out such possibility (Aneja, 2015, p. 10). It is not uncommon that any turbulent situation in the region will somehow lead to blame the hands of neighbouring countries. Experts are of the view that dragging foreign hands on region's issue is another way to perpetuate the problems.

Action Plan and Respond

The detail reportage on how government plan to response the attacked by not ruling out “strongest action” and “gearing up for a coordinated action” with neighbouring counterpart was given. Besides, the plan to go with “hot pursuit” and how it was executed with precision was widely noted. Of course, “hot pursuit”, which turn out to be cross-border operation in which the government has for the first time owned publicly although this was not the first of its kind. Though the government admitted that cross-border operation was part of the “hot pursuit” to target the militant camps, the exact number of militant casualties was far from cleared. It comes to light that cross-border attack was not just revenge but to restrain from further attack. It was more of pre-emptive action rather than merely retaliatory in nature (Parashar, 2015, p.7). After the attack, government is also weighing option as to whether BSF should

allowed to man the border and install fencing, in which it would affect people to people movements and border trade as well, which the government is promoting as part of its Look/Act East Policy¹⁴ (Tiwary, 2015, p.7). However, the government has in mind that crack down of militant networks and bases will not be one-off affairs but will pursue more rigorously.

Fair reportage was also given that Indian authority has got the assent of Myanmar counterpart for “surgical strike” attack. The action was not surprised as “in 2010 when the Home Ministry’s joint secretary S. Singh and Myanmar Army commander for Chin state, U. Nay Wing, signed an agreement that Indian forces could pursue insurgents across the border” (Swami, 2015, p.7). However, while appreciating the bold step that the PM has taken, there are concerned that unless Myanmar is taken into task, the game is far from over. “Hot pursuit” should not be alternative to government to government level talk, which would only leads to hamper diplomatic relationship. Besides, immature statement of junior Information & Broadcasting Minister was condemned and cautions him to refrain in future (“Inside Myanmar, in Hot Pursuit”, 2015; “Success, Sobriety”, 2015). They also noted that the attack should not hamper peace process even though issue of human rights is left out.

Another editorial (“Myanmar Strike”, 2015) states that the government was ready to do anything to tackle insurgency even it means crossing the border, when the situation demands. But, it admits that the government must have communicated in advance, and in any case, the Indian army and Myanmar counterpart are coordinating on security related matters for years. So, over acting was not required and exercising the same strategy to northwestern border (Pakistan) is a “different ball game” altogether. It further reminds that to cultivate lasting peace, to builds a strong diplomatic relation is the best option. Similarly, there was concerned of such action in dealing with the neighbour. Immature handling with sensitive issue with the neighbours can backfire, which would be costly (Narayanan, 2015, p.8).

Operations and Human Rights

In the wake of the attack, “the Leimakong-based 57 Mountain Division launched one of the biggest combine operations in the hilly terrain of Manipur” (“Two Meitei groups own up”, 2015). It will be heartening to know the outcome of combine operations, yet there was no follow-up reporting anywhere and the experience will be remembered only in the minds and hearts of those who face the music of operations. The words “alleged high handedness” by army was noted only once in the entire reporting and that was also referred to 6 Dogra Regiment (Roy, 2015, p.12). This was an indication of human rights violation though implicitly. Usually, the army does not have a good relation with the locals, who were posted supposedly for the citizens’ security. Rarely, the locals had seen the army as means of security but considered them more as agent of harassment. Interestingly, though the national dailies were apprehensive of using human rights violations, PM Narendra Modi's task force proposal notes that “New Delhi hopes the plan, by addressing local resentment against alleged human rights violations by the army” (Swami, 2015, p.1). The proposal further noted that the NSCN (K) is a good friend of other militant groups operating in India’s North East and suggested that Khaplang may be feeling dejected with the Naga peace process.

There was only one news story, where the villager sense what the consequent of the ambush will be and indeed send a precautionary note was, “I hadn’t heard of the incident. It’s most unusual since there is no militant movement at all in our village” (Roy, 2015b, p.1). Otherwise, there is no voice from human rights and social activists, academicians and civil society in the entire reporting. It was common experience that whenever there was operation, villagers usually bear the brunt of security force’s atrocities. When there were already massive combine operations to nab the attackers, it was unlikely that the civilians were unaffected. There was high possibility that the lone villager was sounding a precautionary note because he had already experienced of how the villagers were harassed in the name of asking/seeking information about militants’ movement.

When there were series of attacks after the NSCN (K) unilaterally abrogated cease-fire, the attack was not unexpected. The attack was done by newly floated umbrella militant organisation called United Liberation Front of Western South East Asia (UNLFW) comprised of United Liberation Front of Assam (Independent)- ULFA (I), NSCN (K), Kamatapur Liberation Organisation (KLO) and National Democratic Front of Boroland (Songbijit). The same umbrella organisation had earlier attack Indian army in Mon (Nagaland) and Tirap (Arunachal Pradesh). Resurgence of violence is what at least the region’s experts are concerned. With no concrete and tangible outcome to be reckoned, they “fear an uneasy truce in the region, largely the result of ceasefire agreements signed between the Centre and several insurgent outfits over years, seems to be now unraveling” (TNN, 2015b, p.13). There was a fear that violence in the region was on the rise since 2014 as compare to past few years although the region was hardly free from violent situation with the onset of militarisation in the form of *AFSPA* since 1958 essentially, to curb the Naga movement.

Interestingly, the army projected as peace maker where “Lt. Col. Bipin Rawat, commander of 3 Corps, said the Army had come to Manipur to maintain peace” (Laithangbam, 2015, p.11) Such gesture contradicts the ground situation and people’s experience since the army was part of perpetuating violence. Counter-insurgency operations were already in full-swim and in such a situation maintaining peace is a distance possibility. Whenever there was counter-insurgency operation, human rights violations cannot be ruled out. Even more likely since the area is within the purview of *AFSPA*, which is one of the most inhuman laws that Indian parliamentary democracy had passed. However, the only place where *AFSPA* was considered as “draconian provision” in the entire reportage was found in an editorial (“Turning the Tide”, 2015). Of course, black law of this sort should not have a place in a democratic regime. Myanmar co-operation was essential to tame the region’s militants. It also notes that “region’s woes stem from a combination of its remote geographical location, poor governance infrastructure and lack of jobs for its youth” and the need for better infrastructural connectivity and economic growth, which have the potential of “degrading the militants’ support base”.

As stated, combine operations was started to nab the militants and the NIA (national investigation agency) has taken over the case from Manipur police, and conducted a thorough search of the area, five days after the attack (TNN, 2015a, p.7). When there was such a thorough operation what about the fate of the villagers? In anyway, combine operation affect the daily lives of the villagers? There is not reporting at all

on this aspect. The word *AFSPA* did figure again where “Lt. Gen. Bipin Rawat, GOC, 3 Corps, underscored the need for the law to remain for smooth counter-insurgency operations” (TNN, 2015b, p.7). It means to say that without *AFSPA* counter-insurgency operation will be ineffective as the Act provide unaccounted power to operate once the place is declared as “disturbed area”. Further, the operation “focus is also on a cluster of villages along the India-Myanmar border” (Roy, 2015, p.7). What was the consequent of the operation to the villagers was not mentioned anywhere. This meant to say that “thorough search” and “combine operations” were villagers friendly? Given the past record, this is unlikely.

In constructing the nature of the attack, NIA was of the opinion that such well-planned and execution was not possible without “local sympathisers”. It was planned that local sympathisers will be brought to Imphal (capital of Manipur) and interrogated to find out the details (Chauhan, 2015, p. 14). What sort of interrogation was done to those considered as sympathisers, no one will know except those who were interrogated. The media is least bother to find out. The role of the media is not just reacting but also to proactively engage in order to provide fair, just and balanced information. It may be noted that cross-border operation was first done in 1987 after the Oinam attack under the code name operation “Bluebird” (Sarma, 2015, p.15) and that was where notion of human rights violation become popular. In entire reportage, security of the citizen was mentioned only once. It raises the logic of deployed army against Naga rebels, which represent a sign of political failure and ultimately democracy, as “some of the world’s oldest active violent movements are today in the northeast, and the army has been deployed against Naga rebels for six decades now” (Joseph, 2015). There are possible villages that the attackers may have used as a passage but what sort of treatments is meted to the villagers are not reported at all. Without noting the issue of human rights, the coverage did offers olive gesture of the need for peace talk and tries to juggle certain historical factors of the Naga movement and the complexities involved in it (Roy, 2015. p.8). Another editorial (“Next in Nagaland”, 2015), deals with historical background of the Naga movement and the need to involve various stakeholders in the peace process for acceptable lasting solution.

Conclusion

To conclude, in the entire conflict reportage of twenty days in three national dailies, there was nowhere the words human right violations was mentioned other than on PM’s task force proposal. Whatever was reported, they were mostly reaction of the attack without rigorously going into causes and consequences of it. Besides detailing the formal voices and their reactions of the attack, there was hardly any voice from the common people. Overall, the national dailies have nothing much to offer on issue of human rights, the need to engage in political dialogue and evolvement of comprehensive people’s approach to solve the issue. It just represents the statist’s view and was not investigative in nature. As by media own admission, the region’s become part of the national discourse on account of chilling ambush. Not that the region was left out from the national India media, but whatever was represented were mostly violent driven, otherwise the region is relegated to footnote.

- ¹ Himalayan state of Sikkim was made part of India's North East recently though territorially the state is outside the region's states.
- ² Around 2,000 Nagas from various tribes joined the 'Labour Corps' during the World War I to assist the Allied Forces. After they came back some concerned Naga Labour Corps together with their fellow Nagas formed the 'Naga Club' in 1918, which was the first socio-political organisation in the Naga society.
- ³ In those days, present Mizoram state is known as Lushai Hill – a district of Assam, in erstwhile unified Assam.
- ⁴ Unabated migrant of Hindi-speaking people from central India besides influx of Bengali speaking Muslims from across the border has led the Assamese to launch Assam Movement, popularly known as 'anti-foreigner uprising' spearheaded by the All Assam Students' Union (AASU). Refer, Hussian, M. (2000). State, Identity Movements and Internal Displacement in the North-East. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35 (51), p. 4520. ULFA (United Liberation Front of Asom) when established in 1979 was started more as a militant wing of the Assam movement, today declared its objective is to struggle for 'sovereign socialist Assam'. See, Das, S. K. (1994). United liberation front of Assam (ULFA): A political analysis. Delhi: Ajanta Publications, p.51.
- ⁵ The growth of insurgency in Tripura is unique in a sense that this is the only state in modern India where the indigenous tribal has been reduced to minority in their own land. The genesis of insurgency in Tripura therefore lies in the demographic destabilisation.
- ⁶ Formerly called North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) and was directly managed by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, was upgraded to a state in 1987.
- ⁷ Non-recognition of people's demand by the government led to secessionist movement, of which Bodoland is an instance as led by National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB). See, Misra, A. (2001). The politics of secessionist conflict management in India. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 22 (2), p.52.
- ⁸ *The Times of India* is one of the most popular national dailies, which is the most read English in India, and the world also as per the IRS (Indian Readership Survey), 2015.
- ⁹ *The Hindu* is seen as a critical and focused national daily and less friendly with the establishment, and often prescribed for competitive examinations.
- ¹⁰ *The Indian Express* is seemed to be ideological apart with *The Times of India*, which does not easily swept by the regime and articulative in nature.
- ¹¹ NDA (National Democratic Alliance) led by BJP formed the government at the Centre in May 2014 after the last general election where BJP emerged as the single largest party.
- ¹² UPA (united progressive alliance) led by Congress formed the government at the Centre after 15th Lok Sabha election conducted in April-May 2009.
- ¹³ Pandey Devesh K. & Dinakar Peri. (2015, June 9). NSCN (K) move at behest of elements in China? *The Hindu*, p. 10; Vijai Singh. (2015, June 9). Chinese Army officials in touch with NSCN (K) leaders. *The Indian Express*, p. 11 & TNN. (2015, June 8). China hand in NE insurgency?. *The Times of India*, p. 13.
- ¹⁴ Prime Minister, Narendra Modi in his address to East Asia Summit in Naypyidaw, capital of Myanmar told the world leaders to turn India's "Look East" policy into "Act East" policy. Look East Policy was introduced in the early 1990s by PV Narasimha Rao, the then Congress led prime minister and was endorsed by successive prime ministers, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh. It hopes to bring better connectivity the region with the rest of India by way of linking the South East Asian countries.

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Friends with Benefits: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Framing US-Philippine Relations in Print Media Through the Coverage of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA)

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Abstract

This study examines discourse production in the reportage of foreign affairs. In early 2014, the Philippines announced the planning and signing of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) with the United States.

This research discusses vested interests of stakeholders, conflicting frames the print media used in their reportage, and representations of diplomatic concepts of friendship, peace and security in Philippines-United States foreign policy.

The study ties together the use of critical discourse analysis, media diplomacy theory, postcolonial theory and framing analysis to unveil frames used by Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI), The Philippine Star (PStar) and Manila Bulletin (MB) in representing these diplomatic concepts. It combines the results of coded print articles from March 15 to July 29, 2014, and coded official government documents.

The study points out that (a) PDI's reportage used conflicting frames while PStar and MB employed non-conflicting frames; (b) security is the main purpose for of EDCA but friendship exists because of the long-standing US-Philippine history that seeks to maintain international peace; and (c) US interests in deepening ties with the Philippines are to advance its strategy of Asia rebalance, thwart economic growth of China, and counter insurgency in the South. The need for EDCA was rationalized in light of the Philippine-China territorial dispute that the US pursued to reinforce military strength in the Asian region.

Evaluating the power relations between the stakeholders is pertinent to achieve the study's purpose of molding the Filipino populace as critical thinkers who are concerned of the society they live in.

Keywords: print, media, military, bases, agreement, foreign, affairs, framing, bias, discourse

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Introduction

Motives of ruling another country are covert in diplomacy. At first glance, interests of both countries are mutually acknowledged. However, the actual agreement favors one over the other. The oppressor-oppressed relationship in this globally competitive sphere still exists because one party, often the economically privileged, has the capacity to dominate the latter. This unequal relationship is exemplified by the Philippine-United States agreement called the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA).

For ten years, EDCA would allow US military rotational visits and construction of bases in the Philippines. It is the latest of the many military bases agreements between the Philippines and the United States since the latter became a U.S. colony in 1898.

One agreement that is in effect up to today is the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) which was ratified on May 27, 1999 by the Philippine Senate. It has two versions that concern the jurisdiction of US military personnel deployed in the Philippines. Preceding the VFA is the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT), signed August 30, 1951, that affirms the commitment of the United States and the Philippines to defend each other against external threat.

This increased existence of military bases agreements in Philippine territory can be traced back from the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, stating aggression and claim over American territory despite the European colonization in its area. This guiding principle for all implemented foreign policies of the United States had been proven and reinforced through the Mock Battle of Manila Bay as it wiped out Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines and had sparked an Asia-Pacific expansionism, which was then reinstated by the Manifest Destiny. The Manifest Destiny served as a doctrine for Americans in their belief of being responsible and fated to expand across the Asia Pacific region.

EDCA is a recent reinforcement of this principle. On April 28, 2014, a few hours before US President Obama arrive in the country, Philippine Defense Secretary Voltaire Gazmin and US Ambassador to the Philippines Philip Goldberg signed the ten-page document. The signing of the treaty sparked controversy. Issues circulated that it was rushed in order to reach the time of Obama's visit to the Philippines and to counter the impending territorial threat of China. EDCA's constitutionality was questioned on the ground that there was no formal approval of the Senate, which the 1987 Philippine constitution requires for an agreement to be valid. Moreover, anti-EDCA advocates believe it violates the country's sovereignty by allowing a foreign military base to be established in the Philippines in exchange of defense assistance.

On the same day EDCA was signed, the Philippine government released its primer that tries to answer the opposition. It states that EDCA is an executive agreement and does not require a transmission from the Senate. Even with VFA and MDT in effect, EDCA is needed because it will not only cater to military assistance but also disaster management and employment opportunities.

But despite the benefits the Aquino administration claims, EDCA remains controversial.

Being a longtime ally of the United States, it is important for Filipinos to understand current Philippines –United States relations, especially during this time of territorial disputes. Partnering with a superpower such as the United States has its consequences—positive and/or negative.

It is important to know about the history of Philippine-United States diplomatic relations and what may be the possible implications of entering this agreement.

Statement of the Problem and Objectives

The media has the power to affect society in the shaping of public opinion. In pertinent matters of public interest, particularly the country's national defense and territory, the media's role to educate the masses is heightened.

In such cases, a journalist can use various angles in an issue coverage, of which should be in accordance to journalistic principles and the editorial board's slant that he/she is under. Thus, news delivered to broadsheets, to the radio, to television and computer screens may use the same sources but have different content. Naturally, this also elicits different responses from the audience who choose to consume them. The publications with the widest reach affect more people and the Philippine society in effect.

Thus, the study asks, *“How did the Philippine Daily Inquirer (PDI), The Philippine Star (PStar) and Manila Bulletin (MB) frame the concepts of friendship, security and peace in the coverage of EDCA in the context of Philippines-United States relations from March 15 to July 29, 2014?”*

The study's scope starts on March 15, the date of the first EDCA press conference and ends on July 29, the day after President Aquino's 5th State of the Nation Address, where EDCA reports were included.

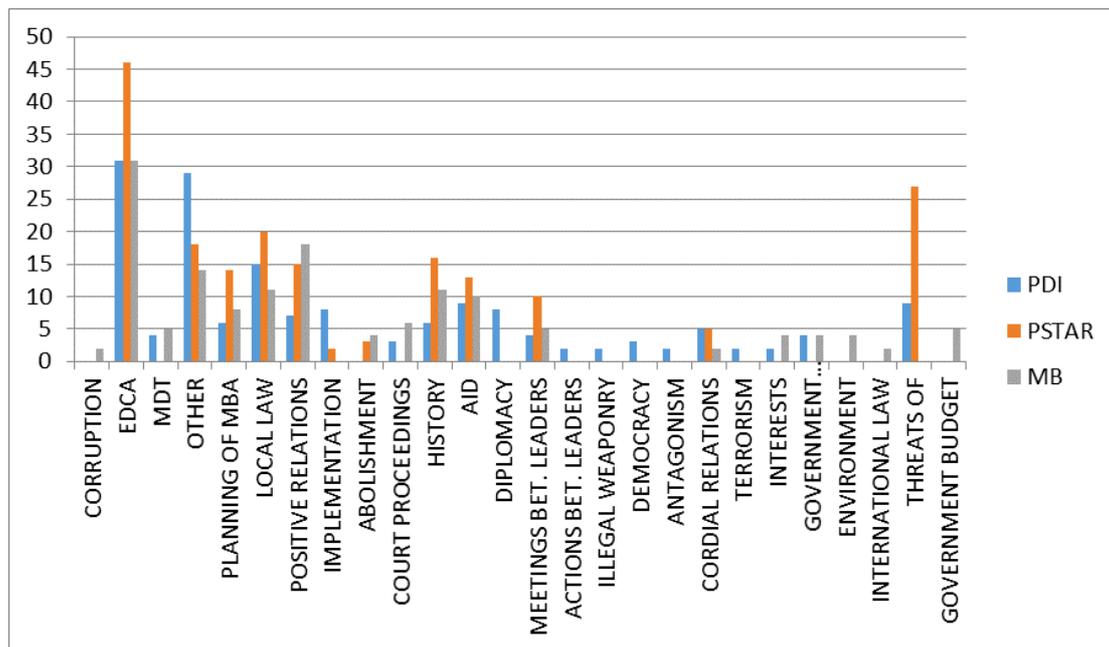
In this study, the researchers' objectives are as follows:

- To determine the frames used in the coverage of EDCA in the three major broadsheets
- To determine the representation of diplomatic concepts of friendship, peace and security in the context of US-Philippine relations as stated in the EDCA
- To critically examine the implicit messages of friendship, peace and security in available documents, speeches and articles about EDCA that reveal the vested interests of US in the Philippines

Socio-cultural context of the discourse

EDCA news was in the company of other national and global issues. Because of the other events happening, EDCA reportage was naturally affected and themes emerge per month based on the flow of events, expected or not. Shown in Chart 1 are the emerging themes per broadsheet.

Chart 1. *Top emerging themes in three newspapers about EDCA*



Figures above show the top emerging themes PDI, PStar and MB articles used the most from March to July.

At the start of March 2014, Chinese Coast Guard blocked two Philippine vessels that were supposed to bring supplies to BRP Sierra Madre in Ayungin Shoal. The Philippine government then submitted a memorial to the UN arbitration tribunal against China’s increasingly aggressive activity in the contested waters.

Since EDCA was only introduced that time, the emerging theme in the three broadsheets was information about the agreement. In the midst of the growing PH-China territorial dispute, the government seemingly used the opportunity to present EDCA to the public as an immediate solution in securing the nation’s safety.

Sourcing from interviews and press conferences organized by the government, all three broadsheets highlighted the history of military bases agreements and the cordial relations between the Philippines and US. Only in PStar did the threat of China rose as one of the top secondary themes which may indicate that the broadsheet is probing EDCA in the context of the current dispute.

EDCA coverage hit its prime time when US President Obama visited the Philippines as part of his 4-day Asian tour. The broadsheets explicitly reported that the trip of the US president was to start the US’ plan of Asia rebalance. It was also this time that the US released support statements for the Philippines’ recent action to seek the help of the arbitration tribunal. The Chinese interpret US support as anti-Chinese and pro-war. During this time, EDCA was reported as an offshoot of Philippines-US positive relations to upgrade the Philippines’ weak defense capability in order to counter external force. ‘Threats of war’ was outstandingly present in both PDI and PStar coverages as well as diplomacy. In MB, humanitarian assistance and disaster response (HADR), employment and other economic benefits the United States would give were one of the tertiary themes.

After Obama’s visit and the official signing of EDCA, news reports were still mainly about what the defense agreement is, planned naval bases and the constitutionality of the agreement. Political analysts, professors, senators, congressmen and opposition groups were frequently sourced in which they discussed the existing military bases agreements (implementations of MBAs) and the Philippine constitution (Local/Municipal law). June’s topmost issue was EDCA’s unconstitutionality along with the Disbursement Acceleration Program. Impeachment cases against President Aquino began filing in the Supreme Court (court proceedings). In general, there were sub-themes that appeared per category in the whole coverage of EDCA but the reporters primarily focused on the aspect of politics and international relations in their articles.

After looking at the external factors that characterized the themes of the news articles, the researchers then analyzed the text itself. Language is a powerful tool used to forward an ideology. Repetition of words creates a discourse that shapes public opinion.

For CDA analysis, the researchers compiled the top twenty words that appeared the most from each month and categorized it into the concepts of friendship, peace and security based on its associated and implied meanings. From March to July, the most apparent diplomatic concept is security, followed by peace and lastly, by friendship. This result implies that the broadsheets reported that the country’s security is EDCA’s main goal. The two countries’ vision for peace and long history of friendship only comes secondary.

Figure 1. Words used in PDI articles about EDCA

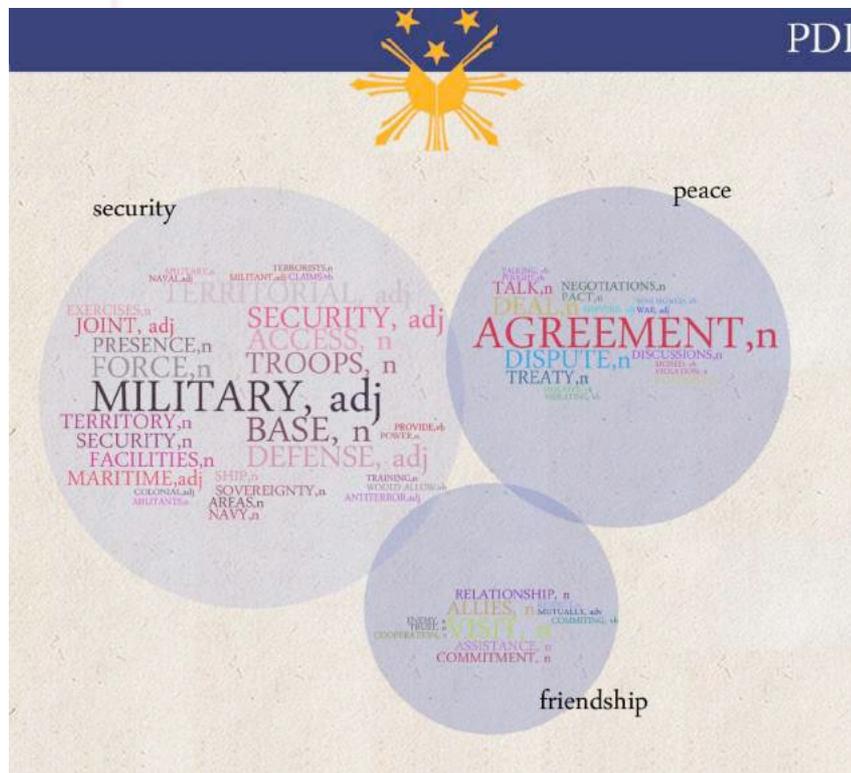


Figure above shows the top 20 words that appeared the most in PDI articles per month. Based on their associated meanings, the 100 words were then clustered into the diplomatic concepts of friendship, peace and security.

Figure 2. Words used in PStar articles about EDCA



Figure above shows the top 20 words that appeared the most in PStar articles per month. Based on their associated meanings, the 100 words were then clustered into the diplomatic concepts of friendship, peace and security.

Figure 3. Words used in MB articles about EDCA

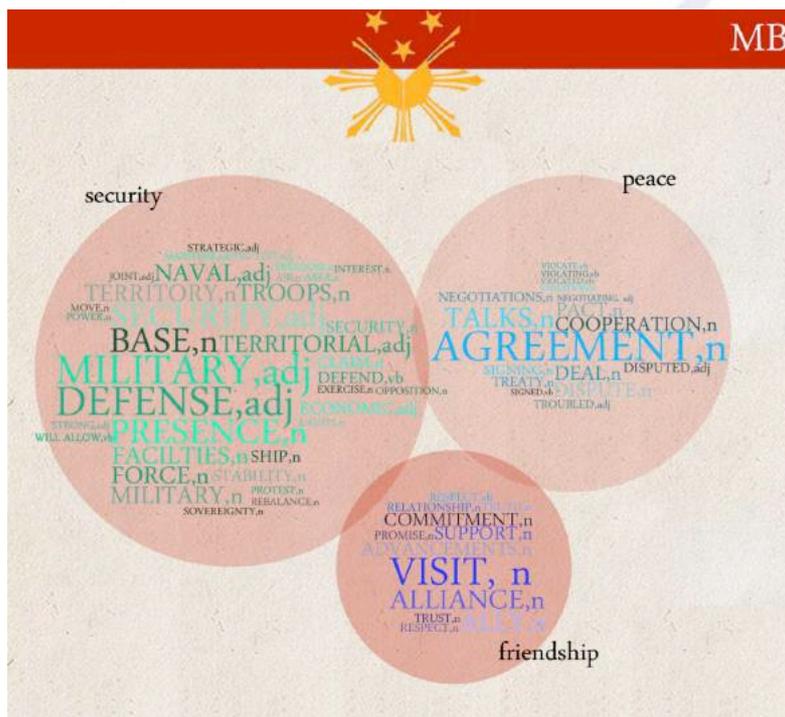


Figure above shows the top 20 words that appeared the most in MB articles per month. Based on their associated meanings, the 100 words were then clustered into the diplomatic concepts of friendship, peace and security.

Only in April was friendship shown with the use of the word “visit” which implies a short stay of a special guest that was expected. US President Obama was welcomed warmly by the Philippine government, something one only does to a friend or to a person who one has positive relations with.

