

Advances in Communication and Mass Media Research

**Edited by
Yorgo Pasadeos**

**ATINER
2010**

Advances in Communication and Mass Media Research

Athens Institute for Education and Research
2010

Advances in Communication and Mass Media Research

Edited by
Yorgo Pasadeos

First Published in Athens, Greece by the
Athens Institute for Education and Research.

ISBN: 978-960-6672-95-8

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored, retrieved system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the written permission of the publisher, nor be otherwise
circulated in any form of binding or cover.

Printed and bound in Athens, Greece by THITA Company

14 Solomou Street,
10683 Athens, Greece
www.atiner.gr

©Copyright 2010 by the Athens Institute for Education and Research.
The individual essays remain the intellectual properties of the
contributors.

Table of Contents

List of Contributors

1.	An Introduction to Recent Mass Media and Communication Studies	1
	<i>Yorgo Pasadeos</i>	

Part I: Journalism

2.	Reader-Participation in Online Newspapers: An Asset or a Limitation, According to Professional Journalists?	11
	<i>Ulrika Andersson</i>	
3.	Effect of Financial News on Investors' Trading Behavior	23
	<i>Hui Huang</i>	
4.	Samizdat Periodicals before 1989 in Former Czechoslovakia	35
	<i>Albert Kulla & Imrich Gazda</i>	
5.	Changing Media Representations of Youth: A Content Analysis of Representations of Youth in Danish Newspapers, 1953-2003	45
	<i>Klaus Levinsen & Charlotte Wien</i>	
6.	A Comparative Framing Analysis of China based on Current Affairs Programs Presented by the ABC and SBS	61
	<i>Leah Xiufang Li</i>	
7.	Media and Gender Stereotyping: The Evening News in Analysis	75
	<i>Paula Lobo</i>	
8.	Researching Journalists and Vulnerable Sources – Issues in the Design and Implementation of a National Study	87
	<i>Mark Pearson, Kerry Green, Stephen Tanner & Jolyon Sykes</i>	
9.	Media and the Environment: Reporting the Global Warming and Environmental Crisis in the American Media	97
	<i>Abhijit Sen</i>	
10.	Sport News and Athletes with a Disability	113
	<i>Alice Tejkalová</i>	

Part II: Political Communication

11.	The Portrait of the Candidate between Real and Ideal	127
	<i>Carmen Chirea-Ungureanu</i>	
12.	New Media and New Politics: The Contribution of Facebook and YouTube to the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election	143
	<i>David W. London & Bahaa Gamil Ghobrial</i>	
13.	Defective Democracy and Media: A Recount of the Nine Years of Political Alternation in Mexico	153
	<i>Roberto Valero, Guadalupe Villaseñor & David Román</i>	

Part III: Advertising & Public Relations

14.	Cultural Sensitivity in Health Promotion Programs: Islamic Persuasive Communication	167

	<i>Mohd Khairie Ahmad & John Harrison</i>	
15.	The Use of Ancient Art Symbols in Mass Communication <i>Violeta Cvetkovska Ocokoljic & Tatjana Cvetkovski</i>	181
16.	Obama Revisits 1984: The Representation of Dystopia, Utopia and the Female in the <i>Obama 1984</i> Advertisement <i>Rachel Grainger</i>	
17.	President Bush's Final Use of <i>Apologia</i> to Repair his Image <i>Fran Hassencahl</i>	203
18.	Public Relations and Advertising Theory in a Global Media Environment: An Empirical Test of the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap <i>Dean Kazoleas & Jeffrey Brody</i>	213
19.	Contradictions in Advertising: A Visual Analysis of Collectivism and Individualism in Lottery Advertisements <i>Moshe Levy & Amir Hetsroni</i>	231
20.	Recall and Recognition of In-Game Advertising: Effects of Environment, Ad Positioning, and Difficulty <i>Koos C.M. Nuijten, Claudia E. Pellengahr & Penny de Byl</i>	247
21.	Value of Perception in Organizational Reputation: The Case of Esgaz Eskisehir Natural Gas Distribution Company <i>N. Serdar Sever & Göknıl Nur Koçak</i>	259

Part IV: New Media

22.	Technology, Media and Democracy: What New, What Old? <i>Zeliha Hepkon & Oya Saki Aydin</i>	275
23.	Moldova's 'Twitter Revolution' as Myth: A Critical Assessment of World Press Coverage of Moldova's 2009 Election Protest Riots <i>George Albert Gladney</i>	283
24.	New Media and Pornography: How the Internet has Transformed the Sex Business <i>Luisa Leonini</i>	295
25.	Germany's PSB going Online – Is there an Economic Justification for Public Service Media Online? <i>Nadine Lindstädt</i>	307
26.	Social Networks and New Uses of the Internet: An Explorative Research <i>Ariela Mortara</i>	337
27.	Please DO Adjust Your Radio, Your TV, Your Computer and Your Expectations: The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Readjusts to Consumer Driven Online Newsgathering Information Needs <i>Ross Perigoe</i>	357
28.	The New Teenage Playground - The Internet: Looking for Entertainment in Cyberspace <i>Jinah Seol</i>	365

Part V: Education

29. **Strengthening Local Democracy through Community Media: A Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative through Projects within the Media Studies Department at Walter Sisulu University (WSU) – South Africa** 383
Adele Moodly, Aniela Batschari & Alicia van der Spuy
30. **Culture: Private Motivator in the Foreign Language Classroom** 397
Claire M. Ziamandanis

Part VI: Reality Television

31. **Reality Show Programs that Consume Cultural Values in Turkey: The “We Are Dining” Program** 409
Zeynep Gültekin Akçay
32. **When the Public wants to be Protagonist: The Case of Reality Shows** 427
Gevisa La Rocca

Part VII: Film Studies

33. **D.W. Griffith’s Chases in *The White Rose* and *Isn’t Life Wonderful* and their Impact on Film** 441
George Pavlou
34. **D.W. Griffith’s Chases in *Hearts of the World*, *Broken Blossoms*, *Way Down East*, and *Orphans of the Storm* and their Impact on Film** 455
George Pavlou
35. **D.W. Griffith’s Chases in *The Sorrows of Satan* and their Impact on Film** 469
George Pavlou
36. **High Concept and Cinematic Style in the *Infernal Affairs* Trilogy** 483
Eric K.W. Yu

Part VIII: Music & Film Piracy

37. **Music Piracy: Recording Companies against P2P Networks** 495
Antonella Ardizzone
38. **Film Piracy in Italy: Empirical Evidence of a Growing Phenomenon** 517
Anna Maria Bagnasco
39. **Motivations for Gratifications of Digital Music Piracy among College Students: Phase III Concept Testing** 531
Brian Sheehan, James Tsao & Jim Pokrywczynski

Part IX: Miscellaneous Communication Studies

40.	Media and Memorializing: Requiem by the Photographers who Died in Vietnam and Indochina	553
	<i>Catherine Ann Collins</i>	
41.	Reading Obsession: Mediation and Transparency in a Visual Rhetoric of Fear	565
	<i>Catherine Ann Collins & Jeffrey K. Lukehart</i>	
42.	Media Habits: A Re-Assessment of Mass Media Selection Processes	577
	<i>Robert LaRose</i>	
43.	Conference as a Game	613
	<i>Elena Nikitina</i>	
44.	The Influence of Mass Media on Contemporary Francophone Literature	623
	<i>Alina Tenescu</i>	

List of Contributors

Mohd Khairie Ahmad, *PhD Student, University of Queensland, Australia and Lecturer, University Utara Malaysia, Malaysia*
Zeynep Gültekin Akçay, *PhD Student, Gazi University, Turkey*
Ulrika Andersson, *PhD Student, University of Gothenburg, Sweden*
Antonella Ardizzone, *Assistant Professor, IULM University, Italy*
Oya Saki Aydin, *Assistant Professor, Istanbul Commerce University, Turkey*
Aniela Batschari, *Communication Advisor - German Development German Development Agency (DED), Walter Sisulu University, South Africa*
Anna Maria Bagnasco, *Assistant Professor, University IULM of Milan, Italy*
Jeffrey Brody, *Professor, California State University Fullerton, USA*
Penny de Byl, *Associate Professor, Bond University, Australia*
Carmen Chirea-Ungureanu, *Lecturer, Maritime University of Constantza, Romania*
Catherine Ann Collins, *Professor, Willamette University, USA*
Tatjana Cvetkovski, *Associate Profesor, Megatrend University, Belgrade, Serbia*
Imrich Gazda, *Assistant Lecturer, The Catholic University in Ruzomberok, Slovakia*
Bahaa Gamil Ghobrial, *Graduate Student, American University in Cairo, Egypt*
George Albert Gladney, *Professor, University of Wyoming, USA*
Rachel Grainger, *Senior Lecturer, University of Glamorgan, UK*
Kerry Green, *Professor, University of South Australia, Australia*
John Harrison, *Lecturer, University of Queensland, Australia*
Fran Hassencahl, *Assistant Professor, Old Dominion University, USA*
Zeliha Hepkon, *Assistant Professor, Istanbul Commerce University, Turkey*
Amir Hetsroni, *Associate Professor, Ariel University Center, Israel*
Hui Huang, *M.Phil. Student, City University of Hong Kong, China*
Dean Kazoleas, *Associate Professor, California State University Fullerton, USA*
Göknıl Nur Koçak, *Assistant Professor, Mersin University, Turkey*
Albert Kulla, *Lecturer, The Catholic University in Ruzomberok, Slovakia*
Robert LaRose, *Professor, Michigan State University, USA*
Luisa Leonini, *Professor, University of Milan, Italy*
Klaus Levinsen, *Associate Professor, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark*
Moshe Levy, *Lecturer, Ariel University Center, Israel*
Leah Xiufang Li, *Lecturer, Macquarie University, Australia*
Nadine Lindstädt, *PhD Student, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark*
Paula Lobo, *PhD Student, University of Minho, Portugal*
David W. London, *Assistant Professor, American University in Cairo, Egypt*
Jeffrey K. Lukehart, *Independent Scholar, McMinnville, USA*
Adele Moodly, *Director & Deputy Dean, Walter Sisulu University, South Africa*
Ariela Mortara, *Assistant Professor, University IULM of Milan, Italy*
Elena Nikitina, *Senior Researcher, Institute of Linguistics, RAS, Turkey*
Koos C.M. Nuijten, *Research Director, International Centre for Experimental Media Effects Research at NHTV International University of Applied Sciences, The Netherlands*

Violeta Cvetkovska Ocokoljic, *Assistant Professor, Megatrend University, Belgrade, Serbia*
Yorgo Pasadeos, *Head, Media Research Unit, ATINER & Professor, University of Alabama, USA*
George Pavlou, *Assistant Professor, European University, Cyprus*
Mark Pearson, *Professor, Bond University, Australia*
Claudia E. Pellengahr, *MSc Student, Aalborg University, Denmark*
Ross Perigoe, *Associate Professor, Concordia University, Canada*
Jim Pokrywczynski, *Associate Professor, Marquette University, USA*
Gevisa La Rocca, *Research Fellow, University of Palermo, Italy*
David Román, *Researcher, University of Baja California, Mexico*
Abhijit Sen, *Associate Professor, Winston-Salem State University, USA*
Jinah Seol, *Associate Professor, Korea National Open University, Korea*
N. Serdar Sever, *Associate Professor, Anadolu University, Turkey*
Brian Sheehan, *Associate Professor, Syracuse University, USA*
Alicia van der Spuy, *Senior Lecturer, Walter Sisulu University, South Africa*
Jolyon Sykes, *Research Assistant, University of South Australia, Australia*
Stephen Tanner, *Professor, University of Wollongong, Australia*
Alice Tejkalová, *Teacher and PhD Student, Charles University, Czech Republic*
Alina Tenescu, *Senior Lecturer, University of Craiova, Romania*
James Tsao, *Professor, Syracuse University, USA*
Roberto Valero, *Researcher, University of Baja California, Mexico*
Guadalupe Villaseñor, *Researcher, University of Baja California, Mexico*
Charlotte Wien, *Associate Professor, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark*
Eric K.W. Yu, *Associate Professor and Chair, National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan*
Claire M. Ziamandanis, *Associate Professor, The College of Saint Rose, USA*

Chapter One

An Introduction to Recent Mass Media and Communication Studies

*Yorgo Pasadeos, Media Research Unit, ATINER, Greece &
University of Alabama, USA*

This collection of recent contributions to mass media and communication research were selected from ATINER's 2009 and 2010 Mass Media and Communication Conferences. The authors come from more than 20 different countries and five continents. Although the forty-odd chapters represent a large variety of topics, methods, paradigms and approaches, we have been able to organize the book into several self-defining sections. Some (e.g., journalism, film) are traditional categories with long histories of inquiry; others have emerged more recently (e.g., new media, piracy). All of them contain papers that make meaningful contributions to how we consumer, perceive, evaluate, and study the various forms of media and communication. Here is a brief review of the contents:

Journalism Studies

The first nine papers focus on journalism and the news process. Ulrika Andersson examines how professional journalists in Sweden perceive reader-participation in online newspapers, identifying a number of perceived benefits and some perceived drawbacks. Hui Huang uses content analysis to examine how financial news may have affected individual investors' investment behavior in general (and trading frequency in particular) in the Hong Kong stock market. Albert Kulla & Imrich Gazda take us to pre-1990 Czechoslovakia with an study of samizdat periodicals, which they describe as "illegal reproduction of copies of various types (religious, historical, political) by hand, typewriter, mainframe printer or computers which could not be published legally because of political and ideological reasons."

Klaus Levinsen & Charlotte Wien report on findings of a content analysis developed to investigate changing media representations of youth in Danish newspapers over the last fifty years. Leah Xiufang Li uses qualitative content analysis to explore the framing of China in two of Australia's prestigious current affairs programs. Paula Lobo uses a gender-coding grid to examine potential gender biases in the Portuguese evening news.

Australian journalism educators Mark Pearson, Kerry Green, Stephen Tanner and Jolyon Sykes explore the sensitive topic of "vulnerable sources" and offer insights on how journalist may approach such sources. Abhijit Sen

investigates how issues associated with global warming and the environmental crisis are reported in the American Media. Finally, Alice Tejkalova examines how Czech newspapers covered the Summer Paralympics from 1992 to 2008.

Political Communication

Part II is devoted to political communication papers. Carmen Chirea-Ungureanu, a frequent contributor to ATINER's Communication and Mass Media volumes, looks at the 2009 presidential election in Romania. For each presidential candidate she examines the "gap between the nature, the role and the mask they wear." She addresses "the behaviors of different candidates, before elections, during elections and after elections—both winners and losers.

David London and Bahaa Gamil Ghobrial's paper focuses on the role social media play in politics. The authors examine how Facebook and Youtube were used "to register and mobilize young voters, recruit volunteers, enhance fundraising efforts, increase the candidates' accessibility to the public, and stimulate public debate during the 2008 US presidential election." However, these new user-driven social networking groups do more than serve as a medium for communication. They conclude that "[w]hen skillfully applied to the political arena, [social media] can influence political attitudes and be used as instruments of social change.

Roberto Valero, Guadalupe Villaseñor and David Roman present an investigation on the behavior of Mexican media, starting with the 2000 election when the Mexican presidency changed parties for the first time in seven decades. Results indicate "a higher concentration of journalistic enterprises in fewer hands; and a rise in risks for journalistic exercise, situating Mexico as the most dangerous country in Latin America for journalists."

Persuasive Communication

The eight papers in Part III are all related to advertising, promotions, public relations, or other image-making activities. Mohd Khairie Ahmad & John Harrison discuss persuasive communication from an Islamic perspective. They review the research on cultural sensitivity factors with a focus on religious factors in health communication; discuss the values and characteristics that formulate Islamic persuasive communication in general and in health promotion specifically; and discuss the constraints and challenges of Islamic persuasion in promoting health. Violeta Cvetkovska and Tatjana Ocokoljic examine the use of ancient symbols in a mass advertising and the origin of ancient rituals in modern mass communication. Through analysis of individual ads, they "interpret similarities and differences with symbols and adaptations to their application in modern society."

Rachel Grainger comments on a pro-Obama advertisement from the 2008 U.S. presidential election campaign. Although not created by Obama's

campaign team, his campaign website was supplied with links to the ad titled. It included references to an Apple Macintosh ad from 1984, titled *1984*, and the Big Brother figure on the screen was replaced with Hillary Clinton, implying that “Hillary Clinton would offer an oppressive Orwellian future, whereas Obama offers freedom.”

Fran Hassencahl zeroes in to final acts of U.S. President Bush’s second term: his final press conference and farewell address in January 2009, as he “faces the question of how historians will judge his presidency.” She examines how President Bush utilizes strategies of “apologetic communication to modify audience opinion about the strengths and shortcomings of his presidency.”

Using an experiment, Kazoleas & Brody test the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap (TIEG) theory, a new public relations theory that “identifies a process by the advertising and marketing of technology, and attempts by organizations to build their technological abilities into their image enhancement strategies combine to create unrealistic expectations about the safety, performance, or quality of products/services.” Participants exposed to the experimental stimulus (a healthcare technology-based message) “reported higher expectations regarding the ability of health care providers to detect, diagnose, and treat diseases: higher expectations from pharmaceutical companies for safe drugs; higher expectations for safe food, and higher expectations of the U.S. Government’s ability to detect and to protect against a terrorist attack.”

Levy & Hetstroni content analyze, quantitatively and qualitatively, a representative sample of Israeli lottery advertisements from the 1950s and 1960s. Their analysis focuses on the visual appearance of collectivism, which was a predominant cultural orientation in Israel in that period, and individualism, which is more in line with the commercial message. The results show that while collectivism appeared in a majority of the ads, individualism became more apparent as years went by. Nuijten, Pellengahr investigate recall and recognition of in-Game advertising. They examine effects of environment, ad positioning, and difficulty in a billboards-in-racetrack experimental study.

The last paper in this part of the book, by N. Serdar Sever & Göknil Koçak, is a reputational assessment of ESGAZ, a Turkish natural gas distribution company. The authors report that a series of focus groups and in-depth interviews were used to develop a 93-item scale, which was administered to 500+ participants from the organization and from among its various publics. Results identify areas where the company can develop its reputation.

New Media

Part IV includes seven papers on one of the fastest growing areas of research in mass communication: New media technologies. Do new technologies alter the flow and increase the volume of social communication? What is the frontier of participatory democracy and citizen control in the era of

neo-liberal globalization? Zeliha Hepkon and Oya Saki Aydin review the literature and search the answers to those questions.

Using the Lexis-Nexus Academic database, George Albert Gladney shows that Moldova's 2009 "Twitter Revolution" was anything but. His study "examines news coverage by the world press, concluding that 'Twitter Revolution' headlines distorted the truth by overemphasizing the role of the latest digital communication technology then in vogue. Luisa Leonini's study "examines the impact of new technologies on the production and consumption of pornographic material," focusing on "how new media technologies have contributed to developments in the industry of pornography, the expansion of the sex business, and to new forms of pornographic consumption."

Should public service media have a legitimate presence online? In trying to answer that question, Nadine Lindstadt looks at public broadcasting in Germany. Instead of focusing on the pros and cons of public service provisions, she concentrates on specific cross-media effects. Ariela Mortara analyzes how the spreading of social networks has contributed to changes in Italian web surfers' behaviour. Her survey of 1251 persons "provides some suggestions as to the social networks' different uses in case of private, professional, or simple entertainment-oriented goal."

Ross Perigoe examines "the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's blueprint for a single platform for its radio, TV and online services," and discusses how the CBC "readjusts to consumer driven online newsgathering information needs." And Jinah Seol attempts to "examine how Korean teenagers perceive the social characteristics and functions of cyberspace" and their motivations for using the Internet.

Education

Part V deals with the education function of communication. The first paper here focuses on a university corporate social responsibility implied in the practice of community engagement. Adele Moodly, Aniela Batschari and Alicia van der Spuy recount practices of South Africa's Walter Sisulu University aimed at training community media practitioners and building capacity and sustainability of communication forums in radio or print. Those projects "champion community media to empower the voice of the community in addressing local issues." Such non-formal learning is complimentary to the more structured formal education model and "maps the way to formal learning for those who may not qualify for formal programme enrolment."

In the second education-related paper, Claire Ziamandanis, Chair of Foreign Languages at the College of Saint Rose (Albany, New York), explains the benefits of making culture central in the teaching of foreign languages. Instructors' particular articulations of culture, as well as Cultural Blogs and a Culture Café are powerful tools.

Reality Television

The two papers in Part VI touch on the global phenomenon of reality television. Zeynep Gültekin Akçay analyzes the Turkish reality show *Yemekteyiz* (We Are Eating). He shows how, in this relatively low-cost imported show dominant values, such as the consumer culture, competition, earning money, being modern and competing against time are harmonized and presented together with local values.

Gevisa La Rocca's study takes place in Italy, where a nationwide sample of 120 small town residents are interviewed about their motivations, aspirations and expectation related to their potential participation in the Italian version of the reality show *Big Brother*.

Film Studies

In the first three chapters of Part VII George Pavlou continues his work begun in earlier ATINER venues. He analyzes director D.W. Griffith's chase scenes in various and their impact on filmmaking. The films in question are *The White Rose* and *Isn't Life Wonderful* (Chapter 15); *Hearts of the World*, *Broken Blossoms*, *Way Down East*, and *Orphans of the Storm* (Chapter 16); *I The Sorrows of Satan* (Chapter 17).

Eric K.W. Yu looks at a somewhat different cinematographic event, the Hong Kong gangster film series *Infernal Affair*, a legend in Asian film history that had a remake by Martin Scorsese. The paper (1) "invokes the notion of 'high concept film' to account for the trilogy's commercial success in terms of marketing and expounds its peculiar political meanings for the local viewers," and (2) "seeks to explain the trilogy's aesthetic appeals by means of a detailed examination of the cinematic skills involving camerawork, editing as well as staging."

Music & Film Piracy

Music piracy has long been a thorn on the side of record companies and has, indeed, changed the way music is bought. Antonella Ardizzone's paper "analyzes the effects of online music piracy on music sales using a theoretical model where a recording company, legal monopolist because of copyright laws, competes with an online peer to peer (p2p) network." She finds that the illegal p2p network, not only has a negative impact on the recording company's profits, but may also, under certain conditions, grab an equal market share. "The higher the risk involved with the network, the smaller the network stays and vice versa and hence the recording company has a strong incentive to increase legal prosecution of pirates. Also, if the monopolist introduces its own legal network, such as an online music shop, with zero

marginal cost, the competing network takes a hit and the monopolist's profits increase.

Ana Maria Bagnasco attempts to measure the diffusion of movie piracy in Italy, to describe behaviors of pirated goods consumers and to estimate the direct loss for the sector's firms. Her research considers three types of movie piracy: "the physical piracy, the digital piracy and the 'secondary' phenomenon of borrowing/viewing physical or digital movie."

Brian Sheehan, James Tsao and Jim Pokrywczynski report on a more applied study. In an experiment at two U.S. universities, they test the effectiveness of messages aimed at curtailing digital music piracy among college students. "The results of the test were that two concepts focused on technical costs (i.e., getting a computer virus), and one concept focused on a socio-economic cost (i.e., your ability to get a good job after school) were significant in their ability to curtail digital music piracy as well as increase the use of legal programs."

Miscellaneous Communication Studies

Five research reports on a variety of communication topics wrap up the book. Catherine Ann Collins comments on the book *Requiem by the Photographers Who Died in Vietnam and Indochina*, which honors Western and Asian photojournalists who died in Vietnam between 1945 and 1975 by sharing the best of their coverage of the war. More than 160 images mediate the collective memory and memorialization of the war. She call the book and its related exhibition "doubly a requiem--a tribute to the photojournalists who gave their lives in pursuit of the images that would capture the meaning of the war, and through their images an homage to the landscape and lives, civilian and soldier, forever changed by this war.

Collins & Jeffrey Lukehart comment on the DVD titled *Obsession: Radical Islam's War Against the West*, 28 million copies of which had been distributed in the United States in 2009, mostly as supplements to daily newspapers. They find that "the film's constructed visual and verbal enthymemes, through a series of reductions, conflate Nazism and radical Islam, Islam and terrorism, Islamic teaching and propaganda."

Robert LaRose asks the question, "To what extent is media consumption behavior a matter of habit rather than continuing and active self-instruction?" He proposes "[a] new model of media selection behavior ... in which active and conscious media selections gradually become habitual, at which point habits and conscious intentions jointly determine media consumption behaviors."

Elena Nikitina identifies the practice of scientific conferences as a game. "The conference, symposium, congress is a carnival," she explains, "but masked under gravity pressing scientific issues." Finally, Alina Tenescu examines "how communication sciences and mass media have strongly influenced XXth and XXIst century literature and identifies the peculiarities of a

literary discourse which bears the fingerprints of advertising techniques, of elements and functions characteristic of the written journalistic communication, and which is influenced by televisual discourse and techniques on a corpus of novels by French writer Frédéric Beigbeder.”

Part I:

Journalism

Chapter Two

Reader-Participation in Online Newspapers: An Asset or a Limitation, According to Professional Journalists?

Ulrika Andersson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

New media technology has had a strong impact on media and its audience for the past decade. The introduction of Web 2.0 has widely increased the audience's opportunities to take part in the process of creating and publishing journalistic content online. This participation may come off in cooperation with established news organizations, as online news media invites the audience to contribute via article comments, for example. But it may also come off as a detachment from traditional media organizations, as people choose to participate via alternative media such as wikis, blogs, or twitter.

Such changes are inevitably affecting the interaction between journalists and their audience. Previously described as a quasi-mediated interaction (Thompson, 1995), characterized by an one-way sender-receiver communication, the interaction of today is perhaps best described as a tentative two-way communication. Until recently the audience has had relatively limited opportunities to influence the media content or even the interaction itself. Certainly, the audience has had the option to contact the editorial office in order to convey its views on the newspaper and its co-workers. And if someone felt like giving their comments on specific articles or occurrences a wider spread, there was always the option of sending a letter to the editor. Though, in general rather few people have chosen to avail themselves with those opportunities.

Emergence of Web 2.0 has shifted this quasi-mediated interaction as the audience's possibilities to produce and publish journalistic content has increased. Technology has provided the audience with alternative media that offer information and entertainment created by users themselves, without involvement of established media organizations. Also, new participatory forms of web-based communication, such as wikis and blogs, have become increasingly common ways for individuals and institutions to communicate with each other, without interference of traditional media.

In other words, citizens are moving from the audience to the arena, as part of the audience today not only holds a position as receivers, but also as producers and senders of mediated communication. Thus, the audience can be described as "producers" (Bruns, 2008a). It is also evident that the audience is taking on a new role, similar to the role of gate-watchers, as it is keeping track of and discussing media and journalistic work in blogs and article comments

(Bruns, 2008b, 2008c, 2006). But what consequences do such changes bring for professional journalism?

Increased Focus on Reader-Participation

Those new participatory forms of web-based communication have not passed unnoticed by established media organizations and professional journalists: focus on audience-created contents has increased rapidly in online news media over the past years. In a multinational study of reader-participation on media websites, Domingo et al. (2008) found that news organizations in Europe and the United States often equate reader-participation with opportunities for the audience to comment on specific articles or current events. Similar results were found in studies of media organizations in the Scandinavian countries (Hedman, 2009; Maasø, Shanke Sundet & Syvertsen, 2007). It is also evident that news organizations choose to retain the decision-making power of the news production process when it comes to reader-participation (Domingo et al., 2008). Research reveals that journalists are retaining the traditional gatekeeping role when selecting what kind of reader-generated content to publish on their website (Hermida & Thurman, 2008). From this point of view it seems like the core of journalistic culture has remained unaffected by an increased reader-participation.

But not everyone agrees with this conclusion. Fears have been raised that journalistic values such as autonomy and accountability, both related to journalistic credibility, will be challenged as the level of reader-participation increases in news media. Singer argues that 'the notion of autonomy becomes unavoidably contested' (Singer, 2007:90) and Hayes, Singer and Creppo (2008) suggest that professional values of credibility and reliability need to be strengthened and reinterpreted, especially if journalism is not to be weakened by increased audience-participation. Doubts have been raised concerning the ability of maintaining journalistic scrutiny and enforcement of press ethics when inviting the audience to participate with comments, articles, pictures or movies (Singer, 2007; Nel, Ward & Rawlinson, 2006). In their study of the *Guardian*, Singer and Ashman also found that journalists are often concerned about credibility of such contents provided by the audience, and also about the potential challenge of journalistic authority (Singer & Ashman, 2009). From this perspective, reader-participation will have implications both for quality of journalism and for professional integrity.

However, reader-participation must not always be troublesome. Studies made of the changing interaction between editorial offices and audiences also include hope that media's democratic function will increase, especially as efforts of this kind may facilitate the emergence of various forms of civic journalism (Domingo et al, 2008; Nguyen, 2008; Nip, 2008, 2006; Maasø, Shanke Sundet & Syvertsen, 2007; Williams, 2007). From this point of view, stronger audience engagements may actually equal increased democratisation of media. By having readers, viewers and listeners monitoring areas that are

usually not addressed in traditional news coverage, the audience may in fact help to improve both depth and breadth in journalism.

Apart from those normative perspectives mentioned above, there are also strategical reasons for online news organizations to focus on reader-participation and reader-created content. Such reasons are often concerned with creating customer loyalty by engaging readers and generating traffic to the online website in order to improve chances of advertising revenues (Deuze, 2009; Hedman, 2009; Maasø, Shanke Sundet & Syvertsen, 2007). Enhancing the brand (Maasø, Shanke Sundet & Syvertsen, 2007) and winning back otherwise non-reading newspaper audiences (Deuze, Bruns & Neuberger, 2007) are also found to be important reasons for many online newspapers. Since most editorial offices are faced with limited resources, engagement of the audience can also be seen as a way to generate news at little or no cost (Deuze, 2009).

Clearly, audience-participation have the potential of bringing both advantages and disadvantages to news organisations and their professionals. In Sweden, as in many other countries, the use of reader-created content has emerged as one of the strongest trends in online news media during the past few years, and this article therefore focuses on how professional journalists perceive this increased interactivity in relation to journalistic work and professional values.

Definition and Setting

Before moving on to the results, I will first clarify the definition of reader-created content used in this study. Since I have chosen Sweden as an empirical case for my article, I will also give a short description on what kind of efforts online newspapers in Sweden have made over the past years regarding reader-participation. By doing so, my intention is to increase the reader's understanding of the setting.

In general the concept of audience-created content is described as a manifestation of participatory culture and Web 2.0. Depending on what kind of context we are focusing on, there are a number of different definitions of the meaning of this term. An OECD report (2007) establishes a general definition of audience-created content on the basis of three criteria that limits the concept to the digital world: the content has to be produced outside the established framework of professionals, it has to be the result of a creative process (if ever so little), and finally be published via Internet. In general the concept also holds interactivity between the audience and media content, such as voting or commenting on articles (Jenkins & Deuze, 2008; Chung, 2007; Hermida & Thurman, 2007; Madden & Fox, 2006).

In this study the concept of reader-created content has been defined as 'an offer to the audience to share their stories, photos and videos, and an opportunity for the audience to comment and re-create existing contents' in

news media (Hedman, 2008:13). In other words, opportunities for the readers to share and upload photos/videos, respond to enquires, comment on articles and other texts, link to social media, create and participate in reader blogs, chats, and discussion forums. This definition distinguishes the concept from audience-participation and audience-created content in general and also allows me to applicate the concept to online newspapers where editors retain the initiative and control of contents. Similar definition has been used by Jenkins and Deuze (2008), Örnebring (2008) and Hermina and Thurman (2007).

As for the setting, most online newspapers in Sweden offer their readers opportunities of participation, such as submitting comments on articles or uploading personal pictures and movies (Hedman, 2009). Some engage readers to contribute via personal blogs that are published on the newspaper's website, presented as an integrated part of the online edition. Such blogs are often tied to a certain subject, for example, being a first-time parent, a high school student, or part of a minority group in society. Others offer free blog portals where readers may create their own independent and personalized blogs. Those blogs are not connected to the newspaper's website, though it happens from time to time that different blogs is given attention on the website. Most newspapers encourage readers to send pictures and information of occurrences that may be of interest in local as well as national news coverage. Comprehensively, Swedish newspapers are offering a wide selection of reader-created contents. The most common type of content produced by the audience is, however, comments on articles written by professional journalists (Hedman, 2009; Karlsson, 2007). In this sense, Swedish news organizations very much resemble online news organizations in Europe and the United States.

But the question still stands: how do news practitioners perceive this kind of audience-participation to affect professional journalism?

Method and Measure

Support will be drawn from a survey conducted in 2009 at the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication at University of Gothenburg (JMG). As the study attempts to reflect the general perception of reader-participation among Swedish newspaper journalists, three typical morning papers were selected for the study. Those morning papers were all subscribed newspapers, published six days a week with a daily circulation of 25 000 to 35 000 copies. All employees working with mainly journalistic tasks were sent an online questionnaire concerning different aspects of reader-participation in online news media. Out of 121 journalists, 66 percent returned a complete form.

The respondents were asked a set of questions about their perceptions of what kinds of benefits and disadvantages that come along with increased reader-participation in online newspapers (see further Table 1 and Table 2). The wording of the main question was: "What is your opinion on audience-created content?" followed by certain statements. The given respons set was:

*Reader-Participation in Online Newspapers:
An Asset or a Limitation, According to Professional Journalists?*

“Totally agree”, “Agree to some extent”, “Barely agree”, “Disagree” and “No opinion”.

Table 1. *The Impact of Reader-contributions on Professional Journalism, after Gender and Age (Percent)*

Contributions from readers...	All		W	M		≤ 40 yrs	> 40 yrs
...help us to cover areas we usually don't find the time to cover ourselves	49		46	51		48	49
...have increased the amount of local news in our newspaper	42		44	40		45	41
...have a positive impact on journalism	29		28	30		38	25
...increase journalism's relevance for readers	18		19	16		29	14
<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>80</i>		<i>36</i>	<i>44</i>		<i>21</i>	<i>59</i>

Comment: The question is worded: What is your opinion on audience-created content? The table is concerned with respondents answering “Totally Agree” and “Agree to some extent”.

Table 2. *The Impact of Reader-contributions on Professional Journalism, after Journalistic Task (Percent)*

Contributions from readers...	Web journalists	Non-web journalists		Journalists	Managers
...help us to cover areas we usually don't find the time to cover ourselves	45	48		43	71
...have increased the amount of local news in our newspaper	48	33		38	56
...have a positive impact on journalism	38	18		19	65
...increase journalism's relevance for readers	19	13		13	35
<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>45</i>		<i>63</i>	<i>17</i>

Comment: The question is worded: What is your opinion on audience-created content? The table is concerned with respondents answering “Totally Agree” and “Agree to some extent”. Web journalists include those journalists working with online publishing on a regular basis (at least once a week). Managers include those journalists working with supervisory functions (editors and chief editors).

The results of the study were analysed after gender, age, and type of journalistic tasks carried out at the editorial office. When considering journalists' age, the respondents were divided in two age groups: those younger than or equal with 40 years and those older than 40 years. Also, journalists were divided in two groups depending on how often they work with online publishing. Journalists working with online publishing at least once every week were named web journalists in the analysis, as journalists not working regularly with online publishing were called non-web journalists. Finally, comparizons

were also made between those journalists working with mainly journalistic tasks such as reporting, photographing, and editing, and those journalists working with supervisory tasks, for example editors and chief editors.

The Results

In many aspects reader-participation is serving the function of improving journalism, according to Swedish journalists. About half of the respondents found reader-participation to be helpful in everyday work, as contributions from readers may help journalists to cover such areas that are usually left uncovered for resource or knowledge reasons (Table 1). Many journalists also found reader-participation to have increased the amount of local news in their newspaper. There were no gender or age differences found regarding those perceptions.

Approximately on third of the respondents considered reader-participation to have a positive impact on journalism, however, not too many were sure that contributions from readers actually increased journalism's relevance for the newspaper audience. Some differences were found among younger and older journalists, as the young ones were more inclined to consider audience-participation to be important both for journalism in general and for the audience.

Differences were also found depending on what kind of journalistic tasks the respondents were mainly working with (Table 2). Journalist who worked with online publishing on a regular basis (at least once a week) were more inclined to emphasize that reader-participation has had a positive impact on journalism, than journalists who did not work with online publishing. Similar difference was also found regarding the perception of whether or not contributions from readers had increased the amount of local news in the newspaper.

Comparisons were also made between those employees working with mainly journalistic tasks (reporting, photographing, and editing) and those working as supervisors (editors and chief editors). Clear distinctions were found between those groups, all of them indicating that managers tend to stress the importance of reader-participation to a higher extent than journalists.

Every second journalist also felt as if demands on accuracy in journalistic work had increased with the opportunity for readers to comment on news articles (Table 3). If journalists provide the audience with incorrect or insufficient information, readers themselves can point this out in article comments and thus impact the credibility of individual journalists or even the credibility of the newspaper. Rather few journalists, however, perceived the increased opportunities for readers to contribute with content to have too much an impact on professional journalism in general. This latter perception were bound with gender and age differences among the respondents, as female and younger journalists were more inclined to perceive readers to have had an augmented impact on professional journalism. But this eventually increased

*Reader-Participation in Online Newspapers:
An Asset or a Limitation, According to Professional Journalists?*

impact did not seem to be perceived as troublesome by journalists, as an overwhelming majority did not found increased reader-participation to erode the role of professional journalists. This latter perception was found among all journalists, no matter of gender or age.

Table 3. *Reader-participation's Impact on Professional Journalism, after Gender and Age (Percent)*

	All		W	M		≤40 yrs	> 40 yrs
Readers' opportunities to comment on news articles highly increase the demand on accuracy in journalistic work	47		50	44		48	47
Increased opportunities to contribute have augmented the readers' impact on professional journalism	15		22	11		33	9
Increased opportunities of reader-participation erode the role of professional journalists	6		6	7		5	7
Caring for audience-contributions take time from traditional news work	36		46	28		29	39
<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>80</i>		<i>36</i>	<i>44</i>		<i>21</i>	<i>59</i>

Comment: See Table 1

Although audience-participation were perceived to increase the amount of local news and also to help journalists cover areas that usually fall behind, almost four out of ten journalists found audience-participation to steal time from traditional news work. Caring for contributions from readers were therefore bringing less time for what could be described as normative news coverage. Again some gender and age differences were found among the respondents, as female and older journalists were most inclined to agree with that statement.

Comparisons between web-journalists and non web-journalists found only two significant differences: non-web journalists were somewhat more inclined to stress the opinion that reader-participation erodes the role of professional journalists, and that caring for contributions brought by readers takes time from traditional news work (Table 4).

Some differences were also found between journalists and managers regarding the perceptions of whether or not reader-participation has impacted on professional journalism and the role of professional journalists. A somewhat higher extent of managers found contributions from readers to have an impact on professional journalism, although those managers were not in majority.

Table 4. *Reader-participation's Impact on Professional Journalism, after Journalistic Tasks (Percent)*

	Web journalists	Non-web journalists		Journalists	Managers
Readers' opportunities to comment on news articles highly increase the demand on accuracy in journalistic work	47	45		47	47
Increased opportunities to contribute have augmented the readers' impact on professional journalism	16	13		13	24
Increased opportunities of reader-participation erode the role of professional journalists	0	11		8	0
Caring for audience-contributions takes time from traditional news work	29	41		36	35
<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>45</i>		<i>63</i>	<i>17</i>

Comment: See Table 2

Conclusions and Discussion

To conclude the findings, reader-participation were found both to be an asset and a limitation by Swedish newspaper journalist. By receiving contributions from readers, most newspapers seem to be able to increase the reporting on local news. Since local news is the foundation of most daily newspapers in Sweden, reader-participation can therefore be said to have an important function for professional journalists. Struggling with limited resources, reader-contributions may actually help journalists broadening the news coverage.

Concerns have been raised that an increased focus on reader-participation and reader-created content will degrade the quality of journalism (c.f. Hayes, Singer & Creppo, 2008; Singer, 2007; Nel, Ward & Rawlinson, 2006). This, however, does not seem to be too much an issue according to Swedish journalists, as they are more likely to emphasize the benefits of reader-participation. In their study of the *Guardian*, Singer and Ashman (2009) reveal that journalists are concerned that reader-participation is affecting the professional role of journalists, as professional values such as autonomy and accountability are being challenged. Fear that increased reader-participation will erode professional integrity is, however, not expressed by Swedish journalists. Instead, one perceived value among those journalists is that reader-participation increases the demand on accuracy in journalistic work. Similar result has also been found in the *Guardian* study (Singer & Ashman 2009).

Although reader-participation in several ways is perceived to be advantageous for journalism, there are also some downsides with those kinds of efforts. For example, dealing with comments, tips, photos, or videos

submitted by readers tend to take time from traditional newswork. This is, however, not found to be a major issue among journalists as a joint group, at least not at this stage of the process. Depending on how things will develop in the future, it is possible that this issue will actually be brought to the fore, especially if the amount of reader-created content continues to increase.

Although reader-participation today seems to have mainly positive effects on journalism – primarily on local news coverage – it is of importance to continue to research this area. If the number of comments, tips, photos, etcetera, continues to increase, it may very well start to have too much an impact on journalists' everyday work and thus have implications for the ability to perform high quality journalism. The challenge for news media, I would say, is finding the line where reader-participation can be used as a maximized resource for professional journalism without limiting the work of professional journalist.

While trying to pinpoint journalists' perceptions of reader-participation, I have also found some gender, age, and organizational differences in journalists' opinions. Most distinctive differences were found in the opinions of journalists and managers, as managers were more inclined to stress the importance of reader-participation. Those contrasts are indicating divisions in the news room, as managers are giving expression to what could be described as a managerial ideology of journalism. Similar results have been found in studies of journalists' and managers' perceptions of audience-orientation (Andersson, 2009), commercialization (Andersson & Wiik, 2008), and professional identity (Wiik, 2010).

A crucial question is how much impact this managerial ideology really has on professional journalism. Research has shown that emphasize on audience interactivity has increased among managers for the past decade, as most managers consider this kind of interactivity to be an important key in engaging readers and maintaining high rates (Andersson, 2009). Such changes in managers' perceptions may also have an impact on professional values and professional news work. If this assumption shows to be correct, we should, in a nearby future, be able to see reinforcement of the perception that reader-participation is of importance to professional journalism. This may ultimately mean changes in journalistic news work, as focus will be set on increasing the audience participation in online news media. I therefore consider it important to continue research on how the interaction between managerial ideology and professional ideology affects journalism. If the direction of this interaction can be pinpointed, we may be able to foresee – at least to some extent – the future expression of professional journalism.

References

- Andersson, U. (2009). *Journalists and their audience*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg. [In Swedish]
- Andersson, U. & J. Wiik (2008). 'Professional media practitioners on commercialization of Swedish news work'. Paper presented at Communication Policies and Culture in Europe, ECREA's 2nd European Communication Conference, November 25-28, in Barcelona, Spain.
- Bruns, A. (2006). 'Wikinews: The Next Generation of Alternative Online News?' *Scan Journal* 3(1).
- Bruns, A. (2008a) *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life, and Beyond: From Production to Produage*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bruns, A. (2008b). 'The Active Audience: Transforming Journalism from Gatekeeping to Gatewatching.' In C. Peterson & D. Domingo (eds.), *Making Online News: The Ethnography of New Media Production*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bruns, A. (2008c). 'Gatewatching, Gatecraching: Future for Tactical News Media.' In Boler, M. (ed.), *Digital Media and Democracy: Tactics in Hard Times*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Chung, D. S. (2007). 'Profits and Perils. Online News Producers' Perceptions of Interactivity and Uses of Interactive Features.' *Convergence* 13(1): 43–61.
- Deuze, M. (2009). 'The Future of Citizen Journalism.' In S. Allan & E. Thorsen (eds.), *Citizen Journalism. Global Perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Deuze, M.; A. Bruns & C. Neuberger (2007). 'Preparing for an age of participatory news.' *Journalism Practice*, 1(3):322-338.
- Domingo, D.; T. Quandt; A. Heinonen; S. Paulussen; J. B. Singer & M. Vujnovic (2008). 'Participatory Journalism Practices in the Media and Beyond. An International Comparative Study of Initiatives in Online Newspapers.' *Journalism Practice* 2(3): 326–342.
- Hayes, A. S.; J. B. Singer & J. Ceppos (2007). 'Shifting Roles, Enduring Values: The Credible Journalist in a Digital Age.' *Journalism of Mass Media Ethics*. Vol. 22(4): 262-279.
- Hermida, A. & N. Thurman (2007). *Comments Please: How the British News Media are Struggling with User - Generated Content*. Paper presented at the 8:e International Symposium on Online Journalism, March 30–31, in Austin, USA.
- Jenkins, H. & M. Deuze (2008). 'Editorial: Convergence Culture.' *Convergence* 14(1): 5–12.
- Hedman, U. (2009). *Reader-participation*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg. [In Swedish]
- Karlsson, M. (2007). 'Interactive journalism – a reality?' In A. R. Olsson; M. Karlsson & L. Ilshammar (eds.), *Journalism, internet and power*. Stockholm: Sim(o). [In Swedish]
- Maasø, A., V. Schanke Sundet & T. Syvertsen (2007). "’Fordi de fortjener det’". Publikumsdeltakelse som strategisk utviklingsområde i mediebransjen.' *Norsk Medietidsskrift* 14 (2):126–154. [In Norwegian]
- Madden, M. & S. Fox (2006). *Riding the Waves of "Web 2.0". Pew Internet & American Life Project*. Available at: www.pewinternet.org/report_display.asp?r=189.
- Nel, F.; G. Ward & A. Rawlinson (2006). 'The future of online journalism.' In P. Anderson & G. Ward (eds.), *The Future of Journalism in the Advanced Democracies*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

*Reader-Participation in Online Newspapers:
An Asset or a Limitation, According to Professional Journalists?*

- Nguyen, A. (2008). 'Facing "The Fabulous Monster"'. The Traditional Media's Fear-Driven Innovation Culture in the Development of Online News.' *Journalism Studies* 9(1): 91–104.
- Nip, J. (2006). 'Exploring the Second Phase of Public Journalism.' *Journalism Studies* 7(2): 212–236.
- Nip, J. (2008). 'The Last Days of Civic Journalism. The Case of the Savannah Morning News.' *Journalism Practice* 2(2): 179–196.
- OECD. (2007). *Participative Web and User - Created Content. Web 2.0, Wikis and Social Networking*. Paris: OECD Publications.
- Singer, J. B. (2007). 'Contested Autonomy. Professional and Popular Claims on Journalistic Norms.' *Journalism Studies* 8(1): 79–95.
- Singer, J. & I. Ashman (2009). 'User-Generated Content and Journalistic Values.' In S. Allan & E. Thorsen (eds.), *Citizen Journalism. Global Perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Thompson, J. (1995). *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Wiik, J. (2010). *Journalism in transition. Professional Identities of Swedish Journalists*. Göteborg: University of Gothenburg.
- Williams, L. (2007). *Frontiers of Innovation in Community Engagement: News Organisations Forge New Relationships with Communities*. Report from Center for Citizen Media.
- Örnebring, H. (2008). 'The Consumer as Producer — Of What? User-Generated Tabloid Content in The Sun (UK) and Aftonbladet (Sweden).' *Journalism Studies* 9(5): 771–785.

Chapter Three

Effect of Financial News on Investors’ Trading Behavior

Hui Huang, City University of Hong Kong, China

Communication scholars have long been feeling their way to understand “media effects” - effects that change or reinforce people’s knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, values as well as behaviors (Severin & Tankard, 2001). From the “magic bullet theory” paradigm to the latest moderately powerful media proposition, communication scholars have proposed various theories and concepts, with or without convincing empirical support. Despite voluminous research on media effects, study of the financial media impact on people’s investment decisions and behavior is rather limited. The course of gaining insights into people’s knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, values and behaviors affected and influenced by financial news is not as fast as the changes in the outside world.

The financial world has significantly been changing over the recent years. Individuals have begun to participate actively in investment activities around the world. One example is the significant increase in the number of shareholders – both direct and indirect – as a percentage of the adult population, which is documented by the NYSE’s shareownership survey. It showed that there were an estimated 84.0 million shareowners in 1998, which represented an increase of 21 percent from 69.3 million in 1995, and a 61 percent increase from 52.3 million in 1989. Despite the emergence of individual activity, relatively little is known about the actual trading behavior of individuals, especially how individuals with varying trading frequencies behave and perform when they receive finance-related news.

In the study of investor trading behavior in stock market, some researchers studied overreact and underreact effects to new information. Brad & Terrance (2001) described overconfident investors to depend too much on their own ability to interpret multifaceted, ambiguous and anecdotal information. Brad & Terrance (2000) and Terrance (1999) stated that overconfident investors traded too much, gaining lower returns than rational investors and held high-risk portfolios, while Nicholas, Andrei and Robert (1998) established a model of investor sentiment based on psychological evidence.

By studying the news effects on individual investors, Brad & Terrance (2008) suggested that individual investors tended to be net purchasers of stocks on high attention days. Anders (2006) investigated the reactions of different types of investors to new earning information. By using the extremely comprehensive official register of share holdings in Finland, he found that the majority of investors were more likely to sell (buy) stocks in a company after a

positive (negative) earnings surprise and they were biased towards buying after the disclosure of an annual report. Large investors showed behavior opposite to that of the majority of investors. Anders regarded the difference of overconfidence to be the most valid explanation to this heterogeneous investor behavior.

Markku, Jukka and Hannu (2006) studied the individual trading behavior around interim earnings announcements in the emerging market. Same as the one did by Anders (2006), the study also focused on trading activity of Finnish households. Data covering the years 1996–2000 showed that earnings news triggered trading. They also found some evidence that actively trading individuals especially (compared to passively trading ones) showed increased buying and selling activity before the event compared to the non-event period. Other than news, the effect of analyst coverage was also examined. Harrison, Terence & Jeremy (2000) found in their research that the effect of analyst coverage was greater for stocks that were past losers than for past winners.

Although scholars in the fields of economics and finances have begun to realize the importance of studying people's responses to financial news, which may in turn affected the stock performance as a result, they have established mathematic models that focused on collective population only, thus providing little insight into the impact of financial news on individuals' investment behavior. Therefore, research on the impact of financial news at the individual level from a communication perspective is called upon.

This study examined how financial news affected individual investors' investment behavior, specially trading frequency, in the Hong Kong stock market. It explored the financial news effects on individual investors based on communication theories, psycho-behavioral theories and behavioral finance theory.

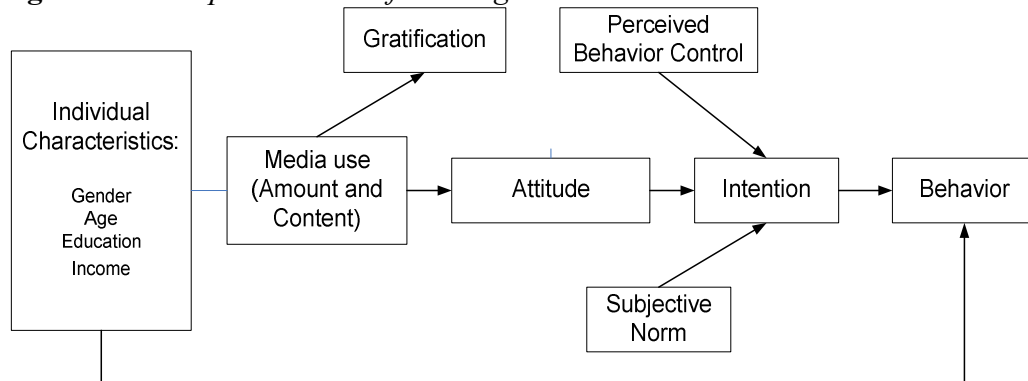
Under the core research problems above, three specific research objectives further guided the research: (1) to explore the financial media use of Hong Kong people who invest in stock market; (2) to investigate the gratifications of using financial media by applying the uses and gratifications theory; (3) to apply the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) and Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) model to study the effect of financial news on people's attitude, intension and behavior in Hong Kong stock market.

Research Design and Methodology

Based on uses and gratifications theory, the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior, as well as the behavioral finance theory, this study proposed to explore and identify how much financial news might explain people's frequent trading behavior. A conceptual framework was developed and presented in Figure 1. The variables in the framework were measured by some instruments adopted from Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980) study of people's beliefs and controls, instruments used in previous communication studies, and

instruments designed for this study based on the answers to the elicitation questions in the pilot study.

Figure 1. *Conceptual Model of Trading Behavior*



Research Hypotheses

(1) Financial Media Uses and Gratification

H1: People's use of financial media could bring them with gratifications, which could satisfy their information seeking needs, personal integrative needs, social integrative needs and entertainment needs.

(2) Financial Media Uses and Attitude

H2a: Individuals who use financial news frequently tend to have a positive attitude toward frequent trading.

H2b: Individuals who use financial media that contains more frequent trading information tend to have a positive attitude toward frequent trading.

(3) Attitude and Intention

H3: The more favorable individuals' attitude towards frequent trading, the higher their intention to trade frequently.

(4) Perceived Behavioral Control and Intention

H4. Individuals with a higher level of confidence in their ability to trade frequently will have a higher level of intent to trade frequently.

(5) Subjective Norm and Intention

H5. Individuals who perceive a favorable impression from those close to them of frequent trading will have higher intention to trade frequently.

(6) Intention and Behavior

H6: The greater individuals' intension to trade frequently, the higher tendency of their actual frequent trading behavior.

Research Design

Survey and content analysis were adopted in this study. A pilot study was carried out in November 2008 to test the validity and reliability of the research measurements, as well as generate the instruments to measure some of the

salient concepts in this study. A final questionnaire was constructed after revising the pilot study questionnaire, and a survey was carried out from December 2008 to January 2009 to collect data.

In order to test the effect of media content on people's trading behavior, a content analysis was conducted to analyze the "trading information" on five of the most important newspapers in Hong Kong. 1215 articles were content analyzed by two researchers. Each Hong Kong newspaper was then given a particular rate which indicated its level of containing "frequent trading" or "short-term trading" information.

Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) was used to test the hypotheses.

Pilot Study

By adopting Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980) method, the pilot study questionnaires was designed to contain some elicitation open-ended questions as well as the some questions to test the reliability of existed measurements based on previous literature and suggestions from investment professionals.

A sample of 52 people was taken from the population in which respondents were selected for the final questionnaire study. Six open-ended questions were used to assess the respondents' salient beliefs toward the advantages and disadvantages of conducting frequent trading, the factors or circumstances that would prevent them from frequent trading, as well as the individuals or groups that would approve or disapprove their frequent trading behavior.

In order to increase the validity of the analysis, two researcher (a colleague and I) independently analyzed and the responses of interviewees. After labeling the responses into different items, the most frequently mentioned responses were extracted and formed into closed-ended questions.

Final Study

The questionnaire for the final study had six parts. The first part started with questions on Hong Kong people's use of financial media. Different types of media and financial information gained from media were listed for respondents to indicate their media use behavior. The second part asked about people's needs and gratifications of using financial media. Part three and part four measured respondents' attitude toward frequent trading and their intension of carrying out actual frequent trading behavior, respectively. The fifth part was on people's trading behavior in terms of frequency. The last part of the survey contained standard questions about demographic variables, such as gender, age, education and income.

In order to maximize the rate of responses, all questions in the final questionnaire were close-ended and scaled response ones in design, which made answering the questions more quickly and easily. The questionnaire was in both English and Chinese to accommodate the different nationalities or needs of people in Hong Kong.

The research population in this study was individual investors who hold HKID and had valid bank accounts in Hong Kong. The survey was conducted on various sites where individual investors converged and conducted trading.

300 valid questionnaires were collected, which had enough variance for statistical analysis. 49.7% of the respondents were male and 50.3% were female. The majority of respondents (83%) were over 30 years old, and about 62% of the respondents held Bachelor degrees or above. The monthly income varied from HK\$5,000 or below to more than HK\$50,000, with the majority of respondents (52.4%) earned from HK\$10,000 to HK\$30,000 per month. Most of the respondents put 10% to 30% of their money into stock market.

The complete-data maximum likelihood method was applied for dealing with missing values in this study.

Content Analysis

A content analysis was conducted in order to understand the effects of different media contents on investors. Newspapers were selected randomly from July 2007 to November 2008. The Hong Kong stock market was severely hit by the global financial crisis and experienced unprecedented fluctuations during this period. It presented a good opportunity to study how the news media covered and explained the big depression, especially their attitudes and suggestions to investors for their investment strategy.

A researcher and I independently coded five representative newspapers in Hong Kong: *Apple Daily*, *Oriental Daily*, *Hong Kong Economic Times*, *Hong Kong Economic Journal* and *South China Morning Post*. The first two newspapers are the best selling newspapers in Hong Kong. A big amount of buying and selling suggestions made by stock commentators or institutional investors can be found everyday on their business sections. The *Hong Kong Economic Times* and *Hong Kong Economic Journal* are the two most important Chinese-language financial newspapers in Hong Kong, and are generally regarded as the “serious newspapers”, which are known for their objective, fair and well-balanced economic news and analysis. *South China Morning Post* is a representative English-language newspaper in Hong Kong. The Finance sections on English language newspapers contain mostly of “pure news”, without much stock commentaries.

We coded all the financial news on the Business/Economic/Finance sections on the above five newspapers, and analyzed news related to “long-term” and “short-term” investment information that could have an impact on investor's decision. In total, we coded 1215 news stories: *Apple Daily* (n = 222), *Oriental Daily* (n = 390), *Hong Kong Economic Times* (n = 171), *Hong Kong Economic Journal* (n = 239), and *South China Morning Post* (n = 193). Each newspaper was given a rate according to the percentage of “short-term investment” or “frequently trading” information. The rate indicated the level of containing “short-term investment” or “frequently trading” information in every newspaper, and thus provided us with a better understanding of how news content affected individuals trading behavior.

Results

Using Amos 7.0, structural equation modeling (SEM) program, the theoretical model of individual investor's trading behavior was explored and tested in a series of path analysis. After the overall fit of the model was confirmed, the strength of paths in the model was individually assessed to confirm the theoretical relationships among the model variables. Figure 2 displayed the results of testing the research model using SEM. Media use in Figure 2 was the amount of hours people used financial media per week, which was an indicator of the frequency of media use.

Figure 2. Results: Standardized Path Coefficients and Squared Multiple Correlations for Structural Equations (R^2) – Frequency

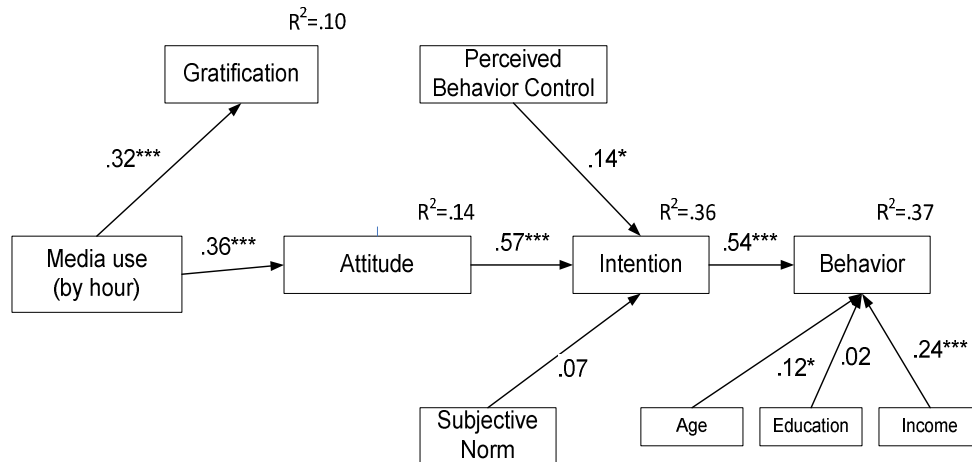
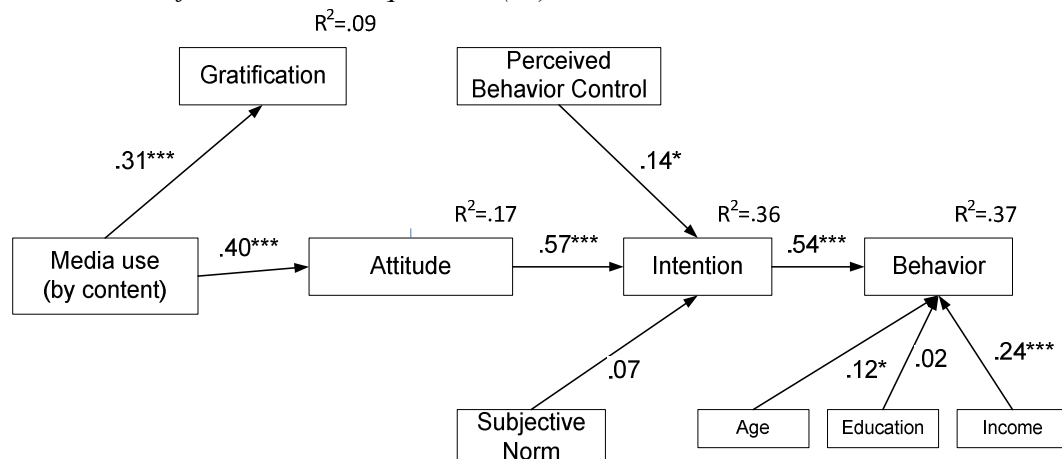


Figure 3 implicated the results of the research model, while media use meant the content that people used.

Figure 3. Results: Standardized Path Coefficients and Squared Multiple Correlations for Structural Equations (R^2) – Content



Hypothesis Testing

(1) Financial Media Uses and Gratification.

Results showed that people's gratification of using financial media was greatly affected by the amount of financial media information they used, with a standardized path coefficient of 0.32 ($P < .001$), and the relationship was positive as expected.

(2) Financial Media Uses and Attitude.

This constructs (including the frequency and content of different media that people used) were hypothesized to affect attitude towards frequent trading. The relationships were theorized to be positive. Results showed that the frequency of media use media was a significant predictor of attitude with a standardized path coefficient of 0.36 ($P < .001$), and the relationship was positive as expected. Results also reported a significant relationship between media content (more frequent trading information) and people's attitude toward frequent trading. The path coefficient between them was 0.40 ($P < .001$).

Hypothesis 2a and 2b were accepted. Therefore, individuals who used financial media information more frequently, or using much "frequent trading" information, had a favorable attitude toward frequent trading.

(3) Attitude and Intention.

Attitude was hypothesized to affect intention towards frequent trading positively. It was found that attitude was a significant variable affecting intention, with a standardized path coefficient of 0.57 ($P < .001$). As expected, there was a positive relationship between attitude and intention, and hypothesis 3 was supported.

(4) Perceived Behavioral Control and Intention.

Perceived behavioral control was hypothesized as another factor that impacted individuals' intention towards frequent trading. The relationship was hypothesized to be positive. Results reported that perceived behavioral control was a significant variable affecting intention, with a standardized path coefficient of 0.14 ($P < .01$). There was a positive relationship between them, and hypothesis 4 was supported.

(5) Subjective Norms and Intention.

Subjective norm was hypothesized as another factor that influenced individuals' intention towards frequent trading. The relationship was hypothesized to be positive. However, results reported an insignificant relationship between subjective norm and intention with a coefficient of 0.07 ($P = .110$). Thus hypothesis 5 was rejected.

Frequent trading does not share the same characteristics with some damaging behaviors, such as smoking, gambling, or piracy, and the objections from others are not expected to be strong. The rejection of the relationship between subjective norm and intention indicated that whether to trade frequently was mostly decided by individual himself, rather than others.

(6) Intention and Behavior.

Intention was hypothesized to influence the frequent trading behavior positively. Results showed a significant relationship between intention and behavior, with a path coefficient of 0.54 ($P < .001$). As expected, the relationship was positive. Thus hypothesis 6 was supported.

(7) Influence of Demographics.

Age had a significant positive effect on behavior with a coefficient of 0.12 at a 0.05 significance level, which indicated that older people tended to trade frequently. Income had a significant positive effect on behavior with a coefficient of 0.24 at a 0.001 significance level, indicating that the more people earned, the more frequent they traded.

Education and Gender were found to have no significant relationships with trading behavior in this study.

Limitation and Discussion

This study was carried out during the period that the global financial crisis emerged and the economic regression spread around the world. Some of the biggest and most influential stock markets in the world have experienced the worst fall in history. Hong Kong Hang Seng Index has plunged more than 60% since November 2007, as end in March 2009.

Although there was no accurate evidence that investor's investment behavior changed during this period, the interview in this study indicated that, a number of individual investors have adjusted their investment behaviors because of the fluctuations of share prices. 24.7% of the interviewees in this study chose "Agree" or "Strongly Agree" to the question that "I don't intent to trade frequently because of the market uncertainty", which means, some people became more cautious toward investing in shares. Under the financial crisis circumstances, we expect that investors' attitude, intention and behavior would be affected greatly by the market condition, no matter how the news media picture the outside world. Investors trading behavior could be different from that under the "normal" market conditions.

As for the investment portfolio, many people hold more than one investment products other than stocks, e.g. bonds, futures, currencies, mutual funds, and the investment strategy for different investment products could affect each other. However, in this study, the relationship and interaction between different investments was not taken into consideration. Future study of the news effect on investment behavior may explore how news usage affects people's choice of different investment products, as well as the interaction between different investment products behaviors.

Although the importance of interpersonal communication was recognized in this study, the impact of interpersonal communication was not incorporated into the research model, thus this study provided little insight on how much the interpersonal communication could affect investment behavior, as well as the interaction between media use and interpersonal communication in affecting people's investment strategy. Future research could explore more details of the

interaction effects between news and interpersonal communication on people's trading behavior.

References

- Abarbanell, J., & Bernard, V. (2000). Is the U.S. stock market myopic? *Journal of Accounting Research* 38 (Autumn): 221–42.
- Ahn, H., Bae, K., & Chan, K. (2001). Limit orders, depth, and volatility: evidence from the Stock Exchange of Hong Kong. *Journal of Finance* 56: 769–790.
- Anders, K. (2006). How Do Different Types of Investors React to New Earnings information? *Journal of Business Finance & Accounting*, 33(1) & (2): 127–144.
- Andreassen, P., & Kraus, S.J. (1990). Judgmental extrapolation and the salience of change. *Journal of Forecasting* 9: 347–372.
- Ajzen, I. (1985). From intentions to actions: A theory of planned behavior. In J. Kuhl and J. Bechmann (Eds.), *Action-Control: From Cognition to Behavior*, 11–39. Springer, Heidelberg.
- Ajzen, I. (1988). *Attitudes, traits, and behavior*. Chicago: Dorsey Press.
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50, 1, 179–211.
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Printice-Hall
- Asian Businessman Readership Survey (ABRS), 2004
- Atkinson, J. W. (1964). *An introduction to motivation*. Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand.
- Biais, B., Hillion, P. & Spatt, C. (1995). An empirical analysis of the limit order book and the order flow in the Paris bourse. *Journal of Finance* 50: 1655–1689.
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84: 191–215.
- Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American Psychologist*, 37: 122–147.
- Banerjee, A. (1992). A simple model of herd behavior. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 107(3): 797–817.
- Barberis, N., & Ming, H. (2008). Stocks as lotteries: The implications of probability weighting for security prices, *American Economic Review*, Forthcoming.
- Berelson, B. (1949). What 'missing the newspaper' means. In P. E. Lazarsfeld & F. N. Stanton (Eds.). *Communications research 1948–1949* (pp. 111–129). New York: Harper.
- Bernstein & Peter, L. (1996). *Against the Gods: The Remarkable Story of Risk*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bikhchandani, S., Hirshleifer, D., & Welch, I. (1992). A theory of fads, fashion, custom, and cultural change as informational cascades. *Journal of Political Economy*, 100(5), 992–1026.
- Brad, M. B., Lee, Y.T., Liu, Y. J., & Terrance, O. (2005). Who loses from trade? Evidence from Taiwan, Working paper, University of California, Davis.
- Brad, M. B. & Terrance, O. (1999). Online investors: Do the slow die first? University of California Davis, Working Paper.
- Brad, M. B. & Terrance, O. (2000). Trading is Hazardous to Your Wealth: The Common Stock Investment Performance of Individual Investors, *Journal of Finance*, Vol. 55: 773–806.

- Brad, M. B. & Terrance, O. (2001). Boys will be boys: gender, overconfidence, and common stock investment. *The quarterly journal of economics*, Vol. 116, No. 1: 261-292.
- Brad, M. B. & Terrance, O. (2008). All that Glitters: The Effect of Attention and News on the Buying Behavior of Individual and Institutional Investors. *Review of Financial Studies*, 21(2):785-818
- Bushee, B. (2001). Do institutional investors prefer near-term earnings over long-run value? *Contemporary Accounting Research* 18 (2): 207-46.
- Campbell, D. T. (1963). Social attitudes and other acquired behavioral dispositions. In S. Koch (Ed.), *Psychology: A study of a science*. (Vol. 6, pp. 94-172). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Charles, M. L. (1992). Earnings news and small traders: An intraday analysis. *Journal of Accounting and Economics*, 15:265-302.
- Cheung, G. W., & Rensvold, R. B. (2001). The effects of model parsimony and sampling error on the fit of structural equation models. *Organizational Research Methods*, 4: 236-264.
- Chow, G. C. & Kwan, Y. K. (1997) Rational Expectations is Not Generally valid for econometric models: evidence from stock market data. *Pacific Economic Review*, 2:3, 149-163.
- De Bondt, W., & Thaler (1985). Does the stock market overreact? *Journal of Finance*, vol. 40, no.3: 793-805
- DeLong, J. B, Shleifer, A., Summers, L. H., & Waldmann, R. J. (1990). Noise Trade Risk in Financial Markets. *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 98: 703-38.
- DeLong, J. B, Shleifer, A., Summers, L. H., & Waldmann, R. J. (1990b). Positive feedback investment strategies and destabilizing rational speculation, *Journal of Finance* 45: 379-395
- Downs D.S. & Hausenblas, H.A (2005): Elicitation studies and the theory of planned behavior: A systematic review of exercise beliefs. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 6:1-31.
- Dow, J. & Gorton, G. (1994). Arbitrage chains, *Journal of Finance* 49, 819-849.
- Edwards, W. (1968). Conservatism in human information processing. In: Kleinmütz, B. (Ed.), *Formal Representation of Human Judgment*. John Wiley and Sons, New York, 17-52.
- Fama, E. F. (1970). Efficient capital market: a review of theory and empirical evidence. *Journal of Finance*: 25, 383-417.
- Fama, E.F. (1998). Market Efficiency, Long Term Returns and Behavioral Finance. *Journal of Financial Economics*, vol. 49, no.3: 283-306
- Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, Attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Glaser, M., Noth, M. & Weber, M. (2004). Behavioral finance. *Blackwell Handbook of Judgment and Decision Making*, Chapter 26.
- Godin, G., & Kok, G. (1996). The theory of planned behavior: A review of its applications to health-related behaviors. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 11, 2: 87-98.
- Harrison, H., Terence, L., & Jeremy, C. S. (2000). Bad News Travels Slowly: Size, Analyst Coverage, and the Profitability of Momentum Strategies. *The Journal of Finance*. Vol. LV, No.1: 265-295.
- Heisler, J. (1994). Loss Aversion in a Futures Market: An Empirical Test, *Review of Futures Markets*, 13: 793-822.
- Jacobs, M. (1991). Short-term America: The causes and cures of our business myopia. Boston: *Harvard Business School Press*.

- Hu, L. T. & Bentler, P.M. (1998). Fit indices in covariance structure modeling: Sensitivity to underparameterized model misspecification. *Psychological Methods*, 3, 4: 424-453.
- Jao, Y. C. (1980). "Hong Kong as a Regional Financial Centre: Evolution and Prospects", in C. K. Leung, J. W. Cushman, and Wang Gungwu (eds.), *Hong Kong: Dilemma of Growth* (Carrberra: Australian National University Press), pp. 161-194; reprinted in R. Roberts (1994), pp. 457-490.
- Jao, Y. C. (ed.) (1988). *Hong Kong's Banking System in Transition: Problems, Prospects and Policies* (Hong Kong: Chinese Banks' Association).
- Jao, Y. C. (2003). Shanghai and Hong Kong as international financial centres: historical perspective and contemporary analysis. University of Hong Kong working paper.
- John, R.G., Campbell, R.H. & Hai, H (2005). Investor competence, trading frequency, and home bias. Working Paper 11426
- Katz, E., Blimler, J.G., & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilization of mass communication by the individual. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.). *The uses of mass communications: current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 19-32). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage
- Katz, E., Gurevitch, M., & Haas, H. (1973). On the use of the mass media for important things. *American Sociological Review*, 38: 164-181.
- Keynes, J. M. (1936). The general theory of employment, interest and money. London: Macmillan.
- Klapper, J. T. (1960). *The Effects of Mass Communication*. New York: Free Press
- Kumar A. (2007). Who Gambles in the Stock Market? McCombs School of Business, University of Texas at Austin, Working Paper
- Lakonishok, J., Shleifer, A., and Vishny, R. (1992). The Structure and Performance of the Money Management Industry. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity: Microeconomics 1992*, 330-391.
- Lasswell, H. Propaganda technique in the world war. New York: Garland; 1972. (Originally published 1938.).
- Markowitz, H. (1952). The utility of wealth, *Journal of Political Economy* 60, 151-158.
- Odean, T. 1999. Do Investors Trade Too Much? *American Economic Review* 89:1279-98.
- Markku, V., Jukka, P., & Hannu, S. (2006). How Investors Trade Around Interim Earnings Announcements. *Journal of Business Finance & Accounting*, 33(1) & (2): 145-178.
- McCarthy, I. (1979). "Offshore Banking Centers: Benefits and Costs", *Finance and Development*, Vol. 16, No. 4: 45-48.
- McQuail, D., Blumler, J.G., & Brown, J.R. (1972). The television audience: A revised perspective. In D. McQuail, ed., *Sociology of Mass Communication*, pp.135-165. Harmondsworth, Eng., Penguin.
- Miller, M, H. (1986). Behavioral rationality in finance: the case of dividends. *Journal of Business*, vol. 59, no.4: 451-468.
- Nicholas, B., Andrei, S. & Robert, V. (1998). A model of investor sentiment. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 49: 307-343.
- Noelle-Nuemann, E. (1973). Return to the concept of powerful mass media. In H. Eguchi and K. Sata, eds., *Studies of Broadcasting: An International Annual of Broadcasting Science*, pp. 67-112. Tokyo: Nippon Hoso Kyokai.
- Odean, T. (1998). Are Investors Reluctant to Realize Their Losses?. *Journal of Finance*, Vol. 53: 1775-1798.

- Porter, M. (1992). Capital choices: Changing the way America invests in industry. Boston: *Council on Competitiveness/Harvard Business School*.
- Riley, M. W., & Riley, J.W.Jr. (1951). A sociological approach to communication research. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 15: 445-460
- Ritter, J. R. (2003). Behavioral finance. *Pacific-Basin Finance Journal*, 11: 429-437.
- Robert H. K. (1944). A Psychology of Rumor. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 22-37.
- Schlarbaum, G., Lewellen, W., & R. Lease. (1978a). The Common-Stock-Portfolio Performance Record of Individual Investors: 1964–70. *Journal of Finance* 33: 429–41
- Schlarbaum, G., Lewellen, W., & R. Lease. (1978b). Realized Returns on Common Stock Investments: The Experience of Individual Investors. *Journal of Business* 51: 299–325.
- Severin, W. J., & Tankard, J.W. (2001). Communication theories: origins, methods, and uses in the mass media, New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing.
- Shefrin, H., & Meir, S., (1985). The disposition to sell winners too early and ride losers too long: Theory and evidence, *Journal of Finance*, 40: 777-790.
- Shefrin (1999). Beyond Greed and Fear: Understanding Behavioral Finance and the Psychology of Investing. *Boston, MA: Harvard Press*.
- Sherman, S. J., & Fazio, R. H. (1983). Parallels between attitudes and traits as predictors of behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15: 308-345.
- Statman, M. (1995). Behavioral finance versus standard finance. In *Behavioral Finance and Decision Theory in Investment Management*. Edited by Arnold S. Wood. Charlottesville, VA: AIMR.
- Statman, M. (1999). Behavioral finance: Past Battles and future engagements. *Financial Analysts Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 6: 18-27.
- Tomas, O., & Sam, H. (2004). Information sources, news, and rumors in financial markets: Insights into the foreign exchange market. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 25: 407-424
- Werner, J. S., & James, W. T, Jr. (2001). Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media. P294
- Zhu, J. H., and He, Z. (2002). Perceived characteristics, perceived needs, and perceived popularity: Diffusion and use of the Internet in China. *Communication Research*, 29 (4): 466-495.

Chapter Four

Samizdat Periodicals before 1989 in Former Czechoslovakia

Albert Kulla, The Catholic University in Ruzomberok, Slovakia

Imrich Gazda, The Catholic University in Ruzomberok, Slovakia

In the former Czechoslovakia the fall of Communism is connected with the date of November 17th, 1989 and the succession states are the Slovak republic and the Czech republic that commemorate the event in the national holidays. One of forms of antitotalitarian fight was samizdat, i.e., “*illegal publishing of printed paper of various specializations (religious, historical, political) reproduced by hand, typewriter or computer that could not be published legally due to political or ideological reasons.*” (Šimulčík, 1997).

In our paper we primarily focus on periodical samizdat of religious character published within 1969 – 1989 in Slovakia, but we also pay our attention to the Czech samizdat non-periodical and non-religious samizdat works. As far as the religious samizdat is concerned, we are forced to speak mostly of the Catholic samizdat in Slovak, as, according to Rudolf Lesňák (1998) a Terézia Rončáková (2009), in Slovakia there was not published any Protestant samizdat, resp. a religious samizdat in Hungarian (In Slovakia there live about 500.000 Hungarian community). To an equal extent, we cannot speak of any Orthodox samizdats, as the Orthodox church was tolerated by the state with which the Greek Catholic Church was planned to merge, so the Orthodox believers did not need any unofficial periodicals.

The paper is divided into three parts. In the first part we define the term samizdat, we designate reasons of its origin, state periods of its development and its categories. In the second part we will exemplify processes of formation of these illegal printed works on the example of the significant samizdat *Náboženstvo a súčasnosť* (Religion and Present magazine) and in the final part we introduce projects aimed at archiving and analyses of samizdat periodicals.

Introduction of Samizdat Journalism

The term samizdat itself is derived from the Russian word *samoizdatel'stvo*, that means self-publishing in translation. The Catholic priest Ladislav Stromček (2008), an author of samizdat *ZrNo* for the youth recalls a story of a Russian dissident who peculiarly explains the meaning of the term samizdat: “You look for a text alone, you edit it alone, you set it in type alone, you print

it out, pay for it, make its distribution on your own and you lie in prison alone if they catch you.”

An emphasis on the term itself is very fundamental and polysemantic. High level of conspiracy was an unavoidable part of making a samizdat, so individual authors of samizdats knew as little as possible about each other so, in a case of their arrest and questioning by the secret police, they had as little important information as possible. “There was created a chain in which an individual know his own link” (Lauko, 1997). It was the same in case of distributors and readers of samizdats so this resulted in “*a community of no-names*” (Holečková, 2009) around this type of periodical. The term self-publishing has also a different meaning. Every issue of a samizdat lived its own, second life after publishing. Active readers secretly reproduced individual issues by typewriters thanks to which the number of periodicals increased. For example the Czech samizdat Lidové noviny (People’s Newspaper) had its circulation around 350 copies but by its number raised to 10.000 copies by readers’ reproduction. Readers were not only passive receivers of contents, but active distributors.

In the period of 1969 – 1989, in the period of so-termed normalization that followed after suppression of the “Socialism with Human Face Movement” (also termed as the Prague Spring) by the armies of the Soviet Union and members of Warsaw Pact Allies in 1968, there were published two basic types of samizdat periodicals in Czechoslovakia: liberal-laic and Christian ones (Šimulčík, 1997). Smaller samizdat publications (e.g., memoirs of liquidation of monastic societies, memoirs from prison and working camps, translations of prohibited international literature, students’ works, etc.) originated in 1950s and 1960s already (the Communistic Party seized the political power in Czechoslovakia in 1948), but we speak of non/periodical samizdat in this case. Especially in 1950s, characterized by strong repression of rising totalitarian regime, there did not exist place for periodical samizdat works (Lesňák, 1998).

According to Šimulčík (1997) we may speak of two external stimuli for the rise of samizdat works in Slovakia after 1968. The first stimulus came from Lithuania that was the then-part of the Soviet Union- it was the samizdat journal *Lietuvos katalikų bažnyčios kronika* (The *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*) that was the underground journal of the Catholic church. The second stimuli was experience of Polish Catholics with production of a religious samizdat. As far as internal stimuli are concerned, one of the main reasons was a need of effective transfer of information in secret religious communities (so-termed “underground church”) that existed all over Slovakia. Another reason was a total absence of independent religious press. Rudolf Lesňák (1998) states that from 90 Slovak and 18 religious periodical in foreign languages published in Slovakia at the end of World War II, almost all of them were prohibited in 1948 except for the Catholic Newspaper, *Duchovný pastier* (The Spiritual Shepherd) and *Slovo* (the Word journal) that soon became periodicals serving the Communistic party.

Development of samizdat works was strongly affected by a release of imprisoned priests, religioners and laymen within 1960s. Moreover, in the period of so-termed normalization that followed after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of Warsaw Pact Allies in 1968 a lot of priests were withdrawn the state authorization necessary to exercise a profession of the priest. Paradoxically, priests had more time for illegal spiritual activity including samizdats. Leaders of the underground church became the secret bishop Ján Chryzostom Korec who later became a cardinal and the priest and mathematician Vladimír Jukl and a doctor Silvester Krčméry.

Development of religious samizdat works in Slovakia is divided by J. Šimulčík (1997) into three periods:

- a) **Establishment of samizdat(1973 – 1982)** - there was published probably the only one religious samizdat in Slovakia, *Orientácia* (Orientation journal)
- b) **Rise of samizdat (1982 – 1988)** – beginning of the period is connected with the origin of samizdat *Náboženstvo a súčasnosť* (Religion and Present) that was the first nationwide religious samizdat (we focus on it later on). In 1988 there were published 13 religious periodicals in Slovakia, which is the highest number during the period of Communism.
- c) **Shift from underground publishing to public publishing (1988 – 1989)** - beginning of the period is connected with the origin of samizdat *Bratislavské listy* (Bratislava Letters magazine) that was the first and the last samizdat magazine that was published in the Communistic period with the address of publisher.

R. Lesňák (1997) tried to categorize Slovak religious samizdats comprehensively. He distinguishes six basic sections to which he adds two supplementary sections of Czech and liberal-laic periodicals:

- a) periodicals with philosophical-theological contents
- b) magazines to deepen religious and spiritual life
- d) periodicals with socio-educational impact
- e) magazines of cultural-political specification
- f) interest-formative magazines for the youth
- g) periodicals with translations of international texts

		Title	Published in period	Volumes
1.	1.	<i>Orientácia</i>	1973-1985	11
	2.	<i>Una Sancta Catholica</i>	1983-1985	2
	3.	<i>Myšlienky z večeradla</i>	1985-1989 (+)	5
2.	4.	<i>Náboženstvo a súčasnosť</i>	1982-1989 (+)	8
	5.	<i>Príloha mladých</i>	1988	1
	6.	<i>Serafínsky svet</i>	1982, 1984, 1986-1989	6
	7.	<i>Pokoj a dobro</i>	1983, 1985	2
	8.	<i>Nové Turíce s Máriou</i>	1987-1989 (+)	3
	9.	<i>Katolícky mesačník</i>	1988-1989	2
	10.	<i>Výber</i>	1984-1987	4
3.	11.	<i>Rodinné spoločenstvo</i>	1985-1989 (+)	5
	12.	<i>Radosť a nádej</i>	1987-1989 (+)	3
	13.	<i>ZrNO</i>	1989 (+)	1
4.	14.	<i>Historický zápisník</i>	1986-1987	2
	15.	<i>Hlas Slovenska</i>	1988-1989	2
	16.	<i>Bratislavské listy</i>	1988-1989 (+)	2
	17.	<i>Svedectvo</i>	1987-1989	3
5.	18.	<i>Vzlet</i>	1947-1978	2
	19.	<i>Emanuel</i>	1970-1971	2
	20.	<i>Svetlo</i>	1986-1989 (+)	4
	21.	<i>Pramienok</i>	1988-1989	2
6.	22.	<i>Kňazom, najmilším synom Panny Márie</i>	1984-1989 (+)	6
	23.	<i>Listy z Taizé</i>	1978-1989 (+)	12

Two additional sections are formed by:

- Czech Christian periodicals (known and read in Slovakia)
- Slovak civic periodicals (with texts in Christian spirit).

		Title	Published in period	Volumes
1.	1.	<i>Teologický sborník</i>	1978-1979	2
	2.	<i>Teologické texty</i>	1978-1989 (+)	12
	3.	<i>Informace o Církvi</i>	1980-1989	10
	4.	<i>Orientace</i>	1981-1989	9
	5.	<i>Komunikace</i>	1984-1989 (+)	6
	6.	<i>Křesťanské obzory</i>	1988-1989	2
	7.	<i>Společenství</i>	1988-1989	2
	8.	<i>Sursum</i>	1988-1989	2
	9.	<i>Velehrad</i>	1989	1
2.	1.	<i>Trinásta komnata</i>	1978-1980	3
	2.	<i>Kontakt</i>	1981-1983	3
	3.	<i>Altamira</i>	1982-1983	2
	4.	<i>Fragment</i>	1987	1
	5.	<i>Fragment K</i>	1988-1989 (+)	2

Note: symbol (+) means that the samizdat was published for a certain period also after the fall of Communism

Religion and Present Magazine as an Example of Samizdat Works

In this chapter of the paper we introduce the samizdat magazine that was, according to R. Lesňák (1998) *“the second most important samizdat periodical according to number of issues and social impact.”* The first was the samizdat magazine *Orientácia* (Orientation magazine) that had the circulation less than 20 in its first eleven volumes (it originated in 1973) and it was distributed exclusively among priests in the Spis diocese (Chmelár, 2009). On the other hand, its total number of volumes (135, resp. 137) and number of pages (almost 3000) within eleven years ranks it first among Slovak samizdat magazines.

The samizdat *Náboženstvo a súčasnosť* (Religion and Present magazine) started to be published in 1982 following the Czech example of the samizdat monthly *Informace o církvi* (Information about Church magazine) (Mikloško, 2008). The main mover of its establishment was a Catholic dissident František Mikloško, in the first editorial board there were also a reputable lawyer defending dissidents Ján Čarnogurský, Martin Lauko with his wife- parents of two small children. The periodical was published around every two months, while until 1989 there were totally published 34 issues with an average number of 20 pages in A4 format. In the first years, it was reproduced by mimeograph, later on in offset printing with the circulation of 300-1000 that were distributed in Slovakia, Czech and Moravia (Mikloško 2008). Gradually, two main streams were formed in editorship: the political-historical one represented by J. Čarnogurský and M. Lauko and the religious wing represented by F. Mikloško.

Based on the narrations of authors of the samizdat magazine, we may quite exactly reconstruct the process of its formation, printing and distribution. It was very similar to those of other samizdat magazines. “Meetings of editorial board were mostly in our flat. From the standpoint of organization, František played the key role, as he had best contacts with secret church structures. Jan was connected with Charta 77 (Charter 77) and political spheres. As I was not so active externally, and thus not traced by ŠTB (State Security- secret police in former Czechoslovakia), I supplemented the couple by preparing conditions for meetings in our flat” (Lauko, 1997).

Lauko's family concealed the mimeograph and they rewrote the whole issue at weekend. “All things I needed for that as a typewriter or mimeograph were past me. The things were hidden at friends' who live in my surroundings. It was safety precaution. They would not have found anything in a case of domiciliary visit. When the time of writing of the samizdat arrived, I took everything from my friends and after finishing, I brought everything back. Our table was absolutely clean on Saturday evening.” (Lauko, 1997). The next phase followed- printing. Ivan Polanský from Nová Dubnica and František Petráš from Šenkvice were responsible for printing in secret (underground) printing houses. “Printers of samizdat magazines were endangered most. To print 500 issues and put sheets together took a couple of days. All the period represented risk for a printer. The whole issue was then transported to Bratislava, mostly to the flat of Peter Murdza in Trnávka and from the

destination delivered all around Slovakia” (Mikloško, 2008). Distribution, as in cases of most samizdat periodicals, was secured by the secret Church. In the last years of Communism, people succeeded to smuggle several offset printers (especially Protestant groups from abroad helped with it, e.g., from Netherlands) which enabled to produce thousands copies. Equally, thanks to the start of first computers, also the graphic layout could develop. If the November 1989 did not take place, there is high probability that samizdat periodicals would compete in quality with official periodicals and their circulation would be several times higher.

Later on, every one from creators Religion and Present magazine decided to go his or her own way: J. Čarnogurský who was still more intensively traced by the secret police left editorial board in 1984 and 4 year later he established another samizdat periodical Bratislavské listy (Bratislava Letters magazine) that was to “*break new ground for a christian-democratic movement*” (Čarnogurský, 1998); Martin Lauko left one year later and in 1988 he set up the samizdat periodical Hlas Slovenska (Voice of Slovakia magazine) aimed at historical issues, and finally, also František Mikloško left. The priest Vladimír Jukl, Rudolf Fiby, Judita Štěplová a Jozef Hlinický became new editorial board.

The professor of the history of Slovak journalism, Eduard Chmelár (2009), evaluates contribution of the samizdat in these words: “This Catholic quarterly means an evident breakthrough in development of samizdat periodical press. Until then, impact of samizdat periodicals in Slovakia was very limited, i.e., by the number of copies...Religion and Present magazine was the first significant and successful Catholic samizdat periodical in Slovakia that succeeded in reflecting timely problems of the church and believers in a wider social context.”

Samizdat as Testimony

There have been published several works after 1989 and they deal exclusively or partly with the Samizdat literature. Two of them, which can be regarded as key works, are used as sources several times in our paper. While *Svetlo z podzemia* (“Light from Underground”) by J. Šimulčík records personal testimonies of authors of samizdat periodicals by means of the method of oral history, the work *Listy z podzemia* (“Letters from Underground”) by R. Lesňák is a complete documentation of the Christian Samizdat journalism including bibliography not only of the periodical, but also non-periodical samizdat periodicals and translations with examples. Despite the fact that the metaphors of *light* and *letters* are very appropriate for samizdat writings, we assume that it is even more suitable to speak of the *testimony* or *message from underground*. “There is underground in front of the eyes of the both authors, i.e. space of secret religious activities, and they see the space as a source – of light or letters, thus the source of message that is useful for people of these days as wisdom of old valuable found letters or rays of light” (Kolková, 2008). For this

testimony of steadiness of human freedom and courage in times of non-freedom and totalitarian regimes to be available for next generations, it is necessary not only to collect, inventory and archive samizdat periodicals that are scattered all over households and private collections, but also to record testimonies of their creators that are to pass away slowly from this world. Many of them are very old and not very healthy. In Slovakia and mainly in the Czech Republic, there have been running several projects whose aims are to save samizdat works.

In Prague there was founded the library Libri Prohibiti (<http://libpro.cts.cuni.cz/>) in October 1990 that systematically collects so-termed illegal books, production of exile and samizdat publishers. This unique library, at the head of which is the publisher and librarian Jiří Gruntorád, today contains 19.000 book units and around 1.600 titles of periodicals. We can find among them for example the Czech and Slovak literature from the period of 1960s-1989, Polish Samizdat literature from 1979 – 1989, the Czech and Slovak exile literature from 1948 – 2008, the Czech exile literature from the period of the World War II, Russian and Ukrainian exile literature from 1920 – 1990, audio and video recordings created by the Czechoslovak and international opposition, etc. All these funds are available for study in study rooms. The library of this kind does not exist in Slovakia despite the fact that authorities admit the need. “It would certainly do good if there existed an institution similar to Libri Prohibiti in Prague,” Peter Balún (2010) from Nation’s Memory Institute stated in an interview with authors of the paper. He scientifically investigates the period of totalitarian regimes from 1939 till 1989. The mission of the library is substituted by the Nation’s Memory Institute that archives samizdat periodicals. The problem is that archiving of documents is not systematical. “Collections of samizdat periodicals in archives are occasional, when somebody brings something” (Balún, 2010).

According to information of Ján Valo (2010) from the archives of Nation’s Memory Institute there are three collections of samizdat periodicals in the publishing house Krumpholtz limited company, editions of Bratislavské listy (Bratislava Letters magazine) and the collection of the samizdat and the exile literature that were not archived so far. “The mentioned collections contain several information on activities of the publishing house Krumpholtz and editorial office of Bratislavské listy (Bratislava Letters magazine) and samizdat literature itself: philosophical works, magazines of national illegal communities, reports on the church, hymn books, books with religious themes, etc. There are the Catholic Church, Protestant Church of the Augsburg Confession and Jewish community as well as Jehova witnesses with other religious communities (Valo, 2010).

Another interesting project is the collection of interviews *Katolícky samizdat v Československu 80. Rokov* (*The Catholic Samizdat in Czechoslovakia of 1980s*) that contains 8 interviews with people from the sphere of the Catholic Samizdat (Radim Jáchym, Rudolf Smahel, František Lízna, František Adamík, Michaela Freiová, Jindřich Sirovátka, Iva Kotrlá, Jiří Kaplan). All the interviews that were recorded by Marta Edith Holečková, a then-PhD student at the Institute of

the Czech History of Charles University in Prague, in the period 2005 – 2007 and they are archived in the collections of Oral History Center of Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (http://www.coh.usd.cas.cz/pages_cz/sbirky.htm). Secondly, also interviews with other dissidents in these collections relate to production of samizdat periodicals.

Despite the fact that the department Oral History is founded also in Nation's Memory Institute, it does not pay its attention to systematic collection of interviews with authors of samizdat periodicals. The head of the department, Ondrej Krajňák (2010), confirmed that they have recorded only a statement of Ivan Polansky, one of the most active authors of samizdat literature, e.g., Výber, Historický zápisník and many others. Moreover, the recording is not available for public, only some of its parts. "There exists a bilateral agreement. We use recordings for different purposes: production of documents, conferences, for journalists, etc." (Krajňák, 2010).

Archivation and analysis of samizdat periodicals is a mission mainly various historical institutes, centres of oral history and institutions that were established in several countries in Central Europe to map totalitarian history of the 20th century. (In Slovakia Nation's Memory Institute, The Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in the Czech Republic, The Institute of National Remembrance in Poland- its head, Janusz Kurtyka, died in the plane accident at Katyn in April). Retrieval of the past should be natural efforts of those periodicals that have their roots in samizdat and have been published up to now. For example, the Czech daily Lidové noviny (People's Newspaper) has all 24 samizdat issues available at its web-page (<http://libpro.cts.cuni.cz/law.htm>). Similarly, the Czech revue Teologické texty (*Theological Texts*), published until today, has all 17 samizdat issues digitalized at (<http://www.teologicketexty.cz/casopis>). On the webpages of the Slovak Catholic magazines Zrno and Família, originated in samizdat, there are not any samizdat issues.

Also the Department of Journalism of the Catholic University in Ružomberok tries to analyse and retrieve testimony of samizdat. It organized the international conference on the occasion of the eighteenth anniversary of the fall of totality in Czechoslovakia with the title On the Value of Samizdat. Religious Samizdat Periodicals before 1989 from there was published the proceedings carrying the same title (2008). It contains analytical views of members of the department on the samizdat works (Terézia Kolková, Peter Olekšák), together with – following the example of *Svetlo z podzemia* (Light from Underground) – unique testimonies of leading authors of religious samizdat magazines in the former Czechoslovakia (Michal Holeček, František Mikloško, Ladislav Stromček, Jozef Jarab). Similarly, a couple of months ago, the Department organized the international conference with the title Freedom in Non-Freedom: Contribution of Dissent and the Media to the Fall of Totality in cooperation with the Department of History and Nation's Memory Institute on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the fall of totality in Czechoslovakia. There had speeches several important dissidents and authors

of samizdat journals (František Mikloško, Ján Budaj) and most of authors paid attention to scientific analyses of samizdat works.

Members of Department of Journalism of the Catholic University in Ružomberok try to popularize this theme among its students beside academic approach towards samizdat journalism. The fruit of efforts is several bachelor and diploma theses dealing with the topic of the samizdat. We can mention the works of Adrián Greško, Michal Albert and Mariana Šarpatakyová who investigated the samizdat periodical ZrNO. The work was published in a shortened form in the scientific periodical *Questions of Journalism* under the title *ZrNO: From Samizdat Beginning to the Present* (2009).

Bibliography

- Holečková, M.E. (2009). Spoločenství českého katolického samizdatu 70. a 80. let XX. století. Paper presented at the international conference Freedom in Non-Freedom: Contribution of Dissent and the Media to the Fall of Totality, December 2, in Ružomberok, Slovakia. [Community of the Czech Catholic Samizdat in the 70's and 80's of XXth Century].
- Chmelár, E. (2009). Publicistická činnosť disidenta Jána Čarnogurského. Paper presented at the international conference Freedom in Non-Freedom: Contribution of Dissent and the Media to the Fall of Totality, December 2, in Ružomberok, Slovakia. [Journalistic Activities of the Dissident Ján Čarnogurský].
- Kolková, T. (2008). *Samizdat: definícia, dejiny, charakteristika*. In: *O hodnotě samizdatu. Samizdatová náboženská periodika před rokem 1989*, 9-29. Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství. [Samizdat: Definition, History, Characteristics].
- Lesňák, R. (1998). *Listy z podzemia. Súborná dokumentácia kresťanskej samizdatovej publicistiky na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1989*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo USPO. [Letters from Underground: Collective Documentation of Christian Samizdat Journalism in Slovakia in the Period 1945 – 1989.].
- Šarpatakyová, M. & Greško, A. & Albert, M. (2009). ZrNO: From Samizdat Beginning to the Present. *Questions of Journalism* 52 (1-2): 68-81.
- Šimulčík, J. (1997). *Svetlo z podzemia. Z kroniky katolíckeho samizdatu 1969 – 1989*. Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška. [Light from Underground. From Chronicle of Catholic Samizdat 1969 – 1989.].
- Rončáková, T. (2009). *Fenoméni samizdatu na Slovensku*. Not Published [Phenomenon of Samizdat in Slovakia].
- The interview with P. Balún by I. Gazda 12.4.2010.
- The interview with O. Krajňák by I. Gazda 13.4.2010

Chapter Five

Changing Media Representations of Youth: A Content Analysis of Representations of Youth in Danish Newspapers, 1953-2003

Klaus Levinsen, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

Charlotte Wien, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

A popular Danish saying roughly translates into “Youth is not like it used to be”.¹ It is used as a concluding remark whenever adults or elderly people discuss the younger generation and especially in the context of some kind of undesirable behaviour among the younger generations. The saying is interesting in our context for several reasons. Firstly, because it synthesises the behaviour and attitudes of a social group and says something general about it. Secondly, it is interesting because it assumes that young people’s behaviour or attitudes have changed over time. Thirdly, the origin of the postulate is interesting. Strictly speaking there are two possible sources: People’s personal experiences with young people or indirect sources of information. Concerning the latter, the media – no doubt – plays an important role in developing, disseminating, maintaining and probably also changing media representations of young people.

Nichols and Good (2004) studied the changes in media representations of youth over time. They cover media representations of youth with regard to violence, sex, tobacco, alcohol, drugs etc., and refer to evidence suggesting that Americans are becoming increasingly negative toward teens (Nichols and Good, 2004:5). They point to many different reasons for this development: Changing role expectations over time; adult familiarity with youth; and media influence. As regards to the last-mentioned, especially entertainment and news provide a negatively skewed perspective on youth and children. They present the hypothesis that the rapid media growth over the past five decades, where the most frequently reported news topics on youth covered youth as crime victims, accidents involving youth, and violent youth crime, makes the public media audience ‘[see] youth in problematic terms’ (Nichols and Good, 2004:9).

Their work is interesting in our context: Firstly, they show that news stories on young people are mostly negative regarding the news topics covered; secondly, because they present a hypothesis on the development of the media’s description of youth stating that the descriptions of youth become increasingly negative.

¹“Ungdommen er ikke, hvad den har været”

This paper sets out to examine whether the news media in Denmark has a similar tendency of negative bias in the media representations of youth. We adopt a dynamical perspective exploring how the representations of youth change over time. However, Nichols and Good's (2004) findings were based on the analysis of media representations of youth with regard to violence, sex, tobacco, alcohol, drugs etc. We wish to challenge their findings and will therefore also conduct an analysis of the changes of the subject area coverage regarding youth over the last 50 years.

Unfortunately, it is not very clear from the literature what exactly is meant by 'media representations'. We will follow Gipsrud, arguing that the media uses representations when something well-known is being presented to the audience: it is being *represented* (Gipsrud, 2005:22). The presenter (e.g. the journalist) can therefore refer to already existing ideas (e.g. stereotypes and frames) about the phenomena being represented.

Theoretical Perspective: Media Representations, Framing and Stereotyping

There is no 'true reality' with which we can compare 'media representations' and 'calculate' the extent to which media representations of youth differ from the 'real' youth: The media reflects society. However, the media also shapes society: Several studies shown that media representations effect public opinion, social policy, attitudes and behaviour (e.g. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Donovan and Leivers 1993; Hurtz and Durkin 2004; Wyn 2005; Paterson 2006; Slater 2007; Bleakney, Hennessy et al. 2008) and even our language (Gorham 2006). However, cause and effect cannot be separated. This is why the study of changes in media representations over time provides valuable knowledge about societal development and structural changes (see e.g. (Paterson 2006; Slater 2007; Bleakney, Hennessy et al. 2008).

The concept 'media representation' refers in our understanding to the ways in which various groups based on e.g. age, gender or race are represented in the media and is, therefore, closely related to the study of media frames and media stereotypes. In fact no clear definitions separate the three concepts from each other: Frames were originally defined as 'schemata of interpretation' (Goffman, 1974:21). The term 'schemata' has been used by social psychologists in order to describe the cognitive categories that we use in order to organise our memory and retrieve and categorise information (Stangor 2000:6; Tajfel and Forgas 2000:50).

Similarly, the study of frames was linked to media research by Gitlin. He defined media frames as *persistent patterns of cognition, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or textual* (Gitlin, 1980:7). In his point of view media frames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: The frame makes it possible for both audience and journalists to recognize information and assign to already existing cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to an audience.

The close relation between media frames and social psychologists' definition of stereotypes becomes particularly clear when social psychologists like e.g. Stangor and Schaller (Stangor and Schaller, 2000:64) argue that stereotypes are part of the social fabric of a society, shared by people within that culture, and that stereotypes are public information about social groups shared among the individuals of a culture and that society itself forms a basis of stored knowledge (Stangor and Schaller, 2000:68), and when Hinton claims that stereotypes are regarded as patterns of cognition that make "thinking quick and easy" (Hinton, 2000:22-23).

The fact that Gitlin – as mentioned above – considered media frames as '*persistent*' patterns of cognition makes the close relation to social psychologists' stereotypes even more obvious. Stangor (Stangor, 2000:13) argued that stereotypes in general are considered resistant to change. However, research in stereotypes has shown that they change over time (e.g. Donovan and Leivers, 1993; Devine and Elliott 2000; Wien 2005; Covert and Dixon 2008). In other words: Stereotypes – like frames – are *persistent* patterns, but not irresistible to change. Corresponding conclusions have been reached by media researchers conducting longitudinal studies of media framing of certain issues (e.g. Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; Schulz and Zeh 2005; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007).

Therefore we will assume that the media researchers' concept of 'frame' is closely related to the social psychologists' concept 'stereotypes'. They are, however, not identical as 'frame' is a boarder concept than 'stereotype'. We find support for this view in e.g. Entman's (Entman 1993:53) frequently cited article where he operationalize news frames for empirical purposes: Of the five factors he lists 'stereotyped images' is one.¹ We will follow Entman and consider stereotypes as an element of media frames. Similarly, studies of media representations include analyses of stereotypes (Porteous and Colston 1980; Aubrun and Grady 2000; Devlin 2000; Heintz-Knowles 2000; Mazzarella 2003; Dixon and Maddox 2005; Wyn 2005; Covert and Dixon 2008).² The studies we have retrieved on media representations of youth include analyses of sourcing patterns, salience of issues, genres of news items and series of quantitative measures like length and illustrations and indicators of personal characteristic of the individual representatives of adolescence in the news item (Porteous and Colston 1980; Falchikov 1986; Devlin 2000; McManus 2002; Mazzarella 2003; Wyn 2005).

In summary we believe that 'framing', 'stereotyping' and 'media representations' are so closely related concepts that we can utilise the literature

¹Entman defines the stereotypes as 'mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide the individuals' processing of information' (Entman 1993:53). The complete list is "certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements" (Entman 1993:52). It is disputed whether or not the analysis of stereotypes should be included when analyzing media frames.

²Some studies use the word 'image' as a synonym for stereotype (e.g. Porteous and Colston 1980; Falchikov 1986; Wyn 2005).

on all three concepts as an inspirational toolbox for our empirical analysis to follow. However, before we move on to the empirical analysis we will summarize the previous research on media representations/stereotypes/framing of youth.

Youth in the News Media – Previous Research

Up until today a number of studies have examined youth representations in the media. Heintz-Knowles (2000) carried out an analysis of media representations of youth in American prime-time television programmes and found that youth appear in about half of all prime-time entertainment programs. The characters that appear are more likely to be female and white than any other gender or race. Drugs, alcohol and crime are generally not shown as part of the world of youth; instead focus is on problems relating to romantic relationships, friendships/popularity, and family issues.

However, in most prime-time television programmes young people are considered the source of problems that adults must fix (Heintz-Knowles, 2000:6). Heintz-Knowles carried out her analyses on scripted, fictional entertainment programmes in a series format.

Quite the opposite conclusion regarding the most prevalent media representation of youth is reached by Aubrun and Grady (2000) and later by Amundson, Lichter et al. (2005). Both studies analyse the coverage of young people in television evening news on local and national channels in the United States. Aubrun and Grady (2000) found that especially the local news has a stronger tendency of using narrow and negative stereotypes on youth than national news coverage in United States.

Furthermore, their work has shown that there is a significant difference in which stance the media assumes towards adolescence: Local news has a tendency of assuming a spectator's stance making empathic viewer involvement difficult. They do so through a rapid pace and by frequent use of "eyewitness news" and by focussing on youth as victims, criminals or on accidents involving young people. National news – on the contrary – more often assumes a thematic frame presenting context, sense of proportion and suggestions for solutions (Aubrun and Grady, 2000:2-5).

Amundson, Lichter et al.'s results corresponds very well with these findings. They found that especially the "local news stories about youth tend to treat adolescence as a source of personal problems and social disruptions that need to be addressed by adults". In terms of news criteria "the operant principle among the journalists seemed to be "if it bleeds it leads"." (Amundson, Lichter et al., 2005:25). In the national television news programmes the leading topics were educational issues; however, the national news programmes had a less intensive coverage of young people.

In other words, the representations of young people vary between different media programmes, and from one media to another, however, analyses of newspapers show some of the same tendencies. Among the earliest studies is

Stensaas (1961), who, in a study of American newspapers, found that most of the content in news stories on young people was negative and unfavourable; however, the favourable stories were more likely to appear on the front pages.

Correspondingly, Porteous and Colston (1980), in a study of the British press, found that the stories on young people were mostly dominated by sporting youngsters, criminals, or as victims of accidents or crime. In a follow-up study on twenty-one daily and Sunday newspapers in 1985, Falchikov (1986) showed that the four most occurring categories connected to adolescents were “victims”, “crime”, “sport” and “unemployment”. Thereby, Falchikov’s work largely confirmed the main results in the earlier research by Porteous & Colston showing only minor changes in the general picture of young people.

Likewise, a more recent study on youth in Ireland found that the majority of news stories portrayed young people as either “being a problem or as having problems”. Almost 85 percent of all stories were related to categories such as crime and violence, victimhood, and vulnerability (Devlin 2000:47). These findings were also in line with a general discourse where “young people are frequently presented as either actively “deviant” or passively “at risk”, and sometimes both simultaneously” (Devlin 2000, citing Griffin, 1997:17-18).

Conducting a content analysis of Californian newspapers’ coverage of youth violence focussing on the framing of such stories, McManus (McManus 2002) concluded that there is significant differences in the framing of new stories on youth in the aftermath of a ‘critical discourse event’ like the Columbine High School massacre: After such events journalists increase their use of thematic frames instead of the episodic ones, and the discussions of the nature of the problem and its possible solutions become more prevalent. In contrast routine coverage of youth is characterized by the use of episodic frames with less focus on the cause, solutions and nature of the problems described. They therefore conclude that there is a significant difference in the quality of news coverage of youth depending on whether newspapers are dealing with average, everyday routine stories or ‘critical discourse events’.

Wyn’s (Wyn 2005) work is the most recent. She conducted a comparative study of media representations of youth in the United States, Australia, New Zealand and United Kingdom based on mainstream print media and television. She found that the media representations of youth are caught between competing discourses: On one hand, the media portrays youth as a threat to society. On the other, youth are presented as the source of ‘hope for the future’(Wyn, 2005:31-32).

In summary, with the point of departure in our main research question and the previous research, we seek to answer the following research questions:

- To which extend does the news media in Denmark have an increasing tendency of negative bias regarding the media representations of youth?
- Which subjects are preferred by news media when covering news stories on youth?

In addition to seeking the answers to these questions we wish to explore some additional aspects of the possible changes in news media representations of youth: During the period 1953-2003 Denmark - like other modern countries - has been subject to major societal changes: With regard to economic structure society has transformed from a mainly agricultural society into an industrial society, and with regard to the social structure transformation from a social protection state into a modern welfare state. A previous study on the changes of media stereotypes on the elderly in Denmark from 1953 to 2003 has indicated that these societal changes are reflected in the changing media representations of the elderly (Wien 2005).

We will therefore conduct a number of analyses that on one hand relate to the societal changes in Denmark and on the other hand to the role played by youth in the news media: Firstly, we will test the hypotheses that

- the emergence of the welfare state leads to a professionalization of the social sector. Therefore, we expect to find an increase in the amount of expert sources.
- in the aftermath of the youth revolution we expect to find an increased focus on youth. Therefore, we expect to find an increase in the amount of newspaper articles
 - describing individual young people
 - quoting young individuals directly

And finally

- In the aftermath of women's liberation we expect to find an increase in the amount of newspaper articles on young females

Before moving on to the presentation of the analysis and our results, we will present our data and method in detail.

Data and Methodology¹

Five daily newspapers were selected for the study: One national quality newspaper, one tabloid, one regional, one local and one niche newspaper. From each newspaper one week's editions were selected for every 10th year from 1953 to 2003. We thereby generated a sample of 210 newspapers. In this way our focus is on the coverage of average, everyday routine stories.

Each newspaper was carefully read by a team of research assistants and all material involving youth was selected for coding. We decided to use a

¹For the purpose of this study it seemed obvious to draw on the related project on media stereotypes on the elderly (Wien 2005). For the reason of comparability it was decided to use the same sample of newspapers and a slightly modified version of the same method for this study. However, as the previous study has only been published in Danish we will make a short recap of the method.

combination of two selection criteria: The first is based on the UN's definition of youth and was used whenever possible. The UN defines a young person as someone between 14-24 years of age.¹ The assistants were instructed to select material where one or more persons mentioned met this criterion. The second criterion was based on the wording of the material itself: If words like e.g. young (wo-)man, youth, youngsters, teenagers, kids or any synonym occurred the material was selected.²

The code sheet³ includes a set of objective background variables like publishing date and place, length, direct quotes and use of sources. The coding of subject was based on a list of subject headings developed particularly for the purpose of indexing newspaper material.⁴ However, only top terms were used for the subject indexing. The indexing depth was set at only one term per article.

In addition, another set of variables was developed: We identified a series of overall issue frames by reading through the material. This initial scanning of material revealed that youth could be framed with a positive or negative bias. Youth described as a resource, as socially engaged, sympathetic, handsome, or conscientious were coded "positive". Similarly, articles describing young people as maladjusted, passive, as a threat, criminals, aggressive, or hostile, were coded as "negative".

Three research assistants initiated the coding of the material entering all data into an SPSS data file.⁵ Krippendorff's alpha was calculated for all variables. The results ranged from 0.82 to 1.0, which is within the acceptable level of reliability.

Results

The total number of youth items in the selected newspapers is shown in table 1. Across the years 1953-1973 we found a remarkable increase (80 per cent) in the number of items involving youth.

Over the past 50 years, however, in each newspaper there was a marked increase in the number of articles. So the increase in articles involving youth does not imply that they occupy a larger share of total newspaper content.

The year 1973 has the highest number of youth items. The different newspapers almost had an equal share of the news items found to involve young people (218-293 items). However, there was one exception, the religious

¹ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/qanda.htm#1>, 24. September, 2007

² In McManus's (McManus 2002) study on stories about youth, 14 percent of the news items in a one year long sample of newspapers concerned youth. We did not count all news items in our sample of newspapers. However, 14 percent of the total news items is close to our gut feeling.

³ The final version of the code sheet can be found at https://e-learn.sdu.dk/bbcswebdav/orgs/bbcomm477/Tekster/Diverse_faelles_dok

⁴ See http://www.db.dk/binaries/polinfoclassic_2001.doc

⁵ The data file can be downloaded from https://e-learn.sdu.dk/bbcswebdav/orgs/bbcomm477/SPSS_filer

niche newspaper “Kristeligt Dagblad” only had 134 youth items. This is not surprising as this particular paper mainly address the elderly as its audience and as this paper in general contains fewer and longer articles than the rest of the papers.

The general increase in the number of newspaper articles in 1973 about youth and also in newspaper articles having youth as main subject has to do with the aftermath of the youth revolution in the late 1960s: Media seems to have given a higher priority to the coverage of issues where youth was the main subject.

Table 1. *Youth Items in Newspapers*

	1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003	All Years
Politiken (national)	35	32	52	38	50	58	265
B.T. (tabloid)	33	36	58	38	40	59	264
Næstved Tidende (local)	30	36	56	37	31	28	218
Kr. Dagblad (religious)	19	22	40	15	13	25	134
Fyns Stiftstidende (regional)	31	28	64	39	57	74	293
N	148	154	270	167	191	244	1174

Negative and Positive Representations of Youth

Concerning positive versus negative representations of youth in the newspapers our data cannot confirm the theoretically guided assumptions or the earlier research findings postulating that the media is becoming increasingly negative over the years when describing youth and young people. As shown in table 2 our data seems to indicate a tendency towards balance between the positive, negative and neutral descriptions of youth. And furthermore, the number and percentage of “neutral” or balanced articles are significantly higher in the years 1983-2003 than the years before.

There might be several explanations for this observation of which two deserve being mentioned here: Firstly, that the Danish newspapers ceased to be partisan newspapers in the late 1960s. Following this they instead developed into omnibus newspaper striving for objectivity. Secondly, that the journalist profession was professionalized in the beginning of the 1970s through the establishment of a formal journalism educational programme under the “Danish School of Media and Journalism”.

According to the commercialization hypothesis we expected the tabloid newspaper to have the highest percentage of negatively biased articles on youth, however, a cross tabulation indicates that the regional newspaper seems to be the most negative.

Table 2. *Negative and Positive Representations of Youth*

		1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003	All years
	Positive	83	86	127	29	55	78	458
		56.1%	55.8%	47.0%	17.4%	28.8%	32.0%	39.0%
	Negative	38	37	90	69	66	78	378
		25.7%	24.0%	33.3%	41.3%	34.6%	32.0%	32.2%
	Neutral	27	31	52	69	70	88	337
		18.2%	20.1%	19.3%	41.3%	36.6%	36.1%	28.7%
	N	148	154	270	167	191	244	1174

Which Subjects Are Covered?

As mentioned above, Porteous and Colston (Porteous and Colston 1980) and Falchikov (Falchikov 1986) found that the dominating issues covered by the media with regards to youth were crime, sport, unemployment or youth as victims. Our material reveals a slightly different picture as it appears from table 3, where the items were classified into a number of different subject categories.

Table 3. *Classification of Youth News Items by Subject. Pct*

		1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003	All years
Crime		23	19	22	30	28	16	22
Culture		24	34	9	9	13	16	16
Sport		8	10	14	11	7	19	12
Education		8	9	14	14	12	8	11
Politics		3	2	9	7	17	5	8
Social		4	6	9	3	5	9	6
Ethics, philosophy, religion		5	3	4	4	2	2	3
Accidents		8	4	2	1	3	2	3
Labour		8	4	2	1	3	2	3
Family		2	3	1	7	1	3	3
International		1	2	4	1	3	3	3
Health		2	1	3	4	2	3	3
Other		7	5	6	7	5	11	7
N		148	154	270	167	191	244	1174

The most frequently occurring category in our material is “crime” which in total accounts for 22 per cent of all the news items. Among the other prominent categories are “culture” (16 per cent), “sport” (12 per cent) and “education” (11 per cent). It is, however, remarkable that we find quite some changes over the years represented. The number of items related to “crime” - which includes various reporting on criminal activities (murder, sexual assault, violence, robbery, theft, vandalism) - decreases during the period 1953-1963, stabilizes 1973-1993 (n=50-59) and decreases 1993-2003.

Looking at the share of crime items over the years, our analysis shows that culture items which include music, theatre, literature and arts are most prominent in the years 1953, 1963 and 2003. The most significant changes are found in the representation of “sport” items, being the most frequent in 2003.

Which Role is played by Youth?

When describing stereotyping as a media driven process, the literature emphasizes the tendency to portray social groups and group behaviour rather than individuals. This is especially the case when talking about “youth” as a distinct category of people with certain social or cultural characteristics: When children and youth became the focus of scientific studies at the beginning of the twentieth century, and when moral panics over youth leisure cultures was at the midst of public and political concern in the mid-twentieth century in many western countries, “youth” became a group phenomenon. In the press young people - especially boys - were portrayed as members of groups disturbing the public order, as members of (criminal) gangs, or introducing new cultural practices as members of various music bands (Thompson 1998; Welch 2002).

To explore the scope of youth as a group phenomenon in newspapers we coded the news items into three categories: One which registered items where young people were portrayed as individuals, one which registered items containing youth as members of social groups, and a category which registered news items dealing with “youth” as a general group epithet.

Table 4. *Young People as Individuals or Group Members?*

		1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003	All years
	Individual	71	60	104	95	111	128	569
		48,0%	39,0%	38,5%	56,9%	58,1%	52,5%	48,5%
	Group	53	62	112	8	25	34	294
		35,8%	40,3%	41,5%	4,8%	13,1%	13,9%	25,0%
	General group epithet (e.g. "youth")	23	27	35	45	43	60	233
		15,5%	17,5%	13,0%	26,9%	22,5%	24,6%	19,8%
	Don't know	1	5	19	19	12	22	78
		,7%	3,2%	7,0%	11,4%	6,3%	9,0%	6,6%
N		148	154	270	167	191	244	1174

Table 4 shows that news items, where young people were portrayed as group members, were most frequent in 1953 (n=53), 1963 (n=62) and 1973 (n=112). Almost the opposite tendency is true concerning newspapers' description of youth as a group epithet. One quarter of the sampled news items in 1983, 1993 and 2003 contained some sort of group epithet (“youth”, “the young generation”, etc.). A cross tabulation by subject category shows that 25-

30 per cent of the news items in the dominating categories: sport, crime and culture had a group perspective.

Considering these results and the fact that about half of the new items portray the young people as individuals – it is fair to say that the group perspective on youth is not a dominating perspective.

In Grossberg's analysis of youth political culture, he describes youth as "the most silenced generation" (Grossberg 1994, cited in Mazzarella 2003:236). When young people are portrayed, the media more often quotes experts on young people than the young people themselves. By giving voice to experts, such as psychologists, sociologists and doctors, there is a tendency to generalize single problematic episodes to social problems for a whole generation.

Being denied a voice as individual citizens, youths are "also subjected to media's attempts to categorize them" (Mazzarella, 2003:236). Our data gives us the ability to explore whether this rather pessimistic postulate is reflected in the newspapers' quotations of young people and experts.

Our analysis of quotations in Table 5 reveals that only a minor part of the articles include quotations of young people themselves. However, when looking across the years we find that the number and percentage of quotations in news items on youth actually increase over the years. In our sample from 1953, we found only 5 per cent of the items containing quotations of young people. In the years 1963 and 1973 this percentage was 14 and in 1983, 1993 and 2003 it was 23-26 per cent.

Table 5. *Quoting Young People in News Items*

		1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003	All years
	Quoted	8	22	39	38	49	57	213
		5,4%	14,3%	14,4%	22,8%	25,7%	23,4%	18,1%
	Not quoted	140	131	230	129	141	187	958
		94,6%	85,1%	85,2%	77,2%	73,8%	76,6%	81,6%
	Don't know	0	1	1	0	1	0	3
		,0%	,6%	,4%	,0%	,5%	,0%	,3%
	N	148	154	270	167	191	244	1174

So far these quantitative results do not seem to support an increased tendency to "silence" young people in the media. However, we have not yet studied in depth the different ways in which newspaper journalists use citations of young people, and in which news contexts they actually appear. The increase in direct quotations of young people probably also reflects changes in journalistic practice over the years.

Concerning the presence of experts, only 5 per cent of the news items on young people contained expert opinions in our sample from 1953. During the rest of the years 1963-2003 this percentage is 12-17 per cent. This might reflect

a general increase in the professionalization of the different welfare state sectors dealing with children and young people.

Table 6. Expert Opinions

		1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003	All years
	Yes	8	24	47	20	25	40	164
		5,4%	15,6%	17,4%	12,0%	13,1%	16,4%	14,0%
	No	140	129	223	147	166	204	1009
		94,6%	83,8%	82,6%	88,0%	86,9%	83,6%	85,9%
	Don't know	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		,0%	,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%
	Total	148	154	270	167	191	244	1174
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Gender

Earlier research within the field of media stereotyping on young people has pointed to significant gender differences, regarding the representation of young men and women, and in terms on the ways in which men and women are portrayed in the media (Falchikov; Devlin 2000; Mazzarella 2003).

Table 7. Gender in Youth News Items

		1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003	All years
	Man/men	66	52	103	65	83	82	451
		44,6%	33,8%	38,1%	38,9%	43,5%	33,6%	38,4%
	Woman/women	21	23	33	26	29	52	184
		14,2%	14,9%	12,2%	15,6%	15,2%	21,3%	15,7%
	Both sexes	12	14	40	13	12	24	115
		8,1%	9,1%	14,8%	7,8%	6,3%	9,8%	9,8%
	Not mentioned	49	65	94	63	67	86	424
		33,1%	42,2%	34,8%	37,7%	35,1%	35,2%	36,1%
	N	148	154	270	167	191	244	1174

Concerning the representation, our data presented in Table 7 largely confirms the overall gender bias, showing that more than one third of the new items included only men. The male dominance is present for all the years, however, we also find an interesting change in the representation of reportings on women: In the years 1953-1993 only 12-15 per cent of the news items report on women, but in 2003 this percentage is 22.

Our data also confirms the existence of gendered stereotypes. Table 8 shows the gender ratios in different stereotyping categories. Among the negative items we see a significant male dominance, while the female

dominates the positive newspaper items. When cross tabulating the gender variable with “quotations on young people” (not shown) we find a similar gender bias: Young men are quoted more often than young women.

Table 8. *Gender – Positive or Negative (All years)*

		Man/men	Woman/women	Both sexes	Not mentioned	Total
	Positive	170	107	57	124	458
		37,7%	58,2%	49,6%	29,2%	39,0%
	Negative	223	32	26	97	378
		49,4%	17,4%	22,6%	22,9%	32,2%
	Neutral	58	45	32	202	337
		12,9%	24,5%	27,8%	47,6%	28,7%
	N	451	184	115	424	1174

Concluding Remarks

Before concluding we recall that the results presented in this paper are preliminary. The paper serves to provide an overview of the main findings. In the coming months we will initiate a qualitative text analysis whereby we expect to be able to present more in depth explanations for our findings.

So far our research has not confirmed the existence of a dominating negative bias in the media’s descriptions of youth. This could neither be confirmed when analysing media coverage of youth today (2003) nor in a long-term perspective (1953-2003). On the contrary – our data reveals a development towards more neutral descriptions of youth and young people.

We found that the dominating subjects in the newspaper items discussing youth were “crime”, “culture” and “sport”. Our material thus indicates the reverse tendencies of the previous research in this respect too.

Concerning the role played by youth in news items, we see a tendency of a more prominent role: The percentage of items citing a young person is highest in 2003. This tendency seems strongest in the aftermath of the youth revolution (1973). Regarding the final of our analyses in this paper on gender, our analysis reveals some interesting points: The data shows that young women play an increasingly prominent role in news items. However, cross tabulation of gender and stereotype also reveals that the young men are stereotyped with a much greater variety than young women: The latter are mainly stereotyped as beautiful/attractive while the former are mainly stereotyped as talented young men or young criminals.

At this early stage of our research we cannot forward exhaustive explanations for these findings and the differences between our findings and the previous research. However, we wish to put forward some ideas for further discussion.

One possible explanation is differences in sampling method and coding. Our study is carried out on stratified random samples collected over a fifty-year period. Each of the periods in our sample is relatively short (one week). Previous research has been carried out on samples of longer periods (two or four weeks), however, with no comparison over time.

Secondly, the difference between our findings and the findings of Porteous and Colston (1980) and Falchikov (1986) might be explained through either differences in the sampling method or differences in media systems. With regard to the sampling method, Porteous and Colston (1980) used one month in June (1979) and Falchikov (1986) two weeks in October 1984. None of them presents any argument as to why these particular periods were selected.¹

With regard to differences in media systems both the previous studies were carried out in a British context and, therefore, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004) under the paradigm of the Liberal Model, while our study is conducted within the framework of the Democratic Corporatist Model, where e.g. the political system and market mechanisms differ. Furthermore, a varying degree of tabloidization between Denmark and the UK might also offer an explanation for the differences (Esser 1999). And finally, societal changes in Denmark might also offer at least part of the explanation.

References

- Amundson, D. R., L. S. Lichter, et al. (2005). *What's The Matter With Kids Today - Television Coverage of Adolescents in America*. Washington, Frameworks Institute.
- Aubrun, A. and J. Grady (2000). *Aliens in the Living Room: How TV Shapes Our Understanding of "Teens"*. Washington, Frameworks Institute.
- Bleakney, A., M. Hennessy, et al. (2008). "It works both Ways: The Relationship between Exposure to Sexual Content in the Media and Adolescent Sexual Behaviour." *Media Psychology* 11(1): 443-461.
- Covert, J. J. and T. L. Dixon (2008). "A changing view - Representation and effects of the portrayal of women of color in mainstream women's magazines." *Communication Research* 35(2): 232-256.
- Devine, P. G. and A. J. Elliott (2000). *Are Racial Stereotypes Really Fading? The Princeton Trilogy Revisited. Stereotypes and Prejudice*. C. Stangor. Philadelphia, Psychology Press: 86-100.
- Devlin, M. (2000). *Representations of Youth in Ireland. Department of Sociology*. Maynooth, National University of Ireland. PhD
- Dixon, T. L. and K. B. Maddox (2005). "Skin tone, crime news, and social reality judgments: Priming the stereotype of the dark and dangerous black criminal." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 35(8): 1555-1570.
- Donovan, R. J. and S. Leivers (1993). "Using Paid Advertising to Modify Racial Stereotype Beliefs." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57(2): 205-218.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). "Framing - toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51-58.

¹One might argue that sampling newspaper material during the summer vacation period is particularly problematic.

*Changing Media Representations of Youth: A Content Analysis of
Representations of Youth in Danish Newspapers, 1953-2003*

- Esser, F. (1999). "Tabloidization' of News: A Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and German Press Journalism." European Journal of Communication 14: 291.
- Falchikov, N. (1986). "Images of adolescence: an investigation into the accuracy of the image of adolescence constructed by British newspapers." Journal of Adolescence 9(2): 167-180.
- Gamson, W. A. and A. Modigliani (1989). "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionists Approach." The American Journal of Sociology 95(1): 1-37.
- Gipsrud, J. (2005). Mediekultur, mediesamfund. København, Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). The Whole World Is Watching - mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left. Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). Frame Analysis - An Essay on the Organization of Experience. New York, Harper Colophon Books.
- Gorham, B. W. (2006). "News media's relationship with stereotyping: The linguistic intergroup bias in response to crime news." Journal of Communication 56(2): 289-308.
- Hallin, D. C. and P. Mancini (2004). Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Heintz-Knowles, K. E. (2000). Images of Youth: A content Analysis of Adolescents In Prime-Time Entertainment Programming. Washington, Frameworks Institute.
- Hinton, P. R. (2000). Stereotypes, cognition and culture. Hove, Psychology Press.
- Hurtz, W. and K. Durkin (2004). "The effects of gender-stereotyped radio commercials." Journal of Applied Social Psychology 34(9): 1974-1992.
- Mazzarella, S. R. (2003). Constructing Youth. A companion to media studies. A. N. Valdivia. Oxford, Blackwell: 227-246.
- McManus, J. (2002). "Youth Violence Stories Focus On Events, Not Causes." Newspaper Research Journal 23(4): 6-19.
- Nichols, S. L. and T. L. Good (2004). America's Teenagers: Myths and Realities: Media Images, Schooling, and the Social Costs of Careless Indifference. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Paterson, B. (2006). "Newspaper representations of mental illness and the impact of the reporting of 'events' on social policy: the 'framing' of Isabel Schwarz and Jonathan Zito." Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing 13(3): 294-300.
- Porteous, M. A. and N. J. Colston (1980). "How adolescents are reported in the British Press." Journal of Adolescence 3(3): 197-207.
- Scheufele, D. A. and D. Tewksbury (2007). "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models." Journal of Communication 57: 9-20.
- Schulz, W. and R. Zeh (2005). "The Changing Election Coverage of German Television. A Content Analysis: 1990-2002." Communications 30: 385-407.
- Semetko, H. A. and P. M. Valkenburg (2000). "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News." Journal of Communication 50(2): 93-109.
- Slater, M. D. (2007). "Reinforcing Spirals: The Mutual Influence of Media Selectivity on Individual Behaviour and Social Identity." Communication Theory 17: 281-303.
- Stangor, C., Ed. (2000). Stereotypes and Prejudice. Philadelphia, Psychology Press.
- Stangor, C. and M. Schaller (2000). Stereotypes as individual and Collective Representations. Stereotypes and Prejudice. C. Stangor. Philadelphia, Psychology Press.

- Stensaas, H. S. (1961). "The front page teenager: How 111 dailies treat him." Journalism Quarterly 38: 373-375.
- Tajfel, H. and J. P. Forgas (2000). *Social Categorization: Cognitions, Values and Groups. Stereotypes and Prejudice*. C. Stangor. Maryland, Psychology press.
- Thompson, K. (1998). *Moral Panic*. London, Routledge.
- Welch, M., Eric A. Price, Nana Yankey (2002). "Moral Panic Over Youth Violence: Wilding and the Manufacture of Menace in the Media." Youth & Society 34(1): 3-30.
- Wien, C. (2005). *Ældre billedet i medierne gennem 50 år. En undersøgelse af ældrestereotyper i dagbladene fra 1953 til 2003*. Odense, Syddansk Universitetsforlag.
- Wyn, J. (2005). *Youth in the media: Adult stereotypes of young people. Talking Adolescence: Perspectives on Communication in the Teenage Years*. A. Williams and C. Thurlow. New York Peter Lang Publishing 24-34.

Chapter Six

A Comparative Framing Analysis of China based on Current Affairs Programs Presented by the ABC and SBS

Leah Xiufang Li, Macquarie University, Australia

China's emergence has increasingly enhanced its global media exposure. Scholars note that a country's image abroad can influence its economic, political and cultural associations with other countries. Media as a key player in international affairs greatly shapes a country's reputation abroad. Therefore, the functions of media indicate the significance of media image study of a particular country. The bilateral relations between China and Australia have been fluctuating over decades. The interaction with Australian stereotypes of China prompts the re-examination of media representation of China in Australia in the twenty-first century.

National Image, Media Framing and the Australian Imagery of China

National image is defined as the cognitive perceptions that an individual holds of a given country towards its people and the state (Kunczik, 1997). It plays a significant role in international relations. In the words of Alexander and Levin (2005), the perceptions that a nation has of another define the views of other nations, which can be ally, enemy, dependent, barbarian, or imperialist. This, in turn, leads to potential relations: cooperation, attack/conflict, control/exploitation, potential invader, or sabotage.

Media framing theory informs the significance of studies on a countries media image. Framing or frames stored in people's minds affect our interpretation of the world. 'Frame' as a noun involves a set of lenses or filters through which information is selected. As a verb, it refers to the process of creating frames (Kaufman, Elliott & Shmueli, 2003). Media framing is a basic meaning-making activity in production of media products (Choi, 2006). Events or stories are constantly reframed by media practitioners knowingly or unknowingly to highlight their different attributes or stages (Entman, 1993). Exposure to media reports help to enhance public understanding of foreign countries, but unbalanced or biased reports can cause misperceptions (Saleem, 2007). Research in China's media image in Australia consistently contains five dimensions: military, economic, cultural, political and environmental (Li, 2009). Framing analysis suggests four aspects to examine media text: the structures of syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

The study of national image is related to historical stereotypes of that country (Kunczik, 1997). The threat conception of China penetrated Australians view of China from the 19th century through to most of the 20th century. According to Strahan (1996), China was perceived as the Yellow Peril in the mid nineteenth century. From the 1930s to the 1960s, China was primarily perceived as the Red Menace, indicating Australians fear of Chinese communism. Chinese communists were degraded as bandits and outlaws with the enemy image, other image, and threat myth saturating Australian perceptions of China in the 1950s and the 1960s (Strahan, 1996). In the 1980s, China's economic reform brought about great economic opportunities to Australia. Canberra shifted its view of China from an economic threat to an economic opportunity (Dawkins, 1990). This positive perception was shattered by the Tiananmen Square Tragedy in 1989. Consequently, the old stereotypes of China and the anti-communism ideology were revived (Mackerras, 1990). In the 1990s, China's rapid economic growth and a rising international status interested Australia. The majority of Australians viewed China in relation to tourism interests, a vital export market and an emerging political power, but failed to acknowledge its contribution to global knowledge and progress (White, 1999). Australian media continued to identify China as cruel, alien and authoritarian (Strahan, 1996).

Propaganda Model and Hegemony Theory

Media workers make their news judgments on the basis of news value. These practices, however, are limited by ideological, political, economic and cultural factors. The propaganda model illustrates the ways power relations and organizational interests play their roles in the news-making process. Herman and Chomsky (2002, p.1) define the propaganda model as:

The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda.

They note that this model generates its effect through five filters: 'the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts"; 'flak' as a means of disciplining the media¹; "anticommunism" as a control mechanism of Western ideology to create enemy (p.2).' Raw material, before becoming news will go through these filters, which are operated by elite groups and media practitioners with regard to news worthiness and news objectivity. Hegemony theory further explains

¹'Flak' means 'negative responses to a media statement or program (p.26).'

the ways routine procedures in journalism serve the ideology of dominant groups in a society. By referring to Gramsci, Giltin (2003, p.253) writes that:

Hegemony is a ruling class's (or alliance's) domination of subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practice; it is the systematic (but not necessarily or even usually deliberate) engineering of mass consent to the established order.

According to Giltin, the hegemonic sense of the world penetrates our social knowledge and passes on to future generations. It seeps into the media consumers daily life and media practitioners routines during socialization. Giltin asserts cultural industries in liberal societies are in the hands of dominant business giants, political elites and influential individuals. They attempt to strengthen their social and ideological worlds in alliance with the ruling coalitions by engaging in the conduct of hegemonic ideology and relying on 'writers and journalists, producers and teachers, bureaucrats and artists' (p.254).

The ABC's *Foreign Correspondent* and SBS's *Dateline*

Several broadcast services are available in Australia: national television services (covering Australia), commercial television services (broadcasted regionally), community television services (running primarily in indigenous communities), and subscription television services (available to subscribers). The free-to-air national television services provided by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and Special Broadcasting Services (SBS) reach the majority of Australians. Most viewers are the educated classes, essentially, the middle class (Jacka, 2002; Field, 2001). Both broadcasters aim at achieving the following objectives: to fill the void of market failure by supplying fair and efficient services across the country; to serve political and social purposes by enhancing Australians educational and cultural levels; and contributing to Australian nation building (Errington & Miragliotta, 2007). However, they serve the mission of building the national identity differently. The ABC provides outsiders a window to perceive Australia:

Transmit to countries outside Australia broadcasting programs of news, current affairs, entertainment and cultural enrichment that will encourage awareness of Australia and an international understanding of Australian attitudes on world affairs; and enable Australian citizens living or travelling outside Australia to obtain information about Australian affairs and Australian attitudes on world affairs... (The ABC Act 1983)

It historically provides 'a forum for discussion and controversy' for politicians to reach their constituents that was not controlled by commercial

interests (Davis, 1987). In contrast, SBS is famous for its contribution to the maintenance of Australia's cultural diversity. Based on their Charter, SBS aims at reflecting Australia's multicultural society, communicating ethnic communities voices, and enhancing the awareness of the importance of the diversified cultures in the Australian society. Multilingual and multicultural radio and television services are the central service for ethnic minorities in Australia.

The two broadcasters are the leading producers of high-quality domestic and international news and current affairs coverage. *Foreign Correspondent* broadcast by the ABC 'has been Australia's leading international current affairs program since 1992¹.' It specializes in covering major international issues and investigating stories that foreign governments dislike. The program has reported stories from 160 countries. *Dateline*, set up in 1984 by SBS, is the longest-running international current affairs program in Australia. Its reporters are considered pioneers in video-journalism². Both programs have won many international and Australian awards. They are not only are shown world wide, but explore new media techniques to expand their social network. Additionally, the two programs fall into the genre of current affairs, which provides researchers rich information. This genre adopts conventions of news value in filtering topics and institutional structures of reporters and editors (Bignell, 2004). It not only presents 'what has happened,' but discuss 'how and why it has happened like that.' Journalists are allowed to present an analysis of events and take positions (Davis, 2004).

Importantly, the public broadcasters are hardly independent from state engagement. Budget cuts by the Government influence their programming (Posetti, 2001-02; Field 2001). Two channels have a statutory body run by a board of directors, who report to the Parliament with consideration of governments policies and the organizations' strategic changes. Interference from the Government has occurred through the appointment of board members. SBS's non-executive directors are hand picked by the Government, and so SBS is very responsive to government policy on multiculturalism (Field, 2001). The Howard government sympathizers used to fill the ABC Board and senior management ranks (Posetti, 2001-02). Nevertheless, Shoesmaker and Reese (1996, p.270) note that 'the more closely media are connected to other elites, the more media content will be consistent with those elite ideological viewpoints.' Therefore, the programs produced by two broadcasters can show traces of elite opinions about China in Australia.

Based on the outlined discussions, I choose the ABC and SBS rather than commercial broadcasters to study the elite media frames of China in Australia. I expected that the projections of China produced by two broadcasters shared more resemblances than differentiations. This is due to the same mission of Australian national identity building and the historical prejudices towards China. To examine this assumption, the following research questions were developed:

¹<http://www.abc.net.au/foreign/about.htm>

²<http://www.sbs.com.au/dateline/about/theshow>

- RQ1: What is the visibility of the frames of China projected by the ABC's *Foreign Correspondent* and SBS's *Dateline* in the 21st century?
- RQ2: What is the favourability of the frames of China projected by the two programs?
- RQ3: Does the framing pattern of China adopted by *Foreign Correspondent* differ from that by *Dateline*?

Method

Based on a convenient sampling approach, dependent on available material (Krippendorff, 2004), the research timeline was set from 2005 to 2008. All available episodes engaged with China during this period were used to formulate the sample population. This study was considered as a case study, looking for theoretical significance rather than statistical significance.

Qualitative content analysis was employed. The sampled items were structured into five dimensions: cultural, economic, political, military and environmental, in accordance with the explicit theme revealed in the item. For instance, cultural frame meant that the theme of the episode explicitly rather than implicitly embodied cultural topics. Frequency counts of the number of stories pertaining to the five frames were calculated to assess the visibility. Simultaneously, favourability of a story is defined as follows:

A positive story referred to the overall tone or prevailing elements in the story that suggest political, social and economic stability/strength, and progress and improvement, which tend to contribute to a favourable image of China.

A negative story referred to the overall tone or prevailing elements in the story that suggest political, social and economic instability/weakness, conflicts, and human rights, religious and other problems, which tend to contribute to a unfavourable image of China.

A neutral story referred to the overall tone or prevailing elements in the story is either a balance of negative or positive, or mixed (Budd et.al., cited in Peng, 2004, p.60-61).

It was rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (very negative), 2 (negative), 3 (neutral), 4 (positive) and to 5 (very positive). Two independent coders were well trained to do the coding work. Each episode was a research unit. The results were tested with the Holsti reliability formula. Regarding the items broadcast by *Foreign Correspondent*, the reliability coefficient was found to be approximately 0.79 overall, with 0.96 for the public frames categories, and 0.61 for the favourability rating. However, when I reduced the five levels of

measurement to the three nominal levels (negative, neutral and positive), the overall average became 0.85 as the intercoder reliability for the favourability rating increased to 0.74. For items shown by *Dateline*, the reliability coefficient was found to be 0.84 overall, with 0.92 for the frames categories and 0.75 for the favourability rating. When the coding was rated with a three-point scale, the overall average reliability coefficient came to be 0.92, with 0.92 for both the framing categories and the favourability rating. In cases of disagreement, the two coders discussed and enhanced the agreements. Finally, the framing patterns were examined regarding the structures of thematic, syntactical, script and rhetorical.

Results

RQ1 addressed the visibility of the frames. The findings showed that from 2005 to 2008 *Foreign Correspondent* broadcast more stories in China than *Dateline*, respectively 23 and 14. Both programs increased their reports across time. Both programs broadcast stories presented in economic, political and environmental frames. *Foreign Correspondent* also covered the dimensions of culture and military. The results also revealed that the political aspect of China was the focus of both programs, especially in the year of 2008. The outcomes are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *Visibility of Frames*

Broadcasters	Year	Cultural	Economic	Political	Military	Environmental
ABC	2005	3	0	1	1	0
	2006	2	1	0	0	0
	2007	1	1	1	0	2
	2008	2	1	5	0	2
SBS	2005	0	0	1	0	0
	2007	0	3	2	0	1
	2008	0	2	5	0	0

RQ2 was concerned with the favourability of the frames. Both channels evaluated the stories presented in the political frame negatively, but those in the frames of economy and environment neutrally. *Foreign Correspondent* tended to approach the cultural frame in a positive light. The overall attitude of the two programs towards China was inclined to be negative. Table 2 illustrates the details.

Table 2. *Favorability of Frames*

Frames	Broadcasters	Mean
Cultural	ABC	3.75
Economic	ABC	3.00
	SBS	3.00
Political	ABC	1.43
	SBS	1.87
Military	ABC	3.00
Environmental	ABC	3.25
	SBS	3.50
Total	ABC	2.83
	SBS	2.43

RQ3 examined the framing patterns with the following outcomes:

Thematic Structure

This step looked into the themes and the sub-themes constructed within the common frames of the two programs: political, economic and environmental. The results showed that political themes were all negative, while the themes of economy and environment tended to both positive and negative.

In regards to the political frame, both programs paid attention to China's human rights abuses, freedom of expression, rising nationalism of the youth, China's international role, its political differences with the West, and the disputes over Tibet. Meanwhile, the threat concept was revealed by both programs with respect to the economic frame. *China's African Takeover* and *Will Hutton Interview* discussed that the growing economic capabilities enabled China to exert sustained influence on regional and global politics and military. The positive side of economic achievement regarding the improvement of Chinese living standards was exemplified in *China's Media Mogul*. In addition, two programs displayed a balanced picture of the environment: though the environment in China is deteriorating, the Government is making efforts in improving it.

The findings also showed that when business interests were concerned Chinese political institutions would get a positive assessment and prominent coverage. *China's Winds of Change*, which engaged with business corporations between China and Australia, was a positive feature story. It was the first time *Foreign Correspondent* associated Chinese governmental officials with a favourable image. *Another Sun* was a positive feature story. This show dealt with successful experiences of Australians living in China. *The Sun King*, classified into the environmental category was treated favourably as well. It focused on Zhengrong Shi, an Australian-Chinese, who runs a solar-power company successfully in China.

Importantly, positive cultural frame are normally laden with negative political subthemes. For instance, the sub-topics of human rights issues, freedom of expression and party corruption were hidden in the cultural episode, *Beijing's Heritage*. The tape concentrated on how forceful and illegal actions by new developers to obtain land. It revealed how some political authorities were involved, and how ordinary Chinese fight against the authorities to preserve their houses. The journalist commented that 'In China there's no democracy, no freedom of speech, no rule of law and no impartial and independent courts...' This tape was a negative feature story, near 30 minutes long, which implied its prominence.

Syntactical Structure and Script Structure

A presenter-led and Question and Answer (Q&A) were the styles which both programs used in the presentation of its storylines. *Foreign Correspondent* primarily adopted the former style. A presenter-led style demonstrated a clear structure: a headline, a beginning sequence, body sequences, and an ending sequence. Reporters participated in the whole process of unfolding the story. Actual footage and location reporting featured in the reports. Just one item, *Interview with Jan Wong*, took the form of Q&A. On the contrary, half of the stories produced by *Dateline* were organized in this style.

Foreign Correspondent used an indirect framing mechanism to project China: the presentation format, which included postcard and feature stories. The format a story was presented in indicated the degree of its prominence. Postcard stories were soft and entertaining. They had a duration of less than ten minutes, and were placed at the end of the episode. In contrast, feature stories were inclined to be hard and have strong journalism in them. On average the whole storyline lasted around twenty minutes and was composed of about three sub-stories. A feature story format was scheduled at the beginning the program which signified its importance. The outcomes disclosed that negative stories were all presented in a feature story format, while positive stories tended to be postcards. Further, political stories were all negative feature stories. Positive cultural and economic stories tended to take the form of a postcard. All details are specified in Table 3.

Rhetorical Structure

The analysis revealed the bias against China. One form of bias is ideology, which is unintended and hidden, 'embedded' in texts (McQuail, 1992). The bias was constructed through the employment of animal images, the replay of the public memory of the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, and ideological words.

Animal Image

An image of several live scorpions arranged on wooden skewers was photographed in *Foul Play*. This frame ran for five seconds. It was shot next

to the scene of Ms. Cao, the interviewee, who documented the plight of her husband and family, and labelled the Chinese communists as ‘bandits.’ The voice over states that ‘On the surface Beijing looks like a peaceful, contented city but every year millions of angry Chinese come here from the provinces to complain about local officials...’ Shot as a big close-up, stressed with five-second duration and accompanied by dreary music, the scorpion frame was visually shocking. In addition to the voiceover and the vox-pop, these arrangements made the scorpion image likely to be a contrived image. In the Bible, scorpions are perceived as dangerous creatures, and later symbols of deception and fraud (Ferbe, 2007). Hence, the scorpions in this episode were used as a metaphor for the CCP. The symbolism of the scorpions imparted the attributes to the CCP: repressive and authoritarian. Another scenario was shown on *Xinran Xue Interview*. The presenter, George Negus, identified China as ‘strange animal’ with ‘a communist head and a capitalist body.’ Harking back to stereotypes of China since 19th century, the Australian media has repeatedly adopted animal images to depict the CCP. The examples above, therefore, were consciously or unconsciously influenced by these historical prejudices.

Table 3. *Visibility * Format * Favorability: The ABC’s Foreign Correspondent*

Favourability			Format	
			Postcard	Feature Story
Negative	Frames	Cultural	0	2
		Economic	0	1
		Political	0	7
		Environmental	0	1
	Total		0	11
Neutral		Cultural	1	0
		Military	0	1
		Environmental	0	1
	Total		1	2
Positive		Cultural	3	2
		Economic	2	0
		Environmental	0	2
	Total		5	4

Public Memory

In light of *Interview with Jan Wong*, Jan illustrated the story of a young university student who was sent for hard labour during the Cultural Revolution. She stressed the ‘cultural amnesia’ of contemporary China, which means people’s responses to the Revolution:

If they were a victimiser, they don't want to talk about how they beat people up or caused people terrible hardship. And if they were a victim, they don't want to talk about what they went through either because it's so difficult for them.

Further, both programs replayed the image of Tiananmen. A gloomy frame of the place near Tiananmen Square caught the viewers' attention, shown on *Foul Play*. A low-angle shot placed the Square at a dominant position. The quick and unstable camera movement decorated with cinematic grey lighting created visual tension. In addition to the glum music, the voiceover states 'in Tiananmen Square we must speak softly, undercover police are listening.' This frame, thus, instilled the feeling of uneasiness and indirectly reminded viewers of the Tiananmen Square Tragedy. *Who's Afraid of Wei Jingsheng* used this event to explicitly criticise China's human rights record. Another episode, *Will Hutton Interview*, showed Will Hutton's commentary that the inflation in 1988 led to the Tiananmen Square protests and that the one-party ruling system could result in economic and political instabilities. These scenarios reactivated the Tiananmen myth. Following the 1989 Student Movement, the Square was used by Western media to symbolize 'China's poor human rights record', 'the display of "sinister power" of the Chinese Communist regime, and the alleged outrageous abuses of human rights (Li, 2005, p.120).

Ideological Words

Both programs employed ideological words to differentiate the ideological beliefs in mainland China from the West. 'Communist' was repeated ten times in *Foul Play* to emphasize how the Government led by the CCP treated its dissidents. The terms were mentioned five times in *Dire Strait*. The reporter stressed that Taiwan 'bears little resemblance to the communist-ruled mainland' with respect to the political system. He hailed Chen, the former Taiwan president, as a democratic hero, fighting for the independence and democracy for Taiwan against mainland China. In the discussion by Cobb and Elder (Chang, 1988), the term 'communist' implies 'oppression, totalitarianism, or other negative terms.'

Dateline kept questioning the contradiction of the political and economic systems in China. The presenter, George Negus, asked Wang Zhongjun, a famous Chinese movie producer, that 'Can you be a communist and a capitalist at the same time?' He questioned Will Hutton: 'how much of the problem is this mad mix between having a Communist political system on the one hand and a part capitalist economy on the other?' He also asked the question to Xinran Xue: 'How can it be even vaguely like a democracy while the Communist Party still has as much influence and sway over the country and people's lives as it does?' The details were discussed on *China's Media Mogul*, *Will Hutton Interview* and *Xinran Xue Interview*.

Discussion

This study examined the China coverage in Australia by comparing the episodes broadcast by the ABC's *Foreign Correspondent* and SBS's *Dateline*. The results of qualitative content analysis show several important findings.

Firstly, both programs increased their reports on China over time, and treated the aspects of the economy and environment neutrally. The cultural frame, which was only presented by *Foreign Correspondent*, was evaluated positively. This is attributed to stronger economic ties, frequent cultural exchange and interpersonal contact between China and Australia in the twenty-first century. Observers note that a 'pragmatic and commercialized' but 'constructive and friendly' relationship (White, 1999), and multiculturalism in Australia can contribute to favourable perceptions of China in Australia (Kendall, 2005). Secondly, both programs critically focused on the political dimension of China within the particular range of topics. Negative political sub-topics were embedded in the cultural frame. This partly stems from the Fourth Estate values of Western media, which requires a free press to perform a 'watchdog role.' Thus, Australian media scrutinize governments and authorities in other countries. Thirdly, the bias, which arises from the conventional fear of Chinese communism, saturated the coverage. The public memory of the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 were revived. The framing tactics, which relied on historical stereotypes: animal images and ideological wordings, were employed. Additionally, feature stories are used to highlight the negative political aspect, while postcards to make the cultural contribution of China to the world salient. In the light of the propaganda model, news-making processes serve the societal purpose that requires national media to present 'a tolerably realistic portrayal of the world' by protecting the advantages of 'the sellers, the buyers, and the governmental and private institutions' (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p.303). The hegemony framework, which influences the routine procedures in journalism, notes that media serve to maintain the ongoing political-economic system (Gitlin, 2003). China, a nominally communist state (Zhao, 2005-06), though practising a market economy, has different ideological values to Australia. By presenting China negatively in a political sense, the two programs achieve their mission to build the Australian national identity, and help to consolidate the governance of capitalism in Australia and in the West. This conclusion is reinforced by the notion that framing is a significant social force to formulate public ideology (Gitlin, 2003).

The significance of this study lies in the intensively studied case of *Foreign Correspondent* and *Dateline* which provided some causal relations with a larger population of cases. The findings contribute to our understanding of the mainstream media image of China in Australia in the 21st century. Future research undertaken by researchers with different cultural backgrounds, or research in programs produced by Australian commercial broadcasters is recommended.

References

- Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1983 Act - Sect 6. Available on <http://scaleplus.law.gov.au/html/histact/10/5029/0/HA000100.htm> [8, April, 2010]
- Alexander, M. G., & Levin, S. (2005). 'Image Theory, Social Identity, and Social Dominance: Structural Characteristics and Individual Motives Underlying International Image.' *Political Psychology* 26(1): 27-45.
- Bignell, J. (2004). *An Introduction to Television Studies*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Chang, T.-K. (1988). 'The News and U.S.-China Policy: Symbols in Newspapers and Documents.' *Journalism Quarterly* 65(2/3): 320-327.
- Choi, J. (2006). 'Framing the national image of North Korea in the U.S. news media.' Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Dresden, Germany. Available at http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/9/2/4/7/pages92479/p92479-1.php [8, April, 2009]
- Davis, G. (1987). *The SBS and the ABC*. Canberra: Public Policy Program, Australian National University in collaboration with Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration, ACT Division.
- Davis, M. (2004). 'The Last of Punchy Current Affairs.' *Asia Pacific Media Educator* (15): 201-206.
- Dawkins, J. (1990). 'Australia Day Statement.' *Asia Teachers' Bulletin* 18(5).
- Entman, Robert M. (1993). 'Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.' *The Journal of Communication* 43(4):51-58.
- Errington, W., & Miragliotta, N. (2007). *Media and Politics: An Introduction South Melbourne, Vic.*: Oxford University Press.
- Ferber, M. (2007). *A dictionary of literary symbols*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Field, J. (2001). 'Public Broadcasting and the Profit Motive: The Effects of Advertising on SBS.' *Policy* (Autumn):13-18.
- Gitlin, T. (2003). *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2002). *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Jacka, E. (2002). The future of public broadcasting. In S. Cunningham & G. Turner (Eds.), *The Media & Communications in Australia* (pp. 330). Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin.
- Kaufman, S. Elliott M. & Shmueli D. (2003). 'Frames, Framing and Reframing.' Available at <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/framing/>. [8, March, 2010]
- Kendall, T. D. (2005). *Ways of seeing China: from Yellow Peril to Shangrila*. Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Art Centre Press.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Kunczik, M. (1997). *Images of Nations and International Public Relations*. Lawrence Erlbaum: Mahwah, N.J.
- Li Hui 2005, 'Imaging China through the Olympics: Government Publicity and Journalism,' Bachelor Thesis, Queensland University of Technology.
- Li, XiuFang (2009). 'Representing China by the Australian Public Broadcaster: Evolving or Stereotyped.' In T. Flew (Ed.) *Communication, Creativity and Global Citizenship: Refereed Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand*

*A Comparative Framing Analysis of China based on
Current Affairs Programs Presented by the ABC and SBS*

- Communications Association Annual Conference*. Available at: <http://proceedings.anz.ca09.org/> [8, February, 2010]
- Mackerras, C. (1990). 'Tiananmen, one year after: Western images and the 'rewriting of history'. *Asian Studies Review*, 14(1): 45-51.
- McQuail, D. (1992). *Media performance: Mass communication and the public interest*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Pan, Z. & Kosicki. 1993. 'Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse.' *Political Communication* 10:55-75.
- Peng Zengjun 2004, 'Representation of China: An Across Time Analysis of Coverage in the New York Times and Los Angeles Times.' *Asian Journal of Communication*, 14(1):53-67.
- Posetti, J. (2001-02). 'The politics of bias at the ABC.' *Australian Studies in Journalism*, 10(11), 3-32.
- Saleem, Noshina. 2007. U.S. Media Framing of foreign countries images: an analytical perspective, *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*.
- SBS Corporation Charter. Available at <http://www20.sbs.com.au/sbscorporate/index.php?id=378> [18, April, 2010]
- Shoemaker, a. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: theories of influences on mass media content* White Plains, N.Y.: Longman.
- Strahan, L. (1996). *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s*. New York: Cambridge University Pre.
- White, M. (1999). 'Improving Image Literacy about China: a Study of Process Shaping Australian Perceptions.' *Melbourne studies in education*, 40(1): 57-76.
- Zhao, S. (2005-06). 'China's pragmatic nationalism: is it manageable?' *The Washington Quarterly*, 29(1): 131-144.

Chapter Seven

Media and Gender Stereotyping: The Evening News in Analysis

Paula Lobo, University of Minho, Portugal

The last four decades of feminist research have shown that gender is a social construct that exists independently of the biological nature of human beings. 'To be a woman' or 'to be a man' means to follow behaviors that meet specific social expectations which vary according to time and cultural contexts.

Socialization has, in this process, a crucial role as suggested by the symbolic interactionism perspective (Mead, 1967) that the gendered social self is shaped in multiple social contexts in accordance with a set of values, attributes and behaviors considered appropriate to women and men, and which constitute gender stereotypes.

One can consider that the work of the American anthropologist Margaret Mead (1935) about gender relations in a specific region of Papua New Guinea was the first to suggest that sex is biological and sexual behavior is a social construction. Later, the famous statement of Simone de Beauvoir: 'On ne naît pas femme: on le devient' (1949: 9) established a theoretical difference between sex and gender by declaring that gender differs from biological sex because it is a construction that comes from socialization. Therefore, Beauvoir questioned the traditional differentiation between men and women (based on biological attributes) and enabled the distinction between the categories 'sex' and 'gender' to show that gender is not an unquestionable feature of human beings.

Based on this distinction, feminist research has incorporated the analysis of gender and its meanings considering the various backgrounds in which gender is constructed.

According to Lorber and Farrel (1991), gender is a structuring factor of the social order: 'the reason for gender categories and the constant construction and reconstruction of differences between them is that gender is an integral part of any social group's structure of domination and subordination and division of labor in the family and the economy' (1991: 1-2). Gender is seen by the authors as a 'major social status' (1991: 2) that regulates people's lives.

In the book *Feminist Media Studies*, van Zoonen (1994: 31) - inspired by Lacan's idea that we become subjects through language - considers that gender is a discursive construction since we learn to think and to express ourselves in terms of the socially available linguistic means. As social discourses are embedded in gender meanings, gender becomes an inevitable component of our identity. To better explain this idea, van Zoonen uses Lacan's theory, according to which language stipulates masculine domination, to enhance the

fact that women have no alternative means (other than those of the phallogocentric discourse) to describe themselves. According to Lacan's perspective, women's experiences are always negative since they are not given any other options except to define themselves as being opposed to men: as 'not men' (in van Zoonen, 1994: 33).

In van Zoonen's opinion the analysis of gender must always include its interaction with other social discourses as ethnicity or class within the wider social, economic, political context:

Gender should thus be conceived, not as a fixed property of individuals, but as part of an ongoing process by which subjects are constituted, often in paradoxical ways. The identity that emerges is therefore fragmented and dynamic; gender does not determine or exhaust identity. (1994: 33)

In *Masculine and Feminine – The Social Construction of Difference*, Amâncio (1994) analyses the social meanings associated with 'being a man' and 'being a woman' based on empirical studies conducted in the Portuguese context. In Amâncio's opinion, gender stereotypes establish a symbolic asymmetry: this implies that the meaning of 'being a woman' is constructed outside of the masculine stereotype in a way that damages women's status as they get all the negative poles of their common dimensions (1994: 53). The results of her studies demonstrated that men are associated with instrumentality and dominance while women are associated with submission and expressiveness. On the other hand, they have also underlined the importance of the category 'sex' in defining the individuals according to specific pre-established behaviors and psychological traits and showed that the male stereotype gathers a greater number of features as well as a greater number of positive features (1994: 64). The analysis of traits typically associated to men revealed many overlapping characteristics typically associated with adults. Amâncio considers that this intersection between men's traits and adult's traits reinforces the symbolic dominance of the male group over the female group since being an adult individual, in the universal sense, is closer to the male stereotype (Amâncio, 1993).

Based on these conclusions the author asserts that women have a negative social identity which they incorporate throughout their lives in the sense that Beauvoir suggested: that gender is socially constructed.

In Pierre Bourdieu's (1998) analysis about masculine domination, gender is presented as a consequence of the 'long collective labor of socialization of the biological and biologicization of the social' (1998: 3) which makes it a 'naturalized social construction' (1998: 23). The author explains that masculine domination is imposed through a symbolic violence which encourages women to interpret the world around them according to the dominant male discourse. This symbolic violence is subtle and hides power relationships that exceed gender relations and affect the whole social structure.

The androcentric view is thus continuously legitimated by the very practices that it determines. Because their dispositions are the product of embodiment of the negative prejudice against feminine that is instituted in the order of things, women cannot but constantly confirm this prejudice. (Bourdieu, 1998: 32)

Therefore, symbolic violence is inherent to the schemes of the *habitus* and is shared by dominant and dominated:

Symbolic violence is instituted through the adherence that the dominated cannot fail to grant to the dominant (and therefore to the domination) when, to shape her thought of him and herself, or, rather, her thought of her relationship with him, she has only cognitive instruments that she shares with him and which, being no more than the embodied form of the relation of domination, cause that relation to appear as natural; or, in other words, when the schemes she applies in order to perceive and appreciate herself, or to perceive and appreciate the dominant (high/low, male/female, white/black, etc.) the embodiment of the – thereby naturalized – classifications of which her social being is the product. (Bourdieu, 1998: 35)

The maintenance of this order of things is assured by the socialization of individuals in the *habitus*, which reproduces the cognitive schemes that prescribe gender difference. The individuals learn how to be men or women in the context of a historical reproduction process that legitimates the domination relation. Evidently, women are prejudiced in everything that they do as ‘they are separated from men by a negative symbolic coefficient’ (1998: 93).

Despite the difficulties inherent to social change concerning gender relations, the author believes that it is important to question the established order and that there is still room for critical cognitive resistance and reflection.

In conclusion, the social construction of gender has been an integrant factor in the regulation of social relationships, whose permanent nature has remained practically unaltered throughout the history of humankind.

Gender Disadvantages in the Access to the Public Sphere

The academic debate about the public sphere has been associated with the work of Jürgen Habermas, ‘Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit’, originally published in 1962. The habermasian public sphere is, at the same time, an ideal normative conception and a historically situated perspective on the bourgeois public sphere that emerged in the late XVIII century in the context of the opposition to the absolutist state. It is the sphere of private persons that gather to form a public that debates regulation involving the common good (exchange relations, labor division) (Habermas, 1962: 27). Thus, the members of the public sphere are capable of a public use of reason to make rational and critical

arguments in the same conditions of their peers. In this sense, democracy depends on the existence of informed citizens and on an enlightened public opinion.

Habermas' model gave rise to many critiques and discussions particularly because of the exclusionary nature of his public sphere. Some of his critics like Craig Calhoun (1992) and Nancy Fraser (1992) argue that in any society is possible (and desirable) to find multiple counter-publics. Fraser (1992) claims that an alternative model including several counter-publics allows thinking of parallel discursive arenas and understanding these publics' contestant possibilities. She also stresses the importance to understand that subordinate groups often have difficulties in finding the means to express themselves and to defend their interests.

Another controversial point of Habermas' model is the distinction that it operates between the private and public spheres. This distinction has been predominantly criticized by feminist scholars who find the habermasian private sphere, and its bourgeois, conjugal and patriarchal family model, an androcentric one as it excludes family from public deliberation. By doing this, Habermas' model enacts a gender division where men are 'public' and women are 'private'. In Fraser's opinion, Habermas' conception of the private sphere and of the family reinforces the advantage of dominant groups over their subordinates therefore hiding a hegemonic form of domination that hides gender discrimination:

We can no longer assume that the bourgeois conception of the public sphere was simply an unrealized utopian ideal; it was also a masculinist ideological notion that functioned to legitimate an emergent form of class rule. (1992: 116)

Another Habermas' critic, Seyla Benhabib (1992), explains that the distinction between public and private has confined women and the alleged typical feminine activities to the private sphere of the good life. However, due to that division, intimate life was left outside of the matters of the justice realm (public sphere) for a long time, which allowed the unpunished oppression of women.

Benhabib (1992) and Fraser (1992) claim that there must be a continuous negotiation of the frontier between private and public spheres so that no subject potentially interesting to the weaker group is excluded from public debate.

Feminists argued that the habermasian conception of a coherent and homogeneous public space implies the rejection of particularity; instead, the acknowledgement of multiple public spheres permits to recognize and appreciate difference (McLaughlin, 1993: 600). Moreover, they have emphasized the importance of rethinking the public/private division by declaring that all themes of the intimate life should be submitted to the public debate in order to guarantee room for the participation of counter-publics.

In Eley's (1992) opinion, the feminist critique regarding Habermas' public sphere model have exposed the processes that have systematically excluded

women from the political life and which have socially constructed the political and public masculinity in opposition to the domesticity of the feminine.

Media and Gender Stereotyping

According to van Zoonen reality is something constructed and reconstructed by human beings' social activities: 'language is not a means of reflecting reality, but the source of reality itself' (1994: 39). The author explains that it is not language that constructs reality but its expression in culture, value systems, beliefs, institutional vocabulary, etc. The power of discourse comes from the fact that 'both the process of discourse (the symbolic interactions) and the product of discourse (a particular set of meanings and narratives) limit the possibilities of interpretation and privilege certain meanings above others' (1994: 39). The power of discourse is closely connected with other economic, international, ethnic and gender power relations and may be open to negotiation.

As said by van Zoonen, the idea that mass media display or reflect reality is deceptive because:

media production is not simply a matter of reflection but entails a complex process of negotiating, processing and reconstruction; media audiences do not simply take in or reject media messages, but use and interpret them according to the logic of their own social, cultural and individual circumstances; media are not only assigned to 'reflect' reality, but represent our collective hopes, fears and fantasies and perform a mythical and ritual function as well; finally, reality itself is not only an objective collection of things and processes, but is socially constructed in discourses that reflect and produce power. (1994: 40-41)

Van Zoonen alleges that media can be thought of as social technologies of gender that reconstruct and reproduce viewpoints on sexual difference: 'The relation between gender and communication is therefore primarily a cultural one, a negotiation over meanings and values that inform whole ways of life.' (1994: 41) The author explains that this is the reason why media have always been central to the feminist critique. As been said before, socialization plays an important role in shaping gender identities and behaviors. The mass media are also part of this process as they display certain gender meanings above others through their entertainment shows, soap operas, commercials, news bulletins, etc.

In 1963, the renowned book of Betty Friedan, 'The Feminine Mystique', criticized gender representations in women magazines, which, in Friedan's view, insinuated that women could only find happiness in heterosexual romance, marriage and motherhood (in van Zoonen, 1994: 11). Friedan's work generated a set of feminist claims towards gender representations in the media.

In the seventies, as television became a central medium in Western countries, Tuchman (1978) introduces the concept of 'symbolic annihilation of women' by the mass media as she realizes, through her research, that women's representations on television are often associated to passiveness, dependence, romanticism and domestic life. In Tuchman's perspective these representations trivialize women's roles in society and reinforce gender discrimination patterns.

In the beginning of the eighties, feminist critique on media has evolved around two axis: the analysis of power structures (in which there is a systematic subordination of women) and the analysis of representations and knowledge production policies (where women are objects instead of subjects). These two perspectives converged in order to produce complex and more holistic analysis involving the representation process, the economic and cultural structures and the social relations behind gender discourse and gender identities (Gallagher, 2006). Feminist media studies were particularly interested in the relation between texts and audiences and developed several studies to understand the way gender was encoded in media contents and the viewing habits in family contexts.

Between 1975 and 1985, the United Nations International Decade for Women activated the debate about the role of mass media as an 'oppression resource' (Gallagher, 2006: 11 [In Portuguese]).

Throughout the nineties, a great number of feminists legitimated the academic study of popular culture by conducting researches based on soap operas, romances or even rock music (ibid). Other research strategies focused on women in media professions and their roles in content production. These studies have shown that despite the increasing number of women in the media, 'quantity' is not necessarily 'quality' since women keep being underrepresented in power positions (which suggests forms of vertical discrimination) and media content still reproduce biased gender views.

In 1995, the Global Media Monitoring Project carried out a study on numerous media in 71 countries across the world. The purpose was to apply a gender coding grid to press, radio and television content during one day. The project was repeated in 2000, 2005 and, recently, in November 2009. The outcomes have shown little variations throughout the years and displayed disturbing data. The 2005 Report (Media Watch, 2005) concluded that most women in the news are victims of something (war, natural disasters, poverty, etc.), often presented in the context of family relationships (as mothers, wives, daughters of someone) and rarely as experts on a theme. Women's images are frequently used to provoke emotion and compassion and feminine perspectives are practically invisible in core areas as economy or politics. The age of women journalists is a crucial factor to keep on air as they are likely to disappear from the screen after the age of thirty-four. Also, their appearance is more valued than their professional skills. Within news stories, women are hardly ever central in the main subjects of news agenda, even in themes which are naturally associated with the feminine sex (ex. domestic violence) (Media Watch, 2005).

The Preliminary Report of the Global Media Monitoring Project 2010 (Media Watch, 2010) has, once again, revealed the same main gender asymmetries in the news: only 24% of people in the news are women and less than one out of every five experts is a woman; in stories that receive the highest media attention the number of women has only slightly increased (20% to 21% in stories on economy and 14% to 18% in stories on politics and government); merely 12% of all stories enhanced gender issues while 48% of all stories reinforced gender stereotypes; still, 19% of women in the news are presented according to their family status (Media Watch, 2010: 7-8).

On the other hand, some positive changes were observed: a closer parity in popular opinion (47% women and 53% men); a 10% increase in stories that focus women specifically; and a 6% increase in newspaper stories by female reporters (now 35%).

Despite of the limitations of this kind of one-day study, Gallagher claims that the data they have produced document, at a global level, the existence of 'persistent exclusion patterns' (2006: 18 [In Portuguese]) and serve as basis for feminist claims towards pluralism and gender balance in mass media (Gallagher, 2001).

In Lopes' study (2005) about weekly information programs in Portuguese main television channels some important gender asymmetries in the news were examined as well. The author pointed out the underrepresentation of women in high media positions within television channels and gender patterns that indicate a traditional division between public and private: men are more likely to be presented in the context of rational and critical debates and to be associated with public common good (economy and politics), while women are more likely to be related with social themes such as domestic issues, fashion, child-care and within an emotional discourse.

Considering the examined literature, one can conclude that news programs are a critical vehicle of information concerning gender social meanings. On the other hand, research indicates that gender asymmetries in the media go beyond the analysis of women's numbers in media professions: they can be observed in the news agenda and contents and in the roles played by each individual in media context.

Gender Asymmetries in the News

This research was conducted in order to observe gender representations in the evening news programs, daily broadcast by the three main Portuguese channels (RTP1 [Portuguese Radio and Television 1], Sic [Independent Communication Society] and TVI [Independent Television]). The evening news has been on air for more than fifty years (first started in RTP1), its reliability is generally accepted and it is considered to be the major Portuguese information program. Nevertheless, the national academic approaches to the evening news have been rare (Pinto and Lopes, 2009).

To amend this absence, and considering the worrying results of GMMP reports, a gender coding grid was developed to be applied to a sample of evening news recordings.

In order to verify the coding grid's effectiveness before its application to the main set of news recordings (sixty-six programs collected during 2008), a pre-test was conducted with a sample of fifty-nine news stories corresponding to two evening news programs broadcast by RTP1 and recorded in 2006 and 2007.

The present section will describe the coding grid structure and discuss the main results of the pre-test.

The gender coding grid was developed considering some of the GMMP categories contained in the grid of the Monitoring Methodology Guide for Television News (Media Watch, 2005), which had already been tested in the various monitoring projects. Evidently, some changes were made to better adapt them to the research purposes. Also, other categories were introduced in order to collect subtler information and to open new research prospects. All categories were developed to enable a critical assessment of gender representations in television news. The idea was to observe women's portrayals and their relations with power. Generally, the grid aimed at capturing obvious or subtle stereotyping in the news.

The first part of the coding grid included the program identification (number, date, time) and the number and sex of the anchor(s).

The second part was designed to classify each news story according to its valency (positive or negative), scope (local, national, international) and theme (according to a detailed list of themes adapted from the previously mentioned GMMP television grid).

On the third part of the coding grid, information concerning news intervenients: sex, age, profession, inferred social status, role/centrality in the story, was gathered. GMMP projects have shown that women are frequently presented as housewives, students or as health or education professionals and that they are often viewed in a family context instead of a professional one. Thus, professional occupation is a particularly interesting category since it is a common criterion for social status assessment by others. Within this part of the coding grid, another section was added with the purpose of collecting data about some visual elements, namely, the angle used or the background of the piece. The idea was to verify if there is a connection between the sex of the intervenient and the image format or background.

In the fourth part, data concerning journalists was collected. This section involved information on the function (anchor, reporter, commentator), age (since one of the hypotheses suggested by GMMP report was that women journalists working on television tend to disappear as they aged) and, of course, sex. A category concerning the theme of the news piece in which the journalist participates was also included in order to observe gender distribution patterns of journalists through different thematic categories

At the same time, an experimental category with the intention of exploring other research hypothesis that may be complementary to this work was

inserted. Therefore, all news stories that focused gender inequality issues or that included relevant vocabulary about women were marked.

Lastly, and despite the quantitative nature of this instrument, there was a space to annotate stories that may be representative of typical gender stereotyping and which could potentially be interesting to be the subject of a deeper analysis. This was intended to capture less perceptible data about obvious or subtle gender stereotype construction and maintenance processes.

The development of the coding grid according to the described structure was designed to arrange collected information in order to identify the themes to which women are related to, their portrayals, the perspectives in which they are presented and also to measure their representativeness in the news.

As previously mentioned, to facilitate the accomplishment of these goals, a pre-test was performed with a sample of fifty-nine news stories. The results of the pre-test will be described here in terms of their statistical significance considering the sample used, which means that results that did not revealed pertinent discrepancies between sexes will not be object of discussion.

As expected, in what concerns to the sex of intervenients, results have shown that women's presence in the news is scarce as they were merely 22.8% whereas 77.2% male intervenients were observed.

Regarding the *inferred social status*, in the sub-category *high social status*, 12.3% of the intervenients classified here were women, while 87.7% were men, which indicates a clear asymmetry between them. As for *medium and low social status* the values verified were equivalent for both sexes.

Intervenients' *age* also revealed a significant difference: only 8.9% of women had more than fifty years old, whereas 36.6% men appeared in the same conditions.

Concerning gender distribution through the different themes of news agenda, two categories must be noticed: *Politics and Government*, with 2.5% of women comparing with 12.5% of men; and *Sports, Arts and Celebrities*, with 5% of women and 22,5% of men. Despite the fact that the second category includes *Arts and Celebrities*, the numbers of *Sports* stories were the ones that actually caused the bias in the results. Based on this information, and considering that sports stories are commonly considered to be a masculine department while social life and celebrity stories are associated with women (Media Watch, 2005), in the future, this category will be divided into *Sports* and *Arts and Celebrities* in order to refine data collection.

The *Politics and Government* stories' results are congruent with the feminist claim that women are often left out of the public sphere matters since they are poorly represented in the national public arena in the evening news.

In the *image* section, specifically in the *professional background* category, of all women intervening in the news stories, only 5.9% were classified here. Conversely, 43.6% of the men appeared in professional backgrounds. This result is particularly interesting when combined with the category *professional or formal discourse* that gathered 9.9% women and 50.5% men. This suggests that women are less likely than men to be presented in a professional

background and using a professional or formal discourse which has implications on their perceived social status by audiences.

When comparing intervenients' sex by year, the observed differences were very small and no trend was identified. Actually, the number of women slightly decreased from 23.7% (2006) to 22.5% (2007).

The number of female and male journalists was almost equivalent. Regarding their function it is important to stress that the anchor, the leading figure of the program, was always a man. Aside from that no other relevant discrepancies were noticed in any other functions. Nevertheless, here too, the sex by theme showed a bias in *Sports, Arts and Celebrities* where only 8.3% of women delivered the news, while 23.4% of men did so.

Conclusions

The pre-test served the purpose of detecting some limitations to the coding grid and to improve it for further use in the future. Since data provided is restricted to journalists and active intervenients, other social gender representations present in the discursive or symbolic news content are left aside. Also, the collected information on the images was considered insufficient as it was difficult to include relevant gender information on non-active intervenients and other semiotic values that could be significant in a gender analysis. Though this limitation was early identified, it turned out to remain unaltered as any changes aiming at filling in this gap would make the grid too long and unviable in this research context.

The results of the pre-test confirmed GMMP reports' conclusions that women's presence in the news are far from what would be desirable (since they represent nearly half the world population). Furthermore, women are more likely to be presented as predominantly emotional human beings as opposed to men that are more associated to rationality as they get practically all the protagonism in what comes to public primary subjects. Women seem to be seldom related to the professional and political realms and left aside of government issues, which means that women are less likely to be considered as credible as men because when it comes to formal and solemn speeches the voice is recurrently a male one.

These early findings support feminist preoccupations concerning gender disadvantages in the access to the public sphere. At this point it is important to stress that the evening news program counts on the attention of large audiences since it is broadcast on a prime time schedule. Moreover, the RTP1 evening news program is engaged in a public television service and is commonly considered to be a reliable information resource which assumes the responsibility of delivering news considering their priority to the national interest. If women are left aside the evening news program this means that they are being left aside the public sphere debate. Besides, women's portrayals in the national and global perspectives given in news programs are most likely to be seen by their audiences as representative of their roles in society

In general, it can be said that results have suggested that evening news are reproducing the same old gender stereotypes and, therefore, contributing to their maintenance in society. Consequently, women's roles are still being trivialized (as proposed by Tuchman in 1978) since they are frequently presented as secondary actors in the public sphere. These findings have implications on women's social perspectives and in gender social meanings. For these reasons, it is particularly important to further reflect upon the role of news in the reinforcement of gender stereotypes and to think of alternative journalistic practices that might avoid gender biases in media content.

References

- Amâncio, L. (1994). *Masculine and Feminine: the social construction of difference*. Porto: Afrontamento. [In Portuguese].
- Amâncio, L. (1993). 'Gender – representations and identities.' *Sociology - Problems and Practices* 14: 127-140. [In Portuguese].
- Calhoun, C. (1992). 'Introduction.' In: C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 109-142. Massachussets: MIT Press.
- Eley, G. (1992). 'Nations, Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century.' In: C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 109-142. Massachussets: MIT Press.
- Beauvoir, S. (1949). *Le Deuxième Sexe*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Benhabib, S. (1992). 'Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal tradition and Jürgen Habermas.' In: C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 109-142. Massachussets: MIT Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1998). *Masculine Domination*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fraser, N. (1992). 'Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy.' In: C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 109-142. Massachussets: MIT Press.
- Friedan, B. (1963). *The Feminine Mystique*. London: Penguin Books.
- Gallagher, M. (2006). 'Feminist perspectives on media.' *Ex Aequo* 14: 11-34. [In Portuguese].
- Habermas, J. (1962). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Massachussets: MIT Press.
- Lopes, F. (2005). 'A decade of television in Portugal (1993-2003): a study on weekly information programs.' Ph.D. diss., University of Minho, Braga. [In Portuguese].
- Lorber, J. & Farrel, S.A. (1991). *The Social Construction of Gender*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- McLaughlin, L. (1993). 'Feminism, the public sphere, media and democracy.' *Media Culture and Society* 15: 599-620.
- Mead, G. H. (1967). *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mead, M. (1935). *Sex and Temperament: in three primitive societies*. New York: William Morrow & Company.
- Media Watch (2005). *Women's Participation in the News: Global Media Monitoring Project 2005*. Available at <http://www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2006/gmmp.pdf> [10 December 2009].

- Media Watch (2010). *Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project 2010. Preliminary Report*. Available at: http://www.whomakesthenews.org/images/stories/website/gmmp_reports/2010/gmmp_2010_preliminary.pdf [27 April 2010].
- Pinto, M. & F. Lopes (2009). 'Introductory Note.' *Communication and Society* 14: 5-6. [In Portuguese].
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.
- van Zoonen (1994). *Feminist Media Studies*. London: Sage.

Chapter Eight

Researching Journalists and Vulnerable Sources – Issues in the Design and Implementation of a National Study

Mark Pearson, Bond University, Australia

Kerry Green, University of South Australia, Australia

Stephen Tanner, University of Wollongong, Australia

Jolyon Sykes, University of South Australia, Australia

This paper reports upon the design and implementation of a study of the way Australian newspaper journalists and their publications have dealt with vulnerable sources, particularly those from groups already identified as ‘vulnerable’ in Australian society. The Australian research into so-called ‘vulnerable’ sources has reinforced international studies identifying disability, post-trauma, mental illness, age and indigeneity as characteristics signalling individuals as worthy of special care when news events prompt journalists to seek their comments or portray them visually or textually in a story (see literature discussion below). Whole journalistic support and training packages have centred upon the reportage of people from vulnerable groups or in vulnerable situations, such as Michigan State University’s Victims and the Media program (<http://victims.jrn.msu.edu/>), the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma (<http://dartcenter.org/>) and the Hunter Institute for Mental Health’s ResponseAbility project (<http://www.responseability.org/site/index.cfm>). (The latter two groups are co-sponsors of this research project.) Journalistic codes of ethics and industry codes of practice internationally often flag such individuals as deserving of special caution in reportage. Australia’s Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance Code of Ethics (MEAA, 1999), for example, warns against placing undue emphasis on personal characteristics and instructs journalists to ‘Never exploit a person’s vulnerability or ignorance of media practice’ (clauses 2 and 8). The enforcement of such ethical and industry codes has been problematic in Australia (Hippocrates, 1996). Such matters share some common ground with privacy law as a developing right to privacy has competed with rights to free expression and a free media.

While there has been considerable training material and commentary about the media’s treatment of vulnerable sources, there has been remarkably little empirical research into the detail of that coverage or the reporting strategies used. This project aims to address that issue through a content analysis of newspaper treatment of such sources and a series of follow-up interviews with journalists and editors about that treatment and the development of strategies

for journalists working with vulnerable sources. One of the goals of this project is to examine journalists' choice of sources when reporting on vulnerable groups and to analyse the effects such choices have on those represented. It will consider whether a reporter or editor presents an issue positively or negatively and the balance between positive and negative sources as well as the language used by, or attributed to, the source by the journalist. The study will identify how journalists distinguish between advocates for vulnerable groups who may be accomplished media performers and others who lack those skills.

The study has earned an Australian Research Council Linkage grant as a collaborative project involving five universities and the two organisations mentioned above, with funding from other industry groups.

Literature to Date

Discussion of the interaction between journalists and 'vulnerable' sources features has been a key element of journalism ethics texts (Hirst & Patching, 2007; Hurst & White, 1994; Richards, 2005). Some have also looked at the potential impact of journalistic interviewing upon trauma victims (Sykes, Embelton, Green, Hippocrates, & Richards, 2003). It has also been the subject of numerous targeted studies where a particular vulnerable group has been examined, such as war victims (Smith, 1994); the mentally ill (Burns & Hazell, 1998); the disabled (Tanner, Haswell, & Lake, 2003); children (Teichroeb, 2006); the aged (Pearson, 2002) and indigenous people (Meadows, 2001; Pearson, 1987).

In short, the literature has identified a conflict between the information gathering (and sometimes production) needs of journalists and the psychological and cultural needs of their sources from these social categories. Further, it has identified patterns in the coverage of the members of such groups which has, at a minimum, concerned their advocates and, at worst, blatantly stereotyped or even vilified them and has been the subject of ethical regulators' redress or even legal action (see, for example, the racial vilification cases involving leading Sydney talkback broadcaster Alan Jones against indigenous and Muslim Australians cited in the case list).

Reporting using vulnerable sources can have a profound impact on a community. For example, media coverage of the shooting massacre of 35 people in Tasmania in 1996 is alleged to have created uncertainty and distrust within the Port Arthur community (Lupton, 1999).

International research shows the way the news media choose to portray events has an effect on the way the news media are themselves perceived by their audiences (American Society of Newspaper Editors, 2002).

Research has identified a number of internationally recognised news values that can be identified in various combinations in all news stories (Masterton, 1992). These include conflict, consequence, proximity, human interest, novelty, and prominence. This study is particularly interested in the first of these – conflict. Of the news values, it appears to be the journalistic value of

choice. But the question for the researchers is: ‘At what cost?’ Do journalists resort to using this value too quickly? Are there other news values that might provide better insight into an issue without the possible consequences (for the groups being portrayed, for the community as a whole, and in terms of the community’s understanding of the role of journalists) that may flow from a conflict style situation? Pilot studies undertaken by Tanner et. al., looking at newspaper coverage of Special Olympics Australia, suggest that conflict is a key element in portrayal of non-elite disabled sport, despite the fact that such competitions are run primarily to provide recreational opportunities for people with intellectual disabilities (Tanner, Haswell, & Lake, 2003). The choice of news values embedded in particular reports may also be influenced by other reporting practices, such as interview techniques. Sykes et. al. (2003) note that traumatised sources may not be in a realistic position to respond to journalistic inquiries and a more collaborative interview technique may be more appropriate than an adversarial one.

Research Design and Issues

The previous work has informed the research objectives and design of this study, as has a pilot project undertaken by two of the investigators for this project, Professors Green and Tanner. Their study analysed coverage of one ‘vulnerable’ source group, the disabled, in the Adelaide *Advertiser* newspaper over a constructed fortnight of coverage (Green & Tanner, 2009). They found the majority of the articles were negative in tone and some ‘milked the emotive content of disability’ (Green & Tanner, 2009, p. 52). Further, they found coverage of people with disabilities was underrepresented in news when compared with their proportion of the population (p. 53).

This project builds upon that study and seeks to identify examples of best practice where the news media has reported knowledgeably and sensitively about vulnerable groups. The key research questions are:

- To what extent are vulnerable groups represented in the news media?
- What news frames are applied?
- Are these groups self-selected by the existence of peak bodies, etc?
- What sources are used?
- How are the sources represented?
- What changes would we recommend?

It was decided that a multi-method approach to the research was best, with a content analysis of newspaper articles, interviews with editors of major newspapers, case studies of selected stories, and focus group interviews about the coverage with members of the broader community. The project aim is to

develop protocols which journalists can adopt when reporting on vulnerable groups.

One of the first challenges facing the research team was the categorising of the types of vulnerable sources already mentioned and the risk that these might be over-represented in the literature. This might, for example, be because of strength of their advocacy groups or perhaps the funding sources for the studies. The researchers recognised that the very use of the word ‘vulnerable’ to describe such sources may be problematic in that it may be seen as stereotyping in itself. The language of vulnerability is not greatly removed from the ‘language of trauma and victimhood’, which psychiatry professor Simon Wessely counselled against in the aftermath of the London terrorist bombings (Wessely, 2005). That episode, too, reminds us that people may be ‘vulnerable’ sources because of media stereotyping as well as ‘vulnerable’ as sources because of their circumstances or condition when being interviewed for a story. Whether the source has just witnessed or survived an accident or disaster, or whether the source identifies as having a disability, mental health issues, being indigenous or a member of an ethnic minority, the potential for poor journalism practice is the same. There is a risk of disempowerment and the potential for actual harm and this project’s ultimate aim is to develop journalistic strategies to minimise those risks within deadline.

The team decided that, rather than searching for mentions of the particular source groups, they should seek to find all ‘moments of vulnerability’ in the content of the selected newspapers for the target period, and leave such categorisation until after such moments had been identified. This then allowed for the identification of other descriptors of sources in such ‘vulnerable moments’, allowing the interaction to drive the study rather than the pre-identified source groupings.

This decision necessitated the inclusion of an additional, preliminary research question:

- What do ‘moments of vulnerability’ in newspaper news coverage tell us about journalists’ interaction with so-called ‘vulnerable’ sources?

It is this question that forms the bulk of discussion for this paper, which draws upon two examples of such coverage from the national daily newspaper, *The Australian*.

The content analysis is predominantly qualitative (although some raw counts of comparative occurrences of vulnerable groups and positive vs. negative coverage will be conducted). The analysis, as detailed in the coding sheet (figure 1) examines the overall tone of its content, as well as those individual paragraphs where sources are quoted or represented and headlines or images if they also include a so-called ‘moment of vulnerability’.

Figure 1. Vulnerability and the Print News Media coding Sheet

Item #			
Publication:	Date:	Section:	Page:
Total size (sq cm)	Headline:		
Moment of vulnerability (can be replicated with new item # if more than one in article)			
Size (sq. cm.)	Pic, text, other	Genre (news, comment etc.)	Quadrant
Byline	Type of vulnerability (intruding, exploiting, etc)	Vulnerable group:	Public interest element:
Content analysis (Positive tone)	Supportive		
	Sympathetic		
	Empowering		
	Inclusive		
Content analysis (Negative tone)	Unhelpful		
	Unfeeling		
	Patronising		
	Alienating		
Content analysis (Neutral tone)			
Comments:			

Several considerations informed the development of the coding sheet. Journalists often report using a source interviewed at their point of vulnerability. This instant of intervention is the key ‘moment of vulnerability’

(MoV) of interface between a journalist and a source of most interest to this study. It was recognised that a single newspaper story might contain more than one ‘moment of vulnerability’, justifying separate coding sheets. The consequences of intervention need to be balanced against the ‘public interest’ or public benefit of the outcome.

Examples of Moments of Vulnerability from *The Australian*

The identification and coding of such ‘moments of vulnerability’ are best illustrated by two examples of coverage from one newspaper – *The Australian*.

The first example is the story headed ‘Israeli tanks roll into Gaza’ on the front page of *The Australian* on Monday, January 5, 2009. The coded moment of vulnerability is detailed in Figure 2.

Figure 2. The Australian Example 1

Item #AUS050109-1			
Publication: <i>The Australian</i>	Date: 5-1-09	Section: 1 (EGN)	Page: 1
Total size (sq cm): 1007.5	Headline: Israeli tanks roll into Gaza		
Moment of vulnerability (can be replicated with new item # if more than one in article): Injured man on a stretcher with bloodied face and head about to be loaded into an ambulance. Clearly in distress. Caption: ‘Casualty: A Hamas fighter is brought into a Gaza City hospital’.			
Size (sq. cm.): 72	Pic, text, other: Photograph	Genre (news, comment etc.) News	Quadrant: B
Byline: Story -John Lyons but photographer not identified	Type of vulnerability (intruding, exploiting, etc): Intrusion into privacy when injured	Vulnerable group: The injured / war victim	Public interest element: International coverage of war in Gaza Strip
Content analysis (Positive tone)	Supportive		
	Sympathetic		
	Empowering		
	Inclusive		
Content analysis (Negative tone)	Unhelpful		
	Unfeeling		
	Patronising		
	Alienating		
Content analysis (Neutral tone)		Neutral – simply depicting bloodied patient on a stretcher about to be loaded into ambulance.	
Comments:	The privacy and potential embarrassment for the distressed victim are competing with (and probably outweighed by) the clear international news value.		

Here, an individual in pain and distress is portrayed on the front page of a national daily newspaper and, most likely in the pages of many newspapers throughout the world, given the nature of agency photo distribution. This certainly meets our definition of a 'moment of vulnerability' and, although the photo subject is not a member of one of the main vulnerable groups identified for this study, he clearly fits the characteristic of a 'victim of war' which has been the subject of other studies, such as Smith (1994). The larger question of whether such intrusion is justifiable in terms of news coverage is one best conducted with reference to the various codes of practice already in existence for journalists. Pearson (2007, pp. 395-400) lists several of the Australian ethical codes and industry guidelines and compares their wording on issues of privacy and intrusion. Most, including the Media Alliance's Code of Ethics and the Australian Press Council's Statement of Principles which would apply in this situation, allow for public interest matters to outweigh such media

intrusions. For example, the Press Council's principles define 'public interest' as 'involving a matter capable of affecting the people at large so they might be legitimately interested in, or concerned about, what is going on, or what may happen to them or to others'. (Australian Press Council, 2009). That body has an extensive body of precedents in such cases with judgments in complaints cases accessible via its website at www.presscouncil.org.au. The Media Alliance's Code of Ethics (MEAA, 1999) states that '*Only substantial advancement of the public interest or risk of substantial harm to people allows any standard to be overridden.*'. The multiplicity of such guidelines is discussed in the concluding section below.

The second example for discussion in this paper is the article on page 3 of The Australian on February 3, 2009, titled 'DOCS urges fugitive mother to return'. The coded moment of vulnerability for this story is featured in Figure 3. As explained in Figure 3, the story concerns a child custody dispute where a mother has allegedly fled overseas with her son during a Family Court dispute over the child's custody. All parties are vulnerable, but there are key public interest arguments for covering the story. Such matters are of public concern and the safe return of the child to his father in Australia is in the interests of the justice authorities and the successful operations of the family law system. However, the key moment of vulnerability takes the story beyond these matters when it quotes child welfare academic Freda Briggs suggesting the child would be likely to be 'snatched from the mother by police in the early hours of the morning and placed in a secure detention centre', 'deprived of contact with his mother before being put on a flight to Sydney accompanied by strangers', 'then placed in foster care - again with strangers and sent to a new school or kindergarten', and 'have as many as four foster homes before the case is resolved'. She also suggested the mother would be arrested if she returned with the child. The web version of *The Australian's* story still sits there at the time of writing this paper in April 2010, along with duplicated versions on at least five other sites including Facebook and blogging sites.

Neither the MEAA code nor the Press Council's Statement of Principles makes mention of the special sensitivities in the reporting of children. This is the sort of gap in the ethical guidelines this project is likely to identify.

Figure 3. The Australian Example 2

Item #AUS030209-1			
Publication: <i>The Australian</i>	Date: 3-2-09	Section: 1 (EGN)	Page: 3
Total size (sq cm): 621	Headline: <i>DOCS urges fugitive mother to return</i>		
Moment of vulnerability (can be replicated with new item # if more than one in article): Quotes from child welfare expert with potential to influence mother’s judgement on return of child.			
Size (sq. cm.): 26	Pic, text, other: Text	Genre (news, comment etc.) News	Quadrant: B
Byline: Caroline Overington	Type of vulnerability (intruding, exploiting, etc): Potential to influence parent to not surrender to police	Vulnerable group: Family, particularly child	Public interest element: Broad concern over Family Court procedures and child custody disputes
Content analysis (Positive tone)	Supportive	Alienating	
	Sympathetic		
	Empowering		
	Inclusive		
Content analysis (Negative tone)	Unhelpful	Alienating	
	Unfeeling		
	Patronising		
	Alienating		
Content analysis (Neutral tone)			
Comments:	This is a child custody issue where a mother has allegedly kidnapped her son and fled overseas so there are several potential moments of vulnerability involving all parties. However, the key moment concerns comments from child welfare expert Freda Briggs who is quoted as stating: ‘If they are located, the child will be subjected to further trauma. From other recent cases, he is likely to be literally snatched from the mother by police in the early hours of the morning and placed in a secure detention centre. ‘He will be deprived of contact with his mother before being put on a flight to Sydney accompanied by strangers. He could be then placed in foster care - again with strangers and sent to a new school or kindergarten. He may have as many as four foster homes before the case is resolved in the Family Court. ‘If the mother returns with him she can be arrested ... which won't help him at all.’ The vulnerable moment is the inclusion of these sentences. Given the international nature of media coverage it is likely the mother would read the web version of this story or its copied versions on at least five other sites including Facebook and child abduction blogs. There is a strong possibility the fear of such consequences would be a disincentive to her return of the child.		

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to offer an insight into the literature on the topic of vulnerable sources, to identify our definitional challenges, and to explain the elements of the research design ultimately adopted. Although data analysis is still in its early stages, these two examples of such ‘moments of vulnerability’ from reportage in the national daily newspaper, *The Australian*, offer some insight into issues likely to arise as we investigate the interaction between journalists and vulnerable sources. As Pearson (2007, pp. 395-400) has identified, there is already a multiplicity of journalism codes of ethics and practice in operation, with a variety of approaches to journalists’ interactions with such sources. The content analysis is clearly qualitative and exposes so-called ‘grey areas’ of journalism ethics that many have alluded to already. However, our aim is to demonstrate with empirical data that there are better ways for journalists to assess and evaluate such vulnerable moments and that there is a clear need for more definitive guidelines on their approach. It is contested territory. Public interest arguments need to be weighed seriously against the rights and interests of vulnerable citizens, often in the heat of an emotion-charged news event. We hope an outcome of this project will be to equip reporters and editors with the tools to reach such judgments in a timely, principled and justifiable manner.

References

- American Society of Newspaper Editors. (2002). Newspaper Credibility Handbook. from <http://204.8.120.192/index.cfm?id=3886>
- Australian Press Council. (2009). Statement of Principles. from <http://www.presscouncil.org.au/pcsites/complaints/sop.html>
- Burns, L., & Hazell, T. (1998). Response ... ability: Youth suicide and the national university curriculum project. *AJR*, 20(2), 111-128.
- Chadwick, P. (2004). *Privacy and Media - subtle compatibility - five categories of fame*. Paper presented at the 26th International Conference on Privacy and Personal Data Protection, Wroclaw, Poland.
- Green, K., & Tanner, S. (2009). Reporting disability. *Asia Pacific Media Educator* (19), 43-54.
- Hippocrates, C. (1996). The problems with monitoring journalism ethics in Australia: A review of the judiciary procedures of the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance. *Australian Journalism Review*, 18(1), 67-86.
- Hirst, M., & Patching, R. (2007). *Journalism Ethics - Arguments & Cases*, 2nd ed. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Hurst, J., & White, S. (1994). *Ethics and the Australian News Media*. South Melbourne: Macmillan.
- Lupton, D. (1999). ‘Something really nasty’: Audience responses to crimes in the news. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 26 (1), 41-54.
- Masterton, M. (1992). What is news? Learning again is not easy. *AJR*, 14(2), 114-120.

- MEAA. (1999). Revised MEAA Code of Ethics., from <http://www.alliance.org.au/code-of-ethics.html>
- Meadows, M. (2001). *Voices in the Wilderness: Images of Aboriginal people in the Australian media*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Pearson, M. (1987). Interviewing Aborigines: a cross-cultural dilemma. *Australian Journalism Review*, 9(1 & 2), 113-117.
- Pearson, M. (2002). *The journalist's toolkit on ageing - helping shape media perceptions*. Paper presented at the Sixth World Congress on Ageing from http://epublications.bond.edu.au/hss_pubs/242/
- Pearson, M. (2007). *The Journalist's Guide to Media Law. Dealing With Legal and Ethical Issues* (Third Edition ed.). Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Richards, I. (2005). *Quagmires and Quandaries. Exploring Journalism Ethics*. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Smith, J. (1994). Eyewitness ethics: The moral meaning of watching suffering while reporting famine and war. *AJR*, 16(2), 31-46.
- Sykes, J., Embelton, G., Green, K., Hippocrates, C., & Richards, I. (2003). Covering trauma: Suggestions for a more collaborative approach. *Australian Journalism Review*, 25(2), 73-83.
- Tanner, S. J., Haswell, S., & Lake, A. (2003). Promoting the ideals of integration and diversity: Media coverage of Special Olympics Australia. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 30(3), 123-141.
- Tanner, S. J., Haswell, S., & Lake, M. (2003). Breaking down the barriers: trying to convince the media that disability is newsworthy. . *Australian Journalism Review*, 25(2), 85-102.
- Teichroeb, R. (2006). *Covering children & trauma. A guide for professional journalists*. Seattle: Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma.
- Wessely, S. (2005). Victimhood and resilience. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 353(6), 548-550.

Legal Cases Cited

- Western Aboriginal Legal Service Ltd v. Jones and Radio 2UE Sydney Pty Ltd* [2000] NSWADT 102 (31 July 2000). Retrieved from www.austlii.edu.au/au/cases/nsw/NSWADT/2000/102.html
- Trad v Jones & anor* (No. 3) [2009] NSWADT 318 (21 December 2009). Retrieved from http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/adtjudgments/2009nswadt_nsf/00000000000000000000000000000000/5e78e4a70e578ee4ca25768f00169e3b?opendocument

Acknowledgement: This paper describes work being conducted for Australian Research Council Linkage Project LP0989758. The authors acknowledge input from fellow investigators Cait McMahon, Michael Meadows, Angela Romano, and Jaelea Skehan.

Chapter Nine

Media and the Environment: Reporting the Global Warming and Environmental Crisis in the American Media

Abhijit Sen, Winston-Salem State University, USA

The documentary “An Inconvenient Truth” appears to have opened up the flood-gates of environmental information. It made Al Gore a hero at the Sundance Film Festival in 2006 and along the way Gore became a neo-green entrepreneur and a crusader against global warming and climate change. Gore’s inspiration began aboard a boat in the Ionian sea in the summer of 2001. After the election 2000, Gore had kept himself busy teaching at several universities but it was while sailing along the Greek coast that he started thinking what to do next. After 9/11 he turned away from politics and put his heart and soul into the global warming campaign and became a fearless environmental activist (Breslau 2006).

Suddenly information, opinions, facts and figures are gushing out at a phenomenal rate through the media channels – information which had been kept murky, ambiguous and perhaps hidden by the mainstream media. CNN has a series of articles and videos on its website titled *Planet in Peril* and NPR (National Public Radio) has a section titled *Climate Connections: To the end of the earth*, a year long series and a joint collaboration between NPR and National Geographic to explore how climate is shaping people and how people are shaping climate. *The New York Times* has a blog written by Andrew Revkin called *Dot Earth*. Revkin tracks relevant news from suburbia to Siberia, and conducts an interactive exploration of trends and ideas with readers and experts. ABC News on its website has a special section titled *Going Green* with tips for eco-friendly travel and for reducing carbon footprint. Whether we like it or not, the barrage of information from media is on an overdrive to make us aware of environmental issues plaguing our planet especially climate change and global warming. ‘Green’ messages have cropped up in commercials, advertisements and PSAs. Airlines, car, cell phone, appliances companies are all claiming to be ‘green.’ Some of the most polluting industries are among the loudest to rant their ‘green’ credentials.

Why the sudden rush by the mainstream media to inform the public when they had been indifferent or sitting-on-the-fence on this issue for a long time, considering the fact that the environmental movement began in the ‘60s and the first Earth Day was celebrated in 1970? On the other hand one could ask what

factors restricted or constrained the media from reporting comprehensively on environmental issues including climate change in the '70s, '80s and the '90s?

Background: Planetary Environmental Crisis

The industrial revolution put us on the fast track to global warming with global average temperature predicted to rise between 2.5 and 10.4 degrees Fahrenheit by 2100. Global warming is heating the Arctic almost as fast as the rest of the planet, with a thaw that threatens millions of livelihoods and which could wipe out the polar bears within a century. Scientists, naturalists, biologists, anthropologists have pointed out signs of serious problems in the earth's biosphere as related to climate, natural resources, wildlife, population growth and over consumption. Since the mid- 90's, world leaders like Tony Blair, Bill Clinton and Kofi Annan had forewarned the world about the impending climate change and global warming crisis. George Monbiot, Oxford University, says that people and policy makers are unwilling to even contemplate the scale of the climate change problem because that would entail modifying the whole concept of economic progress. Instead of growth forever, people will have to think of decreasing consumption and production. Jared Diamond of University of California warned that if nothing is done about global warming and the global environmental crisis the planet risks conditions which exists in Somalia, Rwanda and other sub-Saharan countries. Will Steffen gives us a window of 50 years within which we need to change the way we live and change the way we use energy and consume world's natural resources to prevent the kind of collapse scientists are predicting (Documentary: The Planet 2006).

Many of the concerned scholars and scientists are saying that the American project of conspicuous consumption is not making the people any healthier and happier than before. Moreover the lifestyle is considered to be not sustainable, on the contrary quality life comes from living in a healthy environment with low carbon emission and not from consuming more and more. Earth's resources are getting depleted at a phenomenal rate and at the same time the consumption rate is unsustainable since we are using more than what the earth can regenerate. Herman Daly of University of Maryland, says that economic growth and consequent consumption puts stress on earth's biosphere – consuming more leads to more waste, more pollution and more depletion of natural resources. It is the spread of the high consumption Western lifestyle to other rapidly developing countries especially in Asia that is worrisome. If China and India were to reach the consumption level that we have in the West, scientists say the earth's eco-system would blow-up. According to George Monbiot it is not China and India which are the problem right now but it is the West and the Western consumer lifestyle. Yet, the United States refused to ratify the Kyoto protocol because as George W. Bush said: "Kyoto would have wrecked our economy" (Documentary: The Planet 2006).

The Carbon Emission Debate

Carbon emission from automobiles are the biggest source of pollution and cause of global warming. Transportation has the fastest growing carbon emissions of any economic sector with more than 600 million passenger vehicles now cruising the world's roads. Environmentalists all over the world see the West's love for cars and dependency on the automobile as one of the major causes of global warming and climate change. So, when the Tata Company of India came out with the world's cheapest car – the Nano – the Western media jumped on it as a potential and future cause of rapid decline in the planet's health. Tata Motors of India unveiled its new low-cost Nano in January 2008 for as little as \$2500, and Tata hopes to market its new car to the millions of consumers throughout the developing world that are expected to hit the road in next decades. Car sales in India are growing by more than 20% a year, compared with 3% globally (Smith et al, 2008).

These numbers are not only keeping the environmentalists awake at night but also major Western media channels are taking pot-shots at the environmentally unfriendly nature of the car. Already criticisms are pouring in from Western media. The New York Times says that the Nano "...would most likely fail emission and safety standards on any western road, and perhaps, in India in a few years, when the country imposes tougher environmental standards" and chastised Tata's CEO from his shortsightedness: "We know now that gas-driven automobiles do terrible damage to the environment, and the notion of losing millions upon millions of new carbon emitters on our planet is not something to celebrate." The prospect of the Nano becoming a household name like BMW and Ford provoked the German weekly Der Spiegel to declare the Nano an "eco-disaster" (Smith et al, 2008). However, Michael Renner of Worldwatch Institute reminds us that "people in the Western countries and Japan – less than 15% of the world's population – own two-thirds of all passenger and commercial motor vehicles in the world. ...India and China, with a third of the world's population, so far account for only about 5% of vehicles." The West's environmental criticisms and campaigns need to begin at home and the politicians, labor unions and environmental activists have to be careful not to brandish global warming as a stick to bash consumers and workers in India and China (Smith et al. 2008).

The American media have a major role to play in a consumer oriented society and can be held accountable for the consumer lifestyle issues related to global warming and the environmental crisis. Media's role in informing the public about global climate change and environmental issues in terms of raising public awareness needs to be scrutinized a little more closely in order to understand why the mainstream media have not been so pro-active in sounding a warning about the impending global climate crisis for all these years.

A Brief History of Reporting the 'Green'

Reporting the environmental news has not been an easy task. For the Seattle Times the coverage of the Exxon Valdez oil spill earned it the 1990 Pulitzer Prize – but this was only the third time in the history of the prize that an environmental story had been honored. In the 1970s, writers and concerned citizens criticized environmental journalism for crisis reporting – concentrating on geographically distant environmental problems ('Afghanistanism') rather than those in their own backyard which led to the belief that local environmental issues were not very important. In the 1980s, the issues got more complex being tied to a range of economic and political issues and a lot of scientific uncertainty and they were made worse by the rise of crisis reporting and lack of adequate sources (Friedman 1991, 20). The problems identified in 1972, still existed in the 1990s. The narrow choice of sources, avoidance of scientific and technical factors and lack of in-depth reporting were key problem areas along with crisis reporting in the media which reflected media's preference for conflict and drama (Friedman 1991, 21).

In late 1980's and in the '90s environmental stories became a hot topic for the media, heralded by *TIME*'s decision to name Earth the 'Planet of the Year' for 1988. With that issue, *TIME* made a commitment to increasing its coverage of environmental concerns, so did *CNN* which gave environment a high priority, and *NPR* (National Public Radio) also added coverage of environmental stories in its daily news shows. The amount of airtime and space given to environment in the media increased dramatically between 1988 – 1990 (LaMay & Dennis 1991). However, a lack of choice of news sources was a major problem. Journalists had not established new and better sources – they were still dependent on government officials as major information sources. The journalists apparently did not search for objective and knowledgeable sources or had trouble finding them. Government officials were considered credible and authoritative, easy to reach, had frequent contacts with reporters and they were the one's administering laws and regulating environmental hazards. Governmental officials were the predominant source followed by environmental groups while industry officials, scientists, and private citizens were far behind (Friedman 1991, 22).

Most environmental issues are scientific in nature and deal with scientific and technical matters, but typically environmental reporting avoided technical aspects of such issues. Scientists for years have been telling people about the 'greenhouse effect' and other global environmental hazards and they were worried about deforestation and desertification in places like Brazil and Thailand. Studies on Bhopal (Union Carbide incident) and Chernobyl showed that such events were not put in context and in proper framework by journalists and lacked in-depth examination of technical factors (Friedman 1991, 23-25). The warnings went unheeded until repeated catastrophes and disasters finally grabbed the media's and journalists' attention.

Agenda Setting: Framing the Global Warming Issue

The theory of agenda setting is currently recognized as one of the most significant theoretical contributions to the literature of mass communications, and it continues to spawn new research projects. The media and the press have been very influential in telling people ‘what to think about’ than telling them ‘what to think’ as political scientists Bernard Cohen emphasized. The coverage of issues helps to focus the public on what to discuss on a given day. According to the agenda setting theory, public opinion on specific issues is heavily influenced by the topics and news stories that appear in the news pages and TV programs. The power to push people into thinking about certain kinds of issues became known as ‘agenda setting’ and agenda setting research, to a large extent, was a response to a growing disenchantment amongst American scholars regarding “attitudes and opinions as dependent variables and with limited effects model as an adequate intellectual summary” (McCombs in Williams 2003, 181).

The basic idea of media prioritizing the agenda of the day has been supported by numerous studies conducted by mass communications scholars. McCombs and Shaw (1972) developed the hypothesis in researchable form in their examination of the news coverage of the 1968 presidential election campaign. They found that there was a convergence of public agenda and media agenda and public opinion corresponded to the media issues after analyzing newspapers, news magazines and TV network news programs. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) attempted to overcome some of the limitations of previous research through a series of experiments. They tested the prominence of issues in national news that were considered very important by the TV viewing public. They found that people exposed to one of the three different presentations (on pollution, national security & inflation) of news over a four day period led to expressions of greater concern about the issue featured in the news of the day by the experimental group (Spark 2006, 176).

Iyengar and Kinder also introduced the concept of ‘priming’ to describe how the media could go beyond telling people what to think about and shape the criteria used by individuals to judge the political leaders and political issues. Priming presumes that when evaluating political phenomena people do not take a comprehensive view of the issue but instead rely on what comes to mind. The researchers point out the power of the media does not stem from its persuasive power but in “commanding the public’s attention (agenda setting) and defining criteria underlying the public’s judgement (priming)” (Williams 2003, 182).

Funkhouser (1983) looked at three sources of data: public opinion polls, media coverage and statistical indicators and confirmed earlier findings that showed substantial correlation between public opinion and media coverage. He found that neither public opinion nor media coverage correlated well with statistical indicators of the ‘real world.’ Using the Vietnam War and students’ agitation on college campuses, the data suggested that media’s coverage of

issues affected public opinion more than the issues's prominence in the 'real world' and showed media coverage did not necessarily reflect 'real world' trends (Croteau & Hoynes 2000, 240).

In a study of international news, Paik found that there was considerable evidence that media set the public's agenda and the policy agenda. Findings of his study on news in the Wall Street Journal coverage of different regions and countries of the world showed that there was an imbalance in global information which could be attributed to the control of global communication by a few Western news agencies and media multinationals giving a minimum news of Third World Countries. News about Third World nations were invariably 'framed' in a western ideological and cultural perspective leading to a highly stereotyped account of only a few type of events such as coups, catastrophes, famines and natural disasters (Paik Sp.1999).

Can the newscast actually influence people what to think? Apparently yes, through a concept known as 'framing.' Tankard defines framing as the "central organizing idea for the news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (Spark 2006, 177). Media might frame a news story – say about a snowstorm – by covering the snowstorm story in terms of poor snow removal instead of recreational activities. Thus the media are doing more than just telling us what to think about – they are basically telling us 'what to think' by focusing on one particular angle to the story instead of another one. The way a story is framed by the media can have a great impact on the interpretations that people take away from the message. People do look to the print and broadcast news for guidance on which issues are really important. The language the media uses to describe the importance of an issue, the manner in which the issue is 'framed' and the role of credible and authoritative people in promoting the issue are often critical in setting the agenda (Severin & Tankard 1988).

Even though we know who sets the public agenda (news media), there are questions about who sets the media's agenda. A large body of agenda-setting literature show the importance of multi-source influences on the news media. In recent years researchers have acknowledged that the media's agenda is often shaped by others: interest groups, government officials, citizens and politicians who try to influence what the media reports as the most important story of the day. As McQuail noted, doubts arose not only for methodological reasons but also from theoretical ambiguities. The researchers suggested a strong interplay between public opinion, political priorities and news priorities of the media (McQuail 1987, 276). Herman & Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model suggested that the media's agenda is set by a combination of government and corporate forces intent on protecting the interests of the rich and the powerful. The corporate owners of the media and various 'gatekeepers' of media channels and agencies (public-relations and advertising) make sure that profitability remains the top priority (Croteau & Hoynes 2000, 240).

Research suggests that the degree to which social issues command attention cannot be equated with the seriousness of risk they pose (Hansen 1990). How certain social problems come to be defined as risks and the selection of risks is

influenced by social values and the way in which different cultures operate. The competing public perception of risks are equally biased because they reflect different cultural meanings and systems (Anderson 1997, 109). Environmental issues resonate differently in different countries, depending on the time period and on broader cultural and economic factors. Thus the European response to environmental issues and problems has been far more pro-active and effective than say in the USA. In Europe, various environmental crises have forced specific industries to take an aggressive stance in marketing and communications. For example, in response to the growing environmental awareness and various information crises, the nuclear industry was forced to take a more proactive approach to marketing and public-relations. In 1995, Germans boycotted Shell gas stations for their disregard of the environment which led Shell to cancel its plans to sink the Brent Spar oil rig in the Atlantic. Video news releases of two *Greenpeace* vessels sprayed with high-pressure water canons with protesters standing aboard made for a dramatic news footage and sparked off a major controversy (Anderson 1997, 111).

Reporting Constraints

In the mid-80s what made the term 'environment' distinctive compared to other categories of news was the absence of any broad consensus on the definition of the term (Lowe & Morrison 1984, 79). Reporting on environment drew upon potent cultural symbols related to nature and countryside. Moreover the objective reporting of environmental stories could potentially subvert the whole idea of industrialism and progress which made it very difficult to accommodate the concept within the established news categories. Later, the term 'green' was frequently used as a code for reporting all kinds of issues from health to women's issues (Anderson 1993). Although the environment has become more established as a 'news beat' (Hannigan 1995, Lacey & Longman 1993), there is a strong cyclical element to the reporting of environmental issues and closely tied to the political agenda (Anderson 1997, 55). Over time, environmentalism has become increasingly institutionalized and transformed into a political ideology in competition with liberalism, socialism and conservatism (Eder 1996).

The significance of a story as news depends on various factors. Firstly, the story depends on the news format and the medium in which the news is presented since mass media are completely differentiated according to style and genre, patterns of ownership and control, news values and types of audiences. There are also important differences within the news media, for example, news stories can be covered in much greater details and depth in TV documentaries compared to news bulletin. Newspapers on the other hand tend to be more evaluative than TV hence they are more morally partisan. Reporting environmental issues in print reflects the general identity and political orientation of the newspaper (Anderson 1997, 56-60).

Secondly, the values of the individual reporters play a significant role in news construction and dissemination. Many reporters and correspondents of environmental issues claim to be highly interested in environmental matters but they are almost never members of environmental action groups as they say, it would compromise their role as a reporter and the notion of independence, neutrality and objectivity. But in fact most national news organizations in UK forbid environmental reporters from belonging to environmental action organizations even though the reporters maybe interested (Anderson 1997, 61).

Studies on news media and reporting segmented journalists into three categories: neutral observers, participants or as advocates (Kielbowicz & Scherer 1986). Majority of reporters portrayed themselves as neutral or participants and less as advocates distancing themselves from morally partisan approach (Gans 1980, Anderson 1993). Most correspondents had concerns about major environmental issues and development in the Third World but at the same time many took great pains to distance themselves from what they considered as morally partisan views. There was a lot of pressure on journalists to stress objectivity and neutrality in order to promote their authoritative status. In many situations journalists were pulled off the beat because they were judged to be 'too close' to the subject. But there were some journalists who saw it as their duty to inform the public by taking an advocacy stance contrary to the established rules (Anderson 1997, 61-65).

Environmental matters are generally covered by specialists who think they have a large degree of editorial freedom which is a myth deeply ingrained in journalists' mythology (Tunstall 1971). The correspondents interviewed for the study claimed to have a large amount of freedom in reporting environmental issues, but Tunstall showed that reporters were actually constrained by a number of factors including organizational, editorial and advertising pressures. Journalists in the past have claimed that they had experienced editorial pressures not to cover nuclear power issues (Anderson 1997, 66). The amount of freedom enjoyed by environmental reporters are to some degree dependent on news organization practices and political ideology and reporters have little control over final length, headlines etc. (Burgess & Harrison 1993).

Pressures on reporters also come from the relationship between the sources and news media, between the media and the elites and the government and bureaucracies. Powerful sources such as government agencies and the courts enjoy easy access to the media (Hall et al. 1978). Hall suggested that powerful sources sometimes become primary definers of key issues including environmental issues. News sources have vested interests in the issues they are normally promoting and can exert tremendous pressure on the media and the wider policy-making machinery. As Lichtenberg (1996) observes, reporters have to make important choices about whether a statement is controversial enough to warrant balancing it with an opposing view. This becomes a credibility issue, therefore, the less credible the source, the more likely it is to be balanced with an alternative perspective. Ericson (1989) suggested that reporters in general have become aware of the problem of delivering news in

this manner, that is presenting news with an air of objectivity and grounded in the standard interpretive frames of two opposing forces (Anderson 1997, 69).

Environmental News Construction

Media reporting is often about risk based on concerns for population health and well-being posed by major catastrophes, accidents and disasters. Risk to health covers a wide spectrum of subject matters covered in the media including environmental issues and controversial technologies. The environment is largely mediated through 'experts' and this could discourage critical thinking and marginalizing lay views. Thus risks and threats feature prominently in media construction of the environment. But the issue itself has been 'muddied' and made confusing by this controversy over discourse between experts and laymen.

Conflicts of opinion amongst scientists and experts has been one of the major reasons in the confused reporting by the media on environmental issues providing further impetus to declining public confidence in experts and scientists (Anderson 1997, 115). As Cutter suggests, institutionalization of the division in scientific opinion has made a significant impact in reporting (Cutter 1993). At the same time experts are often critical of mass media, arguing that the risks tend to be distorted and the media are too reliant on 'pseudo-experts' (Dunwoody & Peters 1992). Media practitioners have been criticized for treating issues in an emotive way (exploiting human interest angle), giving some stories undue prominence or using misleading and inappropriate images, for example, presenting images of a nuclear explosion while reporting on an accident at a nuclear power station (Salome et al. 1990).

Environmental news are often covered by non-specialist reporters (especially in local press) who simply 'regurgitate' official press releases (Anderson 1997, 130). The proximity of the source, the perceived reliability and trustworthiness and the tight time schedule of journalists combined with the journalistic code of objectivity are possible factors for dependency. Research in a number of different countries indicate that official sources – government officials, scientists – are cited by most journalists as primary sources, more often than environmental groups (Hansen 1990, Gandy 1980, Wang 1989). Relatively few journalists and broadcasters have scientific training. In the U.S., the low level of scientific knowledge and training is combined with high degree of faith in science (Dunwoody & Peters 1992) and this often creates problems for journalists since there are frequent disagreement among scientists over environmental risks assessments. Given the constraints of time and resources, journalists tend to rely on a few well-known scientists rather than on a large network of scientists. Evidence suggests that journalists tend to make more use of 'establishment' scientists attached to official government organizations than of 'independent scientists' (Dunwoody 1986).

Television news coverage of environmental risks and issues tend to be event rather than issue based. A content analysis of U.S. network news conducted by Greenberg et al. found that coverage of risk issues was strongly influenced by traditional news values (Greenberg et al. 1989). The study suggests that TV news focus on particular types of risks – risks that are connected with dramatic disasters such as chemical spillages as compared to more insidious but slow moving health hazards such as smoking and asbestos which cause far more number of deaths than the spills and receive less prominence. Another large scale study of 15 media outlets (TV, newspapers and magazines) found that news media tended to highlight relatively rare hazards such as toxic shock syndrome and provide inadequate information about risks (Singer & Endreny 1987). News media tend to be preoccupied with dramatic events such as oil-spills and chemical mishaps (Anderson 1991, William & Patterson 1987, Shanahan 1993), and event based news apparently allows news media greater control in framing stories and exempts journalists from exploring wider issues (Dunwoody & Griffin 1993). Along with that, environmental news have a strong visual component - environmental news rely on dramatic visual imagery which is stronger in TV news. As one BBC reporter said:

... we are about pictures....Above all environment stories need really good pictures...global warming is very different because you can't actually see global warming. You can see car exhausts and you can see smoking stacked chimneys and you can hear people talking about it. (Anderson 1997, 121).

Environmental issues and news have to relate to the 24 hours news production cycle since TV newscasts follow a tight schedule and time acts as a major constraint on news stories (Schlesinger 1987). Environmental issues like global warming do not naturally fits in this cycle since they are typically long, drawn-out processes. News bulletins tend to be short and average news item about environmental issues on TV tend to be about 110 seconds long (Hansen 1990).

Studies conducted worldwide on Three Mile Island and Chernobyl nuclear disasters showed that media exaggeration, distortion and bias in reporting, and the media generally failed to supply the citizens with enough risk information. Dunwoody and Peters (1992) cite the example of a senior German officer who claimed that the reporting in the German media had damaged the authority of science since it was inaccurate, oversimplified and gave 'pseudo-experts' equal time and opportunity along with the government radiation agency. A study by Friedman et al (1987) concluded that the media did not provide enough space or explanation on the effects of radiation on health and the environment, effectively managing information and reassuring the viewers and the readers that everything was okay. In the U.S. media, the risk and danger posed by environmental degradation, accidents and disasters was minimized, totally absent or inadequate risk assessments were made in covering dangerous

situations. In contrast the German coverage of Chernobyl disaster was more balanced in terms of alarming and reassuring information (Merten et al.1990) and a Swedish research on the same issue revealed that there was a larger chunk of alarming and worrying than reassuring and comforting statements in the Swedish media (Nohrstedt 1991).

Socio-economic factors play a major role by influencing selection of environmental news (Schoenfield 1979, Hansen 1990). This maybe due to the selective nature of agenda-setting done by the media of different countries. For example, Danish TV stresses more on sea pollution since their economy is dependent on the fishing industry and not on nuclear issues because they do not have any nuclear power plants while the British TV news concentrates more on nuclear energy issues because they do have a fairly large nuclear industry.

Environmental reporting is strongly influenced by the dominant ideology and cultural factors. Popular symbols and metaphors evoke powerful responses in the public and national audiences and meaning-laden popular symbols, metaphors and images are often the foundation of media framing mechanism (Anderson 1997, 125). Cultural frames provide journalists with stories of what is, which are then framed by what ought to be. Economic and technological factors combine with cultural attributes in shaping ideological meanings and messages. Thus majority of environmental studies focus on the nuclear energy issue because they continue to have a greater impact on public's values and fears (Hansen 1990, Burgess 1990, MacGill 1987). The infusion of cultural factors, values and symbolic meaning explains some of the different styles of discourse and reporting concerning nuclear disasters at Chernobyl and the Three Mile Island. Ideological frameworks are applied to give a different perspective to the story. For example, Chernobyl disaster was played-up in the Western press as an indication of inferior Russian technology compared to the superior Western and American technology (Patterson 1989).

Conclusion

The reporting constraints, the manner in which the environmental news are constructed and the general outlook of the reporters and media owners on global warming and environmental issues could perhaps explain why the media ignored, restricted or controlled environmental information in the past. One may ask what really has changed that the public is now deluged with so much information on environmental matters? For decades environmentalists had warned of a coming climate crisis but the alarm went unheeded and suddenly a vicious unleashing of natural calamities all over the world have made the media and people sit-up and ponder.

One could only conjecture that there has been a paradigm shift in the news reporting on global warming and climate change. The rules of environmental news construction and reporting constraints have become outdated, redundant and irrelevant in the face of overwhelming evidence and facts combined with

the ubiquitous Internet, WorldWideWeb and bloggers who instantaneously provide hard facts and information on climate change that can no longer be circumvented, hidden or suppressed. The frequent disagreements among scientists over environmental risk assessment seems to have diminished mainly because majority of scientists in the world now tend to agree on the nature and extent of climate change. News sources for journalists and reporters from various news organizations have opened up. They no longer have to depend on the official sources for handouts and soundbites. Many reporters and journalists from major news organizations do their own reporting and investigations on climate change and global warming. For example, Dr. Sanjay Gupta and Anderson Cooper of *CNN* can be seen reporting from severely affected regions of the world on the *CNN* special website *Planet in Peril*.

This all for the good. Yet, as Michael Pollan in a *New York Times* article aptly titled “Why Bother?” illustrates with many stories and examples, people are reluctant to do anything about the impending calamity but the most insidious is whatever we manage to do, it will be “too little, too late.... Climate change is upon us and it has arrived well ahead of schedule. Scientists’ projection that seemed dire a decade ago turns out to have been unduly optimistic: the warming and melting is occurring much faster than the models predicted.” Out of this debate a question arises: are all the information, messages, commercials, PSAs on ‘green’ issues which the mainstream media are streaming out worthless – is it too little too late?

Bibliography

- Anderson, A. (1997) *Media, Culture and the Environment*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Anderson, A. (1993) Source-media relations: The Production of Environmental Agenda in A. Hansen (ed.) *The Mass Media and Environmental Issues*. Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press.
- Anderson, A. (1991) ‘Source strategies and the communication of environmental affairs.’ *Media Culture & Society* 13(4), 459-76.
- BBC Online. Climate Change Risk. < <http://news.bbc.co.uk> > Retrieved 3/6/2007.
- BBC Online. ‘People’s gain can be environment’s loss.’ < <http://news.bbc.co.uk> > Retrieved 1/10/08.
- Becker, L. (1982) ‘The news media and citizen assessment of issue importance’ in D. Whitney et al. (eds.) *Mass Communication Yearbook*, vol. 3, 521-36. London: Sage.
- Behr, R. L. & Iyengar, S. (1985) ‘The News, Real World Cues and Changes in the Public Agenda.’ *Public Opinion Quarterly* 41, 1:38-57.
- Breslau, K. (May 2006) The Resurrection of Al Gore. *Wired*, 146
- Burgess, J. (1990) ‘Making sense of environmental issues and landscape representation in the media. *Landscape Research* 15(3) 7-11.
- Burgess, J. & Harrison, C. (1993) ‘The Circulation of Claims in the Cultural Politics of Environmental Change. See A. Hansen, (1993).
- Clover, C. Climate Change ‘may put world at war.’ *The Telegraph*, U.K. Retrieved 3/23/2008.

- Corner, J. et al. (1990) *Nuclear reactions: Form and response in public issue television*. London: Libbey.
- Cottle, S. (1993) 'Mediating the environment: The modalities of TV news.' See A. Hansen (1993), 3-21.
- Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. (2000) *Media Society: Industries, Images and Audiences*. 2ed. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Pine Forge.
- Davidson, C. 'What is the meaning of 'Green'? BBC Online <http://news.bbc.co.uk> Retrieved 4/15/08.
- Davis, D.K. & Robinson, J.P. (1986) 'News Story Attributes and Comprehension' in J. P. Robinson & M. Levy (eds.), *The Main Source*. London: Sage.
- DeFleur, M. & Ball-Rokeach, S. (1989) *Theories of Mass Communications*, 5ed. N.Y.: Longman.
- Douglas, M. & Wildavsky, A. (1982) *Risk and Culture: an essay on the selection of technical and environmental dangers*. Berkley: Univ. of California Press.
- Dunwoody, S. & Griffin, R. J. (1993) Journalists strategies for reporting long-term environmental issues: a case study of three superfund sites. See A. Hansen (1993), 22-50.
- Dunwoody, S. & Hans Peters, P. (1992) 'Mass media coverage of technological and environmental risks: a survey of research in the United States and Germany.' *Public Understanding of Science* (1), 199-230.
- Dunwoody, S. (1986) 'The scientist as source' in S. Friedman, S. Dunwoody & C. Rogers (eds.) *Scientists and Journalists: Reporting Science as News*. N.Y.: Free Press.
- Eder, K. (1996) 'The institutionalization of environmentalism: Ecological discourse and second transformation of the public sphere' in S. Lash et al. (eds.) *Risk, Environment and Modernity: Towards a New Ecology*. London: Sage.
- Einsiedel, E. & Coughlan, E. (1993) 'The Canadian Press and the Environment: Reconstructing a Social Realty' in A. Hansen (ed.) *The Mass Media and Environmental Issues*. Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press.
- Ericson, R. V. et al. (eds.) (1989) *Negotiating control: A study of news organization sources*. Milton Keynes, UK.: Open Univ. Press.
- Friedman, S. (1991) 'Two decades of the environmental beat' in C. LaMay & E. Dennis (eds.) *Media and the Environment*. Washington, DC.: Island Press.
- Gale, R. (1987) Calculating Risk: Radiation and Chernobyl. *Journal of Communication* 37, 68-73.
- Gamsour, W. & Modigliani, A. (1989) 'Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach.' *American Journal of Sociology* 95(1), 1-37.
- Gandy, O. H. (1980) 'Information in health: Subsidized news.' *Media, Culture & Society* 2(2), 103-15.
- Gans, H. (1980) *Deciding What's News: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek & TIME*. London: Constable.
- Greenberg, M. R. et al. (1989) Risk, drama and geography in the coverage of environmental risk by network TV. *Journalism Quarterly* 66(2), 267-76.
- Hall, S. et al. (1978) *Policing the Crisis*. London: MacMillan.
- Hansen, A. (1993) *The Mass Media and Environmental Issues*. Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press.
- Hansen, A. (1990a) 'Socio-political views underlying media-coverage of the environment.' *Media Development* 37, 3-6.

- Hansen, A. (1990a) *The news construction of the environment; a comparison of British & Danish television news*. Leicester: Center for Mass Communications Research, University of Leicester.
- Herman, E. & Chomsky, N. (1988) *The Political Economy of the News Media*. N.Y.: Pantheon.
- Inconvenient Truth, An* (2007) Documentary featuring Al Gore. Director: Davis Guggenheim. Released: May 24th 2006.
- Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. (1987) *News that matters*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Kielbowicz, R. B. & Scherer, C. (1986) 'The role of the press in the dynamics of social movements' in G. Lang & K. Lang (eds.) *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*. Greenwich, CT.: JAI Press.
- Kraus, S. & Davis, D. (1976) *The Effects of Mass Communication on Political Behavior*. Univ. Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press.
- Krolicki, K. (Feb. 23, 2008) GM Exec Stands by Calling Global warming a "Total Crock of Shit." Reuters in www.commondreams.org. Retrieved on 2/26/2008.
- LaMay, C. (1991) 'Heat and Light: the advocacy-objectivity debate.' See C. LaMay & E. Dennis (eds.) (1991), 103.
- Lang, G. & Lang, K. (1981) 'Watergate: an exploration of the agenda-building process.' *Mass Communications Review Yearbook*. London: Sage.
- Lang, G. & Lang, K. (1983) *The Battle for Public Opinion: the President, the Press and the Polls during Watergate*. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press.
- Lichtenberg, J. (2000) 'In Defense of Objectivity' in J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media & Society*. London: E. Arnold.
- Lowe, P. & Morrison, D. (1984) 'Bad or Good News: Environmental politics and the mass media.' *Sociological Review* 32, 75-90
- Martell, L. (1994) *Ecology and Society: An Introduction*. London: Sage.
- MacGill, S. M. (1987) *The politics of anxiety: Sellafield's cancer-link controversy*. London: Pion.
- McCombs, M. (1981) 'The agenda-setting approach' in D. Nimmo & K. Sanders (eds.) *Handbook of Political Communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.
- McCombs, M. & Shaw D. L. (1972) 'The Agenda Setting Function of the Press.' *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36: 176-187.
- McQuail, D. (1994) *Mass Communications Theory* 3ed. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.
- Merten, K. et al. (1990) Risk information on the Chernobyl disaster in the West German mass media. Paper presented at the 12th World Congress of Sociology. Madrid, Spain, July 9-13.
- Nohrstedt, S. A. (1991) 'The information crisis in Sweden after Chernobyl.' *Media, Culture & Society* 13(4), 477-97.
- Paik, H. (Sp. 1999) International News Coverage in the Wall Street Journal. *International Communication Bulletin* 34/1-2, 9.
- Patterson, P. (1989) 'Reporting Chernobyl: Cutting the government fog to clear the nuclear cloud' in Walters, L.M. et al. (eds.) *Bad Tidings: Communication and Catastrophe*. Hillsdale, N.J.: LEA.
- Perry, D. (1996) *Theory and Research in Mass Communications: Contexts and Consequences*. N.Y.: LEA.
- Planet, The* (2006) Documentary. Director: Johan Soderberg, Michael Stenberg & Linus Torrell. Released: 2006.
- Pollan, M. (2008) 'The Way We Live Now: Why Bother?.' New York Times, www.nytimes.com, Retrieved 4/21/2008.
- Rogers, E. & Dearing, J. (1988) *Agenda-setting research: where has it been, where it is going*. Mass Communications Review Yearbook. London: Sage.

Media and the Environment:
Reporting the Global Warming and Environmental Crisis in the American Media

- Rubin, D.M. (1987) How the news media responded on Three Mile Island and Chernobyl. *Journal of Communication* 37, 383-404.
- Ryan, C. (1991) *Prime-Time Activism: media strategies for grassroots organizing*. Boston, Mass.: South End Press.
- Rubin, D. M. & Sachs, D. P. (1973) *Mass media and the environment: water resources, land use and atomic energy in California*. N.Y.: Praeger.
- Sachsman, D. B. (1976) 'Public Relations influence on coverage of environment in the San Francisco area.' *Journalism Quarterly* 53, 54-60.
- Salome, K. L. et al (1990) A question of quality: how journalists and news sources evaluate coverage of environmental risk. *Journal of Communication* 40(4), 117-29.
- Sandman, P. M. (1974) 'Mass environmental education: Can the media do the job?' in Swan, J.A. & Stopp, W.B. (eds.) *Environmental Education: Strategies towards a more viable future*. N.Y.: Sage.
- Severin, W. & Tankard, J. (1988) *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses 2ed*. London: Longmans.
- Shanahan, J. (1993) Television and the cultivation of environmental concern: 1988-92. See A. Hansen (1993), 181-221.
- Singer, E. & Endreny, P. (1987) Reporting hazards: their benefits and costs. *Journal of Communication* 37, 10-16.
- Singh, R.P.N. et al. (1989) Mass media and environmental issues – a case of India. Paper presented at the 16th IAMCR Conference.
- Smith, B., Costello, T. & Brecher, J. (Jan. 22, 2008) Unsafe at Any Price: Building the New 'people's Car.' www.commondreams.org. Retrieved on 1/24/2008.
- Sparks, G. G. (2006) *Media Effects Research: A Basic Overview*. Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth.
- Tunstall, J. (1971) *Journalists at work*. London: Constable.
- Wang, Z. (July 1989) The Chinese mass media: environment coverage. Paper presented at the 16th IAMCR Conference.
- Wilkins, L. & Patterson, P. (1987) 'Risk analysis and the construction of news.' *Journal of Communication* 37, 80-92.
- Williams, K. (2003) *Understanding Media Theory*. London: Arnold.

Chapter Ten

Sport News and Athletes with a Disability

Alice Tejkalová, Charles University, Czech Republic

Case studies concerning news coverage of social minorities usually focus on groups discriminated against because of gender, sexual orientation, a skin colour or religion (e. g. Gross, 2001; Gardiner, 2003; Yesil, 2004; Hermes, 2005; Haynes, 2007). This study focuses on media coverage of athletes with disabilities. This comparative and largely qualitative content analysis deals with media coverage of five Summer Paralympics (Barcelona 1992, Atlanta 1996, Sydney 2000, Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008) in three Czech general newspapers (*Mladá fronta DNES*, *Právo*, *Lidové noviny*) and in a daily *Sport*, a sports newspaper. For basic information about the Paralympic Games I used the results at www.paralympic.org (website of the International Paralympic Committee) and www.paralympic.cz (Czech Paralympic Committee). They helped me to know which medals and when were won by the Czechoslovak (later only Czech) athletes and allowed me to create a picture of what was and what was not published in the media.

Theoretical Grounds

A study concerns about the mediated and non-mediated events (Hall, 2001). On the other hand it is necessary to differ between a process of mediation and its result. From mediated text one can guess about the influences just in some cases. It is not possible to say anything about the editor, but it is for example possible to compare news with results and guess when the information was not published because of the deadline of the newspaper¹.

It also depends on news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965 in Tumber, 1999; Palmer, 2000) and their amount or the event's predictability (Tuchman, 1978) whether the event becomes a piece of news or not.

¹E. g. There are news almost missing about the end of Paralympics 2000 in *Lidové noviny* a *Mladá fronta*. It could be because of the Day of Republic on 28th October that was on Saturday. It meant newspapers were published for the last time on Friday and then again on Monday 30th, after the end of the Games. There is evident chaos in the Monday news coverage. MF DNES published in a report *Paralympians were eleventh* just a couple of results, not all of the medals, and even with a mistake when insisting on a swimmer Machala having a silver medal instead of a bronze one.

Demographic Characteristics of People in Media Content

The representation of people in media content needn't be the same as it is in "real" population. They could be under or overrepresented (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991; Haynes, 2007). 'For Whites, cultural invisibility is rarely, if ever, an issue. (...) Through representation in the mass media, they experience themselves as citizens of the world – globally present, globally relevant.' (Haynes, 2007: 168)

It is the same with people without disabilities while people with a disability, as the results of this research show, are unambiguously underrepresented.

Process of Stereotyping

With the help of the process of stereotyping media mediate a certain representation of reality. Some authors¹ point out that a certain simplification of the world around us is necessary because otherwise we would not be able to orient ourselves in more and more complicated world. This way of simplification can be called categorization (Pickering, 2001) and it is important to differ between categories and stereotypes.

Categories are flexible and stereotypes are fixed. But on the other hand the border between category and stereotype can be very thin.

Shoemaker and Reese (1991) think media creates stereotypes, but more authors, e. g. Pickering (2001) or Haynes (2007) present an opinion that media do not create stereotypes, but by repeating them they help them to be more persuasive.

The Other

Representation plays a dominant role in the construction of identity, the reflexion of "us" and "them". It is natural and it starts when we are born, on the other hand it can be a germ of prejudices and stereotyping of other people.

According to Bottomley (1992), Pickering (2001) and Hall (2001), "the Other" are all people different from the majority. For describing them we often use stereotypes:

'People who are in any way significantly different from the majority – 'them' rather than 'us' – are frequently exposed to this binary form of representation. They seem to be represented through sharply opposed, polarized, binary extremes – good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive (...).' (Hall, 2001: 229) (italics by Hall)

This concept is very useful for our topic. Because of being non-disabled, the major society considers a disability as something different, usually in negative meaning, because a disability can bring troubles that look unbeatable for a person without a disability. On the other hand people with

¹E. g. Hall, 2001 or Pickering, 2001.

disabilities are considered to be almost mythical heroes who are able to do things that “we non-disabled” are not able to do.

The “mainstream” society considers the athletes with a disability as “the Other”. It could be also because 100 % of the Czech sport journalists has no disability and when creating their mental categories, “normal” for them is being non-disabled¹.

Also athletes with disabilities considered themselves to be the other (in both meanings of this word). And they try to defend themselves. The daily Sport quoted a swimmer Martin Kovář after coming back from Athens: ‘It isn’t how majority of people thinks it is – that we come somewhere and some doctor gives us a medal for nothing. Our training is often more difficult and painful than training of athletes without disabilities.’²

Today Czech athletes with disabilities are also strangers (Pickering, 2001) in “mainstream” society. They started to be very successful in past years and they are overcoming stereotypes about people with disabilities and journalists probably do not know where to set those people.

There was a similar situation with football players of Surinam origin in Netherlands (Hermes, 2005). Until they were a small minority in Dutch national team, they were positively discriminated by media. Today it is problem for both media and fans to accept that more than one third of players is not “white”.

Gardiner (2003) on the other hand shows at the example of Nova Peris-Kneebone and Cathy Freeman how Australian press used the media coverage of the Summer Olympics in Sydney 2000 for introducing the world of Aborigines and their current situation and for bridging over antipathies between original and “imported” inhabitants. Freeman asked for the excuse of major society for things it did in past to her nation and because she was famous her proclamation was covered a lot by the media.

I suppose it would be the same with paralympians. But I did not do any research for that, it is just a note for further thinking.

Analytic Methods

This study set together results of both qualitative and quantitative research that are complementary (Jensen, 2003). The main method is a comparative qualitative textual content analysis. It analyses articles from the dailies during the Summer Paralympics, two weeks prior them and a month after them.

¹Author has been working as a sport journalist for 9 years.

²Prachař, F. (2000). ‘Kovář destroyed records. And finished his career.’ Sport, October 1, 15. [In Czech].

Comparative Qualitative Analysis

While making comparative qualitative analysis I focused mainly on the type of information about sport of people with disabilities that is highlighted by the media. I analysed also the genres of articles that were applicated. I used the method of open-coding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Quantitative Methods

I did just basic quantitative analysis (Gunter, 2003). With its help I mapped the extent of media coverage and its development. I counted the articles and I also measured their extent.¹ When thinking about the extent we have to note here that the daily Právo was a media partner of the Czech Paralympic Committee from 1996 till 2004 and the daily Sport was a partner in 2000 and 2008.

The aim of this research is not to prove that minor topics have minor media coverage. It is clear they have. The aim of this paper is to show if there is some development in the media coverage of the Summer Paralympics in both the extent and the quality.

The Extent of the News Coverage of the Summer Paralympics

As you can see from Table 1, we can observe the regular growth of total numbers of articles and also the numbers of middle length and longer materials from 1992 till 2004. And then there is a sharp decline in 2008. The similar situation in proportion of the articles according to their length can be seen in 1992! In total numbers the situation in 2008 can be best compared to 1996. And it is the same with a total space for the articles about the Paralympic Games, as you can see in Table 2.

Table 1. *The Number of Articles according to their Extent*

	Very short	Short	Middle length	Long	Very long	TOTAL NUMBER
PG 1992	18	15	2	2	3	40
PG 1996	7	17	8	5	7	44
PG 2000	13	23	8	13	6	63
PG 2004	12	25	14	14	11	76
PG 2008	14	16	7	5	4	46

¹*Very short piece of news or article* is a text that has the total space smaller than 30 cm², *short piece of news* is from 31 till 80 cm², *middle length* 81 cm² - 130 cm², *long* 131 cm² - 160 cm² and *very long* is over 161 cm². When creating these categories I compared the extent of a newspaper page and the extent of the text.

Table 2. *A Comparison of the Total Extent of the Articles (in cm²)*

Year	Coverage
1992	1851,29
1996	3747,98
2000	6010,56
2004	7786,5
2008	3976,36

The disproportion between length of articles of the SPG 1996 and 2000 was caused by the kind of articles. While during Atlanta games there were published more sport features that need more space, during Sydney games were sport features rare and there were more short pieces of news.

The trend towards increasing both the space and number of articles is understandable because before the Velvet Revolution in 1989 people with disabilities, especially with mental one, had tough time in Czechoslovakia, so after the 1989 people tried to improve this situation.

But something has changed since 2004, as we can see from numbers in 2008. I will present some possible reasons in the last part of this paper, but it still needs more research to prove them, especially more interviews with editors.

Qualitative Analysis of the News Coverage of SPG

In news coverage of the Paralympics we can find quite a lot regularities that appear every four years. E. g. using of news values such as negativity or meaningfulness (Galtung & Ruge, 1965 in Tumber, 1999; Palmer, 2000). There is also a similar way how journalists treated the information from the Paralympics and which information passed. And the closer the SPG to present, the more evident tendency to “sell” events through personal stories.

Almost no Preliminary and afterward Phase of Media Coverage

At the SPG there was for a long time almost no “preliminary phase”. By this term I mean the publication of texts before the games. News about accommodation, food, weather conditions, typical for the news coverage of the Olympics. For the first time this kind of information was published in 2004 by *Právo* in articles called for example *After a pause Athens experience new flood of athletes* (14th September), but it stopped again in 2008.

While we still can read big stories about successful athletes without disabilities a few weeks after the Olympics, the publication of the information about athletes with disabilities ends almost immediately after a closing ceremony.

There was just one exception from this rule. It was a big interview with the most successful Czech athlete of the Paralympics 2004, a swimmer Martin Kovář, one month after the games. But it was done by a popular Czech athlete without disability Lukáš Pollert who declares himself to be a friend of Kovář.

So there is a typical connection to elite people (Galtung & Ruge 1965 in Tumber 1999).

When speaking about interviews, they are almost missing in the media coverage of the Paralympics. An interview with Kovář and an one-page-long interview with a cyclist Ježek in 2008 are the exceptions. Excluding the games in Atlanta¹ (when for the first time sport features, not just news, were published) athletes started to be regularly quoted during the SPG 2004, when the personification of the games deepened, but it also went down during the games in Beijing². The absence of the interviews shows a smaller significance that journalists give to the SPG in comparison with the Olympics.

Hard News Instead of Soft News

It was also interesting to observe that some rules predicted to news organizations by theoretical concepts were broken in case of athletes with disabilities. The most striking was treating of some events as soft news, although they would be classified as hard or spot news (Tuchman, 1978) in case of non-disabled athletes. In this case the “otherness” (Pickering, 2001; Hall, 2001) of athletes with disabilities was most visible.

For example during the SPG in Barcelona³ it was the only daily Československý sport which wrote about all Czech medals. On the other hand Rude Právo did not publish a single remark about 9 from 13 medals! (similar situation was during the games in Sydney⁴ when Lidové noviny did not informed about 26 out of 43 medals).

During SPG in Barcelona one more thing happened that would be strongly covered if it touched athletes without a disability. Miloslava Běhalová got as the first Czech a gold paralympic medal. The dailies did not realize it at all! They even made no interview with the winner, not speaking about presenting her under several different names... Lidové noviny wrote about her just three times and always using a different name – Miloslava, Marie and Nika.

There were also published out of date texts about the Paralympics. One can hardly imagine that during the Olympic Games there would be published an article about the closing ceremony and then a one-day-old article about the last Czechoslovak medal from marathon and one day after it one more report from the closing ceremony, as it happened during the SPG 1992 in Československý sport.

The situation had not pretty changed during next years. During the games in Sydney there was quite a lot of space dedicated to the events from the contest's backstage, in comparison with previous games. But in some cases it

¹10th SPG took place between 15th and 25th August 1996. There were 43 Czech athletes and they got 10 medals.

²13th SPG were organized from 6th till 17th September 2008. There were 56 Czech athletes and got 27 medals.

³9th SPG took place between 3rd and 13th September 1992. Since the beginning of the SPG in 1952 till 1992 Czechoslovakia got at SPG just 3 medals in total. In 1992 its 31 athletes got 13 medals.

⁴11th SPG was from 18th till 29th October 2000. There were 57 Czech athletes who got 43 medals.

was off the information about Czech athletes. It got extreme form in the short article in Lidové noviny on 26th October 2000 called *Czech paralympians overcome themselves* that was published after the most successful Czech day in Australia. In its first half there was just the information that Czech athletes had 12 more medals and there were few sentences about the most successful athlete Roman Musil.

The second half of the article was about sensational end of the 5000 meters race in which collapsed the guide of a visually impaired Kenian runner. Again, one can hardly imagine this situation in case of the Olympic Games.

Similar thing happened in 2008 when there was not a single line about the bronze medal of a javelin thrower Rostislav Pohlmann in Mladá fronta, while there was a huge article (on 17th September) about successful South African swimmer Natalie Du Toit who also competed at the Olympics.

From Unknown Athletes to the Sport Star of Czech Television and Back

At the beginning the media attention was concerned about the whole Paralympic Games more than about individuals and their achievements. But this trend has started to reverse slowly and in the centre of the attention there are athletes. Even though there were just shy attempts at the beginning, media coverage of the SPG since 1992 till 2008 has one thing in common. Each of the Games generated its “media star” (or stars).

Heroes of the Paralympics 1992 were a visually impaired Pavla Valníčková, double gold medalist who had already been successful at the Winter Paralympic Games in Albertville the same year, and Vojtěch Vašíček, a winner of wheelchair pentathlon. In case of Vašíček media accentuated a parallel with a non-disabled Czechoslovak decathlon winner in Barcelona Robert Změlík.

After the SPG in Atlanta 1996 media gave the most space to the only gold medalists – a swimmer Kateřina Coufalová and a javelin thrower Štefan Danko.

At the Paralympics in Sydney 2000 there were more gold medalists, but the star of this games was the most successful Czech athlete Roman Musil who managed to maintain the attention in contrast to stars from previous games till Athens. It was caused by his other good performance at championships that were also covered and he presented himself in TV shows and charitable commercials.

Similar “media successful”, not just only at pages of the analyzed dailies was a cyclist Jiří Ježek. Media concentrated on him heavily and in Sport he had even more space than Musil.

Athens 2004 were Martin Kovář show (than there were less materials also about Veronika Foltová and Jiří Ježek). TV viewers also put this winner of three gold medals on the third place of the inquiry Sport Star of Czech Television.

Between the Athens and Beijing there was the same situation with Jiří Ježek as was with Roman Musil between Sydney and Athens. Ježek could be watched in commercials, TV shows, etc. In Beijing he got four medals, the

same number as a swimmer Běla Hlaváčková, but he was covered much more than she. He was the only athlete with whom the daily Sport made an interview.

There are some routines that work also in the field of personalization. The athletes which stories include more news values (Palmer, 2000) are preferred. For example in Athens there were several people who gained two or more medals and they got less than half of the attention that had some other people with just one medal. It was striking in case of Radim Běleš. He was once first and once second, but there was no profile article in any of the analyzed media, while some other people had their “own” articles.

In case of Jolana Matoušková (a silver medal) it was probably because she was the paralympic winner from Sydney. In case of Běla Hlaváčková it was a combination of the gold medal and a fresh motherhood that was already covered by the media before the games. On the other hand Běleš was before Athens totally unknown athlete by the media.

Because of the media interest in the personal stories the most important thing – the paralympic sport – is a bit suspended. This kind of media coverage of the Paralympics as a mosaic of particular “touching” stories and sport curiosities more than as a real sport event started during Athens 2004. In Beijing this trend deepened and there were almost no sport features, just very short sport news, very often only result summaries (in Sport, the media partner!, for example, there were 11 articles published and 6 of them were just result summaries), and on the other hand sensational articles with titles like: The biggest challenge for an African athlete? To have a wheelchair (MF DNES, 17th September 2008) were published.

The Otherness of Athletes with Disabilities and their (Self-)defence

Athletes with a disability have been represented as “the other” for sixteen years at the pages of Czech newspaper. In 1996 readers could for example find these words of defence: ‘All achievements of athletes with disabilities should be admired, in their case it is always the victory of will thanks to which the athletes manage to get over their smaller or bigger disability. Although at the Paralympics people compete for medals, one could say they are at the second place.’¹

Four years after this article the daily Sport published the article under the title *The Paralympics were about sport* (3rd November 2000). Does anyone get the idea to write this about the Olympics? “About what else” should the top sport event be than about “sport”? Lidové noviny published the same day an article *Czech paralympians did not go to Sydney just for a trip*.

The process of presentation of the athletes with disabilities otherness has gone on with different intensity and we could say that with every single games the accent on the otherness was smaller (with the exception of 2008). On the other hand this aspect has not vanished. It has just changed itself more into self-defence that was especially intense during the games in Athens: “It (*the*

¹Krůta, J. (1996). ‘The Paralympics in token of the victory of the will.’ *Právo*, August 28, 15. [In Czech].

Paralympics, AT) already is mainly about sport. We are no more just the sensation as we used to be.”¹

It is impossible to ignore the disability of the athletes. But it is just one of the conditions that influence the sport performance and change it. There is no reason why to say that to be a paralympic winner is less than to be an olympic winner. It is simply different, but both those people managed to win the their biggest sport event.

In the articles about SPG one can also read sentences full of pity for the athletes with disabilities and a kind of idealization of those people (the similar results found during their research also Gardiner, 2003; Yesil, 2004 or Hermes, 2005). But from some articles is clear that problems or negative events (doping, troubles with paying of medal bonuses for the Czech athletes in 1992) take place also in the sport of people with disabilities and that unfair behavior is the same there as among their non-disabled colleagues.

Nevertheless, journalists were for example surprised by the revealing of doping cases among paralympians. *Also among paralympians (powerlifters) was out of sudden revealed doping* is a subtitle of the article in Sport on 21th October 2000. May be it is because people believe in the myth that describes Gwyn: ‘Illness too is regarded as character-building in a rather profound way. This follows a subscription to the belief in growth through suffering, which grants exceptional insights into one’s own life and greater lucidity and awareness of questions relating to life and death.’ (Gwyn 2002: 33)

The Beijing Change

To explain why after the continuous improvement came such a sharp decline of media attention during the Paralympics 2008 is not easy. One reason could be the continuous orientation of all media on the profit that means for quite a lot of media chiefs to publish articles only about big sports with lot of fans. In the Czech Republic that means mainly about football and ice-hockey. All other sports had minor positions in sport news, even those performed by people without disabilities. But even though they publish almost only those “mainstream” things, their number of copies is decreasing².

I talked about the Paralympics with one of the main journalists of *Mladá fronta*, Martin Komárek, in 2005 and he said they decided not to write so much about the future Paralympic Games because in their internal survey they realized readers are not interested in this topic. So this could be one reason of “the Beijing change”.

The other is more complicated. In 2004, almost immediately after coming back from Athens, Czech teamleader tried to gain power in the Czech Paralympic Committee (CPC) to improve the situation that was not optimal. But he did also a few mistakes and the leaders of CPC took the advantage of them and started to ignore both him and athletes gathered in his organization

¹Quotation of Jiří Ježek in Nohejl, T. 29th September 2004. ‘Ježek won four times, but he has just one gold.’ *Mladá fronta DNES*, September 29, D/1. [In Czech].

²Readership of *Mladá fronta* in the 2nd and 3rd quarter of 2004 was 1,197,000 per day and 1,066,000 in 2008. Available at www.mam.cz

(Czech Sports Organization for Physically Disabled). It started very severe fight with media manipulation on both sides. There were plenty of articles published about this controversion. It ended by the legal defeat of the Czech teamleader from Athens and the troubles for athletes gathered in his organization. Quite a lot of journalists published the articles full of disappointment¹ and saw all things done by CPC as foul and also felt badly treated by the leaders of CPC. And it was exactly this CPC that delegated the athletes also for Summer Paralympic Games 2008, so may be journalists felt some sort of revenge and did not want to write about athletes gathered in CPC.

Conclusion

The athletes with a disability are underrepresented in the Czech dailies. The media coverage is not relevant to the importance and quality of their achievements. A trend towards the improvement stopped during the Beijing SPG. The people with a disability are a social minority so it is clear that they cannot have the same media coverage as a majority, but according to counting of the Czech Governmental Concept of Social Politics from 2004, there should be 18 % of people with a disability in the Czech Republic. And the extent of media coverage does certainly not create even one half of this number (the similar results got also Haynes, 2007 in case of ethnic minorities in the USA), not even during the Paralympic Games.

Literature

- Bottomley, G. (1992). 'Culture, Ethnicity and the Politics/Poetics of Representation.' *Journal of Sociology* (2): 208 - 223.
- Galtung, J. & Holmboe – Ruge, M. (1999). 'The Structure of Foreign News.' In H. Tumber (ed.), *News: A Reader*, 21 – 31. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gardiner, G. (2003). 'Running for Country: Australian Print Media Representation of Indigenous Athletes in the 27th Olympiad.' *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* (3): 233 – 260.
- Gross, L. (2001). 'Out of the Mainstream: Sexual Minorities and the Mass Media.' In Durham, M. G. & Kellner, D. (eds.), *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*, 405 – 423. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Gunter, B. (2003). 'The quantitative research process.' In Jensen, K. B. (ed.), *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*, 209 – 234. London: Routledge.
- Gwyn, R. (2002). *Communicating Health and Illness*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

¹E. g. Hronová, Z. (2007). 'Sport of athletes with disabilities: A lot of medals, but also long controversies.' Available at: www.aktualne.cz. [19 September 2007]; (ČTK). (2008). 'Some athletes with disabilities probably won't go to Beijing because of the controversy.' Available at www.sport.cz. [6 May 2008]; Kolář, P. (2008). 'Unbelievably vile revenge.' Available at www.reflex.cz. [1 July 2008]. [All articles in Czech].

- Hall, S. (2001). 'The Spectacle of the Other.' In Hall, S. (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 224 – 279. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Haynes, A. (2007). 'Mass Media Re-Presentations of the Social World: Ethnicity and "Race".' In Devereux, E. (ed.), *Media Studies: Key Issues and Debates*, 162 – 190. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hermes, J. (2005). 'Burnt Orange: Television, Football and the Representation of Ethnicity.' In *Television and New Media* (1): 49 – 69.
- Jensen, K. B. (2003). 'The complementarity of qualitative and quantitative methodologies in media and communication research.' In Jensen, K. B. (ed.), *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*, 254 – 272. London: Routledge.
- Lindlof, T. R. & Taylor, B. C. (2002). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Mitchell, T. W. J. (1994). *Picture Theory: Essay on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Palmer, J. (2000). *Spinning Into Control: News Values and Source Strategies*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Pickering, M. (2001). *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shoemaker, P. J. & Reese, S. D. (1991). *Mediating the Message – Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content*. New York: Longman.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Yesil, B. (2004). "'Who said this is a Man's War?'" propaganda, advertising discourse and the representation of war worker women during the Second World War.' In *Media History* (2): 103 – 117.

Part II:

Political Communication

Chapter Eleven

The Portrait of the Candidate between Real and Ideal

*Carmen Chirea-Ungureanu, Maritime University of Constantza,
Romania*

*"I know that the Lord is always on the side of the right.
But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that I and this nation should be
on the Lord's side." -President Abraham Lincoln, December 1862*

The political culture is a system based on a set of values specific to every society. The evaluation of this system could be done not only by analyzing its ideology, but also by considering the performances of its political practices, because the elements of political culture participate directly and indirectly in a network of the circuits, which forms the political practice of society. A diagnosis of Romanian political culture, of its standards, its values, its directions of evolution could allow us to find the tendencies, the rules and the mechanisms of the interventions in the political life for deepening the democracy and increasing the effect of governmental (governing) actions.

A potential candidate is a potential voted and a potential leader. This is a point of view, but who is still looking nowadays at such things so much... "obsolete"? Today we have teams of specialists who deal in full with the candidate who wants to win or he/she is most wanted by the others: the interest group, the party, etc. This team can figure out a pale, and insignificant person into a character full of vitality and force able to enchant the audience with the text that the latter wants to hear, while he/she is reading the lines with diction from the Teleprompter. Charisma is made in a "luxury studio", which is also served, packaged and perfumed, so as to make happy the groups hungry for power more or less illusory that will be conferred by their "brilliant" choice.