Agreement is the top word for three of the five months. The government consistently referred to EDCA as an “agreement” rather than “deal” or “pact.” Having an agreement implies that a discussion happened or is happening in order to serve a purpose that is accepted by all parties involved. The word “deal” is different as it connotes bargaining for one’s self-interests without considering the other party. The word “pact” is also risky to use because it is very much synonymous to “treaty” which the Philippine government had been denying that EDCA is.

“Military”, “defense” and “security” are categorized under the diplomatic concept of security. It is important to note that defense is used to protect and not to attack. Defense only uses its power when there’s an external threat to a country’s security. Having a good military defense establishes confidence of a nation to assert its sovereignty. The Philippines has no intention of fighting China and launching an armed war against it. Through the use of the word “security”, the Philippines needs EDCA, not for an armed attack, but a mere display of power that can make China concede peacefully.

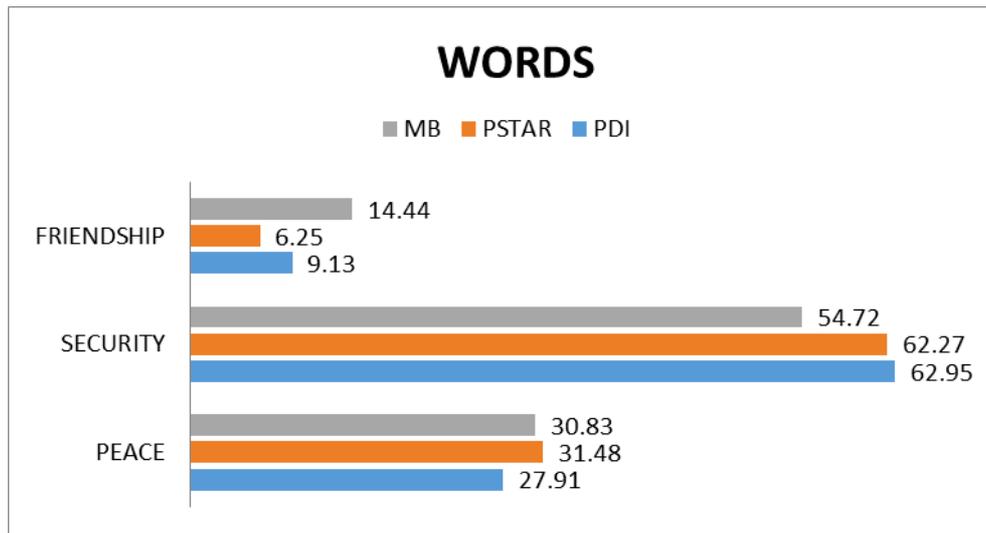
The word “base” had been used to emphasize that only “agreed locations” would be the center of operations. “Base” implies headquarters and all US military activities are only to be done on chosen bases. It is to be clear that the US doesn’t have plans to colonize the Philippines again.

“Violation” which was used in June and July means that there is an acknowledgment of a higher entity that the person is subjected to. In this case, the law does not excuse anyone, President or not. Violation of the law of a country’s president may connote instability of a nation because its highest leader is at question. Security is still the issue, although internal.

With the usage of these words, it is clear that EDCA’s main purpose is for the military to gain confidence and the buildup of a “minimum credible defense” that pertains to security. To illustrate this further, Chart 2 below shows the percentages of the three concepts on PDI, PStar and MB using the Top 20 words that appeared the most in the articles.

The results indicate that Manila Bulletin covered Philippines –US relations the most as friends, PDI as security allies and PStar as peacemakers. On one hand, indicating that Philippines-US relationship is friendly goes back to the history the two countries share. On another, presenting the relationship for security purposes meant the capability of the US to upgrade the Philippine military was highlighted. And lastly, if the relationship functions as a peacemaker, it can mean that the Philippines and US have the same vision for the maintenance of peace in the Asian region.

Chart 2. *Percentages of Words under Friendship, Peace and Security*



Percentages were derived based on the Top 20 words that appeared the most on each broadsheet from March to July

News Framing

The following figures present the dominant sources used by the three newspapers in five months. Those with high and low counts of proportion as sources in the articles of a certain month tell a significant aspect in power relations of the discourse.

Chart 3. *List of Domestic Sources*

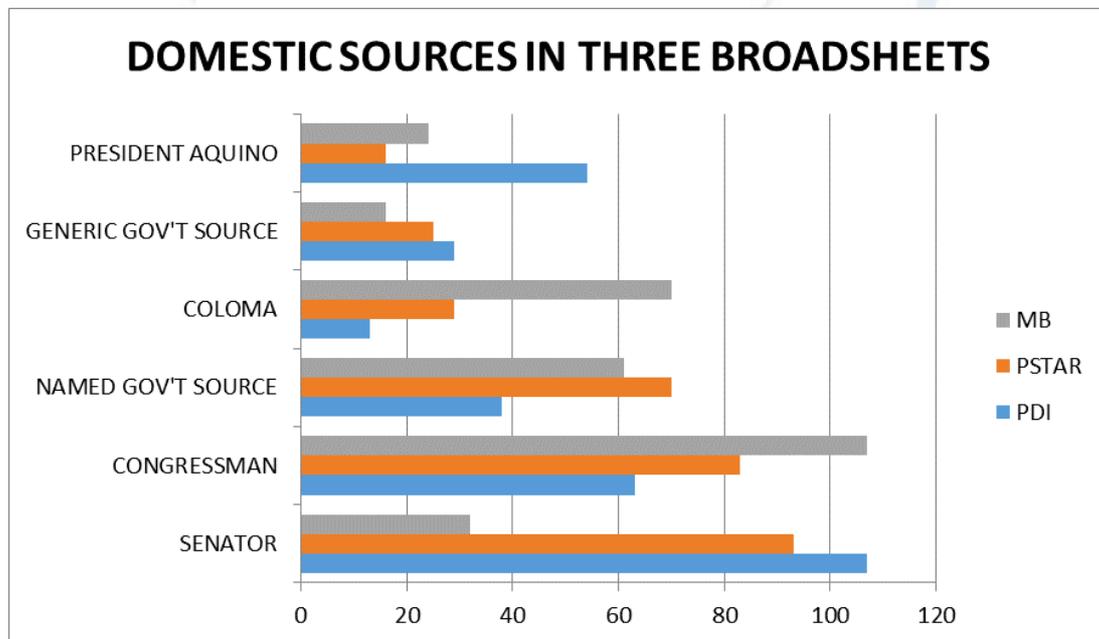


Chart shows top domestic sources from which journalists obtained their information from

When a source receives a significantly high proportion, there is an implication of dominance. What the source tells is automatically a basis for the truth even when it is not. More importantly when the source holds an important position in the circle of influencers, the given information is set as credible knowledge. When a source receives a low count in proportion, either the knowledge is influenced by multiple sources, evenly contributing to the discussion of the discourse leading to various partial and impartial origin of such discussions, or there is a lack of influencers in a certain story frame, limiting the knowledge of discourse to what only is available.

As an overview, the sources usually came from the government, non-government organizations, media and societal influencers such as business executives, academe experts, political analysts, and undefined sources.

It was a close decision for PDI and PStar to get the source of the discourse from the senators while MB garnered a high count from congressmen and from Coloma as dominant sources. To point out further, PDI used Aquino as another main informant.

Chart 4. *List of International Sources*

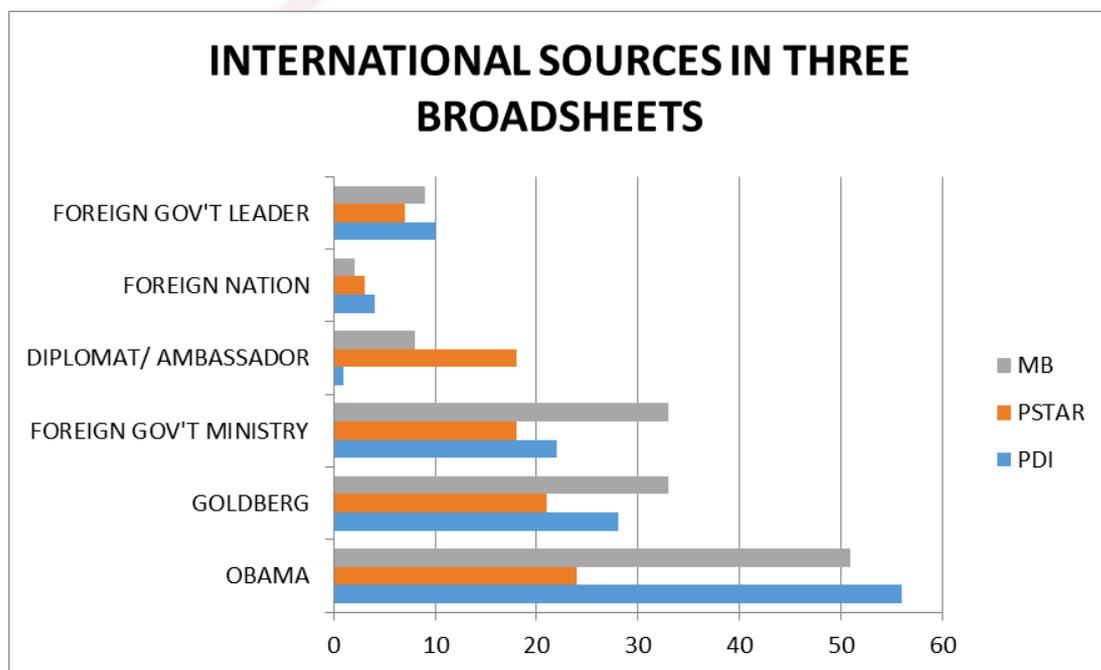


Chart shows top international sources from which journalists obtained their information from

It is evident that local and international government officials were the main discourse informants. As discourse is introduced in March, senators and congressmen give their opinion about EDCA. With foreign government agency sources, articles in March were styled as a printed argument updated for the public’s interest. Obama as the dominant informant among international sources increased due to his visit in April, where almost all articles written before, during and after his visit including May showed an extensive use of his words. But then in June and July, what was furnished as credible sources were still from local officials giving out their sentiments on the issues of constitutionality, from President Aquino defending his decisions, backed up with answers from Goldberg.

There are other sources accounted for the flow of the discourse. Although the sources used in this category are fairly low in count in all newspapers, emerging sources such as university academe have been used a lot by MB, while PStar relied a lot on anonymous sources. PDI had oftentimes used NGO officials as a supplemental source for their reports.

Overall, sources used were highly political in nature.

Chart 5. *List of Other Sources*

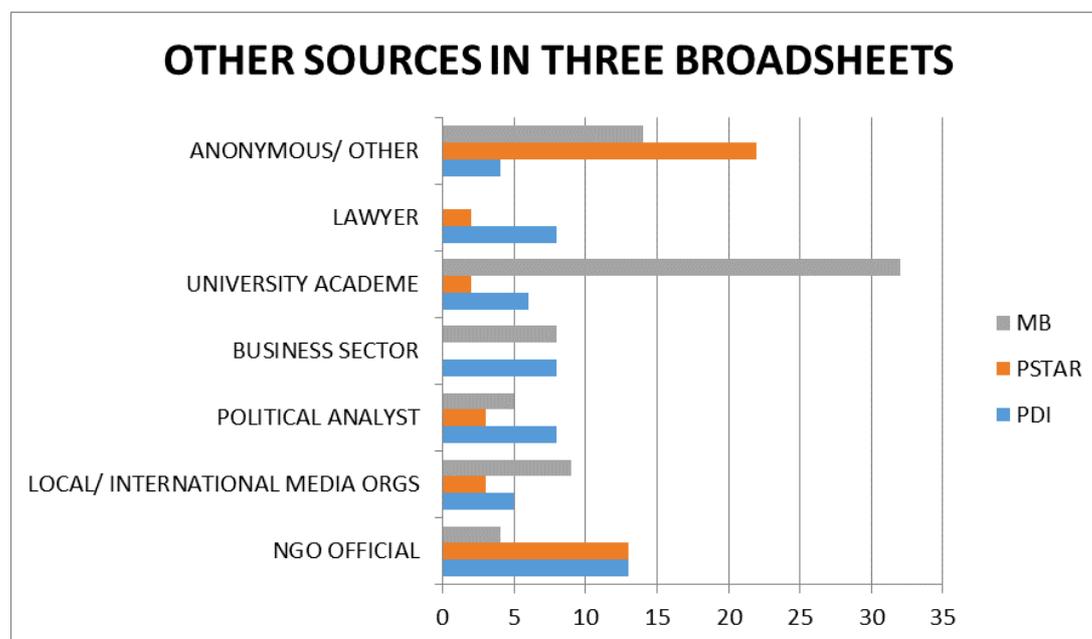


Chart shows other top sources from which journalists obtained their information from

Transitivity Analysis

Official public speeches about EDCA became primary sources of article information. These speeches contain specific details influencing the angles of articles. The manner and style with how the speeches were written influences news framing. What the speeches pour into the discussion of EDCA will mold the discourse as fact consumed by the public that will generate insight and create a whole body of knowledge.

The speeches chosen for this study are a.) included in EDCA articles published within study's sample and time frame, b.) released by a local or international government agency or by a government official involved with EDCA, c.) publicly released by the official department responsible in disseminating the speech, and d.) publicly delivered in an event related to the discourse.

These speeches represent the government's view on EDCA. Through assessing them, it would be possible to know if the media's reportage reflected the same discourse about EDCA or if through media's news framing, it has produced a different ideology. To decode the message of the speeches, Table 1 below illustrates the actions (verbs) key actors do to achieve a goal. These goals are for the furtherance of diplomatic concepts of friendship, peace and security.

Verb processes are divided into four: material, mental, verbal and relational. Material processes involve a concrete action to achieve a concrete goal. Mental processes create a visionary action of a goal. Verbal processes comprise communication through words. Relational processes express possession, equivalence and attributes.

Table 1. *Transitivity Analysis of selected speeches*
The actors, verb processes and goals of the speeches were determined through transitivity analysis. The goals were categorized under friendship, peace and security.

SPEECHES	ACTOR	VERB	GOAL	CONCEPT
OBAMA				
Joint Press Conference	we	continue to stand	to uphold peace and security in this region and around the world.	FRIENDSHIP, PEACE, SECURITY
	agreement to end the insurgency in the south	gives	the Philippines an historic opportunity to forge a lasting peace here at home, with greater security and prosperity for the people of that region.	
State Dinner	United States	has	an ironclad commitment to defend you, your security and your independence.	SECURITY
Remarks to Filipino and US Armed Forces	United States	will keep	commitment to defend the Philippines because allies never stand alone	FRIENDSHIP
AQUINO				
Joint Press Conference	President Obama and I	met	to ensure that our deepening relations are attune to the realities and needs that have emerged in the 21st century	FRIENDSHIP
State Dinner	Alliances	are deepened	not only through our shared history, but also through mutual confidence and respect, which is constantly refreshed to give new relevance and purpose to our positive, longstanding relations.	FRIENDSHIP
GOLDBERG				
EDCA Signing	We	continue	to strengthen our alliance, build our individual and collective defense capacities, and ensure our nations are ready to meet the challenges of the 21st century and beyond	FRIENDSHIP
GAZMIN				
EDCA Signing	we	forged	the Mutual Defense Treaty and put in place a Mutual Defense Board (MDB)	SECURITY
	we	entered	the Visiting Forces Agreement	SECURITY
	VFA	enabled	to train together and established the Security Engagement Board (SEB)	SECURITY
Release	views	way	arrived	FRIENDSHIP
DEL ROSARIO				
ACPAC Luncheon	ASEAN	Aims	for even greater integration as a regional community and structures on development, growth, peace and progress	PEACE
EDCA Signing	Philippines and United States	have written	a new chapter for our modern and mature partnership	FRIENDSHIP
Opening Ceremony for Balikatan 2014	Balikatan	are	to secure and defend our people and our territory	SECURITY
TREATIES/ PUBLIC DOCUMENTS				
VISITING FORCES AGREEMENT	Philippine government	recognizing	defining the treatment of the US personnel visiting the Philippines	FRIENDSHIP
MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY	The parties	will consult together	territorial integrity, political independence or security of either of the Parties is threatened	SECURITY
ENHANCED DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT	The parties	recognizing	all United States access to and use of facilities and areas will be at the invitation of the Philippines and with full respect for the Philippine constitution and Philippine laws	SECURITY
FAQs ON EDCA	We	Needed	to articulate the parameters, modalities and mechanisms to a greater degree	SECURITY
	We	in advancing	the benefits that could be derived from our defense alliance with the United States	SECURITY

Out of the concepts lifted from fifteen public documents, most are material verb processes, some are relational and a few are mental. The material processes from the speeches connote affirmation and show actions of support, assistance and agreement

such as “forged”, “entered”, “gives”, “continue” and “helped.” The relational processes, meanwhile, show an affirmative Philippines –US relations. Lastly, mental processes, which are very few, also express a thought of acceptance using the word “recognizing.”

The speeches were categorized and have been evaluated to see which of the diplomatic concepts best represents the tone of the public document. Both friendship and security have been highly portrayed in the documents as compared to how low the concept of peace had been delivered. It can be seen that speeches with concepts of friendship is delivered by prime leaders, such as US President Barack Obama, US Ambassador to the Philippines Philip Goldberg and President Benigno Aquino III. Security was emphasized through speeches delivered by Philippine’s Defense Secretary Voltaire Gazmin while Del Rosario delivered friendship-related, peace-involved and security-promoting speeches. All documents about the military bases agreement except the VFA pointed out a security-related tone in the speech. The VFA showed friendship in its choice of words and contexts. The following observations have been made out of thoroughly pointing out the goals, verb processes and words used to promote such concepts.

Power, on another hand, is reflected through the enumeration of the actors of each verb process. Notice that most of the actors represent the Philippines and the US as one with the use of “we”, “parties”, “President Obama and I,” “alliances” and “agreement” which implies an equal relationship and absence of dominance. Notice also that the US holds itself responsible to the maintenance of security in the Philippines which indicates the power that the latter has. In contrast, the need for proper treatment of US personnel (an interest of the US), suggests inferiority and an implicit submission to US demands.

It is evident that the three newspapers delved into reporting EDCA’s aspect of peace and security while quoting speeches that have actually delivered a strong sense of friendship and security. Nonetheless, quoting from the same speeches didn’t necessarily elicit the same reportage from PDI, PStar and MB. Through varying selection of quotations and references from the journalist’s rephrasing, different angles arise from the reports of the same event---revealing the biases of each broadsheet.

In April 29, 2014, the headline of the three broadsheets was about US President Obama’s toast during the State dinner prepared by the Philippines. In Figure 5, the broadsheets sourced from Obama’s speech and came up with three different headlines: in PDI, Obama’s lack of commitment to protect the Philippines, in PStar, the reinstatement of no US bases will be reopened in the country and in MB, US ironclad commitment to defend Philippine independence.

Figure 5. *Headlines of PDI, PStar and MB on April, 29, 2014*
April 29 headlines of PDI, PStar, and MB about US President Obama’s speech during the state dinner in his visit to the Philippines



In this example, it is clear that PDI uses an anti-US position by implying its manipulative interests in the Philippines. Meanwhile, in PStar it takes a neutral position by merely stating one of EDCA's provisions according to the visiting president. In MB, it takes a pro-US stand by firmly reporting that Philippine independence is secured through US protection. To investigate, the researchers cross-referenced the articles with the actual speech of President Obama.

All three are valid and were based on the contents of the speech. Nonetheless, the reportage resulted in different positions because each broadsheet employs different news framing that is in line with their interests and/or biases.

Postcolonial Frames

All newspapers portrayed Philippines as a developing country. They pointed out that the Philippines is an ally of the US in EDCA articles, with a few instances of being an accessory in PDI and PStar but also a beneficiary in PDI. The Philippines was represented as both an equal country with the US from March to April, and an inferior country from May to July for the PStar and MB. PDI showed Philippines as inferior. The same results for the prior representations were reflected when portrayed as submissive and neutral.

US was represented as a mix of all representations in all three newspapers, namely developed and superpower, benefactor and supporter to the Philippines, as a manipulative and sincere country but was fairly consistent when US becomes a superior country above the Philippines. The two countries' relationship and the military bases agreements were portrayed as consistently positive. No drastic change in representations committed a grave change in result in all three newspapers. In general, the representations in articles have been consistent all throughout the given months. Moreover, the frequency of the positive representations has been significantly high.

Table 2 below shows an overview of concepts reported in each broadsheet about EDCA. Out of the various causes, results, goals and issues on EDCA, all of it were condensed to only fourteen concepts. These concepts are within the premise that the Philippines was a former colony of the US and since then has remained a close ally and beneficiary of the latter. They aim to find out if the Philippines still unconsciously or consciously recognizes the control and power of the US over it.

With the use of them, the table will determine if the three newspapers use conflicting or non-conflicting postcolonial frames.

Conflicting frames refer to news frames that are either against US and Philippine decisions or statements, or against US but roots for the Philippine's stance, and vice-

versa. On the other hand, non-conflicting frames are news frames that both side with US and Philippine decisions. One column for “agree” and another for “disagree” per newspaper had been a simplified basis as to how the following newspapers have framed each concept as conflicting or non-conflicting.

The resulting newspaper frames per concept was based on the researchers’ data of the broadsheets’ representations of the Philippines, US and Philippines–US relations in their articles.

All of these strengthened EDCA as part of a conditional relationship between the superpower and the developing nation. Most of the themes discussed were about the military bases agreements, constitutionality issues and aspects of developing international relations with the US.

Table 2. *Frames of postcolonial concepts in PDI, PStar and MB articles*

STATEMENT	PDI		PSTAR		MB	
	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
1. EDCA is a deterrent to China's increasingly assertive actions in the West Philippine/South China Sea.		o		o		o
2. EDCA's main purpose is to upgrade the defense capability of the Philippines which it lacks the budget to fund on its own		o	o		o	
3. EDCA is a part of the United States' Asia rebalancing strategy.		o		o		o
4. EDCA is unconstitutional.	o		o		o	
5. EDCA is constitutional.		o		o		o
6. EDCA needs Senate and Congress review/ratification	o		o		o	
7. EDCA was offered by the Philippines to the United States	o		o		o	
8. EDCA was offered by the United States to the Philippines.		o		o		o
9. EDCA's notable provision tackles about humanitarian assistance and disaster response, one aspect that sets it apart from MDT and VFA.		o		o		o
10. EDCA exploits Philippine lands and violates the country's sovereignty.		o	o		o	
11. EDCA reopens Philippines to US use of naval bases.		o	o		o	

12. The Philippines needs EDCA more than the United States needs it.		o		o		o
13. The United States needs EDCA more than the Philippines needs it.	o		o		o	
14. EDCA is more beneficial than harmful to the Philippines.		o		o		o

The table provides all postcolonial concepts and the frames presented by PDI, PStar and MB articles under these concepts.

In the first articles, the broadsheets wrote that EDCA can serve as a deterrent against the threat of Chinese intrusion. In some articles that were mainly about the PH-China sea dispute, EDCA was mentioned in the concluding paragraphs. This implies that EDCA's purpose is to show China that the Philippines can protect its claimed territory through US support.

However, in later articles, the government denied that EDCA is being used to threaten China. Instead, it claimed that EDCA's main goal is to deepen Philippine – US relations and enhance cooperation not only in defense but also in other key areas where Philippines needs most improvement.

Still, with the emergence of war themes and representations of the US as a hero and supporter of the Philippines, all three broadsheets showed US as a superpower that is capable to fight China in defense of the Philippines.

But the US has its own motives in deepening PH-US relations through EDCA. In recent years, recognizing Asia's economic rise in the international community, the US has announced its intention to reinforce its foreign policy in the region. The three broadsheets agree that EDCA is part of said US strategy that makes Philippines –US relations as highly conditional.

Since US interest of Asia rebalance does not necessarily clash with the Philippines' goal of upgrading its military, the latter openly welcomes the help of the superpower. Opposition raps against the constitutionality of EDCA are ignored and all EDCA coverages of the three broadsheets present the agreement as constitutional. All agree that it no longer needs Senate ratification, a statement in accordance with the Philippine government's position.

The Aquino administration had been stressing the benefits of EDCA to the Philippines, one of which is to upgrade the country's defense capability. PDI agrees with this statement as it represents the country as a beneficiary of the United States that would need its help in funding. In contrast, PStar and MB perceive Philippines and US as equal within the existing alliance.

EDCA, as a postcolonial discourse in the US-Philippine relations, dealt with the benefactor-beneficiary status of the two countries. All three newspapers agreed that the US offered EDCA to the Philippines, knowing that it has the capability to do so as a superpower. Moreover, the Philippines benefits upon accepting this offer because of

the country's evident needs in defense and humanitarian assistance. This has been in time for the country's present issues such as the South China Sea dispute and the Typhoon Haiyan incident. All three broadsheets expressed that the US as a superpower didn't need EDCA more than the Philippines does. But PDI articles reflected that EDCA is a US exploitation of the Philippines, using the country's territory for its military activity. PStar and MB nonetheless showed that the US does not have such intention.

Conclusion

In a span of five months, the three Philippine leading broadsheets covered EDCA from its first public announcement until issues of its constitutionality surfaced. In their reportage, PDI, PStar and MB presented EDCA as an agreement beneficial to the country's efforts in upgrading its defense capability. The news coverage of EDCA is highly propelled by political interests as most of its themes revolve around policies and international relations. Through its selection of sources, choice of words, and a given emphasis on covered events, these newspapers reinforced US as a trusted ally of the Philippines. Moreover, the print media recognized the unequal stature of the US and the Philippines in the international realm. The United States happens to be the most accessible thread the Philippines can use to weave its tattered security forces. Still the fact remains that the institutions, coming from different backgrounds, produced an assortment of news frames.

Based on consistent and thorough evaluation of newspaper style and depiction of involved actors in Philippine – US relations, PDI used conflicting frames which showed the Philippines as inferior and submissive in contrast with the US as a superpower. Most of its articles contain arguable positions, outlined incidents, detailed narratives, and implicit prompts. Its articles favored US exploitation of the Philippines as long as the latter benefits from the former.

Meanwhile, PStar applied non-conflicting frames. It displayed the Philippines as a developing nation having an existing alliance with a superpower such as the US. Similar to the PDI, its EDCA articles are descriptive, argumentative, and summarized accounts of events. The reports forwarded mutual benefits of the two countries to further their relationship.

Lastly, MB also employed non-conflicting frames. US is superior in terms of economic and political clout. However, it depicted an equal stance in the US-Philippine relations wherein both of the countries' interests and goals converge. Its articles described the benefits of EDCA and argued its validity. In plurality, MB endorsed the US as the best ally to lead the Philippines to progress.

The study discovered the different representations of friendship, peace and security in EDCA. Friendship in this context is based on history, mutual benefits, and aid given by the US to the country. Through all of these, US helps the Philippines achieve its goals which it can't on its own. Peace reflects the mutual recognition and vision of the US and the Philippines for non-violent acts, non-aggression in the international community, and non-use of force on discussions and debates. Security is resolved upon the upgraded and developed military defense capability of the Philippines. When EDCA reinforces the US working together shoulder-to-shoulder with the Philippines, the closer it gets for the Philippines to become secure.

The reflection of these concepts in Philippine-US relations during EDCA concealed vested interests of the United States. Since the start of the negotiations, the Philippines is aware of the interests of the US in the Asia Pacific. The superpower, in various speeches, pronounced their goal of rebalancing US foreign policy in the region. Forging ties with the Philippines instantly guarantees them a secure foothold in Asia. Now the question is why the US and the Philippines are starting a new defense agreement when there are already two in existence. The unveiling of EDCA came when the the Philippines was facing China in a territorial dispute that has become increasingly unmanageable through simply bilateral talks. As reported in the articles, US proclaimed its support to the Philippines desire of handling the dispute peacefully and seeking the intervention of a third party, the UN arbitration tribunal. But the US never declared it will protect the Philippines in case the latter gets embroiled in a war with China.