Before Elections

Any candidate, regardless the way he/she was nominated must have charisma, be nice, smart, glib and adaptable, and be a person opened at public relations and possessor of the quality of apperception that is to be visionary. It is known that the image of a person, who runs for election can be corrected, simplified or improved, as the population does not want too many images, but authority, determination and efficiency. When I refer to Romania, I must say that Romanians have shown and they are still showing a keen interest in politics and especially towards the political show, as he/she performs it the way they know better. And certainly, as Latin people, they have a sense of humor.



Two candidates for the Romanian Presidential elections (from left to right): Traian Basescu –*for a new mandate as President of Romania*, and Mircea Geoana- President of the Social-Democrat Party.

As we observed in the Romanian election campaign it is not enough for the candidates to know their lesson well and have charisma, but they should be similar to the mass of voters whom they addressed. The School of Western democracy is not tasted by the conventional Romanian voting citizen, as he/she is interested only into something tangible, that is: “Eat well, Drink well, Sleep well, in summary: **Live Well**”.



Traian Basescu's slogan – “*YES, Live Well*”!

Carefully observed, the above slogans requirements comprise the quasi-totality of the human condition. If those who started or that who launched the last slogan could have performed it, or he/she would have been surrounded by

collaborators who would have even tried this, then he/she would have been elected by the majority of the population, which would have liked to “sleep well”, without being anxious of anything. Unfortunately wishes are ones and the real facts are far from them.

The genuine democratic vocation is lacking entirely in this area and the civic education has to be done to the human material, in other words to the majority of the population. It may be also added to the incubation period until the parents of these scholars will be in turn educated as genuine citizens without any reminiscence, without nationalism, and no other harmful prejudices to the democratic style.



Anti-poster for Traian Basescu, one of the candidate for the Romanian Presidential elections: *“Alcohols seriously damage the country’s future! Are you sure you still want that for another five years?”*

We must not forget that currently the economic aspect is strongly linked to the socio-cultural level, to whatever mass-media spreads, when candidates and voters wade into the turbulent waters of a prolonged transition, when there is a

lot of families under the poverty living line, when the health system is broken, when statistics put Romania on first places over the world for infant mortality, tuberculosis, etc... Nothing can ever be taken out of the context just for the sake of theory, which is more or less copying the West, without making the contact with the entire picture of the human socio-economic region we are interested in.

Good, truth and beauty, which were thrown into the eternal humanity by Plato¹ is not at home now with bragging, pettiness and lack of coverage for the slogans, which occupy the major room within the current emission space. Without our venture we may assume that even pollution in all its complexity - chemical, biological, sound, moral, etc. deeply influence our way of judgment, better said to be just and fair minded, and as the candidate must implicitly defend a group of interests, in a very discreetly way, he/she must often forget these problems especially as they are hidden behind their financial interests.

To this chapter we are deficient too, as the environmentalists have disappeared almost completely not only to us but also in highly developed countries with a consolidated democracy. But before the election, promises should be as tasty as possible, and for the candidate who launches them to get that credibility to be induced mainly through his/her election speech, then he/she should be spontaneous, be able to pass easily from one topic to another and even when he/she is put into difficulty he/she must have already prepared a set of wise words and jokes that will make him/her pleasant to the audience.

Each community has its set of specific issues, ideals and minimum requirements that an election speech has to solve them at least theoretically. Nothing rises via the audience that is overlooked, ridiculed or given in two-ways flux of response. And there come into my mind the remarks of some smart people, fine intellectuals, whose responses fit the applicants needs as we the Romanians say: "*As the nuts on the wall=It is as fit as a shoulder of mutton for a sick horse*". And if there was the famous sentence during the second World War: "*If no bread eat sponge cakes*" ²(..), not more than two years ago another such "brilliant" answer was received by the villagers from a flooded village who were calling for a roof over their heads: "*If you have no place where to stay you may go to a hotel* " (said by Calin Popescu -Tariceanu, Romania's Prime Minister at that time). It is obvious that any candidate before the elections should not repeat such expressions.

The interplay of politics and religion is a frequently discussed, yet very sensitive issue in Romania. This matter can be treated from at least two perspectives. First, in their aim to improve their electoral image, there is the involvement of politicians into religion. Second there is the involvement of priests into political aspects of life, either by supporting certain political actors or by running for public offices. With a strong Christian heritage, Romania has a majority of around 87% Orthodox Christians, 4,7% Romano-Catholics and 8,3% other religions³. Based on Public Opinion Barometers, the level of

¹Plato, *Opere*, Vol.I, Editura Stiintifica si Enciclopedica, Bucuresti, 1983.

²Ludo, I., *Regele Palaelibus*, Editura ESPLA, Bucuresti, 1957

³National Census Report, 2002.

Romanians trust in Church is significantly high. The table bellow presents the evolution of very high and high trust in Church from 1996 to 2007, these data being the only available ones.

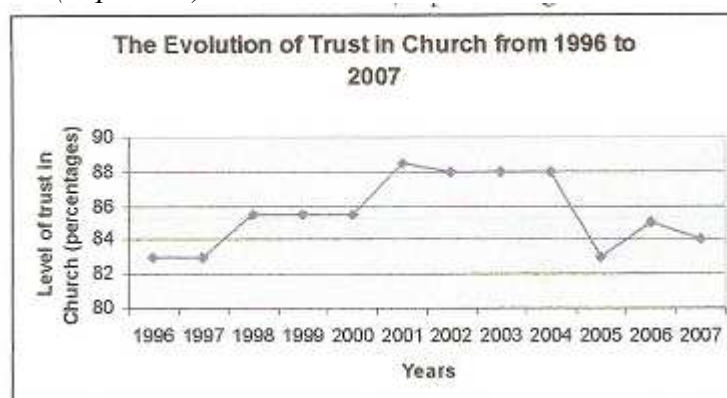
Table 1. *Evolution of Very High and High Levels of Trust (in percent) in the Church from 1996 to 2007*

1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
83	83	85,5	85,5	85,5	88,5	88	88	88	83	85	84

Source: Public Opinion Barometers from 2003 to 2007, Open Society Foundation, The Gallup Organization Romania

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this table is that the level of trust in Church is varying around 85%. However, due to the fact that these data represents averages on percentages obtained in different months of the same year, it is important to emphasize that, for instance, in December 1997 there was registered the lowest level of trust in Church, within the analyzed period, namely 76%. Thus, as the following figure shows, we may claim that there are slightly important fluctuations of trust between years.

Figure 1. *Evolution of Very High and High Levels of Trust in the Church from 1996 to 2007 (in percent)*



Source: Public Opinion Barometers from 2003 to 2007, Open Society Foundation, The Gallup Organization Romania

Based on the above figure we can argue that the highest point of *very high* and *high* level of trust in Church is reached in 2001, with a stagnation of three years, from 2002 to 2004. Although the differences between the annual levels of trust are not necessarily significant, we must admit that there are relevant ups and downs. Thus, for instance, while from 1996 till 2001 it can be observed a relatively increasing level of trust, from 2001 till 2005 there is a decrease in the level of trust in Church. In 2006 the level of trust seemed to increase again, but it decreased till 2007. It is also important to underline the fact that, in the contemporary Romanian society, the role of the Church is a

relevant one. Since 1989, Church is “one of the dominant forces in transition by imposing its views on democracy through direct and indirect engagement”¹.

One important concepts used in political communication is that of *image*. The term originates in social psychology, but it is broadly used in communication science. *Image* is a multidimensional concept of rational, emotional and social nature. *Image* is the perception that the public has with respect to a person or object². In addition, emphasizing the concept of *image*, communication scholars speak about image transfer, a communication process that is taking place when a person or object associates its image to the image of a different person or object. Based on empirical data presented above, one can conclude that trust is a highly represented dimension of the image of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Political communication is not only related to elections, but it is intensively conducted during these times. Electoral campaigns are one of the most highly analyzed fields of political communication. The relationship between religious and politics in Romania has a complex nature and deep historical roots. In the first years after 1989 the political parties and actors were not strongly related to religious symbols and actors. The presence of symbols and that of politicians at the religious events increased with the religious revival of the last years. The first electoral campaigns conducted in Romania after 1989, in 1990 and 1992, included political candidates coming from different churches. However, laic candidates did not associate their image to religious symbols and did not attend religious rituals that were presented by the press. The 1996 electoral campaign marked a turn over to religious values and behaviors. The presidential candidates included in their electoral itineraries visits to the Orthodox churches and attendances to religious services. Electoral materials included pictures with the candidates surrounded by Christian Orthodox icons and symbols. One of the candidates included God in its slogan of religious inspiration: “*He Who Votes for Me, Votes for God*”. The presidential candidate Emil Constantinescu even asked Ion Iliescu his opponent during a TV debate if he believes in God, knowing what kind of answer the declared atheist candidate will answer. In the same year, the Transylvanian leaders of the social-democrat party wrote a letter to the Synod of the Christian Orthodox Church asking for electoral support. This demand was highly discussed at that time³.

By realizing media coverage, the study will emphasize both if religious services are a tool in creating electoral capital and if there can be a connection between the evolution of trust in Church, the evolution of trust in political institutions and the level of politician’s presence in articles that refers to their involvement in religious life.

The media coverage has been conducted on the online version of two Romanian newspapers *Evenimentul Zilei* (*The Day’s Event*) and *Adevarul* (*The Truth*). The reason for choosing these two newspapers is twofold. First, based

¹Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu. “The Romanian Orthodox Church and Postcommunist Democratisation”, *EUROPE- ASIA Studies*. Vol. 52. No.8, (2000): 1467.

²Delia Cristina Balaban, *Comuniare publicitara*, Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2005, p. 47.

³Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu , *op. cit.*, 2000.

on data from BRAT (Romanian Circulation Audit Office), these newspapers are on the top of number of copies sold¹. Second, from the most read newspapers, the selected ones have the longest archive online period available: 1998, respectively 2001. The content analysis will be preponderantly quantitative. However, the analysis will also provide information based on a qualitative content analysis approach².

While the media coverage on *Evenimentul Zilei* (*The Day's Event*) was done from 1998 till 2008, the media coverage on *Adevarul* (*The Truth*) was done between 2002 and 2008, these archive intervals being the only available ones. There have been selected those articles that are mainly related to politicians' attendance in religious services. The table below shows the evolution of the number of articles in the given period.

Table 2.

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
The Day's Event	2	7	3	2	8	12	10	3	7	23	4
The Truth	-	-	-	-	5	8	5	1	5	13	12

The dark grey highlighted cells represent the *electoral years*: 2000 - general and presidential elections, 2004 – general and presidential elections, 2007 – national elections for the European Parliament, and 2008 – general elections.

In the context in which the word “*electoral*”, or other derived words, appear for around 49 times in all the analyzed articles from “Evenimentul Zilei” (*The Day's Event*) and for 21 times in “Adevarul” (*The Truth*), it is imperative to emphasize some important examples of electoral references of the texts. Thus, the tables below present the most relevant quotations that reflect the connection between participation to a religious event and the desire to gain more electoral capital. Aiming only to underline this connection, the following analysis tries not to use political parties' names.

¹Romanian Circulation Audit Office, BRAT (Biroul Roman de Audit al Tirajelor)

²Iancu Balaban, *Religion and Political Communication during Elections*- Jurnal of the study of Religious and Ideologies, 8, 24 (Winter, 2009).

Table 3. *Articles from Evenimentul Zilei (The Day's Event) that Explicitly Refer to the Idea that Politicians use the Church in Order to make Electoral Campaign*

Date	The title of the article	Electoral quotations
	EVENIMENTUL ZILEI	THE DAY'S EVENT
14th of October, 2000	Electoral agenda	[...] They have one single common goal in their agendas: to participate to the liturgy.
17th of August, 2002	PSD disrespected the holy ones	The distribution of some small icons with the inscription "(...) donation" on them (...)
14th of August, 2003	Party's Saint Mary of the party	All vice-presidents and executives have the task to spread to the monasteries and churches from the entire country. [...] On Saint Mary's Holiday, hundreds of thousands of people go to halidoms, a good opportunity for electoral campaigns. (...) the (...) leaders that will not come to the Saint Mary's Holyday risk to be taken into consideration (...).
16th of August, 2003	PSD confiscated Saint Mary	It obliged citizens that came to church that, besides the religious service, to listen to governmental promises and achievements.
19th of October, 2003	Electoral baits everywhere	(...) the authorities get to use even the religious services in order to bring votes.
1st of June, 2004	Electoral campaign at the Church's doors	(...) more and more people (...) complain that, during the religious services or right after them, members (...) do electoral campaign.
24th of July, 2004	Orthodox Church's transfiguration	It rarely existed religious holiday in which the governmental party's representatives did not come (...) in order to conduct an electoral campaign.
27th of November, 2004	Traian Basescu kneed in the Church	The last public appearance (...) before elections took place yesterday at Saint George Church.
14th of April, 2007	Voiculescu is threatening!	"(...) uses the church and the Saint Altar in order to hold political discourses (...)."
15th of April, 2007	The President has Allied with the Saints	(...) understood how important the Church is, what enormous power it has. The Church voice is heard even in the last hamlet, while political messages meet the growing Romanians' indifference. [...] (...) country in which there live 19 millions of orthodox believers and 15.000 of priests. The biggest "electoral army" that, without any command and silently, can influence any elections in Romania.
10th of March, 2008	From the Church to the Bar	(...) at the Sunday Liturgy, in an electoral action (...). The conviction cure ended across the road, into a bar.

Table 4. *Articles from Adevarul (The Truth) that Explicitly Refer to the Idea that Politicians use the Church in Order to make Electoral Campaign*

Date	The title of the article	Electoral quotations
	ADEVĂRUL	THE TRUTH
13th of October 2003	There are expected a million of pilgrims for Saint Parascheva Holiday	Not being an electoral year, politicians do not come to kiss the holy relics.
16th of August 2003	PSD has nothing saintly	This is only a part of the trollopish campaign (...) organized in order to gain parishioners' votes and influence on Orthodox and Catholic Churches. The electoral propaganda made during the religious service whipped up murmurs (...)
16th of October 2006	"The first pilgrim of the country skipped the queue to see Saint Parascheva's relics"	As there was an electoral year, the highest was the politicians' inflow on the 14th of October.
3rd of August 2007	The collective emotion politics	It is hard to find in this country a public assembly, which generates emotions and where politicians would not be present in the first rows.
16th of August 2007	On Saint Mary Holiday, Romanians do not get ride of politicians infiltrated among priests	In comparison with pilgrims, politicians seem to come to monasteries as to a big electoral show.

On the other hand, besides their religious "Broadway like-shows", candidates and parties used some of the most weird and ingenious methods to compel voters to choose them. Several weeks of campaign saw them on skating rinks, tasting pickles, courting porn stars and beginning a new life as bloggers. In order to be the winners, they "awarded" the voters with:

Fragrant Gifts

The main opposition party, the Social Democrats (PSD), campaigned through Bucharest streets offering personalized car fragrance cardboards printed with slogans mocking the alliance that came to power in 2004 only to fell apart two years later. The PSD also spread posters with one of their 'sexiest' candidates for the European Parliament, Magda Bistriceanu, hoping to impress male voters.



Meanwhile, the governing Liberals (PNL) invented the electoral chewing gum - packs of gum printed with the message "*Don't let yourself BLINDED! You feel how good it is to know! Vote PNL!*" The Romanian word for 'blinded' is "Orbit", the same as the chewing gum brand:



Lemons and Oranges for Sickness

In a Moldavian city of Eastern Romania, Galati, young members of the small Liberal Democratic Party (PLD) delivered bags with lemons and oranges to passers-by to have them get rid of what they called the sick sensation produced by the sausages of Romanian-style electoral campaigns, where many politicians are calling people to street parties with free sausages and *tuica*, a Romanian spirit drink.

President Basescu as a Jedi Knight

The European poll takes place simultaneously with a referendum call by President Traian Basescu for the introduction of uninominal voting in Romania. The only one to campaign for the referendum was Basescu himself. On the President's website, www.basescu.ro, a game was uploaded where Traian Basescu is depicted as a Jedi Knight using an orange broom to fight a majority of Romanian politicians who support voting on party lists.

As a result, the governing Liberals, known as Basescu's political opponents, have produced not one but four electronic games where the main characters are Basescu and his close associates.



*“Send Base to Hell! Send him as far as you can! PLAY!”
Do you put one banner? I put one too! Do you put three? I put three!*



During Elections

It is known that during any election in any election campaign mass media or any other means of communication must be halted to avoid the influence over the voters vote. This is the law, but a real candidate will know how to conduct the implicit campaign in these moments. He/she will be in the area but not to contrast with other citizens. The candidate will take care to have an open and smiling gestures like that he/she displayed during the election campaign. Invisible and intuitive channels to what is happening or has happened in the community should connect him/her to everything.

That was known by more or less actors who have left the stage or the screen to size the greater political life. They have taken the new role in serious and they become political stars. Otherwise it is more difficult. Candidates often believe too much on their own value, and snort when they are criticized for their lack of acting elements and this is their loss. An ideal candidate should

play the role of his/her voters that is to put on their inner skin, and to carry on his/her shoulders the "bottomless bag" of all their hopes, wishes and needs. It really matter the gestures, the mimics, and the words that he/she throws away during his/her way to the voting center. However in small communities all these are like pebbles thrown in quiet water that will make waves and will interfere while adding or losing votes of his/her fellow citizens.



"Basescu for Romania"



"Anti-PSD poster: "Beat together Democracy Drain All, Sell Everything Alliance"

After Elections

First, let's consider the ideal situation in which the candidate was elected. The candidate must not forget the citizens who have given their vote, but neither those, who for various reasons have not voted him/her. He/she has to settle for an adequate speech, short and to the point. He/she has to recall and remind the others some of the fundamental objectives which will give his/her entire attention and able to work during his/her mandate. Even if his/her mind has thoughts of revenge and other personal interests to enrich himself/herself

and his/her family, these things should not come out. He/she should still be perceived as a continuation of the promises he/she had made before the vote.

With this perception, now he/she can quietly enjoy his/her success in intimate place, far away of any indiscreet eyes and especially he/she must not ignore the media, which can penetrate through the principle of least action even to the candidate bedroom. Even if he/she has thoughts that are rushing to invade his/her "innocent" house and soul, the candidate has to keep an excellent relationship with media, and that must be demonstrated by all more or less disinterested means. He/she has to remember that *"one hand washes the other and both the face"* and also that *"discretion is the better part of valor,"* this way adapting the "software" of ancestral proverbs to the "hardware" of his/her own.

Second, when the candidate is not the winner, then he/she becomes very indignant and very quickly organizes a press conference where he/she runs through the opponent's neck, the latter being the one who has shattered his/her dreams of power. Then he/she starts throwing mud everywhere saying that the election was stolen. The ex-candidate can also create support groups that can go out into the street and shout, and if he/she manages to collect enough "indignant voters" then they may even invalidate by terror the election's results. That is why he/she must therefore move quickly.

If the behavior before the elections was not aggressive and the candidate had a very civilized attitude during his/her campaign, then that will be his/her trump card, which can overturn the results already validated, facts that unfortunately have happened in Romania and elsewhere.



Three candidates for the Romanian Presidential elections: (from left to right): Mircea Geoana- President of the Social-Democrat Party (PSD), Crin Antonescu- President of National Liberal Party (PNL), Traian Basescu –President of Romania, for a new mandate.

Results and Conclusions

The building of individual identity puts at stake a multitude of values [moral, religious and cultural], which are out of the question. The normativity of the nationalist discourse sets priorities and stresses certain values at the expense of others. It is difficult to work out a political strategy on the basis of the concept of national identity. The difficulties are both theoretical and practical. The theoretical ones refer to the possibility itself of building such an all-embracing concept. There are competing perspectives on the individual in relation to the community as a whole. These also require other more general founding theories whose suppositions have to be made clear. The practical difficulties refer to the way this kind of strategy could solve the inevitable confrontations between the multiple individual identities.

The Romanian case suggests that the attempt to justify a politics of identity minimizes the discourse about individual rights and creates social tensions. The conflict between collectivism and individualism regained force in the post-Communist period. The attempt of rebuilding the public space as a crossing realm between politics and religion, the attempt to put together a new type of discourse about identity and collectivity, while trying to de-mythologize the old habits of thinking, has confronted Romanian society with new and conflicting situations. The discourse of national identity served as a pretext for defending the interests of the old regime. The reaction was inevitable in the context created by the gap between expectations and achievements.

The role of the reforming intellectuals was to impose the conception of a civil society and individual rights over the growing tendency of reasserting the collectivist values. What is still problematic is the way in which a politics of national priorities can legitimate itself.

The candidate must have a real sense of acute reality, be extrovert, and must not avoid places where the others go, as our voters prefer to see him/her in a bar rather than in a public library. To have "l'usage du monde" as the French people say means to be a perfect chameleon.

Running for election is a job like any other that must be learned slowly, while climbing each initiation step, so as to make sure that political maturity will bring the expected outcomes. To run for more than one electoral campaign the most important thing for the candidate is to represent himself/herself as an element of cohesion, as a link to the others, and not a destructive, repugnant and asocial factor.

Between real and ideal there always has to be a real balance that can be superimposed over the ideal as much as possible.

Bibliography

- Balaban, I. (2009), 'Religion and Political Communication during Elections'. In *Journal of the study of Religious and Ideologies*, 8, 24.
Balaban, D.C. (2005), 'Comunicare publica', Cluj-Napoca: Accent. [In Romanian]
Ludo, I., (1957) 'Regele Palaelibus', Bucuresti: ESPLA. [In Romanian]

- National Census Report, 2002.
- Perloff, R. M. (1998), 'Political Communication'. In *Politics, Press and Public in America*. London: Mahwah Nj.
- Politik und Religion in der Europäischen Union: zwischen nationalen Traditionen und Europäisierung, VS Wiesbaden. 2006.
- Public Opinion Barometer*. Open Society Foundation. The Gallup Organization Romania. May 2003. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm, and www.osf.ro/en/publicatii.
- Public Opinion Barometer*. Open Society Foundation. The Gallup Organization Romania. October 2004. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm, and www.osf.ro/en/publicatii
- Public Opinion Barometer*. Open Society Foundation. May 2005. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm, and www.osf.ro/en/publicatii
- Plato, (1983), 'Opere', Vol I, Bucuresti: Editura Stiintifica si Enciclopedica [In Romanian].
- Romanian Circulation Audit Office, BRAT (Biroul Roman de Audit al Tirajelor).
- Stan, L & Turcescu, L, (2000), 'The Romanian Orthodox Church and Postcommunist Democratisation', EUROPE- ASIA Studies. Vol. 52. No.8: 1467.
- Teodorescu, B., Gutu, D. & Enache, R. (2005), 'Cea mai buna dintre lumile posibile : marketingul politic in Romania : 1990-2005', Bucuresti: comunicare.ro. [In Romanian].

Chapter Twelve

New Media and New Politics: The Contribution of Facebook and YouTube to the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election

David W. London, American University in Cairo, Egypt
Bahaa Gamil Ghobrial, American University in Cairo, Egypt

The Internet has become a major factor in the American political scene. “Fully 46% of all Americans have used the Internet to get news about campaigns, share their views, and motivate others.” In particular, “online video and social networking sites have taken off, especially among Obama supporters” (Pew/Internet, 2008).

Facebook is a website/social network founded in February 2004 by Harvard student Mark Zuckerberg. Its growth has been nothing short of spectacular. By the end of 2004, it had nearly a million active users (users who have returned to the site in the last 30 days) – over 5.5 million in 2005, over 12 million in 2006, over 50 million in 2007, and over 100 million in 2008. In February of 2010 Facebook reported having over 400 million active users. It describes itself as:

... a social utility that helps people communicate more efficiently with their friends, family and coworkers. The company develops technologies that facilitate the sharing of information through the social graph, the digital mapping of people's real-world social connections. Anyone can sign up for Facebook and interact with the people they know in a trusted environment. (Facebook Factsheet)

Facebook allows users to share thoughts, opinions, photos, and videos. It encourages users to invite their friends, relatives, and colleagues to real or virtual events. Access to user profiles is limited to those invited to be “Facebook Friends”. Facebook Groups are also by invitation only, while Facebook Fan Pages are open to anyone. Anyone with a valid email account can open a profile and start communicating.

More than 35 million users update their status every day. Over five billion pieces of content are added each week. Over 50% of Facebook’s active users login at least one a day. They average 55 minutes on Facebook every day, send eight friend requests per month, have around 130 “Facebook Friends”, and become fans of four pages each month. More than 3.5 million events are created each month. There are more than three million active Fan Pages – with over 20 million becoming fans every day and over five billion fans in total.

Online applications are a vital feature of social networking. They allow users to communicate and interact efficiently. They assist users in creating their own text and video content, affiliate with special interests, and state opinions. Users can subscribe to or unsubscribe at any time. Facebook currently lists over 52,000 applications. More than 70% of Facebook users subscribe to various applications (Statistics, 2009). Facebook mobile access is a recent and rapidly growing innovation that allows over 30 million Facebook users to access their accounts via mobile devices. Like any Facebook users, politicians can create profiles, form groups or create fan pages. There are also a multitude of Facebook groups dedicated to specific issues - some with, others without, off-line counterparts (Small, 2008).

Campaigns use Facebook to communicate with and influence potential voters - allowing them to recruit and motivate campaign workers within an online environment. Those workers can come up with their own ideas to increase the number of supporters and use these sites efficiently (Kelly, 2007).

Obviously, using Facebook in political campaigns involves dramatically increased exposure at a minimal cost. Significantly, this exposure is not controlled either print or broadcast media. In fact, it has demonstrated the ability to influence the traditional media. It also helps political campaigns reach the “millennial generation” – those born between the year 1980 and 2000. Some consider social networking sites such as Facebook an ultimate way of reaching young people. Facebook provides database services to increase contributions and engage online volunteers through requesting users to be a “Friend” or one of the supporters of the campaign. Facebook is interactive. It facilitates communications - creating a community of voters, campaign workers, and the candidates themselves. (Small, 2008) It enlists and engages users active support in spreading the campaign’s messages.

Obviously, political campaigns would fail if their target voters could not or did not vote – the unfortunate byproduct of the decentralized and inefficient voter registration systems in the United States where significant chunks of the population have been disenfranchised. New media technologies can smooth the process and encourage registration on social networking websites. A good example of technology facilitating voter registration process involved a joint effort between “Rock the Vote” and Facebook. In May 2007, Facebook provided developers with a framework to interact with core Facebook features. Within a year, over 400,000 developers had registered and over 30,000 applications were operational. Political strategists were quick to recognize the potential. As a result, the process of voter registration became much simpler and more social. Such applications are powerful tools as they allow easy sharing of information. They encourage users to simultaneously register and promote registration to their friends (Kelly, 2007). Obama’s campaign was particularly successful in “getting out” young voters. The 2008 election saw a dramatic increase in both voting and political activity for 18 to 29 year old voters – two thirds of whom supported Obama.

Cooperative efforts like Project Agape, Care2, and Change.org have exploited the potential of social networking for fundraising. These

organizations use social networking to reach millions of potential donors (Kelly, 2007). They make convenient and very easy for supporters to contribute online. In contrast to traditional methods that can involve weeks, this process takes only minutes for campaigns to get the money. "Joe Trippi, manager of Howard Dean's insurgent 2005 effort and now involved in the John Edwards campaign, regularly points out, \$10 each from ten million people is \$100 million dollars, enough to provide a funding base for any presidential candidate" (Kelly, 2007).

The use of new media tools and online fundraising had a tremendous impact on the 2008 US election. These new tools helped candidates like Obama, Clinton and, somewhat belatedly, McCain to take in contributions as their campaigns gathered "grassroots" momentum (Kelly, 2007). Obama boasted that the vast majority of his money came from small online donations rather than big corporations or lobbyists. Indeed, small donations helped him shatter fundraising records. "Facebook has probably helped Obama obtain his 1.5 million donors. He sends out donation requests to those who sign up as "fans" of Barack Obama", said Mike Barton, an Obama supporter on Facebook.

For voters, the new media tools play allow supporters and non-supporters to voice their opinions freely. They allow like-minded voters to find each other, gather information, and provide support. Facebook groups, in particular, serve as an efficient means of exchanging information. For instance, if a voter is looking for a video clip of a recent debate, other voters can provide him with it or its link.

According to the University of Maryland's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (Circle), young voters made up 25% of the electorate in 2008 (Smith-Spark, 2007). Until the 2008 US election, they were regarded as the segment least likely to actually vote. Obama successfully exploited the fact that it is mainly the youth that use Facebook.

Technology, indeed, has facilitated greatly the connection between candidates and voters. With only a few clicks Barack Obama could reach millions of voters in a way that seemed both intimate and personal. "The Internet is a huge helping hand for the independent and third party candidates, whom the mainstream media doesn't cover", said Bagwell – one of Obama's supporters on Facebook. Moreover, technology has not only facilitated the connection between the candidates and voters, but has also provided voters and individuals with social utilities where they can voice their opinions and connect with the political process. In effect, it re-enfranchised and mobilized disaffected voters.

Facebook provides an online network where citizens interact with the intimacy of a "town hall" meeting, but with far greater efficiency and in far greater numbers. Hence, by connecting political activists and groups and using virtual "word-of-mouth" marketing, social networks spread political messages (Kelly, 2007).

Social networks increases the leverage of branding in politics. According to the techPresident website, Obama, Clinton and McCain all setup accounts on

Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace to establish and reinforce their brand identity (Kelly, 2007).

A great strength of the online social networks involves setting up and inviting friends to events and activities. Groups can be created to support or oppose a candidate or a cause, then be endorsed through the social infrastructure of the sites. The thousands of such groups were formed on Facebook during the 2008 US elections involving the millions of people and illustrating the incredible leverage of online social networks.

Paid advertising offers groups and events the opportunity to reach to new audiences – although advertisers frequently struggle to adapt to the new medium. Traditional advertising methods (i.e. involving passive communications) have proven less than effective when used in interactive media. This was partially mitigated in that online social networks offered real-time access to voter lists (Kelly, 2007).

In their study of how people make voting decisions, Paul Lazarsfeld and his associates at Columbia University have focused on the role of the mass media. They have come up with the somewhat surprising conclusion that personal influences play a much stronger role than the mass media. Indeed, they showed that people strongly tend to vote the same way as their families, friends, or co-workers. In one election, the researchers found that 75 percent of the first-time voters voted the same way their fathers did. Another study showed that people tend to vote like their three best friends or three closest co-workers. These findings are consistent with research concerning group or peer pressure - showing that a common majority of three was enough to influence many people's opinions and judgments (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 190). Two different processes explain the homogeneity of opinion in the political arena. First, the group applies pressure on and influences individual's decision. Second, people naturally choose friends who share their interests and political attitudes (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 191). Applying these findings to Facebook gives a clear indication of its influence in the recent US election. Facebook users tend to join groups or fan pages that provide virtual and real-life communities. These networks allow users to connect with the people who work, live, and study around them. They are generally based around work, location, religion, or school. Facebook play a vital role in enhancing the communication between these groups and communities (Sanson, 2008).

Users on Facebook provide information about themselves such as sex, age, institutional affiliations, and political views. Users can declare their information and communicate with each other through internal mail applications called messages. In addition to messages, they communicate by creating groups related to specific issues, topics, or political parties. Through such groups, members post articles, videos, opinions, or links to relevant information. Events also facilitate communications allowing users to stimulate participation in activities, parties, rallies, and meetings. These tools, groups and events, enable members to easily share reasons, beliefs, or knowledge (Sanson, 2008). In the year 2008, ten percent of all American voters used social networking websites for political

activities. That amounts to 14% of all Internet users and fully 40% of those who have created profiles (Smith & Rainie, 2008).

The potential for political mobilization of social networks like Facebook is that they allow people state, share and exchange political views quickly and easily. This interactive exchange involves a continuous and dynamic process of co-creating meaning. Moreover, it can influence people who have not taken clear political stands by allowing them access to information, insights and, most importantly, the opinions of their families, friends, and co-workers - sometimes without conscious exchange or interaction.

Groups also play a vital role in the process of political change as a result of the power of social pressure. Organizations have a long history of using social groups as instruments of personal change to help either to establish good or curtail bad habits (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 191). Similarly, Facebook groups encourage members to participate in the political process. People who might otherwise be reluctant or indifferent seem more susceptible to group influence and social pressure. In the 2008 US election more than 6.5 million young voters got involved in the primary contests or caucuses - a 103% increase over the election of 2004. For young adults social networking was a key element of their online political experience. Over 66% of Internet users under 30 years have a profile in at least one social networking website. In 2008, half of young profile owners used these social sites to learn and share political information (Smith & Rainie, 2008). One Million Strong for Barack Facebook group is a great example of the influence of the groups. This group was created by the coordinator of student government services at the University of Missouri-Columbia. This group was created in January 2007 and within 24 hours over a thousand members joined. Within four months, it listed over 325,000 members. This number was groundbreaking in that it was larger than any existing presidential candidate email lists.

New media technologies also foster dialogue between opposing ideologies. They allow non-supporters of the candidates to join supporter groups and espouse negative opinions and views. However, civilized dialogue between opposing factions rarely occurs. The impersonal nature of the new media allows one to be a bully, in an impersonal manner, without ever being caught. In real life, it is hard for one to get away with such offensive behavior. "I am not an Obama supporter. Actually, I detest Obama. I'm only on his group page so I can try to enlighten Obama supporters", said one of the "supporters" on Facebook (Fernandez, personal communication, May 11, 2008).

As Internet technology has evolved, it is possible to distribute a diverse mixture of media through data streaming. High-quality video and audio can be added into websites (Garrison, 2001). Technologies like Flash web video streaming and Real Video, which are the file formats that can be used to broadcast video over the Internet, enable users to customize what they see according to their own interests. These videos are broadcast through video sharing websites, where users can upload, view, and download web videos. "So Who's in control now?... Anyone with a camera" said Mark McKinnon, chief

media advisor to George W. Bush in the 2000 and 2004 campaigns (Sender, 2007).

Over 150,000 videos are daily uploaded on YouTube – a website that hosts and broadcasts user-generated videos. YouTube is by far the largest video site on the web and is the fourth largest site on the web – with over 3.5 million daily visitors (<http://www.cleancutmedia.com/video/youtube-statistics-the-ultimate-time-suck>). As of March 2008, it would take 412.3 years to watch all of the material on YouTube (Wesch, 2008). “YouTube Draws 5 Billion US Online Video Views in July 2008” (comScore, 2008). While most of YouTube videos achieve a relatively low viewership, some achieve very high viewing figures. For example, only 20% of videos get more than 500 clicks and only one percent of videos get more than 500,000 views. However, the few can achieve several million clicks and have a major impact as people send them around to their peers.

While some observers suggest the influence of web videos is exaggerated, the controversy surrounding video clips of Rev. Jeremiah Wright, Obama’s former pastor, illustrate the extent to which the candidates themselves pay attention to what appears online. When ABC News presented several racially and politically charged sermons by Wright, albeit taken out of context and posted on YouTube, Obama responded with what many consider one of his greatest speeches to date. Clearly, candidates do care about what is being publicized in the new media and react accordingly.

Supporters, also, love to see and vicariously experience their candidate’s speeches on the campaign trail. Thus, videotaping important campaign trips and posting them on an online social network such as YouTube leverages these events and lets them live on indefinitely. Publishing TV debates of the candidates on YouTube is another advantage of web video. So, voters who missed these events or wish to re-examine them can watch them online at any time via YouTube and share them with others as well (Manatt, 2007).

Through YouTube profiles, ordinary users can upload video content and make it available to everyone or limit access as they choose. YouTube has a tagging system to facilitate keyword-based searches. YouTube users can subscribe to the videos of other users (Gueorguieva, 2007). Subject to the individual user’s broadband capabilities, YouTube provides exceptional speed and wide distribution in making events or information available on the Internet. Through postings and comments, YouTube users can contribute as much as they consume (Boutin, 2006).

YouTube provided direct access to voters in the 2008 US election. This access was generally unrestricted, virtually uncensored, and potentially unlimited. It delivered clear images and concise messages, further weakening the control of traditional media campaigns. Since both supporters and opponents could upload videos, the messages and images of the candidates were no longer subject to framing or interpretation by the traditional media or even the campaigns themselves (Gueorguieva, 2007).

Another significant impact of YouTube in the planning and execution of the US election campaigns was advertising (Gueorguieva, 2007) and viral

videos. YouTube greatly increased the ability of the political campaigns to use videos as a primary advertising tool. In the 2008 election, such videos were widely distributed throughout the Internet. The easy access to people through the Internet assisted in employing teams to follow and film both candidates and opponents. YouTube allowed those teams to upload and circulate their videos more rapidly (Jalonick, 2006). George Allen, the republican senator from Virginia, was caught on camera using a racial slur “maraca”. The video was immediately uploaded to YouTube. The incident forced Allen to make a series of public apologies. He was not the only candidate “tubed” by an opponents’ supporters (Gueorguieva, 2007). “Web video as a political force began in earnest with the Maraca video in August/September of 2006. In less than a year, it has gone from a curiosity to an essential tool of 21st century politics – thanks to cheap digital video technology and the rise of YouTube” (Manatt, 2007).

Web video also facilitated fundraising as it allows candidates or their surrogates to make their appeals. Thus, Bill Clinton solicited contributions for Hillary via web videos posted online.

YouTube provides an alternative to TV as it offers the public exposure to lesser-known candidates – i.e. candidates with limited advertising budgets. Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, Joe Biden, John Edwards, and Sam Brownback all announced their candidacy on online videos rather than through traditional media (Jarvis, 2007).

YouChoose ‘08 Spotlight week on YouTube was another important web video phenomenon. YouChoose ‘08 Spotlight week gave every presidential candidate a week in the Spotlight page where s/he could engage YouTube users in a video dialogue. It allowed candidates to post videos asking YouTube community questions and to receive the replies. Candidates monitored the comments for a week and then responded with more web videos (Manatt, 2007).

Source credibility involves using a celebrity/credible source to persuade people to vote for their candidates. The effectiveness of the message is often closely related to having the right source (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 156). Therefore, “5 Friends vote” was an excellent web- based example of this technique. It involved a group of celebrities gathered by Google to encourage the American youth to register and vote in the 2008 US presidential election. The team of celebrities who created this public service announcement includes Leonardo DiCaprio, Forest Whitaker and Dustin Hoffman. They urged Americans to register to vote. "If you're not going to vote I don't even know what to say to you anymore. You know you have to vote." Leonardo DiCaprio (mahalo.com). Understanding the same source probably would not work with everybody (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 159), therefore they included message from a variety of celebrities. The web videos provided links to websites where viewers could register online. The celebrities suggested that, since the viewers were already online, they would wait until viewers registered and then asked them to send this video to at least five of their friends. As these web videos

were generally over four minutes long, YouTube played a role that could not be duplicated by the broadcast media by making the videos available online for everybody with Internet access, all the time. Moreover, viewers could not only watch it via YouTube, but also they could comment on it, share it with others, and come back to watch it again and again whenever they wanted.

Another example of using celebrities to provide source credibility in political ads is the one made by two stars of the popular teen soap opera TV show "Gossip Girl". In a comical ad aimed mainly at young voters, the young stars asked young people to speak to their parents regarding the dangers of voting for John McCain. While the ads were also aired on local, cable, and broadcast television, "The spot seems destined for wide play on the Internet, where "Gossip Girl" has become an iTunes must-download for many and anything featuring its actors has a devoted and built-in audience" (O'Keefe and Franke-Ruta, 2008). Obama's campaign chose another famous actor John Cusack to make one of its campaign ads. In this ad Cusack challenged viewers, through a "Pop Quiz", to try to tell the difference between John McCain and George W. Bush. He then encouraged viewers to take the online "Bush-McCain Challenge" (Moveon, 2008). This kind of creative approach requires interaction with viewers. Consequently, watching the ad through YouTube made it much easier to take the quiz, thus complementing the ad, rather than watching the ad passively and leaving the television to play the online game and coming back.

CNN and YouTube teamed up to develop an innovation in the US presidential debate series. It involved using web videos to connect candidates and voters. The public submitted questions in the form of homemade videos posted on YouTube (Seelye, 2007). "The debate is the latest front in the candidates' running battle to keep up with the fast-paced changes wrought by the Internet on politics" (Seelye, 2007). Over 2,000 videos were posted. CNN chose the two or three dozen that it would broadcast during its presidential forums. With this innovation, YouTube brought new voices into the US election process and dramatically altered the media equation. "The video debate might show mainstream journalists how to ask better questions" said a former television critic Jeff Jarvis (Seelye, 2007).

Ultimately, the political campaigns would not be effective if the people they reached were not motivated to vote on Election Day. Thus, one of Obama's user-driven campaigns used web video technology to persuade voters to vote; suggesting that, otherwise, they might jeopardize Obama's chances winning. The web video ad was based on a mass communication study and used a persuasive technique to encourage Obama supporters to vote. The mass communication study is an academic research concerning voter mobilization methods. It examined using peer pressure to motivate friends to vote (Navarro and Sat, 2008). "A study of a controlled experiment, published in the February 2008 issue of American Political Science Review, found a social pressure to be the single most effective way of increasing voter turnout by mass communication" (Navarro and Sat, 2008). The persuasive technique involved a fear appeal - commonly used to produce attitude changes because they

increases arousal, attention, and comprehension (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 159). The campaign presented its appeal in a “lose frame”, which presented the threat in terms of a negative consequence or lost opportunity (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 163). The online ad was called “Make Sure All Your Friends Vote”. It involved a customized web video presented in two steps. First, the viewer submitted a friend’s name to a simple web-based tool. Second, the organization MoveOn plugged that name into a false news report suggesting the effect the friend’s failure to vote would have on the election. The report was emailed to the friend and indicated that Barack Obama would lose a closely contested election because the friend stayed home (Navarro and Sat, 2008). The appeal was strengthened by allusions to the closeness of the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections. Thus, the campaign managed to use mass communication techniques to reduce the number of negligent voters by using peer pressure and showing voters what they would lose if they did not vote. However, for the campaign to implement this creative ad, they depended on web video technology as an interactive tool that required users’ input. So, without the interaction, the ad would have been far less effective.

“Video Your Vote” was another novel idea produced by YouTube, PBS, and NewsHour. They encouraged voters to document their voting experience on homemade videos. Participants were encouraged to film themselves or their friends either at home or in the street talking about their personal experience at the polls. Registered voters could share their videos through a YouTube channel called “Video Your Vote”. Voters applied to receive a free Flip camera to record the interviews. Senior Vice President of PBS interactive, Jason Seiken, commented: “By providing a way for local-level voters to ‘Video Your Vote’ YouTube, PBS and our local stations will empower thousands of people across the country to take an active - and personal - role in the democratic process”. Judy Woodruff of The NewsHour, said: “This is the YouTube election, and we’re thrilled to be a part of it” (Bruno and Arlington, 2008).

Web video testimonials from politicians, celebrities, civil leaders, and regular voters were another great input into the US election. Supporters’ and volunteers’ web videos were increasingly used by the campaigns (Manatt, 2007). “Online videos” was another new Internet activity used during the 2008 US election. In total, 35% of Americans have watched web videos related to the 2008 political campaign (Smith & Rainie, 2008, p. 3). Young voters were politically engaged by the utilization of online politics video. Citizen inquiries about the debates were requested and posted on YouTube.

The “Dear Mr. Obama” video was posted in late August 2008. It was made by an Iraq War veteran. The soldier made the video to counter Obama’s objections to the war. He said, “Dear Mr. Obama, having spent 12 months in the Iraq theatre, I can promise you it’s not a mistake.” The video was short, simple and powerful. “When you call the Iraqi war a mistake, you disrespect the service and sacrifice of everyone who has died promoting freedom... Because you do not understand or appreciate these principles Sir, I am supporting Senator John McCain for president,” the soldier said. The video was

particularly poignant because the soldier had lost his leg in Iraq. It received more than 11 million hits in about two months and became a YouTube sensation (Dougherty, 2008) – showing how YouTube offered new ways for people to communicate (Vaidyanathan, 2008). "They (John McCain's campaign) made a strategic decision not to spend as much money on TV spots as the other candidates and to put more on YouTube, knowing that they would be picked up by the mainstream media." said Julie Germany, Director of Marketing and Communications for George Washington University's Graduate School of Political Management (Vaidyanathan, 2008). The video "Yes We Can" made by Obama supporter will.i.am of the Blackeyed Peas combined music video techniques, lines from Obama's campaign speeches and celebrity endorsements to deliver its message of hope to over 20 million YouTube viewers and won an Emmy.

Bibliography

- 5 Friends Vote (2008). www.mahalo.com/5_Friends_Vote
- Boutin, P. (2006). "A grand unified theory of YouTube and MySpace: Point-and-click sites that don't tell you what to do". *Slate*. www.slate.com/id/2140635/
- Dougherty, Robert (2008). "'Dear Mr. Obama' Video Becomes Top YouTube Election Clip". www.associatedcontent.com/article/1166315/dear_mr_obama_video_becomes_top_youtube.html
- Facebook Factsheet (2009). www.facebook.com/press/info.php?factsheet#/press/info.php?factsheet
- Garrison, W (2001). "Video streaming into the mainstream". *Journal of Audiovisual Media in Medicine*, Volume 24, Number 4, pp. 174-178
- Gueorguieva, Vassia (2007). "Voters, MySpace, and YouTube: The Impact of Alternative Communication Channels on the 2006 Election Cycle and Beyond". *Social Science Computer Review*, 26, pp. 288-300
- Jarvis, J. (2007, February 5). "Why YouTube gets my vote for political punditry". <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/media/comment/0,,2005785,00.html>
- Kelly, Chris (2007). "The 2008 Tools Campaign: Social Networking". http://www.newpolitics.net/sites/ndn-newpol.civicaactions.net/files/NPI_Leverage_Social_Networks.pdf
- Manatt, Daniel (2007). "New Tools: Re-imagine Video". www.newpolitics.net/content_are_as/new_tools_campaign/reimagine_video
- Navarro, Alex and Sat, McKay, (2008) www.r8ny.com/blog/alex_navarro_mckay/the_science_behind_moveons_nonvoter_campaign.html
- O'Keefe, Ed and Franke-Ruta, Garance (2008). voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/10/14/gossip_girl_stars_featured_in.html
- People-Powered Politics 2008, Post Election Report (2009). http://s3.moveonorg/pdfs/moveon_postelectionreport_ah14.pdf

Chapter Thirteen

Defective Democracy and Media: A Recount of the Nine Years of Political Alternation in Mexico

Roberto Valero, University of Baja California, Mexico
Guadalupe Villaseñor, University of Baja California, Mexico
David Román, University of Baja California, Mexico

The 2000 presidential elections are a landmark in the history of modern Mexico. With the triumph of Vicente Fox, candidate of the PAN (Partido Acción Nacional), a 71-year cycle of hegemony from the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) came to an end.

Now, more than nine years away of this historic event that generated great expectations, with a new president from the same PAN, different indicators signal that the arrival to power of a political party different from the PRI, did not constitute for Mexican media the entrance to a full environment of liberty of speech, even though it became deeply submerged in an un-heard of and apparently fertile scenery for the development of a new type of journalism, more critical and less committed to the governmental apparatus.

Today we see that the political party in power, the political actors, and the style of exercising power have changed, but the rails on which the Mexican mass media has historically transit have been kept, or better put, have become stronger.

The promise of change led a significant amount of people to establish the ascent of Vicente Fox to the presidency; not only for the media, but for the Mexican political system as a whole. It was, in a way, the establishment of a new model in which society would find itself again with its political institutions, as well as with the guardians of political power: the mass media.

The questions that guided our research were the following:

Did the Mexican mass media really evolved towards greater independence? How much did the exercise of freedom of speech changed in Mexico? How is the relationship with the new political power—how does it work? And, how does the new Mexican media operate in this new political and social scenery that derived from the mentioned political transition?

The work we present is divided in four parts: we initially refer to the prevailing political scenery in Mexico and explain why we took the concept of defective democracy. We then go on explaining a general scene of the Mexican media and the transformations experienced from the year 2000 onwards, so much in its structure as well as in its political power. Finally, we review the

growing danger of exercising journalism, especially damaged by the strength of drug lords, and we present a few preliminary conclusions.

Mexico and the Defective Democracy

Defective democracy is an expression used by political scientists to refer to a type of regime that, having a constitutional design valid as democratic, has vices that impede it to establish itself as such: influential pressure groups (lobbyists), media that conditions reflection, armed and police forces that violate the “state of rights” (*Rechtsstaat*), magistrates tolerant to this, etcetera. The expression “defective democracy” was thought to comprehend the limits of democratic consolidation beyond the transition and instauration of a regime.

In this sense, it has been handled a lot in Mexico that, in the existence of political parties in formal democracies (supposedly a competition of equal situation and the real possibility of displacement between those who keep political power) these presuppose a regime of full liberties. With this, the audience toys with the belief that with the political transition of 2000 the country automatically advanced towards a full democracy. However, as Burchardt (2008) mentions, the celebration of free elections and the existence of an adequate institutional structure do not lead in a lineal form to political democratization, but to what Plattner (1997) identifies as “illiberal democracies” or “electoral democracies” (Schedler, 1998), that, according to Burchardt:

“Imply the continuity of authoritative forms of government legitimized by elections, a situation that O’Donnel (1994) defined as delegative democracy.

It is about hybrid regimes that include an ample gray fringe between democracy and authoritarianism (Carothers, 2002a), characterized by the elite capacities to gradually appropriate important state resources, despite the existence of an opposition and developed democratic institutions, in a context of weak pluralism, where participation is exercised primarily through the vote. Even though alternation amidst political elites is carried on with certain regularity....” (2008: 81).

In this context, despite being true that a redistribution of political power had been carried out since 1997, this did not have any repercussions in a liberal democratic advancement, nor did it end with the old practices of power, as it has been manifested in the last decade.

During the government of President Vicente Fox (2000-2006), the signaling of governmental corruption acts (Hernández, 2005; Martínez, 2006; Villamil & Schererm, 2007), the fomentation of support policies to a few power groups (Guerrero, López-Calva & Walton, 2006), Fox’s indifference before the nation’s problems (Monsiváis, 2006), and the intermeddling of

people close to him, including his wife, to subdue the media (Riva Palacio, 2004), drew the shape of a familiar face for society that had its continuity with his successor, Felipe Calderón.

The critical phase towards a new democratic state, was truncated so much due to power groups from the past that were able to relocate themselves, as well as due to new power groups, who found easy transit on these roads under the complaisant and expectant watch of the so-called members of the forth power, that took as a banner of democracy the change of ruling political parties under the protection of an electoral process, distorting the concept of real democracy.

In general, the Mexican political system has been managing a *lampedusian* scheme, that is to say, “change it all so nothing changes.” Additional evidence of this can be sought during the anteceding period of the 2006 presidential elections, given that “the alignment of interests from the media corporations, the enterprise and financial groups most benefited from *foxismo*, [and] from the Catholic hierarchy, was clear... [With this,] an authentic State capture was set into motion on the part of corporative and monopolistic interests, which eventually took control of the dispute” (Villamil, 2007: 54.).

Even before such election, regardless of the reformist ideas and speeches about change emitted by President Fox, corruption did not only continue inside the government, but it expanded itself until it reached and upset the spheres of drug trafficking. When the drug-trade permeated the military and police groups, violence spread throughout the country with no control and the national problematic rose to unprecedented levels (Ravelo, 2006.).

Despite a higher tolerance towards media criticism since the presidential period of Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000), with the political transition it seemed that the journalistic exercise was headed in the direction of a freer practice, less compromised. But soon after the change, journalists faced a new enemy: more violent, less tolerant, very different than the one they had known during the PRI era; and when the year 2006 came, the situation in Mexican journalism was so critical, that even some international organisms already had manifested their concern to the Mexican State (UN, 2003.).

The answer were limited actions, addressed more towards taking care of the image rather than addressing the problem, which then caused, when President Calderón arrived, for the situation to turn really alarming.

In this context, even though media enterprises have denounced the rise in violence and have documented the attacks that journalists have been subject to, their mercantilist interests have been above any action that tends to provide a real support to those who, in the streets, literary run the risk of putting their lives on the line when carrying out their job, as we shall see.

The Scenery of Media

The political transition in Mexico also coincided with a transformation in the structure of the country's media, which derived in a higher concentration of power.

With the political movements, enterprises that operated with government subsidies and that were unable to finance themselves were heavily affected, given that the new political actors, lots of them severely criticized in the past, removed every type of government support.

Such was the case of the newspapers *Excelsior* and *La Prensa*, that not being able to face their financial compromises with private creditors or government, were at the end sold. To others, the new political actors charged them strongly for past attacks, such as the action taken against the important journalist José Gutiérrez Vivó, who in the lapse of a few months saw his prominent media consortium, *Grupo Red*, be reduced to ashes, including the newspaper *El Heraldo de México*, shut down by the Mexican tax office Secretaría de Hacienda.

Channel 40 of private television, that had distinguished itself for its denounce journalism, was "abandoned" by Mexican law and, by means of a legal ruse, it was permitted that *Televisión Azteca*, Mexico's second largest television company, could take appropriation of the enterprise.

Many other media companies disappeared. Some were bought. But the distinctive seal was that in such transformation, the largest companies, and specially those who most identified with government, became stronger.

Of the latter there are several examples: *Organización Editorial Mexicana* of Mario Vázquez Raña, who owns the largest chain of newspapers in Mexico with around 80 journals, acquired *La Prensa* newspaper, a police-oriented tabloid of high circulation in the Mexican capital. He also bought the sports-oriented daily, *Ovaciones*, that, summed to another sports-daily, *Esto*, gave him control of the sports tabloids with greater circulation in the country (85% of the national market of printed media of the kind), which is very important in a nation where sports represent a multi-million dollar business.

Vázquez Raña, who is a member of the International Olympic Committee, is also owner of radio stations, the *Productora e Importadora de Papel S.A.* (that once belonged to the federal government), *Channel 12* of television in Durango, and the *Fábrica de Cartón Ponderosa*, among many other enterprises.

Mario Vázquez Raña has had a business rivalry with his brother, Olegario, for many years, and in the context in which this happened, the latter took advantage of the situation to grow in the media business.

The owner of the most important hospital chain in the country acquired *Excelsior*, formed *Grupo Imagen*, which includes a national-level television channel and radio station, as well as having participation in *Grupo Multimedios (Milenio)*, another consortium that managed to expand in all areas: television, press, radio, and Internet.

It is worth mentioning that with the press-media acquisitions done by the Vázquez Raña brothers, both now concentrate around 30 percent of the total volume of newspapers that are sold daily in Mexico, according to a review of the data from the Padrón Nacional de Medios Impresos of Mexican government.

On the other hand, *Televisión Azteca* appropriated itself of television's Channel 40; taking advantage of certain legal voids in an agreement it had with the owner of the mentioned chain.

This was just one of the actions of its higher stock holder, Ricardo Salinas Pliego, one of the richest men in the world, who extended his business in different features: consolidating the television company *Azteca América* in the United States, created *Banco Azteca*, and strengthened the cellular phone companies *Iusacel* and *Unefon*.

Televisa

We have left at the end of this review *Televisa*, the largest Spanish-speaking media enterprise in the world, because of the strategic role it has played as an instrument of political power in Mexico.

Televisa was founded by Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta, but nobody doubts that his son, Azcárraga Milmo, managed to reach levels of power that not even his father dreamed of, and that these made him a man to be feared of until his death, April 16th 1997, only three years before PRI would lose Mexico's presidency.

Azcárraga never hid his alliance with government: "Televisa considers itself part of the governmental system and, as such, supports political campaigns of PRI candidates. The President of Mexico, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, is our highest leader and we are happy that it is like this" (Fernández y Paxma: 323.) The latter is the answer Azcárraga gave to an indignant Oaxacan reporter claiming information bias in *Televisa* news programs. The observation and the answer were both true. The pro-governmental policy reflected in the daily news programs of the company was, for years, of public knowledge. Because of this, when in July 6th of 2000 PAN won the presidential elections and the "Tiger" had death, the question arose: What would *Televisa's* line be?

In a teleconference for more than 20,000 company employees, the heir of the empire, Emilio Azcárraga Jean, 29 years old, heard the popular presenter Talina Fernández bring to recollection that, some time ago, *Televisa* had declared itself a PRI member, and asked: "What are we in this moment? Who do we root for?" (Ortega, 2000.)

Azcárraga Jean, who had recently taken real command of the enterprise with 26% of its shares, responded: "We root for Mexico." The times when the company financed the PRI candidates were left behind (Valero, 1995) as *Televisa* entered an era of economic pragmatism.

With the potential of real competition in sight, represented by *Televisión Azteca*, Azcárraga Jean dedicated himself in creating his own networks of power and began by adapting himself to the new political times.

After almost ten years, it is not difficult to see that the company has adapted and taken advantage of the scenery. Regardless of the fact that it had to give up a part of the open television market to Salinas Pliego, in cable television it found a niche where it gradually took control.

It first debunked *Direct TV* from the market, rival of his company, *Sky*, in satellite television. Then, in strategic operations, it continuously took control of participations in the main cable television companies until it reached the approval of the Mexican government and bought 49% of *Cablemás*, the second largest cable television company in the country.

The operation added itself to the acquisitions of *Televisión Internacional* from Monterrey and the telephone company *Bestel*. These purchased, together with the proprietorship of *Cablevisión* in Mexico City, made Azcárraga Jean the main operator of open signal and cable television in Mexico, independent of his radio business, where he is partner of the Spanish *Grupo Prisa*; press media and distinct affairs in communications.

In this way, in less than a decade, a handful of entrepreneurs managed to create the largest concentration of media companies in the history of Mexico, and when support was asked of them by government, they did not hesitate in giving it. In the electoral campaign of 2005 and 2006, “the informative spaces, the entertainment sections, and even *Televisa* soap operas opened up in favor of (Felipe) Calderón” (Villamil, 2007: 57), who was the presidential candidate of Mexico’s ruling party, PAN, and to whom, even, *Televisa* would give air time in news-format (Espino, 2006.) Villamil points out that:

“In exchange of a lot of money, prebends, permits, concession endorsements, and the gift of a higher specter for 25 years, *Televisa* and its fictitious rival, TV Azteca, tuned in with the strategy of inducing a state of social disposition characterized by the polarization and absence of social deliberation” (pg.56.)

In this sense, when the strong advancement in polls by Andrés Manuel López Obrador, presidential candidate by the left-wing party Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), old fashioned practices were resorted to implementing what is called the “vote of fear”, which had already given positive results to the PRI in 1994.

A television spot transmitted in those days (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Y82-ikdl8Y>) showed a scene of representatives violently clashing, punches included, in the Mexican Congress of San Lázaro. A girl then asks: “Mom, why is that man hitting the other one? Did he do something bad?” The mother then responds, frowning and mad: “No, my child, but he (López Obrador) and the PRD are hitting Mexico”, addressing the camera, and adds: “We’ve had enough of so much hate!... Mexico is not of the PRD, it is of all of us!” Despite PRD’s attempts to dissuade the “vote of fear” (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uoBs_vXwGzQ&feature=related), at the end the government-supported campaign proved stronger.

In this way, the promise of change, the formation of mass media with greater independence and the advancement of freedom of speech were buried. The alternative media, those who refused to fall in this game, found themselves with new enemies brought up at the expense of corruption and impunity: activities exposed by the large mass media companies only when it was convenient for their interests or because it was made necessary.

Journalistic Exercise

Freedom of expression is part of the democratic and libertarian conceptions recognized in the essential instruments that rule life and relations within the international community. According to many of these conceptions, freedom of expression comprehends the liberty and freedom to search, receive, and distribute information and ideas of every kind without consideration of borders, whether they be spoken, written, printed, in an artistic form, or by any other procedure of a person's choice (Pacto Interamericano de los Derechos Civiles y Políticos, 2000.) This right is a cornerstone in the existence of a democratic society, and it is indispensable for the formation of public opinion and for the community that, at the time of making its decisions, is sufficiently informed. Because of this, it is considered that freedom of expression is not only a right for the individual, but for society as a whole (ONU, 2003.)

In this sense, according to the media's Social Responsibility Theory, the public has a right to be informed, and the journalist has the obligation to search for such information in order to make it available to the public, making clear that freedom of expression is one of the most positive indicators of the genuine exercise for the citizenry of a country, that is: a mature democracy supposes that its citizens, in general, are aware of the value of their right to be informed.

Even if the Mexican case of democratic transition could be argued in favor of greater openness regarding freedom in the media to inform and in its journalists to carry out their mission, in reality a lot of this goes no further than words, given that the economic factor establishes priorities in the editorial policies of the media.

In this way, with enterprises more concerned on their financial statements, the problem facing the journalistic exercise in the last ten years has not been one of concern to the former, not even to the government.

Data from the *Federación Latinoamericana de Periodistas*, the *Centro de Periodismo y Ética Pública*, *Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez*, *Reporters sans Frontiers*, *Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa*, and the *Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social*, show little variables in numbers, but they all point towards the same direction: Mexico has become the most dangerous country (not in war) where to carry out the journalistic exercise, worldwide.

The murder statistics for journalists in Mexico is evident regarding the matter. During the 1970-2000 lapse, 121 journalists were victims of murder

(CEPET 2010), while in the lapse between 2000 until March 31st, 2010, the sum of journalists murdered is of 67 (Rentería, 2010), representing more than half of the total journalists murdered in the previous thirty years.

The situation becomes more somber when other types of aggressions are added, such as kidnappings, disappearances, unfounded lawsuits in courts, attacks performed by those in charge of establishing public order, etc., as well as the impunity with which these actions are handled.

In all cases, three constant attackers are present: gangs and groups related to drug trafficking, public functionaries, and representatives of the forces of public order (soldiers and police.) The scenery faced by journalists is clearly described by journalists Ciro Gómez in a comment he published March 10th of this year, in the daily *Milenio*:

“A journalist and cameraman from Milenio Television were “picked-up” [kidnapped] yesterday noon in Reynosa [Tamaulipas]. They were there four days as correspondents (I sent them); their works were showed on our screens Monday and Tuesday. This time the *sicarios* (hired assassins) were merciful: they let them live. They took the first flight back. We chatted with both journalists at nine in the evening, in my office. Carlos Marín and Roberto López are also there. A startle testimony. They are hurt. They decide that nothing more should be known, that nothing more should be told, nothing more. We complied, because the message of the criminals was clear: -Do not come here and heat up the plaza (make this public)-. Every day is becoming impossible to do journalism in more regions of Mexico. Journalism is dead in Reynosa and one long etcetera. I have nothing more to say.”

Another comment from the same Gómez Leyva titled “Los Días que el Periodismo Murió,” dated October 10th, 2008, from *Mileno*, described the prevailing situation:

“From Hermosillo, Torreón, Tijuana, Nogales, Monterrey, Uruapan, Tampico, Reynosa, León, I received testimonies and comments about the article I published on Thursday: Los Días que el Periodismo Murió: a very general description of how the media in Nuevo Laredo decided, about three years ago, not to get involved in drug-trafficking-related problems.

A chief of correspondents sent me an unwritten guide that is followed in most of the cities I refer to:

- * Do not write in our news about organized crime or drug cartels (the *narcos* say that this makes their sorrows bigger, and that now there is nothing less organized than them.)
- * Do not mention *narco*’s family relations;
- * Do not write about new *narcos*;

* Do not inform anything without an official informative source, even if this has been witnessed or proof is available.

These criteria are not exclusive of the regional media. National media has also similar arrangements with its correspondents. A few weeks ago, *Milenio* published a chronicle of the correspondent of a powerful television station that entered into *narco* territory. He was detected immediately and placed before a simple straight choice: you get out, or here you stay. He turned around. The *narcos* dealt with the task of tracking him until he boarded the plane back to Distrito Federal...”

In the case of Ciudad Juárez, where multiple murders have been registered, including in some newspaper’s own headquarters, such as the case of El Diario de Juárez, before the perceived threats the most reliable option for journalists has been to ask for refuge in the United States, as in the case of *Reforma*’s correspondent and the owner of the Internet site La Polaka (Cano, 2008.)

In this sphere, the most commented case in Mexico was the one of Alejandro Junco de la Vega, president of *Grupo Reforma*, who offered in New York a discourse on the reality facing Mexico: “Narcotráfico, Violencia y Ausencia de un Estado de Derecho.” Junco described the level of decomposition in which the country has fallen and the perspective that everything might get worse. Besides, the president of one of the most powerful and influential media groups in Mexico announced that he took the decision to abandon the country, together with his family, for security reasons and in a context of threats:

“...this year, for the second time in four decades, I have been forced to move with my family to a safe place in the United States... We are under the siege of mafia bosses, of criminals; and the more we expose their activities, the stronger they answer. Life is cheap. They press hard,” Carmen Aristegui cites in a comment published in *Diario Reforma* October 24th, 2008.

Days later, the Internet web-page of the weekly *Reporte Indigo* confirmed that the president of *Grupo Reforma* addressed a personal letter to the governor of Nuevo León, Natividad González Parás, in which he ratified his change of residency and the newly acquired condition of “refugee” in Texas. He revealed the dilemma in which he was in: compromise his editorial integrity or move his family to a safe place.

Before the insecurity suffered by media groups, many have opted for self-censorship, so now a good portion of the information regarding the happenings in Tamaulipas is obtained through social networks, mainly Tweeter and Facebook, and some Internet portals such as *Reynosa Libre* (<http://reynosafree.blogspot.com>).

Also another one called *Todo Sobre Narcotráfico en México* (<http://todoso.brenarcotraficoenmexico.blogspot.com>), were information regarding street blockades by drug-related criminals, low-security zones and other, is given.

On the other hand, because of national and international pressure for the federal government to take measures addressed at the care and respect for information and freedom of expression in Mexico, President Vicente Fox created the Fiscalía Especial para la Atención de Delitos Cometidos contra Periodistas (FEADP). However, the new organism was made with very limited resources and insufficient backing from national institutions, technical organisms and human resources, which made it impossible to obtain satisfactory results. Besides the shortage of resources in infrastructure and personnel, the FEADP was created with few attributions, given that it cannot investigate nor inquire in drug-trafficking-related cases, an area solely addressed by the Procuraduría General de la República (PGR.) In the same fashion, its reports have been heavily questioned given that their numbers noticeably differ from the ones given by organisms that have followed the aggressions performed on informants for extended periods of time. Finally, the Mexican Congress established the Comisión Especial para dar Seguimiento a las Agresiones a Periodistas, but just as its preceding commissions, it has not had great results.

Preliminary Conclusions

The journalistic exercise practice, far from advancing in Mexico, has had a setback during the last decade; contrary to what one would have thought would happen when there was a political party turnover in power.

The high concentration of media in such few hands, the decomposition of the government apparatus, impunity and corruption, have conducted Mexico towards a defective democracy, in which drug-trafficking has become, on top of this, the main enemy of freedom of expression in the nation.

In front of this scenery, the question that now opens up is whether or not a new conversion of power or the PRI's comeback (now strong once again) to the presidency, will eventually be a solution for Mexico to advance towards a real democracy.

References

- Agresiones a Periodistas: Violaciones a la Libertad de Expresión* (2005). México: Centro de Derechos Humanos Agustín Pro Juárez.
- Burchard, H.J. (2008). *Desigualdad y democracia*, en revista Nueva Sociedad, No. 215, mayo-junio 2008, pág. 81.
- Diagnóstico sobre la Situación de los Derechos Humanos en México* (2003). Oficina del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos en México, México: Mundi-Empresa México S.A. de C.V.

- Espino, J. (2006). *El Nuevo Escenario de las Campañas Presidenciales*, México: La Jornada Ediciones.
- Fernández, C. y Paxman, A. (2000). *El Tigre: Emilio Azcárraga y su imperio Televisa*. México: Grijalbo.
- Hernández, A. y Quintero A. (2005). *La Familia Presidencial*, México: Grijalbo.
- Martínez, A. (2006). *México: Democracia defectuosa y la posdemocracia*, Santiago, Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Magister en Política y gobierno.
- Mexique; Assassinat, Impunité et Autocensure: La Dure Condition des Journalistes Frontailers, (2005, junio). París, Francia: Reporters sans Frontiers.
- Ravelo R. (2006). *Los Capos: Las Narco-rutas de México*. México: Random House Mondadori
- Riva Palacio, R. (2004). *La Prensa de los Jardines*, México: Plaza Janés.
- Valero, R. (1997). *Redes Empresariales, Medios y sus Efectos Durante la Gestión Salinista*, Mexicali, México: UABC.
- Schedler, Andreas (1998). *What is Democratic Consolidation?* Journal of Democracy - Volume 9, Number 2, April 1998, pp. 91-107
- Vidal, B. (2008). *Los Dueños del Cuarto Poder*, México: Planeta.
- Villamil J. y Scherer J. (2007). *La Guerra Sucia de 2006*. México: Grijalbo
- Yáñez, A. et ál (1987). *Apuntes para el Estudio de la Comunicación Masiva en el Sexenio de Miguel de la Madrid*, México: Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

Internet

- Cano, L. (2008). Ante amenazas de Crimen Organizado, dos Periodistas Abandonan México. Available in: <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/notas/556716.html> (mayo 5, 2008)
- Committee to Protect Journalists 2008 Annual Report. Available in: <http://www.cpj.org/> (Junio 12, 2009).
- Monsivais, C. (2006) *Sexenio de Fox fatídico Carlos Monsivais*. Available in: http://www.hoytamaulipas.net/?PHPSESSID=7fa1a5e0ea&v1=notas&v2=7193&tit=Sexenio_de_Fox_fat%C3%ADdico:_Carlos_Monsivais.
- Reporters sans Frontiers (2008). *Freedom of the Press Worldwide in 2008*. Available in: http://www.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/rapport_es-2.pdf (Julio 10, 2009)
- México Informe Anual 2009. Reporteros sin Fronteras. Available in: <http://www.rsf.Org/-Predateurs-.html> (Febrero 20, 2010).
- Ortega, A. *Emporio televisa dice que ya no es priísta*. Available in: http://www.eluniversal.com/2000/07/28/int_art_28106DD.shtml (October 13, 2009).
- Rentería, T. (2010) *67 Periodistas Asesinados en esta Primera Década del Siglo*. Available in: <http://www.voltairenet.org/article164757.html> (Marzo 20, 2010).
- Reporte Índigo Núm. 98 (12 al 18 de septiembre de 2008) *¿Por qué se fue Alejandro Junco?* Available in: <http://download.reporteindigo.com/ic/pdf/98/reporte.pdf>
- SDP Noticias (2010) *Internet Grita lo que Autoridades y Medios de Tamaulipas Callan*. Available in: <http://sdpnoticias.com/sdp/contenido/estados/2010/02/25/18/805084> (Febrero 25, 2010).

Part III:

Advertising & Public Relations

Chapter Fourteen

Cultural Sensitivity in Health Promotion Programs: Islamic Persuasive Communication

*Mohd Khairie Ahmad, University of Queensland, Australia
and University Utara Malaysia, Malaysia*

John Harrison, University of Queensland, Australia

The implications of socio-cultural contexts impact the effectiveness of health information transmission. As recommended by Bird, Otero-Sabogal, Ha and McPhee (1996), and Geist-Martin, Ray and Sharf (2003), health promotion programs should not only demonstrate cultural sensitivity, but use culturally relevant symbols to communicate the message. The concept of cultural sensitivity has been classified into two distinct dimensions: surface structure and deep structure (Resnicow & Baranowski et al. 1999). Surface structure sensitivity refers to the extent that health resources match the intended population's social and behavioural features and appearances, while deep structure reflects how cultural, social, psychological, environmental and historical factors influence health behaviours differently across racial and ethnic populations.

Although cultural sensitivity is a widely accepted principle among health behaviour and health communication researchers and practitioners, studies that focus on faith-based health communication are rare (Glanz & Rimer et al. 2002; Kline 2006). In contrast, the emergent and increasing faith-based media or communication institutions have significantly marked a growing interest in many areas of studies in the communication field (Mowlana 1996; Vries & Weber 2001; Valle 2002; Meyer & Moors 2006).

While many researchers have focused on Western (secular) communication conceptualisation (Mowlana 1993; Valle 2002; Hussain 2006), this paper in particular seeks to answer questions related to the concept of persuasive communication from faith-based (Islamic) perspectives in health promotion.

Cultural Sensitivity in Health Communication

Cultural sensitivity is one of the most widely accepted principles among health behaviour researchers and practitioners. However, some researchers (Glanz & Rimer et al. 2002; Thomas 2006) admit that its impact on psychosocial and behavioural outcomes has not been adequately described or empirically analysed. Cultural sensitivity can be defined as:

... ethnic or cultural characteristics, experiences, norms, values, behaviour patterns, and beliefs of a target population, and relevant historical, environmental, and social forces are incorporated in the design, delivery, and evaluation of targeted health interventions, including behavioural change materials and programs. (Glanz & Rimer et al. 2002, p.493)

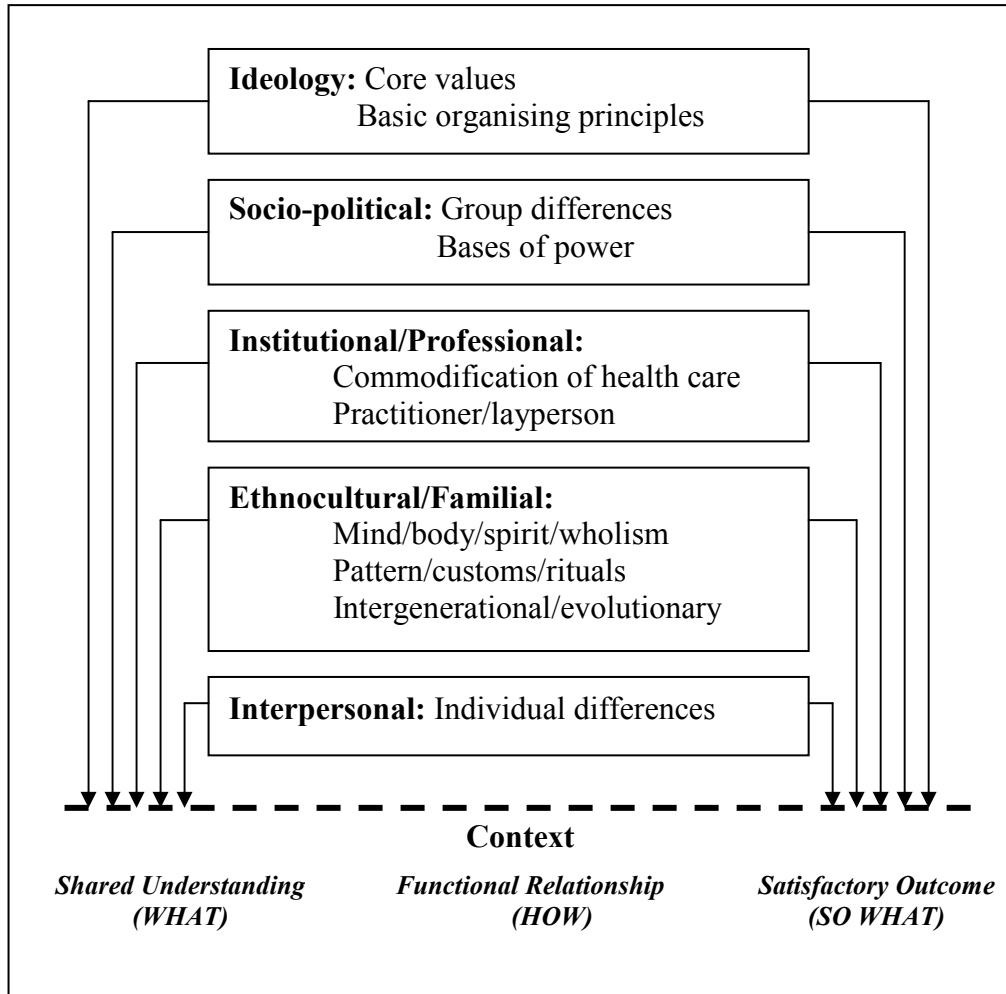
Resnicow, Braithwaite, Ahluwalia and Baranowski (1999) further conceptualized cultural sensitivity into two primary dimensions, namely surface structure and deep structure. Surface structure is identified as matching intervention materials and messages to observable social and behavioural characteristics of the target community. It may involve using people, place, language, music, brand names, and locations familiar to and preferred by a target group. It also includes the channels (such as media outlets) and settings (such as religious institutions or schools) that are most appropriate for delivery of health messages and programs. In short, this dimension of cultural sensitivity refers to the extent to which interventions fit with the culture, experience and behavioural patterns of a target group. On the other hand, deep structure reflects how cultural, social, psychological, environmental, and historical factors influence health behaviour. This less readily visible characteristic includes understanding how the target audience perceives the cause, course and treatment of illness as well as how they perceive the determinants of specific health behaviour, and involves appreciation for how religion, family, society, the economy and the government, both in perception and in fact, influence their behaviour (Glanz & Rimer et al. 2002).

One of the theoretical foundations that has been tested and considered best to elaborate how cultural sensitivity affects health communication is the Cultural Sensitive Model of Communicating Health (CSMCH) (Glanz & Rimer et al. 2002; Geist-Martin & Ray et al. 2003). This model discusses how the vital role of communication is enhanced when cultural knowledge is incorporated in healthcare interaction. CSMCH explains the complex and multiple layers of meaning that a sender and a receiver bring to their relationships and conversations about health and illness.

As shown in Figure 1, the model illustrating the five layers of meaning may assist one in considering the meanings that sender and receiver must be made aware of to be culturally sensitive when conversing about health and illness. The communication context driven by the five layers establishes shared understanding that makes the relationship functional. As a result, the context contributes to a satisfactory outcome. It is also understood that each layer reciprocally influences the others in the communication process. Since ideology represents the larger spectrum that is an umbrella to the other layers, one can conclude that ideologies have powerful and important influence on health communication. In the context of this study, religion (Islam) is considered as an ideology in the Muslim community. The fact that Islam is a way of life and not only a set of theological propositions makes it important to

analyse how and to what extent it affects health communication among Muslim audiences.

Figure 1. *The Culturally Sensitive Model of Communicating Health*



Source: Geist-Martin, Ray & Sharf 2003

Religion and Health Communication

Studies have shown that religion has effectively worked as a coping and prevention strategy in health-related issues (Koenig & McCullough et al. 2001; Salem 2006). Religion has an important role in social integration and control. Religion is part of the culture or the way of life of a society, and it helps to maintain cultural traditions. Society can only survive if people share some common beliefs about right and wrong behaviour. Durkheim (1912) saw religion as a kind of social glue, binding society together and integrating individuals into it by encouraging them to accept basic social values. So, it is through religion that an individual is socialized into the values of the society.

This set of moral beliefs and values may have been so deeply ingrained through socialization that it may have an effect on the everyday behaviour of believers and non-believers alike. If some rule is broken, most individuals will experience a guilty conscience about doing something 'wrong', and this is a powerful socializing and controlling influence over the individual. Another important sociological function of religion is social support. Religious doctrines encourage positive social attitudes and self-sacrifice.

Religiosity relates to the influence of social referents and thus may be viewed as analogous to a construct from the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen 1992). Linking health messages to religious or spiritual themes, or using religious elements on messages, may be an appropriate motivational strategy. This can be done through manipulation of social effects such as linking health behaviours to specific biblical commandments or using the norms of the faith as a source of positive or negative sanctions (Glanz & Rimer et al. 2002). As proved by Campbell and Demark-Wahnefried et al. (1999), emphasizing personal feelings of religious pride or shame can invoke attitudes towards health practices.

Empirical studies have shown an association between religiosity and positive (or less negative) healthy behaviour. Researchers have found a negative relationship between religiosity and behaviour such as alcohol abuse and promiscuous sexual behaviour (Hassett 1981; Wallace and Bachman 1991; Abraham & Sherran et al. 1992; Bree & Pickworth 2005). Regarding the relationship between religiosity and drug use, studies have found strong negative correlation (Adlaf & Smart 1985; Lorch & Hughes 1985; Burkett & Warren 1987; Lugoe & Biswalo 1997; Amonini & Donovan 2006). The relationship between religion and health behaviour is not a new phenomenon. Scientific studies of religion in contemporary society have been put into perspective for quite some time (Eister 1974; Weaver & Pargament et al. 2006). Moreover, previous studies have indicated remarkable findings that religion is a significant factor in deterring health risk behaviour (Lorch & Hughes 1985; Furby & Beyth-Marom 1992; Frank & Kendall 2001).

A study conducted by Woldehanna et al. (2006) revealed that faith-based/religious organisations are potential mechanisms and a potential strategy in HIV/AIDS prevention. This study analysed semi-structured interviews with 206 key informants of HIV/AIDS organisations across the world and concluded that the involvement of faith-based organisations is not only potentially useful in terms of utilising available social resources, but is able to create engagement between scientific prevention efforts and socio-cultural contexts.

Religious elements have been identified as potential normative components in the knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) framework. Although religious elements as predictors of good health behaviours have been empirically proven, there is still a lack of attention from health communication researchers (Lorch & Hughes 1985; Frank & Kendall 2001; Amonini & Donovan 2006). Interestingly, religion as a predictor of a person's behaviour has appeared in many scientific theories. For instance, Fishbein's Theory of Reasoned Action,

one of the most widely applied to health issues, originally included the concept of moral (religious) or personal norms (Montano & Kasprzyk 2002). In fact, there are other theories and models that have also indicated this component but in these studies it was not clearly addressed as a variable (Petty & Cacioppo 1986; Ajzen 2002; Janz & Champion et al. 2002).

Involvement in religion may also be associated with increased responsiveness to fear-arousing messages. In fact, fear-arousing messages in the context of faith-based institutions have not been empirically examined. Analysis is needed to determine the effectiveness of this type of message in helping adherence to health outcomes and the degree to which responsiveness to such messages is related to religiosity. It is hypothesised that these pathways could lead to lower disease risk and enhanced well-being through a salutogenic orientation (Antonovsky 1996). The possibility of the salutogenic orientation that links between religion and health can be illustrated as in Table 1 (Levin 1996).

Table 1. *Religion and Health – The Salutogenic Effect*

Religious dimensions	Pathways	Mediating factors	Salutogenic mechanism
Religious commitment	Health-related behaviour and lifestyle	Avoidance of smoking, alcohol, drug use, poor diet, unsafe sex, etc.	Lower disease risk & enhanced well-being
Involvement & fellowship	Social support & networks	Relationships friends & family	Stress-buffering, coping and adaptation

In the context of this paper, the functions and characteristics of Islamic communication are rooted in Islam's social fabric, and are believed to impact on health behaviour. Furthermore, as explained earlier, Islamic communication strategies have exerted significant influences on the targeted group health behaviour. The review of literature has shown that the usage of the Quran and *hadith* (quotations of Prophet Muhammad) (Yacoob 1985), roles of Islamic opinion leaders (Kabir & Mahmoud et al. 1998; Kagimu & Marum et al. 1998; Roesin 1998; Surur & Kaba 2000), and Islamic institutions such as mosque, school and community centres (Lagarde & Enel et al. 2000; Woldehanna & Ringhein et al. 2006) were significant communication strategies in promoting health among Muslims. However, all of these studies do not specifically evaluate how Islamic communication elements such as strategy and message impact on the receiver. As Atkin and Wallack (1990) and Hornik (2002) claimed, that phenomenon has eventuated because, historically, much health communication has been studied by non-communication scholars.

Methodology

In order to examine the values and characteristics that formulate Islamic communication persuasion in health communication, in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with several respondents selected from government and non-government health-related agencies. These respondents included Muslim and non-Muslim professionals or practitioners. The Muslim respondents were *Imam* (religious leader) (R1), Director of Health Promotion Division, Health Department (R2), committee member of Malaysia *Ulama* (Islamic Scholar) Association (R3), committee member of Penang Consumer Association (R4), and Director of Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia (R5). The non-Muslim respondents involved in this interview were the honorary secretary of National Cancer Society of Malaysia (R6), committee member of the Malaysian Medical Association (R7) and Assistant Director of Malaysia Public Broadcasting (R8). All respondents were interviewed by the researcher for between 60 and 90 minutes. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the respondents and transcribed. All of the interview transcripts were read by the researcher and coded in the style of the grounded approach to data analysis. The three main areas explored by the interview were: what is the Islamic persuasive communication conception; how will Islamic communication approaches positively impact health behaviour; and what are the challenges facing the Islamic communication approach in health promotion.

Findings

Islamic Cultural Sensitivity in Health Promotion

In regard to Islamic communication and health promotion, Leeuw and Hussein's (1999) analysis of Islamic value systems and the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion provide promising evidence. As emphasised by Schleifer (in Arthur 1993), Islamic texts such as the Quran and *hadith* have become significant to the Islamic tradition. These two sources have become a major factor that creates cultural unity within a universal religious community drawn from such diverse cultures as those of the Arab, African, Persian, Turkish, Indian, Malay, Bosnian and Albanian cultural contexts. Islamic communication concepts and principles, supported with its communication channels, are believed to be the best methods in promoting health among Muslims:

...health promotion is already a natural and integrated part of Islamic societies. Some sense of reality should be applied, however. Even though Quran and *Sunnah* provide important guidance toward health promotion, much of these insights and such knowledge seems hardly applied...For health promotion, specifically, we do observe that Islam nevertheless provides more coherent foundations than many other belief systems. There is a role and responsibility for

health authorities, communities and academics to apply the principles from those foundations to contemporary social and health challenges. Once the intrinsic value of health promotion has become apparent to those actors, the establishment of a unique and modern Islamic health promotion is within reach. (Leeuw & Hussein 1999, p. 350)

In relation to general views about using Islamic communication as an approach in health promotion, all the respondents indicate supportive views. Most of the Muslim respondents explained how important health is in Islam and the relationship with the faith. In fact they highlight that many Quran verses explain preventative actions related to health such as in Chapters 2 and 4 (dietary), Chapter 24 (sexual conduct), and others. Furthermore, as explained by R3, Prophet Muhammad made a very influential prevention statement when he urged Muslims to take necessary actions in regard to their life condition:

... the importance of health is not only explained in the Quran, but Prophet Muhammad clearly reminds us about this famous *hadith* "Take advantage of five matters before five other matters: your youth, before you become old; and your health, before you fall sick; and your richness, before you become poor; and your free time before you become busy; and your life, before your death."

Adopting an Islamic communication approach in health promotion is suitable in the context of cultural sensitivity according to the Muslim respondents. Even from the experience and views of non-Muslims, the approach is supported. As said by R6:

'... I think it can. When you look at people who have come to hold strong belief, they have the spiritual strength. What makes the huge difference is how they look at diseases, how they react to things that caused it and etcetera. That is one thing that has some true. So yes, I think religion in that capacity plays some part'.

R8, who has worked in a public broadcasting agency for more than two decades, agreed that it is important for cultural aspects such as religious elements to be utilised for changes in Muslim communities.

Islamic Communication in Health Promotion

In order to provide insight into understanding the Islamic communication conception, the respondents were asked about the principles and values according to Islamic teachings as well as their personal opinion. As predicted, *tawhid*, *amr ma'ruf nahy munkar* (commanding to the right and prohibiting from the wrong), and *da'wah* are immensely important basic principles in Islamic communication. *Tawhid* signifies a unique relationship between

servants (man) of Allah (God) with the Creator (God) that excludes all similar relationships with anyone else. Man must be fully conscious of his freedom and independence vis-à-vis all beings other than Allah. It also integrates material and spiritual aspects in human relationships to attain felicity, the real objective of life. In short, it is the eternal principle of *tawhid* that governs the Muslim community, argued R4. In the context of Islamic communication, the theory of *tawhid* can be considered as parameters that determine information and not the other way around, as mentioned by R5. This is because the ultimate aim of the Muslim is to get blessings from God in the hereafter. It can also be concluded that the Islamic communication paradigm is the paradigm of revelation.

In relation to *tawhid*, the doctrine of *amr ma'ruf nahy munkar* explains the need and responsibility of Muslims to guide one another for a better life according to the Islamic framework. As Islam is an all-inclusive systematic religion, every set of ideas and realities covering the whole area of human notion and action is interrelated. Therefore, every effort taken to create positive changes in the Muslim community should not only be based on logical conscience but must to a significant degree recognise its theological principles as emphasised by R1, R3 and R5. At this point, the doctrine of *amr ma'ruf nahy munkar* appears to provide ideas on what and how Islamic messages can be constructed.

According to R1, *da'wah* is a concept primarily concerned with activities aiming at strengthening and deepening the faith of Muslims and developing their ways of life in conformity with Islamic principles. In addition, it reflects the effort by Muslims to propagate, protect, or preserve a version of the Islamic faith, either to Muslims or to non-Muslims. This concept also seeks to explain how communication in Islam should be carried out. R3 proposed three main strategies according to the *da'wah* concept which is laid down in the Quran in Chapter 16 verse 125, 'Invite (all) to the way of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are the best and most gracious; for your Lord knows best, who have strayed from His path, and who receive guidance'. Based on this verse, communication should work with wisdom and discretion, meeting people on their own ground and persuading and convincing them with examples from their understanding of knowledge and experience (Shaikh 2000).

In addition, respondents also claimed that those Islamic communication mediums such as *masjid* (mosque), *madrasah* (school), Friday sermon, and other elements such as *shariah* (Islamic legal framework), *waqf* (endowment system), *shuura* (consultation council) and media institutions provide comprehensive mechanisms to articulate health promotion to the Muslim community. This is also supported by R6 who claimed:

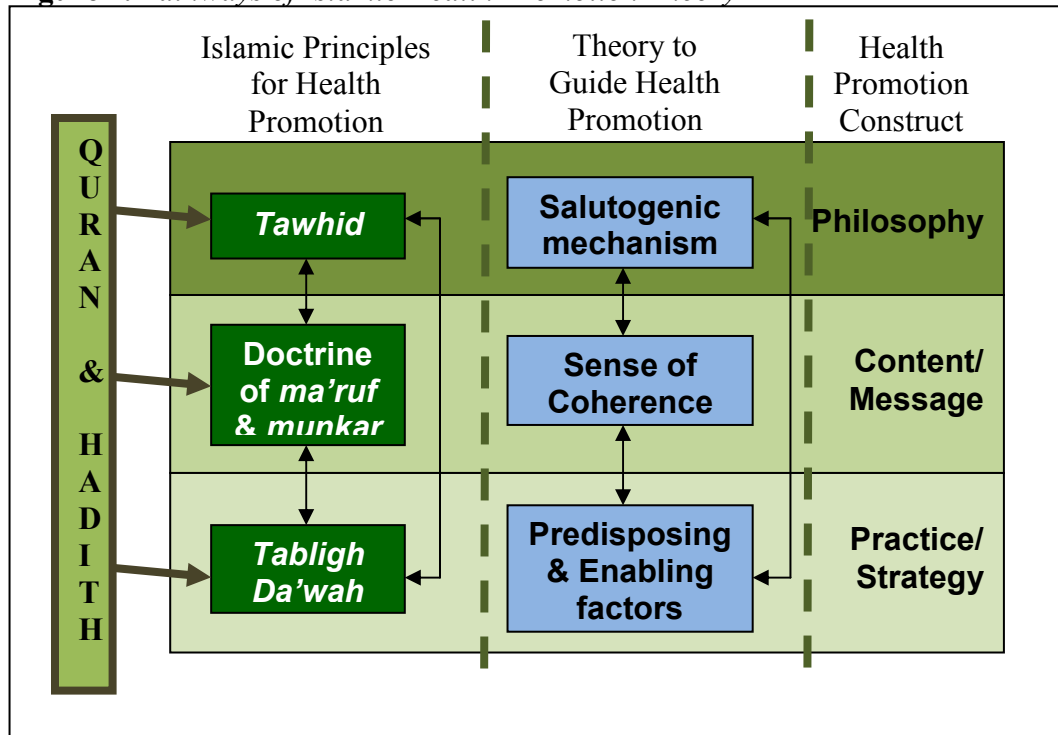
'I got a chance to go to the mosque to talk to some Malay women ... some corporate Malay women invited me and I used to go to the mosque and give talks. I went to about 12 mosques to talk to small group of people about cancer issues, sexual issues and treatment.'

Things like that are more acceptable... But you can't do it in open public because it is not acceptable.'

In elaborating more on how Islamic communication should be, all of the Muslim respondents suggested that it is vital to use verses from the Quran, *hadith* and *sunnah* (Prophet Muhammad practices) in constructing health messages. Most importantly, 'all the messages should be related to the Islamic faith. There would be more impact when the health message is supported by the Quran, *hadith*, or even *ulama* and *imam* opinion', suggested R2. This view is shared by R7 and R8. Furthermore, R1 and R3 assumed that this strategy can function as a threat appraisal in the campaign or promotion. It can create fear arousal to some extent so that there is some positive health behaviour outcome.

In summary, the main three Islamic communication principles that have been discussed represent the philosophy, content, and strategy or practices of the health communication domain. Overall, the Quran and *hadith* would be the fundamental basis that governs the whole process of health communication in Islam. The philosophy, environment and objective of each health communication should stand according to the *tawhidic* principle. At the same time, the content or message of any health campaign must reflect the doctrine of *amr ma'ruf nahy munkar*. In order to reach the interpersonal level of communication, the principle of *da'wah* is the best communication practice or strategy that suits the Muslim community. An illustration of all these components in relation to the Salutogenic Effect proposed by Levin (1996) is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2. *Pathways of Islamic Health Promotion Theory*



Challenges

The acceptance and practices of Islamic communication in health promotion pose several challenges. At a very fundamental stage, it needs Islamic scholars as well as health practitioner to support the idea.

'The issue that is faced then, also can be quite 'pain', because.... you will have a lot of your traditional proponents coming up there and using Islam as an excuse to deny health promotion or treatment compared to the conventional approach (scientific based treatment). So you need to be able to make people understand when they are using the Islamic approach that there is a moderate line or scientifically basis.' (R6)

In order to face this challenge, R1 recommended that more discussions, workshops and even the policy making processes should engage Islamic scholars together with health practitioners. In addition, the orientation about Islamic propagation among Muslim clerics needs some reformation. The faith well-being of Muslim should also emphasise health as one of the elements. Muslim opinion leaders such as imam and clerics should be provided with more and better understanding about health scenarios and issues. There is a need for change of their attitude and perception about health issues and faith.

The majority of the respondents anticipated that the politic scenario will be another challenge. For political reasons, the Islamic communication approach might face difficulty to widely implement.

The result of this study that suggests the Islamic communication can indeed be useful for culturally sensitive health promotion needs to be empirically tested. As this study was mainly exploratory, the Islamic persuasive communication conception framework needs to be tested across wider Muslim communities.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the study of culture provides a fertile ground for developing health communication theories and practices that respond to the cultural needs of communities. The increasing emphasis on culture suggests the relevance for developing meaningful fusion of theory and practice in order to best understand the ways in which culture may be mobilized for health application. Thus, examining the conception of Islamic persuasion will lead to an understanding of how Islamic health promotion works and how it impacts Muslim health behaviour. Although the Islamic communication approach in health promotion discussed in this paper clearly has potential, more empirical research needs to be done.

References

- Abraham, C., P. Sherran et al. (1992). 'Health Beliefs and promotion of HIV-preventive intentions among teenagers: A Scottish perspective.' *Health Psychology* 11: 363-370.
- Adlaf, E. M. and R. G. Smart (1985). 'Drug use, religious affiliation, feelings and behaviour.' *British Journal of the Addiction* 80: 163-171.
- Ajzen, I. (1992) Persuasive communication theory in social psychology: A historical perspective. Available at <http://.unix.oit.umass.edu/~psych586/readings/ajzen.1992.pdf> [8 May 2006]
- Ajzen, I. (2002). 'Perceived Behavioral Control, Self-Efficacy, Locus of Control, and the Theory of Planned Behavior.' *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 32: 665-683.
- Amonini, C. and R. J. Donovan (2006). 'The relationship between youth's moral and legal perception of alcohol and marijuana and use of these substances.' *Health Education Research* 21(2): 276-286.
- Antonovsky, A. (1996). 'The Salutogenic model as a theory to guide health promotion.' *Health Promotion International* 11(1): 11-18.
- Bree, M. B. M. v. d. and W. B. Pickworth (2005). 'Risk Factors Predicting Changes in Marijuana Involvement in Teenagers.' *General Psychiatry* 62(3): 311-319.
- Burkett, S. R. and B. O. Warren (1987). 'Religiosity, peer association, and adolescent marijuana use: A panel study of underlying causal structure.' *Criminology* 25: 109-131.
- Campbell, M. K., W. Demark-Wahnefried, et al. (1999). 'Fruit and vegetable consumption and prevention of cancer: The Black Churches United for Better Health Project.' *American Journal of Public Health* 89(9): 1390.
- Durkheim, E. (1912). *The elementary forms of religious life*. UK, Oxford University Press.
- Eister, A. W., Ed. (1974). *Changing perspectives in the scientific study of religion*. New York, John Wiley and Sons.
- Frank, N. C. and S. J. Kendall (2001). 'Religion, risk prevention and health promotion in adolesencts: a community-based approach.' *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 4(2): 133-148.
- Furby, L. and R. Beyth-Marom (1992). 'Risk taking in adolescence: A decision making perspective.' *Developmental Review* 12: 1-44.
- Geist-Martin, P., E. B. Ray, et al. (2003). *Communicating health: Personal, cultural and political complexities*. Australia, Thomson Wadsworth.
- Glanz, K., B. K. Rimer et al., Eds. (2002). *Health Behavior and Health Education: Theory, Research and Practice*. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass.
- Hassett, J. (1981). But that would be wrong... *Psychology Today*, November: 34-50.
- Hussain, M. Y., Ed. (2006). *Media and Muslim Society*. Kuala Lumpur, Research Centre, International Islamic University Malaysia.
- Janz, N. K., V. L. Champion et al. (2002). *The Health Belief Model. Health Behavior and Health Education: Theory, Research and Practice*. K. Glanz, B. K. Rimer and F. M. Lewis. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass.
- Kabir, M. A., H. Mahmoud et al. (1998). *HIV/AIDS prevention and control through the creation of awareness by mobilizing religious leaders*. Twelfth International Conference on AIDS, Geneva.

- Kagimu, M., E. Marum et al. (1998). 'Evaluation of the effectiveness of AIDS health education intervention in Muslim Community in Uganda.' *AIDS Education and Prevention* 10: 215-218.
- Kline, K. N. (2006). 'A decade of research on health content in the media: The focus on health challenges and sociocultural context and attendant informational and ideological problems.' *Journal of health communication* 11(1): 43-59.
- Koenig, H. G., M. E. McCullough, et al. (2001). *Handbook of Religion and Health*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Lagarde, E., C. Enel et al. (2000). 'Religion and protective behaviours towards AIDS in rural Senegal.' *AIDS* 14(13): 2027-2033.
- Leeuw, E.D. and A.A. Hussein (1999). 'Islamic health promotion and interculturalization.' *Health Promotion International* 14(4): 347-353.
- Levin, J. S. (1996). 'How religion influences morbidity and health: Reflections on natural history, Salutogenesis and host resistance.' *Social Science Medical Journal* 43(5): 849-864.
- Lorch, B. R. and R. H. Hughes (1985). 'Religion and youth substance use.' *Journal of Religion and Health* 24(3): 197-208.
- Lugoe, W. L. and P. M. Biswalo (1997). 'Self restraining and condom use behaviors: the HIV/AIDS prevention challenges in Tanzania school.' *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 7: 67-81.
- Meyer, B. and A. Moors, Eds. (2006). *Religion, media and the public sphere*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Montano, D. E. and D. Kasprzyk (2002). 'The theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior.' In: K. Glanz, B. K. Rimer and F. M. Lewis (eds). *Health behavior and health education: Theory, Research and Practice*. San Francisco, John Wiley & Sons: 67-98.
- Mowlana, H. (1993). 'The new global order and cultural ecology.' *Media, Culture and Society* 15: 9-27.
- Mowlana, H. (1996). *Global communication in transition: The end of diversity?* Thousand Oak, Sage Publications.
- Petty, R. E. and J. T. Cacioppo (1986). 'The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion.' In: L. Berkowitz (ed). *Advances in experimental social psychology*. New York, Academic Press. 19: 123-205.
- Resnicow, K., T. Baranowski et al. (1999). 'Cultural sensitivity in public health: Defined and demystified.' *Ethnicity & Disease* 9: 10-21.
- Roesin, R. (1998). *Islamic response to HIV/AIDS impact in Indonesia*. Twelfth International Conference on AIDS.
- Salem, M. O. (2006) *Religion, Spirituality and Psychiatry*. Available at <http://www.rpsych.ac.uk/pdf/Mohamed%20Salem%20%20Religion,%20Spirituality%20and%20Psychiatry%201.5.06.pdf>
- Shaikh, K. M. (2000). *Da'wah in Modern Times*. Karachi, Pakistan, Royal Book Company.
- Surur, F. and M. Kaba (2000). 'The Role of Religion Leaders in HIV/AIDS Prevention, Control and Patient Care and Support: A Pilot Project in Jimma Zone.' *Northeast African Studies* 7(2): 59-80.
- Thomas, R. K. (2006). *Health Communication*. New York, Springer.
- Valle, C. A. (2002). *Communication and Mission*. London, World Association for Christian Communication.
- Vries, H. d. and S. Weber, Eds. (2001). *Religion and Media*. California, Stanford University Press.

- Wallace, J. M. and J. G. Bachman (1991). 'Explaining Racial/Ethnic Differences in Adolescent Drug Use: The Impact of Background and Lifestyle.' *Social Problems* 38(3): 333-357.
- Weaver, A. J., K. I. Pargament et al. (2006). 'Trends in the scientific study of religion, spirituality, and health: 1965-2000.' *Journal of Religion and Health* 45(2): 208-214.
- Woldehanna, S., K. Ringhein et al. (2006). *Faith in action: Examining the role of faith-based organizations in addressing HIV/AIDS*. Washington, Global Health Council.
- Yacoob, M. (1985). 'Communicating fundamentals of water and sanitation in Moslem communities.' *Journal of Religion and Health* 24(4): 287-293.

Chapter Fifteen

The Use of Ancient Art Symbols in Mass Communication

Violeta Cvetkovska Ocokoljic, Megatrend University, Belgrade, Serbia

Tatjana Cvetkovski, Megatrend University, Belgrade, Serbia

Modern society is marked with a variety of visual images that trace their roots from the far-off human past. Though it might appear that numerous technological achievements have altered the original forms of the symbolic communication, what we still face daily are, somewhat changed, admittedly, but certainly recognizable marks of the long-ago established material forms of the human communication both with the visible and invisible worlds.

If we regard an artist both as an individual and a member of a society where he lives and creates; and equally, if we regard the art itself as a communication-related, social system of acts that takes place between its users by means of making use of certain signs (Schmidt, 1975), then it becomes possible for us to view the evolution of the entire society and to understand its current form in the modern world. Likewise, by means of researching symbols, an artist steps into the world of the subconscious and uses symbols in order to reveal and materialize the unconscious world that cannot be grasped by our senses by means of using symbolic images or a symbolic language. Though many ancient symbols and signs have been reduced today to the level of ornamentation (Jung, 1996), their influence on the individual's subconscious is still very powerful and holds huge suggestive sway. If we take Jung's claim that symbols are not individual in their origins, but rather collective, then the statement that says there is no essential difference between the organic and psychological development becomes justified. 'Just as a plant creates blossoms, the psyche creates its symbols' (Jung, 1996: 100).

Visual Culture and the Phenomenon of the Visible

Due to a growing dominance of the image in the modern society, there has been a call for scientific research of those aspects of culture to which image is essential. Therefore, a broad term of 'visual culture' encompasses 'the development of the understanding of visual meaning, the general comprehension and living of both the individual and collective consciousness in the perceived world' (Bogdanovic, 2002: 5). Owing to the analyses conducted by Panofsky (1975), the path was paved for the research of the iconography of visual arts, and broader, of man's every day visual external

(material) and internal (mental image) world. Visual art has been changing its purpose and intention over the centuries and has undergone various alterations through religious, national, ideological and finally economic missions. As a result of the development of technology and mass media, the modern society has brought on a sharp change in the transformation of man's visual perception with respect to the perceived world.

However, the visual perception, that is the eye's feature as a receptor organ, does not refer exclusively to the physiological aspect; it also represents a process that takes place through the bringing together of sensuous and mental processes and leads to a changed visual perception (Arnheim, 1997). The sense of sight is not as crucial in the visual perception as are mental processes within individuals by means of which a sensation is formed. However, not everything that is seen is perceived at the same time; 'what a man perceives and how he perceives it holds his unique nature' (Adler, 1999: 60).

Therefore, visual culture today represents a modern world as a phenomenon of the visible, whilst visual communication, that is its language, its means of reception, interpretation, comprehension and communication, is seen as an inter-disciplinary area encompassing most varying aspects of the visible.

The Development of Visual Culture through Image and its Metamorphoses

Man's need to establish symbolic communication both with the living and insentient worlds can be traced back to the most ancient times. At the same time, his need to leave testimony of his own presence was born and through an imprint of a hand in stone 30 000 years BC a trace of his existence was left. In this way, ancient men combined painting and plastic work and achieved their first developed form of communication (Piskel, 1970). However, the first images seen by people were not materialized by human hand. They rather showed themselves in the shadow of a tree, in a crack of a rock, a reflection on the water, and finally, in dreams. The merging of men's first perceptions with their communication with their environment influenced the creation of the magic which was in time accepted as a forerunner of all systematized knowledge (Hauser, 2005) and all things related to the magic were accepted as something social but on a primitive level (Rankovic, 1988).

The original purpose of perception, in the sense of perceiving specific details, forms and movements and then transferring the perceived into visual concepts, was replaced by the Neolithic age which developed 'forms of abstract thinking and the creation of concrete visual systems within the representation of sign and symbol based forms of visual communication' (Bogdanovic, 2002: 14). In this same age the first stylization and idealization of the higher world were also born, together with the very first change with respect to the artistic style (Hauser, 2005). Thereby, the first roots of the beginnings of the intellectualization and rationalization of the art were laid down. Specific images and forms were being simplified and increasingly replaced by signs and symbols. A work of art became, on top of the material representation, also a representation of an idea. The image gradually changed

into a pictographic language of signs and some sort of a 'non-image shortcut' (Hauser, 2005: 14).

An ancient man, who was a wise man, a healer, a soul and a community representative, was also the first artist. Through certain rituals, he made first cuts and lines into natural stone and these then got developed into the image of a man or an animal. However, the promotional role of painting, such as we know it today, comes to surface for the first time in the period of ancient Rome when first public monuments intended to be displayed were created and painting itself took on a form of a public, folk art. *Never before* was there such a mass-production of pictures, '*never before* was painting employed for such trivial and ephemeral purposes as in *Rome*' (Hauser, 2005: 105).

Throughout the history and under the influence of the Byzantium, the art turned back within the frames of spirituality, endeavoring to maintain the mediation role between the man and God. Its final spiritual stronghold was routed by the Renaissance which placed the man in the centre of the world.

With the advance of the printing press, books became the first product of mass consumption (McLuhan, 1969) which made it possible for a series of reproducible printed images to be created, but a real change within the art of painting happened when photography appeared. Wanting to savage art from the old-fashioned and obsolete, artists now abandoned the sphere of the concrete, sensuous, natural and individual world. Never in its entire history had art demanded such a strong intellectual justification. On the other hand, art turned increasingly towards the idolatry and turning items of goods into fetishes, which in turn paved the path for the modern forms of economic propaganda. Thereby, art and economy merged completely and 'various types of goods themselves took on the meaning of symbols and carriers of certain communication-related messages' (Nikodijevic, 2006: 157).

Mass Communication and Image

The development of the means of mass communication, which is closely linked to the development of global market, increased on face value the opportunities for high quality works of art to become more easily accessible to the general public and therefore for a broader esthetic communication to be achieved. However, the creation of global standards of artistic production and some general esthetic values of a common, and therefore low and redundant, denominator, inflicted unspeakable damage to both the art and man as an individual. The receiver became the consumer, and a complex system of artificial, pseudo needs forced upon the world a string of new ways of visual manipulation that stimulates consumption.

Increasing bringing of art into the marketing-based communication has brought an apparent aesthetization of products and reality which is happening through advertisements and is creating an impression that media-led aesthetization is taking place on the receiver/watcher level too. In line with the earlier mentioned assertion that the origins of art were of the magic-related

character, in terms of promises and the mystique involved, the modern economic propaganda can be said to insist on the products' magic properties too. The very act of advertising a product takes place in an almost ritual way, as if by magic, by means of continual repetition of one and the same visual concept until the moment when it turns into reality. Although the real nature of art is exactly the opposite to the manipulative character of advertising, it plays an extremely important part in our vision of the everyday world. The art is reduced nowadays to the entertainment level, whilst the entertainment and economic propaganda seek to ascend to the artistic level. Thereby, through means of mass communication, redundant, easily understandable and pleasant messages are created and these messages lead upon recognition to the sense of satisfaction (Janicijevic, 2002). Therefore, such commercialization of the art and culture in general brings about a stream of pseudo needs which render an individual spiritually drowsy and subject to numerous manipulations. However, it is exactly cultural needs that represent a part of the human communication-related structure – 'these are wishes that get satisfied through the symbolic communication' (Cveticanin, 2007: 34).

Table 1. *Preview of Television/Hearing of Radio*

Country	Television	Country	Radio
Hungary	99%	Slovenia	98%
Turkey	99%	EU	93%
EU	98%	Hungary	93%
EU 2005	98%	EU 2005	84%
Slovenia	98%	Bulgaria	81%
Bulgaria	95%	Rumania	78%
Serbia	95%	Turkey	76%
Macedonia	94%	Macedonia	74%
Rumania	93%	Serbia	66%

The research of the cultural needs, habits and tastes of the citizens of Serbia and Macedonia conducted in 2005¹ indicates that media culture dominates individuals' spare time. In Serbia, more than 51% of the respondents (1315 people were polled) spend on working days 1-3 hours a day in front of the TV. It has also been found that the majority of the respondents (30, 8%) read daily papers 5-7 times a week.

A comparative research conducted in the mentioned countries (Table 1) has shown that Serbia comes last in relation to the radio listening culture. This leads to a conclusion that visual transmission of a message represents the most common form of mass communications in Serbia and therefore creates the strongest influence on the individual.

¹The book 'Cultural Needs, Habits and Tastes of the Citizens of Serbia and Macedonia', published by P. Cveticanin, forms part of a project conducted under the same name by the Civil Initiative Board from Nis (Serbia), Contemporary Art Centre from Skopje and Centre for Balkan Cooperation 'Loja' from Tetovo (Macedonia), supported financially by European Cultural Foundation.

The Use of Ancient Artistic Symbols and their Communication-related Role

'Symbol is what transforms a *Homo Sapiens* child into a human being' (White, 1970: 54). If we start from the modern interpretation of semiotics, as a science encompassing all sign systems (symbols) that figure in the social life and cover all aspects of communication, then the art, understood itself as a symbol, represents an extremely fertile ground for various psychological influences over an individual. However, a symbol is a combination of two sides, of the present and the absent, the visible and that which is re-discovered within an individual upon interaction with the perceived. Thus, by merging these two sides, once lost unity is achieved again and its effect we refer to as 'aesthetic message' (Eko, 1995).

The metaphorical element, as one of the most typical instruments of communication within a traditional work of painting, is often made use of in the art. According to Aristotle, metaphors are 'creative processes for establishing similarities, as metaphors assume riddles, and therefore a good riddle can create a good metaphor' (Janicijevic, 2000: 195). Communication-related efficiency of an advertisement is most often based on this metaphysical element that is linked with the symbolization of one item-product.

However, each individual artistic element, such as color, tone, composition, contour, shape, has its place in the visual space too. These elements effect a deep psychological influence over an individual, depending on the way in which they were made use of. Visual form is not random, 'it is essential as the most accurate interpretation of the idea that is supposed to be expressed by a work of art' (Arnheim, 1998: 386).

Bogdanovic (2002) talks about three basic ways of human communication with objects or images, that is, communication between the animate and the inanimate. Form, as the call, suggestively leads an observer to some type of communication. Form, as the persuasion, has the ability to translate itself into a new meaning through its shaping of the material and form; and finally, the third way is the form as a glance or a look that bears convincing features of vigilance and monitoring. The latter form is the most interesting as it represents 'insight into the state of the environment and some kind of eternally awake guard' (Bogdanovic, 2002: 74). Eye as a symbol represents one of the strongest forms of the state of vigilance and being awake. From the ancient times, the eye has been the living fire (in ancient Greece), the lantern of the body (the *Bible*) and the symbol of the soul.

Bringing the inanimate world to life, which manifests itself in many various ways through the modern forms of visual marketing, can be traced back to alchemy, and even further back to the pagan understanding of the life when men lived in complete unison with nature. In time, as a result of efforts to force Christianity as a form of monotheism, all pagan deities were demonized and turned into evil spirits. The spiritual gap within the modern man is striving to be filled into wholeness and to turn back to its natural surroundings.

The ecological movements which are increasingly present in the media indicate man's need to achieve reconciliation with nature. 'Man feels lonely in

the universe because he is no longer linked with nature and has lost his emotional 'subconscious unity' with natural phenomena' (Jung, 1996: 102).

Analysis of Two Advertisements: Coca – Cola and Cover

The Coca-Cola advertisement (as shown in Figure 1) can serve well for the analysis of influence exerted upon observers-consumers. The picture casts emphasis on the idyllic atmosphere and the identity promoted by the company. It offers the promise and sense of belonging. This advertising campaign, as seen in this visual form and offered by Coca – Cola for the summer of 2007, witnesses the following of changes occurring on the market and the adaptation to global trends.

The illustration shows that bright green color prevails as it is in line with the symbolism of the spring, resuscitation, growth and heralding of the summer. There is a green background, representing a meadow, and a myriad of flowers, all in warm bright colors ranging from red to yellow, in different shapes and forms. The image is dominated by contrasts, alternating between red and green. The flowers are in full bloom and are taking on white, round shapes that please human eye the most. There are actually two types of flowers in the picture, and these are complemented by some leafy rose branches.

Figure 1. *Coca – Cola Advertising*



The flowers enter (and exit) the picture frame that is not defined or outlined in any way, therefore causing the feeling of the expansion of this visual image into outer space. All colors in nature are in complete harmony. However, it is only when they are taken out of their natural surroundings and brought into an artificial one (advertisement) that they acquire their deeper psychological significance. Thereby, their symbolism becomes important to us humans and acquires values such as the complementarity or contrast. There is an attempt to imitate nature in the picture, but all within the economic propaganda context.

In the left top corner there is a white-blue sneaker whose anonymous owner is just stepping into the space of the picture. This position of a human foot wearing a sneaker, amplifies the dynamic effect as the human eye first notices and reacts to the images appearing in left top corners. The sneaker is directed towards the very mouth of the recognizable shape of bottle of this company. Flowers in the top corner are formed by means of two diagonals whose ends

(that land on individual flowers that stand out) form a rectangular, whilst the rest of the picture remains in the shape of a square. The same principle of shaping through geometry was used particularly in the period of renaissance, but also in other, older forms of visual expression, most often through the so called inverse perspective. If we concentrate only on the top triangle formed by flowers, it can be noticed that the triangle is inverted, thus representing, according to the ancient symbolism, the female principle, but also water. This image increases our visual sensation as the main motives in the picture are water (sparkling drink) and soil (a meadow studded by flowers). The sneaker can be interpreted as a male, heavenly principle, which is also made more convincing by showing the sky instead of the interior of a bottle filled with the sparkling drink. The bottle is represented as a contour that looks like the Earth with holes in it, and there is the sky peeking behind it. Towards the bottle's rim, there is a rainbow stretching across the clear sky (parallel to the upper diagonal of flowers), and the rainbow has been representing the meeting of the sky and the earth for centuries, whilst also being a symbol of a celestial message and the Virgin within the Christianity.

There are three animals dominating the interior of the bottle's contours: a lady bird on the very bottom of the bottle, on the ground, a bee hovering above it in the air, and a butterfly touching the rainbow. Underneath the butterfly and the rainbow, there is a flock of five sea gulls. In Christianity, number three symbolizes the Holy Trinity – Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, whilst number five symbolizes the man. The white seagulls are positioned right in the centre of the picture. Just below the white sea gulls, there is a white inscription – Coca Cola. This same inscription, just magnified, reappears at the bottom of the picture, it is now red and stretches across a green meadow. The message, that is the slogan, reads – Step into the summer.

The centric attitude that an individual has in relation to the surroundings gets reflected in the entire human existence' (Arnheim, 1998: 63). Just as every man sees himself as a centre and all other forms and the entire surroundings just as a space filled with secondary elements and events, the same logic was applied here and the Coca Cola bottle fills the centre of the picture. Thus, a centric composition of the picture has been achieved and it satisfies human eye the most.

Based on the described symbolism, it is possible to come to understand the advertisement as an offer and a call from the promised paradise where the sky and the earth unite and in whose centre is the man himself. The sparkling drink suggests the life elixir, the promise of a new reality, man's conciliation with the nature and harvesting of its fruits. Step into the summer, step freely, take me, drink me, change, are some of the imperative messages of the ad.

This form of visual advertisement does not require for each element to be perceived in its isolation, it rather plays upon the psychological component of the sensuous association, that is, the gestalt (Arnheim, 1998). The colors are very conspicuous and contrasts are strong, with the striking central piece being the recognizable, unique shape of the Coca Cola bottle which the colors essentially point to in the first place. This is a speaking picture; it addresses

everyone and possesses an exquisite associative and communicative component.

In the advertisement shown in Figure 2, the ancient symbol of the eye was stylized and psychologically linked to the observer. According to a typology established by Bogdanovic (2002), this type of an eye belongs to a narrow and extended form of eye that could be found in ancient Egypt, Indian art from the period of Gupta (6th century) and Byzantine art and drama. He also contends that every similar form that is protruding and swelling out (of convex shape) has as a visual fact the same symbolic property as the eye.

This ancient symbol was further enhanced by putting the eye on the right hand side from the observer, as well as with a slogan *We create watches*. The slogan can be interpreted in two ways – as the creation of watches and as the creation of control, of monitoring. The ancient eye symbol is certain to attract the consumer, and as it is conceived to represent a part of the consumer's jewellery, it will also offer the sensation of the control over the time and space. On the right hand side, there is the ancient eye symbol, the so called *Oujat*. This is one of the oldest symbols in the world. Although at first sight these two concepts appear to be different, their similarity is huge and it is almost certain that it is not coincidental either. By looking at the belt contour and the position of the eye in the ad, it becomes possible to spot similarity with the ancient symbol that has been simplified and transferred into the form of an ad. The psychological influence has been achieved through association processes that lead to the establishment of communication, which then, in turn, leads to making profit, that is to buying the advertised watch.

Figure 2. Cover adveArtising **Figure. 2** Ouyat Eye **Figure 3.** Eye of Time



However, there is a detail on the Salvador Dali jewelry collection (Figure 3) called the *Eye of Time* that speaks volumes about the original symbolic considerations by the artist. The watch mechanism shaped like a human eye whose enameled surface is painted like a sky holding the watch arms, speaks of the artist's both modern and ancient attitudes towards forms. Surrealism as an artistic branch and movement has considerably contributed to the recognisable visual forms to be translated into unconventional situations. Thus this artistic creation precedes the promotional usage. Playing with symbols which artists first achieved has led to the opportunity for the 'surreal forms to become real enough in an unexpectedly possible situation' (Bogdanovic, 2002: 103).

Conclusion

The western culture, whose dominance is ever more present globally, traces its roots to ancient civilizations and these roots can be occasionally recognized in the modern society; thereby, the western culture has contributed to all previous experiences having been shaped into a homogenous consumer-based structure of the modern world.

In the modern society, the symbolic aspects of the art and its communication-related properties have been considerably disturbed. The art increasingly negates forms and object-based reality (figurative perception) whilst visual elements get symbolically intertwined with promotional elements in marketing agencies, all with a view to attracting attention and achieving the desired market effect. Yet, the communication-related value of the visual art is undisputed. Its centuries long role has consisted of creating links between the material and non-material worlds, that is between the animate and inanimate forms.

The conducted analyses refer to the economic propaganda by foreign producers who mount advertising campaigns in Serbia, but whose products' popularity and influence prevails over domestic products as a result of mass media and global market conditions. Using the outlined examples, it is possible to spot certain coordinates or guidelines which can be helpful in further managing and researching of the visual art, its communication-related and promotional properties and psychological effects over an individual. Though sudden technological development has introduced some important changes into modern man's way of living and thinking by its new communication means, basic means of communication have not changed much. For thousands of years men were establishing symbolic communication on whose grounds culture was created and developed. Artistic symbols have left some visual traces owing to which we are able to discover our own history and different ways in which our ancestors communicated with their surroundings. Science as we know it today is relatively young compared to the entire human history, and as such it still does not have all the answers to a variety of symbolical, magical and religious symbols whose main goal was the establishing of communication between the visible and invisible worlds.

Bibliography

- Adler, A. (1999). *Individual Psychology*. Belgrade: Nolit. [In Serbian].
Argan, G. (1982). *Theories of Modern Art*. Belgrade: Nolit. [In Serbian].
Arnheim, R. (1974). *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye*. Belgrade: University of Arts in Belgrade. [In Serbian].
Arnheim, R. (1974). *Visual Thinking*. Belgrade: University of Arts in Belgrade. [In Serbian].
Arnheim, R. (1998). *The Power of Center: A Study of Composition in the Visual Arts*. Belgrade: University of Arts in Belgrade. [In Serbian].

- Bogdanovic, K. (1986). *Introduction in Visual Culture*. Belgrade: College for Textbooks. [In Serbian].
- Geertz, C. (1988). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Belgrade: Library XX century. [In Serbian].
- Janicijevic, J. (2000). *Communication and Culture*. New Sad: Publishing House of Zoran Stojanovic. [In Serbian].
- Jung, C. G. (1996). *Man and his Symbols*. Belgrade: Alpha. [In Serbian].
- Kris, E. (1970). *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*. Belgrade: Culture. [In Serbian].
- McLuhan, M. (1973). *Gutemberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. Belgrade: Nolit.
- Ognjenovic, P. (2003). *Psychological Theories of Art*. Belgrade: Ghutemberg Galaxy. [In Serbian].
- Panofski, E. (1975). *Studies in iconology: Humanistic Themes in Art of the Renaissance*. Belgrade: Nolit. [In Serbian].
- Petrovic, S. (1986). *Metaphysics and Psychology of the Picture*. Nis: Gradina. [In Serbian].
- Piskel, G. (1970). *History of Art*. Belgrade: Nolit.
- Hauser, A. (2005). *The Social Hystory of Art*. New Sad: Publishing House of Zoran Stojanovic. [In Serbian].
- Rankovic, M. (1988). *Commonly Sociology of the Art*. Belgrade: Scientific Book. [In Serbian].
- Schmidt, S. (1975). *Aesthetic Processes*. Nis: Gradina. [In Serbian].

Chapter Sixteen

Obama Revisits 1984: The Representation of Dystopia, Utopia and the Female in the *Obama 1984* Advertisement

Rachel Grainger, University of Glamorgan, UK

The internet advertisement first appeared on You Tube in March 2007, during the Democratic Primary. It is an appropriation of Apple Macintosh's 1984 Super Bowl advertisement. Of course, this method of appropriating signs from other forms of popular culture, including the world of advertising is typical of how visual imagery functions in the postmodern condition. In reference to advertising, Goldman and Papson have explained how the continuous search for new signs has meant that they have exhausted all other discourses, resulting in the regurgitation of signs from within their own discourse: 'Indeed, advertising now chews up signs from other discourses so rapidly that it has begun to cannibalize its own system.' (Goldman and Papson, 1994). The *Obama 1984* commercial was not authorised or produced by Obama's campaign team and it did not form part of his official campaign, however, a link to the youtube posting was posted on Obama's official campaign site. The campaign team released an official statement, denying responsibility for the advertisement:

'The Obama campaign and its employees had no knowledge and had nothing to do with the creation of the ad. We were notified this evening by a vendor of ours, Blue State Digital, that an employee of the company had been involved in the making of this ad. Blue State Digital has separated ties with this individual and we have been assured he did no work on our campaign's account.' (Tapper, 2007)

In fact, an Obama supporter, named Phillip de Veillis, a former employee of Blue State Digital confessed to creating the Obama 1984 advertisement on Arianna Huffington's site. He stated, "*I did it. And I'm proud of it ... I made the 'Vote Different' ad because I wanted to express my feelings about the Democratic primary, and because I wanted to show that an individual citizen can affect the process.*" By 22 March 2007, it was estimated that the advertisement had had 1,897,492 hits. The *Obama1984* advert appears to have been a resounding success, like the Apple original. It achieved this, because it chimed with the popular opinion of the time; the American people wanted change. Writing about the original Apple version, Sarah R. Stein (2002) states;

'In Aristotelian terms, it was a kairotic moment, the right cultural product appearing at the right time, a critical juncture in the emergence of an information economy and computer-mediated social world...The Macintosh ad was to launch accessible computing for the non-expert public.'

The *Obama 1984* differs to the *Apple 1984* in that Senator Hillary Clinton has replaced the Big Brother figure on the huge television screen (see figure 1). To an audience of passive drone-like beings, Hillary Clinton conducts her campaign "conversation". Her tone is aggressive, commanding and oppressive. Thus, Hillary Clinton is painted as a totalitarian leader. Allied to that, in the *Obama 1984* commercial, the athlete wears the Obama 'O' logo on her vest top. The internet advertisement also concluded differently, for voiceover has been amended to, "*On January 14th the Democratic primary will begin. And you'll see why 2008 isn't going to be like 1984*" and the closing text reads, "*BarakObama.com.*"

Firstly, in order to understand how the *Obama 1984* advert functions, we need to understand how the *Apple 1984* works. The original sixty-second *Apple 1984* advertisement is one of the most famous commercials in American Advertising history and in fact, Ted Friedman (1997) has said of it that, '*... few commercials have ever been more influential.*' The advertisement's status in cultural history is ironic, when one considers that Apple's board objected to the advertisement on the grounds that 'it did not feature the product, it cost \$900,000 to produce (Friedman, 2005) and \$1.5million to air during the Super Bowl (Anonymous, 2004). The *Apple 1984* was first broadcast in the third quarter of Super Bowl XVIII, on 22 January 1984. This was its only national daytime broadcast, but the Super Bowl is the most sought after and expensive slot in American television advertising. As James B. Twitchell (2000) rather grandiosely states:

'The Super Bowl is the sweat lodge of modern masculinity. Every January millions of males, looking rather like their compatriots From Apple's 1984, slowly file into bars, living rooms, entertainment Centers, and clubs to watch what is usually a predictably dull game. The football will be moved for about eighteen minutes. Yet the show takes three hours. A few years ago a record of sorts was set when 44percent of a forty-five minute stretch was dedicated to commercials and promos. This is not a game. It is a carnival of commercialism.'

However, the advertisement was also screened on television on one another occasion, but only in Twin Falls, Idaho, in December 1983. The purpose behind this was to enter the advertisement for the advertising awards ceremonies for that year. For several weeks, the commercial was also shown at the cinema in the January of 1984. In addition, in 2004, as part of their

twentieth anniversary celebration, Apple posted a revised version of their 1984 commercial on their website.

Ridley Scott, who had also directed *Alien* and *Blade Runner*, directed the Apple 1984 commercial. Steve Hayden, Brent Thomas and Lee Clow at Chiat Day Venice devised the advertisement. Apple's 1984 is not an ordinary advertisement; it is a lavish and spectacular production.

The Apple 1984 advertisement is a direct referent to George Orwell's novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which is about a totalitarian state, called Oceania, which is permanently at war with Eurasia. In the novel, the Oceania is always under surveillance: two-way telecast screens broadcast continuous news bulletins about the war, as well as the Party leader Big Brother and his propaganda. With an all-seeing telecast screen in each room, everyone is constantly surveyed and the distinction between public and private has been eroded away. Truth is also a central theme of the plot. The protagonist character, Winston Smith works at the Ministry of Truth and rewrites history to further the ideology of the Party. As the narrative progresses Winston Fletcher begins to question the existence of Big Brother and the ongoing war. The monotony of Winston's life is punctuated by an affair with a young rebellious woman, called Julia. In a society where the private has been dissolved and sexual pleasure is denied, their affair is considered illicit and they are captured, imprisoned, interrogated in feared Room 101. The book concludes with the lovers forced to betray each other under torture and submit to Party ideology.

The advertisement begins with identical men marching in unison down tubular corridors. The men are dressed in outsized grey and dirty tunics and trousers. Their faces are grey, unhealthy-looking and expressionless. The face of one man is hidden by something resembling an oxygen mask and a large pair of circular glasses obscures the gaze of another. The walls of these corridors are lined with telescreens, bearing the face of Big Brother. In this scene, Ridley Scott clearly pays homage to the architecture of Fritz Lang's 1927 *Metropolis* with the tunnels in which the drone-like males march. The scene then cuts to an athletic looking female being pursued by storm troopers. The storm troopers' faces are masked with riot police visors. The woman is the protagonist character, she is differentiated from the drone-like males with her white sport's vest top, her scarlet running shorts, the red sweat band on her right wrist and the white sweat band on her left wrist. The woman is defined as representing Apple, for her vest bares a drawing of the Macintosh computer. The woman's clothing, her dynamism and her healthy athletic appearance stand in antithesis to that of the marching males. As the woman runs down the auditorium to the large screen on which Big Brother preaches his political propaganda:

"Today, we celebrate the first glorious anniversary of the information Purification Directives. We have created for the first time in all history, a garden of pure ideology. Where each worker may bloom secure from the pests of contradictory and confusing

truths. Our Unification of Thoughts is more powerful a weapon than any fleet or army on earth. We are all one people, with one will, one resolve, one cause. Our enemies shall talk themselves to death and we will bury them with their own confusion. We shall prevail!’”
(Scott, 1984)

At the very moment that, Big Brother declares, ‘We shall prevail!’ the woman throws the hammer at the screen. As the screen is smashed, the auditorium is filled with smoke and bathed in brilliant light. As a result, the drone-like males awaken from their catatonic state and appear to be in a state of shock. Then, the commercial cuts to the voiceover and text, ‘*On January 24th, Apple Computer will introduce Macintosh. And you’ll see why 1984 won’t be like 1984.*’ The final frame of the commercial is the rainbow coloured Apple logo.