However, in categorically the same situation, the US explicitly promised to protect Japan who is also in a territorial conflict with China, something that troubles analysts is why the US can't give the same vow of commitment to the Philippines, its longest treaty ally in Asia.

Taking into account the US interest of Asia rebalance and China's increasingly aggressiveness in expanding its territory, it is just logical for the US to grab the opportunity and deepen relationships with Asian allies entangled in a dispute with China. The US can't risk losing its good economic relations with China, one of its largest exporters, but if it is able to present China as a proponent of war through showing support to China's "bullied" regions, it can doubly benefit the US as it would not only advance its strategy of Asia rebalance, it also, in the process, brands China as a threat to peace and consequently, may impede its progress.

Another vested interest of the US that was revealed through this study is the superpower's desire to forward its policy of anti-communism by putting a stop to insurgency. US President Obama, in his speech during the State Dinner in the Philippines, explicitly stated one of the agreement's goals is to counter insurgency in the Southern Philippines. EDCA, as a counter insurgency plan, was never built up in both the 10-page document of the agreement and the Frequently Asked Questions on EDCA released by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The diplomatic concepts in the interests of the United States through EDCA are explicitly found in evaluated public documents. The call for a vow of commitment and support from the United States is a reflection of friendship. The principle of applying a counterinsurgency plan in the south for lasting peace and the substantive expressions for non-aggression are the promise of peace. The goals and implementations of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement are mainly about security.

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Celebrity Cinema and Hallyu 2.0

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Abstract

Through their realist cinematic portrayals of the traumatic evolution of Korean socio-political landscapes, Korean directors such as Im Kwon-Taek are synonymous with Korean national Cinema. These directors have raised the country's cultural profile internationally through the film festival circuit. However, with the phenomenal global reach of the "Korean Wave" or Hallyu, film is no longer a singular projection of the image of South Korea. Today, television dramas have overtaken films, flooding television and small mobile screens with attractive faces of Korean celebrities. While several studies have made references to key Korean celebrities, namely Lee Young Ae, Rain and Gianna Jun, there have been fewer efforts to trace these celebrities' trajectories within films and other platforms. This paper will explore how cinema within the Korean Wave phenomenon contributes to the ecology of the Korean Wave and the roles these celebrities play within this eco system.

Keywords: Korean Wave, Hallyu, Korean Cinema, Celebrities, Gianna Jun, Lee Young Ae, Rain, Korean Drama

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Introduction

Through their realist cinematic portrayals of the traumatic evolution of Korean socio-political landscapes, the names of Im Kwon-Taek, Lee Chang Dong and Park Chan-Wook may be synonymous with Korean national Cinema. Featured commonly in the circuits of prestigious international film festivals, reviews and scholarly commentaries, these filmmakers have raised the profile of South Korea's film culture in the global arena significantly. Predominately male with personal experiences with the decades of military dictatorship, the works of these directors are distinguished by their critical social commentaries and brutal screen portrayals of their country. With the ascent and globalization of the Korean media industries following the democratization of the republic from the 1990s, a contrasting cinema culture emerged. Celebrity-centered, metrosexual, multimedia and transnational, these personalities command audiences across platforms of television and cinema, popular music and commercials. Coming from soap operas and romantic comedies as well as from the recording studios, they personify the modern affective and individualized affective desires for, youthful beauty, romance, urbane lifestyles and success.

Making its presence in the circuits of international film festivals, Korean cinema had probably been one medium that has provided a window for the world to look into the society and culture of the republic after the Korean War. With the phenomenal regional and global projection of South Korean popular entertainment beginning from the late 90s in what is termed as "Korean Wave" or *Hallyu*, film alone no longer defined the image of the country. Overshadowing the occasional formal screenings of films in prestigious international festivals, popular music and television dramas and variety programmes flooded both small screens of television sets and micro-screens of smartphones that have made *Hallyu* experience significantly more ubiquitous. Responding to these trends, South Korean artistes have moved between various media platforms of film, popular music and television dramas. With case studies on several artistes like that of Rain, Jun Ji Hyun (Gianna Jun) and Lee Young Ae, this chapter seeks to position the place of the big screen of cinema within the media ecologies of the Korean Wave. While much references have been made on these Hallyu celebrities, there has been less efforts at the scholarly front to trace their trajectories within both the cinescapes in relationship to the broader popular media platform where their presence are being felt more extensively. Rather than an elevated aesthetic-cultural status, the authors argue of a need to measure the position of Korean cinema as a subset of the broader popular cultural ecology where these stated celebrities are integral.

Hot & Cool Media, Dominant & Popular Aesthetics

Of the modern mechanical platforms of popular media of the 20th century, film has often been accorded a more socially privileged and aesthetically elevated status over that of the counterparts of the era of television and radio. Describing film as a "form of syntax without statement" that requiring a "high level of literacy" Marshall McLuhan (1964: 311) distinguishes the big screen as a "high definition" or "hot" medium that requires a learned structured sensory experience of its sequential logic. Television and radio on the other hand, are being considered as part of the low information, "low definition" "cool" medium that requires significant more audience participation in abstracting and deciphering the message flows (Ibid: 25). Layering the sensory media experience with a sociological undercurrent context has been Pierre Bourdieu's framing of appropriating films as part of the larger identification and

acquisition of cultural capital. For him “Popular Aesthetics” of celebrity-led, narrative structures that characterized Hollywood blockbusters are mainly consumed by the working classes. This falls in contrast to the bourgeois “Dominant Aesthetics” of director-defined, experimental and subversive nature of independent cinema that are considered to be more autonomous from political and commercial pressures that shaped productions of more heteronomous nature (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Film cultures here have therefore developed an established curatorial canon in the institutionalization and archiving of productions as well as a framework for evaluating aesthetic and visual styles (Gerathy, 2003: 30). In turn, this framework has been instrumental in stratifying the field of media productions between the formal aesthetics of art from the commercial realm of entertainment.

Regionalization may not be new for Korean cinema since the participation of its films in the Asian Film Festival in the 1960s centering in non-Communist Asian countries during the Cold War (Lee, 2012). However, its projection intensified significantly from the late 1990s along with the trends of the Korean Wave, or Hallyu that has been characterized by the global popularity of the republic’s entertainment media. Even as the limelight on the director-auteurs of independent cinema brightened, unease have arisen on the marginalization of the autonomous nature of Korean Cinema as filmmakers and artistes became engaged with the heteronomous commercial templates of commercial cookie-cutter blockbuster genres. The local and national it seems, have to be subordinated and truncated for the wider regional and international audiences under such cinematic hybridization and creative cluster evolution that converges film and television (Shin, 2005; Berg, 2014). As the popular rather than critical, the glamorous, the beautiful and the melodious celebrities of Hallyu have superseded the national avant-garde of Korean independent cinema in the cultural representation of the nation.

With negative connotations, contemporary celebrity cultures are regarded as products of the culture industry’s fabrication of assembly-lines of interchangeable stars lacking in both individual authenticity and authority and threatening the development of general cultural literacies (Reiber & Kelly, 2013, p.109-112; Furedi 2010: 493). What is however important here is the need to develop new literacies in mapping Korean Cinema along the discourses of trans-nationality that is increasingly associated with the context of films along the contours of mainstream popular media. A cue can be taken from the global and regional identification of Hong Kong cinema along that of both the celebrities Jackie Chan, Chow Yun-Fatt as well as celebrity auteur-directors like Wong Kar Wai and John Woo (Promkhuntong, 2014). Coming from the politically ambiguous at the final decades of transitions from the British colonial Treaty Port to Mainland China, it was not possible to box Hong Kong productions under the neat categories of the discourses of identity/difference that characterizes National Cinema. Projecting themselves across multiple platforms from commercials to music and television and film, Hong Kong artistes are often double or even triple Pan-Asian transnational personalities, which means that productions are commonly identified along celebrities rather than directors as authors (Weiss 2013: 221-22). Aside from the scrutiny of the text, such would involve tracking the movement of the celebrity-artiste along his/her almost parallel participation in regional and Hollywood film circuits and that of television dramas and popular music.

Citing both historical evidence of influences of directors in addition to critiquing rigid ideological nationalist defensiveness, scholars have urged to transcend the binaries of national and transnational cinema between the ethnocentric and multi-centric (Lee, 2012; Yeh & Davis, 2008). However, there seems to be only a grudging recognition for the trans-media celebrity-artiste moving between commercial blockbusters, television dramas, pop music and even independent films as part of the enlargement of national cinema in Korea. In looking at the changing representation of Korean femininity of the fictionalized character Hwang Jiye across not just different periods, but in films, commercial movies and television drama serials, Hana Lee sees the evidence of the considerations of producers for particularly international audiences of the Korean Wave (2009; 60). Nonetheless, her observation of the emphasis on the saturated visuals and exotic ceremonies of costume dramas to fit the curiosity of the non-Korean audiences (ibid, 61) does not seem to give a more complex ecology of the nature of the affective transnational media context. Distinguished from the critical national cinema (text) as seen in the Table 1, the subsequent sections would draw out the contrasts of the context-based celebrity based transnational Korean cinema.

Critical National Cinema (Text)	Affective Transnational Media (Context)
Auteur-Director Folk/Rural (Minjok) Traditional Sexual Cinema Verite Critique Film Festival Audience Formality Reviews	Celebrity Hallyu Star Metrosexual/Urbane (Hollywood) Oriental Romance Blockbuster Resolution Box office Fandom Familiarity Ratings

Table 1: Critical National Cinema and Affective Transnational Media

A Hallyu celebrity referenced Korean cinematic culture would be one where unlike that of the auteur-director, the big screen is not central to that of the artiste whose prior popularity may have been based from television serials and music videos. Before starring as the protagonist in Park Chan-Wook's art-house film, *Sympathy for Lady Vengeance* in 2005, Lee Young Ae had already participated in close to twenty television dramas and several films. Her lead role in playing the first female court physician who rose from a humble background in the MBS historical drama *Dae Jang Geum (Jewel in the Palace)*, and a United Nations military officer in *JSA* (2000) brought her to celebrity status as a Hallyu star. Like Lee, Jun Ji Hyun's *My Sassy Girl* (2001), patterned along the genres of feisty urban women in romantic comedies became associated with one of the first regional breakthroughs of commercial Korean Cinema. As for the case of Rain, starting off as a singer in a boy band called Fancub, he gained his regional reputation through the platforms of television dramas in *Full House* (2003) as well as the earlier wave of K-pop singers. Rain's musical career started out in 1998 before his acting career took off in 2003 and 2004 after winning the KBS Best Actor Award for his role in *Sang Doo! Let's Go to School* (2003) and *Full House* (2003). He then gained international recognition at the Berlinale when *I'm*

a Cyborg, But That's OK (2006) won the Alfred Bauer Prize in 2006. The peak of his acting career coincided with the start of Hallyu in the early 2000s and his collaboration with Park Chan-Wook also aided in Rain's launch to international fame as an actor, especially after Park's success with *JSA: Joint Security Area* (2000), the highest grossing film in Korean film history both nationwide and in Seoul (Parquet, 2001). Table 2 shows the continuous participation of Hallyu celebrities in the film industry and their influence over productions that are filmed by auteur-directors like Park Chan Wook.

	Year	Film Title	Director	Total Admissions (Nationwide)
Lee Young-Ae	2000	공동경비구역 JSA (JSA: Joint Security Area)	Park Chan-Wook	5,800,000
	2005	친절한 금자씨 (Sympathy for Lady Vengeance)	Park Chan-Wook	3,650,000
Rain (Jung Ji-Hoon)	2006	싸이보그지만 괜찮아 (I'm a Cyborg, But That's OK)	Park Chan-Wook	780,000
Gianna Jun (Jun Ji-Hyun)	2001	엽기적인 그녀 (My Sassy Girl)	Kwak Jae-Yong	4,852,845
	2012	도둑들 (The Thieves)	Choi Dong-Hoon	12,983,341
	2013	베를린 (The Berlin File)	Ryu Seung-Wan	7,166,199

Table 2: Lee Young Ae, Rain, Jun Ji Hyun's Blockbusters (Adapted from IMDB and Koreanfilm.org)

In terms of cinematic geo-cultural treatments, the auteur-directors are associated with evoking the concepts of the "Minjok" or folk, whose sense of belonging are linked to the agrarian social fabric where the change and continuity of identities are being reflected. Against the vast scenic landscapes in these productions are often communities and peoples displaying distinctive local customs and cultures against the pressures brought about by modernity. Films set in the historical pasts would often deal with the tragedy of history of the nation through foreign hegemony of the Chinese and Japanese.

In contrast, the *Hallyu* celebrity based cinema productions are given more culturally mobile urbane and metrosexual portrayals that seem comfortable in any futuristic city. Detached from the weight of the past tied to the land, the *Hallyu* celebrity's image is framed along the idealized consumer comfortable with his/her own luxurious surroundings and possessions. The film that typified the urban-mobility of the celebrity in the more dramatic manner has perhaps been the role of Rain as the fighter pilot who swerves the advanced jet fighter smoothly between the towering skyscrapers and open plazas in the city of Seoul in *Return to Base* (2012). Resembling

the style of Hollywood celebrity movie, *Top Gun (1983)*, starred by a younger Tom Cruise, *Return to Base* became a showcase for Rain in tailored green military jumpsuits. Contextually, observers of the *Hallyu* scene would understand immediately the reference of this film with Rain's enrollment into military service during this period. Contrary to the critique of its pathological aspects in the country's independent films, *Return to Base* becomes an assertion and valorization of South Korea's military culture through its reduction to action-movies by *Hallyu* celebrities like Rain.

Just as auteur-directors of national cinema showcase the distinctive agrarian ceremonies and traditions as well as the more tragic historical turning points of the republic's dynastic pasts, *Hallyu* based celebrities be framed within the context of "oriental splendor". At the level of the regional audiences familiar with television dramas on Chinese court politics, historical dramas like *Dae Jang Geum* would place emphasis on palace intrigues, spectacular royal assemblies as well as specific court practices. In the case of *Dae Jang Geum*, through Lee Young Ae, the performative aspects of court culinary cuisines and medicines were being showcased. For the Hollywood audience with significantly much less knowledge and traditions in Chosen dynastic cultures, the stereotypical images of the oriental gets invoked as in the case of Jun Ji-Hyun being dressed in a Japanese schoolgirl uniform wielding a samurai sword and Rain predictable Ninja character in *Ninja Assassin (2009)*. For the Asian audiences, Korean-ness is being spectacularized, but for the Western (international), it remains a replica of a vestige of the Hollywood characterization of Japan in the 1980s.

	Year	Film Title	Director	Countries involved in Production
Rain (Jung Ji-Hoon)	2008	Speed Racer	The Wachowski Brothers	USA/ Hollywood
	2009	Ninja Assassin	James McTeige	USA/ Hollywood
Gianna Jun (Jun Ji-Hyun)	2009	Blood: Last Vampire	Chris Nahon	France, Hong Kong, United Kingdom, Argentina
	2011	Snow Flower and the Secret Fan	Wayne Wang	China, USA (Hollywood)

Table 3: Transnational Productions Involving South Korea (Adapted from IMDB)

Differentiating the styles between critical national and the affective transnational are the visual and performative portrayals that comes in terms of the cinematic treatment of the subjects and narratives. A key element in the distinction comes from the emphasis on the paramount affective trait of romance in the often the process courtships leading to the formation of heterosexual bonds and relationships between protagonists. Be it the music videos of Rain, subtle and restraint but enduring affections in historical television dramas in Jun-Ji Hyun's *Il Mare (2001)* and Lee Young Ae's *Dae Jang Geum (2003)* or sparks generated in themes of opposite attract

in accidental urban encounters from quarrelling couples in *My Sassy Girl* (2001), *Full House* (2003) and *My Friend from the Stars* (2013), the themes of love runs central.

	Year	K-drama Title	Nationwide Average Viewership Rating (TNmS Korea)
Lee Young-Ae	2003-2004	대장금 (Jewel in the Palace)	57.8%
Gianna Jun	2013-2014	별에서 온 그대 (My Love from the Star)	28.1%
Rain (Jung Ji-Hoon)	2003	상두야, 학교가자! (Sang Doo! Let's Go to School!)	38.4%
	2004	풀하우스 (Full House)	42.0%
	2005	이 죽일 놈의 사랑 (A Love to Kill)	16.4%
	2010	도망자 플랜 (The Fugitive: Plan B)	21.7%
	2014	내겐 너무 사랑스러운 그녀 (My Lovely Girl)	8.2%

Table 4: Television Ratings for Rain, Lee and Jun (Adapted from TnMS Korea)

Based on Table 4, a trend can be observed amongst these stars. Viewership ratings peaked during the start of Hallyu 1.0, with the exception of Gianna Jun in *My Love from the Star* (2013-14) and the drama being her first drama after the spark of Hallyu in 2003. Rain's career followed this trend closely, with dramas during Hallyu 1.0 consistently crossing the 25% positively. However, a drastic drop in viewership ratings between his dramas of 2010 and 2014 were potentially due to his 2-year break from the scene to enlist in the military for 21 months from 2011 to 2013. With the heavy emphasis on romantic comedies and relatively sanitized action genres on the small screens that are widely popular in the region, the televisual and filmic roles become increasingly inseparable for these Hallyu celebrities.

Limited to passionate kisses and hugs instead of the more graphic and explicit sexual encounters typical in the productions of auteur-directors, the sexually filtered theme of romance becomes instrumental in overcoming potential moral taboos in reaching to the broadest regional audiences from diverse social backgrounds. The use of such innocent encounters had been proven to be successful with the example of Kwak Jae-Yong's comic romance, *My Sassy Girl* (2001). The film is a lighthearted romantic comedy that plays heavily on the comedic skewering of gender stereotypes and their traditional roles in society. It came across as a modern take on the traditional male and female gender roles in the genre. The film was one of the highest grossing in Seoul alone on its opening weekend, and spent two weeks at the top of the Hong Kong box office in 2002. It also catapulted Jun Ji-Hyun (Gianna Jun) from an unknown young Korean actress into one of the region's most recognizable stars from the country

(Parquet, 2004). Hence, it can be said that the explicit treatment of sexuality in national cinema underlines the problematization of social and cultural relations and often the otherwise undercurrent violence, domestic and public suffered by the social underbelly. In this respect, unlike the movement towards closure and equilibrium in the affective transnational cinema, national cinema often involves a larger social critique of the hegemonic hierarchies and the accompanying desire to provide a voice for the marginalized and forgotten.

In this respect, in the roles of social commentary, the auteur-director's emphasis would be that of legitimizing Korean films through more informed audiences within the contexts of film festivals. However, the transnational *Hallyu* celebrities would have their emphasis placed on creating and sustaining fandoms that would be both lucrative in box office tickets as well as sustaining their screen and off-screen presence. For Jun, Rain and Lee, the familiarity of their images and ratings across the platforms of television, music and cinema would be as important of the broadsheet and broadcast media reviews for the productions of the country's auteur directors.

Hallyu Cinema as Box Office and Social Media

Differing from the festival screenings and the prestigious awards of the auteur-directors, the presence of the stated Hallyu celebrities are significantly more ubiquitous in both the fashion products on the streetscapes as well as the mediascapes. Unlike the critical reviews in the prestigious film journals and internationally reputable (Western) newspapers of the auteur-directors, the pulse of the Hallyu celebrities can be measured in terms of their ratings, not only on the box-office in the various commercial films across different media platforms of the television, and more recently, that of the social media.

Referring to Table 5, Korean films across various genres (comedy, action, drama, contemporary history etc.) led the market in 2013. A positive trend was noted between 2012 and 2013; seven out of the top ten box office releases in 2012 were Korean films, and in 2013, nine out of ten of the top ten box office releases were Korean films. This dramatic rise of Korean films came from a deliberate move towards "big-budget, high-risk/high-reward business" (Berg, 2014), especially since the success of *Snowpiercer*; achieving critical acclaim across USA and the UK by influential critics and publications (A.O. Scott of The New York Times, Andrew Pulver of The Guardian) and Korea. Such recognition created by the *Hallyu* has made many Korean filmmakers famous around Asia and the world, helping to increase cultural exports and the recognition of talent available in the Korean film market.

Rank	Title	Origin	Screens Nationwide	Revenue Nationwide	Admissions Nationwide
1	Miracle in Cell No. 7	Korea	787	91,429,295,670	12,810,776
2	Snowpiercer	Korea	1,128	66,951,128,500	9,341,747
3	The Face Reader	Korea	1,190	66,004,775,500	9,134,463
4	Iron Man 3	USA	1,381	70,806,191,000	9,001,309
5	The Berlin File	Korea	894	52,354,771,637	7,166,177
6	Secretly Greatly	Korea	1,341	48,735,214,913	6,963,821
7	The Attorney	Korea	923	40,952,697,500	5,686,919
8	Hide and Seek	Korea	779	39,602,987,500	5,604,104
9	The Terror, LIVE	Korea	743	39,834,696,881	5,579,125
10	Cold Eyes	Korea	949	39,371,354,179	5,506,770

Table 5: Box Office Numbers for the Top 10 Films in South Korea (2013)

In Table 5, not only have Korean films occupied neck-to-neck positions with audience attendance and revenue sales with that of global Hollywood. Several of these films have also included the Berlin File that includes Jun as one of the lead cast. Set in Seoul, Macau and Berlin, the spy thriller is presented within the Hollywood blockbuster format that entails the highly stylized gun ballets, acrobatically choreographed fistfights within the iconic landmarks of three cities. Although she is cast as a translator at the North Korean Embassy in Germany, like her previous roles, Jun is seen as the urbane, agile woman who fuses action and romance together seamlessly across different countries. Increasingly, such genres, personified by the images of Jun, are becoming part of not just the efforts by the Korean film industry to appeal to a regional audience as part of its “Kor-Asian” strategies (Lee 2012). It signifies a more ambitious attempts at a broader international stage in which the global Korean, like that of Jun is placed within.

The successes can be noted to be driven by the force of Hallyu through films and dramas (Shin, 2005) and now, driven by social media, forums and the Internet (Jin & Kyong, 2014) that have not just broadcasted the content of the productions, but has also extended the shelf lives of the older productions associated with the Hallyu stars as reflected in the social media fan sites in Table 6 of what would have been more dated productions.

Name of Celebrity	Social Media Platform	Page Title	No. of Subscribers/ Likes
Lee Young Ae	Facebook	Lee Young-Ae (Fan Account)	28, 226 Likes
		Lee Young Ae (Topic Page)	32, 025 Likes
		Jewel in the Palace	192, 795 Likes
		Sympathy for Lady Vengeance (Topic Page)	44, 550 Likes
	Twitter Fan Account	@leeyoungae1971	53 Followers
Gianna Jun	Facebook	Jeon Ji-Hyun (Fan Account)	20, 749 Likes
		Windstruck (Topic Page)	199, 124 Likes
		Il Mare (Topic Page)	23, 412 Likes
		Daisy (Topic Page)	49, 074 Likes
		My Sassy Girl (Topic Page)	557, 853 Likes
		Wang Jhouse- FC Vietnam	6023 Subscribers
	Twitter Hashtags	#giannajun	Fan accounts and tweets mainly from The Philippines
	#mylovefromthe star	Fan accounts and tweets mainly from The Philippines	
	Youtube	Wang Jhouse- FC Vietnam	419, 667 Viewers
Jung Ji-Hoon (Rain)	Facebook	Jung Ji-Hoon (Rain) Kpop	2864 Likes
	Twitter	@29rain	361,000 Followers
	Instagram	@rain_oppa	230,000 Followers

Table 6: Hallyu Celebrities and Social Media Platforms

Compared to younger K-pop groups whose latest music videos usually hit an average of a million views on Youtube within a day of the official releases, the social media mentions of the three stated celebrities are significantly modest. And, unlike their younger counterparts, they do not need to depend on constant and carefully manicured postings and images of their daily lives and sentiments in order to secure their presence in the media limelight. Through the platforms of the social media, fans worldwide and regionally to perpetuate their sentiments on their favourite idols. After an episode of My Love from the Star in 2014, netizens took interest in Jun Ji-Hyun's rumoured Yves Saint Laurent (YSL) lipstick shade worn during that episode. Forums with a prominent membership-base in Asia (eg: Soompi, Crunchyroll, Allkpop) took to social media and the Internet to discuss and purchase the lipstick. It was reported that the shade of lipstick was sold out at YSL counters worldwide, and fans took to online auction sites to try to obtain it. In 2015, an online US magazine, Refinery29, noted Jun's popularity and named her the It-Girl of South Korea.

In addition, Jun became the first Asian model to be featured by Gucci in their marketing campaign. Japanese apparel brand Uniqlo also picked Jun to be their model for the 2015 campaign. No longer is she just defined by cinema alone, but a plethora of media and marketing platforms that have been further projected in the era of the social media. Way after the last screenings on the big screens, snippets of their films continue to be reproduced in Youtube channels and contents and images discussed in

Facebook fan pages. Effectively, for Jun, Rain and Lee, coming from an earlier pre-social media generation, their digital presence has been built upon their prior success in the big and small screens instead of the micro-media of Facebook and Twitter.

Conclusion

The blockbuster-ization of Korean national cinema and the corresponding ascend of the first generation of cross-platform Hallyu stars like Rain, Lee Yong Ae and Gianna Jun have reflected significant cultural reconfigurations. It was in the last two decades that both the South Korean auteur-director as well as the Hallyu celebrities have been springboard onto the world-stage as international festivals and fans acknowledge their presences. As their limelight brightens, the contrasting trajectories of both groups in both the elite and popular cultural realms become more apparent. Operating within the contexts of the neo-liberal cultural economy, Korean cinema has been observed to have filtered the organic and experiment narratives for not just the formulae commercial productions, but cine fetishes in world cinema circuits.

Within such circuits, this paper used the more enduring Hallyu celebrities to trace the kinds of narratives, movements and positionings in not just the area of film and cinema. Differing from the focus on the common references of the auteur-director, the scrutiny of the Hallyu celebrities allows for a more diffused and fluid trans-media interpretation of Korean cinema as not just a national project, but a transnational negotiation. Moving between commercial and art house, between the big and small screens, with their personas disseminating into merchandising and the social media, the images of Hallyu celebrities are usually fashioned not only along metrosexual urbaneness. Playing in genres of memorable historical television dramas like *Dae Jang Geum* for Lee Yong Ae, fast paced action dramas as well as romantic comedies for the cases of Rain and Jun, the Hallyu celebrities occupy more culturally malleable and transitory positionalities than their auteur-director counterparts. Not only are their participation considered to be transnational either in terms of projects with Hollywood and the region. With box office sales and admission figures, television ratings and social media indicators, the cultural influences of these Hallyu celebrities operates within not a cinema space, but a circulatory trans-media ecology.

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Discourses of Democracy and Freedom in the Election Manifestos of the Political Parties in the Turkish General Elections of 2015

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Abstract

This study had been focused on the democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos of four political parties which were entitled to be represented at Grand National Assembly of Turkey by passing the election threshold during the general elections performed in Turkey on June 7, 2015. According to the results of general election of 2015, the political parties which had passed the threshold were AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party), MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) and HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party). In this study, it had been tried to reveal what kind of a meaning the conceptualization of democracy and freedom –which is the leading subject at the center of political discussions- gets in the discourses of the referred political parties. How freedom and democracy is being conceptualized in the election manifestos of the parties? What are the subjects associated with democracy and freedom? How the obstacles before freedom and democracy are being positioned? By what kind of arguments us and them is being created on the basis of freedom and democracy? Do the discourses of democracy and freedom encounter loss of meaning within a populist discourse? In the study, the election manifestos of political parties had been analyzed within the frame of critical discourse analysis. The critical discourse analysis, besides allowing a multidimensional understanding of generated discourses, allows performing the ideological analysis of the texts and provides significant data in the effort of explaining how the discourses are built through the ideological strategies in the texts.