The *Apple 1984* advertisement does not once feature the Macintosh computer; it is about selling a lifestyle and not a computer. It does not preach about the technical capabilities of the computer, its user friendliness, etc. Gender: it functions as a binary opposition between female and male; Macintosh is the athletic, hammer throwing young woman. In contrast, IBM is Big Brother. The shaven haired, uniformed drones in the tubes and auditorium are all males. Macintosh’s female is the embodiment of the 1980s’ notion of the New Female, for she is independent, empowered and athletic. Moreover, she is an individual in a world of drones. On another level, the hammer is a metaphor for the Macintosh. In his Apple 1983 Keynote speech, Steve Jobs (1984) was vehement about Apple’s need to prevent IBM seizing control of the market:

‘It is now 1984. It appears IBM wants it all. Apple is perceived to be the only hope to offer IBM a run for its money. Dealers initially welcoming IBM with open arms now fear an IBM dominated and controlled future. They are increasingly turning back to Apple as the only force that can ensure their future freedom. IBM wants it all and is aiming its guns on its last obstacle to industry control: Apple. Will Big Blue dominate the entire computer industry? The entire information Age? Was George Orwell right?’

The *Apple 1984* signalled a distinct break in the genre of computer advertising, since it was the first instance of the science-fiction genre being used to promote computer products. According to Friedman, computer companies had previously been concerned about “intimidating their audience”, since when Americans thought of computers in science-fiction films, they thought of HAL in *2001: A Space Odyssey*. Companies. (Friedman, 1997)

The *Apple 1984* was a resounding success, for after the advertisement was screened, CBS, Chiat Day and Apple received an unprecedented number of telephone enquiries. It is estimated that it generated \$5 million free publicity, for it became a talking point on all three major television networks, almost fifty

local television stations and many newspapers and magazines. It also went on to win over thirty advertising awards, including the Grand Prize at Cannes International Advertising Film Festival, and it was hailed as the commercial of the 1980s by America's *Advertising Age*.

So, the *Obama 1984* advertisement semiotically 'piggy-backs' on one of the most iconic and highly praised advertisements in American advertising history. To appropriate one of the most famous advertisements in history is a shrewd move, because it has a history of provoking attention and being judged as an accomplished piece of cinematography. As I have previously stated, there are several differences between the Obama version and the original Apple version of the advertisement. These differences are obviously enough for the Obama version to deliver a new message. The amended version functions in a similar way to the original, in that the audience witnesses a dystopia that is broken down by a utopian impulse. The *Obama 1984* advert paints Hillary Clinton as a totalitarian leader, who needs to be overthrown, if the people of America are to be free. Obama is represented by the hammer-throwing female and thus, Obama is offered-up as a utopian alternative to Hillary Clinton's dystopia. Thus, Obama takes on the role of the Macintosh in Apple's original advertisement. This promise of a utopia, according to Jameson is a confidence trick to in order to persuade and make the individual compliant:

'Works of mass culture cannot be ideological without at one and the same time being implicitly or explicitly Utopian as well; they cannot manipulate unless they offer some genuine shred or content as a fantasy bribe to the public about to be manipulated.' (Jameson, 1979)

According to Jameson, utopian texts function as a critique and employ spectacle to achieve this. Thus, representations of utopia interrupt the narrative as spectacle. Jameson's interpretation of utopia really is as a "no place;" it is an imagined location, which occurs when the present is momentarily paralysed:

'if things can really happen in Utopia, if real disorder, change, transgression, novelty, in brief if history is possible at all, then we begin to doubt whether it can really be a Utopia after all, and its institutions ... slowly begin to turn around into their opposite, a more properly dystopian repression of the unique experience of individual lives.' (Jameson, 1986)

Linda Ruth Williams discusses how the two films *Brazil* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are based on Orwell's book, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and in her critique, she comments on how the 'woman functions ... as a spectacle of interruption, an escape from the dark dystopic terrain – a sublime 'pause' which opens up a set of crucial issues about the inextricability of dream and despair in 1980s cinematic culture.' (Williams, 1999). This notion of the

female as a 'spectacle of interruption' is true of both the *Apple 1984* and *Obama 1984* advertisements. However, in the Obama version there are two women and not one as in the original, for Hillary Clinton has replaced Big Brother on the telescreen. Williams's statement is true of the woman athlete in the 1984 advertisements, as the young woman athlete disrupts the *status quo*, when she throws the hammer and commands our immediate attention (see figure 2). Furthermore, the impact of her hammer on the screen renders an explosion of brilliant light (see figure 3). It is an instance of a subliminal 'pause', for as the light sweeps through the auditorium, time seems suspended as the motion slows down. It is a defining moment, when hope is offered. Liberation is a female act, but it is inclusive of all the population of the advertisement. The female hammer-thrower is an empowered body; she is capable of carrying-out a courageous, difficult and revolutionary act. As such, she stands in antithesis to the power of the State. Her athletic figure is a strident contrast to the docile, subjected bodies of the drones. However, in the *Obama1984*, as Hillary Clinton has replaced Big Brother, the female is also control the dystopian society and is thus, a symbol of oppression. Nevertheless, she is a powerful figure and, therefore, stands in contrast to the docile bodies of the males.

In both versions of the *1984* commercial, dystopia and utopia are portrayed on the human face. In the advertisement, the limits of the self are defined by human skin. From the very onset of the commercial, it is evident that the men marching down the corridors in uniform order, the masked storm troopers and the men sat in the auditorium lack individuality. The lack of personal freedom is a central theme in the dystopian discourse, as Fromm discusses:

'It would appear that the indispensable characteristic of the totalitarian dystopia is its hostility to freedom, not merely political but primarily personal freedom. Indeed, one's self, individuality – these are the state's enemies, because the object of the totalitarian state is the unmaking of men.' (Fromm, 2002)

This is a depersonalised vision of the future, whereby the 'inner-self' is effaced and by so doing is denied. The commercial is an apparition of a future in which the nothing lies beneath the surface of the skin. It is a notion of socialism that Orwell opposed and dreaded, and portrayed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with the chanting, fearful and unquestioning inhabitants of Oceania. Hillary Clinton is in close-up and we only see her face. The fact that, we are unable to see her body dehumanizes her and makes her appear robotic. Hillary Clinton looks straight into camera and, therefore, engages with the gaze of the onlooker. This nearness of focus reveals her complexion as imperfect, aged and grey. Hillary Clinton may be in command of all that she surveys, but her skin tones mark her out as dystopian signifier. The commercial's *mise-en-scene* and grey tones make emphatic this fusion of the democratic individualism into totalitarian equivalence. Escape from the totalitarian regime is rendered through colour; the athletic young woman is tanned and healthy looking, she

wears red running shoes, red shorts, a white vest with the red and blue Obama 'O' logo on, and she has a thick shock of blonde hair. The vest is red, white and blue and is, therefore, a signifier of the United States, as well as Obama. The logo further symbolises the United States, for the stripes connote the American plains and the actual 'O' connotes the sun rising over the plain. Thus, the logo functions on two levels; it connotes that Obama will free the people and bring about change and that it will be the American people who are freed. Frederic Jameson (1988) has discussed how such critiques of dystopian representations are usually anti-socialist:

'...from religious arguments about sinful hubris of an anthropocentric social order all of the way to the vivid 'totalitarian' dystopias of the contemporary counterrevolutionary tradition (Dostoyevsky, Orwell, etc.), Utopia is a transparent synonym for socialism itself, and the enemies of Utopia sooner or later turn out to be the enemies of socialism

It is entirely appropriate that the *Apple 1984* should have been chosen to express support for Obama and criticise Hillary Clinton and her policies, for science-fiction is more capable than any other genre of commenting on the present. According to Grant (2004), it is because it is rooted in fantasy that it is able to do so:

'Above any comparable genre, science fiction seems to be able to represent and reproduce the individual and collective fears, paranoias and cultural and political transformations that exist in society. Science fiction can do this because by its definition it is delineated by the word 'fiction,' and because its landscapes, narratives and ideological centres are seemingly so far removed from the 'realism' of the actual world by its time travel and future technology metaphors.'

During the course of this paper, I have drawn heavily on the work of Frederic Jameson. The *Obama 1984* commercial may promise a better tomorrow, but perhaps we ought to remind ourselves that Jameson is of the opinion that utopias are desirable, but tare impossible to achieve. Jameson (1988) writes:

'Utopia's deepest subject, and the source of all that is most vibrantly political about it is precisely our inability to conceive it, our incapacity to produce it as a vision, our failure to project the Other of what is, a failure that, as with fireworks dissolving back into the night sky, must once again leave us alone with this history.'

The 1984 advertisements take the viewer through a journey; we move from an imagined dystopia to the promise of a utopia. The purpose of this paper was not to test the validity of either notion, but to discuss how both are rendered by the representation of the female. In both instances, the athletic young woman with the hammer is the saviour, who liberates those condemned to a dystopian existence. Prior to liberation the inhabitants of the imagined dystopia are soulless characters with blank expressionless faces. They have no depth, for their skin has become sutured to their inner-self. The grey complexions of these people are signifiers of a dystopian existence. In contrast, the rebellious young athlete is bronzed and healthy in complexion. Thus, it can be said that dystopia is only skin deep.

It is, of course, ironic that Orwell's novel should inspire one of the most famous commercials, in American history and subsequently a guerrilla political advertisement, for to a socialist like Orwell, advertising is a symbol of capitalist corruption. Orwell once defined advertising as, "the rattling of a stick in a swill bucket".

Figure 1. *Hillary Clinton appears as the Big Brother Character*



Figure 2. *The Hammer-throwing Woman*



Figure 3. *The Explosion of Brilliant Light*



Bibliography

- Beard, J. (1998). 'Science fiction films of the 80s: Fin de siècle before its time.' *Journal of Popular Culture* 32 (1): 1-13.
- Bloch, R. (2002). 'The Potential for Social Criticism.' In: J.G. Cunningham (ed.), *Science Fiction*, 54-64, Greenhaven Press, Inc., San Diego, CA.
- Claesson, U. (1983). 'Depiction of Women in American Science Fiction Films.' *Filmrutan* 26 (1): 17-19.
- Crick, B. (1983). 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' & Orwell, George '1984' – Satire or Prophecy.' *Dutch Quarterly Review of Anglo-American Letters* 13 (2): 90-102.
- Crowley, M. 'Hope sinks – The disappointingly conventional Obama campaign.' *New Republic* 237 (7): 20-23.
- Fairey, S. & Gross, J. (2009). *Art for Obama, Designing Manifest Hope and the Campaign for Change*, Abrams Image: New York.
- Floch, J. M. (2000), *Visual Identities*, Continuum: London & New York.
- Friedman, T. (1997). 'Apple's 1984: The Introduction of the Macintosh in the Cultural History of Personal Computers.' www.duke.edu/~tlove/mac.htm. [22 May 2010].
- Fromm, E. (2002). 'Negative Utopias and Orwell's Dark Vision.' In: J. G. Cunningham (ed.), *Science Fiction*, 108-117, Greenhaven Press, Inc., San Diego, CA.
- Goldman, R. & Papson, S. (1994). 'Advertising in the Age of Hypersignification.' *Theory, Culture & Society*, 11 (3): 23-53.
- Grant, B., K. (2004). 'Sensuous Elaboration': Reason and the Visible in the Science Fiction Film.' In In: S. Redmond (ed.), *Liquid Metal, The Science Fiction Film Reader*, 11-16, Wallflower Press: London & New York.
- Greenland, H. (1987). 'Images of Nineteen Eighty-Four: Fiction and Prediction.' In: G. Slusser, C. Greenland & E. Rabkin (eds.), *Storm Warnings, Science Fiction Confronts the Future*, 114-123, Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- Harfoush, R. (2009). *Yes We Did*, New Riders.
- Huntington, J. (1956). 'Science Fiction and the Future.' In: M. Rose (ed.), *Science Fiction, A Collection of Critical Essays*, 156-166, A Spectrum Book.
- Huntington, J. (1987). 'Orwell and the Uses of the Future.' In: G. Slusser, C. Greenland & E. Rabkin (eds.), *Storm Warnings, Science Fiction Confronts the Future*, 124-134, Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- Jameson, F. (1979). 'Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture.' *Social Text*, 1 (Winter), 132-164.
- Jameson, F. (1986). *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, London: Methuen.
- Jameson, F. (1988). *The Ideologies of Theory: Essays 197-1986, Volume 2: The Syntax of History*. London: Routledge.
- Jobs, S. (1983). 'Apple Keynote- The 1984 Commercial Introduction.' www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsiQA6KKyJO. [22 May 2010].
- Lee, S., Perry-Zucker, A., & Heller, S. (2009). *Design for Obama*, Taschen.
- Maslen, E. (1987). 'One Man's Tomorrow Is Another's Today: The Reader's World and Its Impact on Nineteen Eighty-Four.' In: G. Slusser, C. Greenland & E. Rabkin (eds.), *Storm Warnings, Science Fiction Confronts the Future*, 146-158, Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- Moriarty, S. (date unknown). www.Spot.colorado.edu/~moriarts/viscueing.html. [22 May 2010].

*Obama Revisits 1984: The Representation of Dystopia,
Utopia and the Female in the Obama 1984 Advertisement*

- Moylan, T. (2000). *Scraps of the Untainted Sky*, Westview.
- Neale, S. (2004). 'You've Got To Be Fucking Kidding!': Knowledge, Belief and Judgement in Science Fiction.' In: S. Redmond (ed.), *Liquid Metal, The Science Fiction Film Reader*, 11-16, Wallflower Press: London & New York.
- Reilly, P. (1982). 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' The Failure of Humanism.' *Critical Quarterly* 24 (3): 19-30.
- Resch, R. P. (1997). 'Utopia, dystopia, and the middle class in George Orwell's 'Nineteen Eighty-Four'.' *Boundary 2- An International Journal of Literature and Culture* 24 (1): 137-176.
- Ruppert, P. (1989). 'Blade runner', The Utopian Dialectics of Science-Fiction Films.' *Cineaste* 17 (2): 8-13.
- Rushton, R. (2007). 'Three modes of terror: Transcendence, submission, incorporation (George Orwell's 'Nineteen Eighty-four', Kazuo Inshiguro's The 'Remains of the Day', Lucile Hadzihalilovic's 'Innocence').' *Nottingham French Studies* 46 (3): 109-120.
- Russell, W. M. S. & Rusell, C. (1987). 'Big Brother Antichrist: Orwell, Apocalypse, and Overpopulation.' In: G. Slusser, C. Greenland & E. Rabkin (eds.), *Storm Warnings, Science Fiction Confronts the Future*, 147-159, Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- Ryan, M. & Kellner. (2004). 'Technophobia/Dystopia.' In: S. Redmond (ed.), *Liquid Metal, The Science Fiction Film Reader*, 48-56, Wallflower Press: London & New York.
- Shippey, T. A. (1987). 'Variations on Newspaeak: The Open Question of Nineteen Eighty-Four.' In: G. Slusser, C. Greenland & E. Rabkin (eds.), *Storm Warnings, Science Fiction Confronts the Future*, 159-171, Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- Sontag, S. (1956). 'The Imagination of Disaster.' In: M. Rose (ed.), *Science Fiction, A Collection of Critical Essays*, 116-131, A Spectrum Book.
- Stein, S. R. (2002). 'The "1984" Macintosh Ad: Cinematic Icons and Constitutive Rhetoric in the Launch of New Machine.' *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88 (2): 169-192.
- Tapper, J. (2007). 'Anti-Clinton Ad Linked to Obama Campaign Tech.' <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=2971514>. [22 May 2010].
- Twitchell, J. B. (2000). *Twenty Ads that Shook the World, The Century's Most Groundbreaking Advertising and How it Changed Us All*, Three Rivers Press: New York.
- Walters, R. (2007). 'Barack Obama and the Politics of Blackness.' *Journal of Black Studies* 38 (1): 7-29.
- Williams, L.R. (1999). 'Dream girls and mechanic panic, Dystopia and its others in *Brazil* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.' In: I. Q. Hunt (ed.), *British Science Fiction Cinema*. Routledge.

Chapter Seventeen

President Bush's Final Use of *Apologia* to Repair his Image

Fran Hassencahl, Old Dominion University, USA

On September 14, 2001, President Bush stood at Ground Zero in the smoldering ruins of the twin towers of the World Trade Center and reassured the American people that he would take action against those who on September 11 destroyed these buildings and snuffed out thousands of lives. Public opinion polls in October 2001 gave Bush a 92 per cent approval rating, which is the highest rating for any American president in the approval polls taken since 1938. By October of 2008, Bush's approval ratings plummeted to 23 percent and were just one point above the 22 percent approval ratings given to President Truman (1945-1953). Prior to 9/11 and during his first eight months in office Bush achieved a 58 percent approval rating (Langer, 2009). Langer reports that during his second four-year term, Bush's approval rating never reached majority public approval. Bush, like Truman, experienced an unpopular war and a sagging economy. Both Bush and Truman faced charges of corruption and cronyism and for Bush, this extended to his slow response and his appointments of personnel to handle a domestic emergency, Hurricane Katrina. Bush, as the titular head of the Republican Party, left office with his party licking their wounds over a lost 2008 presidential election and fearing a reversal of the gains that the party made with the 20 year long Reagan Revolution.

Already in January 2008 before Bush delivered his final State of the Union Address, Cannon and Cannon (2008) speculated in *The Washington Post* that the Republicans could not take back the Congress in the upcoming elections and judged Bush to be 'a disaster –if not the worst president of all time.' The father and son journalists also correctly predicted that the Republican candidate for the presidency in 2008, John McCain, would not campaign with Bush at his side. During his first term of office, Bush declined to identify any mistakes he had made in office. In the second debate in 2004 with the Democratic challenger Senator John Kerry, the moderator asked Bush to name three instances where he had made a wrong decision during his first term of office. He did not offer any examples of decisions he regretted or mistakes. It was not until a round table discussion with reporters from 14 newspapers on January 14, 2005 that Bush admitted that his statement 'Bring 'em on' which referred to Iraqis who attacked American soldiers and his declaration to capture Osama bin Laden 'dead or alive' were ill advised. (Yahoo News, 2005).

Bush has been aware for some time that his legacy is under fire and even though he denies that he cares, his actions prove other wise. In December 2003

when *Washington Post* reporter, Bob Woodward, asked Bush how history would judge the Iraq War, Bush's self-deprecating reply was 'History. We don't know. We'll all be dead' (Eggen, 2008). *The Guardian* in London reported that Bush was 'fretting' over his legacy and invited a group of historians in the summer of 2007 to the White House to discuss with him how his presidency might be viewed in the future (MacAskill, 2007). Bush, who majored in history at Yale University, began in the spring of 2008 to use historical analogies in his speeches and to argue that he would be vindicated by historians who will eventually see him as successfully defending freedom and fighting the war on terrorism. Bush also compares himself to President Truman whose position is now elevated in history as we look back on his ending of World War II and the creation of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe. Historian David Brinkley of Rice University squashes that comparison by noting that the only part of the analogy that holds is that both Bush and Truman left office with low approval ratings (Eggen, 2008).

The cliché 'Time will tell' applies here and we cannot predict what will be the final evaluation by scholars and citizens on the successes and failures of the 43rd President of the United States. We can examine Bush's efforts to repair his image and legacy. One rhetorical strategy that Bush uses to repair his image is *apologia*. Bush's final use of that strategy is investigated in this paper. The artifacts chosen for analysis are his final press conference on January 12, 2009 and a final address to the American people on January 15, 2009.

Greek orators utilized and wrote about the strategy of *apologia*, and contemporary politicians frequently use this rhetorical strategy. Trent and Friedenbergl (2000) suggest that *apologias* have only recently become a common form of campaign communication. They predict that 'apologias will be a feature of American political rhetoric for years to come.' We live in an era where both contenders and incumbents for political offices need to discuss their virtues and vices. While contemporary journalists probe every nook and cranny, politicians and their staff turn to the strategies of denial, bolstering, transcendence, and differentiation to enhance their images and to wipe away the attack stories told by the opposing politicians and the press. Gold (1978) concludes that a political candidate's attempts to discuss and defend policy positions is turned by the press into the drama of defending actions and intent, answering questions of character, explaining what appears to be inconsistencies in statements, and fending off charges and countercharges by critics.

Inherent in all political activities and courtroom trials is the need to marshal arguments based upon the Aristotelian presumption that after the clash of arguments and the examination of both sides, the truth will prevail. In modern vernacular, the best story wins. Aristotle advocates that the successful speaker needs to utilize three approaches: logic, character or *ethos*, and *pathos* or appeals to personal needs and motivation. This is not the place to cite or discuss the multitude of studies, both qualitative and quantitative, that verify the persuasive power of the character of the advocate. In the context of his times Aristotle refers to the speaker as 'the good man [rather than the good person] speaking well.'

There are times when the goodness of the speaker is under attack and advisors have developed strategies to restore that person's credibility and good name. One of those strategies is the genre of the *apologia*, which provides speakers with options to affirm, deny, or modify their critics' attacks on their character and behavior. One of the early-recorded narratives of such a defense is Plato's *Apology*, which purports to be the actual speech of Socrates at his trial in 399 B.C.E. *Apology* is a treatise against the rhetorical practices of the Athenian courts and a defense of his teacher, Socrates, who received a death sentence from the courts for his impiety and the consequent corruption of the minds of his students. How much of the dialogue that occurs is the actual statement of Socrates or the creation of one of the first recorded spin-doctor, Plato, is not known. Plato wishes to clear the name of his teacher and establish that Socrates was a man of principles who did not resort to sophistic rhetoric to establish truth.

Downey (1993) chronicles the evolution of the rhetorical genre of *apologia* and observes that *apologia* has evolved from self-defense in the courts to justification for those in the medieval period who faced execution and possible martyrdom for their beliefs to image management for politicians and organizations. Communication scholars examine the application of *apologia* in two main contexts of individual speakers who defend themselves or another individual and those who speak for organizations. Such studies surface using the search descriptors of *apologia/apology*, crisis management, image repair and image management.

Apologia were not seen as a separate genre of public discourse until Ware and Linkugel argued in 1973 that 'apologetical discourses constitute a distinct form of public address, a family of speeches with sufficient elements in common so as to warrant legitimately generic status.' Ware and Linkugel describe four types of apologetic speaking: 1) denial, 2) bolstering 3) differentiation, and 4) transcendence. Benoit (1995) examined the use of *apologia* by both individuals and organizations and added a fifth category of mortification, which shifts the focus of *apologia* from defense in the courtroom to the broader realm of public opinion under the rubric of image restoration. Koesten and Rowland (2004) find that President Clinton's rhetoric after his affair with a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, builds upon the concept of mortification. They suggest an additional strategy of atonement whereby those accused accept responsibility for their sins and seek forgiveness. Inherent in this process is the possibility of the emergence of a redeemed person or organization.

Bauer (2008) in *The Art of the Public Grovel*, argues that apology and confession are not the same, because an apology is 'an expression of regret,' whereas a confession is 'an admission of fault.' She makes a case for grounding the confession to the tradition of individuals making a private confession to God through the medium of Catholic priests to the rise of the evangelical tradition and the altar calls where individuals publically acknowledge that they were sinners and desire to begin a new life. The rise of radio and television preachers made these acts seem commonplace. Koesten

and Rowland (2004) include the practice of confession as seeking atonement, which is one of the genres of *apologia*.

Numerous studies in the communication literature focus on individual efforts to reestablish a reputation and find forgiveness. Such studies include Linkugel and Razak's (1969) study of Sam Houston's speech of self defense in the U.S. House of Representatives and Ling's (1970) study of Senator Edward Kennedy's speech to the citizens of Massachusetts after failing to immediately report an auto accident that involved the drowning his passenger Mary Jo Kopechne, who was one of his brother Robert's campaign workers. Theye (2008) uses narrative theory to examine the stories used in Vice- President Cheney's *apologia* after he accidentally shot one of his friends in a quail hunt in the Texas grasslands in 2006. Edwards (2005) analyzes Japan's Prime Minister Tomilichi Murayama's apology for Japanese war crimes.

Rowland and Jerome (2004) observe that researchers utilize *apologia* theory to investigate how organizations respond to a crisis when they want to restore their image and market share after a lapse in judgment or a situation where loss of life or harm to their customers occurred. Rowland and Jerome (2004) argue that organizational *apologia* differs from individual apology due to the presence of two sometimes contradictory purposes and that the societal constraints for organizational *apologia* are greater in number than those for the individual wishing to clear his or her name. They suggest an expansion of the genre of *apologia*, because the functions of image restoration and image maintenance, particularly the maintenance of an image, are a more universal purpose for organizations than image repair. Although they hesitate to offer a laundry list of strategies, they draw heavily upon Benoit (1995) and Ware and Linkugel's (1973) discussions of *apologia*. The strategies that they suggest are: 1) demonstrate concern for the victims; 2) bolster organizational values; 3) deny intent to do harm; and 4) prevent recurrence by pursuing the 'root cause' of the problem. Corporate entities are not immune from needing to provide explanations and defend their actions. Cruise ships, after two people fell over board in December 2008 and January 2009, are defending their safety records and security practices. Cruise lines blame such deaths on excessive alcohol or suicide (Netter, 2009). Studies of organizational *apologia* include Hearita and Brown's (2004) analysis of Merrill Lynch's fraudulent misrepresentation of stocks, the 1960 Soviet U-2 Incident (Stein 2008), and the Catholic Church's response to the 2002 sexual abuse scandals (Dixon, 2004).

Trent and Friedenberg (2000) identify six commonly used strategies of *apologia*. Not all of these strategies will be used in every situation. It is wise for the individual to deliver an *apologia* in a situation that others appear to control. Traditionally many politicians present their *apologia* in situations where they seem to be in complete control. Bush's presentations at the White House and his final press conference are controlled by him and not by others. The following five genres of *apologia* are used here: 1) denial, 2) bolstering, 3) differentiation, 4) transcendence, and 5) atonement. For the purposes of consistency and to permit comparative studies, the traditional five areas of *apologetic* strategies are utilized here.

Denial is a common strategy in the courtroom, particularly if there is no direct evidence or witnesses to link the person to the event. Denial works best when these negations do not conflict with known facts or the beliefs held by the audience. Bush rarely uses denial (Benoit, 2006). Benoit (2006) finds that Bush when confronted with questions about his promises to create jobs uses denial and shifts the time frame from jobs created to jobs being created. However, the evidence offered to substantiate these gains does not mention a specific number of jobs.

Bolstering occurs when the speaker attempts to identify with situations, ideas, and events that audiences view favorably. When Bush (January 15, 2009) indicates that the United States is 'standing with dissidents and young democracies' and 'leading the world to a new age where freedom belongs to all nations,' he connects with the audiences' concerns about promoting democracy and freedom without reminding them of the losses of American lives in Iraq and Afghanistan.

A third strategy is differentiation, which Ware and Linkugel (1973) define as 'separating some fact, sentiment, object, or relationship from some larger context within the which the audience presently views that attribute.' Bush points out to the audience on January 15 that even if they did not agree with some of his decisions they could agree that he was willing to make tough decisions.

A fourth strategy is what Ware and Linkugel (1973) term the transcendental strategy. A speaker 'cognitively joins some fact, sentiment, object, or relationship with some larger context within which the audience does not presently view that attribute.' Thus, Bush shifts the attention of the press from a charge that his program for information gathering violated civil liberties to the context that none of these debates matter if there is another terrorist attack.

The final option open to an individual or an organization is to confess and to seek atonement for the shortcoming. By admitting guilt, the discussion of whether the act was done or not concludes and the individual can then move on to other issues. Bush in his 2009 farewell address mentions that he had experienced 'setbacks' and that 'there are things that I would do differently if given the chance.' He does not explain what those shortcomings are and immediately turns to a higher value by telling his audience that he acted 'with the best interests of the country in mind.' When he reminds the audience that he has followed his conscience and 'done what I thought was right', he shifts from examining the consequences of his decisions to a confession of how he made the decisions.

Reporters attending Bush's final press conference on January 12, 2009 in the James A. Brady Briefing Room in the White House in Washington DC could expect a final farewell and the exchange of pleasantries, but if they were expecting a president to confess that he had made mistakes, they would be disappointed. In answer to the question of 'What is the single biggest mistake that you may have made?', Bush discusses three decisions. These are not his major decisions, but rather are sub decisions of major decisions on Iraq,

Hurricane Katrina, and domestic policy. By redefining the crises, he also minimizes the magnitudes of any bad decisions that he might have made. In this respect, he used the strategy of differentiation to shift from the more serious problems to lesser problems. Bush brings up the sign, 'Mission Accomplished,' displayed on the aircraft carrier after the invasion of Iraq as a mistake that 'sent the wrong message.' He does not discuss whether the decision to launch a preemptive strike against Iraq was a wise decision, but redirects the question to how that decision was promoted. He responds, 'Some of my rhetoric was a mistake.' He also mentions Hurricane Katrina, but mulls over whether his choice of where and when to have Air Force One land was the right decision rather than whether the government's response was timely and sufficient for the emergency. The hurricane struck on Monday and Bush flew over the area two days later to survey the damage but did not actually come to New Orleans until Friday.

In response to a second question about Hurricane Katrina Bush differentiates from the progress of reconstruction to talk about the process of rebuilding, which he terms as quick and ongoing. He denies that the federal response was slow and shifts to a discussion of the 30 thousand people pulled from rooftops by helicopter pilots and whether we want to tell those courageous responders that their work was slow. By describing these heroes Bush, transcends the difficulties faced by the more than 15 thousand people who crowded into the Louisiana Superdome, the sports complex, and languished for days with overflowing toilets, no medical help or police supervision, and diminishing supplies of food and water.

The other mistake that he admits is his effort to get Social Security reform immediately after his reelection in 2004. He notes that he should have focused upon immigration reform and recalled from his days as the governor of Texas that 'legislatures tend to be risk-averse' and reluctant to 'take on a hard task when a crisis is not imminent.' Bush moves into denial here but shifts the blame to Congress. In defense of any wrong decisions, he labels himself as a passive receiver rather than a seeker of information when he states these decisions were 'made on the information at hand.' He is not accusatory, because that is not his style, but he transcends the issue of adequate information by stating, 'and you stand by your decisions, and you do your best to explain why you made the decisions you made.'

Bush chooses to differentiate between mistakes and disappointments. He labels the incidents of torture and intimidation at the Iraqi Abu Ghraib prison as a 'huge disappointment' and the lack of weapons of mass destruction on Iraq as 'a significant disappointment.' He states, 'I don't know if you want to call those mistakes or not, but they were—things didn't go according to plan, let's put it that way.'

The most frequent type of *apologia* that Bush utilizes is transcendence. He attempts to link his policies and decisions back to the events of 9/11. For Bush issues of national security take precedence. Although Bush does not directly address a reporter's question as to whether there is still an axis of evil consisting of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, he labels Iran and North Korea as

'dangerous.' Exercising more caution than he did in 2002 and 2003 with his accusations of a nuclear Iraq, he does not state that Iran and North Korea have nuclear weapons. He does suggest that North Korea must permit observers to guarantee that they do not develop the facilities to build them. He then shifts the discussion to answer what the reporter also asked regarding the greatest and most urgent security threat that President Obama will face. This gives him the opportunity to shift to the abstraction of 'the enemy' who wants to inflict damage on America and launch an 'attack on our homeland.' Bush waves the 'bloody shirt' of terrorists' attacks and 9/11 to deflect criticism of his policies in Iraq and the treatment of prisoners of war.

The expression, 'waving the bloody shirt', refers to a practice used in political campaigns in the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War in the United States. Various radical northern Republicans blamed Southern Democrats for the bloodshed of the war and President Lincoln's assassination. Budansky (2008) chronicles how the bloody shirt became a metaphor for the atrocities of the Ku Klux Klan. In an incident in Mississippi, the Klan brutally beat a school superintendent for his efforts to educate African Americans. The often-told story after this incident was that Congressman Butler from Massachusetts made a fiery speech in Congress against the murders, whippings, and mutilations perpetuated by Southerners against freed Blacks and white Republicans. When he called for a bill to break the power of the Klan, he waved the bloody nightshirt that Huggens had worn that night. The beating occurred; the shirt waving did not, but this metaphor continues to refer to demagogic speaking.

When Bush gave his farewell address to an audience of two hundred invited guests and spoke to the American people in a televised address from the White House on January 15, 2009, he invokes the image of the bloody shirt. His first point of discussion refers back to the events of 9/11 and his memories of standing in the rubble of the World Trade Center to address the rescue workers and the nation. Bush often refers to the mother who gave him her son's police badge after his death in the rescue effort. He states that he carries that badge with him as a reminder of the heroes of 9/11. President Bush engages in some differentiating rhetoric and observes that while most Americans were able to return to daily life after 9/11, he was unable to do so. He reminds the audience that every morning he confronts the dangers by being briefed 'on the threats to our nation.' Ordinary folks do not know of these dangers, but Bush says, 'I vowed to do everything in my power to keep us safe.' He then launches into a laundry list of activities undertaken in his administration to further the best interests of United States and to bolster his image as a man of action and a warrior in the fight against good and evil. With the creation of the Department of Homeland Security to developing tools to monitor terrorists' activities and finances to diminishing their power and influence over the citizens of Afghanistan and Iraq, he labored to keep America safe. He notes that while there had been debate about his decisions, the bottom line is that 'America has gone more than seven years without another terrorist attack on our soil.' He is then able in the conclusion of his speech to link

himself with other selfless heroes from the Iraq War, some of whom were present in the audience in the East Room.

Although Bush is presently under a dark cloud of disapproval for his eight years in office, it is possible that over time public opinion will mellow. Bush hopes for this and observes that historians are still arguing about the ranking of George Washington the first president (Cannon and Cannon, 2008). Since ranking are comparative, it is possible that Bush could be compared to predecessors who also fell in the public opinion polls. President Truman's use of blunt language and political maneuvers when compared to President Nixon's language and political manipulations permits a raise in his standings in the rankings of best and worst American presidents. Vincent Cannato (2006), historian and speechwriter in 2001 for President Bush, optimistically predicts that although Bush's legacy looks 'grim...that doesn't ensure a grim future' (Cannato, 2006).

Whether it is serving as a good will ambassador, attending state funerals, giving speeches, or participating in charity golf tournaments ex-presidents are bound by a protocol that keeps them from directly criticizing the policies and actions of their successors. Living ex-presidents have the option of participating in activities that can create a more favorable legacy. Chambers (1998) judges President Carter as 'more presidential' out of office than when he was in office.

It remains to be seen whether President George W. Bush will be viewed as more presidential after leaving the presidency. He returned to his home state of Texas, but not to the ranch at Crawford. Giving his self-given title of the "Great Decider" to his wife Laura, he resides in Dallas. Currently he shops at the local hardware stores, writes his memoirs, and begins a new career as a celebrity speaker. Currently historians do not give him a high ranking. In a survey of 109 historians conducted for the History News Network at George Mason University in the spring of 2008, a majority of the 109 historians labeled Bush as 'The worst president ever.' Only two historians ranked Bush as a success (Eggen, 2008). A January 16, 2009 headline, 'Poll [*The New York Times*/CBS News poll] Finds Disapproval of Bush Unwavering,' is not good news for Bush (Thee-Brenan, 2009). Kathleen Jameson, director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center and political communication expert, observes, 'You see him trying to put into place a rebuttal. But it is not working' (Anthony, 2009). Clearly, Bush's efforts in his final press conference and farewell address to utilize the five strategies of *apologia* are not enhancing his legacy at this point in history.

Bibliography

Anthony, T. (2009). 'Analysis: An unusual glimpse into the presidency.' *Associated Press Online*, January 13. Available at http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/resultsdocview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T6841358432&format=GNBFI&sort=RELEVANCE&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T6841358435&cisb=22_T6841358434&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=147876&docNo=1 [17 January 2009].

- Bauer, S. W. (2008). *The art of the public grovel: Sexual sin and public confession in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Benoit, W. L. (1995). *Accounts, excuses, and apologies: A theory of image restoration strategies*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Benoit, W.L. (2006). 'Image repair in President Bush's April 2004 news conference.' *Public Relations Review* 32(2): 137-143.
- Benoit, W.L. (2006). 'President Bush's image repair effort on *Meet the Press*: The complexities of defeasibility.' *Journal of Applied Communication* 34(3):285-306.
- Budiansky, S. (2008). *The bloody shirt: Terror after Appomattox*. New York: Viking.
- Bush, G.W. (2009). Farewell address to the Nation. Available at <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbushfarewelladdress.htm> [10 February 2009].
- Bush, G.W. (2009). 'Final press conference.' Available at <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbushfinalpressconference.htm> [10 February 2009].
- Cannon, L. & C. Cannon. (2008). 'Reaching for a place in history.' *The Washington Post*, January 27. Available at <http://lexisnexis.com/us/1nacademic/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.951422.740933669...> [March 10, 2009].
- Chambers II, J.W. (1998). 'Jimmy Carter's public policy ex-presidency.' *Political Science Quarterly* 113(3): 405-425.
- Connato, V. J. (2006). 'Time's on his side.' *The Washington Post*, December 3. Available at <http://lexisnexis.com/us/1nacademic/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.170712.961896584...> [3 March 2009].
- Dixon, M. A. (2004). 'Silencing the lambs: The Catholic Church's response to the 2002 sexual abuse scandal.' *Journal of Communication and Religion*, 27(1): 63-86.
- Downey, S. D. (1993). 'The evolution of the rhetorical genre of *apologia*.' *Western Journal of Communication* 57: 42-64.
- Edwards, J.A. (2005) 'Community –focused *apologia* in international affairs: Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama's apology.' *Howard Journal of Communications* 16(4):317-336.
- Eggen, D. (2008). 'Citing history, Bush suggests his policies will one day be vindicated.' *The Washington Post*, June 9. Available at <http://lexisnexis.com/us/1nacademic/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.573385.590584828...> [3 March 2009].
- Gold, E.R. (1978). 'Political *apologia*: The ritual of self-defense.' *Communication Monographs* 45: 306-316.
- Hearita, K. M. & J. Brown (2004). 'Merrill Lynch: Corporate *apologia* and business fraud.' *Public Relations Review* 30 (4): 459-466.
- Isocrates. (1999). 'Panegyricus.' In: J. Poulakos & T. Poulakos, *Classical Rhetorical Theory*, 215-223. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Koesten, J. & R.C. Rowland. (2004). 'The rhetoric of atonement.' *Communication Studies* 55(1): 68-87.
- Langer, G. (2009). 'Bush legacy: A tale of two terms.' *ABC News*, January 7. Available at <http://abcnews.go.com/print?id=6567339> [3 March 2009].
- Ling, D.A. (1970). 'A pentadic analysis of Senator Edward Kennedy's address" to the people of Massachusetts', July 25, 1969.' *Central States Speech Journal* 21(2): 81-86.
- Linkugel, W. A. & N. Razak (1969). 'Sam Houston's speech of self-defense in the House of Representatives.' *Southern Speech Journal* 43(3): 263-275.
- MacAskill, E. (2007). 'Lonely and lame, Bush agonizes over legacy: President avoids limelight after Libby backlash, Republican ally withdraws support over Iraq.' *The Guardian* (London), July 7. Available at <http://lexisnexis.com/us/1nacademic/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.272095.307777014...> [3 March 2009].

- Netter, S. (2009). 'When cruise vacations end tragically, who's to blame?' *ABC News*, January 8, 2009. Available at <http://abcnews.go.com/print?id=6595452> [March 14, 2009].
- Rowland, R. C. & A. M. Jerome (2004). 'On Organizational *apologia*: A reconceptualization.' *Communication Theory* 14(3):191-211.
- Stein, K. A. (2008). '*Apologia*, *antapologia*, and the 1960 Soviet U-2 incident.' *Communication Studies* 59(1):19-34.
- Thee-Brenan, M. (2009). 'Poll finds disapproval of Bush unwavering.' *New York Times*, January 16. Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/17/us/politics/17poll.html> [16 April 2009].
- Theye, K. (2008). 'Shoot, I'm sorry: An examination of narrative functions and effectiveness within Dick Cheney's hunting accident *apologia*.' *Southern Communication Journal* 73(2): 160-177.
- Trent, J.S. & R. V. Friedenberg (2000). *Political campaign communication*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Ware, B. L. & W. A. Linkugel (1973). 'They spoke in defense of themselves: On the generic criticism of *apologia*.' *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59(3): 273-283.
- Yahoo News. (2005). 'Bush admits misgivings about famed phrases.' January 14. Available at <http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/ap/20050114/ap> [14 January 2005].

Chapter Eighteen

Public Relations and Advertising Theory in a Global Media Environment: An Empirical Test of the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap

Dean Kazoleas, California State University Fullerton, USA

Jeffrey Brody, California State University Fullerton, USA

This paper forwards an empirical test of the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap (TIEG), a new public relations theory developed by D. Kazoleas & L. Teigen that was first published in Botan & Hazelton's *'Public Relations Theory II'* (2006). This theory identifies a process by which advances in technology, the advertising and marketing of technology, and attempts by organizations to build their technological abilities into their image enhancement strategies combine to create unrealistic expectations. Moreover these factors combine to create unrealistic expectations of an organization's ability to deliver high quality and reliable products and services. Building upon expectancy theories, cultivation theories, and impression management models, this theory forwards a set of predictions that suggest that today's technology rich media environment, coupled with the use of technology to build organizational image creates a 'technology image expectancy gap', which leads to crisis resulting in customer dissatisfaction, financial failure, and/or loss of reputation.

In sum, the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap predicts that unrealistic expectations are created when: consumers see ads featuring medical scanners that let doctors see highly detailed images of the human body; ads that depict the hundreds of computer sensors or radar systems in cars to prevent accidents; or even ads portraying a young man trading stocks using an eyeglass mounted computer, unrealistic expectations are created. The unrealistic expectations are not limited to expectations about the true ability of computers and technological products, but also about the abilities, safety, and reliability of other products, the abilities of health care providers and pharmaceuticals, the abilities of the government, and the abilities of organizations to communicate and respond to their stakeholders. Simply stated, consumers begin to believe that given our technological abilities doctors can't make mistakes; that food and products will be 100% safe; that the government can track all persons inside and outside our borders, and that endeavors such as space travel are fairly safe, as opposed to risky.

The Anecdotal Evidence

Kazoleas and Teigen (2006) provide support for their theory by documenting the impact of technology-focused unrealistic expectations on crises that stemmed from September 11th, NASA's loss of the space shuttle Columbia, and medical and pharmaceutical crises.

September 11, 2001

The most striking example of the cultivation of unrealistic expectations based on technology abilities may be the found in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. In the news stories, congressional hearings, and multiple investigations that followed the attacks, many victims, families of the victims, citizens, pundits and political leaders asked the same question. Given the technological abilities of the American government how could these attacks occur without warning, and why couldn't they be prevented? The sudden vulnerability and the false sense of security engendered by technology was exemplified by a *Chicago Tribune* editorial on September 12, 2001:

'And then, come a Tuesday in September, we realize that for all our progress, all our technology, our cities are infinitely more vulnerable to attack than were the coarse, walled cities of medieval Europe.' University of Wisconsin historian Stan K. Schultz (Section I, p.22)

Moreover, calls for investigations into intelligence failures and the extent to which the Bush administration could have predicted and/or prevented the attacks of September 11, 2001 were another example of the unrealistic expectations regarding the abilities of technology and the organizations that deploy it (Elliot et. Al. 2002; Isikoff, 2002; Mann, 2002; Nather, Barstay, and McCutcheon, 2002).

Crises in Medicine

While unrealistic beliefs about technology's ability to protect our nation from attack were expressed in the dialogues following 911, misperceptions about the ability of technology can create issues for many organizations. For example, an article in the November 2000 edition of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (Kravitz, 2000) focused on a new problem for physicians. When patients see ads for new drugs on television, or are exposed to media coverage announcing new drugs (often focusing on the very positive results of clinical trials and ignoring qualifiers), they rush to their doctors demanding these new and very expensive drugs that appear to offer risk-free miracle cures. In the face of unrealistic patient expectations, doctors are facing crises because they and their sponsoring medical organizations look bad if they deny prescribing the drugs, but they also run the risk of reputational damage by prescribing medications which fail to deliver the expected, but unrealistic results. Another example of this can be found in the halt of DNA therapy

programs by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in the wake of the deaths of several patients whose families claimed they were unaware of the risks involved in the experimental therapies (Philipkoski, 2000).

NASA

The TIEG also explains the crises that have struck NASA in the wake of the loss of two space shuttles and several probe projects. For, example successes in NASA's programs and the highlighting of its technology created unrealistic perceptions of the technological ability to minimize the risks involved in space exploration, which has always been considered a high-risk endeavor. The investigation into the Columbia disaster (CAIB, 2003) acknowledges these misperceptions when the report notes on p.208 that:

'Because of the dangers of ascent and re-entry, because of the hostility of the space environment, and because we are still relative newcomers to this realm, operation of the Shuttle and indeed all human spaceflight must be viewed as a developmental activity. It is still far from a routine, operational undertaking. Throughout the Columbia accident investigation, the Board has commented on the widespread but erroneous perception of the Space Shuttle as somehow comparable to civil or military air transport... The Board urges NASA leadership, the architects of U.S. space policy, and the American people to adopt a realistic understanding of the risks and rewards of venturing into space.'

In sum, NASA organizational crises have stemmed from unrealistic expectations about its technological ability to deal with the extremely risky endeavor of space flight. The public, government officials, and even those within NASA held these overconfident unrealistic technological expectations.

Review of Literature

As noted above, in their original article Kazoleas and Teigen provided anecdotal examples of the effects predicted by this theory. This paper advances the theory by presenting the results of a quantitative experimental test of the main components of this model, which has significant implications for the public relations, advertising, and marketing practices of organizations in today's technology rich media environment. TIEG is an applied grounded theory that describes a combination of phenomena and has its epistemological foundations in several established literatures including cultivation theory, consumer behavior based expectancy theories, and impression management theories. A brief description of each theory and its linkage to TIEG follows below.

The Cultivation of Unrealistic Expectations

The Technology Expectancy Image Gap is in part rooted in Cultivation Theory (Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., and N. Signorelli (1986); Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., and Signorelli, N. (1994)). Cultivation theory suggests that heavy users of media such as the news or entertainment content may hold unrealistic perceptions of the world around them (e.g. unrealistic perceptions regarding the prevalence of violence in society), in part because those attitudes and beliefs have been shaped by the use of that entertainment content. Additionally, other research also suggests that the media play a large role in the construction of social reality (Searle, 1995), and may have effects on both lower order and higher order beliefs (Elliot, W.R., Kelly, J.D., and Byrd, J.T., 1992). Furthermore, this theory set also argues that the media often presents unrealistic presentations across genres (and may even be spreading across news), so that consumption across genre and media type offers reinforcement for a false view of the world. Moreover, the extent to which some parts of the view depicted by the media are reflected in actual society and in the viewer's realm of direct experience, the perceptions will "resonate" and may become very convincing. Nabi & Sullivan (2001), for example, present findings that suggested that heavy television viewing led to increased and unrealistic perceptions of the prevalence of crime in society, but also to behavioral intentions, and actual protective behavior. These findings demonstrate the strength of the unrealistic beliefs that can be cultivated from heavy media exposure. Finally, it should be noted that while the cultivation model predicts that these effects are more likely to occur among heavy users of mass media, TIEG predicts a curvilinear relationship with heavy users of media being less impacted. While space limitations do not allow for an in-depth discussion of these issues in this manuscript, TIEG suggests that moderate users of media may demonstrate higher levels of expectation, than both low and heavy users of the media.

The 'CSI Effect'

TIEG predicts that the media portrayals of technology often exaggerate the technological abilities, and downplay technological limitations. This in turn creates unrealistic expectations regarding technologies and the industries that use them. A recent example is known as the '*CSI Effect*'. This phenomena is claimed to be impacting court cases nationwide (Willing 2004). Prosecutors have struggled to meet unrealistic jury expectations about the ability of police and district attorneys to provide concrete scientific evidence (e.g. DNA) that ties individuals to crimes and/or proves guilt (Willing 2004). Prosecutors claim that unrealistic expectations of juries have been cultivated by a number of television shows such as '*CSI or Crime Scene Investigation*' that unrealistically portrays the ability of investigators to collect scientific evidence that links individuals to crimes.

This phenomena has recently been studied by a number of investigators (Cole & Dioso-Villa (2007); Shelton Young, & Barak (2007); Schwietzer & Saks, 2007), some of whom have questioned the existence of the ‘*CSI Effect*’, attributing the effects to broader technology-based expectations created by media and the availability of technology. Shelton, Young, and Barak (2007), for example, examine the ‘*CSI Effect*’ from a juror’s perspective, and conclude that there does not appear to be sufficient evidence that watching a single television program or series increases the expectation and impact of scientific evidence in court cases. However, they conclude that these expectations have increased and are likely due to the broader technological expectations created by coverage of technology in the media and in entertainment. To that extent, whether the increased expectations of scientific evidence by jurors is due to a single show (in this case *CSI*) is irrelevant. Rather, what is relevant is that today’s prosecuting attorneys face jury pools that have higher and perhaps unrealistic expectations for scientific evidence. Moreover, Shelton, Young, and Barak’s findings are consistent with the effects predicted by the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap (TIEG).

Cultivation theory has focused on news and entertainment-based content. However, the main predicted effects of the TIEG are derived from exposure to advertisements and marketing materials. The key distinction between these types of media-based content is that while news content is driven by real events and occurrences, and entertainment content seeks to create escape, laughter, or suspense, advertising-based content is designed to create specific images of companies and their products or services. The organizations themselves have the ability design and select the type of information and appeals that are placed in the ad, and they are not bound by the need to include specific event-related content (as in news stories), nor are they forced to elicit certain emotions or reactions as are the producers of entertainment content (e.g. sitcoms). In short, advertising content is carefully constructed to create a desired image for an organization and its products or services, and it’s the organization that often chooses to incorporate aspects of their technological ability into the advertisement. TIEG also states that the decision to often feature the technology in unrealistic settings or to exaggerate its abilities cultivate unrealistic expectations that can lead to crises.

Expectancy Theory

The foundations of the technology image gap are grounded in expectancy theory, which suggests that individuals’ perceptions of events, persons, or messages are not static in nature, but to some extent are based on the actual discrepancy between expectations and observed performance. The notion that attitudes toward products, people, and organizations are based on the discrepancy between their actual performance and our expectations is not new. For example, consumer behavior models (E.g. Wilke 1990) often posit that satisfaction with a product or service is a function of the discrepancy between the expectations of the consumer and the actual performance of the product. In

this consumer relations-based model, satisfaction with people, products, or the organization occurs only when the consumers' expectations regarding performance are met or exceeded. There has been a great deal of research on the predictors of consumer satisfaction, and a body of literature that both tests and supports the disconfirmation of expectations model (For examples see: Oliver, 1980; Oliver, 1993; Oliver, 1994; Oliver and Bearden, 1983; Oliver and DeSarbo, 1984; Wirtz and Matilla, 2001). Wirtz and Matilla (2001) have extended the research through path modeling, which examined the roles of need/desire congruence and expectations on satisfaction. These models clearly indicate that high levels of performance do not always equal success or satisfaction. If the expectations are very high, success or satisfaction can almost be impossible to obtain.

While causal-oriented research such as the studies performed by Spreng, MacKenzie, & Olshavsky (1996) and Wirtz and Matilla (2001) suggest that the disconfirmation of expectations are not the sole predictor of satisfaction, they nonetheless find statistically significant and substantial effects for the violation of expectations on satisfaction. Moreover, their results imply that the violation of expectations for involved consumers are a larger predictor of satisfaction, and that need/desire congruence, or the extent to which needs are unmet will increase dissatisfaction. The findings for need/desire congruence are important because they indicate that merely limiting expectations (e.g. expecting poor performance) will not increase satisfaction if needs and/or desires are not met. Finally, the implications of the results reported by Spreng et. Al, (1996) and Wirtz and Matilla (2001), also indicate that need/desire congruence (e.g. the extent to which needs or desires are met) are also statistically significant predictors of satisfaction, which means that as more products and services are delivered via technologically mediated mechanisms such as the Internet, the probability of expectations being violated due to poor technological management and/or unrealistic expectations will increase as well.

This theory also predicts that media discussions of technological advancements, and the marketing of and 'hyping' of technology, coupled with organizations use of their technological achievements and/or abilities to enhance their image or market their products helps to create unrealistic expectations. Expectations, for example, that products will be 100% reliable, that companies will respond immediately to electronic inquiries, or that a government is able to track every foreigner that enters a country. Finally, as more organizations use technology such as the Internet, computer imaging, or Global Positioning System (GPS) based satellite technologies to deliver services and value, the greater the degree to which violations of expectations may occur as expectations regarding rapid response, product quality, reliability, or safety are unmet.

Impression Management Theory

As technology develops no organization wants to be left behind and seen as 'low tech' in a 'tech savvy' world. To meet these expectations and perform in a technology saturated environment with competing agendas, companies are forced to market their technological abilities to establish brand placement and brand differentiation. Given this drive for a positive technological image, impression management theories explain how and why organizations incorporate aspects of technology into their image and product marketing efforts.

According to Leary and Kowalski (1990), impression management 'refers to the process by which individuals attempt to control the impressions others form of them' (p.36) and involves two distinctly different processes. The first process they call impression motivation, and the second, impression construction. Impression motivation is associated with 'the desire to create particular impressions in other's minds' (p. 35), while impression construction deals with 'how people may alter their behaviors to affect other's impressions of them' (p. 35). Both impression motivation and construction are affected by different factors including desired goals, goal relevance of impression image, target values, and desired identity or image.

In general, impression management is a way to manipulate or manage information available to others in order to control perceptions. Kacmar, Delery, and Ferris (1992) note that manipulation can take various general forms such as embellishing or withholding information available to others during an interaction, or more explicit forms, such as self-promotion (e.g. describing positive attributes of an organization, in this case a high level of technological ability). Thus, impression management theory suggests that the use of communication campaigns to bolster the image of products and services by featuring technology can be an effective way to build and manage the impression and image of an organization. However, unrealistic or non-contextual depictions of the incorporation and or ability of that technology can and do generate unrealistic expectations that have led to crises.

Hypotheses

This investigation was designed to test both the product/industry specific predictions made by TIEG, and the broader 'halo'-like expectations that can be generated about other sets of products and services. The following set of hypotheses was used to construct an experimental research design that would empirically test the theory and its propositions.

Hypothesis 1: Participants exposed to the experimental condition will report higher expectations regarding doctors and healthcare than subjects in control conditions.

This hypothesis tests the predictions regarding product/service specific expectations created by technology driven advertisements. TIEG predicts that participants exposed to the experimental stimulus will have higher expectations that physicians and healthcare providers can detect, diagnose, and cure illness and disease. Overall, the theory predicts that the expectancy effects will occur in relationship to the specific company, product, or service that is mentioned in the advertisement or the message, as well as to other related or non-related organizations, products or services. In sum, the theory predicts generalized expectations that are based on perceptions of the ability of technology to solve problems, protect individuals, and to yield high quality goods and services. Given the predictions of more generalized expectancy effects, the following hypotheses are forwarded to test that component of the TIEG model:

Hypothesis 2: Participants exposed to the experimental condition will report higher expectations regarding the safety of pharmaceutical drugs than those in control conditions

Hypothesis 3: Participants exposed to the experimental stimulus will report higher expectations regarding the safety of food and food products than those in control conditions.

Hypothesis 4: Participants exposed to the experimental stimulus will report higher expectations regarding the safety and reliability of automobiles than those in control conditions.

Hypothesis 5: Participants exposed to the experimental stimulus will report higher expectations regarding the U.S. government's ability to stop terrorist attacks than those in control conditions.

TIEG's propositions regarding the impact of advertisements that incorporate technology predict that subjects exposed to the experimental conditions will report higher expectations from drug companies, food manufacturers, car companies and the United States government than those exposed to the control advertisement. In sum, these predictions test the broader 'halo'-like expectations and generalizations that should result from ads that feature technology or technological ability.

Method

Design

This experiment utilized a between subjects post-test only control group experimental design which featured an irrelevant message control. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions.

Participants

The participants in this investigation were 209 undergraduate students enrolled in communications courses at a large Western university. Students were given extra credit in their course work in exchange for their participation.

Stimulus Materials

Participants were exposed to one of two video advertisements. The experimental condition used an ad for a regional medical center that promoted a new GE medical scanner (sixteen slice PET). Participants in control conditions were exposed to a Nike ad featuring cyclist Lance Armstrong.

Measures

A number of dependent measures were utilized in this investigation that assessed participant expectations. These included expectations regarding doctors and healthcare; the safety of pharmaceutical drugs; the safety of food products; the reliability and safety of automobiles; and the ability of the government to prevent terrorist attacks. (See Table 1 for a listing of specific items).

In order to provide a rigorous test of the theory, the items assessing expectations were constructed to be more polarized in nature, thus representing very high levels of expected quality, safety and response (e.g. 'Doctors should be able to accurately diagnose all forms of disease' or 'Pharmaceutical/Drug companies should be able to produce drugs that are 100% safe for all patients'). These expectations were assessed using a standard series of 5 point Likert-type scales. Daily and weekly television usage was also assessed, as well as how often participants watched television programs such as 'CSI' or 'NCIS'. Demographic information such as age, gender, and year in school was also collected.

Procedure

Subjects were greeted and told that this was an investigation examining their attitudes on a variety of topics. Subjects were also informed that their participation was completely voluntary and that their responses to the survey would be anonymous. After viewing the appropriate stimulus, subjects were asked to complete the post-test measure. After completing the post-test measure they were thanked, asked to not discuss the video topics or the survey for a period of three days, and then were allowed to leave.

Results

A series of preliminary statistical analyses were used to examine the distribution of ratings for all dependent variables. The distribution of ratings for the dependent variables were fairly normal, with some level of skew toward higher ratings. Both the control and experimental groups reported moderately high expectations from healthcare providers, drug companies, car companies, food manufacturers and the government. Descriptive statistics for all individual and aggregate scale items can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. *A Table of Descriptive Statistics*

Factor/Item	Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Min.	Max.
Healthcare Expectations	14.71	15.00	15.00	3.05	8.00	20.00
Doctors should be able to accurately diagnose all forms of disease.	3.95	4.00	4.00	0.90	1.00	5.00
Healthcare providers should always be able to accurately detect all forms of illnesses disease.	3.84	4.00	4.00	0.93	2.00	5.00
Doctors should always be able to accurately identify a patient's illnesses.	4.00	4.00	4.00	0.88	1.00	5.00
Given the state of medical technology doctors should be able to cure all patients.	2.93	3.00	3.00	1.03	1.00	5.00
Drug Safety Expectations	11.68	12.00	12.00	2.42	4.00	15.00
Pharmaceutical/drug companies should be able to produce drugs that are 100% safe for all patients.	3.86	4.00	4.00	1.05	1.00	5.00
Drug companies should be able to produce drugs that are always safe from dangerous side effects.	3.79	4.00	4.00	0.99	1.00	5.00
Drug manufacturers should always be able to predict the effects of the products they produce.	4.02	4.00	4.00	0.91	2.00	5.00
Automobile Expectations	16.23	17.00	16.00	2.89	8.00	20.00
Automobile manufacturers should be able to manufacture a car that is 100% reliable.	3.97	4.00	4.00	0.92	1.00	5.00
Car makers should be able to make cars that always start.	4.27	4.00	5.00	0.83	2.00	5.00
Auto makers should be able to produce cars that are free of defects.	4.08	4.00	4.00	0.89	1.00	5.00
Car makers should be able to produce cars that are 100% safe.	3.91	4.00	4.00	1.03	1.00	5.00
Food Safety	13.36	14.00	15.00	2.00	6.00	15.00
Food manufacturers should be able to produce foods that are always safe for human consumption.	4.44	5.00	5.00	0.75	1.00	5.00
Food companies should be able to produce products that are free from contamination.	4.49	5.00	5.00	0.74	2.00	5.00
Producers of food products in the US should be able to always guarantee the safety of their food products.	4.42	5.00	5.00	0.78	2.00	5.00
National Security Expectations	18.04	18.00	17.00	4.01	5.00	25.00

*Public Relations and Advertising Theory in a Global Media Environment:
An Empirical Test of the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap*

U.S. government should always be able to detect a possible terrorist attack before it occurs.	3.58	4.00	4.00	1.02	1.00	5.00
U.S. government should be able to accurately track terrorists within the united states.	3.77	4.00	4.00	0.95	1.00	5.00
U.S. government should be able to accurately track terrorists anywhere on the planet.	3.11	3.00	3.00	1.08	1.00	5.00
U.S. government should always be able to protect the people of the United States against acts of terrorism.	3.87	4.00	4.00	0.98	1.00	5.00
U.S. government should always be able to stop a terrorist attack on the United States.	3.74	4.00	4.00	0.95	1.00	5.00

Specifically, the healthcare factor was comprised of 4 items with a minimum rating of 8, a maximum rating of 20, a Mean of 14.71, and a Standard Deviation of 3.05. A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for this scale yielded an alpha of .83.

The factor assessing the safety of pharmaceutical drugs was comprised of 3 items with a minimum rating of 4, a maximum rating of 15, a Mean of 11.68, and a Standard Deviation of 2.42. A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for this scale yielded an alpha of .75.

The automobile factor was comprised of 4 items with a minimum rating of 8, a maximum rating of 20, a Mean of 16.23, and a Standard Deviation of 2.89. A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for this scale yielded an alpha of .78.

The food safety factor was comprised of 3 items with a minimum rating of 6, a maximum rating of 15, a Mean of 13.36, and a Standard Deviation of 2.00. A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for this scale yielded an alpha of .85.

The factor assessing the government's ability to stop terrorism was comprised of 5 items with a minimum rating of 5, a maximum rating of 25, a Mean of 18.04, and a Standard Deviation of 4.01. A reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for this scale yielded an alpha of .87.

Participants were also asked to report the number of hours of television that they watched on a daily and weekly basis as well as the level to which they watch shows such as 'CSI' or 'NCIS'. Participants reported a Mean level of daily television viewing of 2.52 hours per day, with a Standard Deviation of 2.24. They also reported a Mean of 13.21 hours of weekly viewing, with a Standard Deviation of 11.54 hours per week. Of the 207 participants that provided a response, 36.7% (76 individuals) indicated they watched shows like 'CSI' or 'NCIS', while 63% indicated that they did not. Participants also reported watching an average (Mean) 3.03 number of episodes on a weekly basis with a Standard Deviation of 4.39 shows per week.

Finally, demographic information was also collected from participants. 63% of the sample was comprised of Females, while 37% were Male. 94% were communications majors, with 4% reporting business as a major, and 2% reporting 'other'. Freshman comprised 1% of the sample, 12.7% were Sophomores, 69.3% were Juniors and 17.1% were Seniors. In terms of age, 64% of participants were between the ages of 18-22, 25% were 23-27 years of age, 4.5% were 27-31 years of age and 4.5% were over 31 years of age.

Tests of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 predicted that participants exposed to the experimental condition would report higher expectations regarding doctors and healthcare than subjects in the control conditions. An examination of the means found that the data were consistent with this hypothesis with the experimental group reporting greater expectations ($M = 15.36$) than the control group ($M = 14.04$). An independent groups one-tailed T-test was used to test the statistical significance of these results. The results of the analysis indicated that these findings were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level ($T = 3.03$, $df = 186$) and thus were not due to chance. In sum, these data support the predictions of Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants exposed to the experimental condition would report higher expectations regarding the safety of pharmaceutical drugs than those subjects in the control conditions. An examination of the means again found that the data were consistent with this hypothesis with the experimental group reporting greater expectations ($M = 12.08$) than the control group ($M = 11.12$). Again, a one-tailed independent groups T-test was used to test the statistical significance of these results. The results of the analysis indicated that these findings were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level ($T = 2.78$, $df = 186$) and thus were not due to chance. In sum these data also support the predictions of Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that participants exposed to the experimental stimulus would report higher expectations regarding the safety and reliability of automobiles than those subjects in the control conditions. An examination of the Means found that the data were consistent with the directional hypothesis, with the experimental group reporting higher expectations ($M = 16.62$) than the control group ($M = 15.77$). A one-tailed independent groups T-test analysis was used to test the statistical significance of these results. The results of the analysis indicated that these findings were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level ($T = 2.04$, $df = 186$) and thus were not due to chance. In sum these data support the predictions of Hypothesis 3 as well as the broader predictions made by the TIEG theory.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that participants exposed to the experimental stimulus would report higher expectations regarding the safety of food products in the United States than those subjects in the control condition. An examination of the means found that the data were consistent with this hypothesis with the experimental group reporting higher expectations ($M = 13.73$) than those participants in the control group ($M = 12.90$). A one-tailed

independent groups T-test was used to test the statistical significance of these results. The results of the analysis indicated that these findings were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level ($T = 2.84$, $df = 186$) and thus were not due to chance. Overall, these data support the predictions of Hypothesis 4 and the greater predictions of the TIEG theory.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that participants exposed to the experimental stimulus would report higher expectations regarding the ability of the United States government to stop terrorist attacks than those subjects in the control condition. An examination of the means found that the data were consistent with this hypothesis with the experimental group reporting higher expectations ($M = 18.53$) than those participants in the control group ($M = 17.40$). A one-tailed independent groups T-test was used to test the statistical significance of these findings. As with the previous tests the results of the analysis indicated that these findings were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level ($T = 1.93$, $df = 186$) and thus were not due to chance. Overall, these data support the predictions of Hypothesis 5 and again the broader predictions of the TIEG theory.

Discussion

The purpose of this investigation was to provide an empirical test of the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap, which made predictions regarding the cultivation of expectations of advertisements that incorporate elements of technology. The theory made both 'localized' and generalized predictions regarding the impact of the phenomena in that Kazoleas and Teigen (2006) specify that effects can occur for those organizations, products, and services mentioned or featured in the ads, but also for those that may be related or completely unrelated. The results of the current investigation are consistent with the predictions made by the theory and provide support for the theory at both the local/specific level and the generalized level.

Specifically, across dependent variables subjects exposed to the advertisement featuring new medical scanner technology had higher expectations of not only the services of doctors and the healthcare industry, but also for the safety of drugs, the safety of food products, the safety and reliability of automobiles, and the ability of the U.S. Government to detect and prevent terrorist attacks. These differences were predicted, but also surprising in that they reflected very high levels of expectations regarding products, services, and organizations. After viewing the ad featuring the new scanner technology, experimental condition participants reported greater agreement with items indicating that doctors should be able to cure all patients (Exp $M = 3.07$, Con $M = 2.73$; $T(186) = 2.35$, $p < .05$); that drug companies should be able to manufacture drugs that are 100% safe for all patients (Exp $M = 3.87$, Con $M = 3.65$; $T(186) = 2.00$, $p < .05$); that producers of food products should always be able to guarantee the safety of their food products (Exp $M = 4.52$,

Con $M=4.30$; $T(186)=2.84$, $p<.05$); and that the U.S. Government should always be able to stop a terrorist attack on the United States (Exp $M=3.89$, Con $M=3.54$; $T(186)=2.56$, $p<.05$). Again, these results support the theoretical predictions made by TIEG.

From a broader theoretical perspective the empirical support for the TIEG theory further extends the development of theory in the discipline of public relations. In their seminal work *Public Relations Theory II*, Botan and Hazelton (2006) again suggest that for public relations to develop as a discipline there is a need for the development of more public relations based theories. They note the extensive development of Grunig's Excellence/Symmetry Theory (for an update see Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2006), but also comment on the lack of progress in the discipline in the area of theoretical development. Given the need for theoretical development in the public relations discipline the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap and the research behind it provide progress in this arena.

Implications for Organizations.

The implications of these results and the predictions of the TIEG theory for both public and private organizations is that they need to be more aggressive in managing the expectations of their stakeholders. At the most basic level these results suggest a strong need for vigilant monitoring of expectations. The results of this investigation demonstrated that the broader more generalized expectations generated by advertisements that feature technology can impact organizations that are not featured in such advertisements and/or are unrelated to the industries that are directly connected to the advertisement. At a higher level, these results first call for close monitoring of the development and design of marketing and advertisement campaigns to gauge the level of expectations that may be generated as a result of their dissemination. Second, these results suggest that proactive efforts to moderate unrealistic expectations may be necessary, either through the use of more explicit communication efforts, or through more implicit communications and public relations efforts. TIEG and other theories such as cultivation suggest that stakeholder expectations are increased through media exposure to a wide variety of content, and that organizations must work diligently to moderate unrealistic expectations or face an increase risk of stakeholder dissatisfaction, dissent, and potential crises.

Limitations

There were several factors that may have limited the generalizability of this investigation. First, was the somewhat restricted range of the expectation ratings. As noted above, across the board the data were negatively skewed with all participants reporting high expectations. Given the subject matter (e.g. the ability of doctors to detect disease, the safety of food products, or the ability of the U.S. government to stop terrorist attacks) it is not surprising that the participants in this investigation had high expectations. However, restriction in range can and does impact reported effect size, and to the extent that these data were somewhat skewed it may have been difficult to detect moderate, but

statistically significant effects. Conversely, it must be noted that the observed effects were large enough to be detected across all variables and that they did attain statistical significance indicating that they were not due to chance.

A second limitation was the use of undergraduate college students, which may or may not be reflective of broader populations. However, to the extent that college students have beliefs, attitudes, and expectations that are shaped by what they see and hear in the media there is little evidence to suggest that the cognitive processes that shape their expectations differ from older, more mature populations.

Conclusion

In summary, the purpose of this investigation was to provide an empirical test of the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap. The statistical results of this experiment were consistent with the predictions made by TIEG model in terms of both the product specific expectations generated by the advertisement and the broader expectations target at other products and services. These findings have significant implications for the development of theory in the public relations discipline and for both public and private organizations in a wide variety of industries and sectors.

Bibliography

- Bacheldor, B., & Konicki, S. (2000). 'Long arm of the law.' *Information Week*, August 7, 2000. <http://www.informationweek.com/798/ftc.htm>
- Baudrillard, J. (1983). 'The ecstasy of communication.' In Foster (Ed.), *The anti-aesthetic: Essays on postmodern culture*, Townsend, WA: Bay Press.
- Botan, C. H., & Hazelton, V. (2006). *Public Relations Theory II*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.
- Carter, R.F., Stamm, K.R., and Heintz-Knowles (1992). 'Agenda setting and consequentiality.' *Journalism Quarterly*, 69: 868-877.
- Cole, S.A., and Dioso-Villa, R. (2007). 'CSI and its Effects: Media, Juries, and the Burden of Proof.' *New England Law Review*, 41 (3): 435-470
- 'Columbia Accident Investigation Board (2003).' *Columbia Accident Investigation Board Report, Vol 1*: 208
- Elliott, M., Calabresi, M., Carney, J., Duffy, Michael, Shannon, E., Waller, D., Weisskopf, M., Schwartz, D., Crumley, B., & McAllister, J. (2002). 'How the U.S. Missed the Clues.' *Time*, May 27, 02: 24-31.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, I., Morgan, M., and Signorelli, N. (1986). Living with television: 'The dynamics of the cultivation process.' In J. Bryant and D. Zillman (Eds.). *Perspectives on media effects*, pp 17-40. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, I., Morgan, M., and Signorelli, N. (1994). 'Growing up with television: The cultivation perspective.' In J. Bryant and D. Zillman (Eds.). *Media Effects: Advances in theory and research*. pp 17-41. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum.

- Grunig, J. E. (1993). 'Image and substance: From symbolic to behavioral relationships.' *Public Relations Review*, 19, (2), 121-139.
- Grunig, J.E., Grunig, L., & Dozier, D. (2006). The Excellence Theory. In C. Botan & V. Hazelton, *Public Relations Theory II*, 21-64. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum.
- Hansen, G. (1998). 'Smaller may be better for web marketing.' *Marketing News*, 32, (2):10-13.
- Isikoff, M., Klaidman, D., Hosenball, M., Lipper, T., Clift, E., Murr, A., & Reno, J. (2002). 'The Hijackers We Let Escape.' *Newsweek*, 139 (23) (6/10/2002): 20-28.
- Iyengar, S., Peters, M.D., and Kinder, D.R. (1982). 'Experimental demonstrations of the 'not-so-minimal' consequences of television news programs.' *American Political Science Review*, 76: 848-858.
- Kacmar, K. M., Delery, J. E., & Ferris, G. R. (1992). 'Differential effectiveness of applicant impression management tactics on employment interview decisions.' *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 22: 1250-1272.
- Kazoleas, D., & Teigen, L. (2006). 'The Technology-Image Expectancy Gap: A new theory of public relations.' In. C. Botan & V. Hazelton (Eds). *Public Relations Theory II*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.
- Kravitz, R.L. (2000). Direct-to-consumer advertising of prescription drugs: Implications for the patient-phycsian relationship. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 284, 2244.
- Leary, M. R., Kowalski, R. M. (1990). 'Impression management: A literature review and two-component model.' *Psychological Bulletin*, 107: 34-47.
- Mann, P. (2002). 'White House Firmly Denies Hijacking Intelligence Failure.' *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 156 (20): p.19.
- Naby, R. L., & Sullivan, J. L. (2001) 'Does Television Viewing Relate to Engagement in Protective Action Against Crime? A Cultivation Analysis from a Theory of Reasoned Action Perspective.' *Communication Research*, 28 (6): 802.
- Nather, D., Barstay, J, & McCutcheon, C. (2002). 'Politics muddies the waters around the September 11th investigation.' *CQ weekly*. May 25, 02: 1366-1369.
- Oliver, R. L. (1980). 'A cognitive model of the antecedents and consequences of satisfaction decisions.' *Journal of Marketing Research*, 17: 460-469.
- Oliver, R. L. (1993). 'Cognitive, affective and attribute bases of the satisfaction response.' *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20: 418-430.
- Oliver, R. L. (1994). 'Conceptual issues in the structural analysis of consumption, emotion, satisfaction and quality.' *Advances in Consumer Research*, 21: 16-22.
- Oliver, R. L., & Bearden, W. (1983). 'The role of involvement in satisfaction processes.' *Advances in Consumer Research*, 10: 250-255.
- Oliver, R. L., & DeSarbo, W. (1988). 'Response determinants in satisfaction judgments.' *Journal of Consumer Research*, 14: 495-507.
- Philipkosi, K. (1999). 'Another Chance For Gene Therapy?' <http://www.wired.com/news/technology/0,1282,34148,00.html>
- Philipkosi, K. (2000). 'Science + Business: A Bad Mix?' <http://www.wired.com/news/technology/0,1282,34148,00.html>
- Schwartz, E. L. (1997). *Webonomics*. NY: Broadway.
- Schweitzer, N.J. & Saks, M.J. (2007). 'The CSI Effect: Popular Fiction About Forensic Science Affects Public Expectations About Real Forensic Science.', *Jurimetrics* 47: 357-364.
- Searle, J. (1995). *The social construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.

*Public Relations and Advertising Theory in a Global Media Environment:
An Empirical Test of the Technology-Image Expectancy Gap*

- Shelton, D., Young, K., & Barak, G. (2007). 'A Study of Juror Expectations and Demands Concerning Scientific Evidence: Does the 'CSI Effect' Exist?' *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment & Technology Law*, 9: 330
- Spreng, R. A., & Olshavsky, R. W. (1993). 'A desires congruency model of consumer satisfaction.' *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 21(3): 169-177.
- Spreng, R.A, MacKenzie, S.B., & Olshavsky, R.W. (1996). 'A re-examination of the determinants of consumer satisfaction.' *Journal of Marketing*, 60 (3): 15-32.
- Treadwell, D. F., & Harrison, T. M. (1994) Conceptualizing and assessing organizational image: Model images, commitment, and communication.' *Communication Monographs*, 61: 63-85.
- Editorial (2001) The vulnerabilities we cherish.' *The Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 12, 22.
- Ware, T. (2001). 'Bush: We're at war.' *Newsweek*, Sept. 24, 26-35.
- Westbrook, R. A., & Oliver, R. L. (1981). 'Developing better measures of consumer satisfaction: Some preliminary results.' *Advances in Consumer Research*, 8: 94-99.
- Wilkie, W. L. (1990) *Consumer Behavior*. (Second Edition) New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Willing, R. (2004). 'CSI effect' has juries wanting more evidence'. *USA Today*. August 5. http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2004-08-05-csi-effect_x.htm
- Zillmann, D. (1999). 'Exemplification Theory: Judging the whole by some of its parts.' *Media Psychology*, 1: 69-94.

Chapter Nineteen

Contradictions in Advertising: A Visual Analysis of Collectivism and Individualism in Lottery Advertisements

Moshe Levy, Ariel University Center, Israel
Amir Hetsroni, Ariel University Center, Israel

Most of the theorists conceive individualism and collectivism as cultural and personal constructs that represent broad differences between various national and ethnic groups (for a detailed review, consult Triandis, 1995). According to this conceptualization, societies with a collective orientation focus on group goals and its proper functioning, public welfare and cooperation between members of the public. In contrast, members of a society with an individualistic orientation see themselves as independent of any collective framework and prefer to focus on their personal goals, especially in cases where there is a conflict between the individual and the collective (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1996).

Various empirical studies have used the distinction between collectivism and individualism to analyze the content of advertisements and found an unequivocal relationship between the value orientation of society and the levels of collectivism and individualism in advertisements. For example, ads from individualistic societies like the USA or Britain contain more indicators of individualism (Caillat & Mueller 1996). They tend to appeal to a single potential consumer, convey the message that the product can make this person self reliant, and usually portray him in solitude (Frith & Toland, 1991). In contrast, ads from collectivist cultures, such as Korea (Han & Shavitt, 1994), China (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996) and Japan (Javalgi, Cutler & Malbotra, 1995; Mueller, 1987), feature more signs of collectivism. They appeal to a group of people, often showing them engaged in a group task. The message carried by these ads is that the product is intended for group use, and that it can strengthen group spirit.

The most acceptable explanation of the cultural differences in the depiction of collectivism and individualism in advertising is that in order to convince potential consumers to purchase products and services ads must comply with the public's own orientation rather than run against it (Holbrook, 1987). But what happens when goods and services, which are individualistic by their nature, need to be advertised to a collectivistic audience? That is what we try to detect by analyzing Israeli lottery advertisements from the 1950s and 1960s. We will show how the visual and verbal signs in these ads conveyed collective

ideals and bridged the gap between the individualistic product and the collectivistic culture.

Israeli Society and Israeli Advertising in the 1950s and 1960s

Israeli society, the subject of this study, is seen by many as a society that has undergone an especially accelerated process of change from collectivism in the 1950s and 1960s to individualism in recent decades (Almog, 2004; Runiger, 1999). To what extent has this transition found expression in advertising? Lemish (2000) analyzed print advertisements from different years and found that during the 1950s the ads related to the individual as part of a collective and applauded ideals such as rallying around the cause of the state and engaging in productive labor for the benefit of the group. In contrast, advertisements from the last decade of the twentieth century glorified the individual and his personal needs and ambitions as distinct from the goals and needs of the collective. A cross-cultural study of print ads from the 1990s measured the level of collectivism in advertisements from America, Israel, France, Finland, Japan, Taiwan, India, Brazil, Chile and Mexico and revealed that Israeli ads were richer in individualism and poorer in collectivism than Asian ads and South-American ads but richer in collectivism and poorer in individualism than North-American and Western European ads (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996). The most recent studies by Hetsroni (2000; 2010) looked at representative samples of TV advertisements from the 1990s and 2000s and found that collectivism and individualism were equally frequent over the past two decades. The author attributed the relatively high share of collectivism (in western countries the prevalence of collectivism in advertisements mounts to only one third of the frequency of individualism - see Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996) to traces of collectivistic heritage. While modern Israel is a capitalist society, its history is rich in collectivism. Before the establishment of the state and in the early years of its existence, Zionist Jews tended to see their homeland as a fragile entity whose subsistence was under constant threat. At that time, Israelis considered themselves an integral part of the country; pioneers who had to stick together and help each other in order to survive (Eisenstadt, 1967). These feelings were encouraged by a coalition of socialist and moderately religious parties that ruled the country from its inception for nearly three decades, and pushed forward collectivist ideals.

Currently, Israel is a developed economy, but during the 1950s it was a developing country, where austerity and rationing measures were applied to basic supplies along with a series of taxes and restrictions that made it difficult for private enterprise to succeed (Aharoni, 1991). The justification for this policy was advocated in economic terms (the need to deal with a sudden population growth as a result of mass immigration while the industry was practically destroyed in the 1948 war of independence), but it also relied heavily on ideology, which placed the state in the center of the denizen's life.

The official and non-official discourse in support of this socialist-collectivist policy incorporated Jewish particularistic components and historical emblems, and presented the local society as a collective with a shared pioneering target – taking part in the project of building the nation and settling the Holy Land (Gabbay & Shenhav, 1999). This discourse, which was expressed in different conduits of mass media and popular culture - from literature to street posters - depicted the Zionist state as the final objective of a collective project, the focus of institutionalized authority and the moral inspiration of the community (Eisenstadt, 1967). In this social, political, and cultural climate, determining the status of the citizens was made contingent on the extent of their willingness to take an active role in shaping, defending, and making sacrifices for the common social goal (Weiss, 1997).

Subject to this, expressions of individualism could appear positively only in one approved form - that of individualistic behavior that is part of one's commitment to the group. This “channeled” individualism made it possible for individuals to demonstrate free enterprise and improvisational skills, which sometimes deviated from the accepted norms, and even ridiculed them, but still contributed to the realization of collective national goals by building new factories, establishing agricultural farms, etc. (Almog, 2004). Any expression of individualism that was not committed to the collective effort was not considered legitimate, and was often presented as a betrayal of the state's ideal (Runiger, 1999).

Although the austerity policy and the rationing measures were formally abandoned in 1959, when the economic condition improved, and even though the economy gradually became more market orientated and the society was more willing to accept a bourgeois lifestyle as a legitimate choice, Israel remained quite collectivistic throughout the 1960s (Almog, 2004). From the 1970s and onwards, the level of individualism has been considerably increasing, although the Israeli public is still ranked a bit lower in individualism compared to the USA and some European nations (Rokeach 1973, Hofstede, 2001).

Israeli advertising in the 1950s and 1960s was in its embryonic phase. Advertising agencies were usually single-man-workshops that often came close to bankruptcy because of low budgets, small number of advertisers (clients) and minimal purchase power among the consumers (Gornichovsky, 1998). The largest clients of those agencies were the state and its affiliated organizations such as the state lottery (Friedman, 2003). Unsurprisingly, advertisements produced by these agencies were often propaganda that encouraged the individual to take part in patriotic projects. These ads praised Zionist ideals and used iconic images, which - unlike words or even pictures - easily communicate their message to people who do not master the local tongue (Messaris, 1997, pp.94-95). It should be noted here that during the 1950s over half of the Israelis were recent immigrants; many of them lacked fluency in Hebrew (Almog, 2004).

State Lottery in Israel

The evolvement of state-sponsored lottery in a collectivist-socialist society is not something that can be taken for granted. It took an arduous political process until, in 1951, the Israeli Minister of Justice signed the operating license for such enterprise and granted it an exclusive permit to operate a gambling venture. In the course of the process, liberal political factors, both at the municipal and at the parliamentary level applied tremendous pressure to set up and operate a lottery organization that would help recruit the financial resources needed by various local governments. The national leadership that viewed legalized gambling as something foreign and alien to its socialist worldview was mollified only after it became apparent that unless the gambling enterprise was approved, it would be impossible to finance the building of a much needed hospital to cater to the needs of the growing population (Levy, 2005).

The name that was chosen for the new lottery organization, “*Mifal Hapayis*”, attested to the desire to demonstrate a value-based commitment to the prevalent cultural orientation, and by doing so, to stave off criticism that would be directed against it for maintaining a gambling operation. The first part of the name – ‘mifal’ [=project, plant] attests to the desire to be similar to any other productive enterprise or plant that is motivated by socialist doctrine and contributes to the productive effort of the group. The second part of the name ‘hapayis’ [= the lottery], which was taken from ancient religious Jewish sources, was designed to diminish traditional Jewish objections to games of chance (Levy, 2006).

From the very start, Mifal Hapayis realized that one of its most vital resources was having legitimacy from the environment, where it operated. Legitimacy of this kind is essential for every organization because it confers cultural support (Meyer & Scott, 1983, p.201), enables the enterprise to justify its activity (Wuthnow, Hunter, Bergesen & Kurzweil, 1984, p.50), and curbs the arbitrary decisions of regulatory agents that are made with no connection to the effectiveness of the activity (Berger, Berger & Kellner, 1973). To maintain this legitimacy, Mifal Hapayis consistently demonstrated commitment to the prevailing values and invested most of its revenues in projects whose contribution to society cannot be undermined like the construction of public schools, the purchase of medical equipment for state hospitals, the operation of day-long kindergartens, etc. Our study would search for this commitment in the advertisements that Mifal Hapayis has produced during the first two decades of its operations.

Lottery Advertising

The days of lottery advertising are almost as old as the days of lottery itself. The Roman emperor Augustus ran lotteries as part of gigantic dinner parties for which tickets were sold and promoted in the town square by people who functioned as "walking billboards". However, modern lottery (and modern

advertising) is less than a century old. It started in the 1930s with billboard posters and radio commercials and developed into a multi-media enterprise that ranks among the leading advertisers in many countries (Clotfelter & Cook, 2007).

Research on lottery advertising is scant and has dealt mostly with effects and ethics, demonstrating the contribution of exposure to lottery advertising to addictive gambling, the regressive tax effect of lottery, the negative lesson lottery advertising teaches about work ethics, and the omission of critical details from the ads (Karcher, 1989). The latter criticism refers in particular to omitting the odds to win from the advertisements. This omission is probably not a coincidence, as studies show that revealing the actual meager chances of winning the lottery significantly lowers the chances that a person would buy a lottery ticket (Stearns & Borna, 1995). In light of that, some critics even suggest that lottery advertising is "deceptive advertising" (Karcher, 1989). The most common reply to these criticisms is that gambling is part of human nature, and that state sponsored lottery is still more beneficial to society than private gambling businesses, which are prone to fall prey to mafia moguls, and have no commitment to devote their revenues to public causes – as state lottery does (Stearns & Borna, 1995). Another argument that is sometimes raised in response to the criticism of lottery advertising is that the effect of gambling advertising on the prevalence and the severity of pathological gambling is small (Hodgins & Peden, 2005). Despite the massive amounts of gambling advertising in different parts of the western world, attitudes towards gambling have actually become more critical over the past decade in most of the countries (Binde, 2007).

Research Hypotheses and Rationale

No study of individualism and collectivism in lottery advertising (and actually not any other kind of content analysis of lottery advertising) has been published heretofore. Thus, our hypotheses are based on more general studies of individualism and collectivism in advertising and on knowledge of the culture where the study takes place.

In essence, lottery advertising aims to offer potential customers the alluring possibility of becoming rich. However, this option is liable to be problematic in a society with a collectivist-socialist orientation, as Israeli society was in the 1950s and - to a lesser extent - in the 1960s. Winning the lottery, which very few managed to do, is a practice that elevates and separates the winners from the collective, and marks them as chosen and special. The purpose of this study, then, is to examine how the lottery organization in Israel promoted its individualistic-capitalistic dream in a society that staunchly upheld the values of equality, social solidarity, and contribution to the collective.

H1: The share of collectivism would be larger than the share of individualism in Israeli lottery advertisements from the 1950s and 1960s.

H2: Compared to Israeli lottery advertisements from the 1950s – lottery advertisements from the 1960s would contain a greater share of individualism and a smaller share of collectivism.

Israeli society and economy were highly collectivistic in the early 1950s. As years went by, the strict collectivism gradually shifted towards a more laissez-faire orientation with 1959 being a mini-watershed – since in that year the rationing measures were formally abandoned (Aharoni, 1991). The early 1970s serve as a second more immense watershed, since in those years individualistic-capitalistic trends strengthened considerably along with the economic prosperity (Rokeach, 1973). In order to portray the way an individualistic service is advertised in a collectivistic culture, our study focuses only on advertisements that were produced during the first twenty years of the Israeli state lottery operation (1951 to 1970 inclusive). We still expect to find a somewhat higher share of individualism in ads that were printed after 1959, when the days of austerity and rationing were over.

Specifically, the prediction of H1 relies on previous studies that found that advertisements from collectivistic societies contain a larger dose of collectivism (Han & Shavitt, 1994; Zhang & Shavitt, 2003). The gradual shift from a predominantly centralized socialist economy in the 1950s to a more liberal market economy in the 1960s sets the justification for H2.

Method

Sample

One hundred and twenty four B&W advertisements promoting the Israeli state lottery (*Mifal Hapayis*) were sampled from the two leading evening newspapers in Israel: *Yediot Achronot* ("last news") and *Maariv* ("evening"). Together, these newspapers reached nearly two thirds of the Israeli adults who read newspapers in the 1950s and 1960s (Caspi & Limor, 1999). Some of these advertisements were also used at the time as billboard posters and thus gained even further exposure. This means that the ads that we analyze were exposed to a large number of consumers at the time. Each newspaper provided an approximately similar number of ads (60 ads were sampled from Maariv; 64 ads were sampled from Yediot Achronot). All the 124 ads appeared in print between 1951 and 1970, inclusive. We included in the sample all the ads that were found in the newspapers, but duplicates (22 ads were found more than once; three appearances was the maximum) were included only once. The final sample included at least five ads from each year.

Instrument and Reliability

Our coding book included three indicators of collectivism/individualism: two of them were visual – (a) the number of people (defined as human faces), who are pictured or illustrated in the ad, and (b) the percent of ads that feature national symbols (Star of David, national flag, etc.); the third indicator was linguistic – whether the verbal text uses a singular form, when appealing to the consumer, or if it uses the plural form (it should be emphasized here that in Hebrew talking to a single person and talking to a group of people requires a distinctly different combination of words and inclinations). Appealing to the consumer in a singular form and presenting only one person in the ad served as indicators of individualism. Appealing to the consumer in a plural form, the appearance of numerous faces, and the presence of national symbols served as indicators of collectivism. These indicators were used previously in studies of collectivism and individualism in print advertising and were found to be cross-culturally reliable (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996).

The ads were coded by two students, who were not privy to the research hypotheses. Each coder worked alone and was given unlimited time to code the ads. To estimate coding reliability, Cohen's Kappa coefficient was computed for all the ads. The reliability coefficient values were: $\kappa=.95$ for the number of people who appear in the ad; $\kappa=.87$ for national symbols; $\kappa=.92$ for the linguistic appeal of the text.

The second stage of the research, the semiotic analysis, selected from the overall sample a number of ads that highlight the empirical findings for a closer reading - based on a method developed by Ball and Smith (1992). This method classifies signs as indexical (photographs), iconic (illustrations) or symbolic (words), and interprets them in relation to their socio-cultural-historic context, while paying attention to relevant facts (like - in our case - the results of the content analysis). The semiotic analysis appears in the discussion section.

Results

To examine H1 and H2, we look at the prevalence of collectivism indicators (the mean number of people who appear in the ad, the percent of ads that feature national symbol and the percent of ads that appeal to the consumer in a plural form) in the overall sample ($N=124$ ads) and in the periodical sub-samples (54 ads from the years 1951-1959; 70 ads from the years 1960-1970). The figures appear on Table 1.

Table 1. *Prevalence of Collectivism Indicators in Israeli Lottery Advertisements*

	Overall sample (1951-1970) (N=124)	Early period (1951-1959) (n=54)	Late period (1960-1970) (n=70)
Number of people in the ad (M ; SD)	M=4.2 ; SD=1.9	M=6.8 ; SD=3.4	M=2.2 ; SD=0.9
Ads where the text appeals to the consumer in a plural form	73.5%	87.0%	63.0%
Ads that include national symbols	42.0%	55.5%	31.5%

Across the board, the prevalence of collectivism is higher than that of individualism. This is manifested in the mean number of people that are shown in the ad which – in any given period - is higher than one, which is the expected value for individualistic ad $\{T_{(122)}=18.7 \ p<.001$ for the overall sample}. The supremacy of collectivism also finds expression in the high share of ads, where the text appeals to the consumer in a plural form (73.5% of the overall sample), and in the considerable prevalence of national symbols (42% of the overall sample). Thus, H1, which postulated that collectivism indicators would prevail throughout the sample, is supported.

To test H2, which hypothesized differences between periods, we compare the values pertaining to ads from the years 1951-1959 with the values that were measured in the years 1960-1970. In all the indicators, the values that were measured in the later years demonstrate a higher level of collectivism. The differences between the periods are significant $\{T_{(122)}=10.8 \ p<.001 \ \eta^2=.487$ for the mean number of people who appear in the ad; $\chi^2_{(1)}=7.9 \ p<.005$ Cramér's $V=.252$ for the percent of ads where the text appeals to the consumer in a plural form; $\chi^2_{(1)}=6.3 \ p<.05$ Cramér's $V=.225$ for the percent of ads that include national symbols}. These results are supportive of H2 and prove that the earlier ads (dating to 1951-1959) are richer in collectivism than the later ads (from 1960-1970).

Discussion

Heavy Emphasis on Collectivism in Lottery Advertisements from the 1950s

In the 1950s, the Israeli lottery was faced with a difficult task: on the one hand, it had to demonstrate commitment to collectivist-egalitarian values in order to earn legitimacy from the establishment; on the other hand, it had to present to the public the individualist option of winning the lottery and becoming wealthy, which is individualistic by nature, in a convincing manner. As our quantitative analysis revealed, Mifal Hapayis ads of the early years focused more on obtaining legitimacy from the establishment, demonstrated strong commitment to collectivism, featured national symbols, and depicted numerous people in a single ad - usually without granting personal significance to any of the depicted figures. This is amply demonstrated in Figure 1 - an ad

from 1958.

Figure 1. *An ad from 1958*



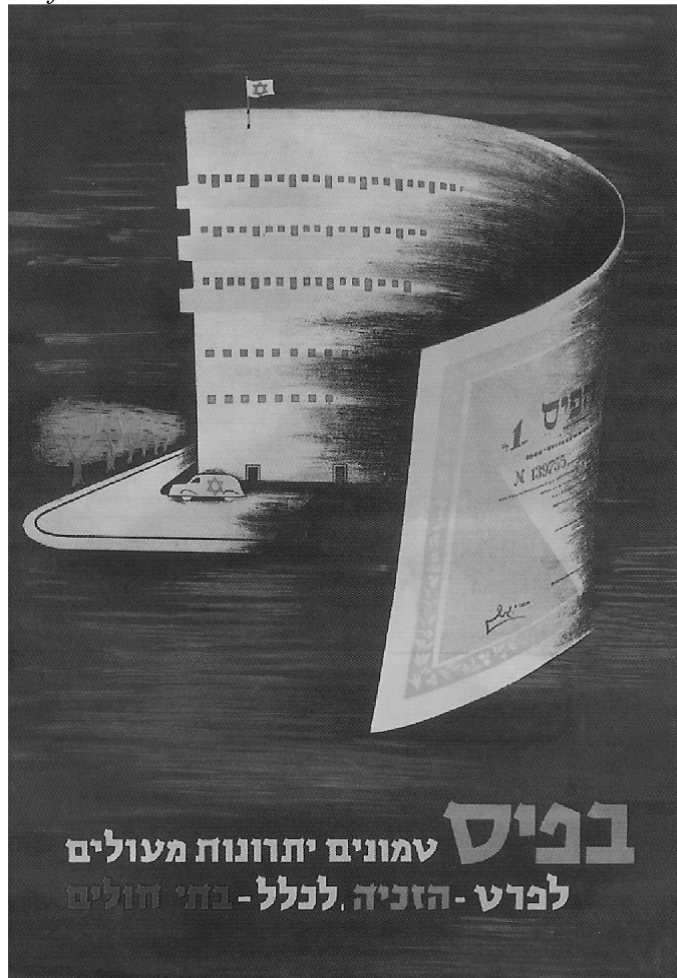
"Don't wait until the last minute. Buy your ticket today!
Migal Hapayis – The big prize is 30,000 IL."

This advertisement features an illustration of many people crowding together around a lottery stand. This crowding together demonstrates visually that taking part in the lottery is not an act of individualism but a group activity that takes place in the public sphere. The public stand is placed in the center of the ad in a manner that resembles graphically a speaker podium in a public rally of the kind that was popular in Israel in those years in public gatherings like May Day parade or harvest season celebration (Almog, 2004). The people are drawn sketchily in a way that makes them almost faceless. This iconography signifies the supremacy of the collective and the lack of significance of any individual.

Most of the ads from the 1950s featured iconic signs, often national symbols, which were familiar to the local public. A fine example gives us

Figure 2 – an ad from 1955 that shows an architectural plan of a hospital whose construction was financed by Mifal Hapayis.

Figure 2. *An ad from 1955*



"Mifal Hapayis has great advantages.
To the individual – winning;
To the collective- hospitals."

The building is designed like a monumental brutalist edifice with a naked concrete finish. *Brutalism* was the prominent style of public buildings that were built in Israel in those years. Architecture scholars consider this style an emblem of utopist-socialist ideals because of the emphasis put on strong material and high functionality and the lack of ornaments (Banham, 1966). Of course, such approach to architecture coincided perfectly with the socialist-collectivist orientation of the state leadership that the lottery was trying to please in order to gain legitimacy and secure the enterprise's existence (Levy, 2006). The text of the advertisement that is shown on Figure 2 finds a way to appeal to the consumers and to the government at the same time: A promise of winning the money is offered to the consumer, while the political establishment learns that the hospital in the picture is being constructed with the help of the lottery. Therefore, sums up the text, the lottery has advantages to the individual

and to the collective. The Israeli flag, which waves on the building's roof, adds a patriotic dimension to the web of signs.

Mifal Hapayis' commitment to building the country was expressed even more forcefully in a series of special lotteries that took place in the mid 1950s and offered, in addition to the usual cash prizes, apartments. According to Mifal Hapayis chairman, these lottery apartments were designed to "help new immigrants and young couples get settled in the country" (Shadmi, 1957, p.7). An ad that promoted such lottery appears on Figure 3.

Figure 3. *An ad from 1958*



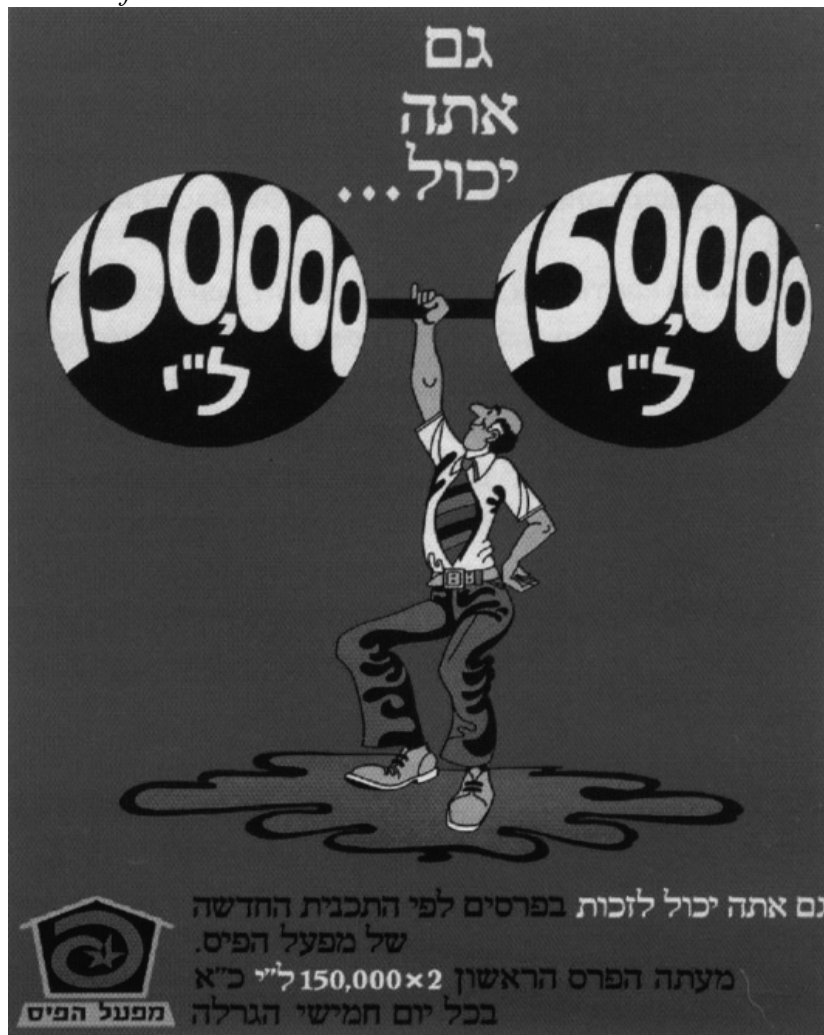
"Mifal Hapayis: Five families won five apartments."

This ad uses illustrations of iconic apartment buildings and faceless families marching confidently towards realization of their private dream and the dream of the nation – to settle the land of Israel. The families' lack of personal identification and the similarity of the apartment buildings further emphasize the centrality of the collective. The verbal (symbolic) sign declares that "five families won five apartments" – without mentioning names or places (and, naturally, without specifying the number of people who bought a lottery ticket but did not win an apartment). In this ad, Mifal Hapayis is presented as an agency which makes it possible to build a family and take part in the building of the country.

A Gradual Move towards Individualism in Lottery Advertisements from the 1960s

The empirical analysis has shown that while Israeli lottery advertisements from the 1960s were still dominated by collectivist indicators, these later ads were less monolithic and left more room to non-collectivistic pleas. The percent of ads, where the verbal text appeals to the consumer in a plural form, went down from 87% in the 1950s to 63% in the 1960s, and the percent of ads that feature national symbols decreased from 55% in the 1950s to 31% in the following decade. In the later years, many of the ads featured only one person and granted him some personal identification. Figure 4 (from 1969) and Figure 5 (from 1960) will be used as illustrative examples.

Figure 4. *An ad from 1969*



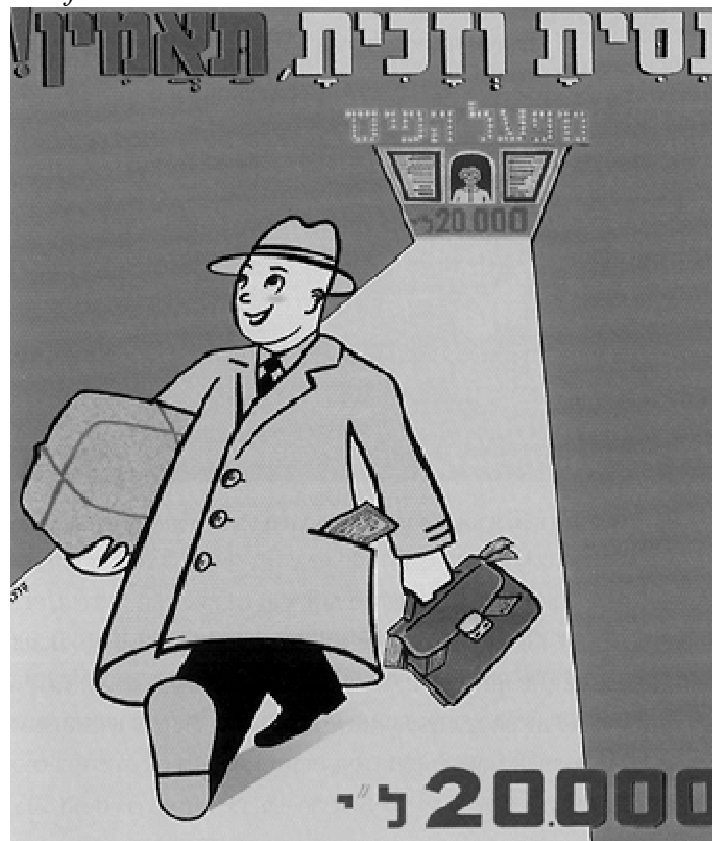
"You can do it too.

In Mifal Hapayis you can win twice the big prize – 150,000 IL."

In appealing to the consumer, both of these ads use the singular form. The text refers to the personal gain ("You can do it too" on Figure 4; "You tried and you won" – on Figure 5) without mentioning any advantage to the state or the society. Figure 4, which is stylistically influenced by graphic pop art (e.g. the

font style), shows a person dressed in jeans, sneakers and stripe t-shirt, but instead of complementing the image with a long hairdo typical of the period – the illustration features the head of a balding middle age man, who connotes financial wealth better than the image of a counter-culture hippie. An even more typical portrayal of this type of wealthy person is found on Figure 5 where - dressed elegantly in a business suit and a tie - a smiling businessman walks away from the lottery booth carrying a briefcase full of fortune. The image of the bourgeois businessman, which stands in striking contradiction to the image of the agricultural pioneer or the factory worker – apotheosized by the Israeli state establishment (Almog, 2004) – points at the non-socialist direction towards which the lottery was pushing, and gives an indication of the aspirations of lottery consumers.

Figure 5. *An ad from 1960*



"You tried and you won.
Mifal Hapayis – 20,000 IL."

Final Words

The collectivism, which characterized many of the Israeli lottery ads in the 1950s and 1960s, and particularly the earlier ones, was designed to imbue the lottery with a central socialist-national dimension. These advertisements exemplify how commercial popular culture can cover its products with a layer that practically negates its message to accommodate itself to non-capitalistic

surroundings. Alongside the presentation of the potential capitalistic gain (mass winning of large prizes), Mifal Hapayis ads also featured "socialistic-nationalistic temptations" such as state development and egalitarianism. Luck, according to the ads, acts in an egalitarian manner, with no fear of or favoritism towards anyone in the collective. This part of the message was intended to please the political leadership that was not infatuated with the idea of state sponsored gambling, and possibly appealed also to those consumers who accepted the collectivist norms of the time. None of the ads in our sample specified the odds of winning the lottery. This is a common practice in lottery advertising (Stearns & Borna, 1995). In principle, this could encourage uncontrolled purchase of lottery tickets and contribute to pathological gambling (Binde, 2007). However, even though the state lottery was a successful enterprise in Israel in the 1950s and 1960s, there is no evidence that pathological gambling was a mass phenomenon in those years (Levy, 2005). Those who believe that advertising and marketing have, at worst, limited devastating long term social effects can consider this indirect supportive evidence.

The collectivist orientation of Israeli society in the 1950s and 1960s presented a clear-cut hegemonic cultural model. Those who wished to advertise and market their merchandise in this society were obligated to adopt the collectivist model and to demonstrate their commitment to its values (Gornichovsky, 1998). However, this cultural model, as dominant as it might have been, could not guarantee for itself cultural exclusivity. Thus, in addition to the demonstration of commitment to collectivism, Mifal Hapayis ads, particularly during the 1960s, also portrayed a relatively wealthy bourgeois life as a valid possibility.

The findings of this study adjoin previous research (see Albers-Miller & Gelb 1996; Han & Shavitt, 1994; Zhang & Shavitt, 2003) in demonstrating that collectivistic representations are more common than individualistic images in advertising produced in a culture where the level of individualism is still relatively low. However, our findings also shed light on a not-yet-explored relationship between individualism and collectivism in advertising in transitional societies: The fact that our corpus of generally collectivistic lottery ads included quite a few individualistic representations indicates that collectivism and individualism are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts, a contention supported by recent empirical findings in psychology (Li & Aksoy, 2006).

As in any content analysis, the conclusions that concern the messages are valid as long as the sampling is representative, the coding book is valid and the coding process is reliable. However, any statements we make about the creators of the messages (their aim and motivation) remain speculative. We attributed the advertisers' content decisions mainly to cultural considerations, but these decisions could have also been motivated by technical constraints and limited budget.

Finally, we used Israeli lottery advertising from the 1950s and 1960s as a case study to show how advertising handles a situation, when the product's

capitalistic-individualistic nature bumps into a collectivistic cultural orientation. We demonstrated how advertisers recruit collectivistic visual motifs to sell an individualistic service. Could a similar strategy work in other countries and with different products? Only further research can tell.

References

- Aharoni, Y. (1991). *Politikia Calcalit Be-Yisrael*. [Hebrew: Political economy in Israel]. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved and Eshkol Institute.
- Almog, O. (2004). *Preida misrulik: Shinui arachim bachevra hayisraelit* [Hebrew: Farewell Srulik: Value changes in Israeli society]. Haifa: University of Haifa Press.
- Albers-Miller, N. D., & Gelb, B. D. (1996). Business advertising appeals as a mirror of cultural dimensions: A study of eleven countries. *Journal of Advertising*, 25(4), 57-70.
- Ball, S. M., & Smith, G. W. H. (1992). *Analyzing visual data*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Banham, R. (1966). *The new Brutalism: Ethic or aesthetic?* London: Reinhold.
- Berger, L. P., Berger, B., & Kellner, H. (1973). *The homeless mind: Modernization and consciousness*. NY: Random House.
- Binde, P. (2007). Selling dreams—causing nightmares? On gambling advertising and problem gambling. *Journal of Gambling Issues*, 20, 167-192.
- Caillat, Z., & Mueller, B. (1996). Observations: The influence of culture on American and British advertising. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 36, 79-88.
- Caspi, D., & Limor, Y. (1999). *The in/outside: The media in Israel*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton press.
- Cheng, H., & Schweitzer, J. C. (1996). Cultural values reflected in Chinese and U.S. television commercials. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 36(3), 27-45.
- Clotfelter, C. T., & Cook, P. J. (2007). Redefining "success" in the state lottery business. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 9(1), 99-104.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (1967). *Israeli society*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Friedman, G. (2003). Be-derech lyemei ha-shmama shel ha-pirsum [Hebrew: On the way to the wilderness days of advertising] *Otot*, 274, 7-9.
- Frith, K. T., & Toland, D. (1991). A comparison of cultural values in British and American print advertising: A study of magazines. *Journalism Quarterly*, 68(1-2), 216-223.
- Gabay, N., & Shenhav, Y. (1999). Eros and instrumentality: Sociology of state-established commissions of inquiry. *Israeli Sociology*, 2(1), 241-275.
- Gornichovsky, D. (1998). Nosim be-historia shel ha-pirsum be-yisrael [Hebrew: Issues in the history of advertising in Israel] *Otot*, 100, 58-60.
- Han, S-P, & Shavitt, S. (1994). Persuasion and culture: Advertising appeals in individualistic and collectivistic societies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 30(4), 326-350.
- Hetsroni, A. (2000). The relationship between values and appeals in Israeli advertising: A smallest space analysis. *Journal of Advertising*, 29(3), 55-68.
- Hetsroni, A. (2010). Israeli advertising: From oriental dilettantism to professional westernism. In E. C. Alozie (Ed.), *Advertising in developing and emerging economies*. Aldershot, UK: Gower Publishing.

- Hodgins, D.C., & Peden, N. (2005). Natural course of gambling disorders: Forty month follow-up. *Journal of Gambling Issues*, 14. Retrieved February 22, 2010 from http://www.camh.net/egambling/issue14/jgi_14_hodgins.html
- Holbrook, M. B. (1987). Mirror, mirror, on the wall - what's unfair in the reflections on advertising? *Journal of Marketing*, 51, 95-103.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences; Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Javalgi, R. G., Cutler, B. D., & Malhotra, N. K. (1995). Print advertising at the component level: A cross-cultural comparison of the United States and Japan. *Journal of Business Research*, 34(2), 117-124.
- Karcher, A. (1989). *Lotteries*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Lemish, D. (2000). eim ata lo sham ata lo kayam: Hishtakfut ha-hevra ha-yisraelit be-pirsum [Hebrew: If you are not there, you do not exist: The reflection of the Israeli society in advertising]. In C. Hertzog (Ed.), *Fifty years: A society in the mirror* (pp. 559-539). Tel Aviv, Israel: Ramot Press.
- Levy, M. (2005). *The Israeli gambling field: Between value rationality and instrumental rationality*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel.
- Levy, M. (2006). The politics of chance: The inception of Israeli lottery. *Social Issues in Israel*, 1(2), 174-202.
- Li, F., & Aksoy, L. (2006). Dimensionality of individualism-collectivism and measurement equivalence of Triandis and Gelfand's scale. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 21, 313-329.
- Messaris, P. (1997). *Visual persuasion: The role of images in advertising*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Meyer, J. W., & Scott, R. W. (1983). *Organizational environments: Ritual and rationality*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Mueller, B. (1987). Reflections of culture: An analysis of Japanese and American advertising appeals. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 27(3), 51-59.
- Rokeach, M. J. (1973). *The nature of human values*. NY: Free Press.
- Runiger, L. (1999). Individualism among Jewish Israelis in the 1990s. In A. Bashara (Ed.), *Between "I" and "We": The construction of identities and Israeli identity* (pp. 109-128). Tel Aviv: Hakibutz Hameuhad Press.
- Shadmi, Y. (1957, December 31). Mifal Hapayis mechin haftahot [Hebrew: Mifal Hapayis prepares surprises]. *Maariv*, p.7.
- Stearns, J. M., & Borna, S. (1995). The ethics of lottery advertising: Issues and evidence. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 14, 43-51.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American Psychologist*, 51(5), 407-415.
- Weiss, M. (1997). War bodies, hedonist bodies: Dialectics of the collective and the individual in Israeli society. *American Ethnologist*, 24(4), 813-832.
- Wuthnow, R., Hunter, J. D., Bergesen, A., & Kurzweil, E. (1984). *Cultural analysis*. Boston: Routledge.
- Zhang, J., & Shavitt, S. (2003). Cultural values in advertisements to the Chinese X-Generation: Promoting modernity and individualism. *Journal of Advertising*, 32(1), 23-33.

Chapter Twenty

Recall and Recognition of In-Game Advertising: Effects of Environment, Ad Positioning, and Difficulty

*Koos C.M. Nuijten, International University of Applied Sciences,
The Netherlands*

Claudia E. Pellengahr, Aalborg University, Denmark

Penny de Byl, Bond University, Australia

For 2012 the media segment of computer games is prospected to generate nearly seventy billion dollars worldwide (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2008). Moreover, the estimated growth of games outpaces all other media platforms (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2008). In terms of media use, games are a media platform of increasing importance as well. From being a niche segment for technophiles in the seventies and eighties, games are well underway becoming mainstream in roughly the first decade of our current millennium. A check of game players' demographics shows that no longer just children and adolescent males play games (ESA, 2009). Besides, that dissemination of game play can be expected to continue in the near future: according to Jupiter Research Corporation (2003), it appears that cohorts that were exposed to video games in childhood continue playing games in later life stages. Therefore, we may conclude that game is rapidly developing into a mature media platform by itself.

This maturing can also be seen in the game industry. As a rule of thumb, costs for games are growing with every new release (c.f., Stuart, 2009). These increased costs are partly due to higher game demands (increased graphic quality, game play options) that require big teams of modellers and game artists/ level builders for game development, but also to increasing overhead that comes with managing these bigger teams and to extensive marketing budgets that are needed in an increasingly competitive market. In all, the maturity of the platform results in higher development and marketing costs.

Theoretically, all these costs can be covered by game sales (and game merchandise income), but since presumably there is a limit to the amount the 'audience of gamers' is willing to spend on a single title (c.f., Stuart, 2009), the importance of other sources of income are increasing. Over the years, numerous brands (e.g., Amazon, Burger King, Coca Cola, Diesel, Discovery Channel, Ford, Fox, Gillette, LG, McDonalds, Nike, Nokia, Paramount, Puma, Reebok, Red Bull, Sennheiser, Swatch, Texaco, and Virgin Media) have sponsored video game production, usually with in-game exposure in return

(Marzell, 2009). The effectiveness of in-game advertisement is all but clear, however.

Most of our knowledge on the effectiveness of advertisements in audiovisual media stems from research on television – for that field, the effectiveness of persuasive messages has been studied and modeled quite extensively (for example Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; McGuire, 1978; Gupta & Marks, 1974). However, although games fit in the category ‘audiovisual media’, games differ from television at least two ways. First, television supports rather passive media consumption (lean back), whereas games request active participation (lean forward). Second, television offers a linear narrative that is offered at a fixed pace, whereas in games the way and the pace the narrative unfolds can be highly dependent on the acts of the game player.

For notions and models concerning the effectiveness of commercials in games, these two differences can have quite serious implications. The active role a game requests a player to take limits the chances for game play to be a ‘secondary task’. Processing models that distinguish between primary and secondary tasks to estimate media effects (like vividness models, Nisbett & Ross, 1980; and, to a certain extent also Petty & Cacioppo’s ELM, 1986) therefore seem to be of only limited value within the context of game research. Besides, game’s potential for non-linear narratives impedes possibilities for effective timing: cognitive processing models (like Lang’s limited capacity model for mediated message processing, 2000) may lead to understanding of the information context in which a commercial would be most effective – but the possibilities to create such effective moments are limited in a non-linear narrative.

The need for specific research into advertising effectiveness in game contexts has been acknowledged by an array of scholars. Our overview of research literature shows that in-game advertising effects research has more or less started around the nineteen eighties – after 2002 there seems to be a peak in studies that indicate advertising effectiveness by means of recall and recognition (e.g., Acar, 2007; Chaney, Lin, & Chaney, 2004; Grigorovivi, & Constantin, 2004; Kuhn, Pope, & Voges, 2007; Lee, & Faber, 2007; Mau, Silberer, & Constien, 2008; Molesworth, 2006; Nelson, 2002; Nelson, Yaros & Keum, 2006; Nicovich, 2005; Schneider, & Cornwell, 2005; Sharma, Mizerski, & Lee, 2007).

Although most of the studies mentioned above made an important contribution to our understanding of in-game advertizing effects, not all studies are particularly strong in terms of research design. Instead of establishing individual recall and recognition, Kuhn, Pope, and Voges (2007) used focus groups for establishing such in-game advertising effects. Other studies (like Grigorovivi & Constantin, 2004; Schneider & Cornwell, 2005; Nicovich, 2005) do not link advertising effectiveness to features of the game itself (message qualities) but rather to the total experience that these features provide to the game player. By doing so, these studies incorporate respondent’s individual biases and refrain from investigating pure media effects. Instead, they focus on effects (ad recall and recognition) of effects (experience) of message qualities.

Such research designs might not be strongest in providing information on how to embed commercials in computer games (c.f. O'Keefe, 2003).

Another problem with some of the studies on in-game advertising effectiveness is a rather low amount of respondents. Nelson's (2002) study reports on 16 test subjects; Schneider and Cornwell (2005) had 46 participants; and Nelson, Yaros, and Keum (2006) had 62 subjects. These amounts of respondents (and units of analysis) result in rather limited statistical power, and therefore to limited conclusions. Lee and Faber's (2007) study included a bigger number of respondents (155), but because they were assigned to twelve conditions in a between-subjects research design statistical power was still very limited.

Due to these problems, our knowledge of the way in which game features affect ad recall and recognition is still rather limited. Our study aims to deepen our understanding of in-game advertisement effects. We will focus on the implications of (a) the graphic game environment (more or less realistic), (b) game difficulty/ demand (easy, middle, difficult), and (c) the positioning of advertisements (frontal or sideways). Therefore, the research questions of our study are:

- To what extent and in what way does graphic game environment (more or less realistic) affect recall and recognition of embedded advertisements?
- To what extent and in what way does game difficulty affect recall and recognition of embedded advertisements?
- To what extent and in what way does positioning affect recall and recognition of embedded advertisements?

Theoretical Framework

According to the hierarchy of effects model (Lavidge & Steiner, 1961) a persuasive message follows four sequential steps between exposure of a message and purchase of a product: exposure, awareness, interest, evaluation, conviction, and purchase. For a message to enter a higher step in this hierarchy, all lower steps need to have been completed successfully. In other words: a message can only lead to conviction after evaluation, but before evaluation can take place, there must have been awareness (as a result of exposure). Given this perspective, research into in-game advertising effectiveness should start at the lowest levels of this hierarchy of effects: if in-game advertisement proves to be ineffective at the lowest hierarchical levels, no effects on higher levels are to be expected.

Our focus on the lowest levels of message effects allows us to consider effectiveness in terms of recall and recognition only – besides, it supports us to use a quite basic theoretical model on media message processing to formulate hypotheses. For our study, we will mostly draw from the limited capacity model of mediated message processing (Lang, 2000).

According to Lang's (2000) limited capacity model of mediated message processing (LCM), the human message processing system is limited. Media messages (considered as a continuous stream of audiovisual stimuli) have a propensity for delivering more than the processing system can cope with. Therefore, not all stimuli that make up the message are processed: by means of top down (attention) and bottom up (automatic) selection, some elements are taken on while others get filtered. The elements that are not filtered can be decoded and stored more or less thoroughly, depending on the capacities available (and allocated). Message elements can therefore be remembered and recalled with more or less detail (or not at all).

For our purposes it is not important to further delve into the mechanisms of top down and bottom up selection processes that Lang (2000) describes. For us, it is enough to understand that the higher the processing demand, the lower the thoroughness of processing (and therefore the recall and recognition). Based in this understanding alone, we can derive two hypotheses.

If recall and recognition of embedded advertisements in games is a function of the total processing demand, we can expect that a graphic environment that takes less capacity to 'read and understand' to a level that is prerequisite for the game task leaves more capacity for processing the embedded commercials (and therefore leads to higher recall and recognition of embedded commercials) than a graphic environment that takes more capacity to 'read and understand' to a functional level. We may expect that a graphic game environment that resembles our everyday environment more (in other words: that is more or less realistic) puts lower demand on our limited capacity systems than a graphic environment that does not resemble our everyday environment (a non-realistic environment, for example a fantasy world). Therefore, we expect:

H1: A realistic graphic game environment leads to higher recall and recognition of embedded advertising than a non-realistic graphic game environment

Analogously, we can expect that a game task that is less demanding (easier) leaves more of our limited capacities available than a game task that is more demanding (more difficult). In other words: game difficulty can be expected to have a negative correlation with recall and recognition of embedded advertisements.

H2: The more difficult the game, the lower the recall and recognition of embedded advertising.

Concerning our third research question we cannot derive expectations from Lang's (2000) LCM. The limited capacity model for mediated message processing does not allow for explication of positioning effects: it does describe message features that by bottom-up processes have a propensity to be selected for further processing, but these features mainly refer to biological or evolutionary 'basic needs' (Hendriks Vettehen, Nuijten, & Beentjes, 2005), not

to positioning. However, according to Hendriks Vettehen et al (2005), the concept of ‘vividness’ (Nisbett & Ross, 1980) can be aligned with Lang’s (2000) LCM.

Nisbett and Ross (1980) claim that messages are likely to attract and hold our attention as a function of (amongst other elements) the proximity of that message in a sensory, temporal, and spatial way. If that is true, proximate messages will attract and hold our attention (and therefore be processed) more than less proximate messages – with differences in recall and recognition as a result. We expect higher recall and recognition rates for messages that are embedded in a proximate way than for messages that are embedded in a less proximate way.

H3: Proximate in-game advertisement embedding leads to higher recall and recognition than less proximate in-game advertisement embedding.

Method

Stimulus Design

Our study was based on a car racing game that was tailor made for our purposes. We designed a race track where we located a series of twelve in-game advertising messages. To rule out bias like potential effects of brand familiarity and color differences we used black and white logos (pretested for recognizability and easy of remembrance) to serve as embedded advertisements. The first three and the last three logo’s that we embedded were not included for analysis: these were only incorporated as an attempt to minimize recency and latency effects in recall and recognition results.

From our track we designed two graphically distinct game environments to manipulate graphic realism (H1). The first environment resembled an every day outdoor setting with a blue sky, a yellow sun, green grass, and buildings that looked like houses. The other environment was not very different in terms of the amount of graphical units incorporated or in terms of detail, but this environment contained purple skies, pink grass and a flying melon for a sun. Our manipulation check showed that to our respondents both versions of the game were acceptable as game environments (e.g., liking, perceived beauty) and there were no significant differences in game evaluation or drive-through time.

The manipulation of difficulty (H2) was incorporated in the curves in our race track. The track was devised out of three equally long sections, differing in the steepness of the curves. The first section was easiest (mildly curved), the second section was a bit more difficult (sharper curves), and the third was most difficult (sharpest curves). We took drive-through time for each of the three segments as an indicative manipulation check of difficulty: our results show

significant differences for the three sections. The overall difficulty of the game by our respondents was considered not too difficult.

To study logo positioning (proximity, H3), in the middle section we incorporated one logo sideways to the track, and one logo in a frontal position. The logo in the sideways position could be passed without being very close to it, whereas the logo in the frontal position was placed in such a way that the respondent had to closely approach the logo before being able to take a left turn.

Sampling and Procedure

Since our study aimed at establishing effects of game features on recall and recognition of in-game advertisement, and not individual differences in such measures, we tried to achieve a homogeneous sample of respondents. Mechanisms that connect game features to recall and recognition effects would be found easiest if individual differences (and, as a result 'noise' variance) was minimized. Besides, if such mechanisms would show in our results, theoretically these can be expected to be apparent with other respondent groups as well – therefore, the generalizability of our results (in terms of mechanisms) to other groups of game players might not be seriously hampered by our homogeneous sample. Our sample consisted of 127 respondents (50-50 gender division) in the age range between 17 and 28 (mean age 21), all in higher vocational level of education.

We invited our respondents to participate in the experiment by telling them that we wanted to find out whether right- or left-handedness made a difference in game skills and game skills learning. Respondents that agreed to participate were taken to a small office where a game set was installed. They were given three minutes to practice the track curves and controls of our game in a neutral (black/grey, just horizon and track) setting. Then they were given the test (either the realistic or the non-realistic setting) and they were told that we wanted them to drive through as fast as possible (just as in a natural situation with a race game). After they finished the lap, they were informed about the real purpose of the test and they were asked to describe which logo's they remembered from the game (free recall). Then they were given a questionnaire including an overview of logo's and the request to tick the ones they remembered (recognition).

The last question in the questionnaire reviewed the level of respondent's test suspicion. None of the respondents reported to have had more than only slight test suspicion (90% reported no test suspicion at all), a result that is supported by the number of logos recalled: on average, the numbers of freely recalled logo's was below two, the number of cued recalled logos did not reach 3,5. Had our respondents suspected our test goals, the recall and recognition results would presumably have been much higher (short term memory is known for being able to hold some 7 plus or minus two units; Miller, 1956).

Results

Hypothesis 1: Effects of Graphic Environment on Recall and Recognition of Embedded Logos

We presumed that graphic environment realism would lead to differences in recall and recognition of in-game advertising. We used t-tests to see whether the recall and recognition performance of respondents in the ‘realistic’ condition differed significantly from those in the ‘non-realistic’ condition (independent samples t-test, equality of variances assumed). The results are indicated in table 1.

From Table 1, it shows that the amount of remembered logos in the realistic version is higher than in the non-realistic version. This difference is significant at a 5% level. The results for cued recall are similar: the realistic version corresponds to significantly higher recall than the non-realistic version. In other words: our study results confirm our first hypothesis.

Table 1. *Effects of Graphic Realism/Non-realism on Recall and Recognition of In-game Logos*

	version	n	mean	std dev	sig 2 tailed
# correct free recall	realistic	65	1.8	1.4	.04
	non-realistic	62	1.3	1.2	
# correct recognition	realistic	65	3.4	1.8	.00
	non-realistic	62	2.5	1.7	

Hypothesis 2: Difficulty Effects on Recall and Recognition of Embedded Logos

We hypothesized that an increase of game difficulty would lead to lower recall and recognition of embedded logos. Since we devised a race track with three segments of increasing difficulty, we decided to take our respondent’s mean performance for recall (.504) and recognition (.972) as references, and contrast these with the numbers for recall and recognition in the other two sections: if mean recall and recognition of logos in the easier section is significantly higher and mean recall and recognition of logos in the harder section is significantly lower than mean recall and recognition of logos in the reference (middle) section, our hypothesis is supported. The results of our analysis are included in Table 2.

Table 2. *Effects of Game Difficulty on Recall and Recognition of In-game Logos*

	section	n	mean	std dev	sig 2 tailed
# correct free recall	easy	127	.45	.69	.37
	difficult		.56	.72	.39
# correct recognition	easy	127	.95	.84	.80
	difficult		.99	.90	.80

From table 2 it shows we did not find significant differences for either free or cued recall, given the consistency of our results we would like to point out that the general tendency of results is against our expectation. Both free and cued recall is lower than the reference value in the easiest section and higher than the reference value in the difficult section. Besides, if we (ex post facto) compare free recall results for the easy and the difficult sections, our results turn out to be significant. In all, we conclude that our study results indicate rejection of our second hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3: Proximity Effects on Recall and Recognition of Embedded Logos

We hypothesized that proximate in-game advertisement embedding leads to higher recall and recognition than less proximate embedding. To test this hypothesis, we compare the free and cued recall rates for the logo that was presented sideways in the middle section, and the logo that was presented frontally in the same track segment (the one that the respondent had to approach closely before taking a left turn). The results of our analysis are included in Table 3.

Table 3. *Effects of Presentation Proximity of In-game Logos*

	presentation	n	mean	std dev	sig 2 tailed
# correct free recall	proximate	127	.24	.43	.00
	non-proxim		.02	.13	
# correct recognition	proximate	127	.51	.50	.00
	non-proxim		.11	.31	

Our results show that the logo that was presented proximate has a significantly higher recall and recognition rate than the logo that was presented non-proximate. Therefore, the results of our study support this third hypothesis.

Conclusion and Discussion

The results from our study clearly indicate that graphic game environment can affect recall and recognition of in-game logos – in other words: can affect advertising effectiveness. For advertisements to be most effective (at least at the lowest levels of the hierarchy of effects) a realistic game environment proves to be a benefit. Probably this has to do with the cognitive load a non-realistic (or fantasy) environment puts on users: reading such environments may put a stronger demand on the surveillance function that is part of the information processing system, leading to less resources available for cognitive processing – like Lang's (2000) LCM would forecast.

On the other hand, our study also suggests that game segments that are more difficult can lead to *higher* logo recall and recognition rates, a result that seems to conflict the LCM. To what extent our results actually reflect the type of demand Lang (2000) refers to is uncertain, however. Lang's model, which is

originally devised for television (a lean back medium) focuses on cognitive demand that a message puts on the audience. In games, demand is not just a cognitive variable, but also a variable of motor skills. In fact, our manipulation of demand refers to motor skills only: sharper curves do not demand more cognitive processing, they demand better steering. Therefore, it is very well possible that the results we found with hypothesis 2 actually show that increases of motor demand lead to increases of cognitive processes/ increases of the cognitive capacities a player has available (or allocates) to the game environment at hand. Theoretical notions concerning arousal (Ganzenboom, 1984) and information processing would allow for a conceptualization of arousal as a mediating variable between cognitive demand and message processing.

Thirdly, our study suggests that advertisement proximity (or better maybe: prominence) affects recall and recognition of embedded advertisements. This result may not be ground breaking; its implications could be quite serious however. Given the quite low mean recall and recognition of logos in our study (studies into free recall and recognition in other media platforms usually generate way higher numbers; e.g., Drèze & Hussherr, 2003), we might have to conclude that in-game advertisement needs all formal tricks available to generate leverage. If that would be the case, obviously one of the main problems that in-game advertisement will have to overcome is the negative attitudes towards commercials that prominent embedding will inevitably generate.

The above discussion of our results indicates a few directions for further experimental effects research into in-game advertising: a distinction between cognitive and motor game demand (or, better even: an extension to traditional AV processing models) could lead to a better understanding of in-game effectiveness. Besides, research needs to delve into the issue of devising advertising modes that are effective and at the same time avoid negative attitudes towards the advertisement. Our study has shown that with quite simple means, solid experimental designs for in-game advertisement effects studies can be set up – and that such studies can bring results that help develop the field.

References

- Acar, A. (2007). Testing the Effects of Incidental Advertising Exposure in Online Gaming Environments. *Journal of Interactive Advertising*, 8 (1). Retrieved January 5, 2009, from <http://www.jiad.org/article98>
- Chaney, I. M., Lin, K., & Chaney, J. (2004). The Effect of Billboards within the Gaming Environment. *Journal of Interactive Media*, 5 (1), 54-69.
- Drèze, X., & Hussherr, F.X (2003). Internet advertising. Is anybody watching? *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 17(4), 8-23.

- ESA Entertainment Software Association. (2009). *2009 Sales, demographics and usage data. Essential facts about the computer and video game industry*. Washington, DC: ESA.
- Stuart, K. (2009). Gamers have had it good – now its time for us to pay. *The Guardian*, August 12.
- Ganzenboom, H.B.G. (1984) *Cultuur en informatieverwerking: een empirisch-theoretisch onderzoek naar cultuurdeelname en esthetische waardering van architectuur*. Utrecht: Sociologisch Instituut.
- Grigorovivi, D. M., & Constantin, C. D. (2004). Experiencing Interactive Advertising beyond Rich Media: Impacts of Ad Type and Presence on Brand Effectiveness in 3D Gaming Immersive Virtual Environments. *Journal of Interactive Media*, 5 (1), 31-53.
- Gupta, S.K., & Marks, E.S. (1974). An advertising effect model. *Omega*, 2(1), 53-61.
- Jupiter Research Corporation (2003). *Audience benchmark: Teen video game adoption, use, and preference*. Cambridge, MA: Jupiter Research Corporation
- Kuhn, K. L., Pope, N. K., & Voges, K. E. (2007). *Exploring Product Placement in Video Games: An Investigation of Recall Effects*. University of Otago: Paper presented at the ANZMAC 2007 Conference Proceedings.
- Lang, A. (2000). The limited capacity model of mediated message processing. *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 50(1) 46-70.
- Lavidge, R.J., & Steiner, G.A. (1961). A model of predictive measurments of advertising effectiveness. *Journal of marketing*, 25(4), 59-62.
- Lee, M., & Faber, R. J. (2007). Effects of Product Placement in On-Line Games on Brand Memory. *Journal of Advertising*, 36 (4), 75-90.
- Marzell, E. (2009, March 10). Brands & In Game Advertising. *VP Business Development EMEA*, IGA Worldwide, London.
- Mau, G., Silberer, G., & Constien, C. (2008). Communicating Brands Playfully: Effects of In-Game Advertising for Familiar and Unfamiliar Brands. *International Journal of Advertising*, 27(5), 827-851.
- McGuire, W.J. (1978). An information processing model of advertising effectiveness. In H.L. Davis & A.H. Silk (Eds.). *Behavioral and management science in marketing*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Miller, G.A. (1956). The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review*, 63(2), 81-97.
- Molesworth, M. (2006). Real Brands in Imaginary Worlds: Investigating Players' Experiences of Brand Placement in Digital Games. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 5, 355-366.
- Nelson, M. R. (2002). Recall of brand Placements in Computer/ Video Games. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 42, 80-92.
- Nicovich, S. G. (2005). The Effect of Involvement on Ad Jugment in a Video Game Environment: The Mediating Role of Presence. *Journal of Interactive Advertising*, 6(1). Retrieved February 18, 2009, from <http://www.jiad.org/article67>
- Nisbett, R., & Ross, L. (1980). *Human inference: strategies and shortcomings of social judgement*. Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- O'Keefe, D. J. (2003). Message Properties, Mediating States, and Manipulation Checks: Claims, Evidence, and Data Analysis in Experimental Persuasive Message Effects Research. *Communication Theory*, 13(3), 251-274.
- Petty, R.E., & Cacioppo, J.T. (1986). The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion. *Advances in experimental psychology*, 19, 123-205.
- PricewaterhouseCoopers (2008). *Global entertainment and media outlook*.

*Recall and Recognition of In-Game Advertising:
Effects of Environment, Ad Positioning, and Difficulty*

- Schneider, L., & Cornwell, T. B. (2005). Cashing in on Crashing via Brand Placement in Computer Games: The Effects of Experience and Flow on Memory. *International Journal of Advertising*, 24(3), 321-343.
- Sharma, D., Mizerski, R., & Lee, A. (2007). *The Effect of Product Placement in Computer Games on Brand Attitude and Recall*. University of Otago: Paper presented at the ANZMAC 2007 Conference Proceedings.

Chapter Twenty One

Value of Perception in Organizational Reputation: The Case of Esgaz Eskisehir Natural Gas Distribution Company

N. Serdar Sever, Anadolu University, Turkey

Göknil Nur Koçak, Mersin University, Turkey

Increasingly, various forms of organizations are shifting their promotional efforts from traditional advertising and public relations to managing corporate communications in real and virtual settings. This is a new delegation of power, reshuffling and redistribution of cards, and needless to say though, there will be new players on the table. Even perhaps we may need a new deck. Rapid innovations in internet technologies coupled with intensive rivalry in almost every arcades of providing products or services to consumers requires and even dictates giving priority to consumers' desires that is though their perception. In this business of "convincing" people has never been obliged to a fact that there is a colossal need to comprehend how people see us. Reputation is what we would like to have as individuals. Good reputation translates to more of credibility and that in return would possibly brings us what we desire; a more of a social life, a help at when we are desperate, having personal credit that would possibly exists as more of a form of being heard when we have something to say.

Organizational reputation can be defined as the way how stakeholders, employees and public(s) perceive organizations' values, virtues and overall, how they see the organization in general. Such definition requires a huge task to be accomplished by any organization that aims to achieve a sustainable communication inwardly and outwardly. This task involves setting proper communication strategies and utilizing communications tools accordingly.

A good reputation is vital for the organizational life cycle. In turbulent times, when a crisis hits organizations, survival becomes a top priority. This is the circumstance where a good reputation pays off. If an organization struggles to keep the trading value of its shares or simply continuing its daily activities would largely depend on consumers' or stakeholders' trust; this is where a good reputation comes into the play.

Literature Review

The first step in corporate communication studies is to assess how an organization is perceived by its stakeholders. Nevertheless, today corporate “image” by far surpasses the “reputation” and often used in its place. Corporations often resort to the effort of “making” an image, refrain the task of measuring their perception that they already have in the eyes of internal and external stakeholders. It is a common practice that personal or corporate image is often reduced in a notion that it is what one can perceive as *façade* or just an image of an organization or an individual. Evidently, this approach presumes only the tip of the iceberg and neglects the huge chunk underwater.

There are two types of approaches to the concept of corporate reputation: (1) utilitarian and (2) reflective (Pruzan, 2001).

Utilitarian approach assumes to increase organization’s profitability to a maximum level. Therefore, both management and employees should share this simple goal.

Reflective approach on the other hand perceives that an organization must fulfill its duties to the society in which it operates. For instance, using natural resources wildly and polluting the environment just for to make more profit is not a humane behavior, also it will ruin company reputation in the long run.

Naturally, in order for to establish a corporate reputation an organization must decide on its identity first. Like human beings, organizations should agree on name, logo, vision etc. things that make up an identity. Melewar (2003) defines corporate identity as visual presentations of an organization that portrays what the corporation is about to outside world.

Püsküllüoğlu (2004) defines the term identity as sum of all traits that makes a person and differentiates him or her from others. According to the scholar corporate identity is a total and consistent perception of which an organization uses it to promote itself to its employees and stakeholders.

Van Riel and Balmer (1997) states that identity is how an organization presents itself to outside in a consistent way. Scholars further explain that while making this presentation, organization must spread its essence into itself.

Integrated corporate communication is perceived as antecedent of reputation. Some studies revealed that word of mouth communication and verbal referrals are equally important in disseminating corporate messages (Kitchen and Sever, 2008).

Corporate reputation can be defined as an organizational act for the purpose of acquiring a positive and intended outcome for the organization of which such act was originated (Fombrun and Rindova, 1996).

Fombrun and Shanley (1990) concluded that reputation enables a corporation to dictate the prices for products or services that they sell; it’s also a valet parking ticket for stock exchanges, and helps to persuade skilled employees to join their ranks.

Based on the measurement scale which is well accepted in the literature and also known as Fombrun index, corporate reputation has six different components. These components are emotional appeal, products and services,

vision and leadership, workplace environment, social and environmental responsibilities, and financial performance (Fombrun et al., 2000).

It is evident that there is a direct link between how an organization is perceived and its degree of reputation. In other words, without a positive perception there will be no positive reputation (Young, 1995).

Method

Purposes and Research Questions

As outlined above, the main purpose of this research is to assess ESGAZ Eskişehir Natural Gas Distribution Company's reputation among its publics. However, in order to gain more insight, the researchers are set the following research purposes.

- (1) How perception of public(s) affects the overall reputation of an organization?
- (2) Would perception of internal and external publics vary significantly?
- (3) Which parts of an organizational reputation perceive positively by its publics?
- (4) Which parts of an organizational reputation perceived negatively by its publics?
- (5) Are there any variations of ESGAZ's publics' perception on how they perceive the company in terms of different aspects of corporate reputation?

Ingenuity of the Research

The findings of this research are expected to contribute to the following points:

- (1) This research would help to assess the overall quality of ESGAZ as a corporation.
- (2) ESGAZ will be able to ascertain the areas where it needs to develop its corporate reputation.
- (3) ESGAZ would be able to develop reputation enhancement strategies.
- (4) ESGAZ as a public utility company would set as an example for other organizations that have similar nature.

Assumptions

This research will operate from the following assumptions:

- (1) Organizational/corporate reputation is a monolithic body of construct that consist the views of internal and external publics.
- (2) Organizational/corporate reputation is affected from both retrospective and prospective point of views of various publics.
- (3) ESGAZ values and is sensitive to the perception of its publics.
- (4) The Participants of the research are capable of assessing the organizational values, management style, and operations of ESGAZ.

Limitations

This research has the following limitations:

- (1) The research venue is Eskişehir city center.
- (2) The participants of the research are the members of internal and external publics of the ESGAZ.

Methodology

The Research Model

On the basis of research and available literature in this area, a new measurement scale was developed on dimensions related to corporate perception and reputation. To generate items comprising the domains of attitudes, three focus groups were conducted comprising 36 people in Eskişehir, Turkey. In constructing the focus groups, a representative group of people were selected on the basis of their demographic characteristics and relations with the ESGAZ. Individuals were asked about how they see their corporation from various aspects. The interviewer generated total of 20 items, which were discussed in the focus groups, and then revised into a preliminary questionnaire. The questionnaire was further pre-tested on a group of 35 participants, who were judged to be representative of the target population. This helped researchers to reduce redundancy and clarified wording.

The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part is comprised of 6 demographic questions. Statements used in the second part were adapted from previous studies, the literature review and focus group interviews, and they were designed according to potential implications corporate perception. A total of 93 statements were thus presented and respondents were asked to indicate their attitudes on a five-point Likert scale with being 1=“strongly agree” and 5=“strongly disagree”. As in every research project, similar steps of measurement scale development procedures were followed rigorously. Table 1 shows categories along with number of items included in each of them. The overall Cronbach Alpha value for the scale is .98 that clearly indicates the reliability of the measurement scale developed for the research.

Table 1. *Alpha Coefficiencies of Categories*

Categories	Number of Items per Category	Cronbach Alpha
Management and Leadership	10	.92
Employees	9	.86
Corporate Signs	7	.70
Work Place Environment	9	.83
Corporate Culture	10	.92
Products and Services	10	.88
Fiscal performance	5	.73
Communication	13	.86
Social Responsibility	9	.85
Respect to Individual Rights	11	.87
Total	93	.98

The Sampling Methodology

Due to its limited number of employees, all ESGAZ personnel will be included in the sampling. The companies that have business relations with the ESGAZ will be surveyed and a convenience sampling method will be employed to gather data from various individual ESGAZ customers.

Findings

Distribution of Employees

Employees who took a part in the research were shown in Table 2. Total of 52 employees were participated the research, and among them technicians constitutes the highest contingent with 14 participants. The least number of employees comes from security personnel with 2 participants.

Table 2. *Distribution of Employees*

Position	Number
Manager	7
Engineer	5
Chef	6
Teller	5
Clerk	9
Technician	14
worker	4
Security	2
Total	52

Distribution of Participants by Gender

Table 2 shows the numbers of participants and their definitions. Table 3 however, indicates the gender ratio of all participants. Based on that, 47, 4 per cent of participants are women, and 52, 6 per cent of participants are men. This indicates a relative equality among genders in the research.

Table 3. *Distribution of Participants*

Status	Number
Employee	52
Subconstructor	10
ESGAZ customers	523
Total	585

Table 4. *Distribution of Participants by Gender*

Gender	Number	Percentage
Female	277	47,4
Male	308	52,6
Total	585	100

Management and Leadership

There are 10 items under this category and a maximum point attainable is 50. Table 5 shows itemized mean and standart deviation scores for each item. The total M=3,28 and SD=0,99 for this category. Only one item is above the threshold value of 3,41 that is “it honours its agreements and contracts”. The mean score for this item is 3,44. All other items were grouped under the threshold. As for the genders, there no significant difference was observed. Naturally, managers find leadership more important than employees and customers. This finding indicates a similarity with Kitchen and Laurence’s (2003) conclusion. Scholars state that managers overvalue their significance in organizations while others look the issue with relative objectivity.

Table 5. *Management and Leadership Items*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
01	It is a well managed corporation	3.26	1.057
02	Managers are compentent	3.12	0.94
03	Corporation have clear vision and goals	3.18	0.97
04	Corporate values are clear	3.23	0.99
05	Its leadership is more successful than many other corporations	3.28	1.01
06	It’s a specialized organization in its field	3.38	0.99
07	It values the team work	3.17	0.86
08	It has a good reputation	3.36	1.06
09	It honours its agreements and contracts	3.44	1.03
10	It values the productivity and efficiency	3.37	1.01
01-10	Management and Leadership Category	3.28	0.99

Employees

This category has 9 items. Table 6 indicates the mean scores and standart deviations for each item covered under this category. The overall mean score of the category is $M=3,12$ and $SS=1,04$. Obviously this score is well below the general threshold value of $M=3,41$. Only item 13 (they are well dressed) exceed the limit by $M=3, 51$. No significant differences were assessed among managers, employees and other stakeholders, including the customers under this category. This clearly shows that managers should take the lead and should be corporation evangelist in outhur wold (Alsop, 2004). In fact all employees are corporate evangelists and should help to promote corporate values (Ettore, 1996).

Table 6. *Employees*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
11	Employes are competent at their work	3.20	1.08
12	Employees have enough expertice on their jobs	3.23	0.96
13	They are well dressed	3.51	1.00
14	They are kind and hospitable	3.29	1.11
15	They do want to get benefit out of customers	2.63	1.10
16	They are successful at their work	3.40	0.94
17	They have professional ethics	3.32	0.94
18	Their knowledge level, attitudes and practicality are good	3.27	1.01
19	I know many of the employee in person	2.26	1.27
11-19	Employees Category	3.12	1.04

Corporate Signs

There are 7 items under this category therefore the maximum point attainable is 35. Table 7 shows itemized mean and standart deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is $M=3,44$ and $SS=1,11$. Obviously this score is above the general threshold value of $M=3,41$. Therefore it can be concluded that 69 per cent of participants positively perceive the corporation in terms of it signs. No significant differences were assessed among managers, employees and other stakeholders, including the customers under this category.

Table 7. *Corporate Signs*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
20	Corporate signs are clearly indicates the corporation	3.40	1.14
21	Its logo draws attentions	3.90	0.90
22	Its vehicles are easily identifiable	3.66	1.10
23	Its forms and documents are easily identifiable	3.48	1.07
24	Everybody knows its abbreviation	3.82	1.08
25	Its uniforms and hats are special to the corporation	3.37	1.03
26	Its building is quite ordinary	3.05	1.12
20-26	Corporate Signs Category	3.44	1.11

Work Place Environment

There are 9 items under this category therefore the maximum point attainable is 45. Table 8 shows itemized mean and standard deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is $M=3,27$ and $SS=0,93$. Obviously this score is below the general threshold value of $M=3,41$. Therefore it can be concluded that participants negatively perceive the corporation in terms of its work place conditions. No significant differences were assessed among managers, employees and other stakeholders, including the customers under this category. While item 34 (work place safety is not the priority) has the lowest mean score ($M=2,58$), when this item reversed, it further indicates that internal and external stakeholders do not see the organization in a tragic state, nevertheless this does not mean that they necessarily approve the current state of work place environment.

Table 8. *Work Place Environment*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
27	It's a right place to work	3.36	1.02
28	Its hardware is sufficient	3.32	0.84
29	It obeys occupational health and safety regulations	3.42	0.90
30	Its got tidy and clean working environment	3.52	0.98
31	Working hours are good	3.42	1.01
32	Storage facilities are sufficient	3.16	0.73
33	Its got easy access to its buildings and facilities	3.45	1.04
34	Work place safety is not the priority	2.58	0.99
35	Human resources are sufficient	3.17	0.89
27-35	Work place environment	3.27	0.93

Corporate Culture

There are 10 items under this category therefore the maximum point attainable is 50. Table 9 shows itemized mean and standard deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is $M=3,33$ and $SS=0,88$. Obviously this score is below the general threshold value of $M=3,41$. Therefore it can be concluded that participants negatively perceive the corporation in terms of its corporate culture. Two items are above the threshold value of 3,41. These are "it's a fastly developing organization", and "employees have loyalty to the corporation." The mean scores for these items are 3,50 and 3,61 respectively. No significant differences were assessed among managers, employees and other stakeholders, including the customers under this category. Item 38 (internal communication is healthy) has the lowest mean score ($M=3,20$). One interesting finding is however, external stakeholders perceive the corporate culture more positive as compare to internal stakeholders.

Table 9. Corporate Culture

Item Order	Items	M	SD
36	Employee relations are respectful	3.24	0.81
37	Employees have loyalty to the corporation	3.61	0.99
38	Internal communication is healthy	3.20	0.83
39	It values its employees development	3.21	0.82
40	Its got sustained working climate	3.29	0.88
41	Job definitions are clear	3.40	0.94
42	It is a fastly developing organization	3.50	0.94
43	It supports its employees	3.23	0.81
44	Work loads and schedules are clearly defined	3.29	0.94
45	It provides extra support to its employees	3.25	0.86
36-45	Corporate Culture	3.33	0.88

Product and Services

There are 10 items under this category therefore the maximum point attainable is 50. Table 10 shows itemized mean and standart deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is M=3,17 and SS=1,02. Obviously this score is below the general threshold value of M=3,41. Therefore it can be concluded that participants negatively perceive the corporation in terms of its corporate culture. Two items are above the threshold value of 3,41. These are “it’s a fastly developing organization”, and “employees have loyalty to the corporation.” The mean scores for these items are 3,50 and 3,61 respectively. Internal stakeholders, namely employees have a positive perception as oppose to external stakeholder for this category.

Table 10. Products and Services

Item Order	Items	M	SD
46	It provides quality products and services	3.34	1.05
47	It is always behind its products and services	3.32	1.04
48	It developes its product and services	3.14	1.02
49	It explores new product and service use	3.16	0.99
50	You can get what you paid for	3.16	1.08
51	It updates its products and services	3.13	0.99
52	Nothing is new	2.81	1.09
53	You can trust its products and services	3.37	1.00
54	It always find what customers need	3.20	0.93
55	It diversifies its products and services	3.07	1.02
46-55	Products and services	3.17	1.02

Fiscal Performance

There are 5 items under this category therefore the maximum point attainable is 25. Table 11 shows itemized mean and standart deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is M=3,26 and SS=0,98. Obviously this score is below the general threshold

value of $M=3,41$. Therefore it can be concluded that participants negatively perceive the corporation in terms of its fiscal performance. Internal stakeholders, namely employees have a positive perception as oppose to external stakeholder for this category. It may be seen normal because external stakeholders may not observe how company is performing and they have no access to daily operational data.

Table 11. *Fiscal Performance*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
56	It has numerous resources	3.22	1.02
57	It has no financial strains	3.39	1.00
58	It is financially in good standing	3.53	0.94
59	It wastes its financial resources	2.76	0.96
60	It is financially rock solid	3.42	0.98
56-60	Fiscal performance	3.26	0.98

*Communication***Table 12.** *Communications*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
61	It has a positive public perception	3.16	1.15
62	Its press releases are convincing	3.16	1.08
63	Corporate documents and publications are in good quality	3.26	1.01
64	Never keeps its promises	2.57	1.04
65	It's the corporation that I can trust	3.36	1.00
66	It has a good relation with unions	3.04	0.74
67	Its public communication is candid and transparent	3.17	1.00
68	Never heard a thing about it lately	3.28	1.09
69	It has a good relation with other organizations	3.19	0.75
70	Its promotional efforts are sufficient	3.00	0.74
71	It values media relations	3.05	0.92
72	It uses proper language and accord the others with courtesy	3.36	1.00
73	It informs the publics when necessary	3.27	1.038
61-73	Communications	3.14	0.98

There are 12 items under communication category therefore the maximum point attainable is 65. Table 12 shows itemized mean and standart deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is $M=3,14$ and $SS=0,98$. Obviously this score is well below the general threshold value of $M=3,41$. Therefore it can be concluded that participants negatively perceive the corporation in terms of its communication performance. There are no significant differences observed between employees and external stakeholders in this category. However, the mean score of the item "its promotional efforts are sufficient" ($M=3,00$). This mean score suggests that the company should spend more effort to promote itself and its policies

and practices to general public. As suggested in the literature, more and frequent appearance on media with positive content would not only help to promote company to external public, it will also help to sustain internal communications smoothly and swiftly among employees (Lewllyn, 2002; Pharoah, 2003).

Social Responsibility

There are 9 items under communication category therefore the maximum point attainable is 45. Table 13 shows itemized mean and standart deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is M=3,14 and SS=1,04. Obviously this score is well below the general threshold value of M=3,41. Therefore it can be concluded that participants negatively perceive the corporation in terms of its communication performance. Only the mean score of item 75 “it is sensitive the environment” was found above the average (M=3,44). This score indicates a slightly better performance as oppose to the other items under this category. There are no significant differences observed between employees and external stakeholders in this category.

Table 13. *Social Responsibility*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
74	It contribites a lot to the society from various aspects	3.30	1.10
75	Its sensitive to the environment	3.44	1.05
76	It supports societal projects	3.17	0.97
77	It values protecting the habitat	3.38	1.01
78	It supports not for profit projects	2.79	1.10
79	It creates new jobs	3.21	1.07
80	It has no contribution to national economy	2.61	1.10
81	It supports the societal development	3.27	0.99
82	Helps other organizations	3.06	0.94
74-82	Social responsibility	3.14	1.04

Respect to Individual Rights

There are 11 items under “respect to individual rights” category therefore the maximum point attainable is 55. Table 14 shows itemized mean and standart deviation scores for each item under this category. The overall mean score of the category is M=3,10 and SS=1,04. Obviously this score is well below the general threshold value of M=3,41. Therefore it can be concluded that participants negatively perceive the corporation in terms of its “respect to individual rights” performance. There are no significant differences observed between employees and external stakeholders in this category. Research findings indicate that there might be numerous factors that come into the play in lowering individual rights perception in an organization (Budd, 1995). Davies and others have found that motivational factors such as heavy and

unbalanced work load may affect employees' perception and this eventually has a spill-over effect on overall reputation (Davies et. al., 2001).

Table 14. *Respect to Individual Rights*

Item Order	Items	M	SD
83	It spends effort to understand what customers want	3.16	1.09
84	It takes complaints seriously	3.20	1.14
85	It values individuals as well as profitability	3.12	1.11
86	Individual opinions are respected	3.11	1.05
87	Being equally fair to all employees is important	3.04	1.04
88	Employees are more important than customers	2.98	1.20
89	It adopts problem solving approach	3.19	0.97
90	They show care to individuals who has business with the corporation	3.19	0.97
91	They try to learn from criticism and suggestions	3.06	1.00
92	After sales service is valued	3.03	1.07
93	They have high standarts and values in dealing individuals	3.06	1.06
83-93	Respect to individual rights	3.10	1.04

Conclusions

The research reveals that the organization needs do more of promoting itself to its publics and to local community as well. Managers may do some site visits to consumers or contractors so as to find out if they observe any problem.

The company currently has a Public Relations department. This should reorganized as to serve as a “corporate communications” department instead. This new department must liase with a vice-general manager in order to gaing more power authority.

Organization must have a communication agenda and this should aim to reach its stakeholders, customers and local media in a sustained way. But, internal communication with its employees must not be neglected and social gathering should be organized for gaining their positive perceptions.

Individual development should also be more of a concern of top management. Therefore, more educational occasions for employees must be created and individuals who are willingly attending to such programs must be recognized and promoted. This way, they will be corporate evangelist. Their positive approach is upmost important.

References

- Alsop, R., J.,(2004). “Anything But Superficial-The Deep But Fragile Nature of Corporate Reputation”. *The Journal of Business Strategy*, no: 25, pp.21-29.
- Budd, J., F., (1995). “How to Manage Corporate Reputations”. *Public Relations Quarterly*, pp. 11-15.

*Value of Perception in Organizational Reputation:
The Case of Esgaz Eskisehir Natural Gas Distribution Company*

- Davies, G., Chun, Da Silva, R., V., ve Roper, S., (2001). "The Personification Methapor as a Measurement Approach for Corporate Reputation". *Corporate Reputation Review*, No: 1, pp.42-49.
- Fombrun, C., J., ve Rindova, V., (1996). "Who's Tops and Who Decide? The Social Construction of Corporate Reputations", New York University, Working Paper.
- Fombrun, C., J., ve Shanley, M., (1990). "What's in a Name? Reputation Building and Corporate Strategy". *Academy of management Journal*, no: 33, pp. 233-258.
- Fombrun, C., J., Gardberg, N., and Sever, J., (2000). "The Reputation Quotient: A Multi-Stake Holder Measure of Corporate Communication". *The Journal of Brand Management*, no: 7, pp.303-307.
- Kitchen, P., J., ve Laurence, A., (2003) "Corporate Reputation: An Eight-Country Analysis". *Corporate Reputation Review*, no: 6, 103-117.
- Kitchen, P., ve Sever, N. S., "Australian Advertising and PR Agency Perspectives on Integrated Marketing Communications". Paper presented at 13th. Corporate and marketing Communications Conference. Slovenia: April 2008. pp. 16-20.
- Lewllyn, P., G., (2002). "Corporate Reputation: Focusing the Zeitgeist". *Business and Society*, no:4, pp.446-455.
- Melewar, T., C., (2003). "Determinants of Corporate Identity Construct". *Journal of Marketing Communications*, no:9, pp. 195-220.
- Pharoah, A., (2003). "Corporate Reputation: The Boardroom Challenge". *Corporate Governance*, no: 3, pp. 46-51.
- Pruzan, P., (2001). "Corporate Reputation: Image and Identity". *Corporate Reputation Review*, no: 4, pp. 50-61.
- Püsküllüoğlu, A., (2004) "*Türkçe Sözlük*" (Turkish Dictionary), Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi.
- Van Riel, C., B., M., ve Balmer, J., M., T., (1997). "Corporate Identity: The Concept, It's Measurement and Management". *Euopen Journal of Marketing*. no: 31, pp. 340-351.
- Young, D., (1995). "Looking Your Company's Fraigle Reputation". *Public Relations Quarterly*. Winter, pp. 7-13.

Part IV:

New Media

Chapter Twenty Two

Technology, Media and Democracy: What New, What Old?

Zeliha Hepkon, Istanbul Commerce University, Turkey
Oya Saki Aydin, Istanbul Commerce University, Turkey

The last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed the growing popularity of the notion of ‘postindustrialism,’ ‘information age’ and ‘communication age.’ According to this view Western society was experiencing revolutionary transformation from the agricultural to the industrial era. That thesis argued that while information processing characterized the new era, agriculture and industrial production had characterized the previous two eras (Bell, 1974). This hypothesis was premised on the view that new media were radically altering human interactions and socio-economic organization. This transformation will lead to a view that politics, governance and identities would be altered due to the deployment of new media technologies. This new rhetoric claims that new technologies will transform our lives.

The term ‘new media’ emerged in the late 1980s. It is obvious that the world of media and communication had continually been in state of technological, institutional and cultural change. But taking new media’s emergence as epoch-making phenomena presents problems. The new media have been taken as social agent that has power to structure social relationships and social structure. New media were seen as part of social, economic and cultural change. A shift from modernity to postmodernity, intensifying process of globalisation, a replacement of an industrial age of manufacturing by a ‘post-industrial’ information age and decentring of established and centralised geopolitical orders (Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant and Kelly, 2009). However, these new technologies in public and corporate sectors cannot be dissociated from the neo-liberal forms of production and distribution. The neo-liberal ideology which led to strategy of large-scale programmes of deregulation, says that commodity and service market is the best way of distributing resources. Globalization walks together with deregulations. According to the defender of neo-liberal globalization process, “new media” is the important tool for providing democracy to humankind. The ideology of corporate globalization tries to provide legitimacy to neo-liberal policies.

What Are the ‘New Media’?

The term ‘new media’ refer to wide range meaning. One refer to changes in media production, distribution and use. These changes bring a number of

concepts like digital, interactive, hypertextual, virtual, networked and simulated which offer the key characteristics of field. In a digital media process all input data converted into numbers. This is in marked contrast to analogue media where all input data is converted into another physical object. Other characteristic, interactivity comes from neo-liberal discourse which treats user as a consumer. (Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant and Kelly, 2009). Another definition of digital media is the systems of public communication, the systems of content production and distribution, and the computer and networked-based technologies that support and shape them. The use of the term 'public' is not meant to imply only the domain of public television or Corporation for Public Broadcasting, although they are within the purview of this paper. Rather the term includes all media that produce, deliver, and package content and communications for public rather private discourse or consumption. (Pavlik, 2008)

Others see distinctions from 'old media' by scale, integration, portability, interactivity and speed of change. According to this view one key distinction concerns scale. New media technologies link their users into vast global webs. A second distinction is integration. This refers to the integration of older media technologies into new digital systems. A third marker of difference is portability. Portability was one of the technical promises of digital convergence and often under threat at the local level. Limitations on content migration and contents reuse become a matter of law and commerce rather than being based on technical limitations. The fourth distinction is interactivity. Interactivity is retooling the relationship between the audience/user and the content and system they use. Fifth, digital media systems are expanding the realm of what is commonly referred to as media. Visual and data surveillance systems used by security services, large databases used for public welfare, health and other administrative services. A final distinction concerns the pace and speed of change. New media technologies (hardware devices, code standards, platforms) rise and fall very rapidly. (Thornham, Basset and Marris, 2009).

It is also important to look at breaks and distinctions but continuity. Attempts to understand 'new' in the 'new media' makes history so important. Because new media have a history as well as a future. (Thornham, Basset & Marris, 2009). Debate on 'new media' is also debate on a set of economic and socio-cultural developments, debate on 'modern' and 'post-modern'.

New Media as an Agent of Economic, Social and Cultural Change

Daniel Bell was first to propose that a postindustrial era had dawned. In its earliest form, the postindustrial thesis confined itself to examining the emergence of new economic mode of production wherein service sector and information-processing work expanded disproportionately relative to the industrial and agricultural sectors. This was seen to alter work practices and consumption practices.

The Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries increased the productive capacity of enterprises, opening the era of large-scale manufacturing industry by introducing a range of new methods of production. These methods includes the use of power machinery, division of labour within factory system. Factory system led to large-scale production. Fordism as a model of economic expansion and technological progress based on mass production also developed. The first industrial revolution which began in eighteenth century merged second industrial revolution around 1850 when technological and economic process gained momentum with the development of steam-powered ships, railways and the later in the nineteenth century with the internal-combustion engine and electrical power generation. To develop large-scale manufacturing industry within a fundamentally different set of property and productive relations. This second Industrial Revolution gradually grew to include the chemical industries, petroleum refining and distribution, electrical industries and, in the twentieth century, the automotive industries. Main characteristics of third industrial revolution are production technologies' life become shorter, dominance of micro technologies and dual character of technical mode of production which includes advanced Fordism's mass production and flexible specialization and computer integrated manufacturing (CIM). The workforce changed with an increase in internal marketing, franchising, and subcontracting and a rise in part-time, temp, self-employed, and home workers.

Defender of postindustrial theory, this has been characterized as a shift from fordism to postfordism- i.e toward information economy. Computer-integrated manufacture (CIM) means that 'flexible' short production runs are possible. Communication systems facilitate collecting consumers' demands so consumers have many choices. CIM are channeling these for customized production. Communication becomes central to production itself. The system depend on telecommunications/computer networks and the conceptual, communication and coordination skills of people driving the system. The shift to postfordism alters power relationships and generates new socio-economic winners and losers. For those with access to new media technologies, information becomes hyper-abundant. But this generates new socio-economic cleavages between the information rich and information poor. New media technologies change the work practices of professional communicators –e.g. the abundance of easily accesible information on the internet means that journalist gather ever-larger qualities of information from on-line data sources. New technologies create the potantial for shifting away from mass media markets towards the growth of economically viable niche media markets New media technologies greatly enhance the possibilities for global networking. These have been successfully deployed by global corporations who use new communication technologies to manage their activities across the world from global cities. (Thornham, Basset and Marris, 2009) Discourses of the post-industrial/'information' society, in which the new ICTs are seen to be isolating the family, internally fragmenting the home and transforming patterns of both

work and consumption as well as the relations between public and private. (Morley, 2007, p. 236)

Postmodernists have altered the postindustrial thesis. According to them 'new media' are postmodern media. 'New media' contribute a set of developments which cause significant break with history from 'modern' to 'postmodern'. Postmodernists who defend notions of disunity, disorder and incoherence believed postindustrialism heralded the arrival of new era wherein 'modernist' institutions and 'modernist' identities would be replaced by postmodern practices and discourses.

New Media, New Society: Will New Media Bring More Democratic Way of Life?

Media have been key concept for several classification about social structure. According to Daniel Lerner mass media accelerated the process of modernization by exposing individuals to new people, ideas and attitudes. Mass media can be used to mobilize the energies of individuals by the rational articulation of new interests and also simultaneously induce a new process of socialization among the rising generation that will, among other effects, recruit new participants into political life. These short-run mobilization and long-run socialization can then converge, a generation later, in new aggregations of private interests which are the stuff of a democratic polity (Lerner, 2010). Marshall McLuhan's argument 'new media change everything' is other key paradigm for understanding postindustrialist and postmodern 'new media' approaches. McLuhans's ideas have undergone a renaissance contemporary post-structuralist/ post-modernist world view.

Following Lerner and Marshall McLuhan, Pelton takes satellites and other modern telecommunications networks, together with TV, as tools that have now altered the patterns and many of the goals of modern society. (Pelton, 2010) According to Pelton, the satellite, other wireless systems, and fiber communications networks will not only assist in creating the oft-quoted "global village" but will soon start to fashion what might be called a "worldwide mind." By the end of the 21st century, broadband systems will link humanity together in almost unimaginable ways (Pelton, 2010). Manuel Castells' contemporary global public sphere argument is largely dependent on the global/local communication media system. (Castells, 2010, p. 44) Pavlik sees the innovative news media which have potentially fruitful opportunities in four areas. First, new technologies often present new and more efficient ways for journalists and other media professionals to do their work. Second new technologies can transform the nature of storytelling and media content in general in potentially positive and engaging ways, especially with younger audiences. Third, new technologies have enormous implications for the management, structure and culture of media organizations. Utilizing the technologies, a news organization can explore the possibilities of virtual newsroom. It is a newsroom without walls. Fourth perhaps the most important

opportunity presented by new technologies is the transformation of relationships between news organizations and their many publics, in particular their audiences, sources, funders, regulators, and competitors. (Pavlik, 2008). We can add more examples above who see the 'new media' as a world wide change agent. There are so many works about 'information society', 'knowledge society'.

Since the mid 1980s new media's technological, textual, conventional and cultural effects have been taken as epochal. According to this thesis there are four indicative of wider kinds of social, economic and cultural change with which new media are associated: First is shift from modernity to postmodernity; second taking new media as contributory element of globalisation process. Third a shift toward post-industrial information age. Fourth decentring of centralised geopolitical national order. (Lister, Dovey, Gidings, Grant and Kelly, 2009) This view carries an ideological claim that media technology has the power to transform a culture. This argument has great deal to do with Marshall McLuhan's claims that 'new media change everything'. According to 'new media change everything' hypothesis, new media technologies alter flow and increase the volume of social communication by decreasing the cost and distance sensitivity of moving information; increasing the speed and volume of communication; increasing channel diversity and user control over content; increasing system upgradeability and interconnectivity; and increasing possibilities for two-way communication (Louw, 2006) The exchange of information became potentially instantaneous, globally. The new media alter the time and space dimensions of communication flows, human interactions and decision making process. New media technologies alter the means of economic production. New media technologies potentially allow for increased interactivity, with both senders and receivers having greater control over their interface with the communicative process. The internet and personal computers are seen as especially important examples of such media-ized interactivity facilitating personalized control over communication, self –actualization and intellectual pluralism. This optimistic view proposed that the new media would generate six (inter-related) social 'improvements'. First, 'new media' seen to facilitate two-way communication in contradistinction to mass communication's uni-directionality. Second, an active participatory democracy and citizen control could be built upon this interactivity because citizens could now be regularly consulted about their views. Third, new media's interactive nature provided new communicative spaces where people could discover common concerns and discuss possible solutions. It was suggested that this would generate an activated civil society and re-invigorate democracy. Fourth, the new media were seen to deliver a greater abundance and greater diversity of information than ever before. This, it was argued, would generate a more democratic society because citizens with information would be less open to manipulation. Fifth, the 'new media' offered the means to break up the mass media market into smaller niche media markets. In this, postmodernist saw the possibility for multiple new niche identities and localism. This would create the basis for an active civil society

built upon pluralist diversity. Sixth, because new media facilitated interactive communication on a global basis, it was argued that new niche identities would grow as global phenomena. (Louw, 2006)

The optimists approach to 'new media's economic, political, social and cultural effects are most vocal. The optimist view is premised upon Daniel Lerner's notion of development communication thesis which advocates media usage is deemed key to transforming society and McLuhan's "technology change everything" thesis. The information age optimists simply modify Lerner's basic model. Modernization grows out of print media, postmodernization will grow out of new media (Louw, 2006). McLuhan argued media determine consciousness then clearly we are living through times of profound change. (Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant and Kelly, 2009).

Responses to the "New Media, New Life" Thesis

There are three responses to 'new media change everything' thesis. First proposing that major beneficial/'progressive' changes are underway. Second response acknowledging that changes are underway but they have been somewhat sceptical of the utopian interpretations of these changes. A third response has been hostile to the changes. (Louw, 2006)

We can see the optimist approach Lerner, McLuhan and their followers. Raymond Williams, as an important media and cultural studies theorist, interested 'new media's emergence conditions and sought to show that there is nothing in a particular technology which guarantees the cultural or social outcomes it will have. Raymond Williams argue that media can only take effect through already present social processes and structures and will therefore reproduce existing patterns of use and basically sustain existing power relations. (Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant and Kelly, 2009) Williams distinguished carefully between technique, technical invention and social processes through which inventions become available and institutionalised as technologies. He took such development follows no natural or preordained course in which the 'intrinsic' capacity of a technology is revealed according to some inner logic, but is always the contingent result of social struggles over the application of technologies, between differentially powerful interest. (Morley, 2007)

According to David Morley, following the Williams approach, the problem is that the more we speak of the future, the more we have need of historical perspective. Morley take an account given long history of visions of how 'new' technologies were going to transform the world (Morley, 2007) There is also a long history of visions of how it has been imagined that technical advances in communications from the telegraph to the telephone to the internet will somehow lead to 'better understanding' (Morley, 2007). He also critiqued that contemporary vision of virtual space is usually presented as one of openness and exploration. Because one can also readily see that virtual space often, in practice, actually functions as a space of withdrawal into closed communities

of the 'like-minded'- of those who subscribe to the same e-mail list or bulletin board or chat room. He argued that, in face of the barrage of spam and computer viruses that trouble so many of its users, the internet itself is now showing signs of 'Balkanisation' as defensive communities of trust are formed. In this 'new net', traffic is only accepted from known and accredited senders. (Morley, 2007). Postindustrial claims about unlimited, globalised commercial operations have many obstacles in the actual practise of everyday living. National boundaries which constitute the limits of a variety of commercial operations negate the putative globality of the electronic marketplace (Morley, 2007).

Conclusion

In recent years, the advent of the 'new media' seems to have occasioned the rebirth of technological determinism in media studies. Armand Mattelart also has already critiqued this ideological vision, which mistakes technical improvements in modes of communication for the growth of understanding in human affairs (Morley, 2007). Is the technology progressive or regressive, in or out of human control and is it neutral tool? Or is it liberating or destructive. This question aren't new. Technological determination which means that a medium can be reduced to a technology has great impact on mainstream of media studies. Technological determinist approaches which accept automatic effect between productive forces and globalization of world economy. New technologies provide suitable basis for globalization but neo-liberal way isn't one way (Savran, 2008). Technologies certainly do have a whole variety of consequences, both positive and negative. Undoubtedly new communication technologies have impacted upon socio-economic processes. It shouldn't be taken as creating previously unthinkable communicative 'opportunities' for good and ill. The problem is how to produce a viable model of how such technological effects can be understood to occur, in all their complexity (Morley, 2007).

Bibliography

- Bell, D. (1974). *The Coming Of Post-Industrial Society*, New York: Basic Books.
- Castells, M. (2010). "The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance". In: Daya Kishan Thussu (ed.), *International Communication A Reader*, 36-48. New York: Routledge
- Lerner, D. (2010). "Toward a Communication Theory of Modernization: A Set of Considerations", In: Daya Kishan Thussu (ed.), *International Communication A Reader*, 73-89. New York: Routledge.
- Lister, M., Dovey, J., Giddings, S., Grant, I. & Kelly, K. (2009). *New Media A Critical Introduction Second Edition*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Louw, E. (2006). *The Media and Political Process*. London: Sage.

- Mattelart, A. "an Archaeology of the Global Era: Constructing a Belief". In: Daya Kishan Thussu (ed.), *International Communication A Reader*, 313-329. New York: Routledge
- Morley, D. (2007). *Media, Modernity and Technology*. London: Routledge.
- Noam, E. (2010). "Overcoming the Three Digital Divides", In: Daya Kishan Thussu (ed.), *International Communication A Reader*, 48-56. New York: Routledge
- Pavlik, J.V. (2008). *Media in the Digital Age*, New York: Colombia University Press.
- Pelton, J. (2010). "Satellites As World Wide Change Agent", In: Daya Kishan Thussu (ed.), *International Communication A Reader*, 13-36. New York: Routledge.
- Savran, S. (2008). *Kod Adı Küresellesme*. Istanbul: Yordam.
- Schiller, D. "World Communications in Today's Age of Capital". In: Daya Kishan Thussu (ed.), *International Communication A Reader*, 122-137. New York: Routledge
- Thompson, J.B. (1995). *The Media and Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Thornham, S., Basset, C. & Marris, P. (2009). "Introduction: New Technologies, New Media?", *Media Studies A Reader*, ed. Sue Thornham, Caroline Basset and Paul Marris (ed.). Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.
- Törenli, N. (2005). *Yeni Medya, Yeni İletişim Ortamı*. Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat.

Chapter Twenty Three

Moldova's 'Twitter Revolution' as Myth: A Critical Assessment of World Press Coverage of Moldova's 2009 Election Protest Riots

George Albert Gladney, University of Wyoming, USA

On April 6-7, 2009, immediately following a Communist victory in national elections in tiny Moldova, a 'flash mob' of between 10,000 and 15,000 youthful anti-Communist protesters, suspecting election fraud, protested in the main square of Chisinau, the nation's capital. On the second day, violence erupted and scores of people were arrested and injured; Parliament building and the presidential palace were heavily damaged. As it turned out, the Communists came one vote shy of the three-fifths majority required in Parliament to select a new president, and a new election a few months later shifted power to a pro-Western coalition.

The Moldovan protests are known worldwide as the 'Twitter Revolution,' based on early mainstream press reports, but the initial tag of 'Twitter Revolution' is traced to a prominent blogger. This study examines mostly English-language mainstream press coverage during and immediately following the protests. It questions the Twitter's role in helping organize the protests and explores the possibility of 'Twitter Revolution' as myth. The paper, which is primarily intended as press criticism, suggests that with so few Western reporters on the ground in Chisinau and a glut of information available via cyberspace technology (Twitter and other social networks, blogosphere, SMS texting, etc.), the media adopted a technocentric storyline focused on the latest social network in vogue at the time, Twitter. The paper's conclusion looks at ethical and other ramifications for the mainstream media.

Background

On Tuesday, April 7 (two days after the election and the peak day of the riots), Evgeny Morozov sent a post on his ForeignPolicy.com blog titled 'Moldova's Twitter Revolution' (Morozov, 2009a). The post by Morozov, a fellow with the Open Society Institute in New York and a Yahoo! fellow at Georgetown University, is widely believed to have initiated the now-famous handle.

The next day, Daniel Bennett, a doctoral student at King's College (London) and based with the BBC, sent on his frontline.com blog a post titled 'The myth of the Moldova "Twitter Revolution."' He observed that already a

number of blogs and newspapers were claiming that the spread of the #pman hashtag (the Twitter tag for the Romanian acronym for Chisinau's main square, Piata Marii Adunari Nationale) marked the beginning of a 'Twitter revolution' since it was believed Twitter played a 'key role in organizing the protests.' But Bennett asked 'where's the evidence?'—where are 'some tweets that might hint at some kind of organizational role for Twitter?' (Bennett, 2009).

Bennett pointed out that protest organizers and eyewitnesses mentioned Twitter as only one of numerous communication venues. He said a key organizer and member of the activist organization Think Moldova, Natalia Morar, explained in a LiveJournal blog in Russian (translated by Bennett with help of Google Translate) how she and a few others organized the 'youth initiative' protests: 'Six people. 10 minutes for creativity and action. A few hours of information on networks, Facebook, blogs, SMS to friends and e-mail newsletter. All of the organization—through the Internet.' [*The New York Times* had a somewhat different version of the Morar quote: 'six people, 10 minutes for brainstorming and decision-making, several hours of disseminating information through networks, Facebook, blogs, SMSs and emails' (Barry, 2009a).] Bennett said Morar confirmed that on the square 'cellular communications' were blocked, and he quoted a protest eyewitness saying protesters understood that some Internet connections were down (Bennett, 2009).

Bennett concluded, 'Unless you can demonstrate that [Morar's post] is not what it seems . . . or you can find some hard evidence . . . for Twitter's substantive use in these protests other than the establishment of a hashtag #pman, I'm not convinced that Twitter played a key organisational role.' He added, 'As it stands, The Twitter revolution is a myth. What happened, and is still happening, in Moldova is a protest organised using social media' (Bennett, 2009).

The next day (April 9), Ethan Zuckerman, a researcher (and former fellow) at the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, responded on his Web site blog with a musing titled 'Unpacking "The Twitter Revolution" in Moldova.' He suggested that Morozov's essay did not support the headline, that the text 'was more careful than the headline.' Zuckerman noted that Morozov mentioned there was a problem with mobile phone coverage on the main square, and further that many social networking tools were likely used to organize protests, not just Twitter (Zuckerman, 2009a).

In a post that evening, Morozov again seemed to back off the idea that Twitter played a key role in bringing about the demonstrations. He noted that, according to Google, Twitter users in Moldova numbered only about 70. Rather than say Twitter was a key mobilizing force, he said it allowed Moldovans abroad to participate in the protests remotely 'by helping to keep the story alive via Twitter' and 'by simply "buzzing" about the story.' He said 'even non-technology people in the U.S. and much of Western Europe are currently head over heels in love with Twitter' (Morozov, 2009b).

On April 10, Morozov again offered a headline ('Moldova's Twitter revolution is NOT a myth') not conforming to the post's thrust. He disavowed

ever arguing that Twitter was or should be used for 'planning' revolutions. But he said that 'doesn't mean that social media tools like Twitter shouldn't be used to raise awareness of the unfolding events once the tactics have been planned with the help of more secure platforms.' He faulted critics of his 'Twitter Revolution' thesis for assuming wrongly that Twitter 'exists in some sort of isolated environment . . . shut off from other media platforms.' This sort of thinking, he explained, led some to conclude Twitter couldn't have been much of a factor since there were so few Twitter accounts in Moldova. He wrote that 'fixating on the actual user numbers is meaningless,' like 'taking the "social" out of the "social media"'. Ultimately, Morozov conceded a key point to Bennett—'Twitter may not have played a role in coordinating events in the square' (Morozov, 2009c).

All of this points to a key question: Did most people take the 'Twitter Revolution' meme to mean that without Twitter there would have been no protests? Given that the man who invented the handle would say no to that question, it's reasonable to conclude the 'Twitter Revolution' tag was misleading. Zuckerman argues that many journalists didn't get Morozov's nuance. To substantiate that Morozov's 'meme has legs,' he offered a few mainstream press headlines, notably 'Protests in Moldova Explode, With Help of Twitter' (Zuckerman, 2009a; Barry, 2009a). A day earlier, Bennett had produced a few similar headlines, notably 'Students use Twitter to storm presidency in Moldova' (Bennett, 2009; 'Students use', 2009). In a thread to his original essay, Zuckerman wrote, 'The sense I got from the headlines—Morozov's and those in mainstream newspapers—was that the revolution was literally managed via Twitter, with protesters in the square coordinating via that service. Morozov is far more careful in his articles, and explains a more believable model—Twitter was used to publicize the events to the Moldovan diaspora and the wider world' (Zuckerman, 2009a).

Zuckerman's analysis deserves special attention because of his quantitative approach to the debate (he is a founder of MediaCloud, described as 'a platform designed to study the spread of ideas between the blogosphere and mainstream media') (Zuckerman, 2009b). At the time of his quantitative analysis, shared April 13 in an article titled 'Studying Twitter and the Moldovan Protests,' he noted that although MediaCloud did not track Twitter, it was possible to assemble sets of tweets that included the #pman tag during six days, April 7-12 (Zuckerman, 2009b). See also his May 2009 essay 'Twitter and social graph analysis' (2009c).

Without going into geeky detail of Zuckerman's 'cursory, quantitative analysis,' suffice to say that in an April 14 thread to his original post he concluded: 'The data I collected is consistent with (Morozov's) more careful explanation, but not with (his) somewhat sensational headline.' He wrote that on Tuesday when the riots peaked, fewer than 700 people used the #pman tag. Acknowledging that he doesn't speak Moldova's dominant language, Romanian, he said 'there's not much evidence that Twitter was somehow used to plan or organize the events, at least on the tag dedicated to report on the

events early on Tuesday [April 7]’ It’s possible, he wrote in his original essay, that ‘Moldovans living abroad, hungry for news about the demonstrations, looked online and ended up flocking to Twitter’ (Zuckerman, 2009a).

Zuckerman said the protests ‘may have more to do with other social network tools—including blogs, LiveJournal and Facebook—than with Twitter.’ He said two youth activist organizations, Think Moldova and Hyde Park, used many social media tools, including a growing Facebook group (‘Support Moldova’), to organize and publicize their actions, pointing out that both groups maintain Web sites and use blogs and LiveJournal accounts to disseminate ideas and publicize events. In Chisinau, blogger Sean R. Roberts said in a reply to Zuckerman’s original post that most of his friends in Chisinau ‘actually received messages asking people to come to the square through a multitude of communications,’ including SMS, Facebook, email lists, Twitter, Skype, blogs, and YouTube, so that it was mostly ‘web 2.0 organizing’ (Zuckerman, 2009a).

Most intriguing is Zuckerman’s speculation about why some news outlets and blogs got it wrong and credited Twitter for Moldova’s ‘revolution.’ In Zuckerman’s view, the headlines marked a ‘victorious moment’—not so much for pro-democracy forces in Moldova as for ‘technology over tyranny . . . a youth united tapping Twitter in the name of democracy.’ He asserted that in April 2009 Twitter had become ‘this month’s media darling,’ much as Second Life about 18 months earlier. Twitter brought attention to the demonstrations in Moldova, ‘if only because it was “the flavor the month in social media,”’ Zuckerman wrote. He said it’s fair to assume that key protest organizers ‘knew that the Twitter community would be fascinated by protest-related tweets (as they were with breaking news tweets from the Bombay [Mumbai] bombings and, to a lesser extent, the Malagasy coup) . . . ’ (Zuckerman, 2009a).

But focusing on Twitter served the media’s goals as well, Zuckerman suggested. He wrote it is ‘frustratingly predictable that mentioning a cool new tech is a great way to get journalists to cover an event they might otherwise miss.’ He added, ‘Even if the protests don’t lead to a change in government, a story that confirms our sense that new technologies are inherently democratizing is likely to be amplified and argued about. Everyone likes evidence that they’re living in the future, where tyrants quake at the power of our mobile phones’ (Zuckerman, 2009a).

Research Questions

The debate involving Morozov, Bennett, and Zuckerman raises several questions of interest to media critics. First, to what extent did world press coverage credit Twitter for playing a critical role in bringing about the protests in Chisinau? Second, why did some news organizations employ the ‘Twitter Revolution’ storyline—i.e., to what extent did press use the occasion to celebrate a profound democratizing nature of Twitter and its status as the latest

communication technology currently in vogue? In the final section of the paper, the author examines to what extent the passage of time yielded revised, more accurate accounts of the role of Twitter.

Method

Using the search words 'Moldova' and 'Twitter' in combination, the author used Nexus-Lexis Academic to collect world news coverage during and immediately after the riots (April 6-10). A total of 105 items were found in four categories—'all news (English)', 58; 'newswires,' 20; 'newspapers,' 16; 'major world publications,' 11. Many items appeared in more than one category or were abstracts/briefs, story budgets, or duplicates. These were discarded along with a few items from blogs or from web sites not connected with a newspaper, as well as items with no connection with the riots. Each wire service story was used only once despite appearing in more than one publication. That left for analysis a total of 21 stories from 11 news organizations.

Results

Results indicated there were very few reporters from the world media on the ground in Chisinau during the protests, and that many news outlets borrowed from or duplicated other press reports, wire accounts, or news blogs. For a time, many international correspondents were barred entry to Moldova, which is difficult to access under any circumstance (Gladney, 2009). (Landlocked, Moldova is wedged between Ukraine and Romania and close to the Black Sea.)

Looking first at wire service reports, on April 8 *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* wire reports, distributed widely with help of BBC Worldwide Monitoring, used the headline 'Moldova's Twitter Revolution.' However, the story made it clear Twitter's role was limited and credited a wide variety of digital network technologies. One story, which said some people were calling the protests the 'Twitter Revolution,' quoted a lawyer on the main square saying Twitter '. . . has been a key source of up-to-date information about developments across the country,' but the lawyer denied 'massive use of Twitter from protesters rallying on the square.' He said the Internet and cell-phone networking brought people to the square ('Moldova's "Twitter Revolution,"' 2009). The same report, distributed via State News Service, carried a headline from Prague crediting social networks more generally: 'THE REVOLUTION WILL BE TWEETED—MOLDOVA PROTESTERS EXPLOIT SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES.' The lead paragraph was careful to credit activists in Moldova using text messaging, e-mails, blogs, and social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook to draw in protesters (Synovitz,

2009). Two days later, *RFE* didn't use tweets or Twitter in the headline, and it was careful to credit not only Twitter but Facebook and blogs (Tomiuc, 2009).

In a single dispatch (April 8), *UPI* reported that the protesters 'had used the Internet social networking tool Twitter not only to organize themselves but to alert the world to their activities' until the Internet was cut off. No credit was given to other communication platforms ('Moldovan protests,' 2009).

The *Associated Press*, sending identical stories via traditional wire and online, disseminated three dispatches April 8. One story said, 'Organizers of the demonstrations. . . used social messaging network Twitter to spread information about the protests,' but was silent about other technologies (Rusnac, 2009a). But another *AP* dispatch the same day by the same writer carried the head 'Moldovans outwit Communists with Twitter' and had this lead: 'Young Moldovans have outwitted their Communist leaders with Twitter.' The story later added: 'The social network came in handy after mobile phone networks went down' The story also credited the Internet generally. It quoted an organizer saying, 'We sent messages on Twitter but didn't expect 15,000 people to join in. At the most we expected 1,000' (Rusnac, 2009b). A third story mentioned Twitter low in the story (Rusnac, 2009c).

On April 9, *Global News Wire* headlined a dispatch 'Russia furious with EU over Twitter revolution.' The story, like numerous wire or online stories, said on first reference to Twitter: 'in what has been dubbed' the 'Twitter Revolution,' not bothering to say who did the dubbing ('Russia Furious,' 2009).

An *Agence France Presse* report on April 8 was headlined 'The "Twitter Revolution" of Moldova's high-tech teens,' but it also credited Facebook, SMS texting, and blogs (Lambroschini, 2009). The next day *AFP* dropped mention of Twitter in the headline and said, 'Digital tools like Twitter, Facebook and text messaging played a pivotal role in the youth protests. . . .' (Smolchenko, 2009). It's worth noting that a *France 24* reporter in Paris posted a reply (April 8) to Bennett's essay, saying his news organization will 'think twice before repeating the Twitter headline' (Bennett, 2009).

In a report on April 9 by *RIA Novosti*, the Russian newswire referred to 'protests in the capital that western media is dubbing the "Twitter Revolution."' It credited the Internet generally and SMS texting for playing a 'key role in mobilizing people onto the street' ('Moldova plans,' 2009).

Looking at coverage in the categories of 'all news, English,' 'major world publications,' and 'newspapers,' *New York Times* correspondent in Chisinau and Moscow, Ellen Barry, provided the most thorough English-language coverage in the database. Her story on April 8 carried a headline clearly crediting Twitter: 'Protests in Moldova Explode, With a Call to Arms on Twitter.' However, the story was more careful than the headline, noting that the demonstrators also used text-messaging and Facebook. Barry noted that the protesters created their own searchable Twitter hashtag, 'rallying Moldovans to join and propelling [the protests] . . . onto a Twitter list of newly popular topics, so people around the world could keep track' (Barry, 2009a). The next

day, Barry added that text messages were a means of organizing Monday's 'flash mob' (Barry, 2009b). On April 10, she referred to 'the Twitter stream that mobilized activists early this week' (Barry, 2009c).

London's *Independent* (April 9) published a much longer version of the *Global News Wire* story (noted above) with the head 'Russia furious with EU over Twitter Revolution.' The story, bylined Shaun Walker in Moscow, included a subhead 'Tweets of protests' and reproduced some actual tweets. The story also commented on the role of technology. After noting that previous revolutions were named after colors (e.g., Georgia, Ukraine), the story said that 'in a sign that technology is now fueling opposition to post-Soviet regimes as much as romantic ideals, the protests in Moldova have been dubbed the "Twitter Revolution"' (Walker, 2009). On April 10, the *Independent* explained how Twitter works, saying 'the micro-blogging site . . . is the latest online success story' (Riley, 2009). Another *Independent* story the same day told a joke traced to Morozov: 'Protests in Moldova "explode, thanks to Twitter." To say thanks, authorities will imprison 140 characters at a time' ('As the world,' 2009).

On April 8, a (Manchester) *Guardian* story by Luke Harding in Moscow referred to 'a protest dubbed the Twitter Revolution' and said Natalia Morar 'organized a flashmob on Monday outside the parliament using social networking technology including Twitter' (Harding, 2009). The next day, Matthew Day, reporting from Warsaw in London's *Daily Telegraph*, gave full credit to Twitter, saying, 'Organisers of the street protests used the social network site Twitter to rally protesters' (Day, 2009). The *Irish Examiner* said Twitter was 'the engine of revolution in Moldova' (Moynihan, 2009).

Discussion and Conclusion

In answer to the study's first research question, this study found that much of the world's mainstream press coverage of Moldova's so-called 'Twitter Revolution' distorted the truth by overemphasizing the role of the latest digital communication technology then in vogue, Twitter, and not fairly crediting other cyberspace venues or platforms such as Facebook and other social networks, e-mail, text messaging, blogs, etc. In answer to the second question, the study found some support for criticism that media coverage was less focused on facts about the nature and extent of the riots and the likely and unfolding political implications (e.g., possible change of government) and more focused on a celebration of the latest "'cool tech' and romantic aspects of its democratizing potential—'technology over tyranny.'

To gain further understanding of the results, the author used Lexis-Nexis to examine some of the later coverage in the categories 'magazines' and 'major world publications,' April 11-June 10, assuming that with the passage of time a more balanced, accurate picture of the riots would emerge. Indeed, there was some evidence of corrected or revised coverage making clear that other means

besides Twitter played a key role in organizing the demonstrations. One report, for example, broadened the definition of 'Twitter Revolution' to mean, in Morozov's sense, a 'revolution with application of social Internet technologies' ('Moldova's revolution', 2009). However, many news organizations stuck with the 'Twitter Revolution' storyline. Several reports, for example, said the mass protests would not have happened without Twitter (Miller, 2009; 'Moldovan activist,' 2009) and a few reports referred to Twitter as the 'rallying' or 'summoning' tool for the protests (Matthews, 2009; Miller, 2009; Swartz, 2009).

Some later coverage also elaborated on the democratization and celebration themes. Acknowledging "the utopian rhetoric of social-networking," *Advertising Age* remarked that Twitter's 'electronically assisted word-of-mouth' promoting pro-Moldovan democracy was 'inspiring' (Dumenco, 2009). The *Washington Post* reported that with the protests, 'new technology confronted old autocracy in an almost made-for-the-front-pages storyline: On one side, the Moldovan communist president . . . on the other side, the forces of modernity, youth and social networking. The young democrats expected 1,000 demonstrators. Thanks to technology, more than 10,000 arrived' (Applebaum, 2009).

In a *USA Today* editorial about two weeks after the protests, Lionel Beehner said 'the "technology over tyranny" storyline from Moldova warrants a second look'. He said use of Twitter and Facebook by protesters is "a boon for headline writers", but it 'remains unclear whether Twitter had any effect on the size of the protests, much less their political impact.' He added: 'But more important, a revolution run by social networking sites is doomed to be short-lived. That is because they are not really made for fervent revolutionaries, but more for fly-by-night activists and bored teenagers. They require the flimsiest of commitment among their members' (Beehner, 2009).

For Beehner, the Twitter Revolution was not a real revolution, such as Ukraine's 2004 Orange Revolution, which was 'a genuine popular uprising,' with 'genuine grassroots support across broad swaths of society'—"not something manufactured by Facebook." Then he wrote: 'There is this perception, perhaps stirred up by technophiles in the news media that were it not for Twitter, people across the planet would still be boiling rocks and writing in hieroglyphics; that if only people in places such as Moldova would embrace microblogging, they would see the light, toss out the bums in power and achieve democratic nirvana. Why bother to read John Locke when you can Tweet your way to good governance in 140 words or less?' That analysis may be extreme, but it recalls Zuckerman's implication that press coverage of the Moldovan unrest seemed less interested in whether the protests were a step toward a change in government than confirming 'our sense that new technologies are inherently democratizing.'

The lesson for journalists in all of this may be that the focus on the democratizing aspects of the new technology may have displaced the political story—what the protests meant and how would they affect Moldova's political future. Two days after the riots peaked, Kyiv-based blogger Ann M. Merrill

wrote, "Since [the media] have no facts to report, they published an article about the social networking aspects of the protests. Please. Give me some real news!" ('Facebook, Twitter,' 2009).

For the press to frame the Chisinau riots as a 'Twitter Revolution' would be justified if it did not leave readers with the impression that Twitter alone managed or organized or coordinated or rallied the protesters. It is a journalistic axiom that one should not assume readers read beyond the headline, that even if a mistake in the headline is cleared up later in the story, the mistake still stands, the damage has been done. The 'Twitter Revolution' should not have appeared in headlines because it does not fairly credit the variety of digital communication platforms used in the protests. If truth be known, it probably would be more accurate to call it the 'Facebook Revolution' or the 'Social Network Revolution,' but somehow that doesn't sound right and lacks headline appeal. If the 'Twitter Revolution' were defined using Morozov's more broad and cautious definition—as a sort of stand-in for all social and electronic texting media and as a way of reflecting Twitter's uncontested role in making it possible for people outside Moldova to participate in the protests remotely—use of the headline would be justified. But it is hard to convey Morozov's nuance in a headline.

Ultimately, the lesson for journalists is an old but important one, especially with new digital communication technologies: Verify. In the case of Moldova's riots, journalists should have asked, 'Who says it is a 'Twitter Revolution' and where's the evidence?' In some ways, the wildfire spread of the 'Twitter Revolution' meme amounts to just another Internet rumor developing a life of its own, impossible to stamp out. Prominent media critics Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel claim that with the rise of the Internet, the blogosphere, and the concept of citizen journalism, the 'first task of the new journalist/sense maker . . . is to verify what information is reliable and then order it so people can grasp it sufficiently.'

One thing appears certain: After news coverage from Moldova quickly subsided, the world press showed little, if any, interest in subsequent longer-term political developments in Europe's smallest, poorest, most obscure country. Many people outside Moldova may remember Twitter having something to do with riots in the nation's capital in 2009, but how many people know what happened in new parliamentary elections there in July 2009 or what the current political situation is?

Bibliography

- Applebaum, A. (2009, April 21). 'The Twitter Revolution that wasn't.' *Washington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=2861%3A205>
- 'As the world sees it . . .' (2009, April 10). *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1822%3A204>

- Barry, E. (2009a, April 8). 'Protests in Moldova explode, with a call to arms on Twitter.' *New York Times*. [In some editions, this story carried the headline 'Protests in Moldova explode, with help of Twitter'.] Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=1821%3A204>
- Barry, E. (2009b, April 9). 'Moldovans search for answers after riot.' *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=2842%3A204>
- Barry, E. (2009c, April 10). 'Moldovan opposition claims fraud in elections that set off anti-Communist protests.' *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=1841%3A204>
- Beehner, L. (2009, April 22). 'Enduring revolutions are not the work of mere Tweets.' *USA Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=1843%3A205>
- Bennett, D. (2009, April 8). 'The myth of the Moldova "Twitter revolution."' [Web log post]/ Retrieved from <http://frontlineclub.com/blogs/danielbennett/2009/04/the-myth-of-the-moldova-twitter-re>
- Day, M. (2009, April 9). 'Moldovans accuse Romania of stoking unrest on the streets.' *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=2822%3A204>
- Dumenco, S. (2009, April 20). 'The real meaning of Ashton Kutcher's 1M Twitter followers; If this dude's at the pinnacle of the Attention Economy, the Attention Economy needs a bailout.' *Advertising Age*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=2861%3A205>
- 'Facebook, Twitter help Moldova protesters organize demonstrations'. (2009, April 9). *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved from <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,4166896,00.html>
- Gladney, G.A. (2009, Fall). 'Postscript in Moldova: Media exaggerates "Twitter Revolution."' *Global Journalist*, 28-30.
- Harding, L. (2009, April 9). 'International: Moldova claims Romania plotted attempted coup.' *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=2842%3A204>
- Lambroschini, A. (2009, April 8). 'The "Twitter Revolution" of Moldova's high-tech teens.' *Agence France Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=1821%3A204>
- Kovach, B. and Rosenstiel, T. (2007). *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect*, 18-19; 86-87. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Matthews, O. (2009, April 20). 'Fading to black; Moldova's would-be color revolution fails. Chalk one up for the Kremlin.' *Newsweek*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1843%3A205>
- Miller, C.C. (2009, April 20). 'Twitter flows along in rapid message stream.' *Canberra Times*, Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=1861%3A205>
- 'Moldova plans to expel three Romanian journalists.' (2009, April 9). *RIA Novosti*. <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1822%3A204>
- 'Moldovan activist describes "explosive power" of Twitter behind recent protests.' (2009, May 29). *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*. <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?job Handle=1862%3A205>

*Moldova's 'Twitter Revolution' as Myth: A Critical Assessment of
World Press Coverage of Moldova's 2009 Election Protest Riots*

- 'Moldovan protests, police clash.' (2009, April 8). *UPI*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=2822%3A204>
- 'Moldova's rebel region security chief says "colour revolution" impossible.' (May 22, 2009). *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1843%3A205>
- 'Moldova's "Twitter Revolution."' (2009, April 8). *Radio Free Europe*. [Some versions of this story carried headline 'New media and Moldova's "Twitter Revolution"'.] Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=2842%3A204>
- Morozov, E. (2009a, April 7). 'Moldova's Twitter Revolution' [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://neteffect.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/04/07/moldovas_twitter_revolution
- Morozov, E. (2009b, April 7). 'More analysis of Twitter's role in Moldova' [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://neteffect.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/04/07/more_analysis_of_twiters_role_in_moldova
- Morozov, E. (2009c, April 10). 'Moldova's Twitter revolution is NOT a myth' (Web log post). Retrieved from http://neteffect.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/04/10/moldovas_twitter_revolution_is_not_a_myth
- Moynihan, M. (2009, April 10). 'A little birdie told me: sport's Twitter revolution'. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com.proxy.uwlib.uwyo.edu/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1841%3A204>
- Riley, J. (2009, April 10). 'Cashing in on consciousness; analysis.' *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1841%3A204>
- Rusnac, C. (2009a, April 8). 'Moldova blames Romania for violent protests.' *Associated Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=2842%3A204>
- Rusnac, C. (2009b, April 8). 'Moldovans outwit Communists with Twitter.' *Associated Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1823%3A204>
- Rusnac, C. (2009c, April 8). 'Police regain control of Moldovan Parliament.' *Associated Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1821%3A204>
- 'Russia furious with EU over Twitter Revolution.' (2009, April 10). *Global News Wire/The Statesman*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1822%3A204>
- Smolchenko, A. (2009, April 9). 'Moldova unrest stokes "nightmare" fears in Russia: analysts.' *Agence France Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1823%3A204>
- 'Students use Twitter to storm presidency in Moldova' (2009, April 7). *Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/moldova/5119449/Students-use-Twi...>
- Swartz, J. (2009, May 6). 'Protesters put tech tools to work to drum up support; "flash activists" use social media to grab attention.' *USA Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1842%3A205>
- Synovitz, R. (2009, April 8). 'The revolution will be tweeted.' *Radio Free Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1823%3A204>

- Tomiuc, E. (2009, April 10). 'No protest in Moldovan capital as president calls for recount.' *Radio Free Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1821%3A204>
- Walker, S. (2009, April 9). 'Russia furious with EU over Twitter revolution; Moscow backs Moldovan president after he accuses Romania of supporting coup.' *The Independent*. <http://www.lexisnexus.com/us/lnacademic/delivery/PrintDoc.do?jobHandle=1841%3A204>
- Zuckerman, E. (2009a, April 9). 'Unpacking "The Twitter Revolution"' [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.ethanzuckerman.com/blog/2009/04/09/unpacking-the-twitter-revolution-in-m>
- Zuckerman, E. (2009b, April 13). 'Studying Twitter and the Moldovan protests' [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.ethanzuckerman.com/blog/2009/04/13/studying-twitter-and-the-moldovan-pr>
- Zuckerman, E. (2009c, May 11). 'Twitter and social graph analysis' [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.ethanzuckerman.com/blog/2009/05/11/twitter-and-social-graph-analysis/>

Chapter Twenty Four

New Media and Pornography: How the Internet has Transformed the Sex Business

Luisa Leonini, University of Milan, Italy

New media is characterised by its interactivity; it has created new ways of communicating in the digital world, enabling groups of people to congregate online to share, sell and swap goods and information. The availability of cheap and powerful devices that enable people to make contact and to share images and files easily and privately, has incredibly amplified the acquisition and distribution of any kind of information. Interconnectivity, file or peer-to-peer sharing, and MMS have all been used in the sex business to take advantage of people, especially women and children in countries where technology is used to economically exploit or blackmail vulnerable individuals, for the purpose of engaging in trade with consumers who are worlds apart (Kempadoo 2005; Thornburgh and Lin 2002). Besides, online pornography has a serious impact on those individuals, above all children, who are exposed to this material more or less voluntarily. The rise in pornographic consumption on the web is widely documented by statistical data (see fig 1), which show the contribution of Internet and new technologies such as web-enabled mobile phones, to the development and diffusion of consumer behaviours. New technologies, particularly the Internet, not only discriminates between who can afford to use it and who cannot; it has become an instrument of exploitation and violence toward the weakest groups, especially those who are easily manipulated because of sheer poverty and ignorance.

Technology and Interpersonal Relationships

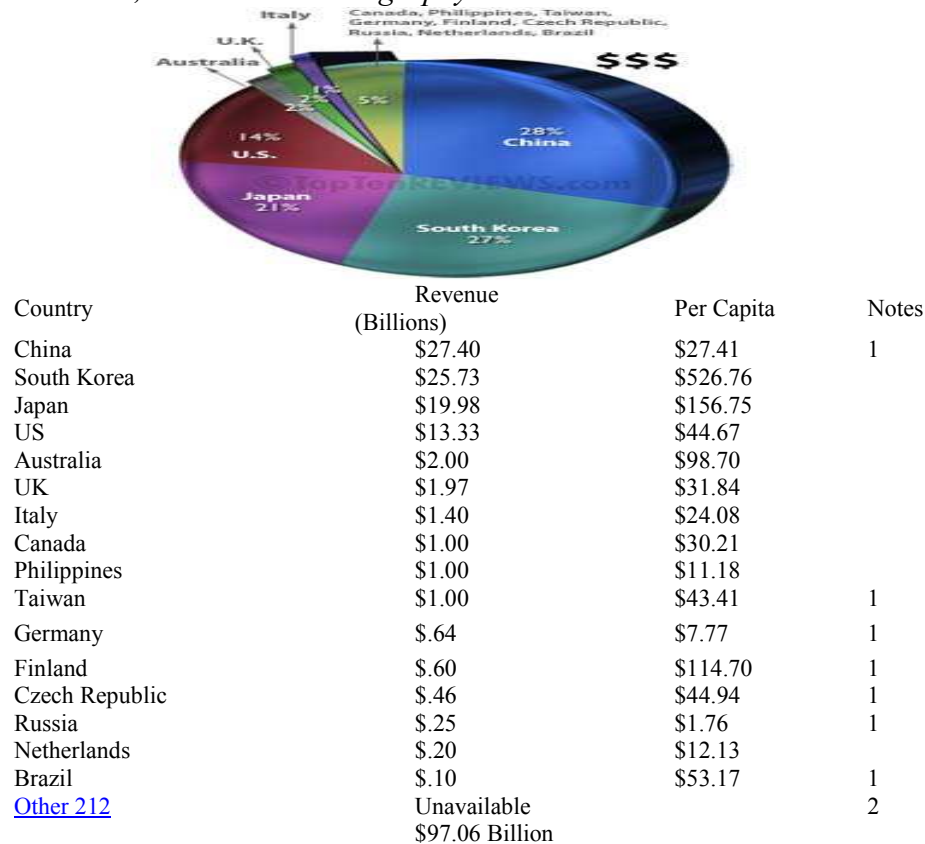
Technological products are social products, and technology is made for social use. Technology not only has a specific function but also a particular way in which the functions are incorporated within the technology itself. In the constant interaction between technology and society, it is interesting to reflect on the processes and social changes that new communication technologies have brought about, and how, in turn, social behaviour influences the development of technology. Few innovations have been as profoundly influential on the process of diffusion and democratisation of information as the widespread use of the Internet. The Internet has become a very powerful instrument for acquiring information, where the power between experts and consumers has shifted. Information has become merchandised in a market where consumers have an increasingly active role. Information has become a

global business; for the first time in the history of mankind, information knows no time-space boundaries. The Internet allows the real-time circulation of texts, images and sounds across the globe, simultaneously connecting many people who do not know each other, but who share specific and particular interests. No other technological instrument has been known to facilitate research and produce answers in such a rapid and effective way, creating new interacting communities of people that recognise each other through the interests they commonly share, and who relate with each other without giving any details about their personal identity. People can create online identities to the point where they can show fantasy images of themselves, which can be completely divorced from reality. People connected through the web can pretend to be of a certain age, sex, to be of a profession different from their real one, blurring the distinction between reality and virtual reality, between imagination and real life in an entirely new way (Turkle 1995). One need only observe the success of Face Book, Virtual World, or Twitter, to understand the speed and relevance of the changes of behaviour of people over the last few years. The spread of simple, low-cost Internet connections in the 1990s has expanded the circulation of pornographic material on the web. This period marks the birth of the more sophisticated and expensive technologies. The sharing and exchange of files of images, music and films, which mark the peer-to-peer exchanges, becomes an important channel in exchange and sale of pornographic material, of the construction of virtual communities of people who share the same tastes, aesthetics and consumer goods.

Internet and the Sex Business

In the essay *Pornography drives technology*, P. Johnson argues that throughout the history of the media, from the recording of voice, to photography, books, video, cable television, and call centres, pornography has played an active role in experimentation with, and the diffusion of, new media technologies (1996). Pornography has developed alongside technology, from live shows in front of a viewing public, to the photograph, where expressed and infinitely replicable images can easily circulate, to pornographic magazines, films, telephone pornography, MMS, and online representations, where those connected can put forward their own requests. There is no doubt that the sex business has been an economic success, and that this business has been truly revolutionised with the advent of the Internet and its diffusion. Experts in media consumerism argue that online pornography is a high-stakes industry, with turnover of US\$ 400 million in the year 2000 alone (Bushin, 2000). Web technology has supplied the sex industry with new instruments to exploit, sell and commercialise products and people (above all, but not only, women and children) to an ever-growing number of consumers.

Figure 1. 2008, Worldwide Pornography Revenues



Notes 1=Incomplete, 2=Unavailable data

sources:ABC, Associated Press, AsiaMedia, AVN, BBC, CATW, U.S. Census, Central Intelligence Agency, China Daily, Chosen.com, Comscore Media Metrix, Crimes Against Children, Eros, Forbes, Frankfurt Stock Exchange, Free Speech Coalition, Google, Harris Interactive, Hitwise, Hoover's, Japan Inc., Japan Review, Juniper Research, Kagan Research, ICMEC, Jan LaRue, The Miami Herald, MSN, Nielsen/NetRatings, The New York Times, Nordic Institute, PhysOrg.com, PornStudies, Pravda, Sarmatian Review, SEC filings, Secure Computing Corp., SMH, TopTenREVIEWS, Trellian, WICAT, Yahoo!, XBIZ.

The main pornographic magazines were among the first to have an electronic version: Playboy came out with its online version in 1994, gaining enormous success online. Earnings from the online edition reached US\$ 2 million in 1997. The first edition of Penthouse on line (April 1996) registered the highest number of visitors for a web site. Data available on the web gives a clear indication of the magnitude of the circulation of pornographic material in the western world and the success of online circulation (Pornography statistics, 2009). The volume of pornographic material consumed entails an enormous turnover of money, making it one of the most important and sources of investment and profit worldwide (The Economist, 1998). In this sense, pornography can be defined as mass consumerism. For roughly 2 decades, pornography and the sex business online have demonstrated a considerable ability to expand and circulate: a quarter of search requests on search engines

are in the sector of pornography, and pornographic sites constitute 12 percent of sites present on the web. Pornographic consumerism has attracted an increasing number of women consumers as well, thus deeply modifying tradition, which framed men as the unique consumers of pornography. Furthermore, the Internet has given a strong boost to the consumption of paedo-pornographic material, making the search and sharing of these files easier, anonymous and 'safe'.

Virtual Interaction

The personal computer is used more and more to extend the physical presence of people, through video conferences, computer-mediated communication, dominions shared by many users, sharing files via MMS, and so on. The new technology of file sharing enables new peer-to-peer communities to share material like pornography. In these instances, the users are both consumers and salespeople, and lines that divide the public and the private are not strictly defined (Phillips 2004). Netsex and cybersex circulate rapidly, and as Turkle points out, "Many people that have netsex say they are surprised at how it can be emotionally and physically powerful... demonstrating the truth of the saying that ninety percent of sex is in the mind" (Turtle 1995, p. 21). Virtual communities create possibilities of experiences, relationships and identities, and experimentation in spaces that are exclusively built on the interaction with technology, consequently modifying interpersonal relationships. What is human and what is technological? "Are we living life on the screen or life in the screen?"

With virtual reality, we live in a culture of simulation, where we learn to perceive representations of the world as if it were the real world. We take part both in a virtual community made up of people who communicate exclusively through a computer network, and in a real-life community. Media worlds built through the computer weaken the distinction between reality and fantasy, enabling the creation of imaginary worlds where simulation takes the place of reality. One of the great advantages of the Internet, is the fact that it guarantees the anonymity of those who frequent pornographic sites, allowing them to consult the web from home, from any place through their mobiles, without the embarrassment of buying in shops and public places where one risks meeting acquaintances and losing face and anonymity. The Internet allows us to log on with extreme ease, and at low cost, to access various types of pornographic material. This has certainly led to the increase of this type of consumerism, which, according to some scholars (Paul 2004, 2005), would have been characterised by hard-core pornographic material. Soft-core, on the other hand, can be found on local or cable television and other media. As depicted in cinema in the mid-1990s, pornography favoured a powerful and domineering iconography of violence, mainly organised around explicit mechanisms of subordination of women by men.

The discussion over traditional roles and the division of gender in many social environments in western society, from work, to education, roles in the family, leisure time etc. seems to have provoked a desire to act with violence, at least symbolically, due to the feelings of inadequacy that men feel when confronting women (Giddens, 1995; Leonini 1999). In recent years, men's desire for physical domination over women can be found in pornographic material circulated throughout the web (Hughes 2000). As Codeluppi (2007 p.44) reveals, "in western society there is a progressive substitution of specific pleasure with a condition of generalised excitement which seems limitless," instead of looking for a relationship with another, relationships pass through negotiation and continual renegotiation through roles, tasks, ways of spending free time and work time, education of children, etc., in search of the immediate satisfaction of a need or desire, without committing oneself in a relationship.

In this context, the diffusion of the new media has brought to us a vast production of virtual products which, in the case of pornographic consumerism, has had success both in the direction of "virtual sex" and in that of "interactive sex". The virtual sexual experience is perceived by the consumer as pure entertainment, devoid of any social relevance, as a pastime like any other. These images can be built in a virtual game or those from real life, but in an unrecognisable place and an indefinite time, where one does not feel responsible. Virtual participation, in the case of pornographic material can create excitement and attraction, but does not stimulate a sense of individual responsibility when it comes to violence. For instance, as when minors are involved in pornographic activity onscreen, and the consumer is a passive viewer of sexually explicit violence perpetrated on real people (Kempadoo, 2005).

Interactive sex online is more explicit and more direct than virtual sex because it allows the person to interact and control a performance that happens in real time, but in virtual space. The person can make requests to satisfy one's fantasy, the tastes and desires. What is received onscreen is a representation, a performance in real time, constructed with closed circuit television in a studio where no limits are imposed. The success of this form of interactive sex is exemplified by Virtual Dreams, the predecessor of these services, which declared monthly profits of around US\$ 1 million in 2004 (Wiki.Media 2004). When it began in 1995 using the technology of video conferencing, Virtual Dreams released the following ad: "Virtual dreams uses state-of-the-art technology to bring to you the most beautiful women in the world. With our software and your computer, you can interact in real time and alone with the girl of your dreams. Ask what you desire, expect nothing other than to be satisfied" (Virtual Connections 1995).

This type of online service allows a person to actively participate by determining what is seen, choosing the actors/actresses, deciding if there must be a representation of one or more people, and what type of action should take place. The user can make requests that are immediately satisfied by the person working; "the scene maker/director" quietly sits at home or at an Internet point

of his or her choice, and can build a scene that follows his or her fantasy. The virtual interaction lets the users choose the actors, roaming around the information highways without compromising themselves to a direct search, letting them ask for particular services without revealing their own identity, and therefore feeling freer in their requests. Every fantasy can be satisfied while maintaining absolute secrecy of identity, provided that the service is paid for according to the length of the connection and the number of actors involved in the scene.

These virtual connections place the problem of the link between reality and virtual reality at the forefront of an extremely complex and problematic relation where simulation and representation become substitutes for reality, where what is real is the time of the link up and the money needed to make it happen.

The problem of the interdependency between reality and virtual reality also appear in different situations. It is within this problematic situation that one needs to understand the behaviour of those who film their own transgressions and decide to put them online. Apparently, the experience gains relevance only if captured in an image that is shared online. To show oneself means to exist, to introduce the images of one's actions in the virtual world constitutes an assertion of one's existence and, at the same time, of one's self image, through a type of process where the actor does not take responsibility, where reality is transformed into pretense; life is turned into a simulation, game and, simultaneously, a pretense is turned into reality and the simulation is transformed into action. The relationship between pretense and reality is resolved by virtual reality, and one forgets that the images often come from the real situations of real people. In the case of pornographic material, most of the images present on the web are of people with Asian or African appearance – or, in much fewer numbers, Slavic – because it is easier and cheaper to produce these films in places where the legislation is less severe or where the regulatory environment makes it less risky and therefore, a more profitable business. These are the aesthetic tastes of white western men, who are still, but not for long, the largest users of these services. On the part of the consumer, the sense of estrangement is heightened, creating a never-ending uncertainty between the real and the imaginary. This therefore produces, amongst other things, a process of distancing from oneself, a sense of not having to take responsibility for one's own actions.

The world made up by the computer lets people experiment with a new sense of self that is decentralised, multifaceted and fluid (Turkle 1995). The construction of fantasy worlds, built and shared with other members of the virtual community, allows people to play multiple representations of themselves to obtain the recognition of the members of the virtual group. This contributes to the fluidity and multiple representations of the self. Cyberspace offers a world free of the risk of losing face, of recognition, where people can look for that a certain intimacy, or the satisfaction of desires that both frighten and attract them, giving them a sense of freedom and unlimited power. The

ambivalence to sexuality therefore finds a safe place to manifest itself on the web.

These elements explain the great success of the online sex market: privacy, anonymity, security, and electronic payment, are fundamental elements for the success of the pay-as-you-go sex industry on the web. Consumers who pay for sex are, in real life, generally extremely reserved. Obviously, allowing them the chance to download pornographic material or to have interactive sex via the Internet in their own office or at home, constitutes part of the success of the online sex industry. Over the last 20 years, the sex industry and its online version have grown together and have developed in tandem. "The sex industry is often the first to adopt new technologies and to open new areas, it is only after this that mainstream business appears and establishes itself on the scene" (Hughes 1999, 2000).

Globalisation and the Merchandising of the Sex Market

The growth of the sex business and profits associated with this sector cannot be considered exclusively in economic terms without considering the human cost. The sex industry is based on the sexual exploitation of real people, mainly, but not only, women and children who come from less developed areas characterised by poverty. Numerous research on people who prostitute themselves (Kmpadoo 2005) have shed light on the psychological pain they suffer, as many of them often have a history of violence and rape. The United Nations estimates that there are about 200 million people in the world forced to live in a regime of sexual and economic slavery (U.N. Bureau, 1997); only a minority choose to work in the sex industry, and sometimes this is the last possible option to survive. In this sense, it is possible to argue that the expansion of the global sex market and the use of the Internet for pornographic aims have "legitimised" the sexual exploitation of women and children in the world's poorest countries. Migration, mass tourism, and digital technology have all contributed to the expansion of the sexual exploitation of women and children in areas of the world that were, at one time distanced from globalisation. Such exploitation leads to the merchandising of bodies and of interpersonal relationships, including that of children. The possibility of putting images and scenes of violence on the web, taken in parts of the world where almost everything becomes possible to guarantee material survival, where there is no protection and no childhood rights, rights for minors or the sick and weak, easily creates the exploitation by a rich and profitable sector. The western rights of people and individual rights benefit from resources that come from countries where the concepts of the person and the individual are unknown, and where necessity and need bend the body and the will of the most fragile and weakest. The majority of Internet users are educated people who live in western societies or in Japan, (Plant, 1997; Wajcman, 2000, www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm). It is not surprising that the online pornography

market aims to cater to their tastes and preferences. The aesthetics and tastes of the consumers induce the choice of the production of images and the selection of women, men and children with particular physical characteristics, building and strengthening cultural stereotypes with regards to physical and racial features: oriental women are defined as “docile” and “servile”; coloured women are “hot” and “wild”, blonds of Slavic origin, are “exotic” and “refined”; Latin Americans are “hot” and “sensual”. These stereotypes suggest different fantasies of the consumers who inhabit the information highways. Globalisation produces an aesthetic of the body and requires the respect of those aesthetic standards. The global sex market follows these rules and definitions of the body: bodies are commercialised in terms of ethnic origin, bringing to light sexist and racist features of international pornography and prostitution in a global context. The aesthetic and the evanescent and short lived material practice of goods circulate in the ethics of global consumerism (Appadurai 2001). One does not find only images to download and interactive sex on the Internet, but also information for the use, sex tourism, descriptions of places where women can be found and where men and children are available for sex; comments on personal experience; advice for future trips, how to corrupt or get around controls; how not to be taken in, how much to pay, how to satisfy the most eccentric tastes, and so on. These data are easily found on the web. In this sense, the Internet has been used to spread the globalisation of sex markets, where establishing contact is simple, and information on international prostitution is easily accessible. It is possible to marry women or adolescents online, simply by choosing among the available images. Women and children are attracted to the possibility, through this arranged marriage, of emigrating to western countries and legalise their stay. Online, it is possible to plan trips in different countries, rent cars, book hotels and sexual services of every kind in a simple holiday package. If the package is not satisfactory, then it is possible to change the rented body with another one halfway through the trip (Hughes, 2000). Get satisfied or get your money back.

Globalisation of Bodies

As most web pages and sites require an entrepreneurial ability, apart from economic and technical resources, and because production is primarily undertaken in poor, less developed countries of the world, the online sex industry thrives in the exploitation of more and more people. The number of requests for women, children and adolescence increases because the consumer, who is ever more demanding, asks for new “products.”

Only a few web pages and sites built in the western world are directly run by the people who sell their own images and use a series of costume changes so as not to be easily recognisable. While these are extremely rare and minor cases, the new movement of amateur porn suggests an increase in this phenomenon (De Voss, 2002). In these cases, one can observe a process of a sexual automation, where the subjects become entrepreneurs of their own

bodies, inserting them into the market of merchandised sexuality and in a logical consumerism in which the representations of the body become products for sale.

Bodies have traditionally been instruments and a means of exchange. Globalisation penetrates social life through the global circulation of the culture of consumerism, producing the merchandising and commercialisation not only of forms of culture or ideologies, but also of human bodies. The women and children of poor countries are the subjects, and the main objects of merchandising. The global economy forms the new division of international work on the basis of different nationalities, ethnic groups, races and gender (Pettman 1996). Appadurai (1997) speaks of *ethoscapes* to explain the movement of people, a movement that is also characterised by gender, and which contributes to the deterritorialisation of the world. Deterritorialisation has become a constant experience online. Paraphrasing the words of Appadurai, one could dispute that mass migration and the widespread circulation of technology and information mark the experience of the contemporary because they heavily influence the work of the imagination: spectators and images are constantly in circulation and are not easily traceable to local spaces, nations or regions. The success and the expansion of every type and form of the sex business cannot be explained without considering the diffusion of the culture of consumerism that imposes the logic of quantity rather than quality, of calculating the value of people in terms of money and of satisfying desires and needs in the form of merchandise. One must, at all costs, reach a better material well-being, sacrificing one's own body, or that of one's wife, son or daughter. Concepts of relationships, of gender and family, of patriarchal/traditional and contemporary aspirations for a one's well-being and a better life, are a mix of tradition and modernity, which induces one to think about the use of bodies for sexual services as an economic resource. From this perspective, the professions tied to the sex business, even when chosen or appear not to be imposed with violence, are perceived as a way of earning money when there is no other alternative (Afanasyev, 1996). This is made possible also by contemporary ideology that promotes sexual freedom as an expression of individual freedom. From this point view, paid sex is considered a business that supplies the economic means for survival.

Perhaps the best way to explain these transformations and social changes is to consider how much consumerism has permeated and influenced interpersonal relationships: flexible work, flexible time, flexible love, flexible sex, little space for life or for work. The answers to needs, necessities and desires are searched for in the products, services and representations of what we think can satisfy us. No questions about responsibility, exploitation, inequality, freedom of choice, not only of the consumers but also of those who are sold. In this sense, the logic of the market and of money, which characterises the pornographic market, also characterises contemporary life hiding the relations of power which are embodied in these products.

In this frame, new technologies play an essential role in amplifying connectivity, abolishing space/time distance, ensuring anonymity, and weakening the sense of responsibility about what we do, what we buy, and what we share online.

Bibliography

- A.A:VV (2002), Pornography and Internet Technologies, <Encyclopedia Of New Media on line>, wiki.media-culture.org.au/index.php
- Adamo, P., *Il porno di massa*, Milano, Cortina.
- Afanasyev, V., 1996, Prostitution in St. Petersburg, in Marjut J., (a cura di) *Changing paces of Prostitution*, Helsinki, Meripaino
- Alloquere, R.S., 1996, *The war of Desire and Technology*, Cambridge Mass., MIT Press.
- Andreoli, V., 2007, *La vita digitale*, Milano Rizzoli.
- Appadurai, A., 1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis, Minnesota Press, trad it 2001 *Modernità in polvere*, Roma, Meltemi.
- Bennato, D., 2002, *Le metafore del computer*, Roma, Meltemi 2002.
- Buskin, J. (2000) 'The Web's Dirty Little Secret', *Wall Street Journal* [Online], Available: Proquest: ABI/Inform Global, ID no: 52666098. [Accessed 6 Sept. 2004].
- Castells, M., 1997, *The Power of Identity*, Oxford, Blackwell.
- Codeluppi, V., 2007, *La vetrinizzazione sociale*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri.
- De Voss, D., 2002, *Women's Porn Sites*, in <Sexuality and Culture>, Volume 6, Number 3, pp.75-93, California U.P
- Dodson, B., 2002, *Feminism free speech: Pornography*, www.bettydodson.com/ffe-porn.htm
- Doyle, T. (2000) 'The Architects of Porn', *Varbusiness* [Online], issue 1609, pg. 19. Available: Proquest: Computing Database, ID no: 53296679. [Accessed 6 Sept. 2004].
- Flew, T. (2002) *New Media - An Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Dworking A., 1979, *Pornography: men possessing women*, New York, Putnam's Sons.
- Dworking A., 1988, *Pornography is a Civil Right Issue for Women*, in < Journal of Law Reform>, 21/1 Fall and winter, n.63.
- Elam, D., *Feminism and deconstruction*, New York, Routledge,
- Family Safe Media, 2006, *Pornography Statistics*, sul sito http://www.Familysafe media.com/pornography_statistics.html
- Giddens, A., 1992, *The transformation of Intimacy*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Gorman, L. and McLean, D. (2003) *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing,
- Hughes, D. M., 2000 *The Internet and Sex Industries*, in <Technology and Society Magazine>, Spring, pp 138-146
- Hughes, D.M., Roche, C.M., 1999, *Making the Harm Visible, The Coalition against Trafficking in Women*, OIM, London, New York
- Johnson, P., 1996, *Pornography drives technology*, *Communication Decency Act of 1996*, Pub.L. No. 104-104, secs. 501-561, 110 Stat.
- Kempadoo, K., 2005, *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered*, London. Boulder.

- Lane, F., 2000, *Obscene Profits*, London, Routledge.
- Leonini, L., 1999, a cura di, *Sesso in Acquisto*, Milano, Unicopli.
- Leonini, L., 2004, I mercati sessuali contemporanei, in Ago, R., (editor) *Il sacrificio*, Roma, Biblink.
- Lillie, J. (2004) 'Cyberporn, Sexuality and the Net Apparatus', in <Convergence, vol. 10, issue 1, pg. 43-61. [Accessed 1 Sept. 2004].
- MacKinnon, C., 1992, *Only Words*, in Garvey, J.H., a cura di, *The first amendment reader*, Saint Paul, West Publishing.
- MacKinnon, C., e Dworking A., 1997, *The Pornography*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press.
- McDonald, C., 2001, *Changing Stakes: Pornography, Privacy, and the Perils of Democracy*, <Yale French Studies>, Yale University Press, n. 100, pp 88-115.
- McNair, B. (1996) *Mediated Sex: Pornography and Post-Modern Culture*, London. Hodder.
- Springer, C. (1996) *Electronic Eros*, London: Athlone.
- Paul, P. (2004) 'The Porn Factor', *Time* [Online], vol. 163, issue 3, pg. 99. ABI/Inform Global, ID no: 527237191. [Accessed 23 Oct. 2004]
- Paul, P., 2005, *Pornified, How Pornography is Transforming Our lives*, New York, Times Books.
- Penttinen, E., 2000 *Globalization, Bio-power and Trafficking in women*, IPSA RC 19, <Globalization, Democratization and Gender>
- Phillips, D., 2005, Can desire go without a body? Pornographic exchange and the death of the sun, <Culturemachine.tees.ac.uk/InterZone/dphillips.html September, 2005
- Repubblica, 2007 glialtrinoi@repubblica.it, 11 Mar., 2007
- Sartori, L., 2006, *Il divario digitale*, Bologna, il Mulino.
- Schiels R., 1996, (a cura di) *Cultures of the Internet*, London, Sage.
- The Economist, 1998, *Giving the Customer What He Wants*, Feb.14
- Thornburch, D., Lin, H, 2002, *Youth Pornography and the Internet*, Washington, National Academy Press
- Toor, M. (1997) 'Battle of Somm Puts the Focus in Internet Porn', *Marketing Week* [Online], vol. 20, issue 4, pg. 25. Available: Proquest: ABI/Inform Dateline, ID no: 11910315. [Accessed 1 Sept. 2004].
- Turkle, S., 1995, *Life on the Screen*, New York, Simon & Schuster.
- United Nations Bureau, 1997, Director General's Speech, Associated Foreign press, Nov. 13
- Virtual Connections, 1995, WWW:cts.com/-talon Oct., 29, 1995
- Wajcman, J., 2000, *Reflections on Gender and Technology Studies*, in <Social studies of Science>, vol. 30, n.3, pp.447-464
- www.virtualconnections.com 2005
- www.wikimedia.com 2004
- www.internet-pornography-statistics.html#anchor1 2009,
- www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm

Chapter Twenty Five

Germany's PSB going Online – Is there an Economic Justification for Public Service Media Online?

Nadine Lindstädt, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

The question of public service broadcaster's presence online has concerned the European Commission as well as several Member States for many years now. Public service broadcasters have been accused of distorting competition online – an area that up to then seemed to have worked being left to the market. Though the extension of public service providers towards the internet is legitimized by the European Commission it seems appropriate to analyze if there is a true *economic justification* for having Public Service Media (PSM) online and if so to which extent. This article contributes to enter into that question against the background that the traditional public service broadcasting system (i.e. television and radio) is taken as given and unchangeable for the analysis. The paper thereby waives to repeat the fundamental discussion of pros and cons of public service provision and, instead, concentrates specifically on elaborating possible cross-media effects. The paper is structured as followed: Chapter 2 gives a brief literature review on recent works dealing with Public Service Media online before Chapter 3 forms the analysis of the need for PSM online. Chapter 4 subsequently concludes.

Literature Review

Public Service Media online is a highly up to date topic and many researchers already coped with this issue. There is no clear consensus among researchers if PSM should have a legitimization online and if so to which extent. Some authors still demand for an extensive role of public service provision in the digital era whereas others either argue against PSM on the internet at all or assign them a restrictive and complementing function at the most. The following literature review will show that the different viewpoints mainly result from different objectives as well as different disciplinary backgrounds. Those authors who favor and support a continuous public service provision online mainly argue from a media scientific or sometimes media economic perspective and primarily aim for reaching societal and democratic goals. The authors that claim for a restrictive and complementing function at the most on the other hand mainly argue from a purely economic perspective and thereby predominantly follow economic welfare goals.

Many authors including Armstrong and Weeds (2007)¹, Beyer and Beck (2008 and 2009), Depypere and Tigchelaar (2004), Dewenter and Haucap (2009b), Donders and Pauwells (2008)² argue that economic market failure arguments – once faced on the traditional broadcasting market – cannot be found anymore in the digital era and hence not on the internet. These authors consequently rather argue against a PSM role online. According to Depypere and Tigchelaar (2004), Dewenter and Haucap (2009b) and Rebmann (2003) the barriers of entry are low; competition is quite intense and hence favors pluralism. Beyer and Beck (2008 and 2009) emphasize that no economic arguments exist that legitimize public service media on the internet; they see merit good reasoning as the only *plausible* argument for having PSM online. Nevertheless, they argue *against* an endless financial extension of PSB activities and instead rather argue for a shift towards online at most. The mentioned authors claiming for restrictive roles of PSM agree that *at the utmost*, PSM online should concentrate on certain areas exclusively if there is a need for it and thereby fulfilling a *complementing function* that does not distort competition.

Other authors, however, assign PSM still a remaining and sometimes even strong rationale online. Some researchers thereby see certain market failure facts to be still existent on the internet. Jakubowicz (2007) regards market failure as a civic and culture issue und argues for PSM in order to counteract the trend of the undermining of social cohesion especially with regard to the internet. Supporting this, Nord (2009) and Rüter (2002) argue for an existence of PSM online to attract an audience that is becoming more individualized, to reach previously difficult audiences and providing public orientation. Nevertheless, Nord thereby sees the possible problem of distortion of competition and a possible misuse of the dominant position of PSB whereas Rüter emphasizes the need for appropriate measures to ensure that no unproductive copying of commercial players takes place. Bardoel and Lowe (2007) argue for a demand-driven PSM culture with an interactive society and see the need for PSM online to produce positive externalities, public value and subsequently also to counter fragmentation and creating social cohesion. Moe (2008a, 2008b, 2009)³ subsumes the aspects participation, access and quality under the merit good argument. PSM online should have even more than just a complementing function which is also supported by Wiedemann (2004) who even regards a certain distortion of competition as unavoidable and tolerable. Nissen (2006) sees a new way of market failure through the lack of national and cultural diversity with only commercial providers and assigns PSM to fulfill educational obligations and to work against digital divide. Many other authors as well favor a remaining rationale due to promoting (cultural) diversity, pluralism and quality, including Aslama (2008), EBU (2008), Hills

¹Though rather with a focus on digital broadcasting

²Though rather with a focus on digital broadcasting

³Based on an empirical analysis of PSB systems in Norway, Germany, and the UK

and Michalis (2000)¹, Karppinen (2009), Leurdijk (2007), Murdock (2004), and Trappel (2008)². According to van der Wurff (2007)³ markets – especially in areas of news and information – fail with regard to independence and quality. Consequently, PSM online is necessary to compensate for market failure; nevertheless, he argues for a complementing role with respect to services the market cannot or does not provide. In a similar direction, Frank and Meyerholt (2009) in their paper about Germany argue for an ongoing existence of PSM online. To their mind, it is not a lack of pluralism online but rather the reason to provide basic supply without political and economic influence. Nevertheless, the authors thereby see the need to work against the commercialization of PSM.

To my best knowledge, no paper – dealing with Public Service Media online – however, up to now analyzed the question of the justification for PSM online against the background of the inevitable existence of the traditional PSB system (television and radio). It is the aim of this article to fill this gap. The paper thereby does not question or discuss the fundamental existence and idea of PSB in general.⁴ Discussing the legitimization of public service media provision online very often puts the general PSB system in question.⁵ However, it can be assumed that both, due to political and economic reasons, a complete abolition of the public service broadcasting system will not take place in the near future. Therefore, this paper takes the existing PSB system as given and unchangeable, waives to repeat the fundamental discussion of pros and cons of public service provision and instead concentrates specifically on cross-media effects that might result when having both online and offline offers provided by PSM.

An Economic Analysis of the Justification for Public Service Media Online

The following analysis discusses if there is an *economic justification* for having Public Service Media online. Within this, the chapter focuses on the aspects: existing infrastructure, competition, indirect network externalities, externalities and media bias. Thereby each section first argues from the point of view that supports a public service provision online before the contra arguments are discussed and hold up against it.

¹Though these two authors take the view that market failure arguments cannot be found on the internet

²Based on an empirical analysis of Germany, Switzerland and Austria

³Who argues from a media economic perspective

⁴For the general discussion of public service provision please refer to Armstrong (2005) Armstrong and Weeds (2007), Betzel and Ward (2004), Beyer and Beck (2009), Hargreaves Heap (2005), Harrison and Woods (2001), O'Hagan and Jennings (2003), Jakubowicz (2007), van Dijk et al. (2006), Ward (2006).

⁵At this point it shall be highlighted that I am not favoring the PSB system in the way it exists now. However, discussing this would go beyond the scope of this article.

The Existing Infrastructure and Cross Media Effects as a Justification for PSM Online?

A fairly convincing argument for having PSM online could be the existing infrastructure; more precisely taking advantage of economies of scale and scope as well as resulting cross-media effects. As Ward (2006, 57) put it: “Publicly funded broadcasters [...] must achieve size in order to maximize value for public money and ensure public funding is invested efficiently in programming.”

Public service broadcasting has been existent in Germany for many decades; thus the technical equipment, existing broadcasting programs and formats as well as people’s expertise and competencies are already available. Especially the latter ones can play a major role in this regard. The *ARD* and the *ZDF*, for example, have a fully developed correspondent network with experienced journalists from which they can make use for their online news as well. Especially in media markets which face high fixed costs and relatively low marginal costs this could play a significant role (Dewenter 2003, 4). Doyle (2002, 31) states in her book about Media Ownership that as soon as a media company grows, the more productive it can use its resources due to increasing economies of scale and economies of scope. That is, the higher the production gets, cost efficiencies can be achieved since average costs can be reduced (*economies of scale*). This especially holds for websites and Depypere and Tigchelaar (2004, 20) emphasize that most of the production costs are already covered by the broadcasting task of PSM. The same would hold for *economies of scope* – once content (e.g. news, information, education programs, and documentaries) is produced it can easily and quite cheap be transmitted to other media types (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 11). The process of researching and collecting information is done once but can be used manifold. This especially holds for products which are most closely related to each other with regard to production or distribution (Doyle 2002, 40). A news program on television, for example, can be formatted for a website as well – either as a video-file, a podcast or a written article. Online media thereby gives a great advantage to do so since audio, video and textual elements converged on the internet. In particular economies of scope have quite an impact and are intensifying its impact in times of digitalization (Beyer and Beck 2008, 393; Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 11). This would mean that – through the interaction of economies of scale and economies of scope – the joint production of broadcasting (radio and television) and internet by PSM providers could result in a cheaper production than compared with the existence of a multitude of separate media companies (Doyle 2002, 34). A cheaper production in turn would benefit the consumer if prices (here in the form of license fees) could thereby be reduced or at least kept constant while the benefits (additional media platform with content) increase. Albarran and Dimmick (1996, 43) refer to *economies of multiformity* – meaning the gain of efficiencies as soon as a company expands its operations cross-sectoral. With regard to PSM these *economies of multiformity* could hold as well since the company expanded cross-sectoral – from the initial radio and television sector towards the internet

– and thereby used the existing infrastructure (Doyle 2002, 40f.). Thus taken the inevitable existence of their radio and television infrastructure as given it might seem reasonable to have a public service provision online as well. By taking advantage of the existing infrastructure, media formats and expertise they would produce more effective operations compared to the situation where a pure online supplier newly enters the market and needs to build up a complete infrastructure and competencies from the scratch. This would in particular concern people's expertise and existing (correspondent) networks.

Cross Media strategies could furthermore lead to more effective operations (Leurdijk 2007, 80). This would favor an extension of public service providers towards the internet; in other words not using their existing infrastructure could create sunk costs. By using the platforms television, radio and internet altogether, however, public service providers could create synergies. Hills and Michalis (2000, 478f.) refer to synergies with respect to the distribution of content especially due to the ongoing process of convergence between broadcasting services and websites. Concretely, the authors argue in terms of *programming* (e.g. added-value to offline programs, new programs, thereby meeting the needs of minorities that cannot be done by broadcasts), *packaging* (e.g. add-on content) and *transmission and access* (e.g. gateway to other websites after a vetting process). In addition to this, further synergies can be gained through cross-promotions. Budzinski and Wacker (2007, 298-302) talk about three different types of cross media strategies – price discrimination in cross-media advertising, content-related cross-promotion and cross-media advertising campaigns. Since – according to the Interstate Treaty on Broadcasting – PSM websites are *not* allowed to finance their online programs over any form of advertising, public service providers can only pursue a content-related cross-promotion strategy (Rundfunkstaatsvertrag 2009). With this strategy, the promotion takes place within the edited content (Budzinski and Wacker 2007, 299). Assuming that audiences online and offline are not 100% identical, this in turn would mean that further audiences for the respectively other media type can be won. Viewers of PSM programs on television, for example, could be attracted by a cross promotion on television (e.g. in a news program) for a continuative discussion on a certain issue on the belonging website. The other way round users on PSM websites, for example, could be made aware of an interesting (political) program that will be aired on television in the evening. In the end this could even result in an increased customer loyalty that would benefit the standing and importance of PSM. By using cross-media strategies public service broadcasters can also bring in a certain *brand experience* from their origin field of activity (Leurdijk 2007, 80). With concrete reference to Germany this would, for example, hold for the established brand names *Tagesschau* and *HEUTE* – both initial news programs on the TV channels *ARD* and *ZDF* and meanwhile with an online presence as well.

At this point it seems interesting what impact the expansion towards online and cross media strategies could have on consumer welfare. Very often, the argument is brought up that consumers have to pay license fee anyway which

does not only hold for television and radio but (meanwhile) also when owning an internet capable computer (Schulz et al. 2008, 19).¹ In that case consumers should also have the option to consume PSM content online – a platform they subsequently pay for (Frank and Meyerholt 2009, 374). Due to the inevitable existence of the PSB system the advantage for the consumer would be that he receives as many benefits as possible for paying license fees. It is not anymore just receiving a PSB provision on television and radio but additionally also on the internet. Secondly, by additionally operating online public service providers adapt to a changing media environment and *follow their audience* – by doing so adapting to changing or developing customer needs and habits – which in turn benefits the consumer. In general it can be observed that people in Germany nowadays do not use one media type exclusively. Instead, it is rather the combined use of different types of media. The *ARD/ZDF Online study 2009* showed that people in Germany, being online, still use various kinds of media types for consuming, for example news and information (van Eimeren and Frees 2009, 343). Hence, it cannot be observed yet that people substitute television or radio towards the internet. A joint use of all these platforms seems reasonable. By using and transferring the existing experience and knowledge from the traditional broadcasting sector, PSM could better serve the citizens. Users could for example, receive the same quality programs (e.g. news content) online that up to then could only be consumed on television and radio. Furthermore, cross media strategies could act as an information and orientation function for users. They can easily find out about suitable programs (search costs would decrease) and even find additional suitable programs they probably would not have considered otherwise. Hence, consumer preferences could be better matched.

The existing infrastructure and economies of scale and scope indeed give good arguments for a legitimization of PSM online. However, the question is if these arguments (must) have its limits at some point – especially regarding the *ongoing* expansion of public service activities online. First of all, high fixed costs have been lessened in times of new technologies and digitalization; they are not as high on the internet as once on television, costs for setting up the infrastructure decreased significantly (Beck 2005, 28f.; Beyer and Beck 2009, 83; Beyer and Carl 2008, 56). This in turn gives certain advantages to commercial companies who newly enter the market like pure online players – though they still lack knowledge, expertise or correspondent networks that were mentioned earlier. In addition to this, other existent media companies (e.g. publishing houses, commercial broadcasters) profit from their existing infrastructure, like their expertise or journalist networks as well. Consequently, economies of scale can be realized in the same way as by public service broadcasters on the internet. Thus, in the online world it does not seem essential anymore to foster on just one (or few) providers which was probably

¹This argument, however, seems fairly unconvincing. That is because the decision to make citizens pay for internet capable computers (as a newly broadcasting device) was enforced down streamed *after* the expansion of PSM towards the internet. Nevertheless, the inevitable existence of the PSB system might give arguments in this regard.

advisable in times of analogue broadcasting and scarce frequencies. However, economies of scope indeed have an impact and are intensifying its impact in times of digitalization (Beyer and Beck 2008, 393; Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 11). For example, once information has been collected and edited for a news program on television it can easily be transferred to other media types such as the internet. Thus, the inevitable existence of the PSB system would mean that economies of scope can be reached by PSM providers but not by pure online providers solely operating online. However, economies of scope can be realized in the same way by other existing media companies – like publishing houses that are online as well¹ – and are not solely limited to PSM providers. With regard to newspapers, for example, it holds as well that as soon as information is gathered and edited for the newspaper it can easily be transferred to the internet. Nevertheless, the transformation of content is always connected with some costs; particular adoptions are indispensable. On the one hand these adoptions concern special requirements of the particular media type internet; on the other hand adaptations are necessary to meet the users' needs which differ from the needs on television and radio.² Another important issue is the effect of a possible substitution. Even if it is possible and at first sight seems profitable to transfer all content from one media type to another (using economies of scope) the company always bears the risk that at some point users substitute medium A (e.g. the newspaper or news program of company x) towards medium B (e.g. the website of company x). In that case the demand would only be shifted from one medium to another instead of generating additional demand. Then, however, a shift of financial resources from broadcasting towards online would rather be advisable instead of an unlimited expansion online, as Beyer and Beck (2008, 397) suggest.

In the first place it is public service broadcasters that profit from an online presence and possible resulting cost efficiencies. Also the consumer might face certain advantages that were already highlighted.³ However, does the consumer *only* profit from PSM online content? Their utility might be negative if the costs exceed the benefits. Though the consumer does not have to pay a *direct price* (paid content) for PSM websites it is not totally for free either. It always needs to be considered that each German citizen with a broadcasting capable equipment is obliged to pay a monthly license fee of currently 5.76 Euro for radio and/or a newly broadcasting device⁴, respectively 17.98 Euro if

¹Nowadays there are 661 newspapers with an online presence in Germany (BDZV online 2010).

²The majority of existing media companies soon realized that the attempts of a 1:1 identical transfer from the initial media type towards the internet did not work but that adoption to the peculiarities of the internet were inevitable.

³The resulting negative effects on commercial competitors due to the existence of PSM providers online, however, will be the concrete issue in the following section.

⁴According to the GEZ a newly broadcasting device is a device that does not have a broadcasting receiver (e.g. a radio or TV card), however the reception of broadcasting is possible through new ways of distribution or new receivers. This includes among others internet capable computers since they can show offers from the internet. The GEZ thereby does

additionally in possession of a television (GEZ¹ online 2010a). As soon as consumers have to face higher costs for consuming additional content the effect on consumer welfare is negative unless they receive benefits that exceed the costs. The KEF², however, include a figure on their homepage³ that indicates that the license fee for public service broadcasting continuously increased throughout the last decades.⁴ The question now is, if the consumer with every single price increase received a greater benefit out of the programs? In this respect, it even needs to be asked if PSM companies truly have incentives to work efficiently by using economies of scope and scale. After all, their financial resources are secured – §12 of the Interstate Treaty on Broadcasting contain a financing guarantee (*Bestands- und Entwicklungsgarantie*)⁵ (European Commission 2007, 7; Humphreys 1999, 25). Hence, due to their secured license fees public service providers in contrast to commercial ones do not necessarily have to consider costs in the first place. I would therefore suppose that commercial existing media suppliers who in the same way can realize economies of scale and scope from their traditional field of expertise (e.g. from the broadcasting or printed media sector) have greater incentives to realize cost efficiencies.

To conclude, I suggest that an expansion of PSM providers towards online is legitimized to a certain point – against the background that the main infrastructure, expertise and competencies are existent anyhow. Nevertheless, this does not justify an unlimited spread online. An expansion seems to make sense only in areas where economies of scope and scale can *truly* be achieved and in turn cost savings are passed over to the citizen. Consumer welfare would increase either through decreased license fees or at least license fees that are kept constant while receiving additional content benefits at the same time. An expansion to completely new programs, on the other hand, where cost efficiencies cannot be gained is from the viewpoint of the existing PSB system needless and inadvisable. This could rather be left to the market. Nevertheless, in order to control public service providers in this regard and to check if interventions are successful in reaching their desired objectives, appropriate measures to monitor PSM providers are indispensable as Hargreaves Heap (2005, 135f.) already concluded for the television industry.

not restrict their description to broadcasting content (e.g. audio and or video) only (GEZ online 2010).

¹*Gebühreneinzugszentrale* [License fee collecting agency]

²*Kommission zur Ermittlung des Finanzbedarfs für Rundfunkanstalten* [Commission for the determination of the financial requirements for the public service broadcasters]

³<<http://www.kef-online.de/inhalte/entwicklung.html>> (23 November 2010). The figure thereby indicates the basic fee (for radio and nowadays newly broadcasting devices), the television fee and the total fee.

⁴This increase in the majority of cases also holds for the inflation-adjusted figures that I calculated from 1979 until 2009 with the exception of the price increase in 1988, 2005 (at least for the basic fee and the total fee whereas the television fee increased) and 2009.

⁵This financing guarantee was decided by the Constitutional Court in their 6th Broadcasting decision in 1991 (Lucht 2009, 26).

Promotion or Distortion of Competition with PSM Online?

Another argument that could justify the presence of PSM online is the promotion of competition. Therefore this section analyzes if – assuming the existing presence of the traditional PSB system – the expansion towards online is rather promoting or distorting competition. Bardoel and Lowe (2007, 16) state that public service providers have to compete successfully in order to defend their legitimacy and their license fee funding. The extension of PSM towards new media platforms and in particular the internet might therefore be a necessary step to follow the audience, by doing so staying competitive and in turn defending their justification. However, this should not go to the expense of competition in general. Before analyzing the impacts on competition it first of all needs to be considered that media markets in general and the internet in particular are multisided markets.¹ With regard to commercial media providers the media platform (provider of a certain website) serves two distinct demand sides simultaneously – the audience (users) and the advertising industry that is advertising on the website. The distinct customer groups in turn influence each other through indirect network externalities which can be positive or negative (Dewenter 2006, 2). This in turn influences the media platform's behavior – more precisely their pricing, production, and investment strategies (Lindstädt 2010, 70).

The expansion of PSM providers towards online activities at first sight promotes competition. With their entrance there exists a multiplicity of new websites in Germany.² Greater competition could thereby contribute to more pluralism and diversity of opinion.³ In addition to this, greater competition also implies that competitive pressure within online media increases which in turn leads to the situation that provider (public and commercial ones) have incentives to improve their existing products. Some authors furthermore point out that PSM provider might create more innovation. Motta and Polo (1997, 298) – though with regard to public service television – highlight the uncertainty of potential revenues with regard to new and innovative programs.

¹For further literature on multisided media markets please see Anderson and Gabszewicz (2006), Budzinski and Lindstädt (2010), Dewenter (2003), Dewenter (2006), Dewenter and Haucap (2009a) and Lindstädt (2010).

²Every public broadcasting channel as well as every related radio channel has an online presence. These are on the one hand the nationwide channels *ARD* (*ard.de*), *ZDF* (*zdf.de*), *Deutsche Welle* (*dw-world.de*), *Deutschlandradio* (*dradio.de*). On the other hand there are the regional programs *Norddeutscher Rundfunk* (*ndr.de*), *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (*wdr.de*), *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk* (*mdr.de*), *Bayrischer Rundfunk* (*br-online.de*), *Saarländischer Rundfunk* (*sr-online*), *Südwestrundfunk* (*swr.de*), *Hessischer Rundfunk* (*hr-online.de*) and *Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg* (*rbb-online.de*). The related radio channels can usually be found through sub-sites of the above mentioned ones; furthermore *Radio Bremen* (*radiobremen.de*) exists online as well. In addition to this, the public service broadcasters offer special interest programs like *Arte*, *Phoenix*, *3sat* and *K.I.K.A* – every one of them with an online presence as well. Subsequently, many programs of public service broadcasters have their own online presence which, for example, holds for the two most successful news programs of *ARD* and *ZDF*: *Die Tagesschau* (*tagesschau.de*) and *HEUTE* (*heute.de*). For a detailed overview of content and distribution of public service websites please see KEF 2009, 53-58.

³Pluralism and diversity aspects will be further discussed in the later section about externalities.

O'Hagan and Jennings (2003, 37f.) also see the risk that commercial players might not create enough innovative program whereas public service providers can since they are not preferential profit orientated. Consequently, there is a chance that PSM providers contribute to more innovation online. With license fees they have a secured income and hence do not have to cope with the uncertainty of potential revenues for innovative programs in the first run. Armstrong and Weeds (2007, 126) state that incentives for innovations with advertising-funded broadcasting are weak. This is because advertisers prefer to reach as many potential customers as possible (positive indirect network externality from users towards advertisers). However, innovative programs always bear the risk that not the mass audience but instead probably just a niche group is attracted. Consequently, in order to please their advertisers and by doing so securing revenues commercial broadcasters might focus on mass-audience programs exclusively. It should be assumed that the same holds for online programs since advertising revenues play an even more important role on the internet – paid content hardly works which results in a great dependence on advertising revenues.¹ Hargreaves Heap (2005, 128) emphasizes this aspect and highlights that building an audience requires more time with innovative programs. In the first run, commercial providers might not want to take the risk of innovating programs when taking the risk of not securing a large user base which in turn endangers their advertising revenues. In the second run, however, innovation efforts by public service providers might even spur commercial providers to produce innovative programs as well. This in turn would promote competition for innovation. With special regard to the inevitable existence of the traditional PSB system the existence might help PSM providers to better promote competition. More precise, their existing expertise and knowledge helps them on the one hand to contribute with similar existing programs from the broadcasting sector; on the other hand their expertise in inventing innovative programs for the broadcasting sector might help to contribute to innovation on the online sector as well. This in turn would spur commercial ones to increase their efforts in order to stay competitive. If innovation efforts, improved products – which can lead to better and cheaper products – and increased variety can truly be reached consumer welfare would increase as well and the presence of having PSM providers online would have a positive effect.

Nevertheless, having PSM sites online could also create a risk of distorting competition. Armstrong (2005, 288) speaks of the danger of market distortion and inefficiencies – mainly due to the fact that PSM providers are publicly funded and rely on secured license fees. In the end this could even result in a reduction of pluralism or the risk that innovation is not ensured with having PSM providers – especially when they copy existing programs from the

¹Since the providers on the internet from the early days on provided their content for free and due to the meanwhile intense competition the willingness to pay online for certain content (e.g. news content) is hardly existent (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 114). According to a survey of the Forsa Institute only 16% responded to be willed to pay for journalistic content (Reglitz 2009 online). Consequently, the commercial providers online are highly dependent on the advertising revenues.

commercial ones and crowd out commercial players. The financing guarantee might result in a lack of true incentives to contribute to pluralism and innovation. A distortion of competition in general has negative effects on consumer and producer welfare and hence harms society. I will start with the *effects on producers* (commercial providers online): first of all it has to be considered that commercial and public service providers do not compete under the same conditions due to their different forms of financing. Whereas commercial providers have to finance themselves mainly through advertising revenues public service providers have their secured financing source. Prior to the existence of PSM online, both economic competition¹ and editorial competition were already quite intense with pure commercial providers (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 12; Rebmann 2003, 2f.). There is a great risk that the promotion of pluralism and innovation by commercial providers gets restricted if having too much PSM content online – especially in an area that up to then seemed to have worked being left to the market (Beyer and Beck 2008, 397). Thereby, the existence of the traditional PSB system might reinforce this effect. PSM providers could easily use their powerful position on the broadcasting market and transfer it to the online sector. They could even cross-subsidize online programs with license fees and advertising revenues² they receive on their traditional platforms. Since public service providers already have a powerful position on the broadcasting sector³ they might rather focus to spend money on online activities in order to achieve an equivalent powerful position there as well. At the moment there are no limitations on how much of their money public service providers have to spend on which media type.⁴ In addition to this, the PSM online spending for the period 2009-2012 will be 491.58 Mio. Euro (KEF 2009, 125-127). In comparison to the previous period 2005-2008 (online spending: 284.8 Mio. Euro), public service broadcasters are therewith significantly expanding their spending for online activities.

Consequently, having PSM providers online could in worst case result in commercial providers – assumingly smaller ones – being forced to leave the market. This could occur when the powerful PSM providers with their presence online draw users from smaller online platforms away. It would initially harm smaller providers. Since the internet market is a multisided market and due to

¹This is especially due to the fact that high fixed costs have lessened in times of new technologies and digitalization – they are not as high on the internet as once on television (Beck 2005, 28f.). Studies show, for example, that setting up a website on the internet is quite inexpensive (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 22; Lindstädt 2007, 97) which facilitates the entrance of new competitors.

²Advertising is permitted to a certain extent for PSB on the broadcasting sector though the main source revenue is license fees.

³In May 2010 the public service broadcasting channels (*ARD, ZDF, ARD III, 3sat, ARTE, Kika, Phoenix*) held a market share of 41.6% on the audience side. The *RTL group* at the same time held a market share of 26.5% and *Pro7Sat1* a market share of 21.9% (KEK online 2010).

⁴For the current period 2009-2012 the public service broadcasters even waived their self-commitment of limiting their online spending to 0.75% that was still valid for the previous period 2005-2008 but was anyhow exceeded (actual online quotes: *ARD*: 0.86%, *ZDF*: 0.94%) (KEF 2009: 257f.).

the positive indirect network externalities that users exert on advertisers this negative effect would be reinforced. Due to fewer users on those platforms advertisers would most probably transfer their online spending to websites with a greater audience.¹ Depending on the concrete effects, this could even go to such lengths that dominant positions on the market occur where some big commercial websites and powerful PSM sites remain while smaller providers get crowded out. Due to blurring boundaries on the internet this distortion of competition could thereby not only affect Germany's online market and its providers but technically even harm companies from other countries.² With regard to innovation, there is a risk that the existence of PSM sites could slow down innovation attempts by commercial ones. Though the development of new programs got cheaper on the internet (compared to broadcasting) costs do incur. Whereas PSM providers do not have to regard the costs in first place, and even have the opportunity of cross-subsidization, the commercial ones have to do so. Inefficient cost strategies of public service providers could harm innovation efforts by commercial players. Burri-Nenova (2009, 16) on the contrary argues the other way around and highlights that new products will actually be provided by the market and refers to the great number of existing diverse media as well as consumer's selection. From this point of view, it should be argued that commercial providers in the same way are capable of bringing out innovative programs. This in turn diminishes the obligation of having PSM programs for securing innovation online; instead having them could unnecessarily distort competition.

However, it is not only the commercial providers that would suffer from a distortion of competition. Also *consumer welfare* could get negatively affected. The effects would be negative if the initial increase in competition (more providers online) results in the contrary and smaller commercial providers would be forced to leave the market. In particular, if PSB takes advantage of its powerful position in the broadcasting sector and cross-subsidizes their online programs. Pluralism and innovation efforts by commercial ones could decrease and negatively affect consumers. In addition to this, consumers would be harmed if PSM providers do not actually contribute to innovation (lack of incentives due to financing guarantee). If, however, they do contribute to innovation there is a risk that by doing so they aim for agency maximization (O'Hagan and Jennings 2003, 38). PSB providers might have incentives at first to create a powerful position on the internet and secondly by doing that securing and extending their powerful position in general. By focusing on agency maximization (instead of profit maximization) they might lose sight of the costs and create cost inefficiencies. This, in turn, could make increased license fees necessary. If then quality and variety (Motta and Polo 1997, 314)

¹ Assuming homogenous websites and presuming multihoming, i.e. the use of different types of media at the same time to advertise on (nevertheless advertisers concentrate their multihoming rather on audience rich websites).

² In particular German speaking countries like Austria and Switzerland since (the majority of) German websites (commercial & public service ones) are mainly in German language exclusively.

do not outweigh this price increase, consumer welfare would subsequently decrease.

To conclude: It is true, as Wiedemann (2004, 15) put it, that a certain distortion of competition is unavoidable when having PSM providers online. Every entrance of new competitors change competition structures and might harm existent platforms to a certain extent. Nevertheless, the distortion of competition should be limited. In particular, it should not result in PSM providers transferring their powerful position from the broadcasting sector to their online platforms just because they have the opportunity to do so due to secured license fees and the possibility of cross-subsidization. Furthermore, cost inefficiencies with the production of PSM programs must be avoided in order to not hinder commercial providers to make a contributing as well. Instead of offering the same content as commercial providers, PSM providers should *at most* complement existing programs or formats (e.g. innovative programs) and by doing so use their existing expertise and competences from the broadcasting sector. In turn, this would additionally spur commercial providers and promote competition. All other areas, however, should be left to the market. It should be regarded counterproductive if PSM websites copy existing formats of commercial competitors. Those areas could and should be easily left to the competitive market – particularly by reason of not unnecessarily hinder efforts by commercial providers and thus distort competition. The development of powerful positions of PSM on the internet should be prevented in order to countervail an augmented crowding out of commercial providers.

Indirect Network Externalities favoring PSM Online?

It was stated in the previous section that media markets are multisided markets – indirect network externalities play a significant role. However, when looking at German PSM websites they are *not* allowed to finance their online programs over advertising. On first sight, therefore, it seems that indirect network externalities have no impact with regard to the question of the justification for PSM online. At second glance, however, network externalities appear to play a role.