Keywords: Political communication, Turkish General Elections of 2015, freedom and democracy discourses, election manifestos, critical discourse analysis.

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Introduction

Politics is a power race and political elections have an important place in the democratic struggle of the ones who want to participate in power. Nowadays, the way of media to define itself, the way of political agents to realize political communication and that the media has become an actor of political process have revealed clearly that politics has been built into different dynamics. Political parties perform a variety of activities with the purpose of reaching their goals not only in electoral periods but always in the race of power and they need many tools to communicate their policies to large mass. Election manifestos might be evaluated as an important tool for parties in these terms. Populist discourses about many issues are produced in election manifestos. The ones who will produce politics on behalf of the public in representative democracy always benefit from the power of populist discourse.

This study has focused on democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos. It has been discussed in the study what kind of function election manifestos have in terms of political parties and voters as a political communication tool. The discussions in democracy and freedom plane have been included in populist political discourse. Democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos of the four political parties gained the right of representation in parliament in 7th June 2015 Turkey General Elections have been tried to be solved by the critical discourse analysis method.

1. Election Manifestos as a Political Communication Tool

Political communication is a rather complex process and a broad subject that cannot be handled in the scope of a specific definition. McNair (2003: 4; Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 2008: xxxviii) has defined the political communication as an intentional communication. Types of communication are undertaken by politicians and other political agents to reach the special targets. Political actors become obliged to win the voters again in each election via complex communication techniques and messages, communication world and public opinion administration techniques related to new media (Mazzoleni and Schultz, 1999: 250, 254). Politicians and voters have become tightly dependable on mass media in mediatization of politics view (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995: 4; Blumler and Gurevitch, 2001:2).

Creating new areas of specialization continuously during the process of scientification of politics have caused the political communication research to become an element of a market (Tokgöz, 2008: 100; Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999: 213). Specialized knowledge becoming a rationalizing tool in political life (Köker, 2007: 25) has created changes in the type of conducting the political elections and in the manner of political agents making policy. However, as Mancini (1999: 243) has emphasized, it does not escape from the attention that political parties have become like communication machines knowing the variable voters, finding them and receiving their approval and that the process of making decision have gained a special communicative dimension. As emphasized by Gronbeck (2004:151), political communication has always contained the attempt to reveal the relationship between rhetoric and politics since it exists.

Within these complex relations, the political parties in the system need different tools during political elections in order to present the variations in political discourses of other parties. Election manifestos are reachable printed message tools that are very important among political parties and voters and many political parties present their commitments, goals, solutions to issues in election manifestos during elections (Aman, 2009: 663; Spoon, 2012: 559). Also, election manifestos might give clues to how the government program will shape in the case of being the power. Political parties make decisions on the central message of the campaign and which issues will be highlighted in order to persuade the voters and election manifestos are identified in the scope of these issues (Dolezal et al., 2012: 874). Populist discourses that parties are developing usually shape in accordance with the wishes of the community and welfare policies, economy and unemployment policies are highlighted. Populism might bring short term gains socially or in elections. Populism has already taken its place in life as a communication type of multi-party politics (Lilleker, 2013: 219-221).

2. Democracy and Freedom Conceptualization in Populist Political Discourse

In the basis of the term ‘populism’ which has the same meaning with the politics suitable to the taste of the public, following its mood and complying in daily usage, *populus* in Latin means public and populism means staying by public. Whether the populism is a movement or an ideology or whether it might be reduced to a political manner or communicational style or not is not clear yet (Keskin, 2014: 245). As there are people who deal with populism as a political communication style of political agents taking the public as reference (Jagers and Walgrave, 2007: 322), the determinations as a term not having theoretical status defined of “public” (Laclau, 2015: 162-163) although it has been frequently repeated attract attention.

Laclau (2015: 171) gives the answer “no” to the question whether we can accept the discourses dominated by popular-democratic calls when the specificity of populism is included in the issue. He underlines that a number of ideological discourses that cannot be named as populist make a reference to public. Populist movements emphasize the primary role of public in the operation of political system and populist leaders pledge to manage the direct democracy tools when they come into power (Mény and Surel, 2002: 11-13). Since various populist movements use direct democracy mechanisms like a center of attraction that will arouse interest to their own targets and find support to their movements, populism can be associated with direct democracy (Taggart, 2004: 130-131; Canovan, 2004: 244-245).

Canovan (2002: 33) considers the populism not only a discourse but also an ideology. He says that populism should be understood as an ideology created by public, democracy, dominance and greater management altogether. At this point, populism might be turned into a meaning like opposing the established governing structure and dominant ideal and values of the society on behalf of the public (Canovan, 1999: 3). The common point of all populisms is the claim that democracy is only legal with public’s will and greater management. Even though its negative sides are pointed out, populism has democratic legitimacy in front of voters with these messages (Deren Van Het Hof, 2010: 220).

Democracy, a term derives from Greek used in political and scientific language, consists of “demos” meaning public, the mass or full citizenship in Greek and “kratein” meaning dominate or be use the power and therefore democracy is defined as the sovereignty of the public directly or indirectly, popular sovereignty or sovereignty of greater (Schmidt, 2002: 13). There is correspondence between the claim of populism to always speak on behalf of public and the judgment that democracy is only legal when politics includes popular sovereignty (Taggart, 2004: 143). Firstly, democracy is the collective election type that is required by the fundamental idea of treating the citizens equally (Cohen, 1996: 97). However, the representation system that liberal democracy is based on supposes that democratic legitimacy is realized by citizens’ not determining the content of public decisions as in direct democracy but determining the delegates to decide on these decisions (Doğanay, 2003: 25).

Even though the people not taking the direct responsibility of political decisions determining their common life via joint discussion, joint resolution and joint action have security, private rights and freedom of noninvolvement, their freedom is a debatable issue (Barber, 1984: 145). In this case, the thought of freedom does not derive from the term of popular sovereignty. Modern liberal democracies glorify the thought that the human including the freedom of every human is free. However, it is not a product of democracy but a benefit of it (Sartori, 1996: 335-336). Modern character of modern democracy presents democratic citizen freedoms with a basic document regularizing the pluralism, agreement systems and representation principles. Human rights, promise, association, organization, freedom of belief and property are provided but the efficiency of using them is not guaranteed. Any decision is not taken regarding the conflict between various citizen freedoms (Heller, 1993: 148-149).

Consequently, populist politics might weaken liberal representative democracy since populism wears the term of rule of law by supporting popular sovereignty. Populism could become a movement supporting the superiority of enforcement and weakening the liberal principle of separation of powers. Populism could cause the multidimensionality of issues to be ignored by simplifying the complex issues. Populist politics might trivialize the divisions and differences in public and ignore them (Çınar, 2014: 243).

3. Methodology

This study focuses on the issues discussed in the election manifestos of the four political parties gained the right of representation in the parliament in 7th June 2015 Turkey General Elections within the scope of democracy and freedom. One of the four political parties gained the right of representation in the parliament, AKP has been the ruling party since 2002. AKP defines itself as a “conservative democrat”¹ mass party. CHP defines itself as a contemporary democratic left political party in party constitution². MHP is a political party supporting Turkish nationalism. MHP is defined in the party constitution³ as the political representative of social center doing

¹ <https://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/akparti2023siyasivizyonuturkce.pdf>

² <https://www.chp.org.tr/Assets/dosya/chp-tuzugu-2015-01-12.pdf>

³ http://www.mhp.org.tr/usr_img/_mhp2007/kitaplar/mhp_parti_tuzugu_2009_opt.pdf

politics by adopting all the national and moral values poem of Turkish nation. HDP is a prominent party in Kurdish politics and is defined in the party constitution⁴ as a political party targeting the democratic popular sovereignty in which all the oppressed and exploited come together to establish a life with human dignity.

The election manifestos of the political parties identified in the study have been analyzed in the scope of critical discourse analysis. Based on the critical discourse analysis defined by Wodak (2003: 134-135; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 30) as discourse- historical approach, linguistic or rhetoric elements have been tried to be analyzed in terms of discursal elements. The main stages of the analysis consist of finding answers to how person/issues are defined/named in linguistic terms, what kind of properties are associated with person/issues, what kind of argument schemas are used in othering to legalize this situation, what kind of perspectives are used to make the subject namings and arguments, whether these exclusivist statements are made clearly, densely or slightly. The prominent types of rhetoric and ideological strategies while finding answers to these questions have been tried to explain the meaning in the core of analysis of van Dijk (2000: 62-85).

4. Discourses Produced in the Election Manifestos of the Political Parties in the Scope of Democracy and Freedom

4.1. Democracy and Freedom Discourses in the Election Manifesto of AKP

The prominent issue in the discussions made in the scope of “democratization” in the election manifesto of AKP named *Always Justice Always Development through the Way to New Turkey* is “basic rights and liberties”. Basic rights and liberties dealt in the basis of “New Constitution” and “New Turkey” have been established over a discourse including “everybody” whatever ethnic origin, sect and belief they have, featuring the sense of “equal citizenship”, treating all the social classes equally and embracing all the citizens with a pluralist approach. The evidentiality of “generalization” and “argumentation” (van Dijk, 2000: 71-72) has been tried to be increased, which is an important rhetoric strategy by utilizing expressions like always, everyone, ever. Some metaphors such as “revolution” and “marathon” have been used for the effort to define the things that have been made in the planes of democracy and freedoms. The things done regarding the fundamental rights and freedoms have been described as “silent revolution”. Metaphors have an important function in making the complex, abstract issues known, self-praise through this type of phrase and presenting the other in negative way (van Dijk, 2000: 77-78).

The discussions of “New Constitution”, the discussions regarding “presidential government” and fundamental rights and freedoms are the leading issues in democratization. AKP has stated that there is not a difference between “parliamentary system” and “presidential government” in terms of compliance with democracy when it is structured with a democratic perspective. This issue which is not formed a consensus and not understood exactly in public opinion tries to generate itself through the discourse of making it right. Thus, the act of making it meaningless which is performed through “victimization” strategy of other parties is tried to be prevented. Victimization as a rhetoric strategy has an important function making meaningful

⁴ <http://www.hdp.org.tr/parti/parti-tuzugu/10>

things seem meaningless and defining us and other created from any subject (van Dijk, 2000: 84).

Resolution process has taken its place in the discussions of democracy. The resolution process has been defined as a local attempt based on human rights and democracy and unity and fraternity model. It has been said that it has been the first time that a government showed the courage to confront the Kurdish problem openly in the recent history and an opposing discourse is produced against “disclaimers” by making use of “comparison” power. Both strategies are among significant strategies in presenting your own policy positively and othering the others (van Dijk, 2000: 65, 67). One of the issues having importance in democratization has been established upon the discourse of “transformation” in “justice” system. It has been said that “participation”, “democratic legitimacy” and “transparency” will be strengthened as main principles and a good operation of legal system is indispensable not only to a healthy democratic politics but also to developing and applying fundamental rights.

AKP has put all the activities done during their ruling by taking the advantage of being the ruling party as an “evidence” for the things to be done. Evidentiality is an important strategy to persuade and increase the reliability (van Dijk, 2000: 69). It has been tried to be make visible that the policy of “zero tolerance to torture” has been put into practice, the period of unidentified murder has been ended and the conditions of custody have been made better. It has been expressed that the right to information act has been accepted and some universal agreements about human rights have been approved. Providing the opportunity of broadcasting in some official channels of the state in different language and dialects has been considered significant. It has been stated that positive discrimination towards children has been adopted in the Constitution, some laws have been introduced for the benefit of women, education has been democratized and civil society has been strengthened.

The ones who are opposed to the aims of “New Turkey” and to the new constitution; the ones who try to batter the resolution process; constitutions/persons/institutions/ways of thinking not wanting the presidential government and parallel state organization have been criticized in the text of the election manifesto of AKP. Although a specific name of a party or a leader has not been given obviously, the organizations which have been marginalized can be understood from the frame of the subject.

4.2. Freedom and Democracy Discourses in the Election Manifesto of CHP

CHP tries to produce a discourse from the thought that there is an “oppressive” regime in Turkey in its election manifesto entitled *A Turkey to Live in*. The way of CHP to define its aims has been established completely on criticizing the existing government and the president. Disclaimer expressions (van Dijk, 2000: 67) in type of presenting yourself positively and the others negatively confronts us as a distinct rhetoric strategy.

CHP states that the basis of their discourses about freedoms and human rights is to put an end to fear and establish the republic of freedoms. It states that all young, women, laborer and fragile segments of the country should be defended against every type of oppressive and patriarchal power groups. CHP considers the politics of rights and

freedoms as the only politics type predicting solidarity with disadvantaged groups, protecting all citizens against ethnic, religious, class and sexual domination types without making any discrimination. CHP has gone into the effort of defining freedoms with a more generalizing rhetorical strategy in these discourses. It has been emphasized that freedom of thought and faith will be guaranteed and religion and politics will be hold separate. It has been expressed that necessary regulations will be made to provide the equality of women and men in all parts of life.

Equal citizenship and plurality are featured issues and it has been put into words that rights and freedoms will not be made the matter of negotiation for an authoritative presidential government and CHP will approach the Kurdish problem with reference to the sense of inclusive democratic citizenship. The presidential government discussed by government has been defined as an “authoritative” system. “Showing fallacies” and “situation description” strategies (van Dijk, 2000: 71, 83-84) have been especially used to resort to support the arguments. Since especially “situation specification” demonstrates the effects of defining types about causes, justifications, results and evaluations indirectly, it is very important in that telling what you want to say clearly (van Dijk, 2000: 83).

It has been expressed that the right to assembly and demonstration will be reached to the level in developed democracies and media and the internet will get rid of the big dimming. The metaphors that CHP has chosen about the government in the expressions of many issues always associate negative meanings. Images like “authority” and “dimming” stand out in the discourse. It has been said that a new constitution extending the freedoms of all citizens is needed to develop liberal democracy and provide social peace. The discussion of a new constitution has become evident in the discourses of CHP. It has been said that the state will be made pellucid not the lives of citizens.

CHP has defined itself as CHP under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the thought of the party of Atatürk has been tried to be made visible. Authority application (van Dijk, 2000: 63) gaining a seat inside the ideological and rhetoric strategies supports this discourse since authority application provides to establish a bond between those people and that party by utilizing the image and power of the persons considered important for that country and can make their arguments more strong. AKP government has been presented as namings such as oppressive, creating the state of suppress and profiling, seeing the plurality as a threat, creating monologism and making Turkey the country of censure and investigations. The marginalized in the discourse of CHP is AKP and this marginalization has been done openly and intensely.

4.3. Freedom and Democracy Discourses in the Election Manifesto of MHP

It has been expressed in the election manifesto of MHP titled *Social Repair and Peaceful Future* that democracy is seen as not only a political regime but also a life style. It has been emphasized that the only possessor of the sovereignty is the nation in parliamentary democracies. It has been highlighted that they cannot associate the tendency of being authoritative by fitting up the national will with the sense of national will. It has been stated that each political view should have the freedom to explain, defend and spread their views in democratic platforms in constitutional scope

by forming a party provided that it does not aim at the indivisible unity of the state with its country and nation and does not see terror and violence as goal and tool. Rhetoric strategies come into play while making the discourse right and causal. A set of justifications have been presented. It has been seen that MHP has not adopted a generalizing attitude in the issues handled in the scope of democracy and freedoms. The discussions and redlines about however, yet, conditions, legality and illegality have become more clear. Every kind of elements to threaten the issues such as the country, nation and indivisible unity has been marked as the problematic areas in the description of democracy and freedom. MHP has made a direct description of situation instead of strategies like “euphemism” or “empathy” in the issues determined before. Euphemism appears as a strategy preferred to soften the discourse (van Dijk, 2000: 68).

It has been expressed that the basis of individual responsibility is prescribed instead of closing a party by opposing the closing of political parties “except for the ones which consider and support terror and violence as political goal and tool”. It has been stated that they believe that media and other communication means should not be limited and censored but they should be free provided that they do not go against “the indivisible unity of the state with its country and the nation, the main principles of the republic, national security and public order. It has been said that nongovernmental organizations should play an active role in public life on condition that they carry out suitable activities for “the legal order, values, traditions, unitary structure and public order of the country”. It has been conveyed that they defend not placing restrictions in the usage of fundamental rights and freedoms provided that they do not threaten “the national security, fundamental properties of the republic, the indivisible unity of the state with its country and nation, public order, public morality and the others’ use of fundamental rights”. It has been indicated that everyone has the freedom for religion, conscience and belief and conviction. It has been specified that the right of education and training cannot be prevented; however, it has been said that the medium of instruction should be Turkish in every stage of education. It has been asserted that they believe that the right to assembly and demonstration and association should be used appropriately provided that it is not contrary to “the basic principles of the republic, national security and the public order”. It has been reported that they are against every kind of actual and judicial discrimination against women and abuse of women and it is necessary to protect children against violation and abuse of rights.

The one that has been obviously marginalized in the discourse of MHP is AKP. They haven’t been abstained from giving the name of the party. Rather than an implicit statement, a direct and harsh criticism has been chosen towards AKP and AKP administrations in many places. While describing issues that will never be discussed about making a new constitution, there is clearly a criticism to the policies of HDP. Among all these expressions, MHP has been defined in a structure determined to bring the nation and the country to a safe future by widening bright horizons beyond Turkey.

4.4. Freedom and Democracy Discourses in the Election Manifesto of HDP

The sense of “radical democracy” has been highlighted in the election manifesto of HDP named *Great Humanity* and it has been expressed that it has been targeted to make this democracy sense become the real power as an organized power over the

lives of public. It has been said that “democratic autonomy” will be actualized to provide the participation of publics in management and decision processes.

It has been notified that all the obstacles to the right of demonstration and marching will be removed and “all actions” to claim one’s rights will be accepted as legitimate. HDP makes a generalization in this definition and shows an approach to the issue without keeping the distance. The conceptualization of “claiming rights” has been presented in generalizing words and all actions in this scope have been accepted legal. It has been emphasized that HDP will break its back to make an egalitarian, gender liberal, social, ecological and democratic constitution.

The issues such as the freedom of communication, racism, anti-semitism, flesh trade (women, children, labor exploitation), migration problems, international drug trade, forced displacement, xenophobia and islamphobia have been defined as “the problems concerning humanity values” and it has been said that the necessary collaboration will be done to develop solutions for these issues. Except for the hate crimes and the crimes against humanity in the evaluation done in prisons about human rights, no one will be accused of their political views and acts and political crimes will be eliminated from being a category of crime. Conscientious objection has been placed as a right. The evaluations about conscientious objection are one of the issues not included in the democracy discourses of other parties.

Freedom of religion has been rather explored and it has been expressed that the freedom religion and conscience of everyone who believes or not is adopted. It has been promised that civil religious education will be free and the state will retire from the area of religion and belief by taking off the Directorate of Religious Affairs. These promises have sparked a debate in media, public and political agenda.

Women’s rights have an important place in the manifesto. It has been said that the ministry of women will be established and they will struggle together to change the patriarchal society structure and masculine mindset. Problematizing the patriarchal structure and creating a language of women in the discourse of HDP looks more different than the approaches of other parties to women. It has been said that sexless and unimpeded campuses will be set up free of homophobia, transphobia and biophobia. There is a title as equal, free and honor right to live of LGBTI in the manifesto and it has been said that the party will eliminate the discrimination and pressure based on gender and sexual orientation against the rising order over “heterosexism” which is dominant, ignores and denies the sexual orientation and gender identity variety. HDP is the party puts forth clearly the discussion area in the point of the freedom of different sexual orientations.

HDP has not resorted to marginalize by targeting directly the government, the president, the prime minister or other parties. However, racist, chauvinistic and nationalistic policies imposing the superiority of one nation to the other have been pointed as a problem area implicitly. It has been seen that HDP takes part in a different discourse than MHP about many issues in the descriptions made in scope of freedom and democracy. Criticisms on capitalism, exploitation of labor and marginalization of sovereignty types against nature have been evident in the discourses of HDP.

Conclusion

In this study that investigates the democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos of the four political parties gained the right of representation in the parliament in 7th June 2015 Turkey General Elections, it has been found that the issues that the four political parties having different ideological placements are focused on in the point of democracy and freedom resemble each other however ideological tendencies and the type of defining itself reveal some differences in the discussions about democracy and freedom.

The way to democracy has been considered “a lasting marathon” for AKP. Some discourses such as merging the traditions with the future, integrating with the values of the society, being a party protecting the escrow of the society and being the party of Turkey have the feature of a populist discourse. The ones who are opposed to the aims of New Turkey and to the new constitution; the ones who try to batter the resolution process; persons/institutions/ways of thinking not wanting the presidential government and parallel state organization have been criticized in the text of the election manifesto of AKP.

CHP has highlighted the discourses like equality, solidarity, plurality, peace, free people and strong citizen and emphasized that they have set off for a Turkey to Live in. These discourses have been expressed by all parties and give a populist look. The government has been targeted in all the discourses of CHP in the plane of democracy and freedom and it has been claimed that one man governing is tried to be established in Turkey and CHP has tried to make it clear that they will hinder it. CHP has also avoided doing a conceptualization of freedom built on yets and howevers in the point of freedoms. “Patriarchal power focuses” and “sexual dominance types” that have never been discussed by AKP have been pointed as a problem area in the manifesto of CHP. Distinct discourses saying that each sexual orientation and gender will live freely are among the issues not included in the definition of freedom of AKP.

MHP has especially indicated the points that will never be sacrificed in the policies to be produced in scope of democracy and freedom. The issues such as giving education in languages other than Turkish, the sense of self government and everything that will give harm to the basic principles of the republic and the national state in unitary structure. Apart from the fact that gender inequality is an issue in the manifesto and it has been discussed in the equality plane between men and women, which is very different from the approaches of CHP and HDP. MHP has targeted the government in all its discourses as CHP has done and AKP has been pointed as a problem area. Many policies of HDP have been criticized by MHP.

Different from other parties, HDP has built its democracy definition on radical democracy. It has been seen that HDP has avoided making a definition over certain limitations and yets in the style of approaching to the issues it handles in the planes of freedom and democracy. These discourses have the feature of a populist discourse. Exploitation, inequality, sovereignty over nature and the criticism of capitalism are determiners in defining freedom and democracy. As distinct from other parties, conscientious objection has been defined as a right. The Directorate of Religious Affairs has been said to be abolished. The discussions about women’s rights have given the appearance of problematizing the patriarchal structure and masculine

language. There has been a title “equal, free and honor right to live of LGBTI” which we do not come across in the manifestos of other parties as a separate title.

All the parties have remarked the importance of freedoms and democracy; unfortunately, the areas of problem become more evident when the condition of guaranteeing these freedoms is evaluated.



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Hate Speech in Reader Comments Made on News Regarding the Turkish General Elections of 2015

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Abstract

The main problematic of this study is to reveal how the political hate speeches directed to a political opinion or to its supporters are regenerated through reader comments, and to make the analysis of discursive practices generating the hate speeches in reader comments made on the news. In order to reveal the way in which political hate speeches are regenerated in reader comments, this study focuses on the election period which is asserted to be a period in which people become politicized more and in which they are more open to political news. Analyzed in this study are the reader comments that were made within 15 days before and after June 7, 2015, the day of elections, taken as the median point. The reader comments are selected from the Internet versions of the daily newspapers Milliyet, Sabah and Hürriyet published in Turkey. Although the Internet is effectively used by social and political movements in a positive manner, it also serves an abusive platform where such forms of hate speeches and hate crimes as defaming, denigration, disregarding, and disparagement towards certain political opinions and the supporters thereof are easily committed. In this study, the method of critical discourse analysis is used in order to reveal the hate speeches which have gotten into circulation through discourses grounded in the language and to also be able to read the situation in a multidimensional way.

Keywords: Hate speech, reader comments, general elections, the Internet, critical discourse analysis.

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Introduction

This study has as its subject matter the hate speech, which is a concrete expression of discrimination, particularly the hate speech that targets a political view and its followers. Hate speech and hates crimes, which began to be discussed in mid-1980s, have become a major category in popular and scientific discourses as an expression of discrimination.

Involving in itself negative emotions, hate speech is essentially recognized as the ostracism, derogation and hostility among societal groups. The kind of crimes directed in a range of threatening ways to one individual or one group on the basis of identity, piety, political stance, gender, and sexual orientation are generically titled as “hate crimes” (Göregenli, 2013b: 57, 67).

While hate speech is spread via media this new media has emerged as a critical foundation for the application and popularization of language practices. Interaction properties of the new media (Howard and Chadwick, 2009: 424; Akdoğan, 2014: 52) actualized via distribution capacity; network topology and idea of sharing have distinguished the new media from conventional media.

In light of such properties of new media, traces of political hate have been sought in new media. By analyzing the comments communicated in the news, key domains that generated hate language have been attempted to identify.

Hate Speech

It is recognized that hate crime actions of which historical background has been long established (Ataman, 2012: 37) are one manifestation of discrimination. It also refers to unequal or dissimilar treatment, with no valid excuse such as public benefit or any logical cause, towards one individual compared to other individuals living in the same conditions and circumstances (Çelenk, 2010: 211).

Irrespective of its broad use “hate speech” does not yet possess a globally-recognized definition. Although a number of countries already banned “hate-speech” implicating expressions, there still exists minor divergences in spotting the exact item that was banned (Weber, 2009: 3).

Although it was argued that discrimination, which is widely acknowledged to possess a public background set by social rules, institutions and dominant ideologies (Göregenli, 2013a: 39), is indeed a process that relies upon the global standardization of all communities, it is also reported to reveal itself in the physical and mental construction of community and institutional organization (Göregenli, 2013c: 23).

Göregenli noted that despite the historical divergences in experiencing segregation among several groups, discrimination has till present day existed as a “process of ostracism” (2013c: 24), Çelenk stated that as the most antiquated forms of discrimination, racism and xenophobia have been practiced in the forms of slavery, ethnic cleansing, genocide, carnage, forced migration, starvation, systematic rape and miscellaneous acts of violence (2010: 212).

Being the tangible statements of discrimination, “hate speech” and hate crimes are widely recognized as “dislike” and “hate” towards the addressed individual or individuals of hate speech and crimes that manifest such negative feelings. Hate speech, irrespective of involving negative feelings, is also related to ostracism, derogation and hostility ideology that indicates a systematic hierarchy among the societal groups (Göregenli, 2013b: 57).

The prevalence of prejudice and discrimination in any given society or culture and alternately the groups that are prone to violence and hate crimes are closely interrelated to the historical, social and political system of one particular society. On that account the target groups of hate speech and crimes vary in a number of communities although the construction and key dynamics of hate speech are intertwined with universal ideological processes (Göregenli, 2013a: 39; 2013b: 57). These target groups can be ordered as woman-oriented hate speech; foreigners and migrants oriented hate speech; sexual-orientation based hate speech; faith and sect based hate speech; disability and disease oriented hate speech (Çomu ve Binark, 2013: 209-210). Hate speech is decisively involved with specific comments directed to any particular individual or any group (Weber, 2009: 3).

Within this framework the kind of hate speech that addresses to opponent parties, opponent electorates or opponent leaders and political cadres is treated within the scope of political hate speech which is in truth a social phenomenon. Indeed the events that may befall on the addressed individual can very reasonably be experienced by any member of society since the victim was selected as the target not due to his/her individual qualities but due to his/her group membership alone (Ataman, 2012: 75). Yüksel argues that the factors determining an individual’s position and importance in political life are not personal relations and processes but social relations and processes at most (2014: 256).

Ascend of hate as the dominant discourse is spotted as a threat against the foundation and organization of democratic and pluralist societies. As the launching point against prejudiced and discriminatory attitudes and behaviors that stimulate hate, egalitarianism concept (Ataman, 2012: 75-78) has been defined within the framework of granting each human being the basic human rights as well as electing the rulers pursuant to the principle of equal rights and decrees (Ayhan, 2009: 45).

Hate Speech and the New Media

In hate speech the application and the environments that language practices are popularized hold significant importance. Conventional media and new media are such environments utilized in popularizing hate speech (Binark, 2010: 11). Media conveys information to change the way individuals shape the order and functioning of the world (Altheide, 2007: 287), but what demands to be further analyzed is the way discourse in general and hate speech in particular is structured in the media (Göregenli, 2013b: 58).

Advancements having risen in the communication technologies as of 1970s introduced new topics to communication tools and democratic participation discussion. Utilizing new-model communication tools based on computer substructure into everyday life introduced with itself a new discourse arguing that changes are on

the rise in the conventional habits of collecting, storing, and circulating the information gathered by mass communication tools (Timisi, 2003: 9; Dahlgren, 2005: 148). With the utilization of information and communication technologies, participating in political activity became easier, faster and universal (van Aelst and Walgrave, 2002: 466). It has been stated that social transformation is inevitable thanks to this technology, which would also escalate political activities and resulting radical changes in class distinction between political authority and social groups and the divergence between agricultural and industrial societies (Akdoğan, 2014: 52).

New media is radically different from conventional media tools such as newspaper-journal publication, radio-television broadcasting, or movies. What specifically distinguishes the Internet is its interactive network that is established upon the notion of non-personalized sharing among readers (Akdoğan, 2014: 52; Çomu and Binark, 2013: 200). New media comes to the fore with features such as digitality, interactivity, hyper-textuality, dissemination, virtuality and multimedia (Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant and Kelly, 2009: 13). Poe notes that the Internet is, in that sense, realization of a four-hundred year dream enabling simple, effective and limitless collection and processing of information (2015: 345). In the democratic process new media has profound effects on the role of media. The Internet, via its global web (www) and new interactive media technologies, provides wider and cheaper access for all communities (Pavlik, 2013: 197; Törenli, 2005: 206).

Developments in new communication technologies; erasing the typical practices of conventional media and increasing the voice of the individuals and readers have gradually shifted the order of the world (Paktin, 2015: 314; Livingstone, 2012: 126). Internet news or on-line broadcasting are still in pursuit of much different and relevant approaches, hence attempts to build a new environment are still in progress (Törenli, 2005: 208).

There are conflicting definitions on the Internet. On one hand it is construed as a technology that further digs already-available inequalities in the new world-order (Timisi, 2003: 211). On the other hand it is argued that technology offers a problem-free presentation of technologic structuring in terms of participatory democracy. All citizens equipped with new technology can integrate into the democratic process by virtue of accessing information easily (Tunç, 2005: 139). The right to obtain information and expressing opinion, free access to communication and information channels constitutes one aspect of democratic communication and the other aspect is involved with participating in public-relevant decisions, or in other terms the right to speak out loud in the management of communication tools (Timisi, 2003: 10). O'Loughlin demonstrated that the Internet is doubtlessly no savior for democracy, but still it offers a myriad of options for public discourse and discursive democracy (2001: 598). Communication and information is the pivotal element for full and efficient citizenship. By broadcasting all potential information it can enable finding out the alternatives related to political options in particular, but what matters even more is that the media would function as a forum in which public-relevant discussions are held (Jakubowicz, 1994: 83).

New media environment has gained increased popularity among social and political opposition movements in order to organize, debate and publicize their activities and discussions, and political resolutions. Nevertheless hate speech has also rapidly

spread, disseminated and been recognized as a normal practice due to such attributes of new media environment whereby any discriminatory and ostracizing discursive practices are internalized in due course. Different identities and existential practices in society are not only exposed to othering process but they may even transpose into destructive actions or hate crimes in other terms (Binark, 2010: 11, 30; Silva, 2013: 180; McNair, 2009: 224). As reported by O'Loughlin on the Internet environment what matters is not the person but the thing written by this person (2001: 603).

It has been witnessed that while media, as the ideological tool of the state, creates its own agenda it transforms into a medium through which, both implicitly and explicitly, hate is remanufactured through concepts such as racism, ethnic prejudice, xenophobia (fear-hate towards non-natives). Inceoğlu argues that as the media “otherizes” and “targets” specific groups via employing negative, humiliating, degrading expressions and exaggeration it manages to present these groups as potential risks and threats against public safety whereby increasing the prejudices against other groups and causing the target groups to feel insecure and unguarded (2013: 76).

Methodology

This study delves into the concept of hate speech. Hate speech has been examined with respect to readers' views on political, economical and social news, which also set the scene for the political atmosphere, before and after the Parliamentary Elections in Turkey (07 June 2015).¹

With the aim of facilitating readers' comments, the study has been executed on the internet pages of newspapers and one-month period has constituted the main scope. In this research Milliyet, Sabah and Hürriyet newspapers issued in Turkey have been scanned and election – politics based comments posted between 22 May 2015 and 22 June 2015 have been analyzed.² Considering the facts that censures were imposed in posting the comments and lack of non-censured communication of entire comments, the total number increased or decreased, thus the first 20 comments for each single news have been included in the analysis.

Between the particular dates 900 news were detected in Milliyet newspaper. Of all these news, 211 news which integrated readers' views were examined for this study. Of all the 966 comments on 211 news, a total of 931 were included into the analysis. In Sabah newspaper, of the total 926 news, 1995 comments were shared for 410 news and among these comments, 1876 were analyzed for the purposes of this study. 4 news in Sabah newspaper could not be accessed. Lastly in Hürriyet newspaper 688 news were deemed to be relevant to the topic of present study. 609 news received 61.994 comments in sum. As the very first 20 comments were considered in the sum beyond 20, a total of 9 thousand 114 comments constituted the foundation in Hürriyet newspaper.

¹ After the elections parliamentary seat distribution of parties are: Justice and Development Party (AKP), Republican People's Party (CHP), Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP).

² According to the data of the Internet Measurement Investigation by the IAB Turkey, each of the three newspapers was ranked in the first 20 in both PC-Number of Page Views and the PC-Number of Real Users in April-May-June 2015 (<http://www.iabturkiye.org>).

In this study, critical discourse analysis method has been employed to the end of manifesting hate speech circulated via language-structured discourses and to facilitate a multi-dimensional reading. Comments have been identified within the scope of hate themes that occurred in the form of negative generalizations, bad and offensive language, hostility, identity or personality insult towards a particular political stance and its followers. The comments have been interpreted pursuant to critical discourse analysis inasmuch as critical discourse analysis primarily focuses on specific issues dominating the spheres of discourse, language and communication and abuse of power through authority, ideology, exploitation, manipulation and so on (van Dijk, 2010: 10).

van Dijk asserted that humans adopt certain insights, attitudes and ideologies via discourse which translates into the fact that once one can control discourse, one can also achieve to control not merely the newspapers but readers' minds as well (2010: 13). Within that framework ideal world of the readers can also be illustrated through comments.

Findings

Negative Generalizations

When reader comments on the news are examined, it is observed that commentators with certain political views broadly share negative views for the opponent politicians, advocates of opponent party and political events as well as all citizens sharing opposite views. In the comments underlining the adversity of current conditions, it is possible to see many comments on a variety of topics ranging from the ruling party and its practices to the advocates of any particular party.

When we take a look at reader comments regarding the "ruling party", for instance, in a comment on the news stating that AKP's "We are manufacturing national Warcraft" banner was removed, there is discontent with the governing party which allegedly lacked a robust attitude and conveyed varying messages to different social groups (Milliyet, 2015.05.25) on the one hand and, in another comment regarding the news related to the opening of the world's second largest canyon, it is shared that instead of prioritizing investments as top-notch target of the governing party increased attention should be paid to resolve basic living issues. Another comment on the same news attempts to point to a criticism towards the opposition wings by saying: "Some people just talk while some act" (Milliyet, 2015.05.22).

It can be said that a secondary group of comments are related to "political manners and conducts". Although such statements are mostly directed to governing party, it can be seen that the advocates of the ruling party make the opposition wing their target in their evaluations. Criticism leveled against the members of the governing party target the manner of the person rather than the content of the explanation - "What an outrageous manner! He must resign right away" (Milliyet, 2015.05.23)-. And the comments on the security of election label governing party's attitude as "fraud" and "vote-stealing".³

³ "If only there would be no fraud!" (Milliyet, 2015.05.28); "Protect your votes, don't let them steal your votes" (Milliyet, 2015.06.04); "I will just say don't steal our votes, but who would expect such honesty from shameless thieves?" (Hürriyet, 2015.06.02).

Comments that make negative inferences about national political parties and party advocates run like this: While government is associated with “favoritism” and “terrorism”, opposition parties are criticized on accounts of their political views and lack of communication with their voters.⁴

As seen several comments on this news display post-election political picture. On one hand it is advocated that one-party rule is problematic, -“Let there be coalition rather than such one-party rule, the country could not get any worse” (Milliyet, 2015.05.23)- on the other hand there is discontent on the parliamentary seats of HDP.⁵

Offensive Language/ Insult

News-related comments are predominantly categorized under offensive language/insult. These comments heavily employ such expressions; “subservient”, “bonehead”, “bad seed”, “fickle”, “liar”. Offensive descriptions are directed to commentators who criticize the government, opposition party and advocates of a different political view.

As regards the news titled ““Entrusted votes’ reaction from PKK to HDP” the comment is: “You forcefully collected all votes with guns, you wantons” (Sabah, 2015.06.09). As for the news related to employing different discourses by HDP in the West and East of Turkey, the comment is “Human in daylight, bonehead at night” (Sabah, 2015.05.29). The comment on HDP co-chair Demirtaş’s claim that all problems are finally resolved is, “You! You are the root of problem itself. You, the parasites, sucking our blood. All you have are illicit, all are illegal” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.27).

For the news titled as “Critical statements from President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan” the comment is “Rascal!” (Hürriyet 2015.05.26) and the insults towards ruling party (AKP) and its supporters use adjectives “liar”, “vandal” and “ignorant”.⁶

Similar insults can also be traced in the expressions towards opposition parties; “Dear President, CHP has been hibernating for the past 90 years” (Sabah, 2015.05.23). The comment on the news titled as “Heavy insults from CHP-voters to women with scarfs” is, “The guy is a real monkey, no doubt... we don’t need a Turk like you” (Sabah, 2015.05.30). The comment on the news “Chaos Plan of Cihan News Agency”

⁴ “AKP advocates know one language only: beating people all the time and favoritism” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.22); “ISIS and AKP, both tarred with the same brush. Both are religionist, both are money-lovers, both are oppressive, both are a bunch of ignorants” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.22); “They (AKP) only care about realizing their dream” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.03); “Even the voters of main opposition party no longer believe the pledges of their own party” (Milliyet, 2015.05.23); “Bahçeli, how will you rule this country with racism when in power, are you going to make the people of this country fight each other again?” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.03).

⁵ “Those who cried that AKP should not come to power alone, are you happy now?” (Milliyet, 2015.06.08); “Let the tripartite alliance form the government. Let this people see whom they voted for” (Milliyet, 2015.06.07).

⁶ “These banners are sham... Only pro-AKP knuckleheads naturally buy these lies” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.24); “Dude, these men are all up to monkey business” (Milliyet, 2015.05.25); “Weasel İBB (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality). They all are vandals” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.23); “Moron AK-troll... So long as morons like you exist, Tayyip will remain as your shepherd...” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.25); “Those shameless robbers lead armies of immoral gorillas” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.26).

is, “You can expect anything from those bad seeds” (Sabah, 2015.06.04). CHP is defined as “fickle” and MHP as “ignoble”.⁷

The point to make hereby is that insults are not merely directed towards a political party or advocates of a political stance but also aimed at commentators who share their views on the media news in favor of a definite political view. These are a few of the specimen comments: “If Sözcü newspaper has any decency left, let them come forward and speak honestly” (Sabah, 2015.06.07); “Berk Pir, I believe there is an AKP advocate in your family, who fooled you into believing that Turkey’s treasure is full. Or you must have lost your senses by watching those liar media organs all day long. They use this nonsense to fool you and other idiots just like you” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.02).

Hostility

As reader comments on the news depicting the political scenery created before and after the election are examined there is an evident rise in hostility-discourse involving comments. The most noticeable statements within hostility-discourse category are imbued with threatening messages: The comment on the news titled as “No permission for HDP’s Kazlıçeşme meeting” points to the very first day of election to take revenge, “You will pay back on the 8th of June” (Milliyet, 2015.05.26) to imply that a lot would change after the election and much worse days would come. The comments on HDP’s new deputy are such; “You all wait. Worse days are to come” (Milliyet, 2015.06.09); “Fool me, how come HDP can ever be all Turkey’s party; just push a little harder, who knows you may even score 50% :) that is no surprise if you fool around so much” (Milliyet, 2015.06.09). The news titled as “Bloodshed in Diyarbakır! 4 casualties” also received similar comments: “Worse days are to come; I am afraid these days are the last happy days for us” (Milliyet, 2015.06.09). In a number of comments the supporting statements for the attacks towards opposite views evidence the extreme grudge and hatred; Comments on the attack to pro-AKP woman, “Well done! I am so relieved, this is the payback of Gezi” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.31); “Now is the time to pay back, you zealots” (Hürriyet 2015.05.25) clearly reveal the extreme hatred, and the comment on HDP as, “Dude, why didn’t you beat the hell out of that HDP guy?” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.01) indicates the way violence is promoted.

The news “HDP threatening the voters in the East” is commented as, “Those can do anything vile! They’re gone crazy” (Sabah, 2015.05.23), and some comments note the party and its advocates as “murderers” whose “butts should be kicked”.⁸

⁷ “What happened now you flakes, are you scared? You are incapable of putting one stone on another, but all you can ever do is to destroy what has been built!” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.22); “If there is someone vile and despicable, it is the puppet MHP” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.02).

⁸ “You thugs! How dare you steal my vote, come and try to get it. They ate our food and stabbed our forefathers in hard times. And now they are truckling to this [man]!” (Sabah, 2015.05.23); “Thugs cannot rule the world with their threats” (Sabah, 2015.05.29); “You murderers!” (Sabah, 2015.05.31); “You low murderers, you will drown in the blood you shed, sooner or later” (Sabah, 2015.06.01); “Shame on those who will vote for them!” (Sabah, 2015.05.28); “God willing, the terrorist HDP will not pass the treshold” (Sabah, 2015.05.29); “Kurds sold us out despite all that has been done.” (Sabah, 2015.06.08); “Of course you know well, you all are terrorists, God damn you” (Sabah, 2015.06.09); “80% of those Kurds are terrorist PKK, kill them all” (Sabah, 2015.06.10); “He who votes for this party is a traitor. Martyrs are ever-living, Turkey will not be divided. This country is not left

Insults are not merely directed towards a political party or advocates of a political stance but also aimed at commentators who share their views on the allegedly in favor of one political view. These are a few of the specimen comments: “Babykiller and Doğan Media are perfect match” (Sabah, 2015.06.05); “HDP propaganda on Israel national channel; HDP and Israel are blood suckers supporting one another. They smell like human blood” (Sabah, 2015.06.04). The comments produce a hostile opposition by forcing the readers to pick their side. Comment on the news titled as “CHP voter insulting scarfed women” is “Beware of the side you pick” (Sabah, 2015.01.06) and the news as “CHP’s new city project fueled polemics” received this comment: “Those criticizing Mega project are no different than baby murderers wanting to kill an unborn child” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.23).

Hatred Towards Identity or Persons

Hate speech is not merely directed towards a political party or political stance. Hate is also reflected on the comments for the candidate homosexuals from parties, or through pious identities of party members or through race hence hate secures its position via words.

“Hardest question to HDP Co-chair Demirtaş advocating gay marriage!”; “Contemptible propaganda by HDP’s gay candidate” news about HDP’s homosexual candidate received comments that questioned sexual choices and labeled homosexuals as “perverts”.⁹

The comment on the news titled as “HDP thanking DHKP-C” is; “Both are profane terrorist groups. They should all go to hell”; “We should execute them all, leaving none behind”; “HDP, you cannot fool us, one is no better than the other, both are terrorists. May God smite you all” (Sabah, 2015.05.23).

The news titled as “FETÖ’s (Fethullah Gülen Sect) final kamikaze attack! Sabotage to the ballot box” received the comment, “They even dared to sell the country once their plan was spoiled. Such hornets’ nest. They infiltrated everywhere. Those traitors can do anything” (Sabah, 2015.06.03); to imply Kurds, “Shame on the Kurds” (Sabah 2015.06.08); “You all are ungrateful, you sold the nation to an Armenian party” (Sabah, 2015.06.13) and another commentator said, “I feel ashamed to be an Easterner” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.15).

Discriminatory hate speech is not only directed to identities but also to individuals. The expressions used within this framework are primarily directed to political party leaders and politicians.

unattended. Know your boundaries! Governing is not your thing. Will someone please let them know their place?” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.25); “Do not free the baby-killer! You Turkish people, vote for any party but HDP” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.27).

⁹ “Gays at Anıtkabir huh!, I wonder how low you can go! May God smite you. Who would vote for them... They all are perverts in the Book ... You’ll burn in hell you perverts” (Sabah, 2015.05.22); “Such an unchaste man cannot be a candidate in may decent country... There may be thieves or frauds, but gay, no way”; “It all fits this party, you scoundrels”; “HDP has become a party of sodomites”; “Just what is normally expected from Demirtaş. He has no share in humanity at all. Make your own family gay. Get your hands off the Turkish youth, you sacrilegious atheist”; “I vehemently condemn these despicable men and their party HDP” (Sabah, 2015.05.23).

A commentator shared his reaction as, “Because of such politicians who never quit politics, I quit. Respectfully yours. A citizen quitting politics:)” (Milliyet, 2015.06.04). Individual-oriented discriminatory hate speech exposes itself as; “Wolf in sheep’s clothing”, “rascal”, “ignorant”, “sheep”. Concerning President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his advocates, “May the devil take you, you shepherd your own herd, no one else would ask for you...” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.29).

HDP Co-chair Selahattin Demirtaş is humiliated as “Selocan, you really are super”; “Selocan it’s time for you to go home:)” mimicking a comic figure endorsed by a Turkish GSM Company to imply that he would lose the election (Milliyet, 2015.05.25). HDP’s ideology is criticized and party is labeled as “untrustable”; “I support CHP. I told everyone not to vote for HDP. I warned them they would stab us in the back. That is their basic mindset” (Milliyet, 2015.06.09); To imply HDP co-chair Selahattin Demirtaş, “Demirtaş is a wolf in sheep’s clothing” (Sabah, 2015.05.26); “May God smite those who voted for you terrorists, spies, murderers” (Sabah, 2015.05.27); “Mr. Demirtaş we all know you are just a puppet” (Sabah, 2015.06.05) are some sample comments.

AKP politicians are labeled as, “Rascal; You ignorant not knowing why he asks for votes” (Hürriyet, 2015.05.25). The comment on the news titled as “Davutoğlu: We will take all the measures to secure the election process” is, “Even dried beans are more useful than that guy” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.02) which evidently devalues the targeted politicians.

As party leaders and members are harshly criticized, the expressions worded evidently imply humiliation and mocking; MHP Leader Devlet Bahçeli is commented as, “What a terrific leader! I wouldn’t wish him on my worst enemy” (Milliyet, 2015.06.08); “If only Türkeş were alive. He would spit on Bahçeli’s face and kick him out of the party; Bahçeli, you suck” (Sabah, 2015.05.25). CHP Leader is similarly insulted; “When has this fake Gandhi ever kept his promises? Why would he now?” (Sabah, 2015.06.08); “Belly-dancer, revolutionist Kemal” (Sabah, 2015.06.08); “Kılıçdaroğlu is no good for anything” (Sabah 2015.06.22) to demean their personalities. Even there are certain prejudices on some politicians, “I am leaving comment without reading the news because Haluk Koç wouldn’t say anything useful” (Hürriyet, 2015.06.16).

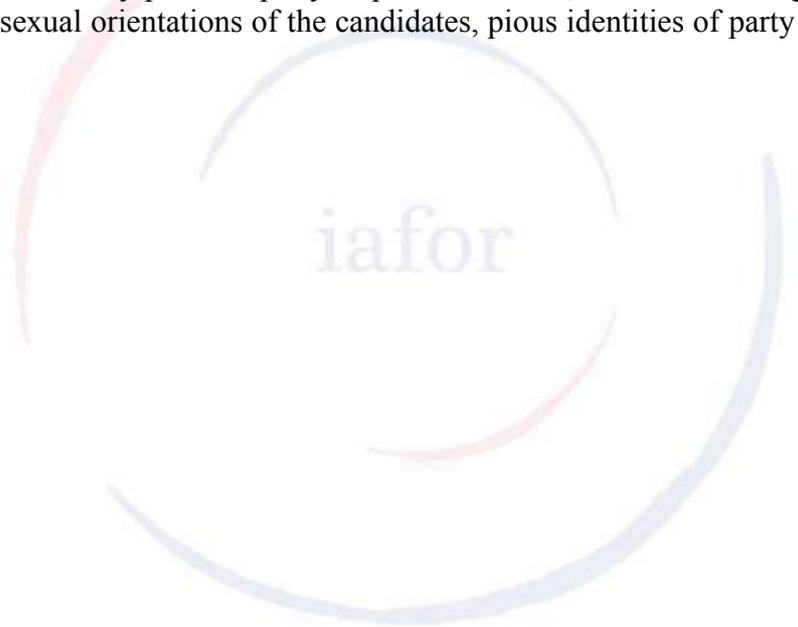
Hate words are also directed to a specific media, not only the politicians, that allegedly supports one political group. The owner of Doğan Media Group is humiliated on the basis of his physical outlook, “His face is as dark as coal”; “He is the black sheep of Turkey”; “He must be the beast with only one tooth left”; “He is a public enemy, impious guy” (Sabah, 2015.05.24) that decisively label him as the “enemy”. Reporter Ahmet Hakan in the same media group is insulted such: “An Armenian egghead threw a fatty bone to Ahmet Hakan. What a good licker he is!” (Sabah, 2015.06.18).

Conclusion

The Internet offers its users an environment to make comments and discuss their views in any given topic. With a crucial function in generating political discourse, the Internet is correspondingly a powerful medium in fabricating and rapidly

disseminating political hate speech. In this study it was aimed to demonstrate the way political hate speech was regenerated in readers' comments. To that end election news were specifically analyzed. Through internet versions of scanned newspapers, hate speech in this study was examined with respect to readers' views on political, economical and social news, which also set the scene for the political atmosphere before and after June 07, 2015 Parliamentary Elections in Turkey.

In these comments, featured themes were identified as negative generalizations, bad and offensive language, hostility, hatred towards identity or persons. As the comments within the framework of such categories were investigated it surfaced that hate was directed towards particular political parties, the leaders and members. In the comments having generated hate words a number of comments on state administration, the actions of ruling party or party members are apparent. As bad/offensive statements form an evident hate language in those comments, it is witnessed that insults are aimed at governing party, opposition parties and commentators with opposite political views. Comments imbued with hostility remarks are routinely directed to members of opposing political parties. Hate speech is not merely directed to any political party or political stance, but can also be generated on the basis of sexual orientations of the candidates, pious identities of party members or race.

The logo for the International Association for Business and Economics (IABE) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, semi-transparent circular arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a stylized, circular emblem.

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The Construction of City Images in Micro Films: A Case Study of Taipei City Government

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Abstract

In recent years, with the rapid development of the media, an increasing number of corporations and even government agencies are using the new format known as the micro film as a means of advertising and marketing. In this study, we took the micro films produced by the Taipei City Government as objects of analysis to investigate the image of the city as constructed in and produced by these films. Furthermore, in this study, the symbol of image in three such micro films was studied: *Love@Taipei*, *My Micro Tour of Taipei*, and *Happily Ever After*. It was found that in these films, the characteristics of the city of Taipei have been presented accurately and successfully by means of the [appropriate selection of] celebrity performers, the romance narratives used, and the lively presentation of these films. Therefore, these films have foregrounded an image of Taipei that is free, friendly, diverse, and progressive; furthermore, they have successfully conveyed the idea that “Taipei is a city that is positive and capable of outstanding achievements.” These films, designed to attract audiences, have been made with great skill and portray little elements of the government-run campaigns they are actually part of, thus making them even more entertaining for viewers.

Keywords: city marketing, city image, micro film

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I. Motivation and objectives of the study

The widespread popularity and use of mobile equipment means that users can now enjoy music and video clips anytime, anywhere. The “micro film” format is a new format that has emerged due to this development. Currently, this method is popular not only with corporations but also with government agencies, with the micro film format used for the communication of issues of public interest and policies and even for city marketing. The new marketing model that is “city + micro film” works by drawing the audience in by laying out an attractive atmosphere in the film and with plot and narrative development. As the audience is drawn into the narrative, they also develop a stronger impression of the city and hence tend to favor the city. This is how the objective of city marketing is achieved. (Yahoo! Kimo, 2012)

The trend of micro films has substantially attracted the locales of Chinese majority, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Presently, the micro film can be described using several distinctive characteristics regarding technique, market, and cultural terms. Therefore, in this study, we took the micro films produced by the Taipei City Government as objects of analysis to investigate the city image as constructed and generated in these films.

II. Literature review

Below is the description of the literature and theories relevant to this study.

i. City image and city marketing

In the concept of image, Boulding (1956) proposed that the image is the cognition of and attitude toward an object in the mind of the subject. Additionally, the image is an overall judgment that is subjective in nature. Human behavior is not only impacted by knowledge and information but also by the image that is formed in individuals' minds. Thereafter, Scott moved one step beyond to propose that the image is an organized representation of an object in the individual's cognitive system (Scott, 1965), a representation that consists of both cognition and emotion as well as an implication of the individual's memories, expectations, knowledge, and opinions of the object (Liu, 2001). The creation of the image can be said to be a dynamic and mobile process wherein the subject continually revises his or her cognition of the object due to the influence of external information and then makes a final judgment and evaluation based on the results of this process.