In fact, with regard to PSM platforms online we solely face one demand side – the users. Nevertheless, when analyzing competition structures online – including commercial and public service providers – both demand sides come into play and get affected. The user and the advertising side are distinct demand sides; nevertheless they are connected to each other through indirect network externalities (Dewenter 2006, 2; Dewenter and Haucap 2009a, 36). Like in any other media type (e.g. newspaper, television) users always exert positive externalities on the advertising side (Dewenter 2007, 55). This is because companies who are placing advertising on media platforms appreciate to reach a preferably large audience.¹ Hence, the larger the number of

¹However, this audience for sure has to be consistent with the target group (customers or at least potential customers) to reach the superior goal of profit maximization.

participants on a certain website, the more attractive it gets for the advertising side to place their ads there. For the user on the other hand the indirect network externalities that the advertising side exerts on users are ambiguous – they can be positive or negative (Ferrando and Gabszewicz 2003, 1f). As long as users like or even appreciate advertising they would profit from a larger number of advertisers as well (positive indirect network externality). They would, for example prefer the website of a provider with a large number of advertisements due to receiving helpful information that influence purchase decisions – in addition to consuming the actual media content. However, if users regard advertising as a nuisance the indirect network externality would be negative – the more advertising is aired on the corresponding website the fewer users would be willing to use it and rather prefer websites with less or no advertising at all. Even though the answer – if facing positive or negative externalities – cannot be answered in a lump sum, the literature often expects that advertising on the internet in the majority of cases causes a more negative indirect network externality¹ on users (Anderson and Gabszewicz 2006, 571).² Popup-banners, for example, have to be clicked away and disturb the user in what he is currently doing whereas advertising in newspaper can be more easily skipped over.

The question now is how these indirect network externalities interact with the existence of PSM sites online and how this in turn affects each demand side – users and advertisers as well as commercial competitors. If PSM providers operate online it might have a positive effect on users. Due to the user's assumed dislike of online advertising they now have the option to rather stick to PSM websites *without* advertising. Users could draw their attention away from commercial websites (especially those with much annoying advertising) towards PSM websites and thereby experience increased consumer welfare.³ Furthermore, since the financing of PSM websites is not at all dependant on advertising revenues their providers do not have to consider advertisers as a second demand side. Consequently, they can exclusively focus on their users' interests (e.g. providing more minority programs rather than focusing on advertiser catching mass audience programs) which in turn would increase user's welfare once more. With regard to advertisers as the second demand side, it was already stated that they appreciate websites with a large user base. One can assume, they would rather appreciate fewer providers online with larger user bases (larger network size) than many providers with smaller ones. At the moment competition is quite intense online – many websites exist offering news and information – thus users have a large choice and spread over a multitude of websites. This in turn could be suboptimal for advertisers – they face many websites with smaller user bases instead of fewer websites with

¹Like on television as well.

²Therefore the assumption for the following section is predominantly that the indirect network externality from the advertisers towards the users is negative.

³On the contrary: In case that consumers regard advertising as a positive measure, for example through receiving helpful information, welfare for consumers on PSM websites would decrease.

larger amounts of users. Thus, in order to reach anyhow as many potential customers as possible they might be forced to advertise on a multitude of less audience rich websites instead of a few bigger ones – this, however, might increase costs (e.g. handling and transaction costs). At first glance, this could change with the existence of PSM websites. First of all and as stated above, the existence of PSM sites could draw users away from certain commercial sites – on the one hand due to the dislike of advertising, on the other hand due to the fact of having an additional news provider (increased or better choice). For some commercial platforms the network size on the user side would consequently decrease. Due to positive network externalities users exert on advertisers, the latter ones in turn would draw their ads away from the hitherto websites (with a decreasing user base) to websites with a larger user base in order reach more people (potential customers) with their advertising.¹ Advertisers would subsequently try to center on platforms that possess high(er) amounts of users. By doing so they might experience a greater welfare. Though they had to face transaction costs when changing the platform they might now have less handling and management costs through advertising on a smaller amount of websites. Assuming negative indirect network externalities from advertisers towards users the latter ones might probably experience a benefit as well. There might be some websites with more advertising than others, thus disturbing advertising might be easier to avoid.² At this point, however, it has to be considered that commercial platforms with less advertising need to finance their sites over other sources of income. Paid content (paid by the user) might increase on those websites and might lead to decreasing welfare if benefits do not outweigh the costs.

Nevertheless, these assumptions are rather optimistic and neglect certain circumstances. First of all, these arguments imply that both advertisers and users *singlehome* – i.e. use one website to consume or advertise on exclusively. This premise however seems fairly unrealistic. Both demand sides rather *multihome* (using a multitude of websites). The advertising industry almost always multihomes – both *intermedial* that is on different media types, (e.g. internet and television) and *intramedial* that is on different platforms (e.g. websites) within one media type (here the internet) (Chyi and Sylvie 1998, 4-12; Lindstädt 2010, 96). By doing so companies try to maximize their media coverage, i.e. try to reach as many (potential) customers as possible. Moreover, the audience can and does multihome as well. The majority of consumers stick to different websites and different media types in addition to the internet. Secondly, the need for advertisers to switch to more frequented platforms is always connected with transaction costs. They have to be proportionate to the benefits the advertiser achieves. In this context, it furthermore needs to be considered that the size of the user base is not the only selection criteria;

¹Smaller providers would not only loose users but at second step also advertisers.

²However, depending on the strength of network externalities there might be a feedback loop. If smaller platforms (now with less advertising) get more users again, also the attractiveness for advertisers might increase again.

instead quality criteria become more important. In addition to this, even *if* fewer platforms to advertise on are assumed, it always means that those platforms have a larger margin to set their prices. In worst case the movement from advertisers to audience-rich sites could thus lead to concentration tendencies; big commercial media platforms could take a dominant position on the advertising market which harms advertisers. Thereby, PSM online providers could not even counter steer against this trend since they are not allowed to include advertising. In the end this would result in higher costs for advertisers to pay for their adverts online. Taking a look at the effects on commercial providers: due to the commercial providers' high dependence on advertising revenues the existence of PSM sites could even result in smaller commercial platforms being forced to leave the market (due to drifting away users in first place and drifting away advertisers in second place) or to charge for content. This in turn could have a reinforcing effect on the user side – they might face decreased pluralism (incl. innovation and diversity) if commercial providers exit the market or as stated above might have to face paid content on certain commercial sites.

The analysis of PSM's online presence on indirect network externalities up to now did not specifically take the existing broadcasting system into account. However, when taking a closer look it gets clear that this existence does not change the above stated argumentation. By asking for an economic justification for PSM online with regard to indirect network externalities it does not seem to make a difference if the traditional broadcasting system does exist or not. This mainly has to do with the fact that PSM websites are not allowed to contain advertising. The existence of PSB (radio and television) would probably become considerable *if* online advertising was allowed for PSM providers. Therefore, it would be important for PSM providers to be able to transfer their existing broadcasting audience to their own websites. Their established reputation and quality might indeed convince the audience to use the belonging online offers. In that case public service providers could make use of the positive indirect network externality that viewers (or listeners) exert on advertisers. Having a big(ger) network size on the user side would make this platform attracting to advertisers. In that case, at least advertisers might profit. However, this does not yet consider the impact on users and commercial providers which I assume would be rather negative. On the one hand the negative indirect network externality for users due to their expected dislike of advertising and on the other hand the negative effect on commercial providers due to drifting away advertisers.

To conclude, with regard to indirect network externalities it would at the most be users who profit from the existence of PSM websites – mainly due to advertising-free content and possibly getting more minority programs. For the advertising side on the other hand the effects of having PSM online would rather be negative especially with regard to the risk of facing harmful concentration tendencies on the advertising market of the commercial platforms. Furthermore, if the existence of PSM websites results in less – especially smaller – commercial providers (crowding out) it could in turn have

a negative impact on consumers. They could suffer from decreased choices, hence less pluralism which would result in decreased user welfare and outweigh the positive effect on users in the first place. The inevitable existence of the traditional broadcasting system thereby does not change the above discussed effects.¹

Externality Reasons Justifying PSM Online?

The traditional form of public service broadcasting has to a large part been argued on the basis of risking market failure when not intervening into the market. In the same way as the broadcasting industry the internet is oftentimes accused of being an industry with a great risk of market failure. However, many authors do not see market failure arguments – due to monopoly power, public goods, information asymmetries or externality reasons – to be anymore existent in the digital era and hence on the internet.² As Armstrong and Weeds (2007, 82) put it: “[...] digital broadcasting greatly mitigates traditional market failures and, in this context, the market will give people broadly what they want to watch. In this sense, the ‘market failure’ basis for public service broadcasting falls away.”

Notwithstanding, other authors still argue with externality reasons as a remaining rationale for having PSM in the digital era (e.g. Bardeol and Lowe 2007, 14; van Dijk et al. 2006, 274f.). In media markets externalities are quite often observed since information is regarded to present a dual value (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 10). On the one hand media have an effect directly on the person who is consuming content. On the other hand content then also has a second effect on society. If a person watches a particular program (thereby learning about life saving skills, for example) this could have an impact on the wider population (that person is probably capable of (better) coping with a future emergency situation) that the person did not consider when watching the program (Armstrong 2005, 289). In order to have positive effects on society the aim is to promote positive externalities (benefits) while limiting or preventing negative ones (costs) (Armstrong and Weeds 2007, 109). Hargreaves Heap (2005, 125-127) speak of *horizon-stretching programs* which contribute to positive external effects – first to the individual and secondly to society. Thus, externality reasons could legitimize the presence of PSM online, especially with regard to the fact that the traditional form of PSB, including present programs, expertise and competences are anyhow existent. Positive

¹However, it could be interesting to further analyze *if* in total positive effects could result from permitting PSM providers to include advertising online. This, however, would go beyond the scope of this paper and demand for further research.

²As already stated in the introduction, this article waives to repeat the fundamental discussion of pros and cons of the public service provision and, instead, concentrates on the specific cross-media effects. For a detailed argumentation why market failure arguments do not hold anymore in the digital era and on the internet please refer to Armstrong and Weeds (2007), Beyer and Beck (2008 and 2009), Depypere and Tigchelaar (2004), Dewenter and Haucap (2009b), Donders and Pauwells (2008).

externalities (e.g. providing certain educational programs) that are generated on television and radio can be transferred and used online as well (cross media effects). By doing so, cost efficiencies could be reached since the transfer and adaption of an existing broadcasting program to the online requirements should be cheaper than the production of a fully new program for the internet. To illustrate with an example: documentations or an educational program on television could be adapted to a short video-file on the corresponding website. Furthermore, the once collected information for the program can be used to create an article or even a special edition on this topic.

According to Leurdijk (2007, 83) PSM online could produce public value, especially by giving universal access, ensuring *quality* standards as well as educating the audience in digital skills. By doing so, they would furthermore work against fragmentation and enclosure of information and create social cohesion on the internet (Bardoel and Lowe 2007, 20; Karppinen 2009, 164). This is crucial online – an area where users can easily decide on their own what content to consume – this risks that they just watch what interests and confirms their own beliefs (Karppinen 2009, 161f.). Having programs and content with high quality online would as well promote positive externalities. With special regard to quality van der Wurff (2007, 108) states that in certain areas like news and information it cannot rely on market forces alone. Going one step further, the existence of PSM online could thereby even be regarded as a reprehension function for commercial providers online, for example in the form of quality insurance how O'Hagan and Jennings (2003, 38) already stated for the broadcasting market. PSM sites could fulfill a monitoring and signaling function; their quality content would bring commercial providers to provide quality as well. Here, again, the advantage of having the inevitable existence of the traditional public service broadcasting system becomes apparent. For the broadcasting sector it is often argued that having a public service broadcasting system with a special credibility that is providing diversity and pluralism is also responsible for the little conditions that are demanded from the private broadcasting sector (Beyer and Carl 2008, 53; Moe 2009, 190; Trappel 2008, 314). If this is the case, PSM providers could on the one hand transfer their existing quality programs to the online sector. On the other hand they already have competence and experience in reprehending and monitoring; consequently they could easily transfer and use these knowledge also on the internet. In that case, the inevitable existence of the traditional PSB system would save costly set-up costs as well as costly learning periods that would be necessary for commercial providers – especially those who newly enter the market. Closely connected to this, PSM sites could thereby additionally give the user orientation in an area where the information flood is enormous (Rüter 2002, 144). Furthermore some researchers also subsume *innovation* as well as promoting *media pluralism* and *cultural diversity* under the externality argument (e.g. Donders and Pauwells 2008, 297; Hargreaves Heap 2005, 137, 141; Murdock 2004, 17f.; van Dijk et al. 2006, 252).

If subsuming those aspects under the externality argument, this area is to my point of view closely connected with the merit good reasoning. Merit goods

are those goods that are important to society, which however, people consume to a lesser extent than is good for them and are not provided by the market at all or just with many difficulties (Moe 2009, 190; Robinson et al. 2005, 108). For this reason it is argued that people who know what is good for society (e.g. the government) first of all decide on classifying merit goods and subsequently offer those kinds of goods the consumers (public provision) for a reduced price (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 4f.). In the broadcasting industry this is especially assumed for certain programs like news, documentaries or educational programs (Robinson et al. 2005, 108).¹ Media indeed have a public function, they transfer information and knowledge while at the same shaping public opinion which is particularly valid for news (Anderson and Gabszewicz 2006, 569; Beck 2005, 15). Thus, PSM could also online fulfill the function of providing merit goods. Among others this includes the assurance of minority programs, thereby serving all citizens, promoting to pluralism (cultural diversity and diversity of opinion) and not just focus on mass audiences exclusively. These areas might not sufficiently be served by commercial markets (Bardoel and d'Haenens 2008, 343). Again, due to the two-sidedness of the internet market media companies might be tempted to focus on mass audiences only since they in turn guarantee a better perception towards the advertising industry. Providing minority (e.g. cultural programs) and niche programs (e.g. special news programs) might therefore be neglected by commercial providers since they do not seem profitable (Moe 2009, 190). Consequently, it might be reasonable to have PSM providers online to fill this gap. They should be offering content and programs that aim at specific minority groups or even geographical regions not met by the commercial ones (Aslama 2008, 20; Hills and Michalis 2000, 479). In particular the consequential contribution to pluralism is highlighted by authors who are supporting PSM online. It is the importance of pluralism and cultural diversity to contribute to democracy and cultural citizenship (Hills and Michalis 2000, 477, Leurdijk 2007, 71; Murdock 2004, 18). Aslama (2008, 20) and Syvertsen (2003, 161) furthermore highlight fostering culture and protecting national and regional identity in times of globalization. This could especially be an important issue on the internet where boundaries are blurring. This paper's assumption of the inevitable existence of the traditional public service broadcasting system might give good reasons that this task should be better taken over by PSM than commercial players. Contributing to pluralism and cultural diversity is already their task on radio and television. Consequently, the expertise and knowledge that was gained in this field can be transferred and used for the online sector as well. This could concretely apply to minority or niche programs that are either fairly similarly transferred (e.g. short video file) or adapted to other formats. The built up reputation of PSB (e.g. regarding quality) could take over a signaling function and convince people to consume

¹Ward (2006, 62) even argues with market failure with respect to the lack of providing certain goods that benefit society.

PSM online content as well. Moreover, PSM providers could take the position of monitoring and rephending commercial players.

The question is, however, why it necessarily has to be PSM providers who generate positive externalities, limit negative ones and contribute with merit goods¹ to society. Motta and Polo (1997, 296, 321-323) though with regard to public television, emphasize that the justification for minority programs might be overcome through the opening of the markets and argue for public service provision in areas where pluralism of opinions is put in danger and with a focus on programs that are otherwise not offered by commercial ones. Hargreaves Heap (2005, 146f.) even regards diversity arguments in times of a multi-channel era dispensable. Barriers of entry are fairly low, thus competition online is quite intense² and hence favors pluralism (Depypere and Tigchelaar 2004, 21; Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 24; Rebmann 2003, 3). Thus, also commercial providers could and do make a contribution with goods that are desirable for the society (e.g. quality³, minority and innovation programs). As stated earlier, new products will actually be provided by the market due to a great number of existing diverse media as well as consumer's selection (Burri-Nenova 2009, 16). Also programs do exist which are contributing, for example, to the education of society – not least because there is demand for it (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 19). Furthermore, with (intense) competition a media company has no incentive to provide worse quality since consumers could easily switch to competitors. Competition has as a monitoring function; thus monitoring the providers on the market could also be taken over by competition itself. In this regard it might be even sufficient that PSB is taking a reprehension and monitoring function on the traditional broadcasting sector *exclusively* instead of expanding towards online. Furthermore, Range and Schweins (2007, 7f.) found out that with many publishing houses, where the traditional product newspaper is regarded to have a high journalistic quality also their online websites are said to be journalistically discerning. This argument is closely connected with reputation – media are usually not consumed once but on a regular basis. As soon as something is consumed frequently, reputation is built up; hence it can be expected that no media

¹With special regard to merit goods there arise many questions: why should the state or a public service provider being authorized to decide on what is good or bad for society? Are these kinds of authorities truly capable of deciding on what is better (Hargreaves Heap 2005, 126)? And why is it presumed that consumers are not capable to decide on their own on what is best for them?

²Traditional broadcasting suppliers (television and radio), providers from the printed media industry (newspapers and magazines) as well as pure online players can be found – offering media content online.

³Another interesting aspect brought up by Motta and Polo (1997, 323) – though with regard to public television – is that quality reasons do not necessarily demand for a public service provision. Instead, it could be the production of quality content that is taken over by public service agencies whereas the distribution takes place over private channels – this would also give the private suppliers enough incentives to provide high quality (ibid). In principal, it has to be anyhow asked what quality is. It is not really possible to measure 'quality' (Hargreaves Heap 2005, 146). Judging quality will to some point always be subjective.

company has an incentive to lose its good reputation by providing non-quality content (Beyer and Beck 2008, 392f.).

Going one step further and taking the powerful position of public service providers into consideration it could even be argued that the existence of PSM websites limits and restricts commercial players to enfold their true attempts (e.g. regarding quality and minority programs) which might hinder them to contribute to pluralism and diversity. They might not be able to compete with PSM providers, mainly due to the different form of financing and therefore decide to not produce such programs at all. PSM providers thereby have the advantage of the secured license fee on the one hand but also the opportunity of cross-subsidization on the other hand. The initial advantage of the existing PSB system might soon become a problem – at first for commercial competitors (being forced to waive the production of certain programs) and secondly for users as well (decreasing pluralism and diversity). Consequently, it is not only the risk of distortion of economic competition that was discussed earlier but also a distortion of quality competition.

A quite crucial argument that especially holds for the internet is, if public service provision really achieves the desired effect. It needs to be seriously questioned if it is efficient to intervene in media markets by providing goods that the consumer should consume, but otherwise would not consume? Subsequently, the digital world makes it possible that people avoid unappealing public service programs (Armstrong 2005, 284, 290).¹ Against this background it needs to be doubted that the existence of PSM online actually helps working against fragmentation, individualization and the enclosure of information or even fostering culture and national identity. The same holds for the claimed orientation function. This would mean that the user directly navigates to a PSM site when looking for something in particular. However, it seems rather the search engine sites (e.g. google.com) that determine which particular websites users visit; hence it would be fairly them who provide orientation at most (Karppinen 2009, 159). Thus, even *if* PSM sites include appropriate measures on their websites to achieve the mentioned desirable effects, it would require ensuring that users actually visit those sites and consume the desired content. In the end, however, consumers cannot be forced to consume information from PSM sites. The internet is bringing the consumer from a fairly passive to an active role – users surf to sites that provide what they are looking for and not anymore the other way round (Prado and Fernandez 2006, 52). In contrast to the traditional mass media types the internet can therefore be characterized as a lean-forward medium (van Eimeren and Frees 2006, 412).² Karppinen (2009, 152) characterizes it as a demand and search driven media environment. Positive effects (e.g. positive externalities) therefore can only be promoted if people *actively* visit PSM websites. Then,

¹Once the television market was still a monopoly the availability of TV-channels was limited, however, it was possible to get people to watch desired programs (Armstrong 2005, 290).

²Whereas television and radio are regarded as lean-back media (van Eimeren and Frees 2006, 412).

however, the question is which audience actually consumes PSM content? According to van der Wurff (2007, 112-114) studies show that especially higher educated audiences use a variety of media whereas lower educated ones rather stick to television and within this focus on commercial channels. In that regard a public service provision should even be regarded counterproductive; it then benefits those audiences that probably would be willed to pay a (higher) price for those programs. Hence, the cross-subsidization would go into the wrong direction. Consequently, van der Wurff (2007) concluded that PSM online should focus on lower educated audiences whereas serving the higher educated ones could be left to the market. However, again, this seems fairly impossible when users cannot be forced to watch desirable content. It gets even more complicated with regard to preventing or limiting negative externalities. Nearly everybody can broadcast on the internet and people can consume any content available on the World Wide Web due to blurring national boundaries (Karppinen 2009, 155; van Dijk et al. 2006, 254, 275). Users face boundless possibilities, the next website is *just a click away*. Consequently, even if public service websites limit or prevent negative externalities (e.g. violent programs) it cannot be assured that no violent program is shown or watched on the internet at all. As Hargreaves Heap (2005, 139) puts it: "If the source of a market failure is something on the demand side, like the possible negative externalities associated with watching excessively violent programmes, then in a multi-channel world there is little or no sense in addressing this problem through a targeted supply side intervention [...]."

To conclude: promoting positive externalities while limiting negative ones seems hardly possible online. Nevertheless, against the background that the traditional form of PSB exists, promoting positive externalities online should be allowed for PSM providers where *possible*. Content can fairly easily be transferred from broadcasting to online and furthermore be used manifold; consequently cross media effects (e.g. cost efficiencies) can be achieved. By doing so PSM would in turn contribute to pluralism and diversity. Nevertheless, as already concluded in the competition section, the extent of PSM activities should be limited to areas that are not yet offered to a large scale by commercial players but instead on *complementing offers*. PSM online should not follow the goal of producing mass audience programs. Instead it is completely legitimate to reaching just niche groups with minority programs.¹ By doing so, it could furthermore be ensured that PSM is not exploiting its powerful position towards the internet and thus that commercial platform attempts to generate positive externalities and to contribute to pluralism and diversity does not get unnecessarily hindered or restricted.

The Need for PSM Online for Media Bias Reasons?

Media can be characterized by a dual media effect; that is media transfer information and knowledge while at the same time being a factor of building up public opinion (Anderson and Gabszewicz 2006, 569; Wentzel 2002, 2). A

¹This however, requires in turn the understanding that PSM's success should not be measured according to audience figures and quotas.

convincing argument for PSM websites online could therefore be to ensure non-biased information.¹ Biased information became more critical with the emergence of the internet. It is nowadays not only the risk of biased information from providers within national boundaries, for example Germany. Blurring national boundaries on the internet make the problem of biased information from all over the world an essential issue. The bias could occur from two different sides. It can be caused by users itself who express opinions and distribute information on forums or own websites. As Karppinen (2009, 153) puts it, citizens nowadays compete with journalists on the production and distribution of political information which makes it harder to control what is regarded as news. On the other hand the bias could result from media providers – in particular the commercial ones. Media bias is a fairly broad area and coping with all forms of media bias would go beyond the scope of this paper.²

Therefore, this section focuses on a particular form of media bias – the biased reporting towards advertisers. This bias is closely connected to the two-sidedness of the internet market. As it was stated earlier, the majority of revenues from commercial websites come from advertisers which imply a high dependence on them. If a big advertising client draws his adverts away it could seriously harm the accordant media platform. It could therefore be tempting for online media operators to not report in a negative way about a company that is simultaneously an important advertising client. According to van der Wurff (2007, 108) markets fail in areas of news and information since independence and quality cannot be assured by the market only. Thus, a PSM provision on the internet could be helpful – at least in certain areas. Lambert (2007, 62f.) concretely sees the function of public service providers to offer balanced and comprehensive news reporting. In the same way Bardoel and d'Haenens (2008, 343) see the need for public service provision in order to provide reliable information, and also van Dijk et al. (2006, 274) especially point out the areas of news and opinion. PSM providers on the internet might indeed represent a helpful complementation of existing offers in order to balance or even avoid biased reporting towards advertisers. First of all, PSM websites are not allowed

¹This for sure depends on the organization of the public service system and in this case concretely refers to Germany. In Germany the public service system is organized in a way without political influence. Therefore, the danger of biased reporting should be relatively low (though a 100% unbiased reporting should even here be not realistic. In the end no media can ensure to report totally unbiased – neither commercial nor public service ones). However, in countries where the political and governmental influence is very high or the public service system is even state-owned (e.g. China) the risk of biased reporting from public broadcasting systems should be regarded as quite high and severe. In the latter case it might rather be the commercial providers that would have incentives to provide unbiased information in order to counter steer the political biased reporting of state owned media companies.

²Regarding media bias in general there is no clear consensus among researchers if it is competition or concentration tendencies that lead to more biased media coverage. For a short literature overview of recent works dealing with the issue of media bias please refer to Lindstädt (2010, 77-79). To my point of view, this general discussion on media bias is furthermore difficult to separate accurately with the discussion of externality reasoning (see previous section).

to contain any form of advertising on their websites – thus the problem of biased reporting towards advertisers is no issue. This in turn might balance a possible bias resulting from advertising financed online media. Secondly, PSM websites would thereby take a reprehension and monitoring function. The purely existence of unbiased PSM sites bears the risk that a possible biased reporting from commercial players could immediately be detected by consumers. As a consequence, consumers would drift away from those websites and the affected commercial provider might lose reputation it has built up before. Thus, the incentives for commercial suppliers to bias certain information might decrease. The inevitable existence of the traditional broadcasting system might reinforce the advantage of having unbiased PSM websites. Public service providers can transfer their experience and expertise they have gained on the traditional broadcasting sector in taking over a monitoring and reprehension function in this regard towards the online sector.¹ The reputation that public service providers have built up on the television and radio sector represents a further advantage. It could be transferred to PSM websites as well and thus work as a signaling function for users.

However, the question is, if the risk of biased information is that serious in order to legitimize public service providers to operate on the internet. First of all, it has to be considered that biased information can differ regarding their impact on society. Not any biased information has the same negative impact on users. For example, biased reporting within the celebrity section of a website assumingly has a less significant impact then a biased reporting about a sensible international political matter. Van der Wurff (2007, 108) highlighted in particular areas of news and information and did not refer to all fields of content. Dewenter and Haucap (2009b, 24) put an even more narrow emphasis – on those areas that have a high political and societal relevance where furthermore a biased reporting cannot easily and immediately being observed by users. Apart from that, both reputation as well as competition hold against biased reporting – if they work well public service provision can be limited (Beyer and Beck 2008, 392; van Dijk et al. 2006, 274). Media providers that have built up a good reputation online would assumingly have no incentives to risk this reputation only to keep an advertising client. Furthermore, existing media companies operating online can in the same way take advantage of transferring their good reputation from their original media platform towards the internet. Hence the above stated advantage is not limited to PSM providers. According to Rebmann (2003, 2) many newspapers transfer their reputation and reliability towards online. In addition to this, users most probably will find out fairly soon about this biased reporting since most people *multihome* and not use one media platform exclusively. As a result they might drift to competitors to avoid unbiased reporting. Moreover, and as stated in the previous section, competition itself has a monitoring function (Dewenter and Haucap 2009b, 20). Companies monitor each other; if there is a competitor that would provide false

¹Even though public service providers are allowed to contain a certain amount of advertising the risk of biased reporting towards advertisers should be regarded quite low since the majority of revenue is gained over license fees which lessens the dependence on advertising revenues.

or biased information, other companies would leverage this by drawing customers away to their own websites.

To conclude: Commercial media companies' incentives to bias information should be quite low with intense competition – which is the case on the internet – the risk to lose their reputation and users' multihoming.¹ A PSM offer on the internet should *at the utmost* be legitimized with regard to *complementing offers* – thereby in areas with a fairly high political and societal value where the identification of a possible bias is fairly difficult for users, as Dewenter and Haucap (2009b, 24) suggested. Thereby, the inevitable existence of the traditional PSB system could be helpful. The already built up reputation can be transferred to their websites and work as a signaling function for users. Furthermore, the existing expertise and experience with taking over a reprehension and monitoring function on the broadcasting sector in this regard can be transferred to the online sector as well. Apart from those mentioned areas it is, however, without much doubt that mechanisms like reputation of commercial providers, competition and users' multihoming work against biased reporting.

Conclusion

Many researchers have already dealt with the very controversial topic of PSM online and the question if they should have a legitimization online and if so to which extent. No paper, however, up to now analyzed this question against the background of the inevitable existence of the traditional PSB system and possible resulting cross media effects. It was the aim of this article to fill this gap. The analysis has shown that there is a certain justification for having PSM online especially due to their gained expertise and competencies that might be transferred to their corresponding websites. Nevertheless, the paper concluded that PSM should not expand unlimited; in particular the expansion of their already existent powerful position should be prevented. The internet and digitalization in general have changed the media environment and things once possible on broadcasting (e.g. making people watch desirable content) cannot be ensured on the internet anymore. For this reason, it is reasonable to use the existing infrastructure, in particular expertise and competencies to produce content where cost efficiencies can be gained which in turn benefits consumers. In this regard, the remaining rationale should lie in the *complementation* of commercial programs (e.g. minority programs) in order to contribute to more pluralism and diversity. With regard to preventing biased information the focus should be on areas where the risk of advertising biased information has an impact on society (in particular news areas). All

¹In addition to this, it must be questioned if it can be totally ensured having unbiased information on PSM sites. As stated earlier, no media can ensure to report totally unbiased – neither private nor public ones. However, this question would lead into the general discussion of media bias which would go beyond the scope of this paper.

other areas, however, should be left to the market in order to not unnecessarily hinder accordant efforts by commercial providers, thus risk an unnecessary distortion of competition which in turn would entail negative effects on consumers.

References

- Albarran, Alan B. and Dimmick, John. 1996. Concentration and economies of multifirmity in the communication industries. *Journal of Media Economics* 9(4): 41-50.
- Anderson, Simon. P. and Gabszewicz, Jean. J. 2006. The media and advertising: a tale of two-sided markets, in *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture Vol. 1*, ed. V. A. Ginsburgh and D. Throsby, 567-614. North Holland: Elsevier Science.
- Armstrong, Mark. 2005. Public Service Broadcasting. *Fiscal Studies* 26(3): 281-299.
- Armstrong, Mark and Weeds, Helen. 2007. Public service broadcasting in the digital world, in *The Economic Regulation of Broadcasting Markets*, ed. P. Seabright, J. von Hagen, 81-149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aslama, Minna. 2008. Policies of inertia or innovation? European Public Service in transition from PSB to PSM. Working Paper at the Donald McGannon Communication Research Center: 1-24. <http://fordham.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1022&context=mcgannon_working_papers> (23 November 2010)
- Bardoel, Johannes and d'Haenens, Leen. 2007. Reinventing public service broadcasting in Europe: prospects, promises and problems. *Media, Culture & Society* 30(3): 337-355.
- Bardoel, Johannes and Lowe, Gregory. 2007. From Public Service Broadcasting to Public Service Media, in: *From Public Service Broadcasting to Public Service Media*, ed. G.F. Lowe & J. Bardoel, 9-26. Göteborg, Nordicom.
- BDZV online. 2010. Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger, Zeitungswebsites. <<http://www.bdzv.de/zeitungswebsites.html>> (23 November 2010)
- Beck, Hanno. 2005. *Medienökonomie: Print, Fernsehen und Multimedia*, 2nd ed. Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Springer Verlag.
- Betzel, Marcel and Ward, David. 2004. The Regulation of Public Service Broadcasters in Western Europe. *Trends in Communication* 12 (1): 47-62.
- Beyer, Andrea and Beck, Hanno. 2008. Brauchen wir eine öffentlich-rechtliche Zeitung? *Wirtschaftsdienst* No. 6 (2008): 391-397.
- Beyer, Andrea and Beck, Hanno. 2009. Brauchen wir öffentlich-rechtliche Medien?, in *Medienökonomik: Theoretische Grundlagen und ordnungspolitische Gestaltungsalternativen*, Schriften zu Ordnungsfragen der Wirtschaft, Band 89, ed. D. Wentzel, 75-99. Stuttgart, New York: Lucius & Lucius.
- Beyer, Andrea and Carl, Petra. 2008. *Einführung in die Medienökonomie*, 2nd ed. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Budzinski, Oliver and Lindstädt, Nadine. 2010. Neuere Entwicklungen in der Medienökonomik: Das Konzept der mehrseitigen Märkte. *Wissenschaftliches Studium – WiSt* 9(2010): 436-443.
- Budzinski, Oliver and Wacker, Katharina. 2007. The Prohibition of the Proposed Springer-ProSiebenSat.1-Merger: How much Economics in German Merger Control? *Journal of Competition Law and Economics* 3(2): 281-306.
- Burri-Nenova, Mira. 2009. Cultural Diversity and the EC Audiovisual Media Services Directive: Beyond the Handsome Rhetoric. *NCCR Trade Working Paper Series*

- No. 2009/9: 1-27. <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1370439> (23 November 2010)
- Chyi, Hsiang I. and Sylvie, George. 1998. Competing with Whom? Where? And How? A Structural Analysis of the Electronic Newspaper Market. *The Journal of Media Economics* 11(2): 1-18.
- Depypere, Stefaan and Tigchelaar, Nynke. 2004. The commission's state aid policy on activities of public service broadcasters in neighbouring market. *Competition Policy Newsletter* No. 2 (Summer 2004): 19-22.
- Dewenter, Ralf. 2003. The Economics of Media Markets. Helmut Schmidt Universität, Fächergruppe Volkswirtschaftslehrer, Discussion paper No. 10 (June 2003): 1-27. <<http://opus.unibw-hamburg.de/opus/volltexte/2003/138/pdf/10.pdf>> (23 November 2010)
- Dewenter, Ralf. 2006. Two-sided markets. *MedienWirtschaft Zeitschrift für Medienmanagement und Kommunikationsökonomie* 2(2006): 57-62.
- Dewenter, Ralf. 2007. Crossmediale Fusionen und Meinungsvielfalt: Eine ökonomische Analyse, in *Crossmediale Fusionen und Meinungsvielfalt*, ed. F. Fechner, 47-89. Ilmenau: Universitätsverlage.
- Dewenter, Ralf and Haucap, Justus. 2009a. Wettbewerb als Aufgabe und Problem auf Medienmärkten: Fallstudien aus Sicht der 'Theorie zweiseitiger Märkte', in *Medienökonomik: Theoretische Grundlagen und ordnungspolitische Gestaltungsalternativen*, Schriften zu Ordnungsfragen der Wirtschaft, Band 89, ed. D. Wentzel, 36-73 Stuttgart, New York: Lucius & Lucius.
- Dewenter, Ralf and Haucap, Justus. 2009b. Ökonomische Auswirkungen von öffentlich-rechtlichen Online-Angeboten. Marktauswirkungen innerhalb von Drei-Stufen-Tests. Expert opinion for the VPRT e.V., Juli 2009: 1-166.
- Donders, Karen and Pauwels, Caroline. 2008. Does EU Policy Challenge the Digital Future of Public Service Broadcasting? An Analysis of the Commission's State Aid Approach to Digitization and the Public Service Remit of Public Broadcasting Organizations. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 14(3): 295-311.
- Doyle, Gillian. 2002. Media Ownership – The economics and politics of convergence and concentration in the UK and European Media. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- EBU (European Broadcasting Union). 2008. Broadcasters and the Internet, Executive Summary. European Broadcasting Union, Strategic Information Service: 1-21.
- European Commission. 2007. State aid E 3/2005 (ex- CP 2/2003, CP 232/2002, CP 43/2003, CP 243/2004 and CP 195/2004) – Financing of public service broadcasters in Germany: 1-83, <<http://ec.europa.eu/competition/stateaid/register/ii/doc/E-3-2005-WLWL-en-24.04.2007.pdf>> (23 November 2010)
- Ferrando, J.; Gabszewicz, J. J. et al. (2003): Two-sided Network Effects and Competition: An application to Media Industries; Working Paper: 1-23 <[http://atom.univ-paris1.fr/documents/seance_4_\(texte\)_Pierre.pdf](http://atom.univ-paris1.fr/documents/seance_4_(texte)_Pierre.pdf)> (5 June 2010)
- Frank, Götz and Meyerholt, Ulrich. 2009. Online Rundfunk – Der gebührenfinanzierte öffentlich-rechtliche Rundfunk im Internet, in *Medien – Macht – Demokratie. Neue Perspektiven*, ed. L. Bisky, K. Kriese, J. Scheele, 366-376. Berlin: Karl Dietz Verlag.
- GEZ online. 2010. GEZ Gebührenlexikon. <<http://gez.de/gebuehren/gebuehrenlexikon/>> (23 November 2010)
- Hargreaves Heap, Shaun P. 2005. Television in a digital age: what role for public service broadcasting? *Economic Policy* 20(41): 113-157.

- Harrison, J. and Woods, L.M. 2001. Defining European Public Service Broadcasting. *European Journal of Communication* 16(4): 477-504.
- Hills, Jill and Michalis, Maria. 2000. The Internet: A challenge to Public Service Broadcasting. *International Communication Gazette* 62(6): 477-493.
- Humphreys, Peter. 1999: Germany's dual Broadcasting System: Recipe for Pluralism in the Age of Multi-Channel Broadcasting. *New German Critique* No. 78 Special Issue on German Media Studies (Autumn 1999): 23-52.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 2007. Public Service Broadcasting in the 21st Century, in *From Public Service Broadcasting to Public Service Media*, ed. G.F. Lowe & J. Bardoel; 29-49. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Karppinen, Kari. 2009. Rethinking media pluralism and communicative abundance. *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal* 11 (2009): 151-169.
- KEF, Kommission zur Ermittlung des Finanzbedarfs der Rundfunkanstalten. 2009. 17. Bericht der Kommission zur Ermittlung des Finanzbedarfs der Rundfunkanstalten: 1-388.
- KEK, Kommission zur Ermittlung der Konzentration im Medienbereich, online. 2010. Zuschaueranteile der Fernsehprogramme der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten und der Fernsehsender, die der RTL Group oder der ProSiebenSat.1 Media AG zugerechnet werden. <<http://www.kek-online.de/kek/medien/zuschauer/2010.pdf>> (23 November 2010)
- Lambert, Richard. 2007. The Future of the news in the digital era. *Economic Affairs*, 27(2): 56-63.
- Leurdijk, Andra. 2007. Public Service Media Dilemmas and Regulation in a Converging Media Landscape, in *From Public Service Broadcasting to Public Service Media*, ed. G.F. Lowe & J. Bardoel, 71-85. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Lindstädt, Nadine. 2007. Klassisches Printmedium vs. Onlinezeitung – Substitutionseffekte, Komplementaritäten, Entwicklungspotentiale. Diplomarbeit [Master Thesis] at Pforzheim University, Germany: 1-132.
- Lindstädt, Nadine. 2010. Multisided Media Markets: Applying the Theory of Multisided Markets to Media Markets. *Zeitschrift für Wettbewerbsrecht (ZWeR)* No. 1/2010: 53-80.
- Lucht, Jens. 2009. Öffentlich-rechtlicher Rundfunk in der Demokratie. *Öffentlich-rechtlicher Rundfunk, Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte (APuZ)* 09-10/2009: 26-32.
- Moe, Hallvard. 2008a. Public Service Media Online? Regulating Public Service Broadcasters' Internet Services – a comparative analysis. *Television & New Media* 9(3): 220-238.
- Moe, Hallvard. 2008b. Between Supra-National Competition and National Culture? in *Media, Democracy and European Culture*, ed. I. Bondebjerg & P. Madsen, 307-324. Bristol & Chicago: Intellect.
- Moe, Hallvard. 2009. Status und Perspektiven öffentlich-rechtlicher Onlinemedien. *Media Perspektiven* 4/2009: 189-200.
- Motta, Massimo and Polo, Michele. 1997. Concentration and public policies in the broadcasting industry: the future of television. *Economic Policy*, 12(25): 293-334.
- Murdock, Graham. 2004. Building the Digital Commons: Public Broadcasting in the age of the internet. University of Montreal, The 2004 Spry Memorial Lecture: 1-20. <https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/type/www/116/Theory_OtherTexts/Theory/Murdock_BuildingDigitalCommons.pdf> (23 November 2010)
- Nissen, Christian S. 2006. Public service media in the information society. Report prepared for the Council of Europe's Group of Specialists on Public Service Broadcasting in the Information Society: 1-48

- Nord, Lars. 2009. What is Public Service on the Internet? Digital Challenges for Media Policy in Europe. *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal* 9(2009): 24-39.
- O'Hagan, John and Jennings, Michael. 2003. Public Broadcasting in Europe: Rationale, Licence Fee and Other Issues. *Journal of Cultural Economics* 27(1): 31-56.
- Prado, Emili and Fernández, David. 2006. The Role of Public Service Broadcasters in the Era of Convergence – A Case Study of Televisió de Catalunya. *Communications & Strategies* No. 62, 2nd quarter 2006: 49-69.
- Range, Steffen and Schweins, Roland. 2007. Klicks, Quoten, Reizwörter: Nachrichten-Sites im Internet. Expert opinion for the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Berlin: 1-120, <<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/stabsabteilung/04417.pdf>> (23 November 2010)
- Rebmann, Richard. 2003. Online-Dienste als wettbewerbswidrige Angebote des öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunks. Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Rundfunkökonomie an der Universität zu Köln, Heft 182: 1-8.
- Reglitz, Ellen. 2009. Internet Use in Germany. <[http://www.magazine-deutschland.de/en/artikel-en/article/mdissue/096.html?tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=9246&tx_ttnews\[backPid\]=75&tx_ttnews\[cHash\]=daad498c9f&tx_ttnews\[issue\]=096](http://www.magazine-deutschland.de/en/artikel-en/article/mdissue/096.html?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=9246&tx_ttnews[backPid]=75&tx_ttnews[cHash]=daad498c9f&tx_ttnews[issue]=096)> (23 November 2010)
- Robinson, Bill and Raven John and Low, Lit P. 2005. Paying for Public Service Television in the Digital Age in Can the Market deliver? Funding Public Service Television in the Digital Age, ed. D. Helm et al., 101-128. Eastleigh: John Libbey Publishing.
- Rundfunkstaatsvertrag. 2009. Staatsvertrag für Rundfunk und Telemedien (Rundfunkstaatsvertrag – RStV –). <http://www.lfk.de/fileadmin/media/recht/12_RStV_Juni09.pdf> (23 November 2010)
- Rüter, Klaus. 2002. Medienrechtliche und -politische Aspekte von Rundfunk online. *Media Perspektiven* 3/2002: 144-147.
- Schulz, Wolfgang and Held, Thorsten and Dreyer, Stephan. 2008. Regulation of Broadcasting and Internet Services in Germany – A brief overview. Working Paper Series of the Hans-Bredow-Institute at the University of Hamburg, Nr. 13: 1-21. <http://www.hans-bredow-institut.de/webfm_send/124> (23 November 2010)
- Syvvertsen, Trine. 2003. Challenges of Public Television in the Era of Convergence and Commercialization. *Television & New Media*, 2(2): 155-175.
- Trappel, Josef. 2008. Online Media Within the Public Service Realm?: Reasons to Include Online into the Public Service Mission. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 14(3): 313-322.
- Van der Wurff, Richard. 2007. Focus on Audiences – Public Service Media in the Market Place, in *From Public Service Broadcasting to Public Service Media*, ed. G.F. Lowe & J. Bardoel, 105-117. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Van Dijk, Machiel and Nahuys, Richard and Waagmeester, Daniel. 2006. Does Public Service Broadcasting serve the public? The future of television in the changing media landscape. *De Economist* 154(2): 251-276.
- Van Eimeren, Birgit and Frees, Beate. 2006. Schnelle Zugänge, neue Anwendungen, neue Nutzer? *Media Perspektiven* 8/2006: S. 402-415.
- Van Eimeren, Birgit and Frees, Beate. 2009. Der Internetnutzer 2009 – multimedial und total vernetzt? *Media Perspektiven* 07/2009: 334-348.
- Ward, David. 2006. Can the market provide? Public Service Media, market failure and public goods, in *Making a Difference: Public Service Broadcasting in the European Landscape*, ed. C.S. Nissen, 51-63. Eastleigh: John Libbey Publishing.

- Wentzel, Dirk. (2002): Medien im Systemvergleich Eine ordnungsökonomische Analyse des deutschen und amerikanischen Fernsehmarktes, Schriften zu Ordnungsfragen der Wirtschaft Band 69, Stuttgart, Jena, New York: Lucius & Lucius.
- Wiedemann, Verena. 2004. Public Service Broadcasting, State Aid and the Internet: Emerging EU Law. *DIFFUSION online* 2004/47: 1-15.

Chapter Twenty Six

Social Networks and New Uses of the Internet: An Explorative Research

Ariela Mortara, University IULM of Milan, Italy

In the last few years, Internet has become the critical place for social interaction. A large and well documented scientific literature on the topic underlies the different possibilities for creating new social relationships or just maintaining and strengthening the existing one. Since the first studies on virtual communities (Reingold, 1993), highlighting the web aggregative capabilities in fostering a virtual arena on which people could share opinions, passions or a role play, the web changed allowing new activities. Web 2.0 implementation (O'Reilly, 2007, Prati, 2007) and the collaborative logic on which this new modality of fruition is based allows people to be more creative and encourages them to share all sort of contents: wikis (e.g. Wikipedia), pictures (e.g. the boom of Flickr some years ago), or videos (the success of Youtube is a good example).

It is not by chance that the cover of the December issue of Time magazine, the one which presents the “person” of the year, was indeed dedicated to the Web 2.0 user: under a pc screen acting like a mirror the caption said ‘You. Yes. you. You control the Information Age. Welcome to your world’. The cover story, among other things, said: ‘It's a story about community and collaboration on a scale never seen before. It's about the cosmic compendium of knowledge Wikipedia and the million-channel people's network YouTube and the online metropolis MySpace. It's about the many wresting power from the few and helping one another for nothing and how that will not only change the world, but also change the way the world changes’ (Grossman, 2006).

The collaboration of thousands of net surfers of which Rheingold (1993) wrote in his book, talking about the sharing of life slices through the pc screen, was truly fulfilled almost ten years later, thanks to the pervasive spread of social networks. The few thousands of persons of the nineties have become several millions of users, daily connecting to the Web, in different ways aiming at sharing thoughts and opinions or signalling virtual but also real events.

From the Social Networks to Facebook

Recent contemporary academic research on social networks¹ has focused on their use to manage interpersonal relationships and communication

¹Social networks are typical of every society and have been researched well before the spreading of web based social networks (Scott, 1988).

strategies and to support the sharing of information (Boyd, Ellison, 2007; Donath, 2007; Ellison et al., 2007).

The history of social networks begins in 1997, with SixDegrees (Boyd, Ellison, 2007), a platform allowing subscribers, after the creation of their profile, to look after other persons and to build a list of friends. The site closed in 2000 because of funds and subscribers shortage: maybe because subscribers could not understand the potentials of the site.

Between the end of '90ies and the first years of 2000 the Web hosted many platforms offering services similar to social networks: among them AsianAvenue, BlackPlanet, MiGente, and LiveJournal.

The opening of Ryze.com in 2001 celebrates the beginning of the second wave of social networks, the ones devoted to link people sharing professional goals and interests more than personal ones, Ryze was followed from Tribe.net, LinkedIn e Friendster. Nowadays LinkedIn is the most successful professional network and after a year of very swift international growth reached 60 millions of subscribers the 11th February 2010 (Rao, 2010).

While LinkedIn was still growing, Friendster, after an initial very swift growth, suffered a fast decline. The site, born in 2003, immediately gained several millions subscribers, due to the people investing at the same time in Amazon, Yahoo, and eBay (Chafkin, 2007); however its loss of popularity, in front of the success of MySpace, was in the same way very swift. MySpace, unlike Friendster, allowed users to freely customize their profiles and, probably because of that, became immediately the teenagers' beloved social networks (Boyd, 2006). At the beginning, American teens used MySpace to contact their preferred musicians and singers; then, thanks to the viral effect, they build their personal myspace. In the few months following the launch, the site hosted three different groups of users: musicians/artists, teenagers, and past schoolmates, trying to maintain their friendship (Boyd, Ellison, 2007).

The social networks were born and developed in US, but they have been successful in many different parts of the world (Boyd, Ellison, 2007): Orkut is the preferred Brazilian site, Japanese love Mixi, Swedish people subscribe to LunarStorm, Bebo users reside in UK, New Zealand and Australia.

Beside sites allowing everybody to subscribe, there are also some social networks, targeted to niche users, whose policy is more restrictive. To subscribe either to ASmallWorld or to Beautiful People, people have to be invited by other trusted members with invitation privileges; users of ASmallWorld can only connect to offline acquaintances or friends that they know to be members, so that the possibility to expand outside their present network of friends is limited. Furthermore, members prefer to share a private space inside the virtual world so that they will not use their public profile to communicate. They use private, off-network messaging and therefore group discussions are rare (Papacharissi, 2009). The same policy was the standard even for the initial phase of Facebook, created by Mark Zuckerberg for the exclusive use of Harvard students, as a mean to maintain relationships among themselves (Il Sole 24 Ore, 2008). The site, on-line since February 2004, was a kind of digital version of the yearbook of graduates collecting profiles of

university pupils. However, after three months the application TheFacebook.com was accessible from all Ivy League universities. Since August 2005, the site's name changed in Facebook.com, spreading outside US. At the end of 2006 the site has begun accepting every subscriber older than 13 years old, gathering more than 12 millions of active users, which have, two years later, reached the amount of 120 millions (Il Sole 24 Ore, 2008, pp. 11-14).

The social network's success seems to be unstoppable even outside US: e.g., in Italy (Campaci, 2009) Facebook reached, in August 2009, 19 millions of visitors, with almost 9 billions of visited pages. According to the same source, the second place is held by MySpace with 2.9 millions visitors; the distance between the two most popular social networks is very large, remarkably so since the worldwide overtaking of MySpace occurred in May 2008, and, in January 2009, MySpace was still the most attended social network in the US (Arrington, 2009).

According to comScore (2009) statistics, the worldwide success of Facebook makes the site be the fourth in the ranking of the Top 50 US Web Properties in August 2009, following Google, Microsoft and Yahoo. Furthermore, recent researches highlight that people aging 18-24 prefer to visit Facebook rather than Adult Entertainment sites (Weirick, 2007).

Facebook's success has encouraged many researchers to study the phenomenon from different points of view: the importance of visual clues (typically profile's photos) on the different ways to initiate a friendship (Wang et al., 2010), the spreading of personal information willingly uploaded on personal profile (there is a negative correlation between the age of subscribers and the number of personal information given in the profiles) and the debate about trust and privacy policy of most important social networks (Dwyer et al., 2007). Obviously, great attention has also been given to the psycho-sociological research field, i.e. to the contribution of social networks to personality building, a topic which has been explored since the 90ies (Turkle, 1997).

However, since most data on social networks users concerns Nord American subscribers, the following paragraphs offer some highlights from a quantitative survey on Italian users of social networks.

Research Goals

An explorative research was conducted on quantitative data collected through a participative research on social networks promoted by an Italian research company, SWG (DiarioAperto 2009) using on line questionnaires.

The data had been collected from March 2009 to May 2009.

To prepare the questionnaire, the researchers collected impressions and ideas from opinion leaders, i.e. blog users and Internet surfers, about the topics related to social network use that they considered most interesting.

The questionnaire was circulated by uploading it onto the main social networks and onto the websites of partner institutions such as Sole24Ore.com and Studenti.it. The data were collected using a computer-aided web interview

method without applying stratification.

The research aims were 1) to understand how social networks could modify the Italian way to use the web; 2) to highlight eventual changes of relational modalities among members of reference groups (Milič, Marchetto, 2009).

In view of the huge set of collected data, the aim of the paper is to outline the presence of different clusters of users among the social network subscribers, which imply also different kinds of fruition.

The Sample

A set of 1,251 completely filled questionnaires was used (even if not all the questionnaires are suitable for an even moderately advanced statistical analysis), which constitute a non-probabilistic sample. Nevertheless the results can certainly give an indication of the direction of current trends.

The sample is almost equally divided between genders: 55.10% male and 44.90% female. As far as the age groups are concerned, the younger, between 18 and 24 and between 25 and 34, are definitely over-represented (see Table 1). However, this finding is not very meaningful since the method used to collect data was based on social networks and web sites. As a result, responses were probably the result of the most assiduous users. Furthermore, it is possible to note that in the higher age groups the percentage of male respondents is higher.

Table 1. *The Age of the Sample*

	Tot	Male	Female
	1,251	690	561
18-24	395	199	196
	31.60%	28.90%	34.90%
25-34	446	240	206
	35.70%	34.80%	36.70%
35-44	263	157	106
	21.00%	22.80%	18.90%
45-54	111	70	42
	8.90%	10.10%	7.40%
55-65	24	15	8
	1.90%	2.20%	1.50%
>65	11	8	3
	0.90%	1.10%	0.60%

The education level of the sample does not reflect that of the Italian population: indeed, 60% of the sample has obtained a first level college degree compared to 19%, the actual national percentage of graduated aged between 24 and 35 (Intravaia, 2009).

Table 2. *The Sample by Education*

	Tot 1,251	Male 690	Female 561
Elementary school	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Middle school	26 2.10%	20 2.90%	6 1.10%
Professional school (3 years)	7 0.60%	6 0.90%	1 0.20%
High school (5 years)	465 37.20%	265 38.40%	200 35.70%
Short college degree	25 2.00%	9 1.30%	16 2.90%
First level college degree (3 years)	217 17.30%	99 14.30%	118 21.00%
Second level college degree (3+2 years)	332 26.50%	196 28.30%	136 24.30%
Master degree/specialization degree	118 9.40%	57 8.30%	61 10.80%
PhD degree	61 4.90%	38 5.50%	23 4.20%

As to the professional status (Table 3), the sample offers a peculiar image of the Italian situation with a 48% employment rate compared to 57.50% national employment rate in the third trimester of 2009 (ISTAT, 2009). However, the lower employment rate is balanced by the high percentage of students among respondents (28.50%).

Table 3. *The Sample by Profession*

	Tot. 1,251	Male 690	Female 561
Employed	600 48.00%	373 54.10%	227 40.40%
Looking for a new employment	81 6.50%	42 6.10%	40 7.00%
Looking for the first employment	29 2.30%	11 1.60%	18 3.20%
Housewife	5 0.40%	0 0.10%	5 0.90%
Student	357 28.50%	174 25.20%	183 32.60%
Working student	162 13.00%	80 11.70%	82 14.60%
Unable to work	3 0.30%	1 0.10%	3 0.50%
Retired	12 1.00%	8 1.10%	5 0.80%

Finally, as to the geographical area of residence, Lazio is the most represented region (19.00%), following there are Lombardia (15.10%), Veneto

(10.30%), Friuli Venezia Giulia (8.20%) and Emilia Romagna (7.20%). Anyway all the Italian regions are represented. As expected, most of the sample (32.40%) lives in a city with more than 250.000 inhabitants.

Social Networks

The aim of the following part of the questionnaire was to investigate web frequency of connections and the most used applications.

More than half of the respondents, the younger ones, claim to prefer a continuous connection to the Internet. Among the different applications available, e-mail services are used by 99% of the sample, followed by instant messaging software such as MSN or Skype, which is used by 82%. Chat facilities, like Facebook's chat, are used by 65% of the sample, 54% take part in forums, 39% have subscribed to feed readers, 29% have subscribed to news groups, 26% use collaborative platforms, e.g. writing a wiki, and 24% have a Twitter account. A control question has been made to verify the subscription of respondents to social networks: with a subscription rate of 99%, Facebook emerges as the Italian most popular social network.

Finally, respondents were asked to answer a list of 26 items (coded on a Likert type of scale) as to the fruition modalities of social networks. The statistical analysis has been conducted on the basis of these 26 items to identify seven clusters of users.

Seven Ways to use Social Networks

The statistical analysis¹ has been conducted on 1238 questionnaires (the researcher has cleaned the data in order to eliminate the missing cases and those that provided evidence of a very careless way of answering - e.g. the same answer to the whole set of items). On the retained answers a row standardization was performed to avoid the appearance of a "banal" first factor in building the factorial maps.

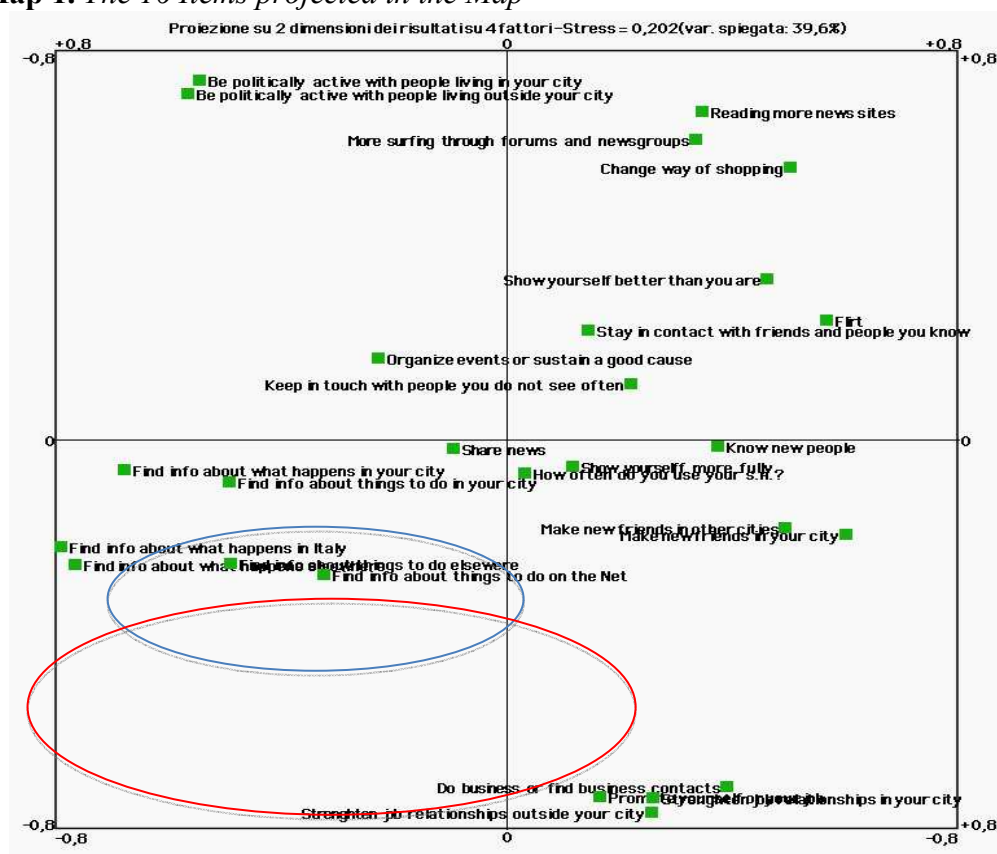
A principal components analysis has been effected on the 26 main items. Map 1 has been obtained applying a Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) compression on the first four factors responsible for 39.60% of the total variance.

On the left side of the first horizontal axis, there are items related to the task of finding information about events; on the right side, there are the items related to the most typical function of social networks (SN): maintain friendships and, possibly, find new friends (Boyd, Ellison, 2007, Hargittay, 2007). Thus, the first axis is dubbed *events versus friendship*.

On the topmost part of the second vertical axis, there are the items suggesting the use of SN to foster political activities; on the bottom, there are the items suggesting the use of the SN to foster professional activities. The axis can be named *politics versus job*.

¹All the advanced statistical analysis, if not otherwise specified, have been conducted using a dedicated software, Instamap, realized by professor Vittorio Mortara.

Map 1. *The 16 Items projected in the Map*



A cluster analysis has then been performed using the k-mean technique offered by XLSTAT (a statistical package commercialized by Addinsoft and based on a set of pre-arranged EXCEL macros). The analysis has been repeated four times varying the number of clusters (from 5 to 8). We chose the solution with 7 clusters both for the equilibrium among the size of the clusters and the distance among the centre of masses in the four-dimensional space; the results have been added to the data set (Table 4).

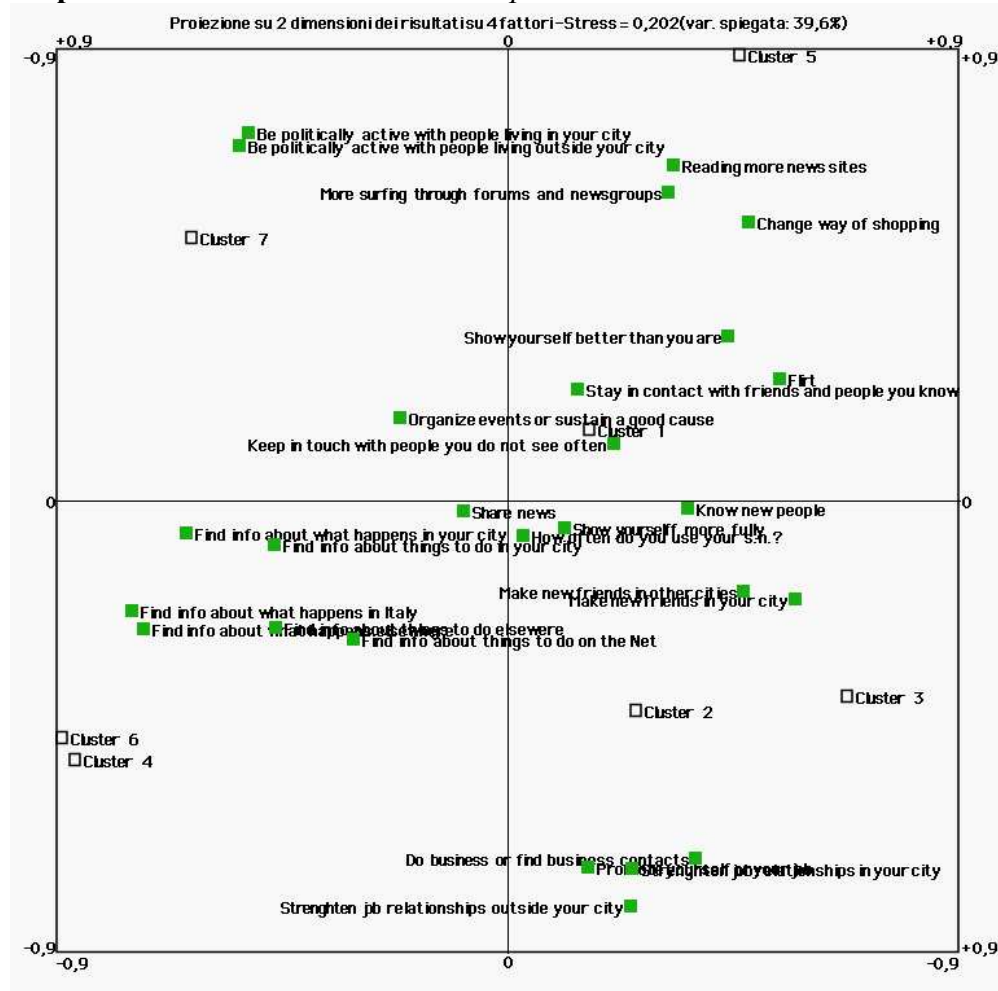
Table 4. *The Seven Clusters*

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Cluster1	201	16.25
Cluster 2	207	16.73
Cluster 3	244	19.73
Cluster 4	6.	5.58
Cluster 5	176	14.23
Cluster 6	163	13.18
Cluster 7	177	14.31
Tot.	1,237	100

*In the blue oval there are the answers to the question “Social networks help you finding information about what is happening.”; in the red oval there are the answers to the question “Social networks help you to find information about what is happening/or doing” (for the items’ complete list see appendix 1).

Map 2 shows the clusters on the MDS map. Some clusters (e.g. the clusters 4 and 6) are very close. Indeed, the cluster profiles are very similar, but cluster 4 shows much higher values on most of the variables when compared with cluster 6 (see appendix 3).

Map 2. The 7 Clusters on the MDS Map



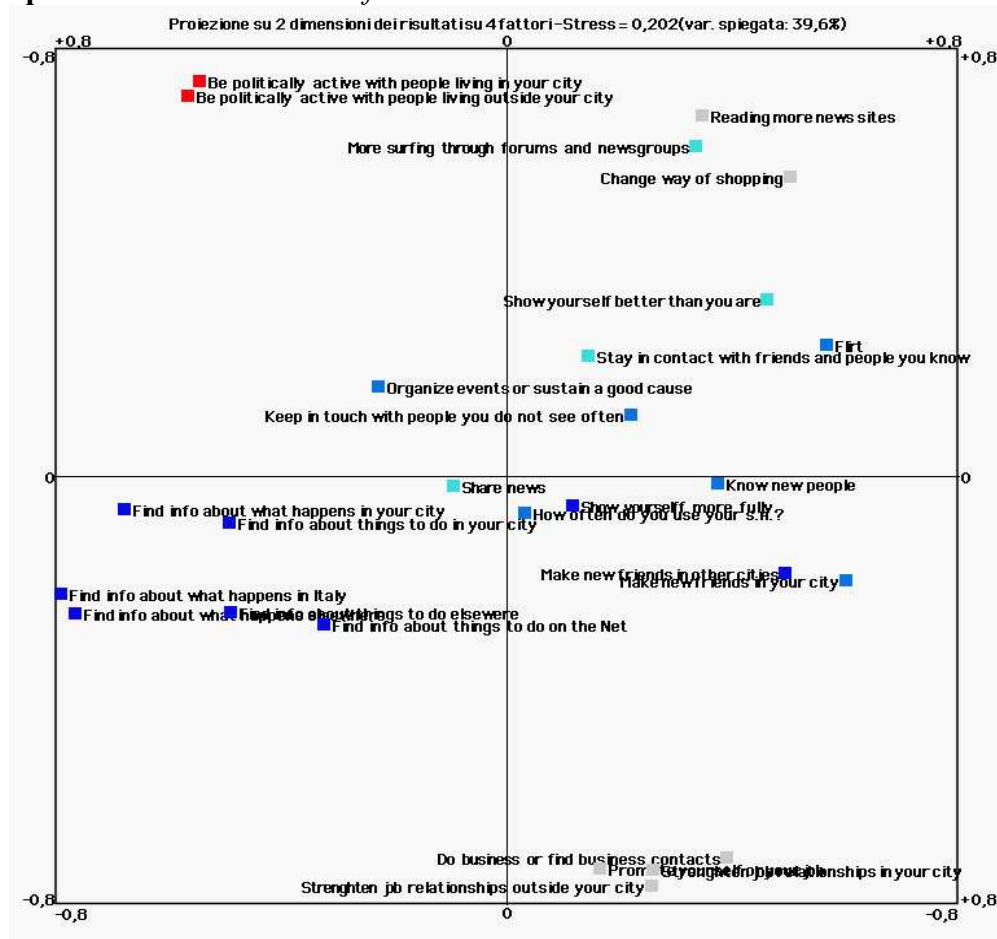
In order to find the distinctive characteristics of respondents belonging to different clusters, the third phase computed the “incidences”. The term incidence defines the residual error between the mean on every variable, obtained on the total of respondents, and the mean obtained only for the people belonging to each cluster.

Given the size of the sample and its non-probabilistic nature, it has been decided not to use the most usual method of showing on the map the “incidences” resulting from the calculation of the statistical significance (z test) on each variable, but to show only the variables for which the difference between the absolute values of the scores has been judged “relevant”.

On each of the seven maps (Map 3 to 9) included, the red colour indicates a positive score (i.e. the values on the variable are much higher for the cluster

than for the mean obtained on the whole sample) and the blue colour indicates a negative score – the values on the variable are much lower for the cluster than for the mean obtained on the whole sample (Table 5).

Map 3. *The Items' Relevance for Cluster 1*



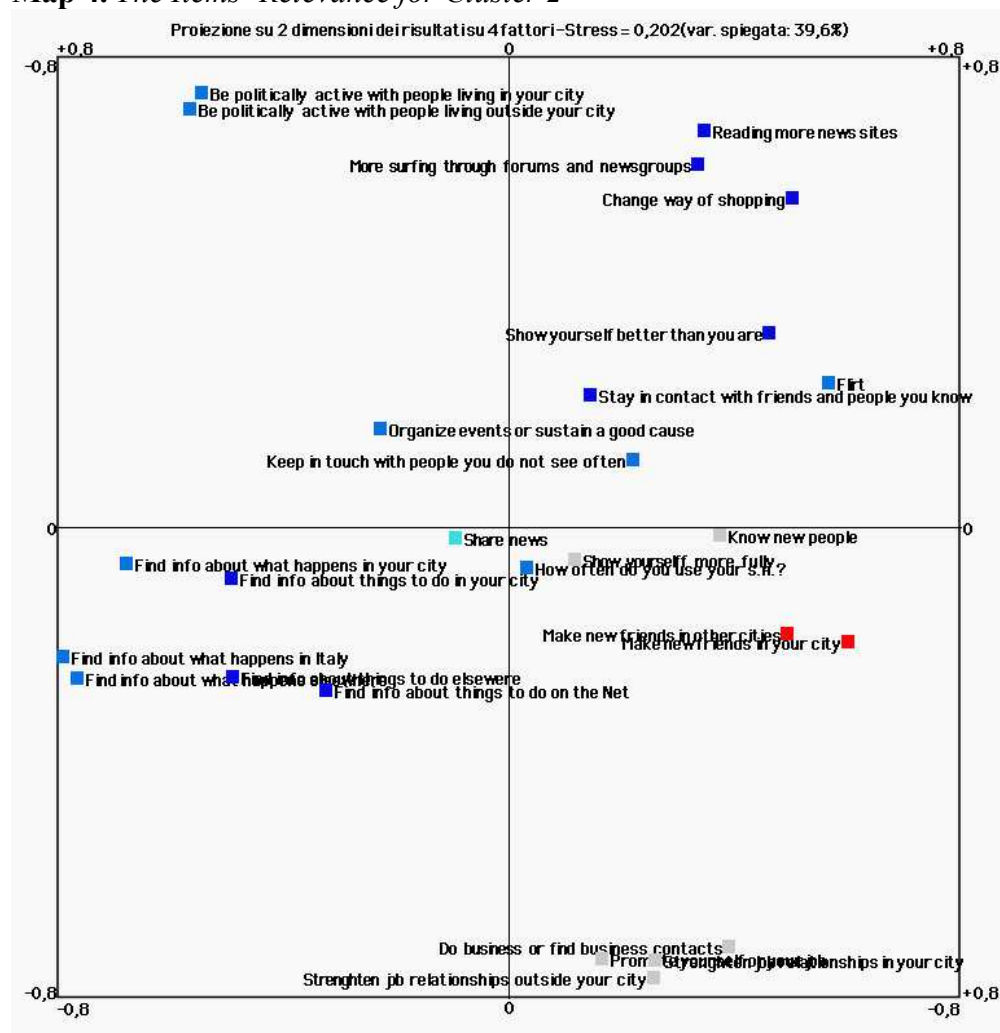
Map 3 shows the incidences for cluster 1¹. The respondents who have been assigned to the cluster use SNs mostly for political activities; on the contrary they do not use at all SNs as a calendar of events and they are not aware of the core function of SN, i.e. maintain friendships and acquire new friends. The use of SN has not modified others web-related activities (items related with time spent reading news or buying on line are not significant, and there is only a light negative incidence for time spent using forums and newsgroup). Respondents of cluster 1, representing 16.23% of the sample, are (strange as it may seem) prevalently female (55.50%), aged between 25 and 34 years, they reside in the most ample cities mostly in the centre of Italy. The cluster is named *the politicians*.

¹See appendix 2 for the detailed socio-demographical descriptions of the clusters.

Table 5. *The Legend to Understand the Items' Incidence*

	$p \geq 3,29$	High positive incidence
	$p \geq 2,98$ e $p < 3,29$	Medium positive incidence
	$p \geq 1,96$ e $p < 2,98$	Low positive incidence
	$p \leq -3,29$	High negative incidence
	$p \leq -2,98$ e $p > -3,29$	Medium negative incidence
	$p \geq -1,96$ e $p > -2,98$	Low negative incidence
	$p > -1,96$ e $p < 1,96$	No incidence

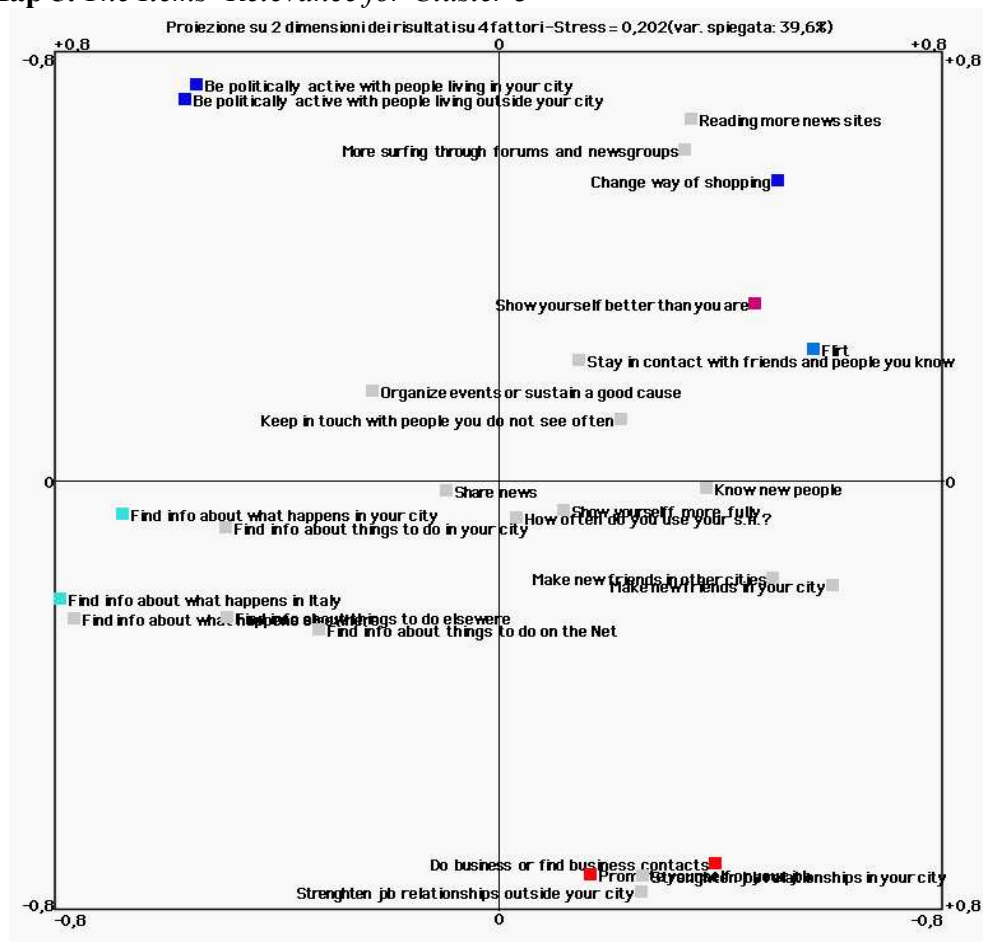
Map 4. *The Items' Relevance for Cluster 2*



Respondents belonging to the cluster 2 (Map 4), representing 16.73% of the sample, use SNs mostly to find new friends (inside and outside their cities). They do not use, at all, SNs as an event calendar and are mildly aware that they could use the new mean for political activities. Not relevant result the incidences related to the use of SNs for professional reasons and a high negative incidence characterizes items related with others web-related activities. Respondents of cluster 2 are equally divided between male and female, aged between 25 and 34 years; they live in the North-East and in the centre of Italy. The cluster is dubbed *the friends seekers*.

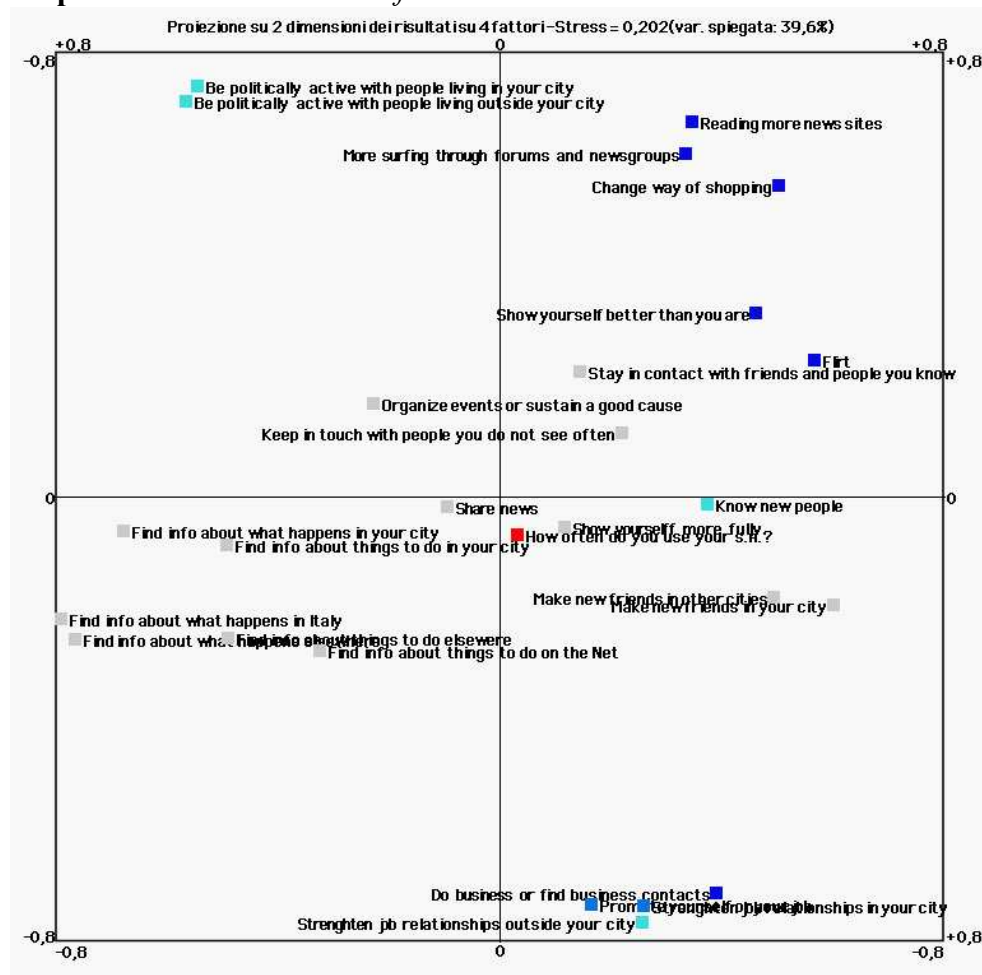
Cluster 3 (Map 5) is the biggest (19.70%): its members use SNs mostly for their professional activities; obviously they are quite interested in what their “friends” could read about them (indeed, among friends there are business contacts) and, therefore, they are concerned about the kind of information uploaded on their profile. As to most of the others items, they do not differ from the general mean and a negative incidence is related to the use of SNs for political activities. The use of SNs has not influenced others web related activities, apart from the on-line shopping. Among the respondents there is a slight prevalence of adult (24-35 years old) males, living the North-East and in the centre of Italy. *The workers* is the cluster’s name.

Map 5. *The Items’ Relevance for Cluster 3*



Cluster 4 (Map 6) is the smallest one (5.59%), respondents belonging to it like to visit their SNs as often as possible, apparently without a specific purpose. Very negative is the incidence related with the use of SNs to work and to flirt; they do not seem to be aware of the possibility/opportunity to censure what they publish on their profiles. Due to the much higher values on most of the variables (see appendix 3), this cluster could represent the hard core of SN users: people using SNs like a showcase (Codeluppi, 2007, Papacharissi, 2009), presenting themselves to the Internet surfers. Highly negative is the incidence of the use of SNs to others web-related activities. Respondents of cluster 4 are male and slighter older (22% are 45-54 years old) than those of the previous clusters; they live mostly in the North of Italy and their education is the highest among the respondents (39.10% has a master degree). Since the cluster is quite small it is very “mobile”; therefore its position on Map 1 (representing the cluster’s barycentre) does not correspond with the position of the single item showing a relevant incidence. This cluster’s name is *the always on*.

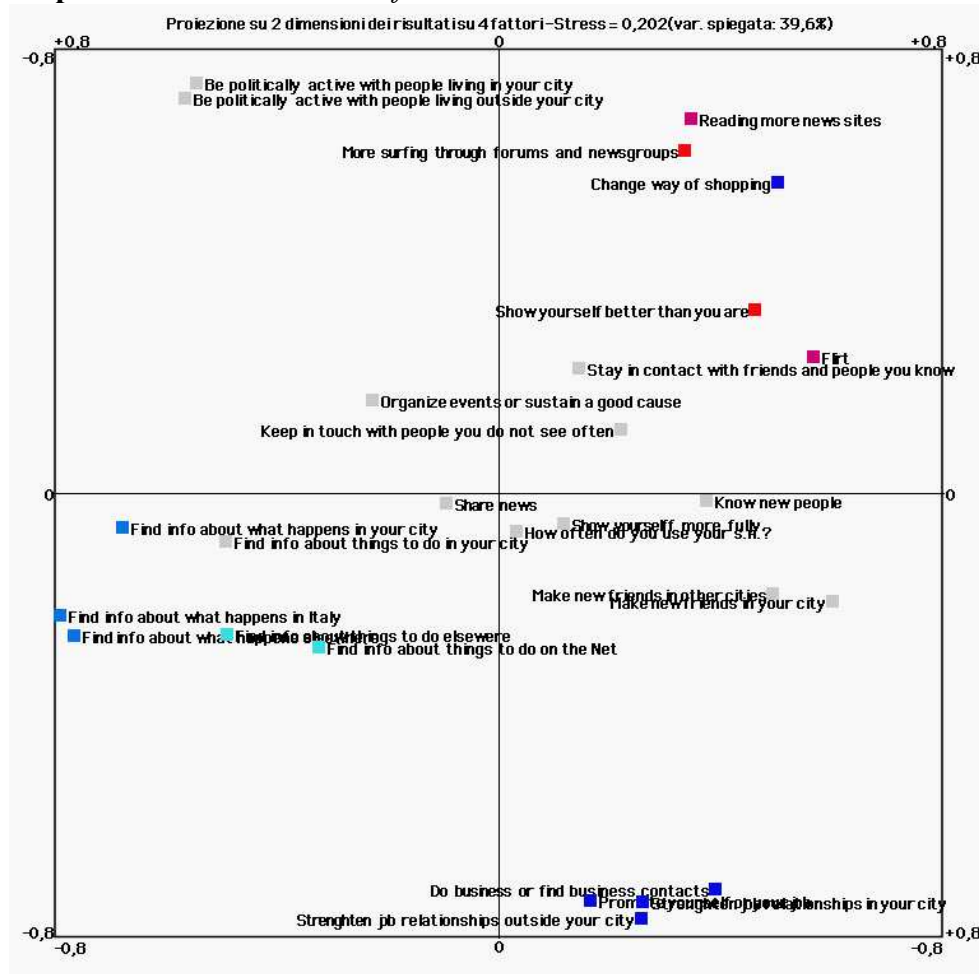
Map 6. The Items’ Relevance for Cluster 4



Individuals belonging to cluster 5 (Map 7), representing 14.23% of the

sample, are really concerned about what people could read on their profile; their SNs use strongly influenced the attendance of forums and newsgroups; they are mildly interested in using SNs to flirt (the related item shows a positive incidence only for this cluster), but certainly they are not interested in fostering their professional activities through SNs. Again this cluster is a male one, with a high concentration of people aged 25-34 (51.10%) and 35-44 years (26.70%), and a high educational level. The respondents belonging to cluster 5 are scattered evenly on Italian territory and are dubbed *the fearful*.

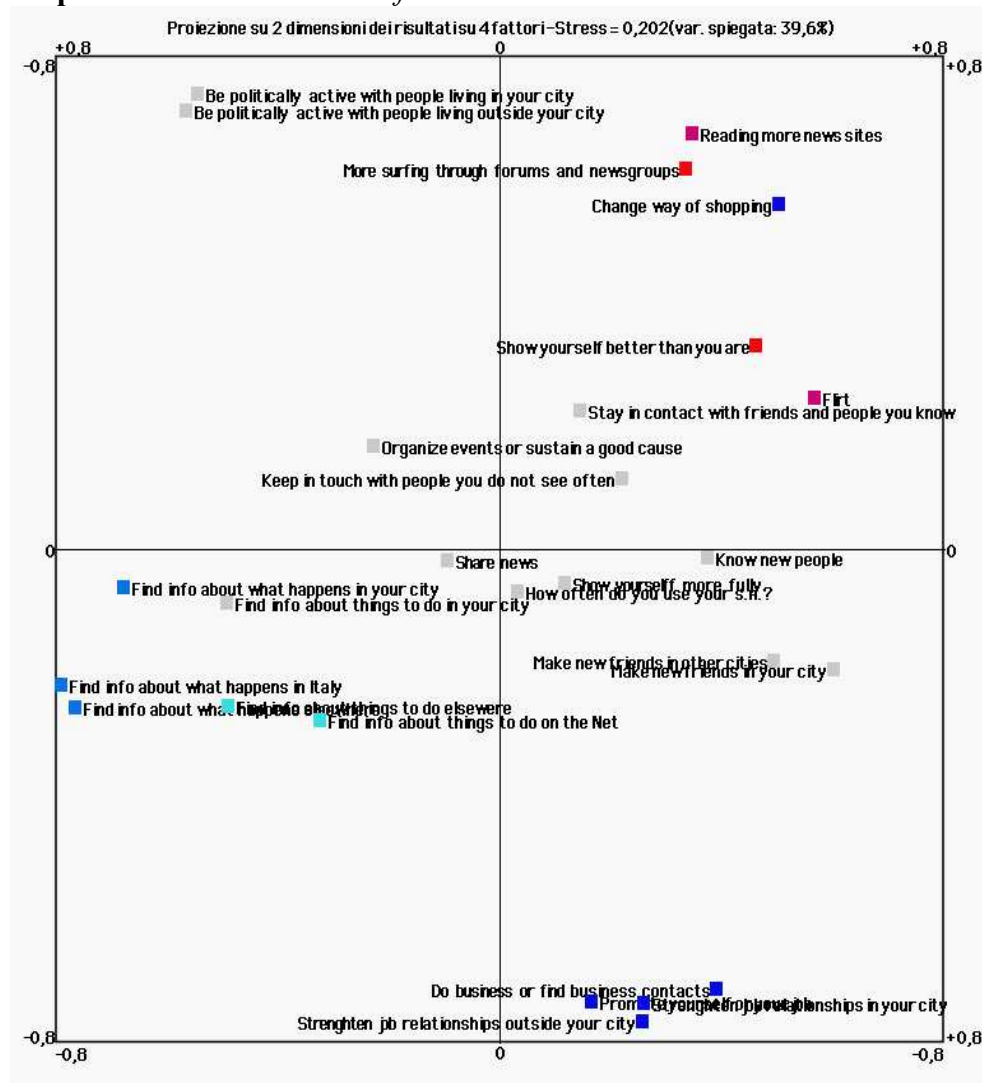
Map 7. The Items' Relevance for Cluster 5



Events calendar is the most relevant function of SN for respondents belonging to cluster 6 (Map 8), representing 13.18% of the sample. Many items are irrelevant for this cluster, apart for a negative incidence of the use of SN to flirt or to keep in touch with old acquaintances and friends; coherently the respondents of this cluster are not prone to censure what they publish in their profile. Their use of SN has slightly reduced their use of other web related activities. In cluster 6, 52.10% of the respondents are males, prevalently between 25-34 years old and living in the North and in the centre of Italy. Their

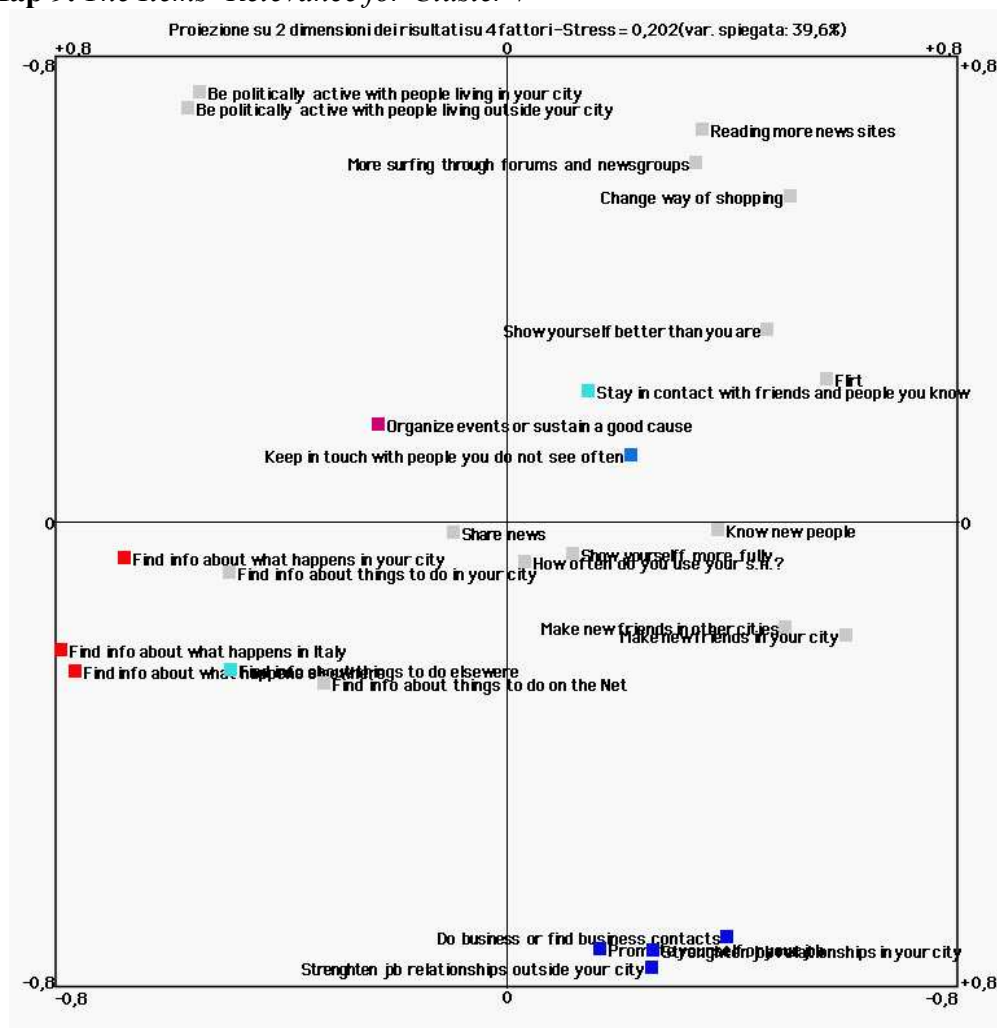
education is relatively lower than the average. They could be defined *the events seekers*.

Map 8. *The Items' Relevance for Cluster 6*



Finally, respondents assigned to cluster 7 (Map 9), representing 14.31% of the sample, use the SN both as an events calendar and to organize activities with others or to sustain a cause. They do not use the SN to contact again old friends, nor for job-related activities. All the items related to others SN uses are irrelevant. Respondents of cluster 7 are mostly men (71.30%), living in the North and centre of Italy (the North-East is slightly over-represented) often living in small towns (23%). Since this is the only cluster showing a positive incidence for the item related to the events organization, its name is *the organizers*.

Map 9. *The Items' Relevance for Cluster 7*



Conclusions

Available research (Ellison et al., 2007) shows that social networks, and particularly Facebook, have modified how people use the web and how they relate to friends and acquaintances - nowadays, social networks attendance belongs to the daily activities and their presence is more and more pervasive.

Differently than other collaborative platforms or virtual communities (Armstrong, Hagel, 1996, Reingold, 1993), social networks foster the relational dimension and this aspect is predominant in the use of Facebook.

The presented explorative research confirms these previous findings and - despite the obvious limitations due to the non probabilistic sample - allows to draw some conclusions.

In the last years, social networks (or at least Facebook which is the most popular social network) have significantly evolved becoming, for most Italians, the main mean to exploit the web. Nowadays, maybe for the first time, web-

surfers are no longer just passive users but become active protagonists thanks to the so-called Web 2.0.

Despite the predominant use of social networks to foster relationships, the outlined cluster analysis singles out the existence of different styles among SN users. The observed phenomenon is sufficiently relevant to require further research regarding 1) a comparison between social networks users and people preferring more traditional web content; 2) a comparison between Italian and non Italian users to check whether there is *an Italian way* to social networks. This explorative research is just a first step of a more extensive research aimed at fleshing out the world of Italian social network users.

References

- Armstrong, A., J. Hagel (1996). 'The Real Value of Online Communities.' *Harvard Business Review* 74 (3): 134-41.
- Arrington, M. (2009). 'Social Networking: Will Facebook Overtake MySpace In The U.S. In 2009?'. January 13. Available at <http://techcrunch.com/2009/01/13/social-networking-will-facebook-overtake-myspace-in-the-us-in-2009> [10 December 2009].
- Boyd, D.M. (2009). 'Friendster lost steam. Is MySpace just a fad'. *Aphophenia Blog*. March 21. Available at <http://www.danah.org/papers/FriendsterMySpaceEssay.html> [10 December 2009]
- Boyd, D.M., N.B. Ellison (2007). 'Social Network Sites: Definition, History and Scholarship'. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13 (1). Available at <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol13/issue1/boyd.ellison.html> [10 December 2009]
- Campaci, R. (2009). 'Statistiche social network in Italia nel 2009: solo Facebook e Twitter crescono'. August 13. Available at <http://socing.net/statistiche-social-network-in-italia-nel-2009-solo-facebook-e-twitter-crescono/> [10 December 2009].
- Chafkin, M. (2007). 'How to kill a great idea!.' *Inc. Magazine*, June. Available at <http://www.inc.com/magazine/20070601/features-how-to-kill-a-great-idea.html> [5 April 2009].
- Codeluppi, V. (2007). *La vetrinizzazione sociale. Il processo di spettacolarizzazione degli individui e della società*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.
- comScore (2009). 'Top 50 US Web Properties for August 2009'. Available at http://www.comscore.com/Press_Events/Press_Releases/2009/9/comScore_MediaMetrix_Ranks_Top_50_U.S._Web_Properties_for_August_2009comScore/ [9 March 2010].
- Donath, J. (2007). 'Signals in Social Supernets.' *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13 (1). Available at <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol13/issue1/donath.html> [10 December 2009].
- Dwyer, C., S.R. Hiltz, K. Passerini (2007). 'Trust and privacy concern within social networking sites: A comparison of Facebook and MySpace.' Proceedings of the Thirteenth Americans Conference on Information Systems, 09 – 12 August, in Keystone, Colorado (US). Available at <http://csis.pace.edu/~dwyer/research/DwyerAMCIS2007.pdf> [19 March 2010].
- Ellison, N.B, C. Steinfield, C. Lampe (2007). 'The Benefits of Facebook 'Friends': Social Capital and College Students' Use of Online Social Network Sites.'

- Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 12 (4). Available at <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol12/issue4/ellison.html> [10 December 2009].
- Grossman, L. (2006). 'Time's Person of the Year: You.' December 13. Available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1569514,00.html> [10 December 2009].
- Hargittai, E. (2007). 'Whose space? Differences among Users and non-Users of Social Network Sites.' *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13 (1). Available at <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol13/issue1/hargittai.html> [10 December 2009].
- Il Sole 24 Ore – Nòva (2008). *Il fenomeno Facebook. La più grande comunità in rete e il successo dei social network*. Milano: Il sole 24 Ore.
- Intravaia, S. (2009). 'Laureati. Italia maglia nera. record negativo in Europa'. *La Repubblica*, May 5. Available at http://www.repubblica.it/2009/01/sezioni/scuola_e_universita/servizi/universita-2009-1/numero-lauree/numero-lauree.html [10 December 2009].
- Istat (2009). 'Rilevazione sulle forze di lavoro. III trimestre 2009.' December 17. Available at http://www.istat.it/salastampa/comunicati/in_calendario/forzelav/20091217_00/ [20 January 2010].
- Milič, E. M., E. Marchetto (2009). 'Diario Aperto 2009: i cambiamenti promossi dai social network nelle città italiane'. Available at http://www.diarioaperto.it/blog/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/diarioaperto2009_sintesi.pdf [20 September 2009].
- O'Reilly, T. (2007). 'What is Web 2.0: Design Patterns and Business Models for the Next Generation of Software.' *Communications & Strategies* 65 (1st quarter): 17-37.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2009). 'The virtual geographies of social networks: a comparative analysis of Facebook, LinkedIn and ASmallWorld.' *New Media Society* 11: 199-220.
- Prati, G. (2007). *Web 2.0. Internet è cambiato*. Trento: UNI Service.
- Rao, L. (2010). 'LinkedIn Now 60 Million Strong.' February 11. Available at <http://techcrunch.com/2010/02/11/linkedin-now-60-million-strong/> [10 March 2010].
- Reingold, H. (1993). *The virtual community*. New York: Addison-Wesley.
- Scott, J. (1988). 'Social Network Analysis.' *Sociology* 22 (1): 109-127.
- Turkle, S. (1997). *La vita sullo schermo. Nuove identità e relazioni sociali nell'epoca di Internet*. Milano: Apogeo.
- Wang, S.S., S.-I. Moon, K.H. Kwon, C.A. Evans, M.A. Stefanone (2010). 'Face off: Implications of visual cues on initiating friendship on Facebook.' *Computers in Human Behavior* 26 (2): 226-234.
- Weirick, C. (2007). 'Hitwise: Facebook > Porn.' November 5. Available at <http://hothardware.com/News/Hitwise-Facebook--Porn/> [9 March 2010].
- Zhao, S., S. Grasmuck, J. Martina (2008). 'Identity construction on Facebook: Digital empowerment in anchored relationships.' *Computers in Human Behavior* 24 (5): 1816-1836.

Appendix 1. The 26 Items (with their labels)

SPES	How often do you use your preferred social network?
	Do you use your social network's profile to:
CONTA	be connected with friends and acquaintances
FLIRT	flirt
CONO	know new people
INFO	share news
ORGA	organize some event with other people or to sustain a good cause
AFFAR	do business or find business contact
PROM	promote yourself or your job
	Social networks help you to
APSC	be politically active with people living in your city
APFC	be politically active with people living outside your city
AMSC	develop new friendships with people living in your city
AMFC	develop new friendships with people living outside your city
RLSC	strengthen job relationships in your city
RLFC	strengthen job relationships outside your city
CANF	keep in touch with acquaintances and friends who you are no more attending
ACPE	I'm going to censure something about me or about my opinions, because my online friends can always check my profile
SPCS	to tell myself on the social network has helped me to explain others who I'm and what is interesting me
	Social networks help you finding information about what is happening
INTC	in your city
INIT	in Italy
INFI	outside Italy
	Social networks help you to find information about what is happening/or doing
FACI	in your city
FAFC	in Italy
FAIN	outside Italy
	Since your are using your preferred social network do you have increased, diminished or maintained the time spent
NAVIG	surfing through forums and newsgroups
SITIN	reading news sites
ACQI	since your are using your preferred social network is changed your way of shopping?

Appendix 2. Clusters' Socio-demographic Description

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6	Cluster 7
Numbers of Social-network							
N.S-N 1	37.8%	59.9%	41.4%	72.5%	17.0%	46.0%	19.1%
N.S-N 2	34.8%	25.1%	38.5%	17.4%	35.2%	36.2%	38.8%
N.S-N 3	20.4%	12.1%	14.3%	7.2%	26.7%	16.0%	27.0%
N.S-N 4	6.0%	2.9%	4.5%	2.9%	14.8%	1.8%	11.8%
> 4	1.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	3.4%
Gender							
Male	44.8%	50.2%	51.2%	63.8%	60.2%	52.1%	71.3%
Female	55.2%	49.8%	48.8%	36.2%	39.8%	47.9%	28.7%
Age groups							
18-24	29.9%	22.7%	24.2%	14.5%	12.5%	25.2%	10.1%
25-34	43.3%	46.4%	41.8%	31.9%	51.1%	42.9%	51.1%
35-44	18.4%	24.2%	23.4%	27.5%	26.7%	18.4%	28.7%
45-54	6.5%	5.8%	8.6%	21.7%	6.8%	8.6%	9.0%
55-65	1.0%	0.5%	1.6%	1.4%	2.8%	3.1%	1.1%
> 65	1.0%	0.5%	0.4%	2.9%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%
Nielsen Areas							
North-West	22.4%	21.3%	17.6%	29.0%	26.7%	26.4%	29.2%
North-East	21.9%	30.9%	25.4%	30.4%	26.7%	28.8%	30.3%
Centre	29.9%	29.0%	33.6%	23.2%	25.6%	27.6%	24.2%
South-Isle	24.9%	15.0%	21.3%	11.6%	19.9%	12.3%	12.9%
Abroad	1.0%	3.9%	2.0%	5.8%	1.1%	4.9%	3.4%
Number of habitants							
< 5.000	10.0%	8.7%	10.2%	10.1%	9.1%	9.8%	7.9%
from 5.001 to 10.000	14.4%	6.8%	11.1%	17.4%	8.0%	12.3%	7.3%
from 10.001 to 30.000	17.4%	15.9%	16.4%	10.1%	16.5%	17.2%	14.6%
From 30.001 to 100.000	15.9%	18.8%	19.3%	18.8%	21.0%	11.7%	23.0%
from 100.001 to 250.000	14.4%	14.0%	16.4%	10.1%	11.9%	14.1%	12.4%
> 250.001	27.9%	35.7%	26.6%	33.3%	33.5%	35.0%	34.8%
education							
Middle school	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
Professional school (3 years)	2.0%	1.0%	2.5%	2.9%	1.1%	3.7%	0.6%
High school (5 years)	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	1.1%
Short college degree	37.8%	33.3%	37.7%	27.5%	30.1%	40.5%	30.9%
First level college degree (3 years)	0.5%	2.4%	3.7%	0.0%	1.1%	1.2%	2.8%
Second level college degree (3+2 years)	17.9%	19.8%	18.4%	8.7%	14.2%	12.3%	12.9%
Master degree/specialization degree	30.8%	25.6%	27.0%	39.1%	29.5%	30.1%	30.3%
PhD degree	5.5%	12.6%	8.2%	8.7%	18.8%	6.1%	15.7%
Others	4.0%	5.3%	2.5%	13.0%	5.1%	5.5%	5.1%

Appendix 3. Clusters Barycentre

Cluster	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SPES	1.910	2.396	1.844	4.435	1.534	2.117	2.056
CONTA	1.368	1.589	1.398	2.957	1.335	1.515	1.781
FLIRT	3.612	3.899	3.549	3.971	3.432	3.589	3.478
CONO	3.015	3.609	2.959	3.884	2.460	3.209	2.809
INFO	1.746	2.121	1.500	3.014	1.256	2.049	1.848
ORGA	2.045	2.449	1.799	3.493	1.699	2.644	2.534
AFFAR	3.602	3.700	3.516	3.551	2.011	3.767	2.298
PROM	3.383	3.522	3.168	3.536	1.608	3.638	2.084
APSC	4.159	3.546	2.189	4.072	2.761	3.681	3.309
APFC	4.144	3.493	2.176	3.986	2.631	3.791	3.360
AMSC	2.388	3.502	2.197	3.841	1.869	2.650	2.590
AMFC	1.990	3.275	1.975	3.609	1.648	2.209	2.236
RLSC	3.627	3.845	3.230	3.957	2.085	3.853	2.551
RLFC	3.592	3.816	3.193	3.986	1.915	3.859	2.247
CANF	1.891	2.382	1.963	3.246	1.614	2.067	2.292
ACPE	2.701	2.812	2.828	2.957	2.705	2.245	2.511
SPCS	2.264	3.010	2.270	3.623	1.938	2.957	2.618
INTC	2.547	3.097	2.209	4.029	1.869	3.834	3.269
INIT	2.124	2.918	2.098	4.014	1.648	3.785	3.056
INFI	2.214	2.961	2.217	3.986	1.693	3.877	3.060
FACI	1.950	2.348	1.898	3.797	1.597	2.988	2.466
FAFC	1.990	2.523	2.041	3.913	1.523	3.123	2.455
FAIN	1.746	2.275	1.873	3.667	1.318	2.859	2.079
NAVIG	2.284	2.420	2.180	2.420	2.256	2.436	2.360
SITIN	2.035	2.034	1.795	2.304	1.824	2.074	1.983
ACQI	1.925	1.966	1.898	1.971	1.733	1.969	1.910

Chapter Twenty Seven

Please DO Adjust Your Radio, Your TV, Your Computer and Your Expectations: The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Readjusts to Consumer Driven Online Newsgathering Information Needs

Ross Perigoe, Concordia University, Canada

Jennifer McGuire is arguably the top journalist in Canada¹. In her current role as general manager and editor in chief of CBC news she is responsible for the cable news service CBC Newsworld, and news and current affairs programming on CBC Television, CBC Radio and the online CBCNews.ca (CBC, 2009). As such, she is one of the prime movers in leading policy change, technological development and news content production in the country.

To her supporters, McGuire is recognizing the inevitable and moving all of CBC's information programming onto a single platform for the digital age. To her critics, she is damaging morale and plunging the CBC into the abyss by taking resources away from radio to support new media (Dvorkin, 2010). Nor is this her first test. McGuire totally revitalized CBC Radio 2 from a classical music service with approximately one point one million predominantly older listeners per week (McDowell, 2009), to a more populist, distinctly Canadian service which plays large amounts of independent Canadian artists; everything from pop, to jazz, to roots genres, with still time for the more classically-oriented repertoire (CBC, 2008). The audience at Radio 2 has grown slightly by about 50 thousand listeners each week, but more importantly 64 thousand listeners under the age of 50 have added CBC to their listening rotation, an increase of 20% (McDowell, 2009). In short, she helped Radio 2 re-invent itself. It now more accurately reflects a representative slice of the Canadian population. Nevertheless, those decisions came with a huge backlash from the classically oriented arts community in Canada (Wooten, 2007; Terauds, 2008).

A 22-year veteran of the CBC, McGuire began her career in Ottawa Canada, researching stories for local radio. Using razor blades and splicing tape to edit audio tape, all of which now appear in the CBC museum, she progressed through early jobs as a production assistant to producer and

¹Over the past two years, Jennifer McGuire has collaborated with the author on a chapter in a forthcoming book on women journalists in Canada. On March 12th, 2010 she addressed Journalism Department at Concordia University in Montreal Canada, where she is an alumna, on issues regarding the conversion of CBC to a single platform newsgathering and dissemination organization.

executive producer in Radio and TV news and current affairs. Before becoming the general manager and editor in chief of CBC News, she had held the job of executive director of CBC Radio, responsible for all programming on CBC Radio One, Radio 2 and Radio 3.

McGuire was chosen in 2009 to run a newly created hybrid of all CBC's News and Current Affairs programs locally and nationally, on radio, TV and online after her predecessor left to become publisher of Canada's largest newspaper, the *Toronto Star* (CBC, 2009). The job she has undertaken is not an enviable task.

McGuire comes into her position at a time that Charles Dickens would have loved for its drama (Dickens, 1859). It is both the best of times – with the promise of digital broadcasting on a multi-media platform; and the worst of times – with severe economic challenges. In the months leading up to the decision to integrate all information programming onto a single, digital, platform, CBC found itself with a deficit of \$171 million for their budgetary year of 2009-2010 (Dingman, 2009). This was largely due to the economic downturn and increasing production costs that resulted in the loss of 800 positions of which over 100 were in English news and current affairs. McGuire found herself simultaneously cutting back on existing resources; integrating the product (information services); and saving money by eliminating duplication of resources where possible. All this, while at the same time, building an online service to meet the needs of digital news consumers.

McGuire's critics have attacked her for lack of consultation and a plunge in morale at CBC Radio (Dvorkin, 2010). The concern expressed is that CBC Radio and is being stripped to pay for the TV service and additional funding of online services. Early signs, however, indicate that CBC Radio has not lost listeners. Nevertheless, there are signs that CBC TV news continues to slip in the ratings (Bernstein, 2010).

The CBC decided to take this initiative after examining studies by the Pew Research Institute in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2010; LaPointe, 2010) and a study of Canadians' news gathering habits by the polling firm of Ipsos Reid. The Pew Report found that consumers' relationship with news is changing. People now get their news from at least half a dozen sources a day. As the Pew Report noted, the consumption of news is portable, participatory and more personalized. More than ever, consumers of information are empowered to make the choices – news how, where and when they want it. It is 'disintermediated'.

With online sources being able to count 'hits', there is far greater precision of just who is consuming the content. What is startling is just how rapidly traditional media have been abandoned for faster, more personal media. In the opinion of McGuire, it has resulted in "a seismic shift," a total reversal of news production and consumption. In a speech to the Journalism Department at Concordia University, she summarized the points.

*Please DO Adjust Your Radio, Your TV, Your Computer and Your Expectations:
The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Readjusts to Consumer Driven Online
Newsgathering Information Needs*

- Most people now don't get their news from newspapers. Online news is second only to TV as a source for news and information. It is the fastest growing source for news.
- Radio is more popular today than newspapers; so is TV.
- Most people don't get their news from a single source anymore; they graze across the platforms.
- When you ask for a favorite web site, people say they don't see much difference between the CBC and its competitors. No one is delivering what is the consumer's ideal news.

A poll done in Canada by Ipsos Reid (2010) confirmed findings of the Pew Report. In March of 2010, they announced that, for the first time, weekly time spent online (18.1 hours) was actually *higher* than hours watching television (16.9 hours). To quote McGuire, 'That knowledge ... strikes (fear) in the heart of any news executive. And for a public broadcaster, it is a five alarm bell. In many ways, it's like the wild, wild west.' (McGuire, 2010).

Here's how this revolutionary behavior on the part of news consumers affects how news is produced. In McGuire's own words,

The revolution is about servicing audiences on their own terms. When they want it, how they want it. Not saying, 'Wait until you can come to us at a certain time when it suits us for a proscribed meal...where we will tell you what to eat.'...But change goes far beyond the process of delivery, indeed the change goes to developing news as the story itself.

That introduces the second theme; treating the audience as participants in the journalistic process.

Trust is no longer a given. If you look back at Angus Reid polls back in 2008, more than half of Canadians don't respect journalists (Basen, 2009). We're just approaching lawyer standards here. Integrity truth and balance are the goal posts. But we have to demonstrate it. At CBC news we are going to take it a step further by actually measuring our journalism against our standards, in an open and transparent way, and share that with the public.

The CBC intends to pull the curtain back and to engage the viewer/listener/reader in the thought process of decision-making. Last year CBC reporter Melissa Fung was kidnapped in Afghanistan and held for 28 days (CTV, 2008). The CBC asked the Canadian media not to report on her abduction, largely, they said, because her safety involved tense negotiations and depended on a curtain of secrecy. Fung was found, unharmed after her kidnappers abandoned her. By contrast, Canadian diplomats kidnapped in

Niger had their case broadly shared with Canadian viewers by the CBC (CBC, 2008). Viewers, listeners and readers complained about what McGuire (2010) described as, 'one set of standards for journalists who are kidnapped, and another for diplomats.' As a result, the CBC developed a new section in its policy handbook on the coverage of kidnappings, and posted it on the web site of *The National*, the nightly, prime time newscast. McGuire adds,

People want to see it (news) live. They want to know how you found the story what you chose to leave out and why they should trust your version of the facts. Transparency is now an issue and an essential part of the process. For viewers, it allows them to make up their own minds about what to believe. And for news producers, it gives them a check and a balance (McGuire, 2010).

It's not easy to share in the decision-making process in an era of 'balloon boy' hoaxes where CNN reports, without the basic journalistic litmus test of corroboration, that a child was flying over the skies of the United States aboard a hot air balloon (Ostrow, 2009). On the other hand, the belief that the camera never lies means that the shooting death of Neda Agha-Soltan on the streets of Tehran (bamb00cha, 2010) rocked the world and no one questioned the authenticity, even though the quality of picture was poor and the equipment was a cell phone camera.

In addition to sharing the thinking behind newsgathering more broadly, McGuire and her team are also re-deploying resources and creating entirely new jobs. Reporters are now being trained to not only edit their own visuals, but to add graphics. Additionally, stories are now assigned to allow time for reporters and producers to twitter or blog about their experiences while still in the field. And a whole new job has been created to care for the visual elements in stories. As McGuire (2010) puts it, 'We're just creating a whole new team now that is assigning visuals. So that just as you are assigning the stories, we'll be having a team that will be assigning the visuals and filling the space.' The imperative to offer stimulating visuals has changed the process of producing a daily line-up as well. McGuire describes the new line-up for *The National*. Instead of half a dozen pages, the new line-up contains every visual in the show...sometimes as much as 200 pages. "You can imagine being in a control room trying to cut that kind of show."

Wiping out the distinctions between radio TV and online, necessitated the creation of the single newsroom concept with one assignment desk called 'the hub'. "So," says McGuire, "the assignment room now asks one question. What are the stories and how do we best cover them on all platforms? Online is no longer last in line, having to pull content off of TV. Then it moves to computers which have to be able to interface with all others in the news room." All of this now happens 24 hours a day, 7 days a week instead of during conventional office hours with skeleton staffs on weekends and no overnight staffing.

Tensions between the sectors proved more imagined than real, according to McGuire (2010).

(W)e're forming a new culture and it is a CBC news culture. And moving in together is key. It's like [the difference between] dating and moving in. It's a whole different thing. I'll tell you that, in Toronto, and you know, I was the head of radio so you know [that] I know that culture very well, there were grave doubts about coming up from the second floor or the third floor to be 'swallowed up' by the 'beast of television' It lasted about two days. They were there two days when like, (sic) 'Oh I can... just go over to that person and I get a hit on radio that I could have never gotten.' And all of a sudden all of these interactions are happening, these ideas are being exchanged.

Now, for example, the new business program on Newsworld (CBC's 24/7 live TV news cast) offers material to the syndication service on radio; and local TV has staff with available time before they do the 11:00 p.m. local news program to help with a new 7:00 p.m. regional newscast.

What about the future? As McGuire (2010) puts it, 'One of the things that we're talking about at CBC News is creating our own wire service and becoming less dependent on the wire services out there. We're more equipped to do it, especially with the way the service is moving with more visual elements. Newspapers are looking for visuals now.'

There will be a separate portal for Parliament Hill coverage – what McGuire calls 'more political pages – deeper dives'; customizable line-ups on the internet for viewers to download stories in the order they want to see them; greater sensitivity to news changes on the internet site, especially at times when viewers are interested in news updates; the development of policies on viewer-generated stories and visuals; the creation of regional investigative teams. All of this is predicated on the expectation of greater numbers of viewers, more advertising (particularly online) and greater revenues.

Critics say that the process requiring a single reporter to simultaneously produce audio, video and text within a single working day will inevitably lead to short-sighted reporting -- dumbing down. McGuire challenges this. She points to the way the CBC lead the examination of the death by taser of Robert Dziekanski at the Vancouver Airport by Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers (Vancouver Sun, 2007). "There are few if any broadcasters who would devote significant resources to stories of major public interest such as the use of tasers in Canada or irregularities at lottery commissions across the country. In both of these cases, CBC news lead the way and lead to changes in legislation (McGuire, 2010)." As McGuire put it, "We consider that public service journalism and in times like these when money is tight and the industry is going through convulsions, that higher ideal – higher than the bottom line – is an essential. But it's not easy in times of budget restraint (McGuire, 2010)."

Rather than dumbing down, McGuire maintains,

The news business is evolving and the technology is more nimble. But at the heart of engaging people is curiosity and critical thinking. Asking the right question, pursuing the facts...but in a way that entertains and engages as well as informs audiences. The journalism is fine thank you. The evolving intersection between journalism and audience demands new forms of story telling and a different, less paternalistic dynamic. It is not preaching anymore. It is a dialogue. Open your minds to telling stories over different platforms and innovative ways. And build a narrative through time. Allow your audience a voice.

At CBC we will still be the place. For curated Canadian content, for complex story telling. We will remain a trusted source, but we will also be open to all that is available as our industry transitions online. Because it is our obligation. Stay tuned.

McGuire's gamble is one that CBC needs to win. Faced with hundreds of TV choices on cable and satellite, and news services on the internet from all over the world, CBC has to remain at the forefront of change, fighting for viewers, resources, and ultimately relevance as a public broadcaster. Without all of these elements – the resolve to lead, the fight for resources, the will to stay relevant – the prospect is bleak. But the daring initiative McGuire and her team are undertaking, deserves praise for their audacity and most important, time to make it work. If her model is successful, it could prove a prototype for other national broadcasters – public and private, to emulate.

Bibliography

- Basen, I. (2009, September 21). Citizen uprising: The newspaper is dead, but can an upstart citizen media really replace it? The definitive Canadian account of journalism's changing face. *Maisonneuve*. Available at <http://maisonneuve.org/pressroom/article/2009/sep/9/citizen-uprising/> [16 March 2010].
- bamb00cha. (2010, February, 13) Death of Neda Agha-Soltan. [Video file]. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lo7MaMuBHYU> [20 April 2010].
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, (2009, May 6). Jennifer McGuire to head CBC News [Press release]. Available at <http://www.cbc.ca/arts/media/story/2009/05/06/cbc-news-head.html#ixzz0mrmM5vT8> [16 March 2010]
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2008, December 16). Niger rebel group claims it kidnapped Canadian diplomat, 3 others: A second Canadian also believed to be among those taken hostage. Available at <http://www.cbc.ca/world/story/2008/12/16/niger-rebels.html> [30 April 2010].
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2008, March 4). CBC Radio 2 to revamp daytime programming. [Press release]. Available at <http://www.cbc.ca/arts/media/story/2008/03/04/radio-two.html> [19 April 2010].
- CTV. (2008, November 9). Freed reporter opens up about Afghan kidnapping. [Video file]. Available at http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20081109/fung_follow_081109/20081109?hub=TopStories [30 April 2010].

*Please DO Adjust Your Radio, Your TV, Your Computer and Your Expectations:
The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Readjusts to Consumer Driven Online
Newsgathering Information Needs*

- Dickens, C. (1859). *A tale of two cities*. Available in e-text format at <http://www.literature.org/authors/dickens-charles/two-cities/>
- Dingman, S. (2009, March 25). CBC announces 800 job cuts, \$171-million shortfall. *National Post*. Available at <http://network.nationalpost.com/np/blogs/posted/archive/2009/03/25/cbc-announces-800-job-cuts-171-million-shortfall.aspx> [29 March 2010].
- Dvorkin, J. (2010, April 20). The end of the line: radio news at the CBC. [Web log comment]. Available at <http://nowthetdetails.blogspot.com/search?q=the+end+of+the+line> [21 April 2010]
- Howard Bernstein, H. Medium Close Up. (2010, April 25). Read 'em and weep...the CBC News story. [Web log comment]. Available at <http://hlbtoo.wordpress.com/2010/04/25/read-em-and-weep-the-cbc-news-story/> [30 April 2010].
- Ipsos Reid (2010, March 22). Weekly internet usage overtakes television watching: For the first time, weekly hours spent online (18.1 hours) is higher than the number of hours spent watching television (16.9 hours). Available at http://www.ipsos-na.com/news-olls/pressrelease.aspx?id=4720&wt.mc_id=1110135&ce=klapointe@png.canwest.com&link=4720&top [2 April 2010].
- LaPointe, K. (2010, March 22). Internet use higher than TV viewing in Canada: Ipsos Reid. Available at <http://www.themediamanager.com/3/post/2010/03/internet-use-higher-than-tv-viewing-in-canada-ipsos-reid.html#comments> [18 April 2010].
- McDowell, A. (2009, June 2). CBC Radio 2: Out with the old, in with the new-ish. *National Post*. Available at <http://www.nationalpost.com/arts/story.html?id=1655629#ixzz0mjSgpeke> [19 April 2010].
- McGuire, J. (2010, March 12). 'Transitioning Online'. Paper presented at the Annual Reader's Digest lecture, Journalism Department, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada.
- Ostrow, A. (2009, October, 15). Balloon boy a hoax? Falcon Heene tells CNN: "We did this for the show." [Web comment and video file]. Available at <http://mashable.com/2009/10/15/balloon-boy-falcon-heene/> [15 March 2010].
- Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism. (2010, March 1). Understanding the participatory news consumer. Available at http://www.journalism.org/analysis_report/understanding_participatory_news_consumer [20 March 2010].
- Terauds, J. (2008, April 6). CBC Radio 2 devotees face classic conundrum: Listeners decry cuts and disbanding of orchestra, *The Toronto Star*. Available at <http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/music/article/410674> [29 April 2010].
- Vancouver Sun, (2007, November 17). Watch the YVR taser incident. [Video file]. Available at <http://www.canada.com/vancouvernews/news/story.html?id=aece8d18-35b7-4a76-908f-f6189ba59d51> [21 April, 2010].
- Wooten, J. (2007, May 2). Return Classical Music to the CBC Radio Two Evenings. [Web log comment]. Available at <http://www.petitionspot.com/petitions/returnclassicalmusic2ocbcradio> [16 March 2010].

Chapter Twenty Eight

The New Teenage Playground - The Internet: Looking for Entertainment in Cyberspace

Jinah Seol, Korea National Open University, Korea

Today's youth are exposed to digital technology daily in virtually all facets of their lives. Participating, inquiring, discussing, arguing, playing, shopping, criticizing, investigating, fantasizing, seeking and informing online, the so-called "Net Generation," are growing up surrounded by digital media (Tapscott, 1998). To the digital savvy youth, the Internet is a form of communication as well as a space for the socializing and making new friends. With powerful new tools for inquiry, analysis, self-expression, influence, and play, their communication sphere has greatly expanded as they interact with others in cyberspace and mine the exploding information resources of the Internet.

As of 2007, 99.1% of Koreans aged between 6-19 years used the Internet. A recent survey shows that more than 85% of Korean adolescents aged 12-18 years spent approximately 1.5-2 hours per day on the Internet (National Internet Development Agency of Korea, 2008). For teenagers, the Internet offers access to information, downloads, entertainment, and communication. According to 2008 NIDA report on "the Internet usage and addiction," the most popular usages were for online games (56.5%), movie/music/UCC (52.3%), chat/messenger (46.2%) and information surfing (40.1%). For Korean adolescents, the Internet has become indispensable in aiding with schoolwork, information gathering and communication.

The diffusion of ever-changing Internet technologies into the realm of online activities of the young people are well documented in recent researches. These research results show that people who are addicted to the Internet make intense and frequent use of it both in frequency and in length, especially with regards to online communication via e-mail, ICQ, chat rooms, newsgroups, and online games (Martin & Schumacher, 2000; Craig, 2003; Gross, 2004; Chak & Leung, 2004; Boneva, Quinn, Kraut, Kiesler, & Shklovsk, 2006). Through the Internet, the adolescents connect and explore with peers typical adolescent issues such as sexuality, identity and partner selection. As the use of its communication applications grow, the Internet's role as a basis of social context is increasing for adolescents and their development. Subrahmanyam and Lin (2007) posit that it is a social context in which universal adolescent issues and a sense of self-worth are played out in a cyberspace, in ways both new and old. The Internet has also become a meaningful cultural sphere to them, for it is shared, norms are developed, and these norms are transmitted to

the new generations; greater access and technological innovation create new norms. Greenfield and Yan (2006) also claim that it is a new cultural tool or a cultural tool kit because it is an infinite series of multiple applications each with its own use.

Although the Internet has given rise to new types of online communities and most of the Korean adolescents use it every day, there were few studies explaining how they perceived the Internet and its efficacy. It is also not clear what drives the near universal embrace of the Internet as a communication portal. In this context, this study attempts to examine what motives influenced the Korean teenagers to seek out the Internet and what they perceive as the social characteristics and functions that cyberspace and the Internet provide. It will also attempt to delineate, by gender, the relationship between Internet use and its motivating factor.

Internet Uses & Gratifications and Adolescent Internet Use

The uses and gratification approach focuses on audience motivation and behavior, assuming they actively use mass media to fulfill specific needs. Audience members are seen as active gratification seekers interacting with the media as opposed to being passive recipients of media content (Williams, Phillips, and Lum, 1987). The uses and gratification approach raises questions, "what are the uses to which the Internet is put and what do children and adolescents get from it?" Eighmey & McCord (1998) argue that personal involvement and continuing relationship were found to be important factors when examining audience reactions to websites. They suggest that information becomes a relationship on the websites, and the Internet offers the potential for the audience to become visitors and communicators who engage in the exchange of information (p. 193).

From a perspective of meta-analysis, Greenfield and Yan (2006) explored six empirical articles and pointed out that the gratification from Internet uses range from global leadership experience to identity and sexuality and to self-injury and self-concept. They also argue that each of these gratifications is especially prominent in adolescent development whether it is considered pathological or healthy. Recent researches support their argument in that motivation for Internet use predicts more directly degree of Internet use and its reverse function. For instance, adolescent Internet addicts received great motivation as well as satisfaction from their intrinsic motivation (Kim, 2007; Wan & Chiou, 2007).

As the Internet use among adolescents grew exponentially in the past decade, much research was done on the usages and its harmful effects (Young 1998; Lin & Tsai, 2002; Morahan-Martin & Schumacher, 2003; Park, Kim & Cho, 2008). Young (1998) investigated the characteristics of Internet addiction and the extent of problems caused by such potential misuse. Other studies have focused on the psychological and demographic factors which might cause

Internet addiction (Ko & Um, 2007; Goldberg, 1996; Tsai & Lin, 2001; Chak & Leung, 2004).

Although past studies have indicated that some patterns of Internet use are associated with loneliness, shyness, anxiety, depression and self-consciousness, there appears to be no definite consensus about Internet addiction disorder. Some researches confirm that pathological Internet users are more likely to be males, technologically sophisticated, and use real-time interactive activities such as online games and chat lines, and that they feel more comfortable in this environment than their female counterparts. However, above results are mitigated somewhat by the findings in the same research that comfort and competence with the Internet were key motives for using the Internet. It was also found that actual usage behaviors and perceptions on the usefulness of Internet were better indicators than effective responses toward the Internet in predicting adolescents' Internet addiction (Tsai & Lin, 2001).

Regarding gender, early researches suggested that gender predicated Internet usage and type and that the Internet usage could cause social isolation and depression, especially for teens (Kraut et al., 1988; Subrahmanyam, Kraut & Gross, 2001; Mesch, 2001). However, these prevailing expectations regarding gender, well-being, and identity play were challenged by other studies (Shaw and Gant, 2002; Gross, 2004; Boneva et al., 2006; Subrahmanyam and Lin, 2007). For the most part, adolescent boys and girls' online activities have become more similar than different. Gross (2004) found that on average boys and girls' online social interaction tend to occur in private settings such as e-mail and instant messages. Weaving itself into the fabric of the young people's lives, the Internet communication has evolved into various forms and types. To the adolescents, the Internet, online resources and instantaneous access are simply the way things are done. This explorative study poses four research questions:

- RQ1: What are the characteristics of the Korean Net-generation's Internet usage and Internet communication activities?
- RQ2: How do the Korean adolescents perceive the social characteristics and functions of cyberspace and the Internet?
- RQ3: What are the main motivations for Internet use and their relation to Internet use?
- RQ4: To what extent are there any gender differences in the Internet use motivation and communication activities?

Methods

Sample and Sampling Procedure

Data for this exploratory study were collected in a convenient sampling, using offline methods during the period of March 12 - March 18, 2009. A total of 340 printed questionnaires were distributed to students from two public high

schools and two middle schools in middle and upper-middle class communities in Seoul and its suburbs. The population was divided into four demographic areas: Northeastern, Northwestern, Southwestern and Southeastern Seoul. The demographics of the adolescents consisted of 52.1% of boys and 47.9% of girls. In terms of age, the respondents were relatively evenly distributed (25.5% of 11-12 years old, 31.9% of 13-14 years old, 24.2% of 15-16 years old and 18.4% of 17-19 years old). 62.9% of the respondents were middle school students and 37.1% were high school students. The respondents were asked to finish a series of questionnaires about their perceptions of cyberspace and Internet characteristics, Internet use motivations, overall Internet usages and communication activities. In this way, 326 completed questionnaires were collected.

Questionnaire and Measures

The questionnaire was designed and conducted in Korean and pilot tested for ambiguity and clarity before field administration. It comprised questions concerning five aspects. They were: (1) context of Internet usage, (2) perceptions of characteristics and social functions of cyberspace and the Internet, (3) motivations for use, (4) Internet communication activities, and (5) demographics of respondents. In this study, Internet communication is defined as an online communication and Internet usage refers to time spent engaging in online services. Use refers to needs that are met or expected to be met by online services (Angelman, 2000).

(1) Context of Internet usage. The adolescents were asked to indicate the average number of hours and minutes they were using the Internet during weekdays and weekends. Also, Internet use was measured by asking respondents a) the primary Internet access location, b) type of services, c) the ownership of blogs/homepages, d) time spent in blogging and chatting, and e) topics and subjects of online communication.

(2) Perceptions of social characteristics and functions of cyberspace and the Internet. 25 statements regarding social characteristics and functions of cyberspace and the Internet were based on prior research items (Ko & Um, 2007). Respondents were asked to rank their agreement with the 25 statements using a four-point scale from 'strongly disagree' (=1) to 'strongly agree' (=4). A total of 11 statements describing cyberspace involve both positive and negative characteristics such as 'I can express myself freely in the cyberspace' and 'Cyberspace is a place that privacy can be easily invaded'. With regards to the Internet, 14 statements involving Internet's various social characteristics and functions were presented. They also contained both positive and negative characteristics in relation to Internet as follows; 'I am not lonely when I use Internet,' 'Internet is helpful to the development of democracy,' and so on. Primary method of testing perceptions employed factor analysis.