The term “city image,” an extension of the concept of image, refers to the overall subjective opinion and viewpoint of a city on the part of individuals (Foot, 1999). City image is formed through memories as the individual observes, contacts, and gets to know the city better, with such memories then constituting significance for the individual. To reveal the levels that constitute city image, we can start from the city image differentiation hierarchy diagram (Lü, 2002) in Fig. 2-1 below. Here, the image of a city can be observed from three levels from top to bottom: the overall values of the city, including the spirit and beliefs, reasons for existence, developmental goals and lifestyles of the city’s denizens. Value differentiation can be regarded as the driving force of a city’s differentiation method and part of a city’s ultimate positioning. On the second level, we have differentiation of city behavior. This refers to the characteristics of the city’s denizens and the related customs and habits practiced by local people. These characteristics and practices tend to adopt a regional color or flavor that is distinct to the city, such as in the case of the image of Paris as the city of romance. On the third level, we have visual differentiation of the city. This includes the landscape and cultural icons of the city, otherwise also known as environmental facilities or public systems. An example of such an icon would be the TAIPEI 101. In other words, city image is not a simple or one-dimensional view of the city. It is a comprehensive and complete impression of what a city is like, created by both the brain’s processing of the individual’s perception of various parts of the city and its material elements using their various sensory abilities as well as the individual’s past experiences and knowledge of the city. (Chang, 2006)

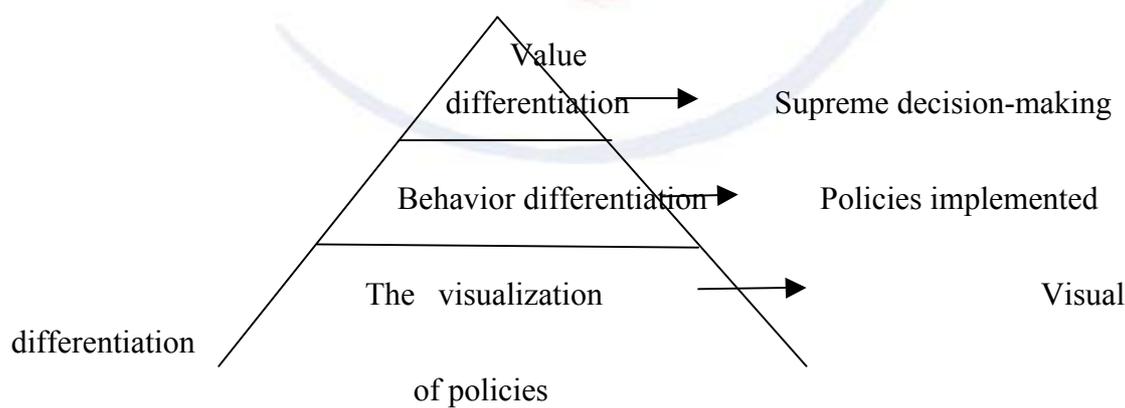


Fig. 1 City image differentiation hierarchy diagram

How a city conveys its distinctive positioning in a positive manner can be said to be one of the most critical issues that cities face today, as the shaping of a positive city image can not only enhance the reputation of the city but also increase the city

value. This is why municipal governments have been keen on using the concept of city image in their efforts to market their respective cities. With the concept of city marketing, the government moves from a guiding role to an active role amidst changing external conditions to ensure the sustainable development of the city by introducing marketing concepts into local development and emphasizing local competitiveness (Lee, 2011). Here, the practice of city marketing should be differentiated from product marketing that occurs in business: the “product” being promoted by the former is not an actual product, which is why a clear definition is not possible. Compared with the practice of product marketing, city marketing is non-profit oriented in nature and maintains close ties with social and public benefit as well as social responsibility (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990). In addition, the city consists of various high-cost local construction and policies, making the practice of city marketing even more complex when compared with product marketing.

The practice of city marketing can be divided into two levels: the first level constitutes what is being marketed is an actual city “product” with an emphasis on the external form of the city. Here, the shaping of the physical environment by means of developing infrastructure and designing spatial layouts can help create an attractive urban landscape. The second level is the marketing of a more abstract product, with an emphasis on the “inherent nature” [of the city], as well as considering the image and brand of the city established through creation, communication, and management of customers’ thought associations and feelings (Lin, 2009).

On the subject of city image, Graham (2002) has stated that the subject of city marketing is actually not the city per se but the idea or image of the city, which comprises the information that has been conveyed and successfully received by the recipient. According to Graham, there are actually two “cities” that co-exist in the idea of the “city”: one is the “external city,” that is, the distinguishing marks of the city, such as its buildings or landmarks. The second city is the “internal city,” that is, the city of [the] mind, which consists of the information received by the individual as a result of specific experiences, feelings, and thought associations. Such information, which is then amalgamated, includes information on various lifestyles and cultural patterns. Hence, “city image” constitutes what is mutually complementary, the internal city, and the external city.

Regarding the numerous targets of city marketing as well as the stakeholders of such an exercise, Kavaratzis (2004) has proposed three modes of transmission:

The first, related to the actions of the municipal government and its policies, includes the following elements: landscape strategies such as urban design, architecture, and public art; infrastructure projects such as building cultural centers and convention centers; and organizational and administrative structure, i.e., measures designed to enhance the effectiveness of the municipal management structure, such as the establishment of private–public partnerships and the implementation of city marketing. Additionally, this mode includes behavior mode, which refers to the vision for the city as envisioned by municipal leaders and the strategies used regarding different stakeholders (Lin, 2009). Although the communication effect of these elements is related to municipal actions, such an effect may not be the main objective of such action.

The second mode comprises formal and targeted attempts at widespread communication through advertising, public relations, and design, along the lines similar to the 4Ps model (Product, Price, Place, and Promotion) used in product marketing (Kotler, 2002).

The third mode of communication is via reputation or word-of-mouth. This type of communication, typically, cannot be controlled, although it can be reinforced through the media or competitors' communication activities. This mode of communication can be seen as the objective of the preceding two modes. In particular, the denizens of the city can be said to be its most important marketers (Lee, 2011).

Local governments have used a plethora of media channels and formats to conduct city marketing, including print media, electronic media, international communication (such as through the naming of sister cities to promote tourism) and city communication (such as the communication conducted along with local festival activities). Micro film making, a relatively new development, involves revealing the “inner substance” of the city by using a narrative, with the narrative also designed to market the city's distinctive characteristics and charms in what is a display of what the city has to offer in terms of landscape and culture. For instance, *The Story of Heart City* (Xinchengshi Gushi), a micro film released by the New Taipei City government in 2013, showcased the metropolitan form after upgrading as well as several policy outcomes for the public.

ii. Micro film advertising

Viewing video clips and films online has become commonplace because of the wide availability of mobile devices. Now, viewers can enjoy audiovisual content on their mobile devices regardless of time and space. This phenomenon has in turn created vast potential for the development of video and audio content online. Survey data from the Institute for Information Industry shows that over 50% of consumers access mobile video and audio resources when commuting. This shows that the use of mobile devices for viewing video and audio content has become an accepted mode of entertainment for the majority of consumers (Chen, 2012).

The term “micro film” or *wei dianying* was first used in 2010 by the mainland Chinese media to describe a long advertisement titled *Imminent* (Yi Chu Ji Fa) (Chen, 2012). The widespread impact and popularity of the micro film then led more advertisers to enter into production of the format. However, before the emergence of the “micro film,” short films made especially for a growing Internet audience had already appeared on the scene. Certainly, the refinement level and production standards of these short films fall short of those of the micro films today. However, indeed, the primordial concept and connotation of the micro film have existed prior to the coining of the term. Although this type of commercial films was not addressed by the name of “micro film,” it displayed the features of a micro film. Characteristics of this type of films include “micro [in terms of] duration” (typically lasting between 30 seconds and 10 minutes), “micro production” (usually taking just days or weeks to shoot), and “micro [in] scale” (with production costs ranging from NTD 10,000 to NTD 1,000,000).

In general, micro films created thus far can be divided into two broad categories: the first is the custom micro film, which is made according to the order of either a corporate or official party. While both are produced for promotional purposes, the former is produced for the purposes of advertising a product, while the latter is typically produced not to advertise a specific product but with a focus on city image or the promotion of tourism in the city. Another type of micro film is the original [fictional] narrative film. There is a certain entry threshold to the shooting of this type of micro film in the sense that typically production personnel with professional audiovisual production skills are required for its production such that the final product is closer to what is shown in the “cinema” in terms of its artistic core. (Chen, 2014) The greatest difference between traditional advertising and micro film advertising is that the primary content of the micro film is a story that is more autonomous and

unitary in nature (Hwang, 2013).

Currently, besides corporate entities, government agencies have also jumped onto the micro film bandwagon. These entities use the new integrated “city × micro film” model to enhance viewers’ opinion of the city; thus, the objective of city marketing is achieved as viewers are drawn into the narrative with the help of [the appropriate] ambiance, plot developments, and performances. For example, in the wake of the March 2011 Tohoku earthquake and Fukushima nuclear disaster [in 2012], the Japan Tourism Agency partnered Yahoo! to produce a micro film titled *Japan, Good for You* (Riben, Zhen You Ni De). The film, which became a hit online, was successful in conveying the image of Japan that had successfully made a post-disaster recovery and where tourists could feel safe during their travels. This is an example of successful city marketing.

III. Study method

In this study, we deconstructed the symbol of city images used in the micro films by using the image-text analysis method. Like a language, video or film imagery generally contains meaning, both explicit and implicit. By the time film content appears in front of the viewer, the information within has already been “coded” to portray certain meanings. As such, the act of image-text analysis allows us to better understand the basic concepts constituted by the system network with the implicit and explicit systems of expression of films. Hence, the film analysis is not just about mere film appreciation or the study of film phenomena but even more related to the [study of the] symbolization (Wu, 2007).

For the image-text analysis undertaken in the study, we analyzed the plot, characters, dialogs, and landscape and scenery [in the three micro films] based on the space landscapes, cultural connotation, and lifestyles depicted in these films. The analytic definitions used (Lee, 2011) are as follows:

1. Plot: How the film narrative develops in relation to the city image.
2. Characters: The personalities of the film leads and supporting roles, as well as how they interact with each other.
3. Dialogs: The dialogs or voice-overs spoken by film characters, when read as descriptions of the city background.
4. Landscape and scenery: The visual presentation of the urban landscape in these films.

Since 2011, the micro film produced to promote the city image has risen in popularity, with several municipal governments working to produce and release such films. The Taipei city government is no exception to this trend. The three micro films that will be analyzed using the image-text analysis method in this study are *Love@Taipei* (Ai Shang Taipei), *My Micro Tour of Taipei* (Taibei, Wo De Wei Luxing), and *Happily Ever After* (Xingfu Zhuibuzhui). The objective of this study is to gain a better understanding of how government agencies use the micro film format to present an [preferred] image of Taipei city.

Among the three micro films examined, *Love@Taipei* and *My Micro Tour of Taipei* are multi-episode productions with each episode of two to four minutes. On the other hand, *Happily Ever After* is a single-episode production lasting nearly nine minutes. Details on the three micro films under study are as follows:

	<i>Love@Taipei</i>	<i>My Micro Tour of Taipei</i>	<i>Happily Ever After</i>
Year released	2012	2012	2013
Duration	Five episodes of four minutes each	Fifteen episodes of two minutes each	Nine minutes
Produced by	Department of Information and Tourism, Taipei City Government	Department of Information and Tourism, Taipei City Government	Department of Information Technology, Taipei City Government
Key characters	Hu Xia, Cho Hye Sun	Wu Chung-yen, Ann Wei-ling	Fu Meng-po, Jian Man-shu
Director	Lo Chien-pin	Hwang He-ching	Lin Chun-chieh
Type of film	Romance	Romance	Romance

IV. Comparative analysis of film texts

The three micro films were, based on the space, landscapes, cultural connotation, and lifestyles presented, analyzed in terms of their respective plot, characters, dialogs, landscape, and scenery presented in order to better understand how Taipei city is being depicted in these films.

i. Plot:

		<i>Love@Taipei</i>	<i>My Micro Tour of Taipei</i>	<i>Happily Ever After</i>
Plot	Opening	Male lead, who has traveled from Beijing, meets female lead from South Korea in Taipei	Male and female leads meet by chance in Taipei	Male and female leads agree to meet at six in the evening
	Intermediate part of the narrative	Male and female leads tour various Taipei landmarks together	Male and female leads tour various Taipei landmarks together, and they end up dating	Female lead is suspicious of male lead, decides to follow him
	Ending	Male and female leads end their respective trips with complicated feelings	Male and female leads go off to pursue their respective dreams	Male lead proposes to female lead with a bouquet of flowers and a ring to the female lead's surprise
Narrative structure	Straightforward, easily understood	Straightforward, easily understood	Straightforward, easily understood	
Narrative method	Linear narrative	Linear narrative	Linear narrative	
Film themes	Unclear	Different captions in various episodes	Smart City Blissful Taipei	

Subject to the duration characteristic of the micro film format, both *Love@Taipei* and *My Micro Tour of Taipei* consist of multiple episodes of no longer than five minutes each, while *Happily Ever After* was also released in an edited three-minute version even more suitable for viewing on mobile devices. In line with traditional film narrative structures, all three micro films use the linear narrative with an emphasis on the linear principle of a single time dimension and on the cause and effect logic. This includes the completeness of the narrative structure (opening, development, climax, and conclusion) and the continuity of space–time unification. In *Love@Taipei* and *My Micro Tour of Taipei*, we see events unfold within a certain period, while in *Happily Ever After*, the narrative takes place over a single day. However, the narrative structure of all three micro films is straightforward and easily understood, meaning

that the viewer would be able to grasp the narrative trajectory fairly quickly.

Although all three micro films have taken romance as the main theme, *Love@Taipei* and *My Micro Tour of Taipei* share a more similar narrative structure: the male and female leads meet for the first time in Taipei, and they then experience the sights and characteristics of the city together. In both micro films, although the male and female leads part ways at the end, they leave Taipei with spiritual satisfaction and healing, as well as happy memories and emotions when pursuing their respective dreams. This implies that Taipei city is a city where one can recharge one's energies for the next phase in life. In *Happily Ever After*, the modernization of Taipei and the convenient life it offers are portrayed through the narrative of the female lead following her boyfriend. Although the story is short and simple, the plot is novel and innovative, with all kinds of new technologies and services cleverly woven into the narrative. The storylines of all three micro films relate closely to the daily lives of Taipei residents, making these films effective examples of Taipei's local lifestyles and cultures.

Thematic captions and slogans have been used in the three micro films; however, none have been used in *Love@Taipei*, with only the title of the film flashed across the screen at the end of each episode; in *My Micro Tour of Taipei*, a different "micro quote" appears in each episode as a summary of the theme in the respective episode. For instance, the theme of the first episode is summarized as "Travel is the [pursuit of] moving of the heart; the most moving moments are actually found in life." On the other hand, a precise slogan "Smart City, Blissful Taipei" is used in *Happily Ever After*, with the lively narrative and unexpected conclusion of the film both foregrounding the convenient technologies that are in daily use in Taipei as well as the bliss brought on by such conveniences. Here, the theme of the micro film is closely related to the slogan that appears at its conclusion.

ii. Characters

	<i>Love@Taipei</i>	<i>My Micro Tour of Taipei</i>	<i>Happily Ever After</i>
Key characters	Lead: Hu Xia, singer Character: A Beijing youth Lead: Cho Hye Sun,	Lead: Wu Chung-yen, actor Character: Wu Pai-jen, travel blogger	Lead: Fu Meng-po, actor Character: Taipei youth Po-chai

	actor Character: An editor from South Korea	Lead: Ann Weiling, actor Plays: Ann Hsiao-ching, Avid urban explorer	Lead: Jian Man-shu, actor Character: A Taipei youth, Hsiao-man
Character sketches	Male lead is bookish and shy, while female lead has a sensitive and sweet personality	Male lead is calm and restrained, while female lead has an extroverted and lively personality	Extroverted and gregarious personality
Other characters	Cabby, busker, etc.	Café owner, friend of female lead, etc.	Friends of the male and female leads, convenience store worker, etc.

Regarding the duration and production characteristics of the micro film, it is best that the character sketches for such films remain simple. This is the case for all three micro films under study: all three narratives center on a male lead and a female lead, with few supporting characters and clearly defined interpersonal relationships. In all three micro films, the male and female leads are either dating or possibly attracted to each other. The narrative takes place over a longer period in *Love@Taipei* and *My Micro Tour of Taipei*, with the viewer learning how the male and female leads meet for the first time as well as how they develop affection for each other. Here, the screen time for both the male and female leads is approximately equal. On the other hand, in *Happily Ever After*, the narrative begins with the male and female leads already dating each other and ends with the relationship between the two brought to a whole new level. However, the female lead dominates screen time here.

Although the key theme for all three micro films is romance, the personalities and attributes of the respective leads differ as a result of the differences in storylines. The male and female leads of *Love@Taipei* are visitors from Beijing and South Korea respectively, and images of Taipei's vitality and other characteristics are depicted through the perspective of these visitors or "outsiders." Both *My Micro Tour of Taipei* and *Happily Ever After* feature local characters in the lead roles. [In the former], the male lead is calm and restrained, while the female lead has an open and lively personality. Particularly in *Happily Ever After*, the extroverted, gregarious, and slightly tomboyish personality of the female lead comes through in her actions, dress, and tone. The characters [of the latter two] correspond with the city image of Taipei

as shown in these films: youthful and vibrant.

The shaping of Taipei's city image can also be discerned from the choice of actors for all three micro films: the leads are played by young actors in what is a display of the city's youthful and vibrant side. All three micro films feature artists of some reputation. Of the three, only *Love@Taipei* features a mainland Chinese singer and a South Korean actor as part of its strategy to create a stronger impact and attract more visitors from these two countries. The actors featured in *My Micro Tour of Taipei* and *Happily Ever After* are popular with younger audiences for their fresh and natural images. The popularity and reputation of these actors can also create an even stronger promotional effect for these films.

iii. Dialogs

	<i>Love@Taipei</i>	<i>My Micro Tour of Taipei</i>	<i>Happily Ever After</i>
Dialog/voiceover characteristics	Internal narratives, diary-style confessions	Literary-styled records	Daily conversations, brief conversations

The dialogs and voice-overs in the films present the linguistic characteristics of the city through accents, diction, and syntax. In *Love@Taipei*, the foreign accents of male and female leads give the film an exotic touch, with the liberal use of diary-style confessions by both leads containing both snippets of their emotions and their feelings about Taipei. The interactions between the male lead and the taxi driver and between the female lead and passers-by also serve to showcase the friendliness and kind disposition of the city's residents. In *My Micro Tour of Taipei*, the literary-styled records of both the male and female leads work to present Taipei as a city of artistic inclinations and romance. However, in *Happily Ever After*, the briefer dialogs are what one could expect to hear in everyday life. The content, diction, tone, and accents used in these dialogs are all very compact and can fully reflect the language culture prevalent among young Taipei residents today. For instance, phrases such as *hao la* (alright) and *daodi zai gao shenme la* (what exactly are you up to) are commonly used and heard in real life. In all three micro films, the landmarks and amenities of Taipei city are introduced in text form, allowing audiences [unfamiliar with the city] to develop their impressions of Taipei through audio and visual cues and to reinforce their impressions via visual texts.

Diegetic music used in all three films is also notably diverse, ranging from light and brisk pieces to suspenseful jazz pieces and gentler interludes. These pieces, which are in accord with changes in the leads' moods, plot development, and changes in plot rhythm, make for more animated films that draw audiences into their respective fictional worlds even more deeply. Moreover, these films are rich in diegetic sounds such as the sounds of traffic, of doors opening in convenience stores, of Metro trains, of busking, and of passers-by. The inclusion of these sounds serves as a reflection of life in Taipei.

iv. Landscape and scenery

The visual presentation of [Taipei's] landscape and scenery is the most direct way of creating city image. Here, we divide landscape and scenery into two categories: the material and the non-material. The former includes elements such as buildings, food and drink, and everyday icons, while the latter includes [less tangible] elements such as lifestyle, values, and ideologies. The following table shows the type of symbol appearing in the three micro films under study:

Symbol Type		<i>Love@Taipei</i>	<i>My Micro Tour of Taipei</i>	<i>Happily Ever After</i>
Images of the material	Buildings	TAIPEI 101, the LOVE sculpture	Taipei Public Library Beitou Branch, TAIPEI 101, the LOVE sculpture, heritage sites with Japanese style architecture	The Taipei Expo Park
	Traffic intersections, landmarks	Zhongxiao East Road, taxis, buses, Metro, the streets of Taipei, Songshan	The streets of Taipei, bus stops, Metro stations, Songshan Cultural and Creative Park,	Taipei Metro, the streets of Taipei, bus stops, U-bike rental stops

		Airport, Ximending, Songshan Cultural and Creative Park	Dadaocheng Wharf, Taipei Circle, The Ferris Wheel at Miramar Park, Maokong gondola/tea plantation, Liugongjun sites, Longshan Temple, Riverside Park, Yangmingshan National Park	
	Landmarks of day-to-day life	Café, park	Café, park	Convenience store, café
	Food	Various snacks, Western-style desserts, <i>mala</i> hotpot	Hot spring eggs, various snacks, <i>mala</i> hotpot	
	Entertainment and leisure	Baseball, Eslite bookstore, Shilin night market, Night scenes of Taipei, Xinsheng basketball court, Yongle market, creative exhibitions, Xinyi Commercial Center, playgrounds,	Baseball, Shilin night market, Taipei at night, Gongguan Business District, East District Business Circle, Xinyi Business District, creative industry merchandise	

		Ximen Red House Creative Bazaar		
Images of the non-material	New technologies/services		Youth-oriented loans, mobile handset charging services at Metro stations	Love@Taipei Cloud Municipal Affairs Service, parking payment SMS alert service, Multimedia Kiosk services at smart convenience stores, package pickup services at convenience stores, 1999 Citizen Household Affairs Hotline, the Intelligent Transportation System (ITS), free public Wi-Fi services in Taipei, mobile handset charging services at Metro stations,

				multiple applications of U-bike EasyCard
	Lifestyle	Street culture, café culture	Café culture	Digital technology life
	Values	Youth, passion, freedom, fashion, romance	Arts and literature, convenience, the pursuit of dreams	Modernity, convenience, sense of bliss

Scenes of Taipei have been cleverly inserted into all three micro films to express in ways that undergird the respective themes. In *Love@Taipei* and *My Micro Tour of Taipei*, the male and female leads visit several city sights—which serve as rich material symbols for city image—as their relationships progress. In addition, certain sights appear more than once in both films, and hence, they are regarded as representative of the city. These include the symbol of modernity—TAIPEI 101, the convenient Metro system and other transport facilities, and the distinctly local food and beverage options, almost running the gamut of symbol images associated with life in Taipei. It is worth noting that in these two micro films, we see signs of the up-and-coming creative industry. Not only do we see images of Taipei’s Creative Parks but also various merchandises created by the industry players. Such inclusions serve to highlight the innovative side of Taipei. In *Happily Ever After*, which focuses on Taipei as a smart city, various science and technology services and amenities described in the table above are woven into the narrative by having the male and female leads use these facilities as the story unfolds. This allows the viewer to appreciate the benefits of such facilities and science and new technology in day-to-day life in Taipei, including convenience, accessibility, and a close relation to the needs of residents. This micro film portrays life in Taipei in a realistic, everyday light, with multiple sources of information in the film content portraying a picture of a smart city that is modern, technologically advanced, and offers a plethora of conveniences. Furthermore, not only does the film serve to enhance Taipei’s city image, [the presentation of how] but the used facilities effectively frame the Taipei city government, as the planner and implementer of relevant policies, in a positive and progressive manner.

The landscapes and scenery shown in these three micro films also convey non-material images of the city. In *Love@Taipei*, the city is one that is warm, free, and full of goodwill among men; the writing of the male lead in *My Micro Tour of Taipei* speaks of a city that is full of artistic inclinations and one where individuals can discover their dreams and life goals; in *Happily Ever After*, the use of various municipal services brings out the idea of a city that is technologically advanced, modern, and offers plenty of conveniences.

Besides the above analysis of the plots, characters, dialogs, as well as landscapes and scenery, the distinctive features of micro films [produced to market] in Taipei are also noted. First, all three films are centered on the theme of romance, which enjoys wide popularity and offers significant room for plot developments. Further, the theme of romance is one that the target audience of these films, particularly younger viewers, can readily identify with.

Second, the design of certain color palettes across the three micro films also serves to accentuate various city images. The logos and backdrops in these films are presented in pastel tones or bright colors, and designs used are lively, bright, and highly stylish. These blend together with the various characters and plot development and underline the youthful and vibrant aspect of Taipei's city image. In *Happily Ever After*, the services and amenities shown are replayed at the end of the film as a means of reinforcing the viewer's impression of these facilities.

Third, although all three micro films have been produced to promote Taipei, *Love@Taipei* and *My Micro Tour of Taipei*, with their comprehensive coverage of transport, food, and entertainment in the city, are inclined toward tourists from overseas. While on one hand, *Happily Ever After* works to showcase the modern aspects of Taipei for foreign tourists, the micro film is, on the other hand, a display of municipal policy outcomes for the city's residents that would [hopefully] inspire a sense of happiness about living in the city as well as strengthen the support for the city government.

Fourth, although the three micro films were produced at the behest of various government agencies, there are very few indicators in the content of these films of such origins. For example, the tag lines "Smart City, Blissful Taipei" in *Happily Ever After* and "Taipei, One Visit Isn't Enough!" in *My Micro Tour of Taipei* appear only at the end of the films together with the name of the commissioning unit. As such, the entertainment value of these films is enhanced as the role of the commissioning

government agencies is relegated to the periphery [of the presentation].

V. Conclusion and recommendations

In recent years, with the swift development of the media, an increasing number of corporations and even government agencies are using the new format known as the micro film as a means of advertising and marketing. In this study, three micro films produced by the Taipei City government were studied. It was found that in these films, the [appropriate selection of] celebrity performers, the romance narratives used, and the lively presentation have created attractive film content that presents an image of Taipei that is free, friendly, diverse and progressive. Further, these films have also successfully conveyed the message that “Taipei is a city that is energetic, positive, and full of potential.” These films have been made with great skill and depict little traces of the government-run campaigns they are actually part of, making them even more entertaining for viewers.

Follow-up studies can focus on either quantitative studies of the relevant literatures or qualitative audience studies to seek a better understanding of the kinds of knowledge, attitudes, and behavioral intentions presented in city micro films of various stripes as well as to examine how the viewer interprets film content in the course of watching such films. Such studies would help government agencies to create even better examples of such films in the future.

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*A Study of the Effect of Using Social Networks on the Quality of Family
Interpersonal Communication
(with an Emphasis on the Relationship Between the Couple)*

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Abstract:

Study the effect of using social networks on the quality of family interpersonal communication (with emphasis on the relationship between the couple) Social networks played an undeniable role in everyday life and human relationships and social networks .Iranian's interest to join, like the rest of the world is growing. Given the importance of family functioning, present study was to evaluate the relationship between the usage of social network connections rather than interpersonal communication & family functions. The results extracted from a survey. The study population included all individuals aged 20 to 50 were married and residents of 22 region of Tehran estimated population size is 284,602 people, of which 381 selected household respectively. Data obtained from research using Kendall's correlation test and Mann-Whitney were analyzed. The results showed that people using social networks and people who do not use the two categories of family functioning and marital intimacy after all there is a significant difference. As well as the age of familiarity with social networking and the use of their time with the family, solidarity, family and marital intimacy between users of social networking sites there is a significant relationship. This means that parents spend more time in cyberspace and social networks revelations of marital intimacy with 2 indicators of emotional intelligence and sex has dropped. As well as between family functioning and parenting with three indicators, the level of cooperation, ways of parenting and problem solving there is an inverse relationship.

Keywords: social networking, interpersonal communication, family functioning, marital intimacy.

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Introduction

Today, with the development of information technology applications - Communications in everyday life, the international community is faced with the birth and growth of a new generation of Web-based tools offer possibilities for interaction, discussion, dialogue and, in general, provide two-way interaction. Web 2 is the foundation of the Internet dialog to allow unidirectional communication among users of the World Wide Web has provided. While the possibility of using the web 1 of the vast resources of the World Wide Web and send and receive information by e-mail provided, based on an established network and interactive Web 2 was formed among Internet users. (Bashir and Afrasiabi, 1392: 3).

Because of the growing number of members and it's influence on our non-virtual space (Real life), these networks are important and have become a global phenomena over a decade. As the results of a survey in 24 countries in 2010 show that worldwide average from 10 Internet users, six of them have visit social networks (Iran, 1391; quoted from meteor and sacred, 1391: 62). Therefore, Iranian sites are attentive in this regard and the number of their users are growing. (Meteor and sacred, 1391: 62).

Researchers have always stressed that the presence of social networks on various aspects of life such as family relationships, identity, social trends, attitudes and values and influence people (Freedom, 1388: 7).

The family is the fundamental social basis. It is the building blocks of society, the main focus of maintaining traditions, social norms and values and the foundation of strong social bonds and relationships and focus for the expression of human emotions and social education. Family institution generally formed based on marriage arises and the beginning of their formation, such as the safety of human life and the new wave within the kinship network creates a greater number of relatives also bind. Man in the family, teaches socialization process is a set of do's and don'ts and finally learns roles in relationships with others. The family is important, particularly in regard to family values and social values. Social values, essential element of the social system through which the community can be controlled and led to the decline or excellence. The family of the factors that gave rise to the formation and strengthening of family and community values and communication are known (shoemaker, 1388: 56-57).

In line with the growing interest in membership and use of virtual spaces in relation to different effects on people's presence in cyberspace and interpersonal communication in recent years, research has been made. For example Pvrshhryary (1386: 49) study showed that the widespread use of the Internet and depression, social isolation and family connections are linked. Browse research shows that with respect to the novelty of the phenomenon, this research is in the beginning and on the other hand research in family relations and space is very limited. Considering the great importance of the family in society, the research on this important issue deals with whether the presence in cyberspace on the nature of interpersonal relationships in the family affects?

Line, Tango and Viber within 3 years, which can be found tremendous popularity over the lives of people take dominate and affect people's lifestyle. Statistics says 400 million people in the world of software Wechat to chat and send audio and video is free to use, the ministry said that one percent of the 4 million users are Iranian.

Based on the evidence, but more than one and a half million Iranians regular user programs, such as Wechat, Viber and Instagram are significant figures are increasing in number day by day (Alexa, 2013).

Because of the breadth of the scope of control of social networks in modern societies as well as having the characteristics of the phenomenon of fluid motion and dynamic, it is necessary to keep pace with technological and content development of social networks, in different dimensions, the function of especially their role in social transformation, in the era of globalization further study. The different effects and serious social uplift and reflect on the various aspects of the virtual world with dizzying speed in the social, cultural, economic and political influence in the real world and consistently backed the change in current, complete or destroy this dimension (Zyzk, 1996, 195; quoted in Sarookhani et al., 1387: 134). It is necessary therefore important that the effects of these new social networks that run on the mobile phone is simply examined the relationship between the individuals in family.

Hypotheses

1. It seems family functioning in families whose parents use virtual spaces compare with families whose parents do not use virtual spaces there is a significant difference.
3. It seems that marital intimacy among couples using virtual spaces and compared with those who do not use virtual spaces there is a significant difference.
4. It seems there is a relation between history of familiarity with virtual spaces and family functioning.
6. It seems there is a relation between history of familiarity with virtual spaces and marital intimacy there.
- 7 It seems there is a relation between duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and family functioning.
6. It seems there is a relation between duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and marital intimacy there.

Methodology

In this study, a questionnaire survey was used. The study population consisted of all individuals aged 20 to 50 were married in 2014 who are resident in region 22 of Tehran. According to the Iran statistic center's 2011 national population senses results this region have 284,602 people. The sampling method used in this research cluster that of region 22 of Tehran of both genders (male and female) of 381 individuals of both genders were selected.

To assess the effect of the use of cyberspace on the interpersonal communication in the family room and study hypothesis, according to literature and theory, a questionnaire was developed which has 45 questions 30 of them evaluate by Likert score: very high (5), high (4), average (3), low (2), very low (1). To determine the content and face validity, according to the basic concepts of research and consider the variables, using books and resources, searching numerous websites a primary questionnaire prepared early Then, the questionnaire was implemented as a pilot and bugs were fixed content validity of the questionnaire. Cornbrash's alpha coefficient was used to measure the reliability of the results is presented in Table 3.1 Cronbach's alpha coefficient.

Component		Item QTY	Cronbach's alpha	
Marital intimacy	Sex	6	0.681	0.839
	Emotional intelligence	5	0.767	
Family functioning	level of cooperation	6	0.692	0.792
	Problem solving	7	0.707	
	Ways of parenting	9	0.86	

Table 1: Cronbach's alpha coefficient

The results using SPSS software is both descriptive and inferential extraction. To describe the results one-dimensional tables have been used. To analyze first, second hypothesis tests of the non-parametric Mann-Whitney, and to analyze fourth, fifth & sixth hypothesis, Kendall correlation tests were used.

Findings:

Hypothesis 1

Component	MWU	Z	Significance level
Family functioning	1.18	-5.17	000/0
level of cooperation	12580	4.44	000/0
Problem solving	1.03	-6.65	000/0
Ways of parenting	1.23	4.7	000/0

Component	MWU	Z	Significance level
Family functioning	1.18	-5.17	000/0
level of cooperation	12580	4.44	000/0
Problem solving	1.03	-6.65	000/0
Ways of parenting	1.23	4.7	000/0

Table 2: Results Mann-Whitney test to compare the Family functioning and its components among users and nonusers of virtual spaces

Whitney U-test analysis results in the above table to compare the family Function and its components among users and nonusers of virtual spaces shows that the mean scores of the family functioning, the level of cooperation, problem solving and ways of parenting between the two groups of patients using virtual spaces and non have a significant difference.

Hypothesis 2

Table 3: Results Mann-Whitney test to compare the Marital intimacy and its components among users and nonusers of virtual spaces

Whitney U-test analysis results in the above table to compare the Marital intimacy and its components among users and nonusers of virtual spaces shows that the mean scores of the Marital intimacy, Sex and emotional intelligence between the two groups of patients using virtual spaces and non have a significant difference.

Hypothesis 3

Component	MWU	Z	Significance level
Marital intimacy	1.16	5.32	000/0
Sex	1.20	4.99	000/0
Emotional intelligence	1.47	2.36	000/0

Variables	Kendall Value	Significance level	Hypothesis
History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Family functioning	0.241	000/0	Approved
History of familiarity with virtual spaces and level of cooperation	0.295	000/0	Approved
History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Problem solving	0.340	000/0	Approved
History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Ways of parenting	0.124	0.015	Approved

Table 4: Kendall correlation coefficient between History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Family functioning

As the above table shows that according to the Kendall value and significance level of less than 05/0 is obtained; it means there is a significant negative relationship between two variables History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Family functioning and its components.

Hypothesis 4

Variables	Kendall Value	significance level	Hypothesis
History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Marital intimacy	0.142	0.005	Approved
History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Sex	0.147	0.004	Approved
History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Emotional intelligence	0.008	0.887	Approved

Table 5: Kendall correlation coefficient between History of familiarity with virtual spaces and Marital intimacy

As the above table shows that according to the Kendall value and significance level of less than 05/0 is obtained; it means there is a significant relationship between two variables History of familiarity with virtual spaces Marital intimacy and its components.

Hypothesis 5

Variables	Kendall Value	significance level	Hypothesis
Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Family functioning	0.208	000/0	Approved
Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and level of cooperation	0.23	000/0	Approved
Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Problem solving	0.236	000/0	Approved
Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Ways of parenting	0.128	0.012	Approved

Table 6: Kendall correlation coefficient between Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Family functioning

As the above table shows that according to the Kendall value and significance level of less than 05/0 is obtained; it means there is a significant relationship between two variables Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Family functioning and its components.

Hypothesis 6

Variables	Kendall Value	significance level	Hypothesis
Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Marital intimacy	0.208	0	Approved
Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Sex	0.155	0.002	Approved
Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Emotional intelligence	0.107	0.037	Approved

Table 7: Kendall correlation coefficient between Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Marital intimacy

As the above table shows that according to the Kendall value and significance level of less than 05/0 is obtained; it means there is a significant relationship between two variables Duration of using virtual spaces (per day) and Family functioning and its components.

Descriptive findings:

The results showed that among the 382 patients, 195 women (51%) and 187 females (49%) who have shown that there is little difference between the number of men and women. The results showed that the mean age of the study subjects is 89/33. The results showed that the highest percentage of undergraduate education at 69/48 percent respectively. The lowest frequency of PhD and above the 40/3 percent. The results showed that the majority of participants with 27/89 percent, are employed. The results showed that most participants have two children (02/45) that, although the number of persons with a child (76/33) is also relatively high. The results showed that the average duration of marriage participant is equal to 87/12. The results indicate that the majority of participants have a smartphone (99/71 per cent) respectively. As the results show that a high percentage of people via mobile phone (30/62 percent) are connected to the Internet. Results showed that 45/54% of people are connected to the Internet via ADSL over the phone, less. The findings suggest that a relatively high percentage of people in virtual spaces (8/61) membership. The results show that the majority of people within six months to a year (35/31) past, been a member of virtual networks. The results showed that most of the virtual network from 1 to 3 hours (74/34 percent) virgin, although the percentage of people that 3 to 5 hours (93/30 percent) of virtual networks are also There is the. The findings suggest that virtual network lines (50/20 percent), Facebook (25.4 percent) and Viber (95/25 percent) is the most popular social networks. The results show that most people use the Internet between 1 to 3 hours (42/32%), and 3 to 5 hours (32/28 percent) are used. The results show that a high volume of people through mobile phone (95/44%) and at home wifi (71/39 percent) have an Internet connection. The results showed that the use of the Internet, social networking (71/30) and then the educational and academic work (18/18) and emails (4.18) is. Results indicate an average dependency (54/41 percent), family atmosphere to the Internet.

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Uses and Gratifications of Live Streaming Apps amongst Indonesian Youth: An Exploratory Study of Periscope

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Abstract

Indonesia, with a total online population of 93.4 million people in 2015, is one of key regions to watch in the development of digital ecosystem. Social media has been an integral part in Indonesian daily digital activity. APJII found that 87.4% of surveyed Indonesia internet users use social networks. That, coupled with the exponential growth of mobile and smartphone penetration create a promising future for industry practitioners as well as an area for further investigation for academics.

Social media evolves. In Indonesia, despite over 60 million users are connected to Facebook, there are always new space to tap into. One of which is live streaming apps that is in trend recently, Periscope. Globally, Periscope apps user is primarily youth aged 16-34 (81%) reported GWI which is very similar to the majority of Indonesia internet users (83% aged 18-35 year-old, according to APJII).

Non-probability, convenience sampling is used to reach out the 81 samples via online survey. Primary gratifications sought to use Periscope include passing time, entertainment, and coolness. Gratifications obtained by using Periscope include entertainment, information seeking, and relational maintenance.

Keywords: Periscope, social media, social networking sites, uses and gratifications.

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Introduction

As many as 93.4 million Indonesians are online today, eMarketer forecasted (Q2 2015). With total population of around 250 million people in the same year, the online population is approximately 37 per cent of all Indonesians. Indonesia online population size has been growing rapidly since 2013. From only around 72.8 million in 2013, it has grown 28% today, and is expected to remain growing in the years to come. The same source (eMarketer, Q2 2015) forecasted a 10 per cent CAGR of online which predicts a 133.5 million online Indonesian population in 2019.

Such rapid internet population growth, one of the reasons, is a result of the increased penetration of mobile and smartphone in the country. In 2015, eMarketer (July 2015) noted there are 149.2 million units of mobile phones in Indonesia, 55.4 million of which (or 37% of total mobile) are smartphones. This, with government initiative of developing and launching the 4G LTE infrastructure and services in December 2015 (Ngazis and Haryanto, 2015) are told to be the accelerator of internet population growth in Indonesia.

Association of Indonesia Internet Service Provider (APJII) researched 2,000 online Indonesians in 2014 and found that the profile of Indonesia online population is majorly (49 per cent) coming from young generation of 18-25 year-old (2015). With such a young generation dominating the online world, it comes with no wonder that one of leading online activities is using social media. APJII reported that 87.4% of Indonesia online population use social media daily.

Starcom MediaVest Group (SMG), in its new research report, found that in average Indonesians are online 67 minutes daily on social media (2015). If focused in the young generation of 18-25 year-old only, the number gets slightly higher. This group spend 74 minutes daily or 517 minutes a week on social media. This shows young generation is very active social media users.

Social media landscape in Indonesia itself changes very fast. After its rising use in 2012, Facebook saw a microblogging rival—Twitter—growing exponentially in 2013-2014. Path, which offers a more exclusive friendship circle, and Instagram started growing its user base in the country as well from late 2014 to recently.

SMG report (2015) noted that as many as 38.4 per cent of 18-25 year-old Indonesian accessed Facebook in the past 7 days. 11.6 per cent, 11.4 per cent, and 4.9 per cent of the same group of people respectively accessed Twitter, Instagram, and Path in the past 7 days.

The content of the aforementioned social media platforms is mainly images and text. YouTube, in other hand, provides an avenue for video content to grow. The site was accessed by 18.1 per cent of 18-25 year-old Indonesians in the past 7 days. Bigger than Path, Instagram, and even Twitter. Looking at the figure, marketers believe that video-based social platform like YouTube holds the opportunity for the future of marketing. In recent development, aside from YouTube, a video live streaming social media platform, Periscope, emerges.

Periscope as a platform allows its user to broadcast a live stream to followers as well as following live streams from users across the globe. Globally, a Global Web Index report, mentioned that the penetration of Periscope is 1%; slightly higher than its competitor Meerkat (i.e. 0.9% penetration worldwide). Like other social media, Periscope users are mainly youngsters. 81 per cent of its global users (including Indonesia) is of 16-34 year-old, where 32% of which is 16-24 year-old (2015).

Despite its new development in the country, it is interesting to explore and map the opportunity of the future as early as possible. With that perspective in mind, researcher posed the following research questions to be addressed in this study:

- RQ1. What is the profile of current users of Periscope in Indonesia?
 RQ2. How are Periscope users making use of its functions?
 RQ3. What are the perceived gratifications sought and obtained by using Periscope?

Research Methodology

This study is an applied, exploratory study as this primary objective is to understand the uses and gratifications of Periscope, a new and growing live streaming social media platform in Indonesia. This study deploys quantitative approach in data collection and analyses.

Sampling method used in this study is non-probability, convenient sampling to get Periscope active users who are registered to the platform for at least a month. The data is collected through an online survey distributed to a set of mobile panel across Indonesia using JakPAT services from mid-October to 1 December 2015. The survey received 81 valid responses for analysis.

The variables explained in this study cover:

1. Profile of Periscope users
 - a. Sex
 - b. Age
 - c. Education
 - d. Monthly household expenditure
 - e. Social media ownership
 - f. Social media access
 - g. Uses of social media in general
2. Uses of Periscope
 - a. Frequency of Periscope access
 - b. Length of registered to Periscope
 - c. Uses of Periscope features
3. Gratifications sought and obtained (as defined by Ballard, 2011):
 - a. Relational maintenance
 - b. Passing time
 - c. Entertainment
 - d. Coolness
 - e. Information seeking
 - f. Expression

Results and Discussions

Profile of Current Periscope Users & Its Social Media Behavior

The study from 81 samples of current Periscope user in Indonesia reveals that majority, demographically, the users are females (54%), 16-25 year-old (77%), have attained degree from high/vocational school or bachelor degree (94%), with monthly household expenditure of <USD 100-300 (87%).

The result yields with general characteristic of social media user in Indonesia in general. They are young in age which makes them primarily first-jobber/early in their professional career.

Demographic Profile	N	%
Female	44	54%
Male	37	46%
16-20	16	20%
21-25	46	57%
26-30	15	19%
31-35	3	4%
>35	1	1%
High/Vocational School	37	46%
Diploma	5	6%
Bachelor	39	48%
< USD 100	28	35%
USD 101 - 200	22	27%
USD 201 - 300	20	25%
USD 301 - 500	7	9%
USD 501 - 750	2	2%
> USD 750	2	2%

Figure 1: Profile of Periscope Users in Indonesia

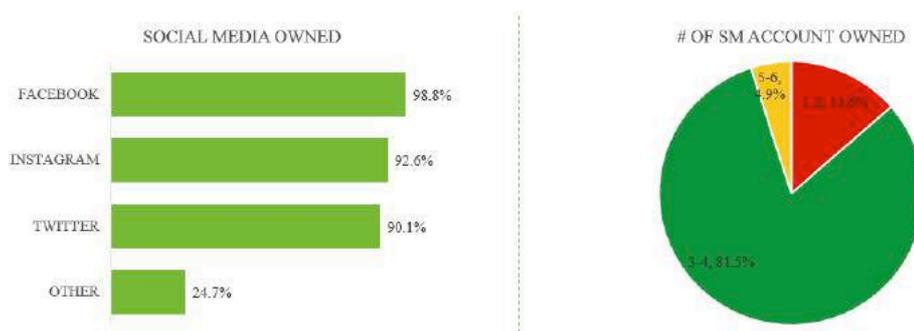


Figure 2: Social Media Account & Number of Account Owned

Most Periscope users are also active in Facebook. 98.8 per cent of them are active in Facebook, followed by Instagram (92.6%) and Twitter (90.1%). Other social media were also mentioned by the respondents including Path, LinkedIn, and Google+ (aside from Periscope).

Majority of respondents claimed to own 3-4 social media accounts (81.5%) in which they are active. There are 4.9 per cent who claimed to be active in 5-6 social media accounts. In average, respondents have at least 3 accounts of social media they are active in. This shows that regardless the pace of change of social media landscape in the country, consumers will remain active in the accounts they previously own prior to the birth and development of the new social media platform.

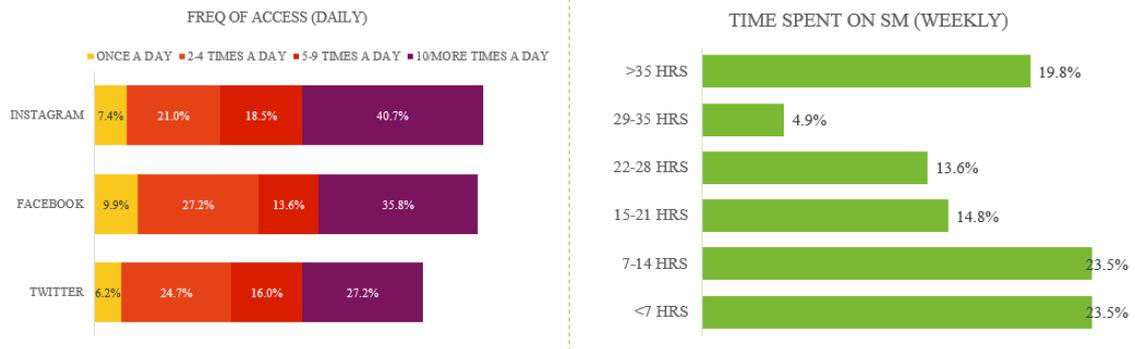


Figure 3: Frequency of Social Media Access & Time Spent on Social Media Weekly

Weekly, respondents reported to spend <7-28 hours (75.4%) on social media. This equals to around one third of a day to 1.2 day a week. If seeing at yearly level, thus, respondents would spend around 52-62 days on social media; a considerable amount of time. This is in line with the findings in APJII report capturing that majority of Indonesia online population is active in social media.

Next interesting thing to explore is that which social media they use most often in daily basis. The study uncovers that Instagram has been a platform increasingly important for the respondents, followed by Facebook and Twitter. As for Instagram (88%) and Facebook (86%), around nine out of ten respondents check it on daily basis, where 40.7% of respondents are checking Instagram and 35.8% are checking Facebook very actively (10 times/more a day). Unlike the two, Twitter has been in a way left behind by the users. Respondents claimed to be active in Twitter in this study is only 74% with only 27.2 per cent checking very actively; relatively far behind of its two rivals.

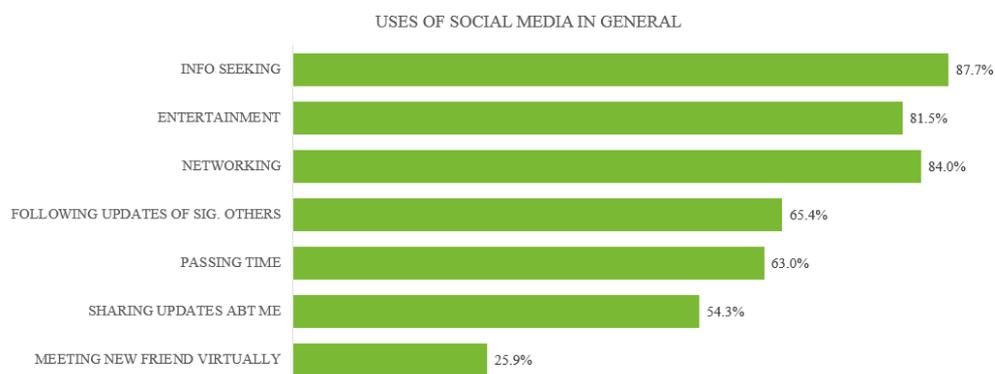


Figure 4: Uses of Social Media in General

Before analyzing further specifically for Periscope, analysis of uses of general social media is done to get an understanding on users' motivation on using social media in general. In the above figure, five key uses of social media include: (1) information seeking, (2) networking, (3) entertainment, (4) following updates of significant others, as well as (5) passing time. This indicates that respondents are only *consuming* the content of social media. They are less *expressing* themselves in the social media. Rather contrary to the aim of social media presence—which is to express self, opinion, or point of view freely—the actual motivation that drives the use of social media are of passive functions.

Periscope Uses & Gratifications

As a growing social media in the country, it comes with no wonder that respondents are mostly rarely accessing Periscope. 71.6 per cent of respondents reported so. In other hand, it is less than twenty per cent of the respondents (14.8%) who checked the platform regularly in daily basis.

Slightly over half of the respondents have been registered in Periscope for 2-3 months, while it is only 12.4 per cent who claimed to have been using the platform for 4 or over 5 months. This shows that Periscope is still in the stage of growing its user base in Indonesia presently. The future growth opportunity is there for the social media platform if looking at the number of respondents registered for 1-3 months.



Figure 5: Frequency of Access & Length of Using Periscope

As a livestreaming social media platform, Periscope offers a wide range of features. Key features that are used by the most (41%) of respondents regularly include watching live broadcast and interacting in live broadcast. Of the two features used the most by respondents, interacting in live broadcast is done slightly more frequently by the respondents with 11.1 per cent of respondents reported to interact in live broadcast 5-10 or more times daily. Interaction currently made possible in Periscope is only commenting to and sending *love icons/stickers* during a live broadcast.

In other hand, 40% of respondents reported to have done a live broadcast. It is interesting to see this figure and the aforementioned information pertaining interactivity in Periscope as they indicate that users are using Periscope for a more active function in comparison to the social media in general.

This may be a result of the age Periscope in Indonesia (which is young) and the content currently available in Periscope (which is relatively limited—if compared to current big social media like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter). Under such

condition, users are, in a way, *pushed* to be active with features that are more engaging than other social media—i.e. live streaming capability. This assumption can later be tested by comparing the present a

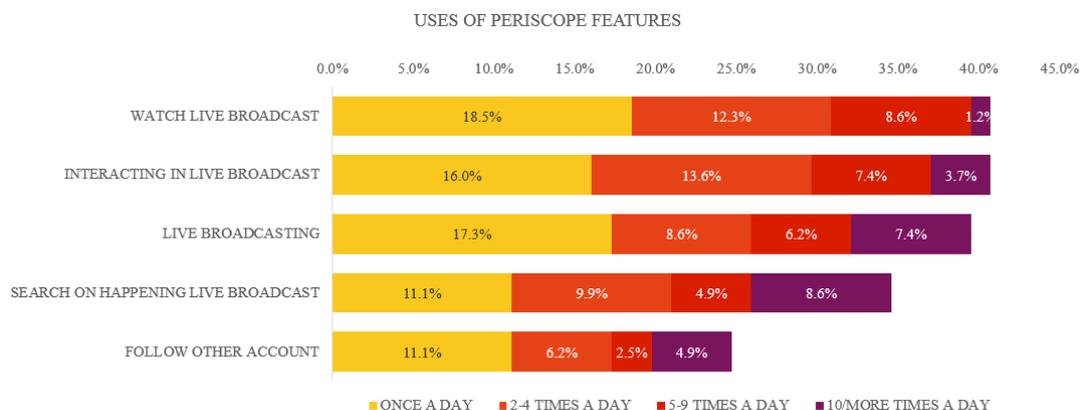


Figure 6: Uses of Periscope Features (detailed by frequency of daily use)

Despite being the less frequent feature of Periscope used by the respondents in daily basis, 25% repondents still use the follow function daily. Below figure shows the account or user they will follow on Periscope.

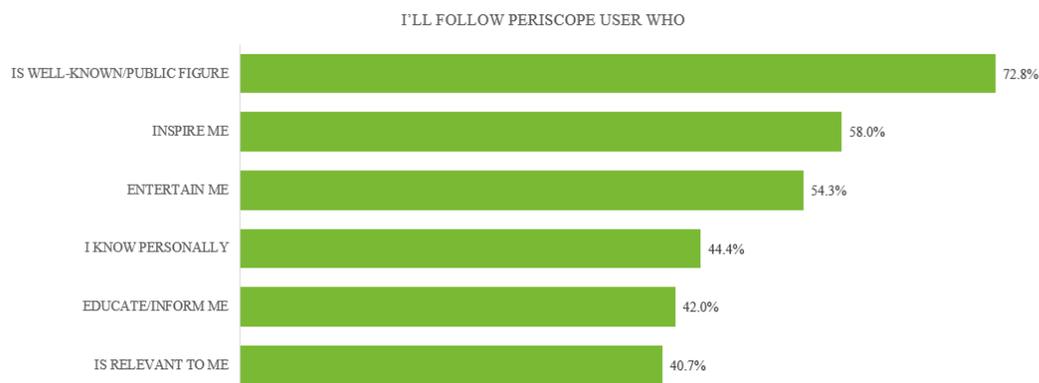


Figure 7: Account or User to Follow on Periscope

Seventy three per cent of respondents mentioned that they would follow a well-known individual or a public figure on Periscope. Other than that, respondents would follow the accounts or profiles who inspire (58%) and entertain (54%) themselves. This should reflect the type of content which motivate them to use the platform.

Having known the uses (of Periscope features) and profile or account respondents will follow above, in the following part of this paper, the gratifications from using Periscope are discussed. Below is a figure depicting the means (average) of gratifications sought and obtained of Periscope users.

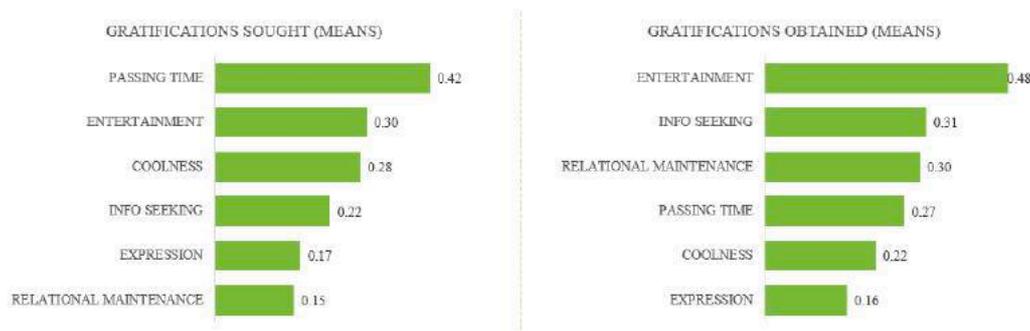


Figure 8: Gratifications Sought & Gratifications Obtained from Using Periscope

Top three gratifications sought by users to use Periscope include: passing time, entertainment, and coolness. According to this, free time or nothing time people have daily is the key motivator for people to use Periscope. In between commuting from home to school or work or lunch time, for instance, people would have time to check on their social media, or in this case, Periscope.

Aside from motivation to pass time or fill up free time, Periscope use is driven by entertainment gratification. This means respondents would look for entertaining content (live broadcast/stream) to use Periscope. This is in line with the nature Periscope has as a video-based social media platform. It is equally believed by researchers and marketers that video content conveys better message, thus more engaging and entertaining for the consumers. This is well captured in this finding.

Interesting gratification sought by users to use Periscope is the gratifications for coolness. From the above figure, it is safe to say that to the respondents, even only using or registered an account in the platform brings value to them. Periscope, a young, currently growing social media platform drives a perception of coolness to the users as they are seen as early adopters—which are cool, in their point of view.