(3) Motivations for Internet use. 28 items combined from 50-item of Chun & Kim'(2005)s Internet use research and 27-item of Kim(2007)'s research were used to assess use motivations. On a four-point scale (1= strongly disagree, 4= strongly agree), participants responded to such questions

as “I use the Internet, because I want to do homework” and “I use the Internet, because I need to check my blogs and homepages” and so on. 28 items drawn from prior research involved eight main areas of motivations for using Internet such as ‘Information acquisition,’ ‘intensification of self-expression,’ ‘promotion of relationship,’ ‘entertainment/pleasure,’ ‘goal achievement,’ ‘escape from reality,’ ‘killing time,’ and ‘sexual desires’. The inter-item reliability(Cronbach’s α) was .86. Factor analysis was used to test 28 items.

(4) Internet communication activities. Finally, Internet communication activities include online chatting, community activities, and ICQ. They were measured by asking respondents a) the frequency and the number of hours spent on online activities, b) topics of communications, c) with whom they communicated, d) the active areas in the cyber community, and e) evaluation of community activities. A four-point scale was used to rank their agreement with the evaluation of community activities.

(5) Demographics/Respondents were asked demographic questions about gender, age, grade, level of academic achievements at school, parents’ job type, and economic level of households. Among social demographics, only gender (male =1, female =2) and grade (middle school vs. high school) were used as control variables.

Results

To extract main perception items toward cyberspace and the Internet characteristics, factor analysis was used. The Principle Component Analysis extraction method and the Varimax rotation method were used in factoring. Missing values were eliminated and components were extracted having eigenvalues greater than 1.00. To test differences in gender, grade, Internet usage, Internet use motivations, and Internet communication activities, t-test, χ^2 , Pearson correlation analyses were employed.

Context of Internet Usage

In general, the respondents reported spending an average of 81.2 minutes per day during the weekdays and 140.7 on weekends. The majority of the respondents reported having home Internet access (60.0%) and 22% outside Internet access such Internet cafes. Among those with home access, 52% reported accessing the Internet in their room. Chi-square analyses revealed gender differences in the primary Internet access location ($\chi^2 = 23.576$, $df=5$, $p<.001$).

Although Internet access at home was prevalent, males tended use Internet cafes far more extensively than females. Chi-square(χ^2) analyses also revealed gender differences in the amount of Internet use. The male respondents spent more time on the Internet than female respondents by approximately 26 minutes during weekdays and 42 minutes on weekends (Table1). Game was the most frequently used service (32.9%) and ‘blog/homepages’ was the second

(17.8%). There was also statistically significant differences between male and female in terms of preferred Internet services ($\chi^2 = 135.771$, $df=12$, $p<.001$). More specifically, female students reported that they use more ‘information search,’ ‘blog/mini-homepages,’ and ‘mp3/music downloads’ services than male students, while the majority of male students preferred games (male=101, female=6). The respondents reported that they accessed the Internet when they had leisure time, bored (76.8%), or tired from doing school assignments (11.9%), while only 3.1% of the respondents said they accessed it when they were lonely or depressed. Majority of the respondents had their own blogs and/or mini-homepages (74.1%), spending on average approximately 31 minutes per day on them. The average number of active online community they were affiliated with was 8.6, with game/entertainment communities being the most popular.

Table 1. *The Amount of Internet Use by Gender*

	Sex	N	Mean	SD	T	df	P
Internet Use time (min./weekdays)	Male	142	93.3239	96.24751	2.749	261	.006
	Female	121	67.1446	44.75719			
Internet Use time (min. weekends)	Male	162	160.3395	149.11345	2.783	299	.006
	Female	139	118.3849	104.43907			

Internet Communication Activities

A little more than half of the respondents reported that they used online chatting ‘often’ (54.4%) and 14.3% reported more than ‘frequently’. An average time spent on online chatting was 42 minutes, while 47 minutes was spent on using other Internet sites. The result indicates that majority of the respondents chatted online about ‘topical’ issue (59.3%) or ‘exchanged information about their hobbies and interests’ (16.8%). The biggest reason for online communication was for ‘killing time (boredom)’ (36.0%), followed by ‘to communicate with people about hobbies and interests’ (21.3%). ‘To make friends’ was 13.7% and ‘to relieve academic stress’ was 12.3%. Most of the respondents reported that they chatted online with their school friends (78.3%) while 12.0 percent reported chatting with unknown people from the Internet. Two-thirds of the respondents at one time or another had chatted online with strangers, while 39.7% had met them in person more than one time. 92.8 percent of the respondents reported that they were members of online community sites, and the average number and time spent on these sites was 8.6 and 35.6 minutes per day. The types of community that the respondents were most interested in were game/playing (34.9%), ‘TV/entertainment/fan café’ (18.0%) and movie/music (17.6%).

Perception Factors of Cyberspace

In an effort to condense components into more meaningful sectors and to keep data more manageable, items that overlapped in two or more factors were excluded as well as those with difference of factor loading less <0.15. The nine

resulting components regarding social characteristics of cyberspace explained a rotated cumulative percentage of 46.061. The two factors are presented in <Table 2> and are listed according to loading ranks. As factor 1 components display positive characteristics of cyberspace such as ‘free self-expression,’ ‘gives peace and comforts,’ ‘making lots of friends,’ and ‘more creative than the real world,’ it was named ‘positive characteristics’. Among the components, the respondents did not agree that cyberspace is similar to the real world (M= 1.63). Factor 2 was named as ‘negative functions’. Factor 2 included mostly negative items such as ‘serious violation of copyrights,’ ‘exposure to slander, libel, curse and violent contents,’ and ‘privacy can be easily invaded in the cyberspace.’ The respondents tended to agree with most negative components in factor 2 (M= 3.05, 2.97). These factors suggest that the adolescents seem to be more sensitive to negative functions of cyberspace than positive ones.

Table 2. *Perception Factors of Cyberspace*

Items	Mean	Factor loading	Eigen value	Variance explained (%)	Cronbach's α
Factor 1: Positive characteristics					
Free self- expression	2.57	.757	2.463	27.368	.692
Peace and comfort	2.25	.754			
Making friends easily	2.37	.614			
Similar to the real world	1.63	.601			
More creative than the real world	2.57	.589			
Factor 2: Negative functions					
Heavy violation of copyrights			1.682	18.693	.584
Exposure to slander, libel and curse, etc.	3.05	.727			
Space that can invade privacy easily	2.99	.696			
Beyond time, space and borders	2.97	.676			
Excluded items					
Must protect minors from harmful contents	3.25				
Secure anonymity	2.86				
Cumulative variance explained (%)	46.061				

Excluded item with factor loading < 0.5

Perception Factors of Internet

Using the Principle Component Analysis extraction method with the Varimax rotation method, five factors of Internet perception were drawn. These

five factors are presented in Table3. The first factor addresses the negative functions of the Internet, including ‘easy access to sexual contents,’ ‘addictive medium,’ and ‘cyber crimes.’ Among the Factor1 components, the respondent agreed or strongly agreed that the Internet is highly addictive and causes cyber crimes (M=3.06, M=3.13). Factor 2 is grouped as ‘information provider’ as it involves ‘accurate information,’ ‘reliable information’ and ‘Anybody can become an expert.’ Factor 2, however, displays that the respondents were not likely to agree with the components (M= 2.16, 2.19, 2.20). Factor 3 addresses ‘social relation,’ composed of ‘not lonely when it is used,’ and ‘can trust people whom they meet on the Internet’. The respondents also did not agree with ‘trustworthiness of people whom they meet on the Internet’ in Factor 3(M=1.57). Factor 4 relates to ‘efficiency/productivity of work’. The two components in Factor 4 indicates that the respondents seemed to agree that Internet can help get jobs done quickly and that it allows them to acquire most of the information that they required (M= 3.22. 3.34). Finally, Factor 5 addresses the ‘social role’ of Internet and its social functions such as ‘helpful to development of democracy’ and ‘important medium to youth’. The respondents were more likely to show agreement on these components (M=2.60, 2.76).

Table 3. *Perception Factors of Internet*

Items	Mean	Factor loading	Eigenvalue	Variance explained(%)	Cronbach's α
Factor1: Negative functions					
Easy access to sexual contents	2.45	.680	2.846	21.891	.511
Addictive medium	3.06	.646			
Influential medium than TV	2.85	.585			
Cyber crimes	3.13	.566			
Factor 2: Information provider					
Provide accurate information	2.19	.748	1.683	12.945	.557
Provider reliable formation	2.16	.635			
Anybody can become an expert.	2.20	.600			
Factor 3: Social relation					
Not lonely when it is used	2.32	.781	1.198	9.214	.466
Can trust people on the Internet	1.57	.667			
Factor 4: Efficiency /					
Productivity	3.22	.712	1.063	8.175	.463
Job done quickly	3.34	.683			
Acquire most information needed					
Factor 5: Social role					
Helpful to development of democracy	2.60	.819	1.025	7.882	.606
Important medium to youth	2.76	.734			
Excluded item Should be regulated like broadcasting	2.62				
Cumulative variance explained(%)			60.107		

Excluded item with factor loading < 0.5

Motivations for Internet Use

Table 4. *Factor Loadings on Motivation of Internet Use*

Items	Mean	Factor loading	Eigenvalue	Variance explained(%)	Cronbach's α
Factor 1: Social Interaction					
There are many people who recognize me					
I can meet more people on the Internet	1.82	.771			
Looking for conversation topics	2.05	.725			
To get closer to friends	1.95	.719			
To meet a variety of people	2.09	.687			
To get superior feeling or self-confidence	2.00	.687			
I need someone to talk to	1.82	.681	9.398	33.565	.917
I can express myself well on the Internet	1.77	.678			
	1.92	.661			
	1.92	.595			
I can become someone different 'real me'	2.17	.575			
	1.69	.574			
To get my own space	2.37	.520			
I do not want to be alone					
To meet acquaintances					
Factor 2: Mood change (refresh oneself)					
To get rid of anxiety or depressed feeling	1.99	.824			
	2.21	.776	2.486	8.878	.846
To forget concerns temporarily	2.02	.757			
I was mad or annoyed	2.06	.575			
To be indulged in something					
Factor 3: Information Acquisition/					
To acquire information that interests me	3.12	.755			
	3.00	.673	1.901	6.789	.693
Curious for new information	2.72	.673			
To learn something	3.17	.672			
To do assignments or school work	2.44	.507			
To be able to know social change					
Factor 4: Leisure/Entertainment					
Board, to play	2.87	.731			
To have fun, or pleasure	3.11	.719	1.400	4.999	.664
To get a certain level in games	2.24	.578			
Factor 5: Self-management					
To manage my blogs/mini-homepages	2.41	.846	1.283	4.583	.759
To check e-mails/reply	2.53	.777			
Excluded items					
To challenge new experiences	2.20	.477	.370	.187	.254
To get sexual stimulation and gratifications	1.49	.448	.391	-.017	.021
Cumulative variance explained (%)	58.813				

Item that belongs to over two factors was excluded, and the difference factor loading is <0.15 . Excluded item with factor loading < 0.5 Five key factors of Internet use motivations were extracted from factor analyses. As shown in Table 4, Factor 1 is named 'social interaction' which includes 12 components representing respondent's social desires to get connected. However, the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with most of the components overall, the mean scores being lower than 2.3. Factor 2 involves three components with regards to mental well-being. Thus it is labeled 'mood change'. Factor 3 was grouped with 'to acquire information that interests me,' 'curious for new information,' 'to learn something,' and 'to do assignments or school work'. It is called 'Information Acquisition'. Factor 4 involves 'entertainment/leisure' related components such as 'bored or entertain oneself' and 'to have fun or pleasure'. Factor 5 consists of motivation factors for 'self-management', measured by the responses to 'to manage one's blogs/mini-homepages,' and 'to check e-mails/reply'. In general, the respondents did not agree with motivations for 'social interaction', nor did they with 'mood change'. Especially, they strongly disagreed with the statement, 'they use Internet for 'not being alone' ($M=1.69$). Rather, in relative terms, the respondents strongly agreed that they used the Internet for 'doing assignments or school work,' ($M=3.17$) or for 'having fun or pleasures' ($M=3.11$).

The Relationship between Internet Use Motivations and Internet Usage

To examine the relationship between Internet use motivation and Internet use time, Pearson correlation analyses were run. Results in Table 5 shows that the motivation for 'information acquisition' did have negative correlation with Internet use time during the weekdays ($r= - 0.171$, $p< .01$), while 'leisure/entertainment' motivation was positively related to the amount of Internet use on weekends ($r=0.245$. $p< .01$). The more the respondents used the Internet for 'mood change,' or 'leisure/entertainment' purposes, the longer they used the Internet at the maximum hours($r=0.208$, $p<.01$, $r=0.216$, $p<.01$). The results also show that motivation for 'self-management on the Internet' showed slightly negative relationship to the maximum amount of Internet use ($r= - 0.128$, $p<.05$).

Table 5. *Correlation between Internet use Time and Internet use Motivation*

Internet Use Time	Factor 1: Social Interaction	Factor 2: Mood Change	Factor 3: Information Acquisition	Factor 4: Leisure/ Entertainment	Factor 5: Self- Management
Internet use time (min., weekdays)	.022	.030	-.171**	.113	-.114
Internet use time (min., weekend)	.086	.084	-.070	.245**	-.114*
The maximum use time (minutes)	.155**	.208**	-.064	.216**	-.128*

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

Gender Differences in the Motivation of Internet Use and the Internet Communication Activities

To examine gender differences in the use motivations of the Internet, t-test was run. The results in Table 6 show that there were significant differences in motivations for ‘information acquisition,’ ‘leisure/entertainment,’ and ‘self-management’ by gender. Female respondents showed more positive attitude toward ‘information acquisition’ than male respondents ($t=-3.901$, $df=316$, $p<.001$). On the other hand, male respondents agreed more with the motivation of ‘leisure/entertainment’ than female respondents ($t=4.650$, $df=324$, $p<.001$). With regards to ‘self-management’ motivation, female respondents showed more positive agreement toward managing blogs and/or mini-homepage and checking e-mails and replies ($t=-6.775$, $df=322$, $p<.001$).

Table 6. *Gender Difference in the Motivations of Internet Use*

Motivation of Internet Use	Gender	N	Mean	S.D.	T	df	p
Factor 1: Social Interaction	Male	167	1.9960	.64061	.855	320	.393
	Female	155	1.9366	.60393			
Factor 2: Mood Change	Male	170	2.1176	.74141	1.381	322	.168
	Female	154	2.0049	.72562			
Factor 3: Information Acquisition	Male	166	2.7855	.59107	-3.901	316	.000
	Female	152	3.0197	.46536			
Factor4: Leisure/Entertainment	Male	170	2.9039	.72563	4.650	324	.000
	Female	156	2.5577	.60720			
Facto 5: Self Management	Male	168	2.1667	.85937	-6.775	322	.000
	Female	156	2.7821	.76870			

The results in Table 7 also show statistically significant differences in the amount of Internet communication activities by gender. There were significant differences between boy and girl respondents in terms of online communication times, especially on the amount of time spent on ‘blogs/mini-homepage management’ ($t=-4.292$, $df=213$, $p<.001$), and ‘online chatting’ ($t=-2.364$, $df=156$, $p<.05$). More specifically, girl respondents reported that they spent 17 more minutes on average in managing blogs/mini-homepages than boys (girls= 38 min., boys= 21min.) and 22 more minutes on average on online chatting than boys (girls=59.21min., boys= 38min.).

To examine gender differences in terms of online communication topics, reasons and active community areas, χ^2 analysis was employed. The results show that there were significant differences in chatting topics ($\chi^2 = 24.34624.346$, $df = 6$, $p<.001$), chatting reasons ($\chi^2 = 19.552$, $df = 6$, $p<.01$), and active community areas they engaged ($\chi^2 = 19.552$, $df = 6$, $p<.01$) by gender. Boys tended to chat about ‘hobby/ information exchange,’ while girls did about

‘stars(singer, talents, movie stars)’. Also, female respondents more likely reported that they did online chatting because of ‘killing times’ or ‘sharing concerns’ than male respondents. While, male respondents tended to do online chatting to ‘find someone to play on the net’ or ‘to relieve stress from academics’. A significant difference between genders was shown in the active community area which they engaged (Table 8). About 60% of the male respondents were actively engaged in ‘games/recreation’ related online community, while female respondents were engaged in ‘broadcast/entertainment/fan café,’ (30.1%) and ‘movie/music’ (24.3%) communities.

Table 7. Gender Difference in the Amount of Internet Communication Time

Type of Internet Communication	Gender	N	Mean	SD	t	Df	P
Blogs/Min-homepage(min.)	Male	100	20.6900	22.22234	-4.292	213	.000
	Female	115	37.7435	33.89634			
Online Chting (messenger, min)	Male	86	37.1977	51.34470	-1.223	163	.223
	Female	79	47.1646	53.34826			
Online Chatting (internet site, min.)	Male	92	38.0978	54.50921	-2.364	156	.019
	Female	66	59.2121	56.55998			
Number of Active Community	Male	139	8.85	16.700	.029	271	.977
	Female	134	8.78	20.858			
Community(café) Use time (min.)	Male	129	33.1008	58.83356	-1.341	240	.181
	Female	113	41.6150	35.27500			

Table 8. Active Community Area engaged by Gender

Active Community Area	Gender		Total N (%)
	Male	Female	
Game/recreation	86 (60.6)	11(8.1)	97(34.9)
Movie/Music	15(10.6)	33(24.3)	48(17.3)
Religion	2(1.4)	2(1.5)	4(1.4)
Broadcast//Entertainment/Fancafé	7(4.9)	41(30.1)	48(17.3)
Literature/Arts	5(3.5)	6(4.4)	11(4.0)
School Alumni	5(3.5)	10(7.4)	15(5.4)
Life/Health	1(0.7)	1(0.7)	2(0.7)
Politics/Social Issues	0(0)	1(0.7)	1(0.4)
Education/Learning	6(4.2)	7(5.1)	13(4.7)
Relation Buildup	3(2.1)	13(9.6)	16(5.8)
Others	12(8.5)	11(8.1)	23(8.3)
	142	136	278
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2=97.867, df=10, p<.001$

Discussion

One of the findings of this research shows that the Korean teenagers somewhat negatively perceived cyberspace and the Internet. It implies that they have been very familiar with the negative functions of the Internet such as 'privacy invasion,' 'copyrights violation,' 'cyber crimes' and so on. The majority of the respondents also agreed that the Internet is a highly addictive medium and it could cause many cyber crimes. It is also interesting to note that they tended to agree more with negative characteristics of cyberspace than positive ones. The main motivations for them to use the Internet were extracted as five factors; 'social interaction,' 'mood change,' 'information acquisition,' 'leisure/entertainment,' and 'self-management'. Factor analyses revealed that Korean adolescents tended to use Internet more for 'information acquisition' and 'leisure/entertainment' than other motivations. They were likely to use the Internet when they had spare time and tired from schoolwork. Online communication likely happens when they wanted 'to do killing time (boredom)' and 'to communicate people about interests and hobbies'. A very few respondents reported that they used Internet when they were lonely or depressed.

The majority of the adolescents in this study had their own blogs or mini-homepage, engaging in several sites on average. It is noteworthy that 40 % of the teenagers had online chatting with strangers and approximately 40% among them had met the strangers in person more than once in real life. This is a rather ironical result in that most of the respondents did strongly disagree with the statement that 'they could meet trusty people on the net.' Such result indicates that it might be one thing to evaluate the potential harmfulness of the Internet, and meeting with the strangers via Internet chatting and in the real world would be another. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Internet use motivation for 'information acquisition' must be related to 'engaging' in various Internet communication activities through IM, blogs and websites which could connect people for social interaction and fun. However, the findings of the relationship between 'information acquisition' motivations and the Internet time did not have positive correlation during the weekdays. Rather, the amount of Internet use time on weekends was positively related to entertainment motivations. The results imply that the more the respondents wanted to change mood or to have fun for their spare time, the longer they tended to use Internet.

For the relations between the Internet use and its motivation by gender, contrary to previous researches that supported no gender differences in the time spent online and types of engagement (Subrahmanyam, Kraut, Greenfield & Gross, 2001; Gross, 2004), this research showed statistically significant gender differences. Female respondents more likely tended to use the Internet for acquiring information or managing their own blogs and checking e-mails and reply than male respondents who likely used the Internet for entertainment purpose. It was also manifested that males and females significantly differ in

terms of Internet and online communication time, Internet access location, and preferred Internet service types. More specifically, male students tended to use Internet more than female students, engaging in game services for both weekdays and weekends. They were also more likely to have Internet access at Internet cafes. Meanwhile, girl students seemed to spend more time on the online communication activities, engaging in 'information search,' 'blog/mini-homepages,' and 'mp3/music downloads' services. These findings seem to be quite different from the results of the recent researches on the adolescents' Internet use. They found no gender differences in the time spent online and overall Internet usage (Gross, 2004; Subrahmanyam and Lin, 2007).

Although it is widely noted that the availability of various applications was breaking down the gender differences in the Internet use of the teenagers, they seemed to solely attribute the gender gap in the Internet use to the limitations of Internet service and gender-stereotypical preferences. It can be also argued that they failed to test the relationships among overall Internet use time, motivations and online activities by gender. However, in this research, gender differences exist not only in the total amount of Internet and online communication time, but also in the type of Internet services and their active communities engaged. This finding is consistent with findings from a Korea national sample in which gender differences were found in the amount and type of Internet use (NIDA, 2008). It can be inferred that as a social and cultural context, Internet use of Korean teenagers might be different from that of other nations' adolescents, especially with regards to gender variables.

As the exploratory study, the findings of the research revealed Korean teenagers Internet use pattern and their negative perceptions of the social functions of the Internet, as well as significant gender differences in the Internet usage. However, there are some limitations and implications in this study. First, adopting convenience sample is a crucial weakness even though being considered demographic factors such as age, gender, and living areas of the respondents. Accordingly, generalization of these results may not be justified. Moreover, future studies should be extended to a bigger population using probability samples, in addition to the examination of other social and cultural variables. Second, the present study underscores the conceptualization and measurements of the Internet motivations and online communication activity as a social context. As Livingston (2003) argued, research on the Internet and the adolescents should go beyond examining the nature of Internet use and include social conditions, cultural practices and personal traits combining qualitative and quantitative data. Furthermore, given the rapidly evolving landscape of the Internet applications, it is needed to differentiate online communication activity patterns of different behavioral subgroups, not just divided by gender. Although this research highlights gender differences in the overall usage of the Internet and their main motivations, it is hoped that the findings discussed above provide evidence of changing complex aspects of the Internet use. Finally, further studies should be done to examine the relationship between particular variables of the adolescent Internet use and their

development based on more diverse perspectives regarding Internet, beyond the limitations of this study.

References

- Angleman, S. (2000). 'Uses and gratifications and Internet profiles: A factor analysis. Is Internet use and travel to cyberspace reinforced by unrealized Gratifications? Paper presented at the Western Science Social Association 2001
- Boneva, B. S., Quinn, A., Kraut, R. E. Kiesler, S., & Shklovsk, I. (2006). 'Teenage communication in the Instant Messaging era.' In R. Kraut, M. Brynin, & S. Kiesler(Eds.), *Information technology at home*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chak, K., Leung, L. (2004). 'Shyness and locus of control as predictors of Internet addiction and Internet use.' *Cyber Psychology & Behavior*, 7(5)
- Chun, M. J. & Kim, C. D. (2005). "A Study of Internet addict category motivated by the profile of the Internet use.' *The Korea Journal of Counseling* 6(1): 211-227. [In Korean]
- Craig, D. (2003). Instant messaging: The language of youth literacy, [http://www.stanford.edu/group/pwr/publications/boothe-0203/PWR%20Boothe Craig. pdf](http://www.stanford.edu/group/pwr/publications/boothe-0203/PWR%20Boothe%20Craig.pdf)
- Eighmey, J. & McCord, L. (1998). 'Adding value in the information age: uses and gratifications of sites on the World Wide Web.' *Journal of Business Research*, 41:187-194
- Goldberg, I. (1996). Internet Addiction. Electronic message posted to Research Discussion List. <http://www.emhc.com/mlists/research.html>.
- Greenfield, P. M., & Subrahmanyam, K. (2003). 'Online discourse in a teen chat room: New codes and new modes of coherence in a visual medium.' *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 24:713-738
- Greenfield, P. & Yan, Z.(2006). 'Children, adolescents, and the Internet: A new field of inquiry in developmental psychology.' *Developmental Psychology*. Vol.42(3): 391-394.
- Gross, E. F. (2004). 'Adolescent Internet use: What we expect, what teens report.' *Applied Development Psychology*, 25: 633-649
- Gross, E. F, Juvonen, J. & Gable, S. L,(2002) 'Internet Use and Well-Being in Adolescence.' *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(1), 75-90.
- Kim, B. G. (2007). *2007 Survey on Internet addiction*, Korea Agency for Digital Opportunity & Promotion Survey Issue report (07-06). [In Korean]
- Kim, C. T., Kim, D. I, P, J. K., & Lee S. J. (2002). ' A Study on the Internet addiction prevention, counseling and the development of prevention program.' Korea Agency for Digital Opportunity & Promotion Report, Issue report (02-11). [In Korean]
- Ko, Y. S. & Um, N. R. (2007). 'An assessment of the characteristics of youth Internet addiction.' Korea Agency for Digital Opportunity & Promotion Report Issue report (07-08). [In Korean]
- Kraut, R., Patterson, M., Lundmark, V. Kiesler, S., Mukopadhyay, T. & Scheilis, W. (1988). 'Internet paradox: A social technology that reduces social involvement and psychological well-being?' *American Psychologist*, 53:1017-1031

- Lin, S. S. J. & Tsai, C. C. (2002). 'Sensation seeking and Internet dependence of Taiwanese high school adolescent.' *Computers in Human Behavior*. V. 18: 411-426
- Livingston, S. (2003). 'Children's use of the Internet: Reflections on the emerging research agenda.' *New Media and Society*, 5: 147-166
- Morahan-Martin, J., & Schumacher, P. (2003). 'Loneliness and social uses of the Internet.' *Computers and Human Behavior*, 19(6): 659-671.
- Mesch, G. S. (2001). 'The family and the Internet: The Israeli case.' *Social Science Quarterly*, 84:1039-1051
- Morahan-Martin, J. & Schumacher, P. (2000) 'Incidence and correlates of pathological Internet use among college students.' Presented at the 105th Convention of the American Psychological Association, August, 1997, Chicago. IL. Online Feb.2 2000.
- National Internet Development Agency of Korea (2008). Internet uses statistics. <http://www.nida.or.kr/english/mainactivities/idata>.
- Park, S. K. Kim, J. Y. & Cho, C. B. (2008). 'Prevalence of Internet addiction and correlations with family factors among South Korean adolescents.' *Adolescence*, 43(172) winter. [In Korean]
- Shaw, L. H. & Gant, L. M. (2002). 'Users divided? Exploring the gender gap in Internet use.' *Cyber Psychology & Behavior* 5(6): 517-527
- Subrahmanyam, K. Kraut, R., Greenfield, P. M., & Gross, E. F. (2001). 'New forms of electronic media: The impact of interactive games and the Internet on cognition, socialization and behavior. In D. L. Singer, & J. L. Singer (Eds.) *Handbook of children and the media* (pp.73-99). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Subrahmanyam, K. & Lin, G. (2007). 'Adolescent on the net: Internet use and well-being.' (Survey), *Adolescence* 42(168): 659-678
- Tapscott, D. (1998). 'The net generation and the school.' Milken Family Foundation http://www.mff.org/edtech/article.taf_function=detail&Content_uid1=109
- Tsai, C. C. & Lin, S. S. J. (2001) 'Analysis of attitudes toward computer networks and Internet addiction of Taiwanese adolescents.' *Cyber Psychology & Behavior*, Vol4(3).373-376
- Wan, C. S & Chiou, W. B (2007). The motivations of adolescents who are addicted to online games: a cognitive perspective. *Adolescence* 42: 179-197
- Whang, L. S.M., & Yang, J.Y. (2002). 'Psychology's search for generational cohorts in Korean society: Analysis of the image of the college student group from the transferable coexistent perspective.' *Korean Journal of Social & Personality Psychology* 16(3): 75-93. [in Korean]
- Williams, F., Phillips, A. F., & Lum, P. (1987). 'Extensions of gratification theory, in *Technology and Communication Behavior*, Frederick Williams, ed., Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, CA.
- Young, K. (1998). *Caught in the Net: How to recognize the signs of Internet addiction*. New York: John Wiley & Son Press.

Part V:

Education

Chapter Twenty Nine

Strengthening Local Democracy through Community Media: A Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative through Projects within the Media Studies Department at Walter Sisulu University (WSU) – South Africa

Adele Moodly, Walter Sisulu University, South Africa
Aniela Batschari, Walter Sisulu University, South Africa
Alicia van der Spuy, Walter Sisulu University, South Africa

The aim of this paper is to examine the role of Walter Sisulu University (WSU) in community engagement, through two projects within the Media Studies Department. It focuses on the training of community media practitioners, to improve communication by building capacity and sustainability of communication forums, championing community media to empower the voice of the community in addressing local issues. Through these projects, WSU is pro-active in modeling the role of HEIs in community empowerment. Through a quantitative research approach, this paper presents challenges and achievements, and makes recommendations towards sustainable University corporate social practices and potential business-modeling initiatives.

Community Engagement on Higher Education

The concept of community engagement (CE) in South African Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) is not a new, rather than a transformative one. It has changed from the initial perception of community service, as separate to the functions of teaching/learning and research in HEIs as outlined in White Paper 3 (Department of Education (DoE), 1997), to a more integrated approach which infuses the former with the latter two, thereby enhancing the functions of higher education ‘with a sense of context, relevance and application’ (Bender, 2008). Not only has there been a change in perception, but terminology has shifted from ‘community service’ (DoE, 1997) to ‘community engagement’ (Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), 2004).

Whereas the initial strategy behind community engagement was the transformation of HEIs as relevant and responsive to society’s needs, the HEQC recognized the need to ‘embed community engagement’ as an integral part of universities’ functions, through including it in the audit and accreditation requirements, ‘creating the basis for a more systematic and

institution-wide approach' (Singh in HEQC/JET, 2007). The HEQC criteria challenge HEIs to go beyond 'a one-way university expertise to the public' to placing students at the 'forefront' of community service, and narrowing the gap between HEIs and the 'surrounding communities'. It demands a review of universities' cultures, examining how culture allows for the integration of CE in the curriculum (Bender, 2008).

A 'critical factor' in the sustainability in CE for HEIs is 'adequate and sustainable funding' as it is 'all too often and unfunded mandate and ... much of the purpose of community engagement might be better achieved by being directly funded by government' (Bender, 2008). In an article in the national South African newspaper, the Sunday Times (2009), the Vice Chancellor of WSU stated: 'Unfortunately the Department of Education sees community engagement as separate from their funding formula for teaching and research. It would help to see community engagement as an area for funding in its own right...'.

Media and Democracy

Media can play a significant role in strengthening democracy. The environment of post-apartheid South Africa allows free and independent media to develop, thrive, and serve this function. The conditions for media in South Africa to operate freely, starkly stands out compared to other African countries (Schellschmidt, 2006).

The South African Constitution provides for the right of access to information. This enables citizens to exercise their rights in an informed manner, and helps ensure that government wields public power properly. The judiciary however, is not the only safeguard of the legitimate exercise of public power. The media, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other institutions of civil society also have an important role in that regard (O'Regan, 2001).

Community media¹ in particular is an ideal instrument to provide access to information and feature more voices of the previously disadvantaged and marginalised communities. Citizens need to know how to practice their democratic rights, in order to participate meaningfully in the development of their municipal Integrated Development Plan (IDP). They therefore need to understand local government; such as, how the municipal budget is spent, who their councillors are, and the role they play. Community media's role is to break down complex information so that people understand it, while placing such information on the agenda in a socio-culturally relevant and economically feasible way. This is a pre-requisite for consensus building and change in any civil society and is even more relevant in a country with a relatively new democratic dispensation (Oepen & Hamacher, 2000).

¹Community media refers to small local media, either commercial or non-profit and independent of government or media conglomerates.

Sixteen years into democracy, the country's media enjoy more freedom than at any other time in history. However, this does not mean that the standard and quality of journalism equally improved. Community media must fulfill its role of breaking down complex information so that ordinary citizens can understand, direct, and lead their own development.

There are 18 licensed community radio stations and around 30 independent publications in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, that serve various geographic areas and communities of interest. They are ideally placed to provide citizens who often lack access to mainstream media with relevant information. While community radio stations have only emerged in 1991 with the aim of serving the disadvantaged rural and peri-urban areas, some community newspapers have been in existence for over 100 years, for example, the *Grocott's Mail* in Grahamstown (Pinnock, 1991). Community radio stations have a specific status as non-profit organisations (NPOs) and have to fulfill certain requirements to acquire and maintain a license for community broadcasting services. Attached to the requirements is a clear developmental mandate insisting on a role in facilitating community development and encouraging community participation (AMARC, 2004).

While community media owners in the Eastern Cape display an understanding of the commitment to a developmental mandate, many do not seem to be practicing it. The Eastern Cape Communication Forum (ECCF, 2009) observed a weakness to produce relevant content and to respond to community needs and interests. Instead, they rely heavily on advertisers, predominantly from government communication and seldom provide a critical view on local government, failing to exercise their right of access to information. The African Media Barometer stated that when it comes to actually using their guaranteed freedom of expression,

'...in many cases, people have to be brave or be heroes in order to express themselves ... there is the fear of being isolated and intimidated, fear of being labeled'. And the fear of expressing oneself freely extends to journalists as well: the indicator "journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship" scored very low' (Schellschmidt, 2006).

The low standard of journalism is at the heart of the problem of not being able to operate adequately in a conducive environment. This results in internal problems of ethics, understanding and skill amongst the country's journalistic cadre with regard to their democratic role and professional responsibilities (Berger, 2004). These shortcomings need to be addressed by media supporting organizations to unlock the real potential of media to encourage democratic development. As Peter Graves states:

'Media give people a voice, acting as a balance and watchdog to potential government misconduct. Without a voice, citizens cannot

be heard; with a voice, they cannot be ignored. Media provide a window into the inner workings of the government, thereby increasing transparency and reducing corruption. Not only are countries more democratic with free and independent media, but their governments are also more accountable.' (Graves, 2007).

Media and Community Development

The idea of media empowerment has been in existence since the late 1960s (Higgins, 1999), when portable video and broadband cable television were introduced to the developed world. It focussed on the use of radio and television by non-professionals in order for the group (the community) to be empowered, for communication and for social development. In discussing the term *media empowerment* the following two aspects are of importance: firstly, access to information by small, independent media, and secondly, the strengthening of local democracy (Higgins, 1999). Empowerment through the media therefore has to do with empowering communities with knowledge so that they may actively participate in decisions about their future and their communities. According to King (2008), empowerment is the 'manifestation of challenging dominant power structures'. Empowerment implies that power is given or taken by a specific group or by a person. King explains that it involves the '*exercise of power rather than just the possession of power*'. People may have the power, but may not do anything with it. Power also has to do with the possession of knowledge, or access to knowledge. If access to knowledge is with large corporations or the state, it implies that these corporations or the state is dictating to the community. For media empowerment to be effective, communities need to take the power and exercise this power in order to define themselves, their needs and their vision for their future (United Church of Christ, 2009).

Media empowerment also needs to empower people with knowledge and skills, so that they can work for justice in their communities. It needs to give the community access to opportunities to become informed and involved in local civic affairs and elections. As such, media empowerment has a political focus, but the media may also be used to inform the community on urgent social issues, such as HIV/Aids (United Church of Christ, 2009).

King (2008), further explains that in order to understand empowerment, specific issues need to be addressed, namely, that it must be analysed in global, national and local terms; that it takes place within specific contexts and thus has to function within structural 'constraints of institutions and discursive practices', and that it is 'both a process and an outcome, both of which may be unpredictable and difficult to measure'. Thus, when speaking of media empowerment, these issues must be borne in mind. Empowerment does not take place in a vacuum, but within a specific context.

The South African context differs from that of most countries, because media empowerment in South Africa seeks to help to empower the majority, as

they were historically not part of the larger media and thus did not participate. Furthermore, rural communities, such as exist within the Eastern Cape Province, often do not have enough knowledge of media, nor the skills to be exposed to the media, or the self-confidence to use it (Media4me, 2010). The majority group's experience with the media thus corresponds to the experience of minority groups in most other countries. The target group may be different from that of most countries, but the objectives for empowerment remain the same.

Community and Media: Local Economic Development

Peter Graves notes that

'Media's impact is not limited to the political realm. A country's economy benefits by being more open. By having access to economic information, citizens are better informed about what is happening in their communities and in commercial and financial markets, allowing them to make better informed choices' (Graves, 2007).

However, community media plays a dual role when addressing economic issues, specifically with regard to local economic development (LED). LED is a participatory method, using an area's assets to create a competitive advantage for economic growth, improving livelihoods and sustainable development through the creation of income and jobs (Collins, 2005).

On the one hand community media provides information on economic topics and on the other hand it advertises local businesses. Therefore, community media is an avenue to showcase successful LED initiatives and share the experience of small entrepreneurs with others in the community. This can serve as a strong motivator for others wanting to pursue their economic dreams, but who are unsure of how to go about it (ECCF, 2010). Community media is also a trigger for new ideas in that it exposes audiences to a wider world and allows them to identify opportunities beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Issues of transport and money often restrict people to small geographical confines, and media expands the scope of local knowledge and connections, allowing people to learn about and identify LED activities and markets they may not have identified otherwise (FAO, 2004).

Community media may not only provide relevant information on LED, but their dependence on advertising revenue also provide a platform for small businesses to market themselves. According to Graves (2007), advertising creates demand for products, which further increases economic commerce. Community media disseminates commercial news as well as drives commerce (Graves, 2007). However, community media in the Eastern Cape have not yet

tapped fully into local business advertising to sustain their existence (ECCF, 2010).

Community radio stations and local newspapers predominantly depend on advertising from local and provincial government and consequently mainly produce content related to government news and information. This can be attributed to the lack of management skills of community media owners and managers (Steyn & Steyn, 2005). Good management would result in professional marketing and journalism, producing diverse advertising revenue as well as diverse news and information. A research study in Uganda has proved that radio programmes play an important role in influencing business environment reform processes. Community media

'...can have a direct impact on the perception of individuals enhancing their understanding of a range of business related issues. This leads to a potential behavioural change in policy making or lobbying for policy reform which can lead to tangible change in the business environment and therefore business level and socio-economic impacts' (Anderson & Elliott, 2007).

Local media, responding to the locally specific issues of small business, is a particularly powerful tool and has particular relevance in LED (Anderson & Elliott, 2007).

It is against this theoretical background that the School of Public Relations, Media Studies and Marketing seek to engage with the community in order to strengthen local democracy through community media.

Background to Projects

East Cape Communication Forum (ECCF)

The foundation of the ECCF project in the Eastern Cape was laid at a South African Media conference held in 2005. The partnership between WSU and DED assisted the formation of the ECCF as an informal stakeholder forum for local government, local media and civil society organisations. The aim of the ECCF was to improve communication between these sectors.

UNESCO Project

The World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) recognized the essential role of media in the development of knowledge societies. The WSIS Geneva Plan of Action called upon all stakeholders to "contribute to media development and capacity building", and UNESCO was designated the lead facilitator of Action Line C9 "Media". It is with this mandate in mind, and with respect for its commitment to give Africa priority attention, that UNESCO launched a study in 2007 to assess existing journalism training institutions in Africa, and to develop a strategy to build institutional excellence to offer

quality training. WSU's Media Department was identified as one of the potential centres of excellence.

Research Methodology

This study used a qualitative approach, which lends itself to investigating perceptions and seeking insight into the phenomena (Leedy, 1997). The qualitative approach also assists in understanding an individual's perceptions (Bell, 1993), and allows for thematic analysis (Neuman 2003:16). It took the form of two questionnaires sent to selected members involved in the two projects (see tables 1 and 2). The questionnaires were designed to extract information particular to the projects, and hence question six could not be standardised in this regard.

This study also followed a project driven approach. The approach allows for the flow of progression in reporting on the various stages of the projects, always considering that the findings may not be conclusive, but lead to further investigation as the projects progress.

Sample

A total of 22 persons were identified to fill in the questionnaires. As the sample consisted of a mixture of project coordinators, facilitators and trainees, it allowed for triangulation, as the responses of the three categories of participants were examined for consistency, thereby ensuring validity and reliability of the results. Fifteen questionnaires were returned.

Ethical Considerations

Each participant received a standard research letter explaining ethical considerations. They were provided with a letter of consent. All questionnaires were distributed and returned electronically.

Review of the Data

The review of data examined classified the results from the questionnaires into three clearly identifiable themes, namely, personal enrichment, community impact and challenges as well as recommendations.

Results and Discussion

Personal Enrichment

The responses on individual benefits reflect practical skills learnt in terms of media empowerment. These responses reflect trainees improved abilities:

‘handling the microphone is a special art..., a difference between talking as an announcer and a listener..., my way of announcing should attract my listeners.... being well organized is very import(sic)’; ‘Layout and design has always been a flaw in our paper.... Most importantly the project not only taught us design but also to manage time. ‘We also learnt (on a small scale) the pressures of the newsroom’; ‘broadcasting, production, financial management and fundraising’.

More than practical skills, trainees also experienced enrichment in the ethical and empowerment realms matters of journalistic broadcasting, as well as a sense of pride. This is reflected in responses, such as:

‘Truth is import (sic) and educative....’; ‘It was refreshing to watch a group of people with little or no understanding of the concept of Sound and the importance of understanding it from a Production point of view, grow over the short time we spent discussing it during this session. I saw a hunger for knowledge from each of the four delegates...’.

Community Impact

The responses reflect that in some cases an immediate impact has been experienced, though in others this is yet to be seen. All respondents though were hopeful of the impact of the training on the respective communities. Responses reflecting this range from:

‘There has been a positive impact in my community after having been through this project, our paper is more connected to our readers because of tips and the involvement of the ECCF, there is more participation from the community in giving us news tips or invites, more of them are enquiring about where to get the paper’ to ‘Too early to say but in one instance, my reporting lectures resulted in a closer relationship between the publication and the local municipality’.

Challenges and Recommendations

The responses showed a varied range of challenges and recommendations, which are broadly divided into two categories. The first relates to the training projects, and the second to the implementation of these projects within the communities. This theme reflects mostly the observations of facilitators, as trainees were in the initial stages of embarking on these projects and did not necessarily have the experience of observations of the facilitators who also worked in the field.

Challenges in Relation to Training Projects

These challenges varied from operational challenges, initial communication barriers, time constraints through to the apparent lack of basic information technology literacy and equipment.

Operational challenges were experienced by WSU organisers, in terms of financial authorization procedures, with the most effective solution at the time being: *‘Approach(ing) managers for intervention to facilitate financial arrangements. Used own personal resources as emergency funding for various items’ (sic).*

The content of the training, and language was a challenge for the UNESCO-funded project initially, though this was overcome as the sessions progressed:

‘At first the students were rather quiet ... as it was a Production focused session, they were expecting a lot more practical, hands on experience....they soon realized though that in order to do the practical exercises a basic understanding of the theory involved was necessary and they slowly opened up and joined together in discussion. ... There was a bit of a language barrier ...to understanding the different terminologies involved’.

Time pressure is reflected in the response; *‘The limited amount of time we had to deliver... to first time prospective radio practitioners.’*

The critical importance of the financial viability of these projects are also reflected in responses that emphasise the need for long-term sustainability and utilizing relevant technology to enable the effective empowerment of communities; *‘...publishers did not have adequate information before starting to publish, which meant that often they did not have decent software nor computer equipment. ... Where I was supposed to teach layout and design this could not be done without teaching copy flow and the correct use of software.’*

Challenges in Relation to Implementation within Communities

Challenges in relation to implementation within the communities ranged from the need for communication and business skills, keeping abreast of technology, but mostly focusing on financial constraints. Responses reflecting this include:

‘We hope and pray that we get enough money to run this station for our country’; ‘I am aware of the need for on-going renewal of the staff’; ‘To constantly communicate with the project manager to be able to be abreast with times’.

Getting support for the ECCF project within the community also proved challenging and constant communication was the only way of overcoming this

challenge; *'Sitting in interminable meetings... It took a long time to get them on board as members ...but we got there in the end'*.

Good management is also critical in terms of sustainability of these projects within the communities as reflected in responses such as:

'Getting full cooperation of the board members to ensure proper management of the organization'; 'To encourage students to be committed in assisting community media to meet its mandate which is to inform, educate and entertain people that they serve'.

In terms of addressing these challenges, respondents clearly indicated the need for effective management functions that facilitated rather than obstructed the delivery of the training, as well as influencing the communities. The crucial nature of information technology and communication skills cannot be over-emphasised, as in the respondents recommendation:

'I set up lines of communication with the publishers and reporters.... I also set up an FTP site (to transfer bulk information). ...they need a versatile publishing programme... that... are industry standard. If someone leaves a community newspaper they should be sufficiently trained to work in the publishing industry outside the rural areas and small towns.'

Conclusions

Though the projects seek to empower communities through the development of community media practitioners, there is a discrepancy between the expectations of co-coordinators, facilitators and trainees in terms of the aims of the projects and needs of the trainees. Whereas the former two saw the projects in terms of giving a voice to the voiceless, providing a tool for access to information and community engagement and empowerment, the latter needed practical skills to be personally empowered before the impact within the marginalised and disadvantaged communities can be realised. This is one of the main reasons why community impact in terms of LED, cannot be immediately measured. The projects are still in their initial stages and trainees are still in need of mentoring. They need to be capacitated and monitored in confidently implementing these skills. More nurturing is necessary in terms of training and mentoring on a personal basis.

Community empowerment through media awareness and engagement is not a 'once-off involvement' but needs to be sustained over a period until community media can function independently, and become financially viable.

This has implications for providing intense and tailor-made training on-site, as well as the resources required to prospective and existing community media practitioners. The spin-off then is deepening democracy by providing for a

more dynamic and diverse media landscape that is self-sustaining. Subsequently this will result in a stronger and more viable community media that adheres to the basic journalistic ethos of ‘free, fair and balanced’.

Involvement of local media support organisations will also ensure a community media that is not shackled by ‘soft’ censorship. Currently, government is by far the biggest provider of funding and resources. It provides advertising to community media; it has also provided equipment to community radio, as well as arranging training. Though this is good, as otherwise many small outlets would simply fail, this must not compromise the journalistic standards and editorial independence must be maintained.

With the Eastern Cape being one of the poorest provinces in the country, community media, irrespective of regulating authorities, should follow a developmental role. Their main commitment should be to produce content that will contribute to the development of the communities they serve and to ensure community participation. Community participation means that the community should play an active role in the media’s establishment and programming, ensuring that the local media serves their specific needs.

Through this CE initiative, WSU has provided expertise and resources to community media practitioners, utilizing an integrated approach which infuses teaching/learning with research. This approach entrenches CE as an integral part of WSU’s functions, as intended by the HEQC and DOE, narrowing the gap between HEIs and the ‘surrounding communities’.

The findings of this project overwhelmingly reflect the ‘critical factor’ in the sustainability in CE for HEIs, namely ‘adequate and sustainable funding’. HEIs have to lobby government for direct funding in this regard. In this light, it is vital that the DOE needs to review its perception of CE as separate from their funding formula for teaching and research.

References

- AMARC, (2004). ‘Media for Sustainable Development Content Survey.’ A Baseline Study Report on Sustainable Development Content/Themes for Community Radio Stations in Africa and Central America submitted to Open Society Foundation, South Africa.
- Anderson, G. & D. Elliott (2007). ‘The role and impact of radio in reforming the rural business environment in Africa. A study of private FM radio in Uganda.’ Paper written for the Africa regional consultative conference "Creating better business environments for enterprise development. African and Global lessons for more effective donor practices" in Accra, Ghana.
- Berger, G. (2004). ‘World Democracy Report: Media in South Africa.’ In: So this democracy? 2004 report on the state of media freedom in Southern Africa. Windhoek: MISA.
- Eastern Cape Communication Forum (ECCF). (2009). ‘Annual Report on Eastern Cape Communication Forum (ECCF), November 2009’. East London: Walter Sisulu University, Department of Media Studies.

- ECCF. (2010). 'Evaluation of on-site training.' Report for DED, East London, South Africa.
- FAO. (2004). 'Communication for Development Roundtable Report.' Report presented at the 9th United Nations Communication for Development Roundtable, 6-9 September 2004, Rome, Italy.
- Graves, P. (2007). 'Independent Media's Vital Role in Development.' Report to the Center for International Media Assistance, Washington, USA,
- Collins, S. (2005). 'CBNRM and LED - Linking community based natural resource management to local economic development with a focus on tourism.' Presentation for gtz in Pretoria, South Africa.
- Higgins, J.W. (1999). 'Community Television and the Vision of Media Literacy, Social Action and Empowerment'. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 43. Available at <http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=LTvKY88RXvJkQQsJ3vJQ3v5nTGMkflGnXqwS4GvpBpglsvvxn1nL!-363574528!1384420092?docId=5001861419>. [9 December 2009].
- King, T. (2008). 'Transcending the Bounds of Male Power: Possibilities for Women's Empowerment and Transformative Change in India'. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, Manchester Hyatt, San Diego, California, March 20. Available at http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p238559_index.html. [9 December 2009].
- Media4me. (2010). *Media Empowerment and equal Participation of Minority Groups in the Public Debate (Round Table)*. Available at www.media4me.eu/files/12139/Workshop_media_empowerment-2.doc. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p238559_index.html. [9 December 2009].
- Neuman, W. L. 2003. *Social research methods – quantitative and qualitative approaches (fifth edition)*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- O'Regan, K. (2001). 'Democracy and Access to Information in the South African Constitution: Some Reflections.' In: The Constitutional Right of Access to Information. Seminar Report, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Johannesburg.
- Oepen, M. & W. Hamacher (2000). *Communicating the Environment*. Frankfurt am Main/Germany: Peter Lang GmbH.
- Pinnock, D. (1991). 'The Future of Radio in South Africa.' Paper presented at the Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference Report in 1991 in Doorn, Netherlands.
- Schellschmidt, P. (2006). 'African Media Barometer. Intermediate Analysis of AMB Processes in 16 Countries. 2005/6.' *Journal of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, Windhoek, Namibia.
- Steyn, E. De Beer, A.S. & T.F.J. Steyn (2005). SANEF Skills Audit Phase 2: Managerial competencies among first-line news managers in South Africa's mainstream media newsroom. Final report, May 2005. Available at: <http://www.sanef.org.za>. [14 December 2009].
- Sunday Times. (2009). *University helps to supply vital human resources*. 11 October:9. South Africa.
- United Church of Christ (2009). *The Media Empowerment Project. What is Media Empowerment?* Available at <http://www.mediaempowerment.org/>. [13 December 2009].

APPENDIX 1 - ECCF QUESTIONNAIRE

In which project did you participate: Please circle the number

1. Eastern Cape Communication Forum (ECCF)/Media Hub
2. UNESCO – training of broadcasters
3. Other – Please specify
4. In which capacity did you participate, e.g.. funder, trainee/ beneficiary, trainer, manager, board member
5. How did you get to know about the project?
6. Why did you choose/support the project or how did you get involved in the project?
 - a. If you circled 1. ECCF, please describe the project/s you are involved with (i.e. on-site training, JAP, media hub, WSU-SNA, research topics)
7. How long have you been involved in the project?
8. What was beneficial about the project?
9. What was challenging about the project?
10. How did you address the challenges OR how do you suggest the challenges be addressed?
11. Have you implemented anything that you have learnt? If so what is this? If not, what is/are the reason (s)?
12. Has there been any positive impact in your community after having been through this project? If so what is this? If not, what is/are the reason (s)?
13. What do you recommend to the University in terms of community projects?

APPENDIX 2- UNESCO QUESTIONNAIRE

In which project did you participate: Please circle the number

1. Eastern Cape Community Forum/Media Hub
2. UNESCO – training of broadcasters
3. Other – Please specify
4. In which capacity did you participate, eg, funder, trainee, trainer, manager
5. How did you get to know about the project?
6. Why did you choose/support the project?
7. How long have you been involved in the project?
8. What was beneficial about the project?
9. What was challenging about the project?

10. How did you address the challenges OR how do you suggest the challenges be addressed?
11. Have you implemented anything that you have learnt? If so what is this? If not, what is/are the reason (s)?
12. Has there been any positive impact in your community after having been through this project? If so what is this? If not, what is/are the reason (s)?
13. What do you recommend to the University in terms of community projects?

Chapter Thirty

Culture: Private Motivator in the Foreign Language Classroom

Claire M. Ziamandanis, The College of Saint Rose, USA

Why is it acceptable in Spain for a man to call out “TSSSS TSSSS – joye, guapa!” as a woman walks by?

Why would three 80-year old women be drinking wine at 1 p.m. in a bar in Madrid?

Why do bakeries in Spain need to make green, laxative bread around the Christmas and Epiphany holiday season?

Why is there no national newspaper published in Spain on New Year’s Day?

Why does the Guardia Civil have to erect barriers around certain fountains in major Spanish cities prior to a soccer game being played?

Why does a Spaniard stand 2 cm from your face, yet holler as if he were at one of those soccer games?

If any of these situations has brought a smile to your face, you have reacted as most US college students do. Culture is the *hook*, it is that tidbit of information that makes us smile, and in a foreign language classroom, motivates the student to handle the more tedious elements of learning a language.

I recently observed an elementary Greek class at The College of Saint Rose, with a very gifted instructor. Students were working on matching index cards. The green ones had definite articles written on them, the yellow ones adjectives, and the blue ones, nouns, each with either masculine, feminine or neuter endings. Each student was to correctly match cards, so that all parts of speech were in agreement.

You could say that such an exercise – while very important for the overall speech act – may not be one that the students approach eagerly. But this professor got her students working on the task, and then interrupted them to tell them that Greek Easter was approaching. The religious service was celebrated at midnight, after days of fasting. The service takes several hours, and then afterwards, everyone goes home and eats *magiritsa*. She said to them, “Do you know what that translates to?” Eager “no’s” from the students. “Goat gut soup!” The students groaned and moaned, and grinned, and returned happily to their task at hand, with an enthusiasm that was surprising. A reporting phase took place, and then students passed their index cards on to a classmate, and they once again began matching parts of speech.

Shortly into this second phase, the instructor again interrupted, to tell students that the midday Easter meal is lamb. But her father wasn't content just buying lamb at the butcher; he had it delivered live, and slaughtered it. Even worse, he liked to gross out his children, so he would put the head of the lamb on the car hood and let the blood roll down. Once again, the students were holding their sides, saying "That's *so* disgusting!" and countless other reactions, but again, they returned to what is usually a tedious task, completely and fully engaged.

We have ample evidence that culture will motivate foreign language students. Not surprisingly, recent studies provide associated evidence regarding the reasons *why* most US college students choose to study a language. Three separate studies, spanning the period from 1986 through 2006, produce remarkably similar results: the primary reason why most US college students study a foreign language is to learn more about the culture of that language group.

In 1986, Christopher Ely published a study on incoming US university students. He asked students to indicate all of their reasons for studying Spanish. Ely collapsed student responses into three major clusters: culture-driven motivations, career-driven motivations, and college requirements. The culture-driven motivation was demonstrated to be the strongest, and the study recommended using "sensitive, sophisticated, informative, and attractive" (32) presentations of culture to maximize its motivational force in students.

A study by Linda Roberts in 1992 evaluated students' attitudes towards the importance of foreign language study. 80% of respondents in Roberts' study cited culture as a reason for studying a foreign language, with business reasons the second most cited argument, but this argument was only used by 47% of respondents. Roberts' summary points out the "strength of students' belief that a greater understanding of culture is a primary reason for foreign language study, not just a by-product" (281).

More recently, in 2006, Joseph Price and Carolyn Gascoigne returned to the topic of student attitudes towards foreign language learning. In their study, the most commonly cited argument in support of foreign language study was cultural understanding, with business reasons again registering as the second most common argument. The authors conclude that "the profession's relatively recent focus on promoting cultural competence (and understanding), rather than isolated facts or stereotypes, has been a successful one" (391).

How does one teach *culture*? The traditional approach to culture in foreign language classrooms has been based on the premise that, in order to maximize students' exposure to the target language, presentation of culture *must* take place in the language being studied. The results are two-fold: culture courses are offered to students with advanced-levels of language proficiency only, and culture in elementary and intermediate level language courses is either absent, or limited to cultural capsules provided in textbooks.

Saint Rose follows the traditional structure of offering Spanish and Latin American culture classes at the advanced levels. Course content is delivered in the target language, and readings can include masterpieces of world literature,

in the original language. As an example, in the Spring 2009 semester I taught the course titled Culture and Civilization of Spain. The students read *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, a stretch for their language abilities, but nonetheless, an invaluable point of departure for discussion of multiple and varied topics related to the culture and history of Spain.

Most college and university language departments, taking into consideration the fact that elementary and intermediate level language learners are nowhere near capable of tackling a *Don Quixote*, either omit culture completely from their classes, or instead opt to cover culture only as it is presented in the textbooks.

A cursory review of several recently published elementary-level Spanish language textbooks shows a varied approach. One book has a heavy focus on music: in every chapter, a Spanish-speaking country is highlighted, with information on the music of the country, and one singer or musical group in particular. A second cultural capsule in each chapter points out some five sites of interest in the country being covered, with accompanying photos. Both sections present information entirely in Spanish, with a heavy use of footnotes for necessary translations.

In another new Spanish textbook, every chapter once again focuses on one country in particular, with the culture being introduced by a presumed resident of that country. Several additional pieces of cultural information and photos are provided, entirely in Spanish but in this case, with no footnoted translations into English. In the chapter where Spain is covered, the speaker mentions that she lives with her parents, that she likes to go out with her friends, and that she and her friends frequently discuss soccer. Seven additional photos cover: a major work of literature by a Spaniard, a soccer game, a central *plaza*, an interesting regional piece of architecture, a historic building of Arabic design, a popular festival in one region of the country, and a typical appetizer in Spain, *tortilla española*.

Traditional textbook capsules on culture fail. The example of the textbook where one half of the cultural content was on music fails miserably for professors who do not have a strong interest in music, or for those who do not have wide tastes in music. Imagine the instructor, being faced with *flamenco* music for the first time in his/her life, and then being expected to explain its history and significance, so that students might gain some appreciation of it. The following chapter might require the instructor present *cumbia* music of Columbia, or *ranchera* music from Mexico. The instructor needs to be an expert in world music, or simply ignore half of the cultural content provided.

The textbook that uses a presumed resident to introduce cultural contrasts in a given country fails because it presumes the instructor can fill in all of the blanks. For example, the speaker from Spain states that she lives with her parents, likes to go out with her friends, and frequently discusses soccer. How is that any different from my students at The College of Saint Rose, where the majority of students still consider their legal residence to be with their parents, where most, if not all, like to go out with their friends, and where our strong men's and women's soccer teams ensure that students frequently discuss

soccer? Yet the annotations in the teacher's edition assume that from this information, students will draw enlightening cultural contrasts, comparing housing options available in Spain and the US, and discussing nightlife. The photo of the *tortilla* is approximately 1" x 1", and half of the plate in the photo is filled with a tomato garnish. Unless the instructor has experienced a true Spanish *tortilla*, s/he might assume that the plate always includes slices of tomato.

Spanish is spoken in over twenty three countries in the world, by some 425 million speakers. It is simply absurd to assume that one instructor would be able to fill in information on that many different geographic regions, each one its own Diaspora of cultural diversity. But even in the case of languages spoken in much smaller countries, the regional diversity makes it extremely difficult for one single instructor to competently handle culture topics presented in a textbook. Taking Italy as an example, the regional diversity from north to south is tremendous. It is unreasonable to expect someone with experience in Milan to be to provide in-depth details on Sicilian life and culture.

Beginning in the Fall 2008 semester, the Foreign Language Department at The College of Saint Rose undertook, quite literally, a major culture change. The department decided to move culture to the center of the language learning experience, at all levels of instruction: elementary, intermediate and advanced. In order to achieve this goal, one immediate concession was necessary: in lower level courses, culture presentations will necessarily take place in English. The consensus opinion in the department was that this would not diminish the language learning experience, but instead would ensure the central presence of culture in all levels of learning. Additionally, cognizant of the fact that culture is the enjoyable information that piques a student's interest, the department moved forward, with the belief that this infusion of culture would motivate students to achieve proficiency in the language, in some cases, continuing their language studies well beyond the minimum required courses.

Foreign language instructors at The College of Saint Rose were asked to follow three basic tenets as they moved culture to the centerpiece of their individual language courses: 1) be true to yourself, 2) prepare a theme, and 3) incorporate that theme into regular classroom activities.

Be true to yourself – We posed to our instructors that they ask themselves several questions: What part of my language's culture is most interesting to me? Is it a certain geographical region? Is it the smells or the sounds? Is it the history, sports, or maybe current politics? Our focus on culture allows each individual instructor to share with the students those pieces that s/he has come to love about the culture that accompanies the language. Our instructors do not have to try to teach something they have never experienced, just because it is covered in the book. They teach what they know and love! The individual passion of each instructor comes through to the students, and the students, in turn, discover and take pleasure in the culture of the target language.

Prepare a theme – We asked our instructors to consider centering most in-class work around one cultural theme. As an example, I have great interest in Cuba, a country that is for the most part, unknown and misunderstood in the

United States. I have been fortunate to travel twice to Cuba under an educational license. Given the fact that a mostly silent political transition has taken place in that country, I could focus one entire semester's course on Raul Castro. In order to understand him, one needs to understand Fidel, the history prior to the Cuban Revolution, the United States' interactions with the fledgling and then communist country. US students never consider what life is really like now in Cuba – what an opportunity to discuss what it must be like to live some forty years with ration cards, or figuring out how to repair a fifty year old car, or considering their contemporaries in Cuba that are not allowed to surf the web. As another example, if I were to focus a semester's course on Chile, once again I might start with an icon – Michelle Bachelet, the current president. How is it that an agnostic, single mother of two children, was elected president in a predominantly Catholic (and *practicing* Catholic) country, where *machismo* is still an issue? Beyond that, the wealth of geographic diversity can be exploited – from desert in the north to glaciers in the south. And the recent history, again where the US played a significant role, with the Pinochet regime and the dirty war, is ripe for exploitation.

Incorporate that theme into regular classroom activities – As the instructor works on specific grammar issues, s/he can use those cultural figures as examples. If I were focusing on the two past tenses in Spanish, I could describe the period leading up to the Cuban revolution:

Fidel purchased a second hand yacht from a US company, but the yacht was built for twelve passengers. Fidel loaded eighty two men on the yacht, and headed to Cuba, but on the way was faced with high seas, and his boat was leaky. When they finally landed, instead of strong guerrillas ready to fight for freedom, a rag-tag group of mostly sea-sick men disembarked, much farther east than they planned. As they made their way into the Sierra Madre mountain range, they fell under fire from the Cuban army, and many were killed or separated from the others.

That is *much* more interesting than the traditional presentation regarding the two past tenses in Spanish¹, and at the same time, it is a grammar exercise that will reinforce the cultural information being presented at other points in the class day.

Beyond these recommendations, the department also requested that its faculty members dabble in 21st century technology – blogging. Drake University's Language Acquisition Program (DULAP) in Des Moines, Iowa has provided a framework for *culture blogs*, and shares this information with other institutions through the Network for Effective Language Learning (NELL), a program sponsored by the Council for Independent Colleges.

¹A traditional, grammar oriented focus would point out that the preterit tense in Spanish is used for single, completed past actions, while the imperfect tense is used for habitual and ongoing past actions.

The word *blog* is a contraction for *web log*, an online journal usually open to be read by the general Internet public. Blogs allow any internet user to become an author, posting regular commentary online, and through the use of comments, allowing for interaction with the other internet users.

The College of Saint Rose uses Blackboard as its Course Management System. Blackboard includes a blogging tool, which allows a *culture blog* to function as a class blog, not an individual blog, where all course members can function as authors in the blog. Using the Blackboard blogging tool also limits the audience to only those students registered in a given class, an issue with both positive and negative implications. We prefer to allow individual instructors to make their own decision on whether to use Blackboard or a more open blogging site, such as EduBlogs.¹

Instructors can present a major portion of cultural content in a *culture blog*. Culture blogs can be approached in one of two manners, with either the professor providing blocks of content, on which students must comment, or with students researching topics and providing the content themselves. Both formats are currently functioning at The College of Saint Rose, and both with positive results.

An example of a culture blog would be one that I ran in the Fall 2008 semester in an Intermediate Spanish II class. I confess to very clear and calculating motives: I would like more of our students to consider study abroad in Argentina. Historically, students majoring in Spanish have only considered programs in Mexico or Spain. My goal throughout the semester was to grab several students' imaginations, and thus look for increased enrollments in our study abroad program in Argentina.

The College of Saint Rose's program is in Córdoba, Argentina, so I began with a requirement that students come to every class day knowing what the weather was like that day in Córdoba. Was it going to rain? What were the predicted high/low temperatures? I started the culture blog by familiarizing the students with the historic downtown area. Students were asked to find photos of historic buildings in Córdoba online, and post them on the blog, then add pertinent information they discovered about those buildings, for example that the *Cabildo*, or Town Hall, was used to house the city jail, too, in its early years, and that there was a certain hierarchy among prisoners, with the most lowly ones being relegated to those areas where it was impossible to stand up fully. Students were not allowed to post a photo of a building that had already been posted by another classmate. After all students had posted their entries on the blog, they were required to go back and read classmates' posts, and comment on at least two classmates' posts.

Continuing with the Argentina Culture Blog, the city of Córdoba was founded by the Jesuits. That piece of information opened the door to discussing the role of the Jesuits in the colonization of America, and the order's expulsion from all Spanish colonies. The modern city, however, more resembles a city in the western United States – spread *out* instead of *up*. So for one assignment, I

¹<http://www.edublogs.org>.

divided students into groups, and had each group write a description of the different neighborhoods in Córdoba.

Since I was looking to promote study abroad in Argentina, I also had students explore what would be part of that experience: What is it like to live in an Argentine family? What is it like to live in Córdoba? What do people my age do on weekends? Where did my contemporaries travel to as children? Where do they travel to now? If I were to study there, where would *I* travel to? Some of these questions can be answered with a simple Google search, but others are better researched by having students visiting chat sites in Spanish.

A blog on Argentina would not be complete without covering the *dirty war*. A great majority of the *disappeared* in Argentina did so when they were the same age as a traditional college student. Many had the same aspirations as those students sitting in our classrooms. Through the use of movies, videos and online resources, my students were able to feel a more intimate connection to the recent politics in Argentina, and understand more fully the overwhelming sense of loss when contemplating the incredible number of individuals that simply did not come home.

A final element to the Foreign Language Department's focus on culture will be realized in the Spring 2010 semester, when the Culture Café officially opens. The Culture Café is conceived as a multi-functional space, with its primary function being as an informal gathering space for foreign language faculty and students to meet and spend time in the target language. The space will also serve as a non-traditional language lab, as a film viewing location, and as a classroom for smaller language classes. Furnishings will provide an intimate and comfortable setting where language and culture will be present outside of the traditional classroom location. Décor will mimic a bistro/coffee house motif, with wall hangings reflecting the cultures of those languages taught at the college.

Very few obstacles have presented themselves to these changes at The College of Saint Rose. Most of the changes outlined above have minimal financial implications. The only real difficulty in implementing the changes has been in the repercussions for the hiring of part time faculty. The Foreign Language Department must now hire language faculty that are technologically knowledgeable, or at least willing to become so in very short order. The department has offered workshops and meetings to aid in training all foreign language instructors.

Student response to this new focus on culture has been immediate and entirely positive. Student course evaluations include comments such as:

- "I also love that I am coming away from this class with not just Italian language, but a strong sense of the culture."
- "I feel that I have gained a greater understanding of the language and culture!"
- "She gave personal examples of Italian culture. She is extremely passionate about the language and culture!"

- “He would often use various electronic media to portray the culture behind the [Chinese] language.”

Culture motivates, culture educates, culture is inexpensive to deliver, culture is fundamental to language learning. Let’s go back to some of those cultural observations from the beginning, and consider how they would be interpreted if culture were absent from the foreign language classroom.

The man in Spain calls out “TSSSS TSSSS – ¡oye, guapa!” as a woman walks by. The Spanish woman stands a bit taller, knowing that she looks *good* today. The US college student studying in Spain thinks, “I am a victim of sexual harassment!”

Those three 80 year old women, drinking wine at one in the afternoon in a bar in Madrid, are regaling each other with stories of their children and grandchildren. They will meet at least once a week to catch up like this, have some laughs, and enjoy the company. The US student studying in Spain thinks, “Those women must have a drinking problem if they are drinking wine in the early afternoon.” The student does not stop to contrast what s/he sees with the reality in the US: one of the few places where 80 year old women gather in the United States is at a nursing home, as they are wheeled into the dining area for lunch or dinner.

Why is there no national newspaper published in Spain on New Year’s Day? The US student studying in Spain cannot comprehend that no newspaper is available, and will walk from one kiosk to another, still in disbelief. Of course, the Spaniards, still in bed, would never dream of asking another to miss the festivities of New Year’s Eve to write the articles in the paper, much less ask another to get up early on New Year’s Day to deliver the papers and man the kiosks.

Why does the *Guardia Civil* have to erect barriers around certain fountains in major Spanish cities prior to a soccer game being played? Well, soccer just requires that one bathe oneself in a public fountain after winning a big game, doesn’t it?!

Culture motivates, culture educates, culture is inexpensive to deliver, culture is fundamental to language learning. Studies clearly provide evidence that students in the United States are hungry for culture in foreign language classrooms. The traditional approach of offering culture courses in the target language, for advanced students only, cannot be the sole appearance of culture in the curriculum. There is great value in having advanced language students read the masterpieces of literature in the target language, but there is even greater value in teaching beginning students interesting and engaging aspects of culture as they take on the impressive task of learning to express themselves in another language. The Foreign Language Department at The College of Saint Rose has moved culture to the centerpiece of all of its foreign language classes, with excellent results. Future research will look to determine if students extend their study of foreign languages as a result of this focus on culture, or if increasing numbers of students choose to study abroad, results that we would consider marks of success.

Bibliography

- Ely, C. (1986). 'Language Learning Motivation: A Descriptive Causal Analysis.' *Modern Language Journal* 70: 28-35.
- Price, J., & Gascoigne, C. (2006). 'Current Perceptions and Beliefs Among Incoming College Students Towards Foreign Language Study and Language Requirements.' *Foreign Language Annals* 39(3): 383-394.
- Roberts, L.P. (1992). 'Attitudes of Entering University Freshman Towards Foreign Language Study: A Descriptive Analysis.' *Modern Language Journal* 76: 275-283.

Part VI:

Reality Television

Chapter Thirty One

Reality Show Programs that Consume Cultural Values in Turkey: The “We Are Dining” Program

Zeynep Gültekin Akçay, Gazi University, Turkey

The principles, intellectual foundations and the normative order that orient and set the regulations of the operation of the media within the capitalistic system are determined by the general economic, political and cultural dynamics that shape the capitalistic societal life of the West. In other words, the media, on the one hand, while being influenced by the capitalistic system, on the other hand, also have the characteristics that could influence capitalism. Consequently, this dual structure indicates the importance of the media within the societal system. As a result of the development of producer strengths and production tools, the importance of the media, whose area of coverage has expanded by uniting the practices in everyday life, has continued to increase in the present-day (Dagtas, 2006).

The Transformation of Broadcasting in Turkey

After the 1990s the traditional ownership relationship and narrative structures were replaced by new ownership relationships and new kinds of television expression, and global vision of the broadcasting capital has also created its own actors in Turkey. This vision, whose basic genre is advertisements, envisages, produces and reproduces a flow of television that abandons the function of informing in favor of entertainment. An important milestone in the history of private radio and television broadcasting in Turkey was the start of broadcasting from the Federal Republic of Germany to Turkey of the Star 1¹ television channel in 1990. The period that started with Star 1 developed with the rapid establishment of new channels as of 1992. The dominance of large groups (Aydın Dogan, Dinç Bilgin, Erol Aksoy, İhlas and Cem Uzan), which had become private monopolies in the field of broadcasting, was weakened with the entrance into the media sector, especially by the Çukurova Group owned by Mehmet Emin Karamahmet and Dogus Holding. The industrial dominances of these groups brought with them a characteristic framework that would also determine the diversity of cultural contents and forms. The new television channels upset the universe of genres that could be

¹It is the channel connected to the *Magic Box* company founded by Ahmet Özal, the son of the President of the period Turgut Özal, together with Cem Uzan.

separated into a few groups in the TRT¹ period: Formats, such as competitions, talk shows, reality shows, etc. with abundant action, plentiful laughter and the “entertaining” world of television entered into the cultural life. In this new period, “new” formats, which included more entertaining elements, acquired importance on the television screens. Among these, there is a special place for the “reality programs,” which include structures of narration resembling written plots, but cannot be evaluated in the category of the traditional plot programs, such as camera jokes, talk shows, forum-type debate programs, news, tabloids, etc. (Adaklı-Aksop, 2001).

More than Reality: Reality Show!

Generally, the program formats are good tools in the reproduction of the contents of the new national level and the reality shows are the genre that do this the best. The general characteristic of the reality show is that it includes ordinary people participating in the show, local dialects and local cultures. While applying modern trends of local conditions in the shows, in the same manner, these international programs are adapted to the local culture and language and attain much higher ratings (Kjus, 2009).

The advertising revenues of the channels need the continuity of the viewers, which are in numbers that should not be underestimated. After the change of television as a buyer’s market, the program producers started to produce interesting programs in order to influence the viewers: programs that included risky activities, conflicts, excitement and characters, rather than programs that were informative, controversial or with expert views. After this period, the producers became aware that the programs depicting ordinary persons attracted greater attention than the programs that described other countries, their people and cultures and reality shows that included ordinary people started to be broadcasted. Reality shows, both with expensive productions² and with rather low budgets can get good ratings. A majority of those are not filmed in a studio and therefore, they do not have a need for things such as studio decoration, scenarios or stars. These programs do not need a large capital and in this form their share in the television market is rising and generally, the viewers show an interest in these types of formats. The reality shows unite many television program genres: They resemble sitcoms with their constructed situations and environments; documentaries by observing ordinary people; drama with consecutive flows; competition shows by constructing competitions; talk shows by dwelling upon the personal confessions of the participants and by bringing up social subjects; and lifestyle programs by concentrating on the changeability of persons and their social relations (Bignell, 2005).

According to Baudrillard (2004), neither the real life of ordinary people nor their skills are presented on reality shows. On these types of programs, the interconnection of life and the reflection of it is witnessed as the story of the

¹Turkish Radio-Television Corporation

² Examples, such as “Survivor” and “Big Brother” (Bignell, 2005).

incident is being watched live and hasty playacting takes place on television. There is no longer either a separation or a void or a distancing between the two and the screen and the virtual image are entered without encountering any obstacle. The screen is entered like entering into the life of someone. By implying that masses neither want or need a meaning or information, it is considered that the only thing they want is legends and images. Television does this with a dominant belittling, however much it is masked, and puts the real world into only the form of a *reality show* with ready-made interpretations and fraudulent scenarios, and leaves no room for questioning.

The reality shows, rather than representing (re-presenting) any part of the reality of persons, produce or construct that person. These programs that have important ideological messages and the real objective of making the modern lifestyle of the middle class desirable, are just like the creation of new consumer societies and the formation of the middle class identity in different regions of the world (Hua Xu, 2007). Consequently, television programs do in the field of semiology what the industrial system does in the field of economics. The industrial system does not only produce goods and reproduction, at the final point and inevitably, the thing it reproduces is capitalism itself. Television programs do not reproduce objective reality during the production of televisual reality, they reproduce capitalism. Naturally, this is an ideological reproduction, not material. The thing that reality shows, which are one of the most popular television genres, wrongly represent and make mysterious is their own ideological practice and consequently, it is the relationship between reality and ideology. Therefore, the critical comparison point is that it is constructed with the other competitive and more acceptable meanings of reality politically (Fiske, 1997).

The Development of Reality Shows in Turkey

Starting from the dominance of the local talk show during the first years when the local productions were limited, a different television character, which was within an interaction with the dominant emotional structure, has emerged through reality show programs and the local television dramas. Within this framework, it is possible to say that contents, such as local television dramas, show programs, forum programs and biography programming took place predominantly in the main-broadcasting production of the local television programming during this period that exceeded ten years following the onset of commercial broadcasting (Çelenk, 2005).

The first example of the reality show programs, which started to become conspicuous in 1993 and 1994 along with commercial broadcasting in Turkey, is the production titled *Sıcagı Sıcagina* (While the Iron is Hot) that was broadcast on Show TV on 5 May 1993. The rating success of this program also set into action the other channels and different versions were produced by also taking into account the format of the examples in the world (Adaklı-Aksop,

1998). Just as in many countries, the reality shows, which had the highest ratings in comparison to the ready plot formats (Frau-Meigs, 2006), also had the higher ratings in Turkey. The murder, robbery and assault type incidents and trials followed by the police courthouse reporters in the written press were reflected to television channels under the title of “Reality Show”. According to Çelenk (2005), the narrative structures established in the reality shows, just as they were a version of the news type called “third page news” of the newspapers that were conveyed to television, suddenly acquired prevalence in the beginning years of private television channels and these types of incidents were brought to the TV screens with as much brutality as possible and partly with the television news format sliding mainly to the private area and were shaped with the establishment of a freer language from the aspect of meaning.

These forms of the reality shows, which spread rapidly on all the television channels, due to the reporter, presenter practice and terrorizing image-sound effects became rather exaggerated and started to lose respect in time and were deleted to a great extent from the television screens. Nevertheless, other forms, which are grouped as “Life Stories” of the reality show continued to be an important part of the national broadcasting program. Some examples of this genre were open to viewer participation and the viewer was allowed to speak in the debate on the subject treated and the basic interest was distancing occurring in relationships within the family and matters of conscience rather than judicial crimes. The newest forms of the reality show are the program forms established in the “competition” format, which have also received intensive interest in Turkey simultaneously with the television channels of the world. The first example of this is the *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor* (Someone is Watching Us) adapted to Turkey from the “Big Brother” program. This program genre started on Show TV and was later transferred to the Star TV and Channel 6 television channels of the Star group and it was one of the very ingenious discoveries of European-origin television in the 2000s. New versions of this new program genre, which joined together seriality, competition, reality and show with a narrative style, were produced in a short period of time and have become the final point reached in the claim of television channels producing reality (Çelenk, 2005).

The programs that are called “patented” or “formatted” programs in the broadcasting sector are mostly composed of knowledge and skill competitions or game show programs. There are many formatted programs in the national broadcasting in Turkey¹. The format development dimension, which can be

¹*Sahane Pazar* (Magnificent Sunday). The Spanish Europroduzione company is the owner of the format of this program. The Umut Sanat Company, from the beginning up until the present-day, has made the distribution in Turkey of many formats, such as *Taksi* (ID-Taxi), *Film Gibi* (Endemol -All You Need is Love- Forgive Me), *Çocuktan Al Haberi* (Grandy -Small Talk) and *Eve Dogru* (Endemol -Home Run). STR (cinema, television, advertisement) is another company engaged in activities with this context. This is a company that has also assumed the production of many local dramas, such as *Kuruntu Ailesi* (The Apprehension Family), *Ugurlugiller* (Lucky Ones), *Gülşen Abi* (Big Brother Gülşen) and *Medeni Haller* (Marital Statuses). STR has obtained the Turkish representation of all the programs held in the Channel 4 international format. Among the programs that this company represents the following can be listed: *En Zayıf Halka* (The

evaluated as a creative activity of television programming, is not encountered in many program genres in Turkey. This field is under the control of global media industries to such an extent that even the word meanings of a majority of the genres, which have been imported, cannot be formed.

Thus, an “indirect foreign infiltration” has started in the local contents with the rapidly spreading import application. An “indirect foreign infiltration” has come onto the agenda in many television programs, which are produced locally in Turkish, through the use of the Turkish language in such a way that it seems to have been translated from another language, different lifestyles, daily practices and forms of communication. It can be stated that the culture has been included in the formats for which broadcasting rights are obtained and have been adapted in this process. The fact that the consumer contexts of these programs are “here” can pave the way for setting forth and adopting the dimensions unique to culture in the import process (Çelenk, 2005).

The General Characteristics of the “We Are Dining” Program, which is a New Genre within the Reality Shows in Turkey

Along with the start in the 1990s of private broadcasting instead of the public broadcasting monopoly, the number of programs being imported (franchising) from abroad has increased and Turkey is now confronted with a new example of reality show program genre.

The economic crisis experienced in 2008 in the U.S.A., Europe and moreover in the entire world, affected Turkey and television broadcasting. The best example and product of this is the fact that the reality show with its Turkish name *Yemekteyiz* (“We Are Dining”) was imported from abroad and brought to Turkey in this period. The “We Are Dining” program, which has been broadcast every evening before and after the evening news on Show TV, a national channel, since October 2008 has taken its place on the TV screens in a low cost and very profitable manner in place of the expensive series and programs, which were removed from broadcasting with the excuse of the economic crisis. In a period when the productions of programs decreased, the “We are Dining” program has taken place with highest ratings¹ (Tekelioglu, 2008).

The program is broadcast five days per week before the evening news and it breaks the viewing records. Every week five new contestants join the program.

Weakest Link) (Show TV), *İnsan Sarrafı* (Good Judge of People) (Channel D), *Koltuk* (Armchair) (Channel D) *Türkiye Yarışıyor* (Turkey Competes) (TRT), *Kazandıran Numaralar* (Winning Numbers) (TRT), *Kim 500 Milyar İster?* (Who Wants 500 Billion?) (Show TV) and *Dokun Bana* (Touch Me) (Show TV) (Çelenk, 2005).

¹The viewing share is above 30% (Tekelioglu, 2008). According to Caner Erdem, the Show TV Domestic Productions Director, who leads the team that prepares “We are Dining”, it was known before it was broadcasted that the program would be successful. In the rating measurements, the program is in the first three in the lists of the AB group viewing rates (www.tumgazeteler.com)

The filming is made every day in a different competitor's home. The host contestants shop with their own budget (maximum 600 TL, approximately 300€). After shopping, the competitor prepares a menu composed of soup, appetizers, main course, salad and dessert within a three-hour time period. Guests come, the food is eaten and the host for that day is given points. The contestant who gets the most points is the winner of the week.

When the general rules of the program are considered, it is possible to say that the "We Are Dining" and similar programs are inexpensive productions, which do not require text writers, professional actors, studio and decoration expenses. Since the program is filmed in the homes of the contestants, the number of broadcasting tools used is limited¹. The actors are the contestants themselves, that is, they are ordinary people, who do not require actors' fees. Just as the contestants pay for their own transport costs², the materials³ used in the preparation of the foods are also paid for by the contestants. Together with these characteristics and the producer, director and other team members, the daily cost of the program is approximately 1,500 TL (Eyüboğlu, 2009). This low cost provides for obtaining high profits.

In a period when profits have increased despite the fact that production diversity and the consumer has decreased, the production companies have started to broadcast the same formats with different names one after the other (Bignel, 2005). While the productions decreased on the TV channels along with the economic crisis in 2008, the "We are Dining" program, which was in first place in the viewer ratings during this period, was also the reason for the creation of similar programs.

The rules of the reality shows that occupy approximately 10 percent of the broadcasting times of all the TV channels should be understood without the need for explanation. As stated by Jacques Anloine, one of the foremost producers from France, the rhythm of the program no matter what the attributes of the competitor, resembles a drama and the moments when the excitement increases are followed by calm periods without interruption (Seligman, 1992). This is carried out perfectly in the "We Are Dining" program. The quarrels that start as of the first day of the program, come to an end with the final program. The excitement sometimes rises and sometimes decreases in these disputes⁴. Actually, "We Are Dining" is also a program that is similar to a "series" program with its narrative style rather than being completely a competition program. This narrative style is the most basic thing, which forms the attachment in the viewer to the program broadcasted from the homes of the contestants in the "We are Dining" program. When the participants, who do not know each other at all, start to be guests in each other's homes, tensions and problems start among them or separation into groups is formed. The program,

¹A camera, a sound microphone, lighting set, etc.

²Going to and coming from a supermarket for shopping.

³Gas, electricity, etc. that is used.

⁴Such as the person who is the host on the first day being rather constructive, but after the meals are scored, starting a quarrel at the homes gone to the other days, then later once again displaying a positive attitude, etc. when they go to another person's home.

with new stories, which create this from nothing, even if it is occurring once a week, can be creating an attachment as much as a series for the viewers watching it (Yenal, 2009).

What Service is Provided by the “We Are Dining” Program that is a Reality Show?

The “We Are Dining” program, which was imported (franchising) from Europe and adapted with local elements for contents in the Autumn of 2008 was located in the higher ratings at the hours it was broadcasted. The elements that would always draw the Turkish society to the TV screen were used for the viewers to adopt and view the program. These are Turkish cuisine and the dining culture, hospitality and being modern/Western. Actually, the values of the capitalistic system are reconstructed when the program uses these elements. To discuss how this process of construction is made is noteworthy for understanding how important television and products are within the societal system.

It Strengthens the Consumption Culture

The periodical developments in the world for the reconstruction of capitalism and transferring to life the new right-wing policies have also shown their influences in Turkey. The crisis that started in the central (capitalistic) countries in the 1970s was also reflected to developing countries, such as Turkey. The first problem experienced towards the end of 1973 created the need for the reconstruction of capitalism in the developing countries. In Turkey, at the end of the 1970s, first of all the 24 January Decisions were taken and subsequently the 12 September military coup d’etat was held with the objective of meeting this emerging need. 1980 was a year in which radical changes were realized economically, politically and socially. Consequently, it can be accepted as the beginning of the period of reconstruction of capitalism in Turkey. In this sense, Turgut Özal, the representative in Turkey of the 1980s who was to implement the new right-wing policies, experienced a similar popularity, although he did not draw as much attention as Reagan and Thatcher (Dagtas, 2006).

In this period, the infrastructure was prepared in Turkey for the transition from a production economy to an economy based on consumption. As a result of this, all kinds of consumption goods, including luxurious consumption, easily entered Turkey. This change in the economy also influenced the societal values. The consumption as of the mid-1980s until the present-day has become an important value and status symbol for some groups living in the cities. Also, after this period, a new middle class emerged shaped with the culture of the period and in balance between the lower and upper classes. In parallel with this development, the lower middle class (Dagtas, 2006) (the *Yenisehirliler* {New City Dwellers} living in the city, not well-educated and with a fixed income)

(Magden, 2008) became the group that served the national development policies of the welfare state and the new upper middle class group emerged by making use of the international capital. Actually, the New City Dwellers, along with the mass culture that determined the cultural climate of the 1980s, are the return to a lifestyle that could be called “provincial”, that existed by suppressing within it the modern cultural identities and lifestyles to which they subjected themselves. Here, the concept of “provincial” is not only outside of the large cities, it is everything that was forced to be abandoned up until the present-day in order for this society to become modern. In the 1980s, the hope was given to these New City Dwellers that they could be united to the large city life and that there would also be a place for them in the market by preserving the modern cultural identity shaped for the society (Gürbilek, 2009). These classes adopted the values of the consumption culture, both as producers and as consumers. Turkish people were dragged from being an individual to individualism and moreover to egocentrism. The human typology of the individualist having areas of interest, but not being able to unite the different areas, who was confined to limited fields and who could not think very analytically, started to acquire prevalence in the society of Turkey as of the beginning of the 1990s (Dagtas, 2006). In the last quarter of the twentieth century, the media surrendered its strength to the rules of the market under the influence of the new right-wing policies, which spread throughout the world. From then on, economic concerns took the place of cultural and unifying concerns. In that case, the modern consumption forms emerged to an extent as a result of the life in the metropolises composed of cities and their suburbs. This situation, just as it is also stated by Simmel, was the cause of the appearance of a new type of individual, who felt the need to escape “from being made ordinary and worn out by a socio-technological mechanism –that is, the metropolis”– and who worried about “being able to preserve the autonomy and individuality of existence in response to the societal forces working to confine them”. City life increases the awareness of having a style, in other words, it increases both the characteristic attributes unique to a definite group and the need for consumption in order to reflect individual choices within an area. Finally, individuals living in a metropolis consume with the objective of being able to create their feelings of identity and of being able to show clearly how they want to be perceived. The style of clothing worn by individuals in order to make them different from other individuals must be understood and interpreted by other individuals. Individuals can only become different to the extent that they are able to share a number of cultural symbols with others. This situation paves the way for an endless battle to be noticeable (Bocock, 2005).

Turkey has been directly influenced by the Western expressions related to the “changing world” and from the reflections of these on television. Nevertheless, the Western expressions related to the “changing world” have been put into practice in a manner unique to Turkey together with the media and the viewer has started to be seen as a consumer (Çelenk, 2005). The good examples of this process can be observed in reality show programs. The

furniture, decoration of the houses, clothing, eating and drinking habits, the hairstyles of the characters and clothing of those presented create images that are perceived as desired lifestyles¹ by the viewers.

The stories narrated in the program contain the capitalistic values. These values are a search to earn and acquire material wealth. The “We Are Dining” genre programs make suggestions related to daily life, about how and what to consume and how to obtain pleasure from these. From this aspect, the “We Are Dining” program describes how to purchase food, and which tools to use to make a good meal and prepare an attractive dining table with an external voice, mainly with the help of the contestants (with their criticisms of each other).

Actually, the “We Are Dining” and reality programs with similar content are the carriers of dominant fantasies and consumption capitalism in the cultural area. While these programs that orient lifestyle provide a view to people about how they can get pleasure from consumption, they encourage the desires of people felt for goods/products and at the same time, also show the social relations that are shaped with the acquirement of products/goods. Just like the advertisements (Ketchum, 2005) for albums of the artists on the programs of the MTV music channel, the food programs (of the reality genre) encourage consumption by making the advertisements of the newest products/materials related to foods and cooking. How the design of the kitchen space and the selection of plates/glassware should be is told with an external voice or what exists is evaluated. With this reminder, it emphasizes that food is prepared with the newest equipment. By purchasing these suggested equipment and foods or by making the recipes, it both describes the necessities of being modern people and also conveys that you will be happy and emphasizes that one could be the subject of the capitalistic consumption culture (Ketchum, 2005).

*Characteristics of the Capitalistic System Presented in the Program:
Competition Brings Success and Earning Money is the Indicator of Success*

“We Are Dining” is not completely a competition program. It is also close to a “series” with its narrative style in the forefront. This narrative style is the most basic thing that forms the attachment in the viewer to the program broadcasted from the homes of the contestants. As the participants who do not know each other are guests in each other’s homes, tensions appear. The program, due to these to these stories that come out of nowhere, can create attachment to the extent of a series, even if only shown weekly. Since the contestants are not chefs or gourmets, the real tension stems from their personalities, not from their skills. The competition incites the participants to

¹The expression “Lifestyle” is one of the fashionable concepts of the present-day. It arouses various associations, such as individuality within the contemporary consumer culture, manner of expressing oneself and a self-awareness that has a definite style. The body, clothing, speech, form of evaluating free time, eating-drinking preferences, house, car, holiday choices and other selections like these of the individual should be evaluated as elements that give an idea about the individual taste and feeling of style of the consumer or the person consuming the product (Quoted from Mike Featherstone in Bocock, 2007).

form an area of control. The winning and losing strategies that can be confronted in daily life can be watched. The main viewer group of this program is composed of the people from the middle-lower class. Talent, good luck and ambition are sanctified as the key to success. To compete is presented as a natural situation. Thus, competition and individual salvation replace mutual support. Various winning strategies are set forth in the program. These main strategies are: To lie, to establish authority and make others submit to this and to obtain the most votes from everyone by assuming an easygoing attitude as of the first day of the competition by saying, “everything goes for winning” (Tekelioglu, 2008).

These types of programs establish a number of rules and values in the society through competition and entertainment. In time, these values start to appear to be legitimate and natural. The emphasis of the program is success. This success is obtained at the end of the competition experienced. At the end of the program, people are classified as “winners” or “losers” and the process is accepted as legitimate without questioning. The values that are first of all created and then satisfied by these programs are an environment of free enterprise, to compete and to reward winners, but also not to humiliate losers. It is also possible to see this environment in the “We Are Dining” program. Traditional and local elements are used in the program, but these are usually reflected negatively. Competition is established on the clash between traditional and modern. The winner is usually the modern person; the traditional person is also not excluded and is made positive from time to time, and thereby, keeping the viewer interested in the show.

The program exalts success. The indicator of success is the amount of money won. The preparation and presentation form of the program also emphasizes this theme¹. The amount of the prize presented to the winners in the competition is significant. This amount is above what the contestants coming from the middle-lower class would be able to earn in work life². Those who organize the competition can direct the program by determining the rules. This reminds the contestants and viewers of the existence of forces that set the rules and that organize the competition outside of themselves and that they must comply with the rules made. The competition has the viewers absorb the thought that they can only win by complying with the rules.

Turkish Cuisine and Dining Culture Changes

The past of Turkish dining and cuisine culture, which has social, cultural and political importance, dates back for centuries. Ottoman Cuisine was shaped as of the fifteenth century by a group of elite people, who enjoyed good food and who lived in the Palace circles (Yerasimos, 2002) and it experienced its

¹An external voice asks every competitor whether or not he/she will get the 10 thousand TL reward of the week.

²According to Caner Erdem, the Show TV Domestic Production Director, who is the head of the team that prepares the “We Are Dining” program, the Money Prize of 10 thousand TL is a slight amount. Although the producer of the “We are Dining” program finds this amount slight, if it is considered that an ordinary civil servant in Turkey earns an average of 1,000 TL per month, then the 10 thousand TL is not a slight figure.

most brilliant period in the second half of the nineteenth century (Halıcı, 2008). The dining culture, which was a major part of the daily life, was also important during the period of Mustafa Kemal, who was the founder of the Republic of Turkey¹ and in the subsequent periods. Dining in the Turkish society became internalized where on the one hand, meals were eaten and on the other hand, as a place of socialization where conversations were held.

Along with the change in economic and political roles and the even greater variety of societal hierarchy and dynamic structures, the relations between persons become more complicated, the rules and prohibitions, which shape the behaviors of individuals, increased and spread to almost every field of daily life. People assume more formal and rational behavior models, which arise from the need to behave in a more calculated and controlled manner, instead of acting connected to unrestrained desires and feelings in unstable environments (Yenal, 2006). It is possible to call these behavior models table manners. The Turkish table manners are an internalized order, which also includes preparation of the meal, the rituals, rules, words and movements related to the stages of consumption, when food is eaten and when there is conversation at the dining table (Aritan, 2006). Greeting the guest at the front door, ushering the guest inside with cordiality, having the guest sit at the table in a comfortable manner, to please the guest in every manner during the period they remain at the home and not to gossip are the important elements of table manners. These values are completely shattered² in the program: Situations, such as yelling at the guests, approaching the guests in a threatening manner, tossing water and gossiping are presented as though they were normal.

The kitchen is one of the most private areas of the home of Turkish people (Yenal, 2009). Even close guests enter the kitchen with reluctance and the kitchen, in this sense, comes immediately after the bedroom. The privacy of the kitchen also disappears with the emergence of the consumption culture. The

¹The dining culture, which was a significant part of the daily life of dining in the past, was also important in the period when Mustafa Kemal founded the Republic and in the subsequent periods. The food/dining culture was also influenced by the changes in the political, economical, social and cultural structure of Turkey during the first years of the Republic. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk sought solutions to political, social, economic and cultural problems at his dinners and engaged in intellectual discussions. In this sense, it is as though Atatürk brought to his own dinners the *Symposium* (Feast) tradition of Ancient Greece. When the subjects discussed and debated in Plato's work titled *Feast* are considered, then it is seen that Mustafa Kemal's dinners were a complete “symposium”. When the dining table is considered from this aspect in its general meaning in the Oriental culture, it is a place where on the one hand, food and drinks are consumed and on the other hand, where intellectual conversations are held (Yavuz, 2006).

²Ayfer Ünsal, one of the writers from the Dining magazine, thinks that the criticisms of everything by the contestants are incompatible with “table manners”. “We greet the visitor at the door, usher the guest inside with cordiality and have the guest sit at the table in a comfortable manner. We try to please the guests in every way possible during the period they remain at the home and never gossip. We see them off at the door by saying, “Good-bye, we were pleased to have you” (Güray, 2008).

“We Are Dining” program is a product and a good example of this transition period. Every day a new area of privacy is entered, watched and revealed.

To be Modern is Mandatory

The television programs present with formal indicators being urban and modern; whether or not these attributes have been internalized is not questioned. The “We Are Dining” program is one of the places where this fact can be observed. The dominant values are presented and strengthened as if they are a form of modernity on the program.

The West and values of the West were belittled in the periods when the Ottoman State was strong. In the period of regression, however, it was desired to be like the strengthening West and in this context, the superstructure institutions of the West were imitated. This created the effort to be modern or Westernized in form. This effort has extended from the years when the Ottoman State started to regress up until the present-day Turkey. The dining/cuisine culture has also been a part of this general trend. The program shows in a striking manner that from the periods when importance was not placed on Western tastes, a period has been reached when they are shown great respect¹ and knowing these tastes constitutes a difference in status: The contestants crazily exert every effort to be modern, such as living in *Trabzon* and wanting to make Mexican salad or to brand the competitor who does not know how to cut vegetables in the “julienne” style as being a “villager” (Tekelioğlu, 2009).

The program recreates the popular culture by using the ordinary people, who came to the city recently and who belong to the middle-lower class and have a different culture from the urban and cosmopolitan culture. It does this, especially by relating to the difference between modern and traditional. The persons who live in apartment buildings in the city, who enter homes with their shoes², whose dining table is organized in a kitsch manner, who prepare a menu composed of Western foods, who do not forget and do not let others forget that they are contestants, who are competitive and who ignore the Turkish dining culture and hospitality are presented as modern persons. The persons who have not forgotten their village/rural origins, who have tools, such as an *oklava* (long, thin type of rolling pin) in their kitchen, who want shoes taken off when entering the home, who include the most difficult dishes of Ottoman cuisine in their menus, who speak with an accent, who organize their dining table plainly, who organize activities, such as a music program or belly dancer at the end of

¹When it is considered from the aspect of the dining/cuisine culture: Some “European style tastes”, such as macaroni, potatoes, asparagus, veal, vanilla and mushrooms did not receive much interest in the Ottoman court cuisine in the first half of the nineteenth century, but they started to be used more in the court kitchens in the final quarter of the century, especially at the dinner tables of the Sultan. Along with the interest of the Ottoman elite in the European style tastes, the diversification of the products imported from Europe to Istanbul in this century were also influential in starting to consume new tastes (Samancı, 2006).

²The home is not entered with shoes in the Turkish society, moreover, shoes are removed outside the front door. The guests are provided with slippers to wear during their visit.

the meal are presented as traditional persons, even if they live in apartment buildings in the city.

Despite all of the components, it is targeted for the programs to be long-term. This is related to the high viewing rates and their continuity. It should be targeted not to bore the viewers, but to keep them in front of the TV maintaining their excitement. The contestants participating in the “We are Dining” program degenerate the food and dining culture in the society for the sake of being “modern/western”. They do this by expressing dislike for foods given value in the society. For example, to like bread¹ and to want to eat bread is defined by the contestants as behavior characteristic of a villager and as not being modern. Thus, the increase of the conflict and tension in the program also provides for the continuity of the viewing rates.

Violence is the Natural Result of a Race against Time

According to E. P. Thompson, time has become merchandise in the industrial age. The fact that extra time is spend to prepare food increases the value of the meal (Adema, 2004). Since on the “We Are Dining” program the contestants are preparing their meals under the pressure of time, the meals do not have the required flavors/qualities. Despite this, the contestants think that they spent a lot of time making the meals and that these meals are valuable and want them to be liked. However, most of the time the guests do not like the meals. This is the reason why the contestants react and behave as though they did not like the meals at the homes they go to on the following days. This situation increases the anger and hatred among the contestants. This anger and hatred is the reason why the contestants yell at each other, hurt each other’s feelings in an indirect manner² and upset each other with their body languages. In this manner, it is possible to observe in the program the symbolical violence³ that is mentioned by P. Bourdieu (1997). The contestants apply symbolical

¹Although value is not given to bread by the contestants in the program, it is one of the important products of Turkish cuisine. Bread is the food, which was given many meanings as symbolical and which was consumed the most in all social classes in the Ottoman society. It was the basic food of the poor and eaten together with other things by the wealthy. Bread, which is considered to be a sacred food and should be shown respect, symbolized loyalty and attachment. It would be expected that those who ate bread given to them would establish a personal connection with that person. The two most basic components of nourishment, bread and salt, were used as metaphors that expressed loyalty and even submission to the provider (Samancı, 2006).

²The contestants who criticize the meal without properly evaluating it by saying, “A flavorless taste, it is unsuitable to my palate”; “I was forced to put it in my napkin”; “It was too oily, I ate it not to be impolite”; who act as if the meal was not liked, even if they found it to be good; who reprove the guest at the table for speaking slowly; and consequently, create problems and act as if they feel insulted because a waiter has been hired to serve the food during the meal. Consequently, when leaving the home, they lie by saying, “Thank you for your meal, everything was excellent” and act very close to the host and after leaving, criticize harshly the foods and presentation and find them worthy of extremely low points (Bayazit, 2008).

³Symbolical violence is a kind of violence carried out mainly when both the victim and the perpetrator are silent accomplices and only to an extent where both parties are not aware that they apply it or are subjected to it (Bourdieu, 1997).

violence or become subjected to this continuously and they enjoy putting others in a difficult situation, in other words, they experience or make others experience symbolical violence.

It is Popular to Cook Food and to Watch this

To cook food has become one of the most popular professions in recent years and the fact that chefs receive interest almost like movie stars has increased the interest in cooking in many people. To cook food and to gain pleasure from watching it eaten by others has become very widespread throughout the world and this new development has started to be called “food-porn”. Pornography creates a situation in which only the eyes see and that cannot be touched: It increases the appetite and enriches the imagination. It is possible to mention the influence of the food-porn elements on the “We are Dining” program and this situation creates an irony with the societal realities experienced. This irony is set forth by a situation in which people speak only of food and get up from a dining table laden with food, saying, “I am starving, I am still hungry” especially during a period of crisis and in an environment where layoffs have multiplied. Actually, this is also the irony of the period in which we live. On the one hand, tremendous wealth, and on the other hand, those who are excluded, the majority who cannot get their share from this cake are under consideration (Yenal, 2009).

Conclusion

The process of the monopolization of capitalism has started to show its dominance in the cultural area. As a result of this, the global order has shown its influence at every stage from the production of the materials presented to their distribution. Monopolization brings ideological transfers to the target groups through the mass communications tools. The capitalist thought has become standardized in the basic principle of the program formats produced. The political, social and cultural acquisitions of the west are transferred by being exalted to the developing countries in particular along with the reality programs. The fact that the “We Are Dining” program has a western patent orients the individual to think on a capitalistic foundation. The contestants participating in the program are able to receive prizes in the amount that would meet their needs by competing. The program forces people to take risks and develop winning strategies so as not to leave the program without any money. A material wealth is created through these types of programs and at the same time, the conscience that maintains the societal order in which this wealth has been created, reproduced. The basic values of the societies are restructured with the Westernized social acquisitions by creating new rituals in the developing countries with the adapted programs. People are told that they can be rescued from financial difficulties by degenerating the dining/cuisine culture, by presenting feelings of competition and ambition as values that will bring success to the individual and that justified violence is legitimate. The dominant

institutions and values of the capitalistic system are reproduced through the reality show programs produced in the West. The “We Are Dining” program, which is an adapted reality show format, has provided for the producers to make a profit in the period of economic crisis with its low cost structure. The program serves the function of adapting the society to capitalistic values, such as the consumption culture, competition, individualism, acquiring money, being modern and competing against time, through traditional values. Thus, the dominant relationships of the system become natural and legitimized. As a result of this, the bourgeois ideology in its essence orients people towards becoming wealthy and consuming even more. Finally, production and awareness based on merchandise is imposed. The viewing rates are preserved by using the food and dining culture, which is important for the Turkish society. Thus, advertisement income is obtained. The group of ready consumers does not stop watching TV, due to the attachment elements, and the goods and services produced can easily be introduced to the market.

References

- Adaklı-Aksop, Gülseren. Televizyon Türlerinde Dönüşüm (Transformation in the television genres). Ankara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yıllık 1999 Mahmut Tali Öngören’e Armağan. 2001 (February): 229-253.
- Adaklı-Aksop, Gülseren. Türkiye’de Reality Showlar (Reality Shows in Turkey). Unpublished Master’s Thesis. Ankara University. 1998.
- Adema, Pauline. Vicarious Consumption: Food, Television and the Ambiguity of Modernity. *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures*. 2004; 23 (3): 113-123.
- Aritan, Tülay. Osmanlı Elitinin Yemek Tüketiminin Bazı Yönleri: Değişken Bir Yüzyılda Temel Gıdalar, Lüks Tatlar ve Tadımların İzinde (Some aspects of the food consumption of the Ottoman elite: On the path of basic foods, luxurious flavors and tastes in a changing century). *Yemek ve Kültür Dergisi*. 2006; 6 (Autumn): 36-62.
- Baudrillard, Jean. Tam Ekran (Full screen). Trans. Bahadır Gülmez. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004.
- Bayazıt, Tarık. Birbirimizi Yemekteyiz İsmi Daha Mı Uygun? (Is the name we are Eating Each Other more appropriate? Radikal Gazetesi Cumartesi Eki. www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalEklerDetay&ArticleID=913674. (20. 12.2008).
- Bignell, Jonathan. Big Brother: Reality TV in the Twenty-First Century. Hampshire: Palgrave-Macmillan Publishing, 2005.
- Bocock, Robert. Tüketim (Consumption). Trans.: İrem Kutluk. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. Televizyon Üzerine (About television). Trans.: Turhan Ilgaz. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997.
- Çelenk, Sevilay. Televizyon, Temsil, Kültür: 90’lı Yıllarda Sosyokültürel İklim ve Televizyon İçerikleri (Television, representation, culture: The sociocultural climate and television contents in the 1990s). Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 2005.

- Dagtas, Erdal. Türkiye’de Magazin Basını, Magazin Eklerinin Sektör ve Metin Analizi (The tabloid press in Turkey, sectoral and text analysis of the tabloid supplements). Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 2006.
- Eyüboğlu, Ali. Yemekteyiz’e Rakipler Geliyor (Rivals to We Are Dining are Coming). Milliyet Gazetesi. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Yazar.aspx?aType=YazarDetay&ArticleID=1046133&AuthorID=88&b=Yemekteyize%20rakipler%20geliyor&a=Ali%20Eyuboglu> (13.01.2009).
- Fiske, John. Postmodernizm ve Televizyon (Postmodernism and television). Trans.: Nilgün Gürkan. In: Süleyman İrvan, ed. Medya, Kültür, Siyaset (Media, culture, politics). Ankara: Ark Yayınları, 1997, pp. 29-48.
- Frau-Meigs, Divina. Big Brother and Reality TV in Europe: Towards a Theory of Situated Acculturation by the Media. *European Journal of Communication*. 2006; 21(1): 33-56.
- Güray, Dilek. Ekranında birbirimizi 'Yemekteyiz' ('We are eating each other' on TV). Zaman Gazetesi Cumartesi Eki. <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=769679&title=ekranda-birbirimizi-yemekteyiz>. (November, 2008).
- Gürbilek, Nurdan. Vitrinde Yasamak, 1980’lerin Kültürel İklimi (To live in the showcase, the cultural climate of the 1980s). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009.
- Halıcı, Nevin. Türk Halk Mutfağı (Turkish folk cuisine). In: M. Sabri Koz, ed. Yemek Kitabı: Tarih-Halkbilimi-Edebiyat (Cook book: History-folklore-literature). İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008. pp. 283-310.
- Ketchum, Cheri. The Essence of Cooking Shows: How the Food Network Constructs Consumer Fantasies. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*. 2005; 29: 217-234.
- Kjus, Ynguar. Everyone Needs Idols: Reality Television and Transformations in Media Structure, Production and Output. *European Journal of Communication*. 2009; 24(3): 287-304.
- MaGden, Perihan. Kıl, Tüy Mevzuu (Subject of unimportant things). Radikal Yaşam Eki. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=YazarYazisi&ArticleID=912637&Yazar=%20&Date=15.12.2008&PAGE=>
- Samancı, Özge. 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı (Ottoman court cuisine in the 19th century). *Yemek ve Kültür Dergisi*. 2006; 4 (Spring): 37-59.
- Seligman, François. Oyunlar, Genelleştirici Kanalların Güçlü Programı (Games, the strong program of the generalization channels). In: Jean-Marie Charon, ed. Media World. Turkish eds.: Korkmaz Alemdar and İrfan Erdogan. Trans.: Oya Tatlıpınar. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992. pp. 61-62.
- Tekelioğlu, Orhan. Yemekteyiz ve İtafımız Kaçıyor (We are dining and losing our appetite). Radikal İki. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalEklrDetay&ArticleID=912870&Date=24.03.2010&CategoryID=42>. (14.12.2008).
- Tekelioğlu, Orhan. Beni Bu Evler Mahvetti (These houses destroyed me). Radikal İki. (8th. 02.2009). pp. 9.
- Xu Hua, Janice. Brand-new Lifestyle: Consumer-oriented Programmes on Chinese Television. *Media, Culture & Society*. 2007; 29: 363-376.
- Yavuz, Hilmi. Ah Sofralar, Vah Sofralar! (Our pitiful dining tables!) *Yemek ve Kültür Dergisi*. 2006; 7 (Winter): 4-7.
- Yenal, Zafer. Yemekteyiz Ama Hala Açız (We are dining, but we are still hungry). Taraf Gazetesi. <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=4565830>. (20.01.2009).
- Yenal, Zafer. Bir Araştırma Alanı Olarak Yeme-içmenin Tarihi ve Sosyolojisi (The history and sociology of eating-drinking as a field of research). *Toplum ve Bilim*. 2006; 71 (Winter): 195-227.
- Yerasimos, Marianna. 500 Yıllık Osmanlı Yemek Kültürü Günümüze Uyarlanmış 99 Osmanlı Yemeği /Osmanlı Mutfağı (99 Ottoman meals/Ottoman cuisine of the

*Reality Show Programs that Consume Cultural Values in Turkey:
The “We Are Dining” Program*

500-year Ottoman food culture modified for the present-day). Istanbul: Boyut Kitapları, 2002.
www.tumgazeteler.com . (02. 05. 2009).

Chapter Thirty Two

When the Public wants to be Protagonist: The Case of Reality Shows

Gevisa La Rocca, University of Palermo, Italy

*'I got off the bus in via Tiburtina in front of the Studios of Cinecittà and I immediately saw a queue of people standing under the sun next to some barriers. It was very hot, the heat you find in Rome in June and after I had been standing up for a while, I went looking for some shade beside a newsagent. But that queue was always there, waiting in an orderly manner. I stayed there looking for a little while longer, I walked along the queue and then I went away'.
'I arrived in Chioggia by train, then I took a taxi and went to Marina di Chioggia. I patiently waited till evening and then I finally went to the Pommidoro, a disco and a pizzeria inundated by the chatting of a crowd sitting and eating at its tables. More than in a pizzeria, in an evening like any other, I felt I was at a wedding banquet. Jolly people, excited, noticeably dressed up for the occasion. At the center of the room there was a black and blue gazebo, the "Big Brother" eye, the staff in tops of the same colour and the security guards. And then there was the feverish wait of the dinner guests'.
From my ethnographic diary*

Are we talking about people, about a crowd, about a group or about an audience? How should we look at this gathering of people? We must consider that, though they are pushed by different reasons, they all share the same goal: They are all waiting to be interviewed to enter the most famous house at the moment, that of the Big Brother. And if mass events, such as concerts or big soccer matches, have made us get used to crowds who try to enter the place where the events are going to take place, here we have people with little talent¹ who want to enter to become themselves the protagonists of the event, in this case, the program.

Ang (1991) says that television broadcasters are always *Desperately Seeking the Audience*, but here it is the audience that is desperately seeking to appear on T.V.

Why does this happen? What kind of audience is it?

¹We decided to analyze a reality show like Big Brother and not other talent shows exactly because to enter the house you do not need to be able to do anything in particular, such as singing, dancing or any other activity. Also a 'normal' person can become a Very Important Person.

Reality shows are often inserted among the programs considered “harmful” to the public in the sense that: or they are people with a medium-low cultural level, or they have regressed to that level after watching such programs. Yet in daily life there has been a quick assimilation between these T.V. programs and popular culture (McGuigan, 1992): This is so true that the public wants to be protagonist.

In 1976 a group of friends in Los Angeles created the ‘couch potatoes’ movement; This movement thought that watching T.V. was as important as any other way of spending one's free time (Ang, 1991). And if the participation to the Big Brother was just a way like any other (a consumption practice) used by the individual to build up his/her own identity? What features then does this audience have?

These questions were at the back of my mind during the entire period of the survey and I must admit that I am still reflecting on them today.

In this paper I organize and present the reflections concerning that queue of people who patiently waited to be screened in order to enter the medium.

Insert the Reverse Gear and Go Back to the First Cross-roads

In 1998 S. Livingstone wrote the article *Crossroad in Cultural Studies*, in which she stressed the cross-roads reached by audience research. Livingstone reflects on the role and the perspectives of audience research, but also and especially on the concept of audience. The cross-roads audience research finds itself at must be interpreted not simply as a convergence of different research traditions, but rather as a place where multidisciplinary ideas can meet and where the divisions¹ which have characterized media and cultural studies can be solved. A first issue to face is the terminological one, that sums up the problem of the existence of borders between disciplines. In fact, when narrating the history of audience research and the progress it has made, we generally talk about audience research and Cultural Studies as if the first expression can be classified without problem within the second. This debate requires a specification with reference to the concept of “audience” and the modalities used when referring to it. According to M. Allor’s interpretation (1988) the audience is an abstract whole; J. Fiske (1992), taking up the debate on audience research and Cultural Studies affirms that the latter should replace the term ‘audience’ with its verb ‘audiencing’, in order to stress the process of creation and circulation of meanings that Cultural Studies focus on in particular. V. Mosco (1996) recalls Ang’s thesis (1990) according to which we cannot talk of an analytical category ‘such as those of class, gender, race, but rather [of] a product of media industry itself (...) and research has still not established the conceptual value of the term, especially when it considers simple demographical groupings examples of life experience (Mosco, 1996:262)’. Again Livingstone with P. Lint (1996) recalls our attention to the

¹Livingstone calls our attention on the debate between administrative tradition and critical tradition; quantitative methods and qualitative ones.

semantic universes to which the noun “audience” refers. In fact, this term is connected to a taxonomic concept through which reference is made to a group of individuals, that without ever meeting each other, have in common the fact of watching T.V. There is then a collective dimension, which recalls a community, a group of individuals who interact with reference to the means of communication they consume. J. Radway (1984) accepts this meaning when he considers the audience as a real community. This is also the case of D. Hobson (1982). There is, therefore, a meeting between a community which comes into being in the moment of consumption and the need to define such spectators/consumers with more or less suitable labels, such as ‘male audience’, ‘soap-opera fans’ or ‘reality show ones’.

The audience starts to be outlined as a community that aggregates locally pushed by the influence of a medium and that we could therefore define as global. This meeting of global and local brings to our mind Appaduraj’s mediascapes(1996).

In Livingstone’s thesis (1998) the audience is becoming visible from the theoretical, empirical and political point of view. The consequence of this acquisition – also on the basis of what affirmed by Silverstone (1990) – is that the audience becomes the cornerstone for the understanding of the social and cultural processes of public communication. What is happening to Italy if the audience queues up to get into the most famous house at the moment? What do these queues of aspiring VIP represent?

On the Road towards Media-Lived Experiences: From Reality on TV to Reality Shows

A first answer to the questions made in the previous paragraphs can be traced in the way experience is organized when the media socialize with it and enter everyday life and when we start growing up in their midst (Buckingham 2000).

A first reorganization of the forms of experience dates back to the development of modern society: the increase of knowledge and the possibility to communicate events previously not only far away but also “distant” from daily life, have produced what J. B. Thompson (1998) calls a release from sequestration of experience. This release from sequestration has been carried out by the Press, but also by the Radio and by T.V. because these have the capability of transmitting in a vivid way pieces of news which are geographically distant from those who receive them. Thompson calls this kind of experience: ‘mediated experience’ to distinguish it from the lived experience which recalls Dilthey’s *Erlebnis* (1914-1936). The characteristics attributed to the latter are immediateness, the continuously being in some way the product of no reflection, but it is also located: ‘it is the experience we make in the practical contexts of daily life (Thompson, 1998, p. 315)’. This experience is the result of the activities we carry out and the meetings we have day after day; in this

sense it is different from the experience we make through media interactions, which expanding in time and space allow an intimacy with others who do not belong to the same space and temporal environment, and can therefore be considered a “distance” experience (*ib.*, p. 305). To adduce arguments for this difference Thompson enunciates four substantial differences between mediated and lived experience. First of all, mediated experiences take place in situations which are distant from daily life. In addition, they are recontextualized. In other words, people come in contact with these experiences from places which are different from those where they occur. Thirdly, the characteristic which distinguishes mediated experience from the lived one is the structure of the priorities it is organized by; with this the author intends to say that if we consider ‘the inner self as a symbolic project which, during life, the individual models and re-models, then we also have to recognize that this project presupposes a scale of the important things, this too continuously changing: this scale decides the relevance or the irrelevance of our effective and potential experiences. This structure of priorities is an integral part of our life project (*ib.*, pp. 317-318)’. The structure of the priorities attributed to mediated experience is different and to a certain extent inferior to that attributed to lived experience – the author says - , because in the first case, even when some appointments with the medium are a routine, the relationship established is weak. The fourth aspect examined is named ‘de-spatialized commonality’. This is useful to stress the difference in the proximity of experience sharing. In fact, in the case of a lived experience, the place in which this occurs is the same for all the people who are having it; this is not the case of mediated experiences which make it possible to live the same experiences though not sharing the same life environments. At the end Thompson wonders what happens to the inner self in a world in which mediated experiences have such an important role in the life of people and thinks that it is best for the inner self to gradually free itself from its ties with the practical contexts of daily life. Here we affirm, instead, that the need to render daily and close a mediated experience in context, time and place brings as a consequence that people – or some people – look for it as an experience to be lived mediatically.

The new means of communication make it possible to have what we define as a ‘mediatically lived experience’. This is strongly connected to Dilthey’s concept because it is positioned in a temporal flux which is that of daily life but it is also connected to the media. These make it possible for the experience to be: mediated because it is known thanks to the media and mediatical because the individual has the possibility to live it concretely entering the medium. If we consider television this process is today emphasized by the reality shows, in which we have a privatization of what is public and a divulgence of what is private (Sennett, 1982; Thompson, 1998; Menduni, 2002).

In particular in the reality Big Brother many of the characteristics which Thompson had found between mediated and lived experience disappear. In fact, the house is the daily sharing place per excellence. You are closed in there; you cannot go out.

‘The fact of feeling without room and a prisoner is a situation which has always paid; the participants must feel that it is impossible to escape. This is pure reality. You are in a small house. (...) In life you can be alone, free yourself from the physical presence of others. In reality shows you can’t. If you have a problem with somebody, it will always be there; You can’t runaway, you have to face it and this makes the show (F. Casperi, quoted in Mosca, 2009, p. 35)’.

The *audience*, after being exposed to these programs and after renegotiating their symbolic content, now wants to live this experience also to find a solution to its daily ‘problems’.

A mediatically lived experience has become a necessity and a resource in the lives of these people, so as to make them accept long waits to be screened or to repeat the screening in different dates and cities, as if that could increase their chance of being chosen.

The Research Stages

The field research lasted three months – from June to August 2009 – period in which the screening dates were concentrated. The field research was divided in two stages: the first of observation and the second of interviews/talks with those participating to the selections.

To analyze the reasons behind the participation to the Big Brother we talked to 120 people, uniformly distributed between the North, the Center and the South of Italy. Proof of the fact that to these selections – and consequently to this type of format – is interested a range of public of very different ages, we have a 48 year old (maximum age) man and an 18 year old (minimum age) girl from Latina. The average age is instead 28,08.

The interview questionnaire comes from, in some of its points, the participant observation of and the participant listening to the ‘chatting’ of the first research stage. The questionnaire is divided into four parts.

- A self-presentation: in this first part the interviewee is asked to tell us what he/she does in his/her life (studies, work, etc.); the level of education and age.
- The reason: this is the fundamental part of the interview¹. The interviewee is asked first of all to explain what the screen-test represents for him/her and then what the house means to him/her and the possibility to enter it. An important question is this section

¹Towards the aspiring participants the method used was a semi-structured interview carried out using a non-directive strategy (See Bertaux 1980, Bichi, 2007). A series of open questions were prepared inside which the interviewer inserted some interventions, stimulus and further questions pertinent with the ongoing conversation. R. Bichi (2007) defines them as ‘many little “life stories” with questions and answers which remain within the conceptual context offered by who answers (p. 186)’.

is what the interviewee wishes to transmit of him/herself – by television – to the rest of the audience. It is here that the interview sometimes becomes a clinical talk.

- Style of clothing: the interviewee is asked to reflect on what he/she and others wear.
- Love: starting from a question on the interviewee's sentimental condition (single, engaged, married, cohabiter, etc.) the interviewee is asked – whether single or engaged – if he/she would live a love story inside the house.

At the House's Doorstep

To enter the 'house' the screening process includes various steps. The snapshot here offered of the aspiring participants shows those who decided to face the first screen-test. It is, therefore, a group of people who have not undergone any skimming process. To know what pushed them to go out of their house and to take a number, to buy an entrance ticket, to queue up and to wait is the objective of this analysis. The answers provided by the 120 aspiring participants were gathered in one *corpus* and analyzed using Lexico3¹, a software for textual lexicon analysis².

The answers gathered together provide us with a manageable text, made up of 35.494 graphic forms, with a *hapax* percentage – the words which occur only once – of 57,5%.

Table 1. *Main Lexicometric Measures*

word token (N)	35.494
Word type (V)	5.027
hapax % (V1/V)*100	57,490
index of lexical extention (V/N)*100	14,163

As often happens, it is the topic in discussion to occupy the first places in the frequency ranges. This explains why the first positions are occupied by 'house', 'Big Brother'³ and by 'screen-test'; after come the topics which develop from the main one.

¹ <<http://www.cavi.univ-paris3.fr/ilpga/ilpga/tal/lexicoWWW/>>

²The quantitative analysis of the lexicon or textual lexicon statistics presents itself mainly as the product of the meeting of two disciplines: linguistics and statistic linguistics. For more details see Lebart, L & Salem, A (1994). *Analyse statistique des donnees textuelles*. Dunod: Paris.

³During the transcription phase the expression Grande Fratello (Big Brother) was transcribed as 'GF', in order to be able to consider it one word only.

Table 2. *Graphic Forms per Frequencies*

Casa (Home)*	294
GF (Big Brothers)	154
Provino (Audition)	132
Esperienza (Experience)	110
Vita (Life)	63
Mondo (World)	85
Soldi (Money)	80
Lavoro (Job)	78

*within parentheses is reported the translation of the word

The ‘screen-test’ and the possibility to enter the Big Brother house is an experience that could change the ‘life’ of our aspiring participators, help them to enter the ‘world’ of show-business or at least allow them earn some ‘money’.

Identikit of the Experience

What immediately results from a first reading of the distribution of the forms according to their frequencies (see tab. 2) is the notion of ‘experience’. At this point, identified the graphic form which appears more often in the text and which has a priority over the others, we can proceed selecting the fragments of text containing the form chosen and then reconstruct its use, but we can also draw a conceptual map of the word, exactly as it is used by the interviewees. The technique which allows us to operate this way is the analysis of the concordances.

The experience is by itself multidimensional; it is not surprising therefore that we can make reference to it considering more than one shade. Already the simple participation to the screen-test is defined as such; it is, in fact, an opportunity to ‘pass a different kind of evening’, to ‘know people’, but also to try and change one’s life because, if chosen, the Big Brother could be a “springboard” towards the world of show-business. The passage from time-being amusement to ‘springboard’ fills with different expectations the fact of being there waiting.

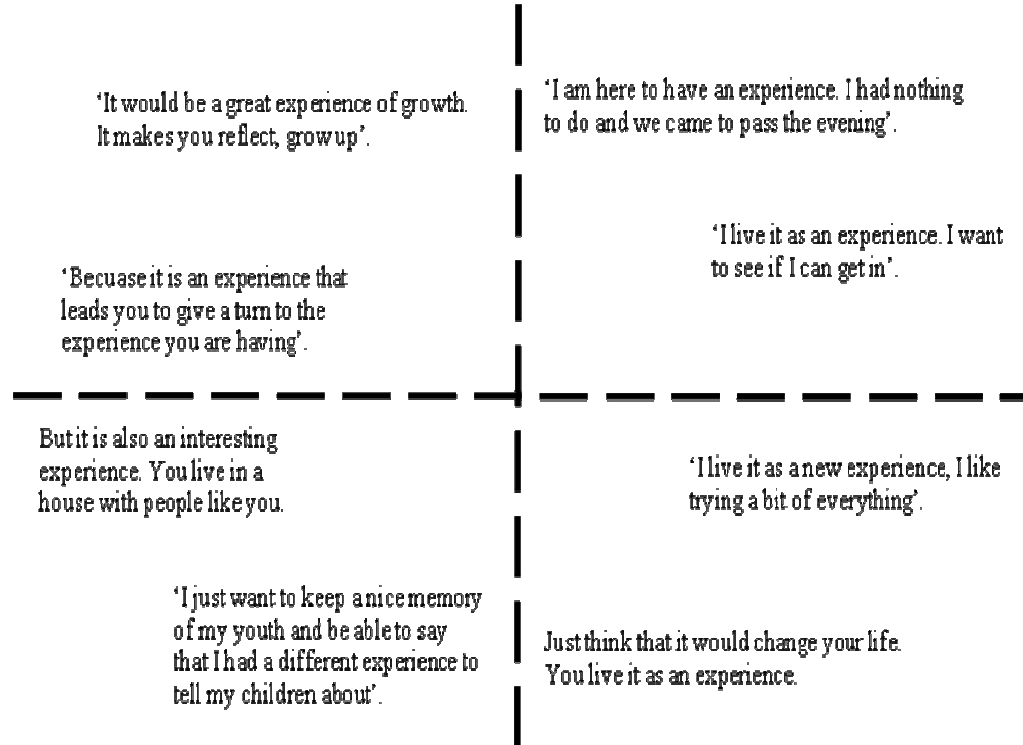
The experience moves along a cognitive dimension which sees it drift from an experience in itself to an experience for oneself till it becomes a meta-experience.

The expression *experience in itself* contains the declarations of those who attribute full value to the screen-test; in other words, they identify in the first screening, the main reason of their being there. These young people meet up in the casting locations: in shopping malls, squares, pizzerias or discos. They have interests in common which offers them the opportunity to socialize. These common interests favour interaction offering stimulus for conservation.

The passing on to an *experience for oneself* occurs when you are no longer looking to stay at the doorstep of the house, but you wish to go inside, considering this fact a turning point – real or imagined – of your life. The participation to the Big Brother reality show becomes a *desiderata* of one’s

life. Although this has never been lived in person – by any of our interviewees –, but only as spectators, it is obvious that it could mean for them far-reaching changes.

Figure 1. *The Contexts of the Cognitive Dimension of the Experience*



The attribution of expectations connected to entering the house is so exponential that the simple thought of walking through that door gives the perception that the idea one has of oneself and of one's life would inevitably change. This not only thanks to the job opportunities or to the participation to the world of show-business that could derive from it, but especially because in that house, during the period of incubation and segregation, our interviewees, are sure that something inside them will change. As one aspirant participator declares 'in there you can talk and talk about yourself', 'because it is an unforgettable experience to live with other people or to be recorded'. From their words what emerges is the certainty of change, but also the desire to remain closed in with other people for a long time as if surrounded by a shell that will allow a new personality to reveal itself. It is looked for as if it were an experience to pass through, something capable of placing a borderline – an entrance – between what you were before you entered and what you will become after.

'The doorstep is just an element of the door and in most of (the rituals attributed to it¹) it must be considered in the immediate and immaterial sense of

¹The expression reported in brackets has been added here to favour the understanding of the text.

entrance, waiting and exit rituals, in other words, rituals of passage (Van Gennep, 1909, p. 21)'.

Certainly in the memory of all of us it is possible to find a trip, a summer spent by the sea, a year of secondary school in which we had the perception of having changed forever. When we look back at the experiences or at the traces we left of our life and that life has sculptured in us, that is the moment that memory recalls, it is the tangibility of the experience in the medium that they are looking for.

The Instrumental Dimension

The desire of change emerges also analyzing the nouns which precede and follow the word 'money'. 'I am interested in money to make my dreams come true. To have a business of my own. Because the banks won't give me a loan'.

A double instrumental dimension is linked to money; on one hand there is the identification of the instruments thanks to which it is possible to make money, on the other hand, money can be used as a means to make a dream come true or to compensate for the lack of something, certainly to give oneself a better quality of life. This second function, classifiable with the label ***what do do with it*** is lived by the interviewees as a stroke of luck 'I have to buy a house and marry him. I don't count on it. However, if the money arrives it will be like winning the lottery', say a couple, who have come to do the screen-test together. Lived this way, money makes it possible to solve an economic problem which otherwise cannot be faced; it allows in fact: to pay off a debt, to extinguish a mortgage, to buy a house, to start up a new business, to guarantee a serene future to one's children. When you ask the interviewees if to solve this type of economic difficulties it would not be the case of going to the banks or of asking help to the State, the answer is simple and extremely revealing: 'As it stands now it is hard if you don't have something of yours. Because if you don't have a house or an important signature, they won't give much money. Then the banks do nothing for us young people. As it stands now there is also this crisis that makes it impossible for them to give money'. Big Brother is a way of getting around the economic difficulties caused also by the recession. And so, it is necessary to work out a way on ***how to make*** this money, because not everybody, even if they were chosen to enter the house, would win the final prize. The way to make money is already clear to our aspiring participants. It is necessary to be guests on T.V. programs or at organized evenings in discos. 'Money coming from one's popularity and not from the prize, because it is difficult to win the prize. I count on the evenings once I'm out of the house'. 'Maybe I could be a guest, or participate to evenings at discos, not to show myself but simply to make a lot of money'.