Despite live broadcasting feature being one of prominent uses of Periscope, the respondents are not really motivated to use the platform to express themselves—including the self, opinion, and point of view.

In other hand, when seeing the gratifications obtained by users after using Periscope, similarity and difference in order are identifiable. Gratifications obtained, say some researchers, are better predictors for media consumption than gratifications sought. Three gratifications obtained leading the list include: (1) entertainment, (2) information seeking, and (3) relational maintenance.

This explains that respondents' entertainment gratification or motivation is met by using Periscope. This may reflect the perception of current content available in Periscope—i.e. entertainment content. Unlike to gratifications sought, information seeking has become one of gratifications obtained by users in Periscope. Users can access news stories, information on film, hobby, and interest in Periscope.

Lastly, Periscope can really satisfy the relational maintenance need of the users. Periscope helps facilitate communication to others and connect the users to people

they know. This can include friends, family, relatives, as well as people they are aware about but do not know personally—e.g. actors, actresses, politicians, or government workers.

As seen and discussed above, it is reflective that however frequent the respondents use the more *active* function of Periscope, they remain as a passive consumers of content in Periscope. Expression is less of a motivation for the respondents to use Periscope—seen in both gratifications sought and obtained.

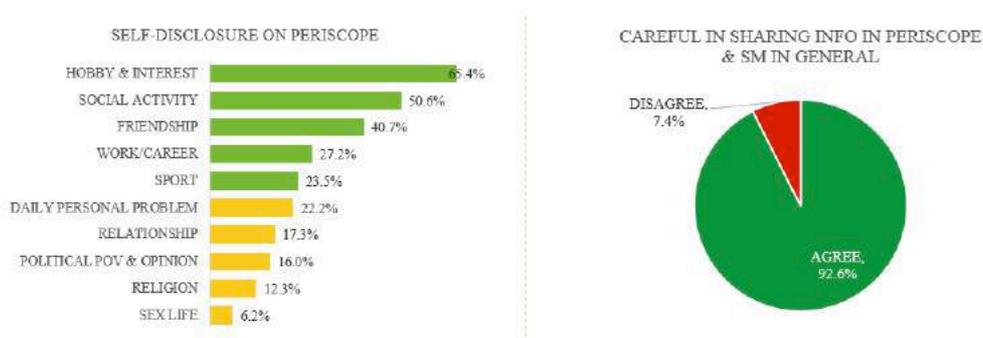


Figure 9: Information of Self Disclosed in Periscope & Perception of Carefulness in Sharing Personal Information in Social Media in General

When asked about information of personal that they are willing to disclose in Periscope, respondents put the *less-intimate* or *less-personal information* in the top of the list. Respondents are willing to share information regarding their hobby & interest (65.4%), social activity they do (50.6%), friendship (40.7%), work or career life (27.2%) and sport interest (23.5%) that are more *surface* than deeply personal information such as sex life (6.2%), religion (12.3%), political point of view and opinion (16.0%), romantic relationship (17.3%), and personal problem faced daily (22.2%).

This is because people are increasingly aware to be more careful in sharing personal information in social media in general. In above chart, it is seen that almost all respondents (92.6%) agree that they are careful in sharing personal information in social media.

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Bread Maker-Turned-Breadwinner: Representations Of Gender And Power In The Canadian Television Series Bomb Girls

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Abstract

This research explores the representation of gender roles in the Canadian prime-time television series *Bomb Girls*, which depicted the lives of women working at a munitions factory in Toronto during the Second World War. The historical drama, which aired from 2012 to 2013, was set in a period that challenged gender dynamics in the public and private spheres. Women's participation in the workforce more than doubled during the war, reaching 1.2 million by late 1943. Women worked alongside men and in place of those fighting overseas, assuming (or at least sharing) the traditionally-male role of 'breadwinner.' This blurred gendered divisions of labour and challenged stereotypical conceptions of 'womanhood.' Life changed and, with that, so did women. *Bomb Girls* sought to tell the stories of a diverse group of female munitions factory workers 'liberated' from the home and the social restrictions that accompany a traditional division of labour. Through a content analysis of the television series, this study considers whether and, if so, how the series portrayed these shifting power dynamics by analyzing—through a feminist media studies theoretical framework—the characters' personal characteristics, motivations for employment, and attitudes towards their own labour. It argues that *Bomb Girls* challenges dominant discourse on representations of gender in media, capturing the complexity of the character, motivations and attitudes of working women during the war. It ultimately presents a more nuanced and less gendered representation of women in the wartime workforce.

Keywords: gender, representation, television, feminist media studies, Second World War, Canada

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Introduction

Bomb Girls was a Canadian primetime television series that depicted the lives of women working in a munitions factory in Toronto, Canada, during the Second World War. The series aired for two seasons on the Global Television Network from 2012 to 2013, culminating in a series finale movie that aired in early 2014. *Bomb Girls* stands among a select list of Canadian period pieces to “survive” its first season (Bendix, “Exclusive,” 2012). As a serialized period piece, it drew on historical research to recreate an authentic representation of life during the Second World War, complete with its sets, costumes, language, characters, and storylines. The Network describes the series as follows:

Set in the 1940s, *Bomb Girls* tells the remarkable stories of the women who risked their lives in a munitions factory building bombs for the Allied forces fighting on the European front. The series delves into the lives of these exceptional women from all walks of life – peers, friends and rivals – who find themselves thrust into new worlds and changed profoundly as they are liberated from their home and social restrictions. (Global TV, “Bomb Girls,” 2015)

Bomb Girls took place during the Second World War, a period when the Canadian government called on women to enter the labour force in unprecedented numbers in the name of ‘total war.’ With Canadian soldiers overseas, the male labour force was depleted by 1942, and the federal government had no choice but to draw on its “womanpower,” as then Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King called it (King, 1942, p. 5). By 1944, nearly 1.2 million women worked full-time in Canada—almost twice what it was when the war started—and approximately 800,000 additional women worked part-time or on farms (Canada, 1944, p. 7; Pierson, 1986, p. 9). Manufacturing, which was traditionally male-dominated labour, was among the top three industries employing women during the Second World War in Canada, along with service industries and then trade and finance (mainly retail) (Canada, 1944, p. 7).

The war and women’s concomitant surge into the workforce blurred gendered divisions of labour (which confine women to the private sphere of the home) and challenged stereotypical ideas about ‘womanhood.’ Life changed and, with that, so did women. Broadly, this paper explores whether and, if so, how *Bomb Girls* depicted these shifting power dynamics in relation to traditional social constructions of gender. It further considers the significance of this for the lingering social narrative of women’s wartime labour broadly-speaking as well for feminist research on mass media representations of women.

Research Background and Significance

Bomb Girls was the first show of its kind—“a Canadian-made drama, about a piece of Canadian history,... on a network other than the CBC,¹... [that was] not just a serialized drama, but a serialized period piece” (Stinson, 2014). As the Canadian

¹ “CBC” is an acronym for the “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,” the nation’s public broadcaster with a mandate to “connect all Canadians.” CBC Television airs 91 per cent Canadian content in prime time (CBC/Radio-Canada, “Who We Are,” 2015). In contrast, the Global Television Network is privately owned.

newspaper the *National Post* described the series: It was “at its heart a story about the empowerment of women at a time when they still lived sheltered lives” (Ibid., 2014). This description is significant because it points to one factor motivating the series’ creation. As its co-creator Michael MacLennan noted: “... the more research I did, the more I realized that really most presentations of the '40s are just not accurate. It was a time of immense experimentation, social experimentation, sexuality—these were women who were, many of them, working for the first time in their lives” (Bendix, “Exclusive,” 2012). *Bomb Girls* looked to remedy this by offering a historically representative or ‘accurate’ portrayal of the war’s [liberating] impact on women. This goal is relevant because the shifting gender [and power] dynamics were not readily or strongly recognized in the broader patriarchal society of the time, nor were these dynamics strongly portrayed in mass media representations of women’s paid labour during the Second World War or, for that matter, in scholarship on the extent to which the war liberated women from social constructions of gender.

With respect to mass media representations of women’s paid work during the Second World War, Canadian newspapers—the commercial and labour press alike—generally presented a story of women’s labour that did not reflect the lived reality or the political economic and social significance of women’s lives as wage labourers (Moniz, 2012).² Coverage consistently reinforced stereotypical values about women and their labour and upheld the patriarchal status quo, leaving “limited, if any, space for a broader or more progressive identity or for the possibility of social change in the direction of women’s equality” (Ibid., p. 196).

Ruth Roach Pierson (1977, 1986) ignited the scholarly inquiry into whether the Second World War “liberate[d] women from patriarchal divisions of labour and conceptions of proper womanhood” (1986, p. 9). To explore her question, she analyzed the Canadian government’s recruitment of women into the paid workforce during the Second World War using, as an object of analysis, archival records of the Women’s Division of the National Selective Service, the government division responsible for organizing the employment of Canadian women during the war. In analyzing the “context of women’s wartime employment and ... the degree to which [government] attitudes towards women’s proper role in society changed during the war” (1977, p. 125), Pierson ultimately argued that women did move beyond the restrictions or boundaries imposed by traditional conceptions of gender in a patriarchal society, acknowledging however that the “war’s slight yet disquieting reconstruction of womanhood in the direction of equality with men was scrapped for a full-skirted and redomesticated post-war model” (1986, p. 220). Much subsequent research on the impact of the Second World War on women’s status in society draws on Pierson’s work. This scholarship largely acknowledges the temporary workplace and financial gains made by women over the course of the war, but largely suggests

² The author’s doctoral dissertation, “Women in the Margins: Media Representations of Women’s Labour in the Canadian Press, 1939-1945” (Ryerson University, 2012), cited in the reference list, explored (via content analysis) representations of women’s wage labour in commercial and labour newspapers published in Canada during the Second World War.

that women's wartime advancement was short-lived and status quo ultimately prevailed.³

The literature, however, also looks beyond macro or systemic change as a marker of the war's impact on the 'gendered' status of women in society and considers, instead, change in women's self-identity brought about through the war. Alison Prentice et al. (1988, 2004) argued that "the opportunity to expand their activities [beyond personal service work, for example] did have a positive impact" on Canadian women (1988, p. 317). Specifically, women "gained an increased sense of self-worth, leading them to chafe at the more traditional and limited notions of women's appropriate roles that re-emerged at war's end" (Ibid., 317). In short, "though few [women] noticed it, a new era had begun for women" (Ibid., 295).

In *Six War Years, 1939-1945: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad* (1974), Canadian history writer Barry Broadfoot travelled across the country with his tape recorder asking people: "What did you do in the war?" Hundreds of anonymous Canadians replied to that question, and theirs are the voices heard in this book. The result is an oral history of the Second World War as told to Broadfoot by the Canadian men and women who lived it, and this includes women in the wartime workforce. The following is an excerpt of one woman's response, aptly titled "Women Found Freedom":

I think [the war] did a lot to finish off the idea that a woman's place and her only place was within home. My God, there were tens of thousands of us living a kind of life we'd never known before. More than anything, I guess you could say freedom.... [T]he war and working in the plants so changed me. I became an entirely different person. (p. 358)

This quote illustrates the personal and collective changes that occurred within women. The war granted many women license to experience life in the public sphere workforce and, moreover, to view themselves as part of it. The war changed women and how they viewed themselves, their labour and their social role in a patriarchal society. This study sought to determine whether *Bomb Girls* may, in fact, play a role in (re)producing a cultural narrative about women's lives during the war that offers a more representative story—one of personal empowerment.

This line of inquiry has implications for feminist media research on representations of women in mainstream media. This research largely reflects the work of feminist media scholars who argue that mass media "contribute to the reinforcement of gender differences and inequalities" and, as such, constitute a "key site through which oppressive feminine identities are constructed and disseminated" (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 7). More specifically, feminist analyses of media seek to understand this connection between image and (patriarchal) ideology—that is, how images and cultural constructions are connected to patterns of inequality, domination and oppression (Gill, 2006). According to feminist media scholar Liesbet van Zoonen (1995), media representations of gender—masculinity and femininity—are expressions of dominant gender discourse and reflect a dichotomous, binary and hierarchical definition of

³ Such Canadian scholarship (using mass media as an object of analysis, among other sources) includes Forestell 1989; Keshen 1997, 2004; Korinek 1996; Nash 1982; Pierson 1977, 1986; Prentice et al. 1988; Smith 2008.

gender. This includes reinforcing gender roles, which reflect a male-female or masculine-feminine dichotomy and hierarchy—public-private, workplace-domestic, active-passive, powerful-powerless, resolute-submissive, protector-victim (van Zoonen, 1995, p. 320). For example, in explaining the media's dichotomization of gender, she characterized representations of women with the terms: "underrepresentation, family context, low-status jobs, no authority, no power, related to others, passive, emotional, dependent, submissive and indecisive" (Ibid., p. 320). Oppositely, media characterize men in terms of the following key words: overrepresentation, work context, high-status positions, authority, powerful, individual, active, rational, independent, resistant and resolute (Ibid., p. 320). These representations, then, become part of human subjectivity, offering ways of understanding and representing oneself.⁴

This, then, prompts the question: Given the stated impetus behind *Bomb Girls*, might the series present an exception to stereotypical images of women dominant in the mass media through its depiction of working women and their connections to their own labour?

Methodology

Research involved a pilot study based on a two-part content analysis of the first season of *Bomb Girls*, which comprised six episodes.⁵ Two trained graduate student research assistants watched the episodes and coded the data in two parts: a general episode analysis (where the unit of analysis was each episode in its entirety) and a character analysis (where data was collected about each female character). Both parts aimed to draw inferences about how the series represented female gender roles by examining three variables: (1) the personal characteristics or personality traits of the female characters who work at Victory Munitions, (2) their motivations for holding paid work, and (3) their personal attitudes toward their own employment. The pilot study helped to refine the categories of analysis and the variables therein, test the coding schedule and clarity of the coding guidelines, and ensure inter-coder reliability.

The data collected was then analyzed using a feminist media studies lens which, as previously explained, views the mass media reinforcing gender differences and inequalities and constructing and disseminating oppressive feminine identities.

Results

Through a content analysis of the television series, this study considered whether and, if so, how the series depicted the shifting power dynamics in wartime society by analyzing—through a feminist media studies theoretical framework—the characters' personal characteristics, their motivations for working, and their attitudes towards their own employment. Combined, these various analytical threads suggest that *Bomb Girls*, in its first season, challenged traditional representations of gender prominent in

⁴ See Brooks and Hébert 2006; Byerly and Ross 2006; Carter, Branston and Allan 1998; Covert 2001; Ferguson 1983; Friedan 1963; Gauntlett 2008; Gill 2006; Kimmel 2008; Poindexter, Meraz, and Weiss 2008; Byerly and Ross 1999; Scanlon 1995; Smith 2008; and Tuchman 1978.

⁵ The first season comprises six episodes, however only five were analyzed in the content analysis because one of the episodes was used for training purposes.

the mass media in how it started to capture the shift in women's public-private roles and the impact of this on women's self-identity and in their day-to-day lives.

Personal Characteristics

This section considers the personal qualities traditionally associated with male and female gender roles in relation to the depiction of the female characters in *Bomb Girls*. In terms of the traditional gendered or male-female binaries analyzed in this study—active-passive, protector-victim, independent-dependent, brave-afraid—Figure 1 reveals that female characters were portrayed as embodying both characteristics considered stereotypically masculine and feminine, with somewhat greater emphasis on the former—that is, women as active, protective, independent and brave.

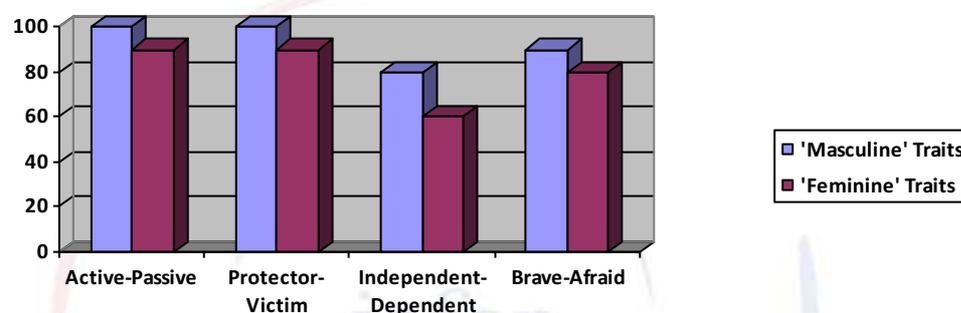


Figure 1: Analysis of Female Characters' Personal Characteristics, by Percentage of Episodes in Season One

These findings point to the complexity of women's lives during the war. In *Bomb Girls*, as in life, the women who lived and worked in wartime were not one-dimensional individuals—as in, only wives or mothers or daughters who embodied stereotypically-feminine personality traits. Rather, women were complex. In the first season, the female characters were depicted as active slightly more so than passive—that is, as strong, alert and lively, in mind and/or in action and as taking charge more so than they were portrayed as weak or accepting. This suggests that women were active in the workplace, but also living within and perhaps struggling against traditional societal expectations of their secondary or 'passive' role in a gendered society. The female characters were also depicted as protectors more often than victims, meaning as individuals who stood up to defend themselves or others more so than as helpless individuals who remained passive in the face of challenge. The first season also depicted the female munitions workers as independent more so than dependent and as brave or courageous more so than irrationally or unreasonably fearful.

One character who stood out in the analysis as embodying these personal characteristics—active, protective, independent and brave—was Lorna Corbett. Corbett was the show's matriarch. At Victory Munitions, she was the senior position of floor matron, supervising the 'Blue Shift.' She was married to Bob, a veteran of the First World War who was left in a wheelchair and not returned to work since (Eramo, 2013). They had three children—twin sons at war overseas and a daughter at home

who works as a nurse's aide. Corbett was a complex character—a competent, strict supervisor in the factory; a protective mentor to and advocate for the women in the factory; a largely passive wife in the home (even though she is the breadwinner); a mother who feared for the lives of her sons fighting overseas; a seemingly moral and traditional person; and a woman who longed for love (Ibid., 2012). In Season One, Corbett had an affair with a male colleague at the factory, became pregnant and eventually miscarried after her husband learns of the infidelity. Hers was a complicated, yet true-to-life existence.

The content analysis of Season One revealed the following about the development of Corbett's character: She was portrayed as an active character in all episodes and as passive in only 10 per cent of episodes. She was portrayed as a protector far more so than as helpless—at a ratio of 90-to-20 per cent, respectively. She was never overtly depicted as dependent or as independent (40 per cent of episodes alike). She was finding her courage, as evidenced in 20 per cent of episodes, and she simultaneously struggled with the new fears and complications that the war had introduced into her life, which we see in 60 per cent of episodes in the first season.

Corbett was just one example of the complexity apparent in the female workers' lives on the home front during the Second World War. It will be interesting to see how she and other characters evolve in full-scale research study (which will extend to the second season and the series' finale film) and, more specifically, to see if the gap between these binaries widens as the characters become more entrenched in the workforce and, with that, in their new wartime identities.

Personal Motivation to Work

As Figure 2 reveals, *Bomb Girls* depicted a variety of factors motivating women to work outside the home: Patriotism foremost, followed closely behind by financial need and independence, and then ambition and a sense that they had a 'right' to work.

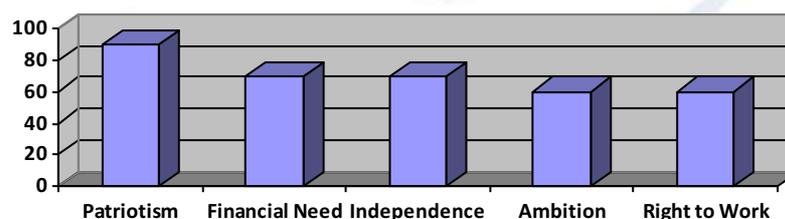


Figure 2: Analysis of Female Munitions Workers' Motivations to Work for Wages, by Percentage of Episodes in Season One (N=5)

These depictions of women's motivations for seeking employment represent ways that the series offered a more comprehensive portrayal of women in the wartime workforce. During the Second World War, the Canadian government and news media rhetoric focused exclusively on patriotism as women's main motive for seeking paid employment. As chronicled in the "History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour": "In many instances, particularly in 1942 and 1943, no solution could have been found to the labour shortage situation except that Canadian women, confronted with their patriotic duty, were willing to forego the ordinary course of their lives in order that war demands should be met" (Library and Archives

Canada, "Employment of Women," n.d.,⁶ p. 29). In House of Commons debates during the war, women were "praised and sentimentalized for their patriotism" which, as M. Teresa Nash (1982) argued, served four important functions in terms of maintaining the place of women within the patriarchal system: (1) It reinforced the idea that "women are motivated by sheer goodness; by a devotion to duty and country that is far beyond anything so crass as money, working conditions or equal rights"; (2) It "neutraliz[ed] the notion that women might desire and be motivated by economic independence"; (3) It set up "'the norm' for women", presenting "a model of the 'proper' attitudes and behaviour to which women should aspire"; and (4) It "confirms the idea that while women may have a duty to work when it is required of them in times of national emergency, the right to work is still the sole prerogative of men" (p. 88-91). In this view, women worked out of patriotic duty and not out of an inherent right or desire to work or out of economic necessity. Yet, we know that women's reasons for working in wartime were more complex, and the series *Bomb Girls* captured this complexity.

For instance, it was financial need and not patriotism that drove many women into the paid workforce. Scholarship supports this,⁷ as does a survey of women with children conducted by the Department of Labour in 1945 at 19 wartime day nurseries in greater Toronto to determine why mothers worked. The survey found that "financial reasons are by far the most frequent reasons for mothers working outside their own homes" (Library and Archives Canada, "History of the Day Care of Children," n.d., p. 13). We also know that women enjoyed working—so much so that many women intended to remain in the workforce "indefinitely," according to 89 per cent of respondents in the aforementioned survey by the Department of Labour. This suggests the real 'bomb girls' felt more toward their own labour than a sense of duty to the nation and, in fact, experienced a more personal drive to work.

As Table 2 further demonstrates, *Bomb Girls* depicted the female munitions workers as viewing their own employment as a path to financial and personal independence and as from their ambition to succeed professionally and personally. To take this one step further, some female characters who worked in the munitions factory were depicted as working because it was their inherent right to work—the same as men.

The character of Betty McRae provides an example of a character's whose motivations for working are complex. McRae was a lead character on the show—a hardworking, skilled and seemingly 'tough' worker who moved to Toronto from the Prairies to work in the munitions factory, as did many women (Bendix, "Liebert," 2012). This character is a good example of one whose motivations to work extended beyond patriotism. The war was a time of intense nationalism and patriotism and *Bomb Girls* depicted this. It also went beyond patriotism to show the complex factors

⁶ The year of publication for this government report is not indicated in either the government document itself, obtained with permission from Library and Archives Canada, or the archival record. However, the document was published sometime between April 1, 1945 (the latest chronological date noted in the document) and August 24, 1950. Ruth Roach Pierson (1986) indicated in an endnote citation that this government document was published "sometime before August 24, 1950" (240). This report contains two parts: (I) Employment of Women, and (II) Day Care of Children.

⁷ For literature that cites financial need as a main a main motivator for women to seek wage work during the Second World War, see Kealey, Frances, and Sangster 1996; Keshen 1997; and Kesselman 1990; Pierson 1986.

that drove women to work. McRae was patriotic. We see her patriotic spirit as a motivator on-the-job in 70 per cent of episodes. As the season unfolds, however, we see more than patriotism. We see her financial need in 40 per cent of episodes the first season. McRae needed a job to financially support herself. She struggled in her attempt to live as a single, independent, self-sufficient lesbian at a time when women were expected to marry and be homemakers—dependents of their husbands (Ibid., 2012). But McRae had her own plans. She needed to earn money to fulfill her dream to buy her own home. She wanted to build a life for herself, as herself. This motivated her to go to the factory every day. We see her desire for independence and her belief that it was her inherent right to hold a job in 30 per cent of episodes, respectively.

Personal Attitudes toward their own Labour

Similar to women's motivations, *Bomb Girls* also delved into how women felt toward their employment during the war. As Table 3 demonstrates, nearly all episodes depicted women's sense of duty to work as part of the war effort. In fact, it was a wartime imperative. The enlistment of men for active duty overseas created labour shortages on the home front, and so the government aggressively recruited female labour. Government campaigns recruiting women into the paid workforce appealed to "patriotic duty and the necessity to make sacrifices for the nation at war. Women's obligation to work in wartime was the major theme, not women's right to work" (Pierson, 1986, p. 22-23). This is how government propaganda framed it, but not necessarily how women felt about their own employment.

Bomb Girls suggested this, rarely positioning employment as a 'sacrifice' or as an unwanted obligation on the part of women in its first season. Instead, other factors such as self-identity (women viewing their employment as an integral part of who they are and how they view themselves) and pride best described women's attitudes toward their own employment.

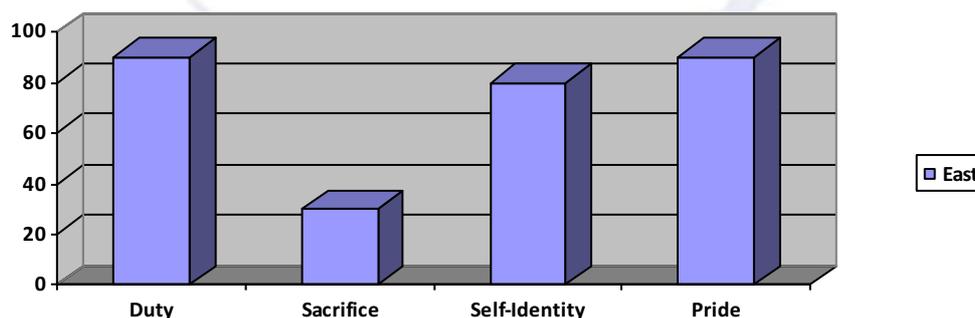


Figure 3: Analysis of Female Munitions Workers Attitudes toward their Own Employment, by Percentage of Episodes in Season One (n=6)

Gladys Witham, another lead character on the series, was the 22-year-old daughter of a wealthy Toronto family. She was privileged, cultured and naïve, yet outspoken, defiant and filled with ideas about life—and womanhood (Eramo, 2014). Viewers met Witham in the first season as the fiancé of an equally wealthy young man. Theirs was poised to be the perfect marriage, in the eyes of the families at least. And then the war happened and disrupted the flow of life. The war changed Witham. In Season One, the

viewer met a young woman eager to 'do her bit' for the war effort. On average, 80 per cent of episodes conveyed her sense of duty to do her part in the war. But as the season unfolded, we see an intense pride grow within Witham toward her labour. She defied her family by taking a job on the factory floor, even though volunteer work was more characteristic of upper class women at the time (Ibid., 2014). She seemed to feel a deep sense of satisfaction from working in the munitions factory (indicative in 20 per cent of episodes) and her role as a worker appeared tightly linked to her self-identity (as evidenced in 40 per cent of episodes). For Witham, the war offered an opportunity to change course in life, and she grabbed hold of it. In the first season, Witham struggled to step outside the confines of class and gender and their intersecting threads to understand her role and recreate herself in a society changed by war.

Conclusion

Canadian women 'made history' during the Second World War, and that history changed them. The Canadian television series *Bomb Girls* offers a dramatized, yet historically-informed look at the changes brought about within and around the women who lived and worked the war. Based on this pilot study, the series presented a fuller, more nuanced and less gendered representation of women who took to the public sphere workforce during the war. It presented female workers as caught in a push-and-pull between traditional conceptions of 'womanhood' and their new-found freedom in the public sphere and, with men away at war, the private sphere too. *Bomb Girls* challenged dominant discourse on representations of gender in media, instead capturing the complexity of the character, motivations and attitudes of working women during the war.

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