In the instrumental dimension connected to the analysis of the concordances for the noun 'money' we can identify two main categories referring to 'how to make' and 'what to do' with this money.

Figure 2. *The Contexts of the Instrumental Dimension of Money*

'Everybody has his/her own ideas but with the help of my parents and of trustworthy friends I could invest in remunerative activities for the future'.	'And to tell you the truth: If I were ever to participate it would be for the money. Because I need it. And even if you are eliminated, you appear in studio till the last episode and they give you something'.
'Yes, I am interested in money. With my friends I have a dream: to have a small business, not to work for others but for myself. One comes here not to become famous but to have a few extrapence'.	'Because I don't expect to get by with T.V. but it is an opportunity to have a budget. Everything that moves around the Big Brother brings money. Also evenings in discos bring you to do something'.
'I don't lie if I tell you that I am interested in money like everybody. Being married with a little girl I would use it to give a safe future to my family'.	'I have a stray dog, but we need money to look after him, because the vet costs. I am Italian with Brazilian blood'.
'But the main reason is to win some money. To win some money and to run away from Italy. Because it is impossible to carry on'.	'I have never gone back and I hope that this opportunity gives me the money to do so. A lot of people who dropout and sell drougs, start working at a young age. So for this reason'.

In the last quadrant where are visualized the expressions connected to the aspect “what to do with this money” appears the idea – expressed by many participants – to use it to start up a business, a pub or a restaurant, to which dedicate oneself on one’s own. What emerges is an entrepreneurial spirit in the Italians which is often repressed by the harshness of our banks and of our bureaucracy. And so what does our audience think of doing? It thinks that the solution is to be found in the fame that can be reached using T.V., almost without merit, if not that of being lucky, like when choosing a winning lottery ticket.

Conclusions

This audience, gathered in small towns, clearly knows how useful it can be to enter the house. In the reasons given there is trace of a cognitive dimension and of an instrumental one connected to the daily contexts in which their lives pass. But in the analysis of the cognitive dimension as well as in that of the instrumental one what emerges is the will to change one’s life thanks to this screen-test.

We must take into consideration the fact that the people interviewed are the so-called ‘aspirant participators coming from the countryside’, in other words they are people who were interviewed in small towns and who, according to the answers given to the questions, are resident in those municipalities or live in their hinterland. We are not talking about participants who wish to become

stars and who already have some experience in the world of show-business; These can be found in the locations of big cities such as Rome and Milan. The people here interviewed do not have whims: They are people who see in this reality show a constructive moment of their life. With this meaning the audience is not only visible or active; the audience becomes participant. Like Alice in Wonderland these “people” decide to enter this magical instrument after being continuously exposed to it. This opens a new debate, because this audience is not just the one that sits in front of the T.V. and which the ethnographer can study watching it interact with the medium, because it moves around though remaining an “audience” the same. Like Alice, this audience jumps into the magic world or at least it would like to. It does not stay put in front of the T.V., sitting in an arm-chair and playing with the remote-control. This audience wants to be protagonist. This throws new wood on the fire of the debate between theories on audience and macro and micro levels of analysis. In fact, we must ask ourselves how to look at this audience/protagonist, that if it cannot enter, sits down in the arm-chair and watches the show, hoping to become protagonist the following year. We indicate as predominant an integration of audience research with the rest of media and cultural theories, but also with the socio-economic and political ones. If we accept the idea that this crowd is an audience, even if it has left its remote-control at home, then we have to find a sixth way alternative to the ones presented by J. Alexander and B. Giesen (1987), because we are no longer in the presence of an audience that can be: 1) simply considered a market, 2) active and creative, 3) a spectator and a citizen 4) mass hetero-directed, 5) or resistant. This is an audience that wishes to participate, that tries to and can enter the medium. Taking these new features, given to it by the spreading of reality shows, perhaps, I say perhaps, audience research should abandon the pause for reflection it has taken and start back working.

References

- Alexander, J.C. & Giesen, B. (1987). ‘Mass Communication, Civil Society’. In: T. Liebs & J. Curran (ed.), *Media, Ritual and Identity: Essay in Honour of Elihu Katz*. London: Routledge.
- Allor, M. (1988). ‘Relocating the Site of Audience’. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5:217-223.
- Ang, I. (1991). *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London: Routledge.
- Appaduray, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimension of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bertaux, D. (1980). ‘L’approche biographique. Sa validité méthodologique, ses potentialités’. *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* LXIX, Juillet-Décemer: 197-225.
- Bichi, R. (2007). *La conduzione delle interviste nella ricerca sociale*. Roma: Carocci.
- Buckingham, D. (2000). *After the death of childhood: growing up in the age of electronic media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dilthey, W. (1924). *Gesamelte Schriften*. Berlin: Leipzig u.

- Fiske, J. (1987). *Television Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Fiske, J. (1992). 'Audiencing: A cultural Studies Approach to Watching Television'. *Poetics* 21: 345-359.
- Hobson, D. (1982). *Crossroad: the Drama of a Soap Opera*. London: Methuen.
- Lebart, L. & Salem, A. (1994). *Analyse statistique des donnees textuelles*. Paris: Dunod.
- Liebs, T. & Curran, J. (ed.) (1998). *Media, Ritual and Identity. Essay in Honour of Elibu Katz*. London: Routledge.
- Lint, P. & Livingstone, S.M. (1996). 'The Focus Group in Media and Communications Research: The Critical Interpretation of Public Discourse'. *Journal of Communication* 46: 79-78.
- Livingstone, S.M. (1998). 'Audience Research at the Crossroads. The "implied audience" in media and cultural theory'. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* I(2). London: Sage.
- McGuigan, J. (1992). *Cultural Populism*. London: Routledge.
- Morley D. (1992). *Television, Audience & Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Mosca, P. (2009). *Reality. Dal grande fratello all'isola dei famosi*, Milano: Bompiani.
- Mosco, V. (1996). *The Political Economy*. London: Sage.
- Radway, J. (1984). *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Sennett, R. (1974). *The Fall of Public Man*. New York: Ed. A. Knopf.
- Silverstone, R. (1994). *Television and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge.
- Thompson, J.B. (1995). *The Media and Modernity. A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Van Gennep, A. (1909). *Les rites de passage*. Paris: Émile Nourry.

Part VII:

Film Studies

Chapter Thirty Three

D.W. Griffith's Chases in *The White Rose* and *Isn't Life Wonderful* and their Impact on Film

George Pavlou, European University, Cyprus

This study concentrates on two specific films of D.W. Griffith: *The White Rose* and *Isn't Life Wonderful*. It analyses D.W. Griffith's chase scenes which influenced the formation of chase scenes and their editing today. This is a follow-up integral major study of Griffith's post-Biograph films. The previous study concentrated on four films, in a chronological order (*Hearts of the World*, *Broken Blossoms*, *Way Down East*, and *Orphans of the Storm*). Following research will cover the remaining films.

D. W. Griffith is considered one of the greatest innovators and directors that the film industry has known. His significance in the history of film is his innovations and contributions especially in the area of editing. There are certain principles in editing which are important and necessary in showing how editing can affect rhythm, time, space, and theme.¹ As mentioned in the previous studies Griffith's editing techniques are best illustrated in his chase scenes. A filmic chase scene is a group of shots with continuous action involving a person chasing another or more specifically a pursuer and a pursued, whether human or not. A filmic chase can range from an "actual" chase where one is physically pursued by someone or something, to a "thematic" chase where one is non-physically pursued by someone, an idea, or something non-concrete such as revenge or hate. Chase scenes have been used in films since the beginning of cinema to serve different purposes: showing action; giving continuity; following the script or storyline; developing filmic space and time; revealing a certain area of space; providing humor; distinguishing between the good and the bad; or establishing empathy, suspense or excitement so as to maintain the attention of the audience in order to reach a climax.² The most common pairs of pursuer and pursued used in chase scenes are: people v. people, people v. moving vehicles, vehicle v. vehicle, people v. supernatural forces, people v. animals, people v. monsters, and at times, vehicle v. animal.³

As will be documented, Griffith's editing techniques are directly associated with his chase scenes. While Griffith was experimenting with editing techniques, he must have realized that there is more depth behind editing and a

¹Bernard F. Dick, *Anatomy of Film* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), p. 44.

²The researcher has found this to be true by viewing and analysing the chase scenes of several films of the silent period.

³Ibid., this will be further discussed and documented later

greater range of possibilities when combined with other film elements than what was obvious until then. His basic mechanics in editing are the following:

1. Filmic time and space. Unlike real time, filmic time can violate the exactness of time in terms of the length and in going backwards or forwards. The actual size of space can be made to seem smaller or larger — a relationship to keep harmony and logic for the viewer.¹
2. Parallel editing. Parallel editing is the repetition of the identical moment of time to connect two separate activities.²
3. Referential crosscutting. Referential crosscutting is cutting back and forth when parallel editing is used to express psychological concepts.³
4. Decomposition. Decomposition is the cutting to significant details in order to depict the environment in a more comprehensive manner.⁴

One of Griffith's most predominant techniques of editing is his parallel crosscutting technique: a series of shots edited in such a way so as to "depict simultaneous actions in such a manner as to bring out their relationship, their meaning, their significance..." a way not only to present reality but interpreting it.⁵

By combining editing techniques with chase scenes, Griffith achieved a powerful phenomenon. By using his editing techniques, especially his parallel crosscutting technique, with chase scenes, Griffith could achieve a number of combined effects, such as creating excitement and suspense. Also by controlling the length of each shot he could manage to control the emotions of the audience and achieve his desired effect leading to the climax of the film. This research concentrates on Griffith's editing techniques inherent to his chase scenes. Griffith introduced and developed his chase scenes through the development of his editing techniques. Perhaps Griffith's chase scenes reflect a perfection of film editing for his time and place in the history of filmmaking. One can see aspects of Griffith's work even in films produced today.

In the field of cinema, many scholars have conducted studies on D. W. Griffith. Most research has dealt with his innovative techniques, however, Griffith's chase scenes have seldom been studied as a singular element. Generally, research studies neglect the importance and development of his chase scenes as a new innovation, in itself, a parallel to his editing techniques. Although the studies are somehow specialized in their content, there is no

¹Joseph Feldman and Harry Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), pp. 59, 74.

²Joseph Feldman and Harry Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), p. 75.

³Ibid., p. 95.

⁴Ibid., p. 95.

⁵Ibid., p. 77-78.

single study, which has specifically dealt with Griffith's chase scenes and their editing.

Studies have shown Griffith's innovations and how they are used today as the basics of film technique. Though it has been implied by some of the studies that Griffith was not the first to attempt to use the innovations, such as the chase scenes, George Mitchell points out that Griffith was the first to successfully apply them:

The "chase" technique was also being used by Bitzer (Griffith's cameraman) as well as other filmmakers... But Griffith was certainly the first director to successfully exploit these innovations, and this, in the final analysis, is what counted most.¹

Griffith uses the chase scenes to develop the most climatic parts of his films, especially in the "... closing sequences of *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), and *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), the climactic moments are expanded to an extraordinary degree of intensity,"² Within his chase scenes, Griffith often used music to reinforce the effect of the climax.

Griffith conceived all such scenes with suitable musical accompaniment in mind ... the orchestra that accompanied it raised its emotional temperature here far more effectively than speech alone could have done it.³

Griffith's chase scenes have been successfully used as the basics for chase sequences in the films of other major directors.

They are the type and model for similar climaxes in the works of Einstein's ... Odessa steppes sequence (chase scene) of *Potemkin* (1925) ... and Pudovkin's ... *Mother* (1926).⁴

This is a research study of Griffith's chase scenes, a "device" intended to control the emotions of the audience and thus generate the desired impact for the climax. The researcher proposes that Griffith's chase scenes are unique. This study will attempt to identify editing techniques simultaneously with Griffith's development of chase scenes, one enforcing the other, and will hopefully show the building to the climax. The study will relate the direct association and interconnection of editing and chase scenes with the other elements on which Griffith's fame rests. According to Lennig, Griffith

¹George Mitchell, "The film Artistry of D.W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer," *American Cinematographer* 50 (January 1969): 89.

²Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 2.

³Edward Wagenknecht and Anthony Slide, *The Films of D. W. Griffith* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1970), p. 184.

⁴Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 123.

proved himself a great innovator, a master of editing, a director able to control his viewers' passions and evoke their awe: he proved that films could be important.¹

Although this study as well as the previous ones concentrate on the silent period of cinema, the study can apply to a certain extent and help one in other studies dealing with contemporary film in relating how Griffith's film techniques are also seen and applied in cinema today. "The basis of film technique as practiced today is to be found in the works of D. W. Griffith."²

Methodology

As mentioned in the previous studies, Griffith introduced and developed his chase scenes through the development of his editing techniques. Each editing technique is directly related to the other techniques. In an attempt to compromise a formula that defines a Griffithian chase scene it is appropriate to initially ask six basic questions.

1. What is the importance of editing in Griffith's chase scenes?
2. How do the chase scenes relate to the building of suspense in his films?
3. What kinds of techniques does Griffith use in his chase scenes?
4. What types of pursuers does Griffith use in his chase scenes?
5. What type of persuadeds does he use?
6. What is their significance, if any?

To answer these questions and to define a Griffithian chase scene requires viewing and analyzing closely chase scenes in Griffith's films. The answers and definition also depend on previous research studies and, to a lesser degree, on secondary source material from general histories of film, articles, cross references and observations.

For the purpose of this study, as well as the previous ones, the films analyzed are Griffith's films after 1913 when he left the Biograph Company. The justification for concentrating on these films is that during the Biograph period Griffith was still innovating and developing his film techniques and language. Also during these years, Griffith's budgetary allowances were limited which was reflected in his work. His films after he left Biograph are more complete and more representative of his techniques. He then had the freedom to do what he creatively desired. As Robert Henderson says,

¹Arthur Lennig, "D. W. Griffith and the Making of an Unconventional Masterpiece," *Film Journal* 1 (Fall – Winter 1972): 2.

²Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 39.

“...the best division for Griffith’s apprentice period concludes with his severance from Biograph in 1913, and...the essential contributions originated by Griffith and had been formed during the Biograph period, although they were to be employed later in a more monumental and polished fashion.”¹

Gerald Mast also says, “Griffith made no technical innovations in his longer films that he had not already begun or perfected in the short ones.”² Griffith’s post-Biograph films were chosen because his films after 1913 are also longer in actual length, often including more than one chase scene.

Griffith made 32 films after the Biograph period.³ After extensive research and contact, the following films (in chronological order) were found to be available to this researcher for viewing and studying:⁴

Home Sweet Home (1914)
The Avenging Conscience (1914)
The Birth of a Nation (1915)
Intolerance (1916)
Hearts of the World (1918)
Broken Blossoms (1919)
Way Down East (1920)
Orphans of the Storm (1921)
The White Rose (1923)
Isn't Life Wonderful? (1924)
The Sorrows of Satan (1926)
Abraham Lincoln (1930)

As mentioned earlier, this research paper will specifically concentrate on two post-Biograph films of Griffith for study and analysis, in a chronological order, *The White Rose* and *Isn't Life Wonderful*. Following research will cover the remaining films.

The purpose of this study is to determine an overall definition for a Griffith chase scene. In order to determine Griffith’s chase scenes in terms of editing, it is necessary to establish some sort of measure with specific categories defining Griffith’s tools and enabling the systematic viewing of his films. This is done

¹Robert Henderson “The Role of David Wark Griffith in the Development of the Dramatic Motion Picture, 1908-1913” (Ph.D.dissertation, New York University, 1965)

²Gerald Mast, *A Short Story of the Movies*, 3rd ed., (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Education publishing, 1981)

³See Appendix A for a complete list of these films.

⁴Some of these films are available for viewing and studying in different libraries in Detroit, Michigan, and archives elsewhere in the U.S.A. The major archives holding Griffith films include: The George Eastman House in Rochester, New York; The Museum of Modern Art in New York City; The UCLA Archives in Los Angeles, California; and the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

by determining and documenting consistencies, comparisons and specific patterns.

Griffith's basic mechanics of editing are: filmic time and space, parallel action, referential crosscutting, and decomposition. Categories are established which directly connect to Griffith's editing mechanics while others bear a similarity or are derivatives of his editing mechanics. It is important to mention that the mere establishing of these categories alone is based on one of Griffith's editing mechanics—decomposition. Decomposition or filmic decomposition is the process of dividing something into its elements, in other words, the process of showing something in its whole and then in part.¹

Just as decomposition can be achieved in two different ways, so can chase scenes. One way is when they build gradually by presenting the singular elements leading to the chase. The other is when Griffith cuts back to the specific singular elements that caused and explain the chase, often in the form of a flash-back. This process of dissecting a chase into the elements that comprise it will result in a more comprehensive understanding of the chase and help define it.

For the sake of accuracy it is important to identify a common denominator. To establish categories that will help define Griffith's chases, it is appropriate to establish that chase scenes in most films are the most climatic points of the film. The reason, therefore, for the establishment of analytical categories within Griffith's chase scenes as they will contribute to an understanding of the manipulation and/or the control of an audience is accomplished in terms of emotion, suspense and excitement. The categories for analyzing the chase sequences are established as follows:

1. The Initiation
 - a. The Establishing Stage
 - b. The Development Stage
 - c. The Resolution Stage
2. The type of chase sequence
 - a. "Thematic"
 - b. "Actual"
3. The "pursuer" and the "pursued"
 - a. Abstract or physical
 - b. The kind of moving vehicle, whether material or animal, if any.
 - c. A role reverse
 - d. Whether a protagonist
 - e. If consistently moral
 - f. Wins by skill
 - g. Wins by outside agent

¹Joseph and Harry Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), pp. 98-101.

4. Parallel action
 - a. Two actions or events
 - b. More than two action or events
 - c. The switch-back or crosscutting used as a delay device for suspense
 1. Internal
 2. External
5. The Multi-Chase
 - a. Accumulative
 - b. Simultaneous
6. The New Development
7. Filmic Time:
 - a. Expanded
 - b. Shortened
 - c. Tempo increased
 - d. Tempo decreased
8. The “last-minute rescue” device
9. The ‘halt’ device
10. Visual variety
 - a. Filmic space
 1. Change in camera angle and position
 - a. Eye-level angle
 - b. High-level angle
 - c. Low-level angle
 - d. Reverse angle
 - e. Side angle
 2. Change in the type of shot:
 - a. Close-up
 - b. Extreme close-up
 - c. Medium shot
 - d. Long shot
 - e. Extreme long shot
 3. The moving camera
 - a. Pan shot
 - b. Tilt shot
 - c. Dolly and tracking shot
 - d. Crane shot
 4. The mask
 5. The iris (in/out)
 6. The vignette
 7. The use of foreground
 - b. Change in direction of a moving subject
 - c. The flash-back and flash-forward
 - d. The fade (in/out)

- e. The dissolve and Superimposition
- f. The point-of-view shot or subjective camera
- g. The use of soft focus

11. The “ironic juxtaposition”

It is important to stress that all these categories interrelate to form a Griffithian chase scene. Some of these categories are almost dependent on others. It must be noted that certain chases are often intermixed with a second and third chase. This is especially the case when several small chases occur accumulatively to form a larger overall chase. It must also be noted that “filmic time” (seventh category) involves actually timing each shot and is vital to this study.

Analysis

The chase sequences in these two films (*The White Rose* and *Isn't Life Wonderful*) are analyzed by this researcher.

Each film is treated separately and in the same chronological order. Each chase sequence is analyzed in the same order as it appears in each film. The analysis is based on the categories established. The discussion is based on only the categories, which apply, and the degree to which they apply in each particular chase sequence.

Conclusions

Though this study concentrates on Griffith's chases, it has been observed through the viewing of the films in their entirety that Griffith's editing of his chases is different from his general editing. In a general sense Griffith's editing outside his chases follows a more linear continuity. Griffith does not manipulate time and space to the same degree as he does when editing chase scenes. Through his general editing, Griffith “preserves” time and space more than he does during his chase scenes, mainly because his emphasis is on the narrative aspects of the film. He allows the necessary time and space for the narrative to develop. Griffith tends to use longer shots and with less frequent cuts, thus preserving the temporal and spatial relationships of the film more accurate. This in turn results in a more consistent tempo with no great fluctuations. Also, when he cuts to another event, Griffith does not use the techniques intended to gain suspense, which he uses extensively throughout his chases.

In conclusion, similar to the previous studies, Griffith's general editing differs from his editing of chase scenes mainly by the great emphasis on the narrative development, which follows a more linear approach. Griffith's editing of his chases tends to be more disjointed. The emphasis of Griffith's

editing of the chases is on creating suspense and excitement, even at the expense of filmic space and time, which often results in visual disjointment. As indicated, Griffith's chases contain certain techniques, which do not occur during his general editing. Therefore, Griffith's editing of his chases is not only different but also more innovative.

In the analysis of the chases in this study the researcher again notices that all the chases occur during the development and/or resolution stage of each film. Having carefully studied the findings of the films analyzed, certain consistencies, comparisons and specific patterns have been revealed. These in turn determine Griffith's chases in terms of editing. In respect to Griffith's chases, it is found that there is a higher occurrence of editing in the chases which occur during the development and resolution stages of a film and that Griffith's emphasis for building suspense through editing is more predominant in the chases, which also occur during the development and resolution stages. It is found that all Griffith's, development-stage and resolution-stage, chases are a combination of actual and thematic.

Following are the final conclusions for the different categories used in the analysis of Griffith's chase scenes in this study:

It is found that although Griffith's physical pursuers and pursued are more consistent in their nature than his abstract pursuers and pursued, Griffith's pursuers and pursued are in general unpredictable because there is no consistent pattern of their characteristics.

Within parallel action there is a higher occurrence of the sub-category "more than two events" and, therefore, a higher occurrence of more complex parallel action.

The characteristics of the multi-chase have no consistent patterns.

The 'new development' is unpredictable because there are never any definite signs as to when a new development might occur.

Filmic time (real time manipulation) occurs consistently in chases. Filmic time also occurs in every chase of the two films. Although Griffith expands and shortens time in every chase, it is more critical in actual chases than in thematic chases. It is also found that the frequency of expanding or shortening time consistently (tempo alterations) is not predictable.

The last-minute rescue device is unpredictable as to whether it will occur or not. Griffith is often misleading in its use.

Concerning the halt device, Griffith does not use it consistently in chases which include a last-minute rescue.

Concerning the ironic juxtaposition device, Griffith is inconsistent in using it in all the chases.

In terms of the visual variety Griffith is found to be consistent in his use of only some of the specific types of each visual effect or technique.

Overall, this researcher concludes that a consistency exists between Griffith's chases in this study and the chases in the previous two studies. They are unique in terms of their editing structure, complex, and sometimes unpredictable. Griffith managed to bring the editorial process to such a high level that in terms of the impact in a production the chase scene had become

perhaps the most important part where he could apply his innovations and devices.

References

- Adams, John. "'The Movies 100 Years from Now' by D.W.Griffith (1875-1948)." Journal of Media Practice. V5 Issue 3 (2004): 191-3
- Adams, R. L. Jr. "D. W. Griffith and the Use of Off-Screen Space," Cinema Journal. 15 (1976): 53-7
- Aitken, Roy E. The Birth of a Nation Story; As told by Al P. Nelson. Middleburg, VA: W. Denlingers, 1956.
- Balio, Tino. ed. The American Film Industry. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1976.
- Barry, Iris. "Conventions and Morals" in her Let's Go to the Movies. New York: Payson and Clark, 1926.
- Barry, Iris. D. W. Griffith, American Film Master. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1940.
- Bobker, Lee R. Elements of Film. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.
- Boyd, Ernest A. "The Movie Fan." New Statesman. 10 (March 30, 1918): 617-18.
- Brakhage, Stan. The Brakhage Lectures: George Melies, David Wark Griffith, Carl Theodore Dreyer, Sergei Einstein. Chicago: The Goodlion, 1972.
- Brakhage, Stan. "David Wark Griffith." Caterpillar. V4 No1 (October 1970): 103-121.
- Brown, Karl. Adventures with D.W.Griffith. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.
- Cadbury, William. "Theme, Felt Life, and the Last-Minute Rescue in Griffith After Intolerance." Film Quarterly. 28 (Fall 1974): 39-49.
- Carter, Everett. "Cultural History Written With Lightning: The Significance of The Birth of a Nation." American Quarterly. V12 No 3 (Fall 1960): 347-57.
- Combs, R. "Broken Blossoms, Or The Yellow Man and The Girl." Monthly Film Bulletin. 42 (November 1975): 246.
- Cook, David A. A History of Narrative Film. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1981.
- Deutelbaum, Allen Marshall. "Process and Circularity in Primitive Film Narrative: Narrative Patterns from Optical Toys to D. W. Griffith's Intolerance." Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Rochester, 1978.
- Dick, Bernard F. Anatomy of Film. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.
- Door, John. "The Griffith Tradition." Film Comment. X/2 (arch-April 1974): 48-54.
- Eaton, Rod. "A Ride on the Wild West: Filming Your Chase Scene." Super-8 Filmmaker. (November 1975): 32-7.
- Einstein, Sergei. Film Form. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1949.
- Everson, William K. "Rediscovery The Sorrows of Satan." Films in Review. 26 (October 1975): 491-5.
- Feldman, Joseph and Harry. Dynamics of the Film. New York: Hermitage House, Inc., 1952.
- Feldman, John., ed. Film Before Griffith. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Freener-Marzec, Nickieann. "D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation: Controversy, Suppression, and the First Amendment as It Applies to Filmic Expression, 1915-1973." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977.

- Friedkin, William. "Anatomy of a Chase." Take One. V3 No 6 (July- August 1971): 25-8.
- Geduld, Harry M. ed. Focus on D.W.Griffith. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Gianetti, Louis. Understanding Movies. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- Gish, Lillian and Pinchot, A. Lillian Gish: The Movies, Mr. Griffith and Me. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Goodman, Paul. "Griffith and the Technical Innovations." Moviegoer. 2 (Summer-Autumn 1964): 51-4.
- Gottesman, Ronald and Geduld, Harry. Guidebook to Film. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winson, Inc., 1972.
- Graham, Cooper C., and Higgins, Steven, and Mancini, Elaine, and Vieira, Joao Luiz. D. W. Griffith and the Biography Company. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1985.
- Griffith, Linda (Arvidson). When the Movies Were Young. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968.
- "Griffith Way, The." Photoplay. 7 (April 1915): 75-7.
- Gunning, Tom. D.W.Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph. University of Illinois Press, 1993
- Hart, James, ed. The Man Who Invented Hollywood: The Autobiography of D. W. Griffith. Louisville, KY: Touchstone, 1972.
- Henderson, Robert M. D. W. Griffith: His Life and Work. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Henderson, Robert M. D. W. Griffith: The Years at Biograph. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970.
- Henderson, Robert M. "The Role of David Wark Griffith in the Development of the Dramatic Motion Picture, 1908-1913" (Ph.D. dissertation. New York University, 1965)
- Huff, Theodore. A Shot Analysis of D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961.
- Huff, Theodore. Intolerance: The Film by David Wark Griffith, Shot-by-Shot Analysis. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966.
- Jacobs, Lewis. The Emergence of Film Art. New York: Hopkinson and Blake, Publishers, 1969.
- Jesionowski, Joyce E. "A Visual Narrative: Structure in D. W. Griffith's Biograph Films (1908-1913)." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1981.
- Jesionowski Joyce E. Thinking in Pictures: Dramatic Structure in Griffith's Biograph Films. University of California Press, 1989
- Joad, C. E. M. "Intolerance." New Statesman and Nation. 37 (19 February, 1949): 176-7.
- Kauffmann, Stanley. "Way Down East." Horizon. V14 No 2 (Spring 1972): 50-7.
- Knight, Arthur. "The Lost Art of Editing." Saturday Review. 41 (20 December, 1958): 7-11.
- Lennig, Arthur. "D. W. Griffith and the Making of an Unconventional Masterpiece." Film Journal 1 (Fall-Winter 1972): 2-2.
- Lennig, Arthur. "Myth and Fact: the Reception of the Birth of a Nation." Film History. 16.2 (April 2004): 117
- Lightman, Herb A. "The Film Artistry of D. W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer." American Cinematographer, V50 No 1 (January 1969): 86-91.

- Lindsey, D. "Master of American Cinema: D. W. Griffith." American History Illustrated, 11 (December 1976): 19-29.
- Long, Robert Edgar. David Wark Griffith: A Brief Sketch of His Career. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946.
- McCaffrey, Donald W. "The Evolution of the Chase in the Silent Screen Comedy." Journal of the Society of Cinematologists (it later became Cinema Journal), 4 (1964): 1-8.
- Macgowan, Kenneth. Behind the Screen: The History and Techniques of Motion Picture. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1967.
- Manvell, Roger. "Re-evaluations: Hearts of the World, 1918." Sight and Sound, 19 (May 1950): 130-2.
- Marsh, Mae. "Mr. Griffith" in her Screen Acting. Los Angeles: Photo-Star Publishing Co., 1921.
- Martin, Jeffrey. "Film Out of Theatre: D.W.Griffith, 'Birth of a Nation' and the Melodrama 'The Clansman.'" Literature-Film Quarterly, V18 No 2 (April 1990): 87-95.
- Mast, Gerald. A Short Story of the Movies. 3rd ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, Inc., 1971.
- Meyer, Richard J. "The Films of D. W. Griffith." Film Comment, V4 No 2-3 (Fall-Winter 1967): 92-105.
- Mitchell, George. "The Film Artistry of D. W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer." American Cinematographer 50 (January 1969): 86-91.
- Mullett, Mary B. "D. W. Griffith: Life and Work." American Magazine, 91 (June 1921): 32-5, 144-8.
- Mullett, Mary B. "The Greatest Moving Picture in the World." American Magazine, 91 (April 1921): 32-4 144, 146, 148.
- Nash, A. "King Vidor on D. W. Griffith's Influence." Films in Review, 26 (November 1975): 547-8.
- Nash, A. "A Memoir of 'Uncle David' – Gerrie Griffith Reichard's Memoirs of D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, 26 (October 1975): 469-74.
- Nash, A. "Raoul Walsh on D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, (May 1976): 284-8.
- Nicole, Allardyce. Film and Theatre. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1936.
- Niderost, Eric. "The Birth of a Nation." American History, 40.4 (Oct 2005): 60-70.
- Niemeyer, G. Charles. "David Wark Griffith: In Retrospect, 1965." Film Heritage, V1 No 1 (Fall 1965): 12-23.
- Niver, Kemp R. Biograph Bulletins: 1896-1908. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1971.
- Niver, Kemp R. D. W. Griffith: His Biograph Films in Perspective. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: John D. Roche Inc., 1974.
- Niver, Kemp R. D.W.Griffith's The Battle at Elderbush Gulch. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1972.
- Niver, Kemp R. The First Twenty Years; A Segment of Film History. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: The First Twenty Years. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1968.
- O'Dell, Paul. "The Simplicity of Truth Greatness: D. W. Griffith and The Birth of a Nation." Silent Picture, 4 (Autumn 1969): 18-20.
- O'Dell, Paul and Slide, Anthony. Griffith and the Rise of Hollywood. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1971.
- Petric, Vlada. "Griffith's The Avenging Conscience: An Early Dream Film." Film Criticism V6 No 2 (Winter 1982): 5-27.

- Petric, Vlada. "Two Lincoln Assassinations by D. W. Griffith." Quarterly Review of Film Studies, III/3 (Summer 1978): 345-69.
- Pratt, George C. Spellbound in Darkness: A History of the Silent Film. Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1973.
- Rhode, Eric. A History of the Cinema from Its Origins to 1970. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.
- Rotha, Paul, and Griffith, Richard. The Film Till Now. London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co., 1963.
- Salt, Barry. Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis. London: Starword, 1983.
- Sanderson, Richard Arlo. A Historical Study of the Development of American Motion Picture Content and Techniques Prior to 1904. New York: Arno Press, 1977.
- Saris, A. "D. W. Griffith: The Man Who Invented and Transcend Film Technique." New York Times, 124 (January 19, 1975 1.
- Schickel, Richard. D.W.Griffith: An American Life. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.
- Silva, Fred., ed. Focus on 'The Birth of A Nation'. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Simcovitch, Maxim. "The Impact of Griffith's 'Birth of a Nation' on the Modern Ku Klux Klan." Journal of Popular Film, VI No1 (Winter 1972): 45-54.
- Sklar, R. "Griffith's Russian Fans." Nation, 211 (21 September, 1970): 249-50.
- Slide, Anthony. The Griffith Actresses. South Brunswick: A. S. Barnes, 1973.
- Spottiswoode, Raymond. Film and Its Techniques. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Spottiswoode, Raymond. Grammar of the Film. 2nd ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1955.
- Stanhope, Selwyne A. "The World's Master Picture Producer." Photoplay, 7 (January 1915): 57-62.
- Stern, Seymour. "The Birth of a Nation." Cinemage, 1 (1955): 1-39.
- Stern, Seymour. "Griffith: -- 'The Birth of a Nation'." Film Culture, 36 (Summer 1965): 1-209.
- Stern, Seymour. "The Soviet Directors' Dept to D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, V7 No 5 (May 1956): 202.
- Trewin, J. C. "Rush Hour in Babylon." Sight and Sound, 18 (Spring 49): 37-8.
- Tully, J. "Way Down East." Horizon, 22 (August 1979): 59-61.
- Verdac, A. Nicolas. Stage to Screen. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.
- Wagenknecht, Edward Charles, and Slide, Anthony. The Films of D.W.Griffith. Foreword by Lillian Gish. New York: Crown, 1975.
- Watts, Richard, Jr. "D. W. Griffith: Biography." New Theatre, 3 (November 1936): 6-8.
- Whiting, J. H. "D. W. Griffith at Biograph from June to December 1908: The Pragmatic Artist." Classic Film Collector, 53 (Winter 1976): 17-20.
- Williams, Martin T. Griffith: First Artist of the Movies. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Woolley, Edward Martin. "The Story of D. W. Griffith; The \$100,000 Salary Man of the Movies." McClure's, 43 (September 1914): 109-16.

Chapter Thirty Four

D.W. Griffith's Chases in *Hearts of the World*, *Broken Blossoms*, *Way Down East*, and *Orphans of the Storm* and their Impact on Film

George Pavlou, European University, Cyprus

This study concentrates on four specific films of D.W. Griffith: *Hearts of the World*, *Broken Blossoms*, *Way Down East* and *Orphans of the Storm*. It analyses D.W. Griffith's chase scenes which influenced the formation of chase scenes and their editing today. This is a follow-up integral major study of Griffith's post-Biograph films. The previous study concentrated on the first four films, in a chronological order (*Home Sweet Home*, *The Avenging Conscience*, *The Birth of a Nation*, *Intolerance*). Following research will cover the remaining films.

D. W. Griffith is considered one of the greatest innovators and directors that the film industry has known. His significance in the history of film is his innovations and contributions especially in the area of editing. There are certain principles in editing which are important and necessary in showing how editing can affect rhythm, time, space, and theme.¹ As mentioned in the previous study Griffith's editing techniques are best illustrated in his chase scenes. A filmic chase scene is a group of shots with continuous action involving a person chasing another or more specifically a pursuer and a pursued, whether human or not. A filmic chase can range from an "actual" chase where one is physically pursued by someone or something, to a "thematic" chase where one is non-physically pursued by someone, an idea, or something non-concrete such as revenge or hate. Chase scenes have been used in films since the beginning of cinema to serve different purposes: showing action; giving continuity; following the script or storyline; developing filmic space and time; revealing a certain area of space; providing humor; distinguishing between the good and the bad; or establishing empathy, suspense or excitement so as to maintain the attention of the audience in order to reach a climax.² The most common pairs of pursuer and pursued used in chase scenes are: people v. people, people v. moving vehicles, vehicle v. vehicle, people v. supernatural forces, people v. animals, people v. monsters, and at times, vehicle v. animal.³

¹Bernard F. Dick, *Anatomy of Film* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), p. 44.

²The researcher has found this to be true by viewing and analysing the chase scenes of several films of the silent period.

³Ibid., this will be further discussed and documented later

As will be documented, Griffith's editing techniques are directly associated with his chase scenes. While Griffith was experimenting with editing techniques, he must have realized that there is more depth behind editing and a greater range of possibilities when combined with other film elements than what was obvious until then. His basic mechanics in editing are the following:

4. Filmic time and space. Unlike real time, filmic time can violate the exactness of time in terms of the length and in going backwards or forwards. The actual size of space can be made to seem smaller or larger — a relationship to keep harmony and logic for the viewer.¹
5. Parallel editing. Parallel editing is the repetition of the identical moment of time to connect two separate activities.²
6. Referential crosscutting. Referential crosscutting is cutting back and forth when parallel editing is used to express psychological concepts.³
7. Decomposition. Decomposition is the cutting to significant details in order to depict the environment in a more comprehensive manner.⁴

One of Griffith's most predominant techniques of editing is his parallel crosscutting technique: a series of shots edited in such a way so as to "depict simultaneous actions in such a manner as to bring out their relationship, their meaning, their significance..." a way not only to present reality but interpreting it.⁵

By combining editing techniques with chase scenes, Griffith achieved a powerful phenomenon. By using his editing techniques, especially his parallel crosscutting technique, with chase scenes, Griffith could achieve a number of combined effects, such as creating excitement and suspense. Also by controlling the length of each shot he could manage to control the emotions of the audience and achieve his desired effect leading to the climax of the film. This research concentrates on Griffith's editing techniques inherent to his chase scenes. Griffith introduced and developed his chase scenes through the development of his editing techniques. Perhaps Griffith's chase scenes reflect a perfection of film editing for his time and place in the history of filmmaking. One can see aspects of Griffith's work even in films produced today.

In the field of cinema, many scholars have conducted studies on D. W. Griffith. Most research has dealt with his innovative techniques, however, Griffith's chase scenes have seldom been studied as a singular element. Generally, research studies neglect the importance and development of his

¹Joseph Feldman and Harry Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), pp. 59, 74.

²Joseph Feldman and Harry Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), p. 75.

³Ibid., p. 95.

⁴Ibid., p. 95.

⁵Ibid., p. 77-78.

chase scenes as a new innovation, in itself, a parallel to his editing techniques. Although the studies are somehow specialized in their content, there is no single study, which has specifically dealt with Griffith's chase scenes and their editing.

Studies have shown Griffith's innovations and how they are used today as the basics of film technique. Though it has been implied by some of the studies that Griffith was not the first to attempt to use the innovations, such as the chase scenes, George Mitchell points out that Griffith was the first to successfully apply them:

The "chase" technique was also being used by Bitzer (Griffith's cameraman) as well as other filmmakers... But Griffith was certainly the first director to successfully exploit these innovations, and this, in the final analysis, is what counted most.¹

Griffith uses the chase scenes to develop the most climatic parts of his films, especially in the "... closing sequences of *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), and *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), the climactic moments are expanded to an extraordinary degree of intensity,"² Within his chase scenes, Griffith often used music to reinforce the effect of the climax.

Griffith conceived all such scenes with suitable musical accompaniment in mind ... the orchestra that accompanied it raised its emotional temperature here far more effectively than speech alone could have done it.³

Griffith's chase scenes have been successfully used as the basics for chase sequences in the films of other major directors.

They are the type and model for similar climaxes in the works of Einstein's ... Odessa steppes sequence (chase scene) of *Potemkin* (1925) ... and Pudovkin's ... *Mother* (1926).⁴

This is a research study of Griffith's chase scenes, a "device" intended to control the emotions of the audience and thus generate the desired impact for the climax. The researcher proposes that Griffith's chase scenes are unique. This study will attempt to identify editing techniques simultaneously with Griffith's development of chase scenes, one enforcing the other, and will hopefully show the building to the climax. The study will relate the direct association and interconnection of editing and chase scenes with the other elements on which Griffith's fame rests. According to Lennig, Griffith proved himself a great innovator, a master of editing, a director able to control his viewers' passions and evoke their awe: he proved that films could be important.⁵

¹George Mitchell, "The film Artistry of D.W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer," *American Cinematographer* 50 (January 1969): 89.

²Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 2.

³Edward Wagenknecht and Anthony Slide, *The Films of D. W. Griffith* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1970), p. 184.

⁴Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 123.

⁵Arthur Lennig, "D. W. Griffith and the Making of an Unconventional Masterpiece," *Film Journal* 1 (Fall – Winter 1972): 2.

Although this study as well as the previous one concentrate on the silent period of cinema, the study can apply to a certain extent and help one in other studies dealing with contemporary film in relating how Griffith's film techniques are also seen and applied in cinema today. "The basis of film technique as practiced today is to be found in the works of D. W. Griffith."¹

Methodology

As mentioned in the previous study, Griffith introduced and developed his chase scenes through the development of his editing techniques. Each editing technique is directly related to the other techniques. In an attempt to compromise a formula that defines a Griffithian chase scene it is appropriate to initially ask six basic questions.

1. What is the importance of editing in Griffith's chase scenes?
2. How do the chase scenes relate to the building of suspense in his films?
3. What kinds of techniques does Griffith use in his chase scenes?
4. What types of pursuers does Griffith use in his chase scenes?
5. What type of persuaded does he use?
6. What is their significance, if any?

To answer these questions and to define a Griffithian chase scene requires viewing and analyzing closely chase scenes in Griffith's films. The answers and definition also depend on previous research studies and, to a lesser degree, on secondary source material from general histories of film, articles, cross references and observations.

For the purpose of this study, as well as the previous one, the films analyzed are Griffith's films after 1913 when he left the Biograph Company. The justification for concentrating on these films is that during the Biograph period Griffith was still innovating and developing his film techniques and language. Also during these years, Griffith's budgetary allowances were limited which was reflected in his work. His films after he left Biograph are more complete and more representative of his techniques. He then had the freedom to do what he creatively desired. As Robert Henderson says,

"...the best division for Griffith's apprentice period concludes with his severance from Biograph in 1913, and...the essential contributions originated by Griffith and had been formed during the Biograph period, although they were to be employed later in a more monumental and polished fashion."²

¹Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 39.

²Robert Henderson "The Role of David Wark Griffith in the Development of the Dramatic Motion Picture, 1908-1913" (Ph.D.dissertation, New York University, 1965)

*D.W. Griffith's Chases in Hearts of the World, Broken Blossoms,
Way Down East, and Orphans of the Storm and their Impact on Film*

Gerald Mast also says, "Griffith made no technical innovations in his longer films that he had not already begun or perfected in the short ones."

¹Griffith's post-Biograph films were chosen because his films after 1913 are also longer in actual length, often including more than one chase scene.

Griffith made 32 films after the Biograph period.² After extensive research and contact, the following films (in chronological order) were found to be available to this researcher for viewing and studying:³

Home Sweet Home (1914)
The Avenging Conscience (1914)
The Birth of a Nation (1915)
Intolerance (1916)
Hearts of the World (1918)
Broken Blossoms (1919)
Way Down East (1920)
Orphans of the Storm (1921)
The White Rose (1923)
Isn't Life Wonderful? (1924)
The Sorrows of Satan (1926)
Abraham Lincoln (1930)

As mentioned earlier, this research paper will specifically concentrate on four different post-Biograph films of Griffith for study and analysis, in a chronological order, (*Hearts of the World*, *Broken Blossoms*, *Way Down East* and *Orphans of the Storm*). Following research will cover the remaining films.

The purpose of this study is to determine an overall definition for a Griffith chase scene. In order to determine Griffith's chase scenes in terms of editing, it is necessary to establish some sort of measure with specific categories defining Griffith's tools and enabling the systematic viewing of his films. This is done by determining and documenting consistencies, comparisons and specific patterns.

Griffith's basic mechanics of editing are: filmic time and space, parallel action, referential crosscutting, and decomposition. Categories are established which directly connect to Griffith's editing mechanics while others bear a similarity or are derivatives of his editing mechanics. It is important to mention that the mere establishing of these categories alone is based on one of Griffith's editing mechanics—decomposition. Decomposition or filmic decomposition is

¹Gerald Mast, *A Short Story of the Movies*, 3rd ed., (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Education publishing, 1981)

²See Appendix A for a complete list of these films.

³Some of these films are available for viewing and studying in different libraries in Detroit, Michigan, and archives elsewhere in the U.S.A. The major archives holding Griffith films include: The George Eastman House in Rochester, New York; The Museum of Modern Art in New York City; The UCLA Archives in Los Angeles, California; and the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

the process of dividing something into its elements, in other words, the process of showing something in its whole and then in part.¹

Just as decomposition can be achieved in two different ways, so can chase scenes. One way is when they build gradually by presenting the singular elements leading to the chase. The other is when Griffith cuts back to the specific singular elements that caused and explain the chase, often in the form of a flash-back. This process of dissecting a chase into the elements that comprise it will result in a more comprehensive understanding of the chase and help define it.

For the sake of accuracy it is important to identify a common denominator. To establish categories that will help define Griffith's chases, it is appropriate to establish that chase scenes in most films are the most climatic points of the film. The reason, therefore, for the establishment of analytical categories within Griffith's chase scenes as they will contribute to an understanding of the manipulation and/or the control of an audience is accomplished in terms of emotion, suspense and excitement. The categories for analyzing the chase sequences are established as follows:

1. The Initiation
 - a. The Establishing Stage
 - b. The Development Stage
 - c. The Resolution Stage
2. The type of chase sequence
 - a. "Thematic"
 - b. "Actual"
3. The "pursuer" and the "pursued"
 - a. Abstract or physical
 - b. The kind of moving vehicle, whether material or animal, if any.
 - c. A role reverse
 - d. Whether a protagonist
 - e. If consistently moral
 - f. Wins by skill
 - g. Wins by outside agent
4. Parallel action
 - a. Two actions or events
 - b. More than two action or events
 - c. The switch-back or crosscutting used as a delay device for suspense
 1. Internal
 2. External

¹Joseph and Harry Feldman, Dynamics of the Film (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), pp. 98-101.

5. The Multi-Chase
 - a. Accumulative
 - b. Simultaneous
6. The New Development
7. Filmic Time:
 - a. Expanded
 - b. Shortened
 - c. Tempo increased
 - d. Tempo decreased
8. The “last-minute rescue” device
9. The ‘halt’ device
10. Visual variety
 - a. Filmic space
 1. Change in camera angle and position
 - a. Eye-level angle
 - b. High-level angle
 - c. Low-level angle
 - d. Reverse angle
 - e. Side angle
 2. Change in the type of shot:
 - a. Close-up
 - b. Extreme close-up
 - c. Medium shot
 - d. Long shot
 - e. Extreme long shot
 3. The moving camera
 - a. Pan shot
 - b. Tilt shot
 - c. Dolly and tracking shot
 - d. Crane shot
 4. The mask
 5. The iris (in/out)
 6. The vignette
 7. The use of foreground
 - b. Change in direction of a moving subject
 - c. The flash-back and flash-forward
 - d. The fade (in/out)
 - e. The dissolve and Superimposition
 - f. The point-of-view shot or subjective camera
 - g. The use of soft focus
11. The “ironic juxtaposition”

It is important to stress that all these categories interrelate to form a Griffithian chase scene. Some of these categories are almost dependent on others. It must be noted that certain chases are often intermixed with a second and third chase. This is especially the case when several small chases occur accumulatively to form a larger overall chase. It must also be noted that “filmic time” (seventh category) involves actually timing each shot and is vital to this study.

Analysis

The chase sequences in these four films (*Hearts of the World*, *Broken Blossoms*, *Way Down East* and *Orphans of the Storm*) are analyzed by this researcher.

Each film is treated separately and in the same chronological order. Each chase sequence is analyzed in the same order as it appears in each film. The analysis is based on the categories established. The discussion is based on only the categories, which apply, and the degree to which they apply in each particular chase sequence.

Conclusions

Though this study concentrates on Griffith's chases, it has been observed through the viewing of the films in their entirety that Griffith's editing of his chases is different from his general editing. In a general sense Griffith's editing outside his chases follows a more linear continuity. Griffith does not manipulate time and space to the same degree as he does when editing chase scenes. Through his general editing, Griffith “preserves” time and space more than he does during his chase scenes, mainly because his emphasis is on the narrative aspects of the film. He allows the necessary time and space for the narrative to develop. Griffith tends to use longer shots and with less frequent cuts, thus preserving the temporal and spatial relationships of the film more accurate. This in turn results in the more consistent tempo with no great fluctuations. Also, when he cuts to another event, Griffith does not use the techniques intended to gain suspense, which he uses extensively throughout his chases.

In conclusion, similar to the previous study, Griffith's general editing differs from his editing of chase scenes mainly by the great emphasis on the narrative development, which follows a more linear approach. Griffith's editing of his chases tends to be more disjointed. The emphasis of Griffith's editing of the chases is on creating suspense and excitement, even at the expense of filmic space and time, which often results in visual disjointment. As indicated, Griffith's chases contain certain techniques, which do not occur during his general editing. Therefore, Griffith's editing of his chases is not only different but also more innovative.

In the analysis of the chases in this study the researcher again notices that most of the chases occur during the development and resolution stage of each film. Having carefully studied the findings of the films analyzed, certain consistencies, comparisons and specific patterns have been revealed. These in turn determine Griffith's chases in terms of editing. In respect to Griffith's chases, it is found that there is a higher occurrence of editing in the chases which occur during the development and resolution stages of a film and that Griffith's emphasis for building suspense through editing is more predominant in the chases, which also occur during the development and resolution stages. It is found that Griffith's majority of development-stage and resolution-stage chases are a combination of actual and thematic.

Following are the final conclusions for the different categories used in the analysis of Griffith's chase scenes in this study:

It is found that although Griffith's physical pursuers and pursued are more consistent in their nature than his abstract pursuers and pursued, Griffith's pursuers and pursued are in general unpredictable because there is no consistent pattern of their characteristics.

Within parallel action there is a higher occurrence of the sub-category "more than two events" and, therefore, a higher occurrence of more complex parallel action. The sub-categories of "more than two events" and "the switch-back" are more frequently used in resolution-stage chases during which there is also a higher occurrence of more complex parallel action.

Although the multi-chase has a higher occurrence in resolution-stage chases its characteristics have no consistent patterns.

The new development also has a higher occurrence in resolution-stage chases.

Filmic time (real time manipulation) occurs consistently in chases, which occur in all the three stages of a film. Filmic time occurs in every chase of all the films.

The last-minute rescue device, and consequently the acceleration of tempo, have a higher occurrence in resolution-stage chases but it is unpredictable as to whether it will occur or not. Griffith is often misleading in its use.

Similarly, the halt device and the ironic juxtaposition have a higher occurrence during the resolution-stage chases.

In terms of the visual variety Griffith is found to be consistent in his use of only some of the specific types of each visual effect or technique.

Overall, this researcher concludes that a consistency exists between Griffith's chases in this study and the chases in the previous study. They are unique in terms of their editing structure, complex, and sometimes unpredictable. Griffith managed to bring the editorial process to such a high level that in terms of the impact in a production the chase scene had become perhaps the most important part where he could apply his innovations and devices.

References

- Adams, John. "'The Movies 100 Years from Now' by D.W.Griffith (1875-1948)." Journal of Media Practice. V5 Issue 3 (2004): 191-3
- Adams, R. L. Jr. "D. W. Griffith and the Use of Off-Screen Space," Cinema Journal. 15 (1976): 53-7
- Aitken, Roy E. The Birth of a Nation Story: As told by Al P. Nelson. Middleburg, VA: W. Denlingers, 1956.
- Balio, Tino. ed. The American Film Industry. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1976.
- Barry, Iris. "Conventions and Morals" in her Let's Go to the Movies. New York: Payson and Clark, 1926.
- Barry, Iris. D. W. Griffith, American Film Master. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1940.
- Bobker, Lee R. Elements of Film. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.
- Boyd, Ernest A. "The Movie Fan." New Statesman. 10 (March 30, 1918): 617-18.
- Brakhage, Stan. The Brakhage Lectures: George Melies, David Wark Griffith, Cark Theodore Dreyer, Sergei Einstein. Chicago: The Goodlion, 1972.
- Brakhage, Stan. "David Wark Griffith." Caterpillar. V4 No1 (October 1970): 103-121.
- Brown, Karl. Adventures with D.W.Griffith. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.
- Cadbury, William. "Theme, Felt Life, and the Last-Minute Rescue in Griffith After Intolerance." Film Quarterly. 28 (Fall 1974): 39-49.
- Carter, Everett. "Cultural History Written With Lightning: The Significance of The Birth of a Nation." American Quarterly. V12 No 3 (Fall 1960): 347-57.
- Combs, R. "Broken Blossoms, Or The Yellow Man and The Girl." Monthly Film Buletin. 42 (November 1975): 246.
- Cook, David A. A History of Narrative Film. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1981.
- Deutelbaum, Allen Marshall. "Process and Circularity in Primitive Film Narrative: Narrative Patterns from Optical Toys to D. W. Griffith's Intolerance." Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Rochester, 1978.
- Dick, Bernard F. Anatomy of Film. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.
- Door, John. "The Griffith Tradition." Film Comment. X/2 (arch-April 1974): 48-54.
- Eaton, Rod. "A Ride on the Wild West: Filming Your Chase Scene." Super-8 Filmmaker. (November 1975): 32-7.
- Einstein, Sergei. Film Form. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1949.
- Everson, William K. "Rediscovery The Sorrows of Satan." Films in Review. 26 (October 1975): 491-5.
- Feldman, Joseph and Harry. Dynamics of the Film. New York: Hermitage House, Inc., 1952.
- Feldman, John., ed. Film Before Griffith. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Freener-Marzec, Nickieann. "D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation: Controversy, Suppression, and the First Amendment as It Applies to Filmic Expression, 1915-1973." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977.
- Friedkin, William. "Anatomy of a Chase." Take One. V3 No 6 (July- August 1971): 25-8.
- Geduld, Harry M. ed. Focus on D.W.Griffith. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

*D.W. Griffith's Chases in Hearts of the World, Broken Blossoms,
Way Down East, and Orphans of the Storm and their Impact on Film*

- Gianetti, Louis. Understanding Movies. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- Gish, Lillian and Pinchot, A. Lillian Gish: The Movies, Mr. Griffith and Me. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Goodman, Paul. "Griffith and the Technical Innovations." Moviegoer. 2 (Summer-Autumn 1964): 51-4.
- Gottesman, Ronald and Geduld, Harry. Guidebook to Film. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winson, Inc., 1972.
- Graham, Cooper C., and Higgins, Steven, and Mancini, Elaine, and Vieira, Joao Luiz. D. W. Griffith and the Biography Company. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1985.
- Griffith, Linda (Arvidson). When the Movies Were Young. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968.
- "Griffith Way, The." Photoplay, 7 (April 1915): 75-7.
- Gunning, Tom. D.W.Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph. University of Illinois Press, 1993
- Hart, James, ed. The Man Who Invented Hollywood: The Autobiography of D. W. Griffith. Louisville, KY: Touchstone, 1972.
- Henderson, Robert M. D. W. Griffith: His Life and Work. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Henderson, Robert M. D. W. Griffith: The Years at Biograph. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970.
- Henderson, Robert M. "The Role of David Wark Griffith in the Development of the Dramatic Motion Picture, 1908-1913" (Ph.D. dissertation. New York University, 1965)
- Huff, Theodore. A Shot Analysis of D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961.
- Huff, Theodore. Intolerance: The Film by David Wark Griffith, Shot-by-Shot Analysis. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966.
- Jacobs, Lewis. The Emergence of Film Art. New York: Hopkinson and Blake, Publishers, 1969.
- Jesionowski, Joyce E. "A Visual Narrative: Structure in D. W. Griffith's Biograph Films (1908-1913)." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1981.
- Jesionowski Joyce E. Thinking in Pictures: Dramatic Structure in Griffith's Biograph Films. University of California Press, 1989
- Joad, C. E. M. "Intolerance." New Statesman and Nation. 37 (19 February, 1949): 176-7.
- Kauffmann, Stanley. "Way Down East." Horizon. V14 No 2 (Spring 1972): 50-7.
- Knight, Arthur. "The Lost Art of Editing." Saturday Review. 41 (20 December, 1958): 7-11.
- Lennig, Arthur. "D. W. Griffith and the Making of an Unconventional Masterpiece." Film Journal 1 (Fall-Winter 1972): 2-2.
- Lennig, Arthur. "Myth and Fact: the Reception of the Birth of a Nation." Film History. 16.2 (April 2004): 117
- Lightman, Herb A. "The Film Artistry of D. W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer." American Cinematographer, V50 No 1 (January 1969): 86-91.
- Lindsey, D. "Master of American Cinema: D. W. Griffith." American History Illustrated. 11 (December 1976): 19-29.
- Long, Robert Edgar. David Wark Griffith: A Brief Sketch of His Career. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946.

- McCaffrey, Donald W. "The Evolution of the Chase in the Silent Screen Comedy." Journal of the Society of Cinematologists (it later became Cinema Journal), 4 (1964): 1-8.
- Macgowan, Kenneth. Behind the Screen: The History and Techniques of Motion Picture. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1967.
- Manvell, Roger. "Re-evaluations: Hearts of the World, 1918." Sight and Sound, 19 (May 1950): 130-2.
- Marsh, Mae. "Mr. Griffith" in her Screen Acting. Los Angeles: Photo-Star Publishing Co., 1921.
- Martin, Jeffrey. "Film Out of Theatre: D.W.Griffith, 'Birth of a Nation' and the Melodrama 'The Clansman.'" Literature-Film Quarterly. V18 No 2 (April 1990): 87-95.
- Mast, Gerald. A Short Story of the Movies. 3rd ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, Inc., 1971.
- Meyer, Richard J. "The Films of D. W. Griffith." Film Comment, V4 No 2-3 (Fall-Winter 1967): 92-105.
- Mitchell, George. "The Film Artistry of D. W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer." American Cinematographer 50 (January 1969): 86-91.
- Mullett, Mary B. "D. W. Griffith: Life and Work." American Magazine, 91 (June 1921): 32-5, 144-8.
- Mullett, Mary B. "The Greatest Moving Picture in the World." American Magazine, 91 (April 1921): 32-4 144, 146, 148.
- Nash, A. "King Vidor on D. W. Griffith's Influence." Films in Review, 26 (November 1975): 547-8.
- Nash, A. "A Memoir of 'Uncle David' – Gerrie Griffith Reichard's Memoirs of D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, 26 (October 1975): 469-74.
- Nash, A. "Raoul Walsh on D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, (May 1976): 284-8.
- Nicole, Allardyce. Film and Theatre. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1936.
- Niderost, Eric. "The Birth of a Nation." American History, 40.4 (Oct 2005): 60-70.
- Niemeyer, G. Charles. "David Wark Griffith: In Retrospect, 1965." Film Heritage, V1 No 1 (Fall 1965): 12-23.
- Niver, Kemp R. Biograph Bulletins: 1896-1908. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1971.
- Niver, Kemp R. D. W. Griffith: His Biograph Films in Perspective. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: John D. Roche Inc., 1974.
- Niver, Kemp R. D.W.Griffith's The Battle at Elderbush Gulch. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1972.
- Niver, Kemp R. The First Twenty Years; A Segment of Film History. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: The First Twenty Years. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1968.
- O'Dell, Paul. "The Simplicity of Truth Greatness: D. W. Griffith and The Birth of a Nation." Silent Picture, 4 (Autumn 1969): 18-20.
- O'Dell, Paul and Slide, Anthony. Griffith and the Rise of Hollywood. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1971.
- Petric, Vlada. "Griffith's The Avenging Conscience: An Early Dream Film." Film Criticism V6 No 2 (Winter 1982): 5-27.
- Petric, Vlada. "Two Lincoln Assassinations by D. W. Griffith." Quarterly Review of Film Studies, III/3 (Summer 1978): 345-69.
- Pratt, George C. Spellbound in Darkness; A History of the Silent Film. Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1973.

*D.W. Griffith's Chases in Hearts of the World, Broken Blossoms,
Way Down East, and Orphans of the Storm and their Impact on Film*

- Rhode, Eric. A History of the Cinema from Its Origins to 1970. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.
- Rotha, Paul, and Griffith, Richard. The Film Till Now. London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co., 1963.
- Salt, Barry. Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis. London: Starword, 1983.
- Sanderson, Richard Arlo. A Historical Study of the Development of American Motion Picture Content and Techniques Prior to 1904. New York: Arno Press, 1977.
- Saris, A. "D. W. Griffith: The Man Who Invented and Transcend Film Technique." New York Times, 124 (January 19, 1975) 1.
- Schickel, Richard. D.W.Griffith: An American Life. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.
- Silva, Fred., ed. Focus on 'The Birth of A Nation'. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Simcovitch, Maxim. "The Impact of Griffith's 'Birth of a Nation' on the Modern Ku Klux Klan." Journal of Popular Film, V1 No1 (Winter 1972): 45-54.
- Sklar, R. "Griffith's Russian Fans." Nation, 211 (21 September, 1970): 249-50.
- Slide, Anthony. The Griffith Actresses. South Brunswick: A. S. Barnes, 1973.
- Spottiswoode, Raymond. Film and Its Techniques. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Spottiswoode, Raymond. Grammar of the Film. 2nd ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1955.
- Stanhope, Selwyne A. "The World's Master Picture Producer." Photoplay, 7 (January 1915): 57-62.
- Stern, Seymour. "The Birth of a Nation." Cinemage, 1 (1955): 1-39.
- Stern, Seymour. "Griffith: -- 'The Birth of a Nation'." Film Culture, 36 (Summer 1965): 1-209.
- Stern, Seymour. "The Soviet Directors' Dept to D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, V7 No 5 (May 1956): 202.
- Trewin, J. C. "Rush Hour in Babylon." Sight and Sound, 18 (Spring 49): 37-8.
- Tully, J. "Way Down East." Horizon, 22 (August 1979): 59-61.
- Verdac, A. Nicolas. Stage to Screen. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.
- Wagenknecht, Edward Charles, and Slide, Anthony. The Films of D.W.Griffith. Foreword by Lillian Gish. New York: Crown, 1975.
- Watts, Richard, Jr. "D. W. Griffith: Biography." New Theatre, 3 (November 1936): 6-8.
- Whiting, J. H. "D. W. Griffith at Biograph from June to December 1908: The Pragmatic Artist." Classic Film Collector, 53 (Winter 1976): 17-20.
- Williams, Martin T. Griffith; First Artist of the Movies. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Woolley, Edward Martin. "The Story of D. W. Griffith; The \$100,000 Salary Man of the Movies." McClure's, 43 (September 1914): 109-16.

Chapter Thirty Five

D.W. Griffith's Chases in *The Sorrows of Satan* and their Impact on Film

George Pavlou, European University, Cyprus

This study concentrates on one specific film of D.W. Griffith: *The Sorrows of Satan*. It analyses D.W. Griffith's chase scenes which influenced the formation of chase scenes and their editing today. This is a follow-up integral major study of Griffith's post-Biograph films. The previous study concentrated on two films, in a chronological order (*The White Rose* and *Isn't Life Wonderful*). Following research will cover the remaining films.

D. W. Griffith is considered one of the greatest innovators and directors that the film industry has known. His significance in the history of film is his innovations and contributions especially in the area of editing. There are certain principles in editing which are important and necessary in showing how editing can affect rhythm, time, space, and theme.¹ As mentioned in the previous studies Griffith's editing techniques are best illustrated in his chase scenes. A filmic chase scene is a group of shots with continuous action involving a person chasing another or more specifically a pursuer and a pursued, whether human or not. A filmic chase can range from an "actual" chase where one is physically pursued by someone or something, to a "thematic" chase where one is non-physically pursued by someone, an idea, or something non-concrete such as revenge or hate. Chase scenes have been used in films since the beginning of cinema to serve different purposes: showing action; giving continuity; following the script or storyline; developing filmic space and time; revealing a certain area of space; providing humor; distinguishing between the good and the bad; or establishing empathy, suspense or excitement so as to maintain the attention of the audience in order to reach a climax.² The most common pairs of pursuer and pursued used in chase scenes are: people v. people, people v. moving vehicles, vehicle v. vehicle, people v. supernatural forces, people v. animals, people v. monsters, and at times, vehicle v. animal.³

As will be documented, Griffith's editing techniques are directly associated with his chase scenes. While Griffith was experimenting with editing techniques, he must have realized that there is more depth behind editing and a greater range of possibilities when

¹Bernard F. Dick, *Anatomy of Film* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), p. 44.

²The researcher has found this to be true by viewing and analysing the chase scenes of several films of the silent period.

³Ibid., this will be further discussed and documented later

combined with other film elements than what was obvious until then. His basic mechanics in editing are the following:

1. Filmic time and space. Unlike real time, filmic time can violate the exactness of time in terms of the length and in going backwards or forwards. The actual size of space can be made to seem smaller or larger — a relationship to keep harmony and logic for the viewer.¹
2. Parallel editing. Parallel editing is the repetition of the identical moment of time to connect two separate activities.²
3. Referential crosscutting. Referential crosscutting is cutting back and forth when parallel editing is used to express psychological concepts.³
4. Decomposition. Decomposition is the cutting to significant details in order to depict the environment in a more comprehensive manner.⁴

One of Griffith's most predominant techniques of editing is his parallel crosscutting technique: a series of shots edited in such a way so as to "depict simultaneous actions in such a manner as to bring out their relationship, their meaning, their significance..." a way not only to present reality but interpreting it.⁵

By combining editing techniques with chase scenes, Griffith achieved a powerful phenomenon. By using his editing techniques, especially his parallel crosscutting technique, with chase scenes, Griffith could achieve a number of combined effects, such as creating excitement and suspense. Also by controlling the length of each shot he could manage to control the emotions of the audience and achieve his desired effect leading to the climax of the film. This research concentrates on Griffith's editing techniques inherent to his chase scenes. Griffith introduced and developed his chase scenes through the development of his editing techniques. Perhaps Griffith's chase scenes reflect a perfection of film editing for his time and place in the history of filmmaking. One can see aspects of Griffith's work even in films produced today.

In the field of cinema, many scholars have conducted studies on D. W. Griffith. Most research has dealt with his innovative techniques, however, Griffith's chase scenes have seldom been studied as a singular element. Generally, research studies neglect the importance and development of his chase scenes as a new innovation, in itself, a parallel to his editing techniques. Although the studies are somehow specialized in their content, there is no

¹Joseph Feldman and Harry Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), pp. 59, 74.

²Joseph Feldman and Harry Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), p. 75.

³Ibid., p. 95.

⁴Ibid., p. 95.

⁵Ibid., p. 77-78.

single study, which has specifically dealt with Griffith's chase scenes and their editing.

Studies have shown Griffith's innovations and how they are used today as the basics of film technique. Though it has been implied by some of the studies that Griffith was not the first to attempt to use the innovations, such as the chase scenes, George Mitchell points out that Griffith was the first to successfully apply them:

The "chase" technique was also being used by Bitzer (Griffith's cameraman) as well as other filmmakers... But Griffith was certainly the first director to successfully exploit these innovations, and this, in the final analysis, is what counted most.¹

Griffith uses the chase scenes to develop the most climatic parts of his films, especially in the "... closing sequences of *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), and *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), the climactic moments are expanded to an extraordinary degree of intensity,"² Within his chase scenes, Griffith often used music to reinforce the effect of the climax.

Griffith conceived all such scenes with suitable musical accompaniment in mind ... the orchestra that accompanied it raised its emotional temperature here far more effectively than speech alone could have done it.³

Griffith's chase scenes have been successfully used as the basics for chase sequences in the films of other major directors.

They are the type and model for similar climaxes in the works of Einstein's ... Odessa steppes sequence (chase scene) of *Potemkin* (1925) ... and Pudovkin's ... *Mother* (1926).⁴

This is a research study of Griffith's chase scenes, a "device" intended to control the emotions of the audience and thus generate the desired impact for the climax. The researcher proposes that Griffith's chase scenes are unique. This study will attempt to identify editing techniques simultaneously with Griffith's development of chase scenes, one enforcing the other, and will hopefully show the building to the climax. The study will relate the direct association and interconnection of editing and chase scenes with the other elements on which Griffith's fame rests. According to Lennig, Griffith

¹George Mitchell, "The film Artistry of D.W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer," *American Cinematographer* 50 (January 1969): 89.

²Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 2.

³Edward Wagenknecht and Anthony Slide, *The Films of D. W. Griffith* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1970), p. 184.

⁴Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 123.

proved himself a great innovator, a master of editing, a director able to control his viewers' passions and evoke their awe: he proved that films could be important.¹

Although this study as well as the previous ones concentrate on the silent period of cinema, the study can apply to a certain extent and help one in other studies dealing with contemporary film in relating how Griffith's film techniques are also seen and applied in cinema today. "The basis of film technique as practiced today is to be found in the works of D. W. Griffith."²

Methodology

As mentioned in the previous studies, Griffith introduced and developed his chase scenes through the development of his editing techniques. Each editing technique is directly related to the other techniques. In an attempt to compromise a formula that defines a Griffithian chase scene it is appropriate to initially ask six basic questions.

1. What is the importance of editing in Griffith's chase scenes?
2. How do the chase scenes relate to the building of suspense in his films?
3. What kinds of techniques does Griffith use in his chase scenes?
4. What types of pursuers does Griffith use in his chase scenes?
5. What type of persueds does he use?
6. What is their significance, if any?

To answer these questions and to define a Griffithian chase scene requires viewing and analyzing closely chase scenes in Griffith's films. The answers and definition also depend on previous research studies and, to a lesser degree, on secondary source material from general histories of film, articles, cross references and observations.

For the purpose of this study, as well as the previous ones, the films analyzed are Griffith's films after 1913 when he left the Biograph Company. The justification for concentrating on these films is that during the Biograph period Griffith was still innovating and developing his film techniques and language. Also during these years, Griffith's budgetary allowances were limited which was reflected in his work. His films after he left Biograph are more complete and more representative of his techniques. He then had the freedom to do what he creatively desired. As Robert Henderson says,

¹Arthur Lennig, "D. W. Griffith and the Making of an Unconventional Masterpiece," *Film Journal* 1 (Fall – Winter 1972): 2.

²Feldman, *Dynamics of the Film*, p. 39.

“...the best division for Griffith’s apprentice period concludes with his severance from Biograph in 1913, and...the essential contributions originated by Griffith and had been formed during the Biograph period, although they were to be employed later in a more monumental and polished fashion.”¹

Gerald Mast also says, “Griffith made no technical innovations in his longer films that he had not already begun or perfected in the short ones.”² Griffith’s post-Biograph films were chosen because his films after 1913 are also longer in actual length, often including more than one chase scene.

Griffith made 32 films after the Biograph period.³ After extensive research and contact, the following films (in chronological order) were found to be available to this researcher for viewing and studying:⁴

Home Sweet Home (1914)
The Avenging Conscience (1914)
The Birth of a Nation (1915)
Intolerance (1916)
Hearts of the World (1918)
Broken Blossoms (1919)
Way Down East (1920)
Orphans of the Storm (1921)
The White Rose (1923)
Isn’t Life Wonderful? (1924)
The Sorrows of Satan (1926)
Abraham Lincoln (1930)

As mentioned earlier, this research paper will specifically concentrate on one post-Biograph film of Griffith for study and analysis, in a chronological order, *The Sorrows of Satan*. Following research will cover the remaining films.

The purpose of this study is to determine an overall definition for a Griffith chase scene. In order to determine Griffith’s chase scenes in terms of editing, it is necessary to establish some sort of measure with specific categories defining Griffith’s tools and enabling the systematic viewing of his films. This is done

¹Robert Henderson “The Role of David Wark Griffith in the Development of the Dramatic Motion Picture, 1908-1913” (Ph.D.dissertation, New York University, 1965)

²Gerald Mast, *A Short Story of the Movies*, 3rd ed., (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Education publishing, 1981)

³See Appendix A for a complete list of these films.

⁴Some of these films are available for viewing and studying in different libraries in Detroit, Michigan, and archives elsewhere in the U.S.A. The major archives holding Griffith films include: The George Eastman House in Rochester, New York; The Museum of Modern Art in New York City; The UCLA Archives in Los Angeles, California; and the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

by determining and documenting consistencies, comparisons and specific patterns.

Griffith's basic mechanics of editing are: filmic time and space, parallel action, referential crosscutting, and decomposition. Categories are established which directly connect to Griffith's editing mechanics while others bear a similarity or are derivatives of his editing mechanics. It is important to mention that the mere establishing of these categories alone is based on one of Griffith's editing mechanics—decomposition. Decomposition or filmic decomposition is the process of dividing something into its elements, in other words, the process of showing something in its whole and then in part.¹

Just as decomposition can be achieved in two different ways, so can chase scenes. One way is when they build gradually by presenting the singular elements leading to the chase. The other is when Griffith cuts back to the specific singular elements that caused and explain the chase, often in the form of a flash-back. This process of dissecting a chase into the elements that comprise it will result in a more comprehensive understanding of the chase and help define it.

For the sake of accuracy it is important to identify a common denominator. To establish categories that will help define Griffith's chases, it is appropriate to establish that chase scenes in most films are the most climatic points of the film. The reason, therefore, for the establishment of analytical categories within Griffith's chase scenes as they will contribute to an understanding of the manipulation and/or the control of an audience is accomplished in terms of emotion, suspense and excitement. The categories for analyzing the chase sequences are established as follows:

1. The Initiation
 - a. The Establishing Stage
 - b. The Development Stage
 - c. The Resolution Stage
2. The type of chase sequence
 - a. "Thematic"
 - b. "Actual"
3. The "pursuer" and the "pursued"
 - a. Abstract or physical
 - b. The kind of moving vehicle, whether material or animal, if any.
 - c. A role reverse
 - d. Whether a protagonist
 - e. If consistently moral
 - f. Wins by skill
 - g. Wins by outside agent

¹Joseph and Harry Feldman, Dynamics of the Film (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), pp. 98-101.

4. Parallel action
 - a. Two actions or events
 - b. More than two action or events
 - c. The switch-back or crosscutting used as a delay device for suspense
 1. Internal
 2. External
5. The Multi-Chase
 - a. Accumulative
 - b. Simultaneous
6. The New Development
7. Filmic Time:
 - a. Expanded
 - b. Shortened
 - c. Tempo increased
 - d. Tempo decreased
8. The “last-minute rescue” device
9. The ‘halt’ device
10. Visual variety
 - a. Filmic space
 1. Change in camera angle and position
 - a. Eye-level angle
 - b. High-level angle
 - c. Low-level angle
 - d. Reverse angle
 - e. Side angle
 2. Change in the type of shot:
 - a. Close-up
 - b. Extreme close-up
 - c. Medium shot
 - d. Long shot
 - e. Extreme long shot
 3. The moving camera
 - a. Pan shot
 - b. Tilt shot
 - c. Dolly and tracking shot
 - d. Crane shot
 4. The mask
 5. The iris (in/out)
 6. The vignette
 7. The use of foreground
 - b. Change in direction of a moving subject
 - c. The flash-back and flash-forward

- d. The fade (in/out)
- e. The dissolve and Superimposition
- f. The point-of-view shot or subjective camera
- g. The use of soft focus

11. The “ironic juxtaposition”

It is important to stress that all these categories interrelate to form a Griffithian chase scene. Some of these categories are almost dependent on others. It must be noted that certain chases are often intermixed with a second and third chase. This is especially the case when several small chases occur accumulatively to form a larger overall chase. It must also be noted that “filmic time” (seventh category) involves actually timing each shot and is vital to this study.

Analysis

The chase sequences in this film (*The Sorrows of Satan*) are analyzed by this researcher.

Each film is treated separately and in the same chronological order. Each chase sequence is analyzed in the same order as it appears in each film. The analysis is based on the categories established. The discussion is based on only the categories, which apply, and the degree to which they apply in each particular chase sequence.

Conclusions

Though this study concentrates on Griffith's chases, it has been observed through the viewing of the films in their entirety that Griffith's editing of his chases is different from his general editing. In a general sense Griffith's editing outside his chases follows a more linear continuity. Griffith does not manipulate time and space to the same degree as he does when editing chase scenes. Through his general editing, Griffith “preserves” time and space more than he does during his chase scenes, mainly because his emphasis is on the narrative aspects of the film. He allows the necessary time and space for the narrative to develop. Griffith tends to use longer shots and with less frequent cuts, thus preserving the temporal and spatial relationships of the film more accurate. This in turn results in a more consistent tempo with no great fluctuations. Also, when he cuts to another event, Griffith does not use the techniques intended to gain suspense, which he uses extensively throughout his chases.

In conclusion, similar to the previous studies, Griffith's general editing differs from his editing of chase scenes mainly by the great emphasis on the narrative development, which follows a more linear approach. Griffith's

editing of his chases tends to be more disjointed. The emphasis of Griffith's editing of the chases is on creating suspense and excitement, even at the expense of filmic space and time, which often results in visual disjointment. As indicated, Griffith's chases contain certain techniques, which do not occur during his general editing. Therefore, Griffith's editing of his chases is not only different but also more innovative.

In the analysis of the chases in this study the researcher again notices that all the chases occur during the development and/or resolution stage of each film. Having carefully studied the findings of the films analyzed, certain consistencies, comparisons and specific patterns have been revealed. These in turn determine Griffith's chases in terms of editing. In respect to Griffith's chases, it is found that there is a higher occurrence of editing in the chases which occur during the development and resolution stages of a film and that Griffith's emphasis for building suspense through editing is more predominant in the chases, which also occur during the development and resolution stages. It is found that all Griffith's, development-stage and resolution-stage, chases are a combination of actual and thematic.

Following are the final conclusions for the different categories used in the analysis of Griffith's chase scenes:

It is found that although Griffith's physical pursuers and pursued are more consistent in their nature than his abstract pursuers and pursued, Griffith's pursuers and pursued are, in general, unpredictable because there is no consistent pattern of their characteristics.

Within parallel action there is a higher occurrence of the sub-category "more than two events" and, therefore, a higher occurrence of more complex parallel action.

The characteristics of the multi-chase have no consistent patterns.

The 'new development' is unpredictable because there are never any definite signs as to when a new development might occur.

Filmic time (real time manipulation) occurs consistently in chases. Filmic time also occurs in every chase. Although Griffith expands and shortens time in every chase, it is more critical in actual chases than in thematic chases. It is also found that the frequency of expanding or shortening time consistently (tempo alterations) is not predictable.

The last-minute rescue device is unpredictable as to whether it will occur or not. Griffith is often misleading in its use.

Concerning the halt device, Griffith does not use it consistently in chases which include a last-minute rescue.

Concerning the ironic juxtaposition device, Griffith is inconsistent in using it in all the chases.

In terms of the visual variety Griffith is found to be consistent in his use of only some of the specific types of each visual effect or technique.

Overall, this researcher concludes that a consistency exists between Griffith's chases in this study and the chases in the previous three studies. They are unique in terms of their editing structure, complex, and sometimes unpredictable. Griffith managed to bring the editorial process to such a high

level that in terms of the impact in a production the chase scene had become perhaps the most important part where he could apply his innovations and devices.

References

- Adams, John. "'The Movies 100 Years from Now' by D.W.Griffith (1875-1948)." Journal of Media Practice. V5 Issue 3 (2004): 191-3
- Adams, R. L. Jr. "D. W. Griffith and the Use of Off-Screen Space," Cinema Journal. 15 (1976): 53-7
- Aitken, Roy E. The Birth of a Nation Story; As told by Al P. Nelson. Middleburg, VA: W. Denlingers, 1956.
- Balio, Tino. ed. The American Film Industry. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1976.
- Barry, Iris. "Conventions and Morals" in her Let's Go to the Movies. New York: Payson and Clark, 1926.
- Barry, Iris. D. W. Griffith, American Film Master. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1940.
- Bobker, Lee R. Elements of Film. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.
- Boyd, Ernest A. "The Movie Fan." New Statesman. 10 (March 30, 1918): 617-18.
- Brakhage, Stan. The Brakhage Lectures: George Melies, David Wark Griffith, Carl Theodore Dreyer, Sergei Einstein. Chicago: The Goodlion, 1972.
- Brakhage, Stan. "David Wark Griffith." Caterpillar. V4 No1 (October 1970): 103-121.
- Brown, Karl. Adventures with D.W.Griffith. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.
- Cadbury, William. "Theme, Felt Life, and the Last-Minute Rescue in Griffith After Intolerance." Film Quarterly. 28 (Fall 1974): 39-49.
- Carter, Everett. "Cultural History Written With Lightning: The Significance of The Birth of a Nation." American Quarterly. V12 No 3 (Fall 1960): 347-57.
- Combs, R. "Broken Blossoms, Or The Yellow Man and The Girl." Monthly Film Bulletin. 42 (November 1975): 246.
- Cook, David A. A History of Narrative Film. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1981.
- Deutelbaum, Allen Marshall. "Process and Circularity in Primitive Film Narrative: Narrative Patterns from Optical Toys to D. W. Griffith's Intolerance." Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Rochester, 1978.
- Dick, Bernard F. Anatomy of Film. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.
- Door, John. "The Griffith Tradition." Film Comment. X/2 (arch-April 1974): 48-54.
- Eaton, Rod. "A Ride on the Wild West: Filming Your Chase Scene." Super-8 Filmmaker. (November 1975): 32-7.
- Einstein, Sergei. Film Form. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1949.
- Everson, William K. "Rediscovery The Sorrows of Satan." Films in Review. 26 (October 1975): 491-5.
- Feldman, Joseph and Harry. Dynamics of the Film. New York: Hermitage House, Inc., 1952.
- Feldman, John., ed. Film Before Griffith. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

- Freener-Marzec, Nickieann. "D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation: Controversy, Suppression, and the First Amendment as It Applies to Filmic Expression, 1915-1973." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977.
- Friedkin, William. "Anatomy of a Chase." Take One. V3 No 6 (July- August 1971): 25-8.
- Geduld, Harry M. ed. Focus on D.W.Griffith. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Gianetti, Louis. Understanding Movies. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- Gish, Lillian and Pinchot, A. Lillian Gish: The Movies, Mr. Griffith and Me. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Goodman, Paul. "Griffith and the Technical Innovations." Moviegoer. 2 (Summer-Autumn 1964): 51-4.
- Gottesman, Ronald and Geduld, Harry. Guidebook to Film. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winson, Inc., 1972.
- Graham, Cooper C., and Higgins, Steven, and Mancini, Elaine, and Vieira, Joao Luiz. D. W. Griffith and the Biography Company. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1985.
- Griffith, Linda (Arvidson). When the Movies Were Young. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968.
- "Griffith Way, The." Photoplay. 7 (April 1915): 75-7.
- Gunning, Tom. D.W.Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph. University of Illinois Press, 1993
- Hart, James, ed. The Man Who Invented Hollywood: The Autobiography of D. W. Griffith. Louisville, KY: Touchstone, 1972.
- Henderson, Robert M. D. W. Griffith: His Life and Work. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Henderson, Robert M. D. W. Griffith: The Years at Biograph. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970.
- Henderson, Robert M. "The Role of David Wark Griffith in the Development of the Dramatic Motion Picture, 1908-1913" (Ph.D. dissertation. New York University, 1965)
- Huff, Theodore. A Shot Analysis of D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961.
- Huff, Theodore. Intolerance: The Film by David Wark Griffith, Shot-by-Shot Analysis. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966.
- Jacobs, Lewis. The Emergence of Film Art. New York: Hopkinson and Blake, Publishers, 1969.
- Jesionowski, Joyce E. "A Visual Narrative: Structure in D. W. Griffith's Biograph Films (1908-1913)." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1981.
- Jesionowski Joyce E. Thinking in Pictures: Dramatic Structure in Griffith's Biograph Films. University of California Press, 1989
- Joad, C. E. M. "Intolerance." New Statesman and Nation. 37 (19 February, 1949): 176-7.
- Kauffmann, Stanley. "Way Down East." Horizon. V14 No 2 (Spring 1972): 50-7.
- Knight, Arthur. "The Lost Art of Editing." Saturday Review. 41 (20 December, 1958): 7-11.
- Lennig, Arthur. "D. W. Griffith and the Making of an Unconventional Masterpiece." Film Journal 1 (Fall-Winter 1972): 2-2.
- Lennig, Arthur. "Myth and Fact: the Reception of the Birth of a Nation." Film History. 16.2 (April 2004): 117

- Lightman, Herb A. "The Film Artistry of D. W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer." American Cinematographer, V50 No 1 (January 1969): 86-91.
- Lindsey, D. "Master of American Cinema: D. W. Griffith." American History Illustrated, 11 (December 1976): 19-29.
- Long, Robert Edgar. David Wark Griffith: A Brief Sketch of His Career. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946.
- McCaffrey, Donald W. "The Evolution of the Chase in the Silent Screen Comedy." Journal of the Society of Cinematologists (it later became Cinema Journal), 4 (1964): 1-8.
- Macgowan, Kenneth. Behind the Screen: The History and Techniques of Motion Picture. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1967.
- Manvell, Roger. "Re-evaluations: Hearts of the World, 1918." Sight and Sound, 19 (May 1950): 130-2.
- Marsh, Mae. "Mr. Griffith" in her Screen Acting. Los Angeles: Photo-Star Publishing Co., 1921.
- Martin, Jeffrey. "Film Out of Theatre: D.W.Griffith, 'Birth of a Nation' and the Melodrama 'The Clansman.'" Literature-Film Quarterly. V18 No 2 (April 1990): 87-95.
- Mast, Gerald. A Short Story of the Movies. 3rd ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, Inc., 1971.
- Meyer, Richard J. "The Films of D. W. Griffith." Film Comment, V4 No 2-3 (Fall-Winter 1967): 92-105.
- Mitchell, George. "The Film Artistry of D. W. Griffith and Billy Bitzer." American Cinematographer 50 (January 1969): 86-91.
- Mullett, Mary B. "D. W. Griffith: Life and Work." American Magazine, 91 (June 1921): 32-5, 144-8.
- Mullet, Mary B. "The Greatest Moving Picture in the World." American Magazine, 91 (April 1921): 32-4 144, 146, 148.
- Nash, A. "King Vidor on D. W. Griffith's Influence." Films in Review, 26 (November 1975): 547-8.
- Nash, A. "A Memoir of 'Uncle David' – Gerrie Griffith Reichard's Memoirs of D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, 26 (October 1975): 469-74.
- Nash, A. "Raoul Walsh on D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, (May 1976): 284-8.
- Nicole, Allardyce. Film and Theatre. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1936.
- Niderost, Eric. "The Birth of a Nation." American History, 40.4 (Oct 2005): 60-70.
- Niemeyer, G. Charles. "David Wark Griffith: In Retrospect, 1965." Film Heritage, V1 No 1 (Fall 1965): 12-23.
- Niver, Kemp R. Biograph Bulletins: 1896-1908. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1971.
- Niver, Kemp R. D. W. Griffith: His Biograph Films in Perspective. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: John D. Roche Inc., 1974.
- Niver, Kemp R. D.W.Griffith's The Battle at Elderbush Gulch. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1972.
- Niver, Kemp R. The First Twenty Years: A Segment of Film History. Edited by Bebe Bergsten. Los Angeles: The First Twenty Years. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1968.
- O'Dell, Paul. "The Simplicity of Truth Greatness: D. W. Griffith and The Birth of a Nation." Silent Picture, 4 (Autumn 1969): 18-20.
- O'Dell, Paul and Slide, Anthony. Griffith and the Rise of Hollywood. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1971.

D.W. Griffith's Chases in The Sorrows of Satan and their Impact on Film

- Petric, Vlada. "Griffith's The Avenging Conscience: An Early Dream Film." Film Criticism V6 No 2 (Winter 1982): 5-27.
- Petric, Vlada. "Two Lincoln Assassinations by D. W. Griffith." Quarterly Review of Film Studies, III/3 (Summer 1978): 345-69.
- Pratt, George C. Spellbound in Darkness: A History of the Silent Film. Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1973.
- Rhode, Eric. A History of the Cinema from Its Origins to 1970. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.
- Rotha, Paul, and Griffith, Richard. The Film Till Now. London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co., 1963.
- Salt, Barry. Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis. London: Starword, 1983.
- Sanderson, Richard Arlo. A Historical Study of the Development of American Motion Picture Content and Techniques Prior to 1904. New York: Arno Press, 1977.
- Saris, A. "D. W. Griffith: The Man Who Invented and Transcend Film Technique." New York Times, 124 (January 19, 1975) 1.
- Schickel, Richard. D.W.Griffith: An American Life. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.
- Silva, Fred., ed. Focus on 'The Birth of A Nation'. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Simcovitch, Maxim. "The Impact of Griffith's 'Birth of a Nation' on the Modern Ku Klux Klan." Journal of Popular Film, V1 No1 (Winter 1972): 45-54.
- Sklar, R. "Griffith's Russian Fans." Nation, 211 (21 September, 1970): 249-50.
- Slide, Anthony. The Griffith Actresses. South Brunswick: A. S. Barnes, 1973.
- Spottiswoode, Raymond. Film and Its Techniques. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Spottiswoode, Raymond. Grammar of the Film. 2nd ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1955.
- Stanhope, Selwyne A. "The World's Master Picture Producer." Photoplay, 7 (January 1915): 57-62.
- Stern, Seymour. "The Birth of a Nation." Cinemage, 1 (1955): 1-39.
- Stern, Seymour. "Griffith: -- 'The Birth of a Nation'." Film Culture, 36 (Summer 1965): 1-209.
- Stern, Seymour. "The Soviet Directors' Dept to D. W. Griffith." Films in Review, V7 No 5 (May 1956): 202.
- Trewin, J. C. "Rush Hour in Babylon." Sight and Sound, 18 (Spring 49): 37-8.
- Tully, J. "Way Down East." Horizon, 22 (August 1979): 59-61.
- Verdac, A. Nicolas. Stage to Screen. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.
- Wagenknecht, Edward Charles, and Slide, Anthony. The Films of D.W.Griffith. Foreword by Lillian Gish. New York: Crown, 1975.
- Watts, Richard, Jr. "D. W. Griffith: Biography." New Theatre, 3 (November 1936): 6-8.
- Whiting, J. H. "D. W. Griffith at Biograph from June to December 1908: The Pragmatic Artist." Classic Film Collector, 53 (Winter 1976): 17-20.
- Williams, Martin T. Griffith: First Artist of the Movies. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Woolley, Edward Martin. "The Story of D. W. Griffith; The \$100,000 Salary Man of the Movies." McClure's, 43 (September 1914): 109-16.

Chapter Thirty Six

High Concept and Cinematic Style in the *Infernal Affairs* Trilogy

Eric K.W. Yu, National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan

Emerging at a time of financial difficulties, the SARS epidemic, and political discontents, the *Infernal Affairs* trilogy, which came out in 2002 and 2003, has already become a legend in Asian film history.¹ When Hong Kong cinema was in dire decline, the first part grossed more than 7 million US dollars at the local box office alone and performed well in Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, and South Korea. The video version targeted at Mainland China, with a different ending more acceptable to Communist censors, was also warmly received. Because of the unexpected great success, a prequel and a sequel, originally unplanned, appeared in turn in less than a year and both earned critical acclaims. In 2006, *The Departed*, a liberal adaptation of *IA I* with additional elements borrowed from *IA III*, was directed by Martin Scorsese for Warner Bros., starring Jack Nicholson, Matt Damon and Leonardo DiCaprio. This Oscar-winning Hollywood remake has further promoted the global fame of the original. While stressing the abundance of stars, high production values and vigorous marketing campaigns of the *IA* series, foreign critics seem to have neglected its solid artistic achievements and that its dominant undercover motif resonates with a profound sense of uncertainties generated by Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty after over a century and a half of British colonial rule. This paper consists of two parts. The first examines the success of the series in relation to its marketing strategies and its peculiar political undertone for the local viewers. The second deals with its aesthetic appeals. I wish to demonstrate in particular how the three films concerned self-consciously 'gentrify' the gritty and violent Hong Kong detective and gangster cycle well developed by directors like John Woo and Johnnie To, creating a new breed of genre film strikingly middle-class and cosmopolitan in outlook and moderately avant-garde in cinematic style.

'High Concept,' Promotional Strategies, and Political Resonance

It must be conceded at the outset that the *IA* trilogy is commercial through and through. Not surprisingly, some critics like Leary (2003) have invoked the notion of 'high concept' to highlight its effective production and marketing strategies. 'High concept,' as Wyatt (1994) points out, bears quite a few

¹In the rest of the paper, the title 'Infernal Affairs' will be abbreviated as 'IA.'

distinctive meanings and disambiguation is needed to avoid confusion. Ready comprehensibility is probably the least controversial part of its core definition. A film containing an interesting idea that can be summarized in one sentence is obviously easy to promote. Some claim that novelty is equally essential for the 'highness' of a concept. Furthermore, insofar as stars help with marketability, either the 'linkage of a star's persona with a concept' or 'a star working directly *against* his image' suggests high concept (pp. 10-11). Curtin (2007) affirms that the top executive of Media Asia, the trilogy's production company, deliberately exploited star power. The two leads, Andy Lau and Tony Leung, were recruited because they were (and still are) Hong Kong's most popular actors, and who had not acted together since a TV series they did more than a decade before. Anthony Wong and Eric Tsang were added because of their status as award-winning veterans. Sammi Cheng, the highest paid actress then, was included to play a minor role. Two young rising stars, Shawn Yue and Edison Chen, were used in *IA II* because the major actors were considered 'kind of old' and such young faces might attract younger viewers (p. 262). In Parts II and III respectively, apart from familiar Hong Kong actors, two Mainland Chinese superstars, Hu Jun and Chen Daoming (the emperor in Zhang Yimou's *Hero*), took significant roles. The posters of *IA I* all feature prominently Andy Lau's and Tony Leung's faces side by side, suggesting the rivalry between two megastars. The selling point is not unlike Michael Mann's 1995 film, *Heat*, which pits Al Pacino against Robert De Niro as a cop and a thief respectively. If Pacino and De Niro are best known for their performances in gangster films, Lau and Leung's case is more complicated. Before *IA* Lau had played in various genres, including martial arts films and romantic comedies. Tony Leung had appeared in many gangster films, but his fame rested firmly in Wong Kar-wai's art house masterpieces, as exemplified by a Best Actor Award in Cannes Film Festival for his role as a writer in *In the Mood for Love* (2000). In any case, surplus of stars is no doubt a key marketing strategy for *IA II and III*, whose main posters always show all the major actors involved, ranging from five to eight. The posters of *IA III* come with the tagline 'a cast that will never be seen again.'

Wyatt has noted that a prominent marketing trait of high concept film is 'a very close match between the film's marketing campaign and the actual content of the film,' often 'an image is chosen which will remain true to the spirit of the film, while simultaneously accentuating the film's marketing assets' (p. 117). This is not exactly the case with the *IA* trilogy. There is, however, a notable exception. One version of the film posters for *IA I*, later utilized as the DVD cover, features not only the big faces of Andy Lau and Tony Leung but also, at the bottom, Leung pointing a gun at Lau. This image comes from the famous rooftop scene in which Lau (the gangster mole in the police) asks Leung (the undercover policeman) to give him an opportunity to 'become a good guy' and Leung immediately refuses, saying 'sorry, I'm a cop.' The intriguing image, with Lau (the bad guy) in a white shirt and faultless black suit being threatened by the gun-wielding Leung in leather jacket, looking exactly like a gangster, brings out very nicely the main themes of the

film, namely, hidden identities, betrayal, and self-deception. Another sense of 'high concept,' that is, 'dealing with timely or fashionable subjects' is pertinent here (p. 12). A few years after the 1997 change of sovereignty, amid global financial crises, and seeing little progress in civil rights, Hong Kong people were especially sensitive to the identity question. The undercover motif, which had been around in the local cinema for quite some time, suddenly became a potent vehicle for expressing many citizens' sense of troubled selfhood as the crown colony had just become a part of Red China. The former subjects of the British rule, who had grown up in a more liberal and utterly commercialized, capitalist society, might find themselves being too alien, if not 'corrupt' and hence untrustworthy, in the eye of the mother country. At any rate, adapting to a different political system, despite Premier Deng Xiaping's promise of 'one country, two systems,' was inevitably anxiety-arousing. What is truly innovative about the *IA* series is not the familiar ideas of deceptive identities and conflicted loyalties as such, but the intriguing speculation that, not only are there undercover agents working in the underworld, the gangsters are systematically planting moles in the police force. The resulting confusion makes it even harder to tell good from evil, right from wrong.

As a popular character in Hong Kong cinema since the 1980s, the undercover cop has always been a tragic figure. The so-called 'rise-and-fall' narrative structure of classic Hollywood gangster films expounded by Warshaw (1948) does not exactly apply to the case of a mole in the underworld. The sole purpose of having a policeman infiltrating the Triads, or Chinese Mafias, is to collect evidences leading to the mobsters' arrest and imprisonment. In other words, a police mole is doomed to be a betrayer of his companions and superiors in the underworld. The higher he climbs up the ladder of a crime organization implies the more successful his disguise is, probably also meaning the more crimes he himself must have committed, and the more fallen, sinful or remorseful he would be. Becoming a successful gangster, a perfect mimic man, also entails the more difficult the police mole could preserve his proper identity and original innocence. He is a betrayer, not only of fellow gangsters, but also, in a sense, of his own conscience. There is always the fear of his identity being exposed, ending in an untimely death and even bringing harm to his true friends and family. Even if some day he will complete his job and return to the police force, his colleagues might look at him with suspicious eyes, for he could no longer maintain the pure identity of an uncorrupt policeman. The reverse adaptation might not be a much easier one. This explains the significance of Chan's (the undercover agent played by Tony Leung) catch phrase, 'Sorry, I'm a cop,' meaning, 'I know exactly who I am and will never compromise my work ethic as a policeman.' This line goes well with the shots showing Chan secretly saluting to the hearse carrying the body of the late principal of the police academy. The salutation is something like a ritual of self-reassurance, a desperate effort to reaffirm his authentic identity as a cop, yet he must do so without being seen by anyone in the underworld.

The case of the Triad mole, if there are really such people, could be even worse. Because of his gangster background, he is always afraid of his true identity being exposed, leading to his sudden fall. His situation is similar to a spy working for one's country. However, a gangster's loyalty to the crime organization is always problematic, for one does not become a gangster in pursuit of some high principles like patriotism. As dramatized by the *Godfather* series, betrayals and peer rivalry always threaten the fragile 'gangster code.' Hong Kong crime films also almost always remind us that gang wars never stop. If a gangster mole like Lau (Andy Lau) has become a successful cop, climbing up the police hierarchy and wishing to whitewash his gangster background, he would inevitably be threatened and blackmailed by fellow gangsters. Lau pleads to Chan that 'he didn't have much choice in the past but now only wants to be a good guy.' However, he knows full well that his is a road of no return. In Lau's case, the only way out is to kill all those who know of his secret identity, such as Sam and Officer Billy, another mole working for Sam. And this would only make Lau an unpardonable murderer, paving the way for his eventual psychic disintegration in *LA III*. As suggested by the Chinese film title, *Mou Gaan Dou*, which alludes to the 'continuous hell' of torments in Buddhism, both Lau and Chan suffer intensely from identity crises and their daily life is like walking on a tightrope. That is why the film speaks so effectively to the postcolonial Hong Kong popular imagination obsessed with the questions not only of 'who am I?' but 'could I choose a more empowering, legitimate identity?' or 'do we have the power to change our own fate?'

LA II is most explicit in making references to Hong Kong's return to Communist China. Depicting the rise and fall of a Triad family, the story of *LA II* was clearly inspired by *The Godfather Part II*. Sam, the arch-villain in *LA I*, is a very faithful follower of Hsiao, the powerful mobster in the prequel. However, his wife turns out to be the mastermind behind the assassination of Hsiao's father, and Hsiao therefore plans to murder Sam through his business partner in Thailand. In the surprise ending, Sam cooperates with the Thais and, though this might not be his own intention, he has Hsiao and Hsiao's whole family killed through other people's hands. This idea of reluctant betrayal is further developed in the young Chan (played by Shawn Yue instead of Tony Leung) who happens to be the half-brother of Hsiao. It is only when Hsiao is dying that he discovers a wiretap underneath Chan's clothes, learning that one could not even trust one's own kin. The ending of *LA II* is full of nostalgic feeling for the colonial rule and uncertainties about the future. In a memorable scene about the sovereignty handover night, Chan's boss, Superintendent Wong, alone in his office, is silently changing the 'Royal Police' badge into that of the new Chinese Special Administrative Region police force, while at the main entrance to the police station a few policemen are hurriedly changing the big police emblem on the wall. Most suggestively, Sam, the new gang boss in the disguise of a decent businessman, is seen in a hotel room sadly looking at the photo of his deceased wife, who was betrayed by her trusted follower Lau (the gangster mole in *LA I*) and murdered by Hsiao's henchmen. Then Sam

wipes away his tears and opens the door, joining a party outside where everyone is cheering the resumption of Chinese rule, with cocktail glasses and little red flags in their hands. Taken together, the juxtaposition of these ambiguous images convey deeply confused emotions about the political transition, condensing useless regrets, apprehension about the disruption of social order, if not also a yearning for a new beginning of a brighter future in the postcolonial days.

If *IA II* offers a ray of hope, *IA III* is more pessimistic. An undercover cop from Mainland China now cooperates with the Hong Kong police to deal with Sam's crime organization. The head of the operation, Superintendent Yeung (Leon Lai) is handling the case in a very professional way, representing a model Hong Kong elite adapting to the new political environment remarkably well. Nevertheless, the paranoid Lau suspects that Yeung is a fellow gangster mole. In the end Lau kills both Yeung and Sam and is himself sent to the psychiatric hospital. So ends the whole series of political allegories.

A New Coolness is Born

The *IA* trilogy was co-directed by Andrew Lau and Alan Mak. Lau served as one of the cinematographers while Mak was a co-script writer. Lau's 'New Wave' credentials are well known. He worked behind the camera for Wong Kar-wai's *As Tears Go By* (1988) and *Chungking Express* (1994). Then he directed the popular youth gang series *Young and Dangerous*. Mak had extensive experience making commercial films, too. Even working within the confines of mainstream cinema before *Infernal Affairs*, both had shown their experimental spirit. Lau was famous for his cinematographic virtuosity, particularly the 'hip' hand-held shooting; Mak had tried fragmentary narratives before. Some critics have overstated avant-gardism in the trilogy though. So far as narration goes, *IA I* is relatively straightforward, whereas the flashbacks in *IA II* might cause some initial confusion. Only *IA III*, with the constant shifts of time, would create difficulty of comprehension. Still, at the beginning of each sequence involving radical temporal change, we can see a line of description specifying the exact period in which the event is to take place. The tension of *IA I* is mainly created by the simultaneous hunts for the mole in the crime organization and his counterpart in the police. The most famous sequence details the police operation to crack down Sam's narcotic deal. With the help of the undercover agent Chan (Tony Leung), who sends in messages about the location of the drug deal via Morse Code, Superintendent Wong seems to be gaining the upper hand. However, Lau, the gangster mole in the police in charge of electronic surveillance, secretly warns Sam to stop the deal, so that the heroin is thrown into the sea right before the police raid. This sequence is very nicely executed by fast-paced cross-cutting, showing us the ongoing activities on both sides to effectively sustain the suspense.

In terms of cinematic style, the trilogy generally conforms to what Bordwell (2006) calls 'intensified continuity.' Bordwell has found a new style

in Hollywood evolving since the 1960s and marked by four 'strategies of camerawork and editing,' namely, 'rapid editing, bipolar extremes of lens lengths, reliance on close shots, and wide-ranging camera movements' (p. 121). Although this style deviates from the older norms, it has not abandoned the classic requirement of narrative continuity essential for filmic intelligibility. According to his study, the average shot length of a typical Hollywood film by the end of the twentieth century is 3 to 6 seconds. Compared with this recent standard, the *IA* series is not particularly quick-paced, even though longer takes of well over 15 seconds are rare. The sense of endless movement is created by the prowling camera rather than montage. The trilogy does follow the trend of using long lens for close-ups, but the wider angle shots of the cityscape mostly serve as establishing shots and do not create dramatic distortions. As for close-ups, shots showing a character's breast up or most of the head are quite frequent. Due to such tight framings, sometimes a swift pan from the face to the hands is used to reveal what a character is doing. The abundance of close-ups does not cause spatial disorientation, since the '180 degree rule' is often observed and establishing and master shots inserted. Occasionally, 'classic' devices such as the slowly descending crane shots in front of a police station, and fades and dissolves relating to flashback sequences are adopted.

Regarding 'exotic' camera movements, the title sequence of *IA I* is the most extreme instance, where the moving camera zigzags through the dimly lit surface of a bronze Buddhist statue, revealing in each frame only limited details such as a few fingers or part of the face. The background is completely dark, but smoke and fire later appear with the help of CGI, alluding to suffering in hell. Yet when this ornamental sequence ends, the scene featuring Sam, the gang boss, briefing his boys in a temple reverts to 'intensified continuity' style -- beginning with two close-ups of golden statues followed immediately by an establishing shot showing the garden of the temple where these statues are located, and then what takes place inside the temple is systematically presented. Visually speaking, the *IA* trilogy might not be as experimental as Wong Kar-wai's collaborative works with Christopher Doyle. But one could hardly deny its effectiveness and aesthetic appeals. Let me use the first of the celebrated rooftop scenes for illustration. Marchetti (2007) sees the roof in *IA* as a 'liminal space,' suggesting simultaneously a feeling of superiority owing to the commanding view, the 'possibility of redemption (heaven),' but also danger, anxieties, and the 'fear of falling' (pp. 44-45). We have yet to explore how Lau and Mak skillfully handled such scenes with reference to camerawork and mis-en-scene and brought out other symbolic potentials.

The first rooftop scene can be found about ten minutes into *IA I*. The establishing shot shows Chan waiting for his superior, Superintendent Wong, to meet him there secretly. The second shot is particularly impressive: a combination of panning and zooming in which captures Wong's movement on the roof by its somewhat distorted reflection on the glass wall of a skyscraper nearby. The mirage-like image serves well as a visual metaphor for elusive identity and schizophrenia associated with the dominant undercover motif. In the rest of the sequence, the two characters are standing on a railed platform.

Although they make little physical movements, a series of moving crane and tracking shots taken from various camera positions gives a good sense of dynamism, which, accompanied by a somewhat eerie kind of background music, heightens the conflicts between the two characters in conversation. So far as the narrative goes, Wong first complains that Chan has forgotten his police identity, behaving violently like a true gangster. Chan angrily retorts that he has already been working undercover for nine years and is really going mad. Wong consoles Chan by promising that this will be his last job. Then he gives Chan a wiretap and they joke about where to implant a more advanced type of such device in the body. When the tense atmosphere begins to melt, Chan finds a watch in the packet that Wong has handed him, mistaking it to be a camera in disguise. But Wong tells Chan that the watch is a birthday gift for him, suggesting that he really cares about him. The camerawork concerned is very elaborate. Instead of showing us a panoramic view of the city by the sea in a conventional way, most of the shots in the sequence are either taken from a high angel, including only the bare floor, metallic railings and concrete barriers on the roof in the frame, or from a low angel, placing the two characters against the backdrop of the clear sky and confined by unadorned walls. The architectural simplicity and senses of roughness and waste resonate with Chan's psychic predicaments. The relatively tight framings also suggest the idea of being trapped. In two stunning long shots the characters are dwarfed, utterly overwhelmed by the huge, mossy ventilation ducts in the foreground.

With respect to *mis-en-scene*, it should be noted that the two characters often evade the eyesight of each other, implying an uneasy relationship. At four exceptional moments they do meet one another's eyes though. The first two dramatize their confrontation: Wong complains first and Chan fights back even more vehemently. The turning point is found at the third moment, when they become less defensive while joking about the wiretap implant. Finally, when the four eyes meet again, it is Wong offering Chan the birthday gift as a token of paternal love or friendship. Interestingly, instead of saying 'thank you,' Chan pretends not to care by looking away, claiming that he never wears watches. Through such staging, their love-hate relation is subtly unveiled. Regarding editing, a strong sense of coherence is achieved by placing related shots near the beginning and ending of the sequence. Before the rooftop scene commences, there is a shot showing the photo of the late principal of the police academy on a hearse parking outside a mortuary. Right after the rooftop scene, we can see Chan hiding in a dark alley and saluting the hearse passing by. These two shots are closely related to Chan's dangerous situation as revealed by the conversation on the roof: after the principal's untimely death, Wong has become the only person who knows of Chan's secret identity; as an undercover agent in the underworld on the verge of losing his selfhood, as explained above, Chan must desperately try to remind himself that he is a cop but, at the same time, not exposing his true identity to fellow gangsters. Furthermore, in the first 'framing shot' vehicles and passers-by momentarily block the view of the late principal's photo. The idea of hiding so suggested goes with the undercover motif of secrecy, too. Inside the rooftop sequence, close to the

beginning we find a track-in featuring huge ventilation ducts. At the very end, we see a similar track-out that gives a satisfying sense of closure. The first shot showing Chan (Tony Leung) tapping his fingers matches a black-and-white flashback shot highlighting the young Chan (Shawn Yue) doing exactly the same thing. And the tapping motion alludes to Chan's attempt to communicate with Superintendent Wong using Morse Code in the climatic scene about the drug deal.

In regard to iconography I must stress that, unlike most of the previous Hong Kong gangster films, which often feature the mean streets and dark, narrow interiors of the underworld or lower-class public housing estates, the *IA* trilogy introduces more respectable locations like Sam's night club with classy European wall paintings and Hsiao's magnificent residence with a big swimming pool and spectacular sea views. Even the police department in *IA III* is found inside a postmodern building with shiny glass exterior and well-lit roomy offices, equipped with the latest information technology as represented by the ubiquitous computer monitors and surveillance devices. The meeting places of the characters are no longer confined to cheap local-style restaurants, night markets, bars and illegal gambling dens. New possibilities like rooftops of modern high-rise buildings, fancy Western-style restaurants, art-house cinemas, and even commercial banks are explored. The selection of such kinds of urban space gives the trilogy a much more bourgeois and cosmopolitan feel. In regard to characterization, the main roles in *IA* are rather cultivated. Chan and Lau are both hi-fi connoisseurs. Lau's wife is a writer. The 'bourgeois' motif of Chan's seeing a psychiatrist is another sign of the attempt to 'gentrify' the Hong Kong gangster genre. Well educated or not, most of the main characters seem to know how to enjoy material comforts.

Perhaps even more remarkable is the great restraint in the major actors' performances, especially in *IA II*. The best examples are Superintendent Wong, played by Anthony Wong, and the powerful mobster Hsiao, performed by Francis Ng. Both actors had appeared in Andrew Lau's previous crime series, *Young and Dangerous*, as mobsters of grassroots origin. In the old role, Wong had a foul mouth and very disagreeable manners, as exemplified by the nauseating habit of nose-picking. Ng, on the other hand, often put on very loud clothes and was extremely conceited. Both are remembered for their exaggerated, almost cartoonish, performances there. However, in the *IA* trilogy Anthony Wong deliberately adopted a low-key, well-controlled way of acting. He tried to express emotions through the tone of his voice, very subtle facial expressions, and even the movement of his body. Likewise, when playing Hsiao, Ng suppressed all the extravagant gestures and facial expressions. He put on a persona which was remarkably calm and polite on the surface, a model family man like Marlon Brando's character in *The Godfather* series, but was inwardly merciless and cunning. One characteristic little gesture that Ng used very effectively in *IA II* was to push his glasses, which had glided down slightly down the nose, back in place with a finger, a gesture never found in the conventional, fierce-looking mobsters in John Woo's or Ringo Lam's works. Such restrained performances remind us of Method acting practiced by

celebrated actors like Al Pacino and Robert De Niro and contribute to a new kind of 'coolness' in Hong Kong gangster films. Probably because they had to compete with veterans like Chen Taoming, Andy Lau and Leon Lai, not recognized as outstanding actors before, also showed notable improvements in their acting skills in *IA III*. I am not claiming that these actors had benefited from any lengthy Stanislavski-inspired preparation activities while acting in *IA* and thus getting to the 'truth' of the characters they performed. After all, the Method, like all acting styles in the realist tradition, is 'simply a special style of acting,' as Wexman (2004) has pointed out (p. 127). Commenting on Brando's performance in *The Godfather*, Higson (2004) argues that 'the dialectic of control/egotistic self-expression tends to draw attention to the actor's mastery (of actorly skills, of self-control...), the ability to generate beguiling but superfluous gestures, and to string out narratively redundant actions – so that to watch Method acting is to be fascinated by the obsessive nature of the performance, rather than by the signified or the represented of the action' (p. 146). This insight applies to the cases of Anthony Wong and Francis Ng as well, even though they were not precisely faithful followers of the Method. In conclusion, the admirable success of the *IA* trilogy can be attributed to its well-calculated marketing strategies, the political resonance of its dominant undercover motif, and superb cinematic skills as analyzed above. The series has admirably demonstrated to the whole world how a new kind of Asian gangster films can be made by gentrifying some old generic elements concerned and borrowing from more avant-gardist kinds of cinematic style.

References

- Bordwell, D. (2006). *The Way Hollywood Tells It*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Curtin, M. (2007). *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Higson, A. (2004). 'Film Acting and Independent Cinema.' In: P.R. Wojcik (ed.), *Movie Acting, the Film Reader*, 145-164. New York: Routledge.
- Leary, C. (2003). 'Infernal Affairs: High Concept in Hong Kong.' *Senses of Cinema* <http://archive.sensesofcinema.com/contents/03/26/internal_affairs.html>. Accessed: 16 April, 2010.
- Marchetti, G. (2007). *Andrew Lau and Alan Mak's Infernal Affairs – The Trilogy*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Warshow, R. (1948). 'The Gangster as Tragic Hero.' Reprinted in: P. Simpson et al. (eds), *Film Theory*. Vol. 2, 144-148. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Wexman, V.W. (2004). 'Masculinity in Crisis: Method Acting in Hollywood.' In: P.R. Wojcik (ed.), *Movie Acting, the Film Reader*, 127-144. New York: Routledge.
- Wyatt, J. (1994). *High Concept: Movies and Marketing in Hollywood*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Part VIII:

Music & Film Piracy

Chapter Thirty Seven

Music Piracy: Recording Companies against P2P Networks

Antonella Ardizzone, IULM University, Italy

In the last decade, the recording industry, like other media markets exchanging information goods (cinema, publishing, home video, video games, software), has been dramatically changed by the digital revolution. Technology has made the transformation of information into bit sequences possible and this caused a drop in copy and distribution costs but also the dissemination of creative works without the legal owners' authorization.

Digital copies are compressed but their quality is so similar to the original file that it is difficult for final users to distinguish a copy from an original. If we also consider that information goods are experience goods, whose quality is valuable only after consumption, consumers can use copies to get a taste of their characteristics. Illegal copies can be made by borrowing originals from friends or downloading them from the internet via peer to peer (p2p) networks. In this last case, the final user must bear other costs like the risk of being prosecuted by law, the time taken to download the software and the files, the time spent looking for files and checking for quality, etc..

The market most involved in p2p networks for illegal copies is the music market. Leaving aside specific data (about which there is space for discussion¹), in recent years CD sales and revenues of the recording industry have dropped while p2p users have increased (despite copyright laws), causing recording companies to request more legal protection and effective prosecution of "pirates".

This paper is linked to the notional literature on music piracy, containing a simple model where a monopolist sells physical and digital music songs in a market where a p2p network is offering illegal music for free. Here market equilibrium depends on network externalities, because it is supposed that no one would choose a p2p network to which only a few consumers belong, above all if there is a risk of legal prosecution. This model tries to add some insights to better understand the effects of digital music piracy on market equilibria and welfare.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we review the theoretical and empirical literature about piracy and the music market. Section 3 spells out the details of the model. Section 4 contains an analysis of the new equilibrium when a p2p network is available for consumers. Section 5 discusses the impact of a government-imposed tariff on blank CDs, a commonly used way to

¹Ramello and Silva (1999).

transfer part of the increased consumer surplus to the firm. In section 6 the introduction of a legal network, introduced by the firm itself, is analyzed. Section 7 concludes.

Literature Review

A lot of studies have tried to shed light on the effect of digital piracy on the music market. Since the world success of p2p illegal networks, theoretical papers on the welfare effects and market equilibria have been published, followed by (or together with) empirical analysis about the consequences on CD sales, while in recent years scholars have been most interested in new business models, market trends and related issues, taking the existence of p2p illegal networks for granted, because of the practical impossibility of effectively contrasting them on the world wide web. Technological evolution has also encouraged analysis of the music market from different points of view because of the direct and indirect link with other research areas such as intellectual property protection, consumption styles, digital business models, digital economy, collecting societies, etc.

Results of notional models and empirical analyses are not only differentiated but are often also in contradiction. These heterogeneous conclusions are a result of base hypotheses (perfect/imperfect information, presence of network externalities, downloading and reproduction costs, etc.), data and proxy used, methodologies of analysis and objectives of the studies.

Theoretical literature on digital piracy has been recently reviewed by Peitz and Waelbroeck (2006), discussing the applicability of different modelling strategies to the software, video games, computer games, music and movie industries. Following their criterion of classification, it is possible to distinguish four categories of papers: first, basic models of piracy; second, models with indirect appropriation; third, models with network effects and fourth, models with asymmetric information.

Peitz and Waelbroeck (2006) try to answer two questions: whether or not firms are damaged by illegal copies and what is the effect of their existence on social welfare. Of course, all the first set of articles conclude that firms are damaged by copies (even if of lower quality), while the other sets of articles give more ambiguous answers, like the second question for all the set of papers.

The most interesting articles of the first set are: Novos and Waldman (1984), Johnson (1985), Belleflamme (2003), Chen and Png (2003), Sundarajan (2004), Belleflamme and Picard (2005, 2007), Bae and Choi (2006)¹. A more recent model by Wu and Chen (2008) demonstrates that, under specific conditions, a versioning strategy, in alternative to a harder legal prosecution of pirates, can be a more profitable and effective instrument to fight piracy because it increases pirates' coping costs.

¹We refer to Peitz and Waelbroeck (2006) for an analytical analysis.

Indirect appropriation literature started from Liebowitz's 1985 paper regarding photocopying of journals and books, where he found a positive relation between dissemination and relative price of copyrighted material thanks to illegal copying ("sampling effect" or "exposure effect"). This result led Liebowitz to conclude that file sharing could resolve the problem of the hidden quality of music for consumers, increasing sales (Liebowitz 2002). But in subsequent empirical and theoretical studies he concluded that the sampling effect cannot be applied to music and that file sharing caused a serious decline in music sales (Liebowitz, 2006b). In the last twenty years a lot of other scholars have studied this issue, see Boldrin and Levine (2002 and 2004) and the criticism by Klein, Lerner and Murphy (2004)¹. Besen and Kirby (1989), Bakos et al. (1999) and Varian (2000) model indirect appropriation among consumers but, in the case of music, indirect appropriation across products is more interesting because it explains why artists and recording companies can have different points of view about p2p. Gayer and Shy (2005) argue that artists typically appropriate the benefits of copying by revenues from live exhibitions and merchandising. Courien and Moreau (2005) claim that recording companies should negotiate better contracts with artist regarding concert revenues and vertically integrate concert organizer firms and complementary products², instead of fighting piracy, seeing that CD sales decrease and live exhibition revenues increase.

The third set of articles supposes the existence of network effects or consumption externalities, as assumed also in this model, where utility for consumers depends on other consumers' choices. Models supposing a monopoly setting, like Conner and Rumelt (1991), Takeyama (1994), Gayer and Shy (2003) and Belleflamme (2003), give different conclusions: piracy has an ambiguous effect (depending on specific situations) on profits and welfare, and hence copyright protection does not always help recording companies. If a monopolist can use versioning, results change, as shown by King and Lampe (2003). In a duopoly setting, according to Shy and Thisse (1999), if network effects are strong, prices and profits can rise because of network externalities. On the whole, even if these models fit software piracy better, they can also describe p2p network dynamics, which give download priority to users who share more files. Network effects can raise company profits and in this case are compatible with weak intellectual property protection, price discrimination strategies and incentives to raise product quality.

Finally, the fourth set of articles supposes consumers' imperfect information about product quality. A lot of models (Zang 2002; Takeyama 2003; Anderson 2004; Peitz and Waelbroeck 2004 and 2006; Duchene and Waelbroeck 2005; Gopal et al. 2006) predict possible positive effects on firms' profits thanks to savings on marketing and communication costs, giving consumers information on product quality, the solution to adverse selection problems arising from asymmetric information settings, together with negative effects due to lost sales of original products. In summary, as Peitz and

¹See Watt (2005) for a brief summary.

²For an empirical analysis of the Italian market see also Balducci (2007).

Waelbroeck (2006) remark, complex experience goods, goods with heterogeneous preferences and little known (niche) or unknown (new) products are those most likely to benefit from the existence of p2p networks. But it seems that lesser known artists benefit more than others from the sampling effect (Zang 2002 and Anderson 2004). In a similar way, Bhattacharjee et al. (2006a and 2006b) demonstrate by empirical analyses that file-sharing favours lesser known artists and harms “stars”, raises online music sales thanks to the sampling effect (but can lower physical sales), maintaining that in the long run p2p death would be counter-productive.

Other models suppose more active consumers, who can also decide not to buy or copy the product but buy it online. Jaisigh (2004) demonstrates that total sales and profits are bigger and p2p network demand smaller, if the firm also sells a digital version of the product (without legal prosecution of piracy) and that if there are strong network effects the optimal protection level is positive (contrary to Conner and Rumelt 1991). According to Michael (2004b), when copying costs decrease and quality of copies increases, new consumers will enter the market by copying: they are not lost consumers but only people who were previously outside of the market because of the monopolistic price (Maffioletti e Ramello 2004). Hence, p2p network does not have a negative impact on sales.

Empirical models are more contradictory than theoretical ones. According to Blackburn (2004), Liebowitz (2004, 2006a, 2006b), Peitz e Waelbroeck (2004), Michel (2004b), Zentner (2005 and 2006), Rob and Waldfogel (2006) and Stevans and Session (2005), file sharing had a negative impact on music sales; according to Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf (2005 and 2007), Maffioletti and Ramello (2004) no impact; and finally, for some kind of customers, according to Boorstin (2004), Oberholzer and Strumpf (2007), Andersen and Frenz (2008) the impact can also be positive. As previously underlined, these differences depend on data and proxy used and on objectives and methodologies of analysis.

Even if studies have been concentrated on the impact of file sharing, the music market in the last few years has been investigated from a lot of different perspectives. Among others, Brousseau et al. (2008) studied the effects of digitization on business models in the music market; Zhu and McQuerrie (2003), Rayna (2006) and Zhang (2006) pricing and distribution strategies; Andersen and Frenz (2008), Balducci (2009), Bellemare and Holmberg (2009), Chiang and Assane (2009) and Favaro and Frateschi (2007) music consumers and the demand for music.

Model

There are A consumers in the market (with A normalized to 1) and these consumers are homogeneous in their evaluation of a CD (where the number of songs on a CD is normalized to 1), attaching a value of V to it. They do differ in how they care about the quality of music. This is characterized by r and is

uniformly distributed between 0 and 1 with density 1, where an increasing r denotes a higher willingness to pay for quality. The surplus for the consumer i if a CD is bought is:

$$(1.) U_f(r_i) = V + r_i - P$$

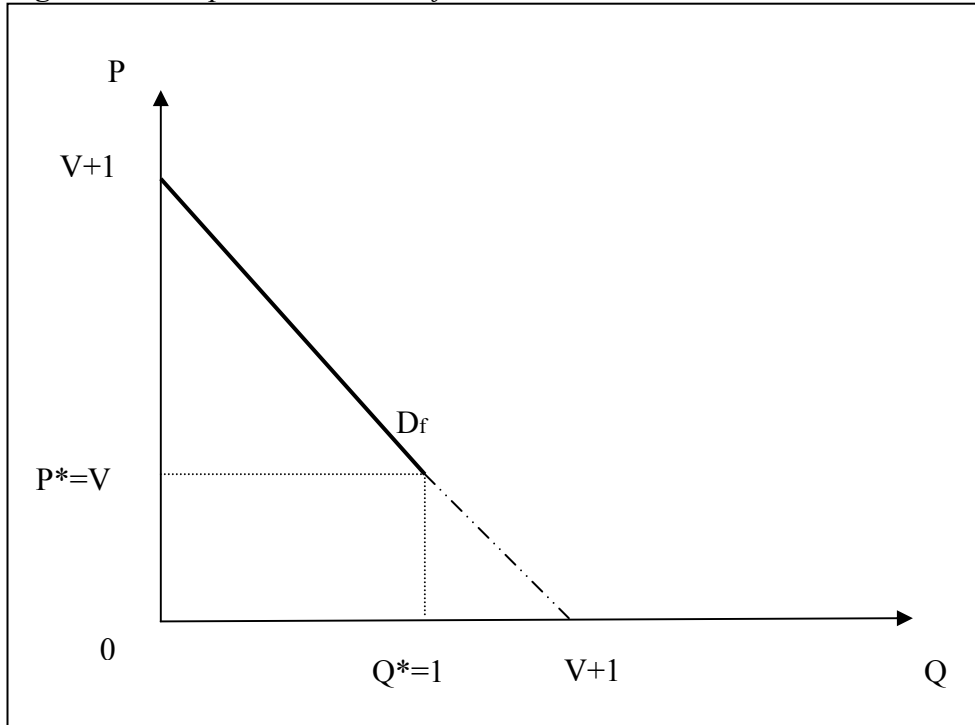
If this is positive, the consumer i will enter the market.

Suppose a legal monopolistic market. If the firm sets a price P , a total of $V+1-P$ consumers will enter the market and the inverse demand curve equation is:

$$(2.) P = V + 1 - Q$$

where $0 \leq Q \leq 1$.

Figure 1. *Monopolist Demand before the Network Entrance*



The monopolistic hypothesis is justified by the exclusive contracts between authors and labels, implying that if a consumer wants to buy a singer's CD, he or she can buy it from the only one recording company who has the copyright¹.

Suppose there are no fixed costs (or they are "sunk costs") and that marginal costs are denoted by c . Usually in markets of information products, the marginal cost is very low, so c is most likely very low. This will have significant effects on market equilibrium.

¹This is obviously true only if the music is not in the public domain (at the end of copyrights, in Europe 70 years after the author's death), but most music sold is now under copyright.

The monopolist maximizes profit. Its profit-function is denoted by:

$$(3.) \pi = (P - c)Q.$$

Remembering that if a consumer buys the CD $r=1$ and that $0 \leq Q \leq 1$, from this it follows that the equilibrium price is:

$$(4.) P^* = V \text{ (and } Q^*=1)$$

given that $V \geq c \geq 0$ and implying that, according to model hypotheses, the monopolist has the incentive to serve all the market to maximize profit¹.

Suppose a competitor enters the market. This competitor is not a traditional competitor, but takes the form of a computer program. With this software, music can be downloaded from other users. However, in order to download music, there must be other users to download from. This is a pure example of network externalities; the value of the network for the consumer rises as more consumers join the network because the expected utility rises.

Also, suppose the network has zero fixed costs, as it can be downloaded for free, and no marginal cost, because there is no money charged if music is downloaded from another consumer. This would look like utopia - maximum surplus at zero costs - if consumers did not derive disutility from using the network. But actually disutility occurs and is composed of several variables such as the legal risk of being caught (since downloading copyrighted songs is illegal), the time it takes to download a song, the uncertain quality of downloaded songs, the lack of packaging, cover, texts and other information in the physical and original version, the probability of download virus, spyware, adware and pornographic contents, etc. This disutility is further called disutility of 'risk' λ . λ is defined as the difference between λ_n and λ_f , where λ_n and λ_f are the risks attached respectively to the illegal network and the firm. λ_f is taken to be equal to zero. Suppose also that each consumer has a computer and an Internet connection.

The utility, if the network is joined, is denoted by:

$$(5.) U_n(r) = V + rx^e - \lambda$$

where it can be assumed that $V > \lambda$, so that (5.) is strictly positive.

The term $x^e \in [0,1]$ denotes the expected network dimension and hence the network externality. It is stated in this way because it is assumed that a consumer cannot derive a greater utility from the network (if λ was zero) than buying from the firm, even if the firm gave its goods away without charging a price. As the network gets larger (x^e increases), a consumer is able to enjoy a

¹ Otherwise it would be: $Q^* = \frac{V+1-c}{2}$, $P^* = \frac{V+1+c}{2}$ and $\Pi_M = \left(\frac{V+1-c}{2}\right)^2$.

larger proportion of the value that he or she attaches to the good. In reality, the network externality would be expressed in a larger choice and availability of music, but because this is a one-good model, it expresses the larger availability of one unit music: the more people have it, the quicker it can be found and downloaded¹ and the better the quality is.

Analysis

The monopolist outcome and the consumer surplus before the network entrance into the market will serve as a benchmark in this section. Therefore, the welfare surplus is measured first:

$$W(V, r) = \pi + \int_0^1 (r) dr = V - c + \frac{1}{2}$$

The timing in this model is the following: first the network is introduced and an exogenous λ is given. After this, potential network users make an expectation on the size of the network. Next the monopolist sets its price P and finally the consumers make their buying decisions by comparing the surpluses they can derive from both possibilities. The equilibrium following from this must be one where expectations are fulfilled. Therefore, in this section this equilibrium will be discussed.

Instead of one group of consumers buying CDs, there are now two groups of active consumers. There are consumers who download music from the network (the digital “pirates”) and consumers who buy CDs at the firm shop. Consumers join the network up to a point where they are indifferent between the network and the firm:

$$V + rx^e - \lambda = V + r - P \quad \text{and} \quad r_i^* = \frac{P - \lambda}{1 - x^e} \quad \text{where } r_i^* \text{ is the indifferent}$$

consumer's willingness to pay and is distributed in the interval $[0,1]$.

This leads to the following quantity of music downloaded from the illegal network:

$$(6.) \quad q_n(P, x^e) = \frac{P - \lambda}{1 - x^e}$$

The new (residual) monopolist's demand function² is:

¹In reality downloading time depends on how many songs a user shares with other users, but the more users there are in the network, the greater the incentive to share so as to be faster in downloading.

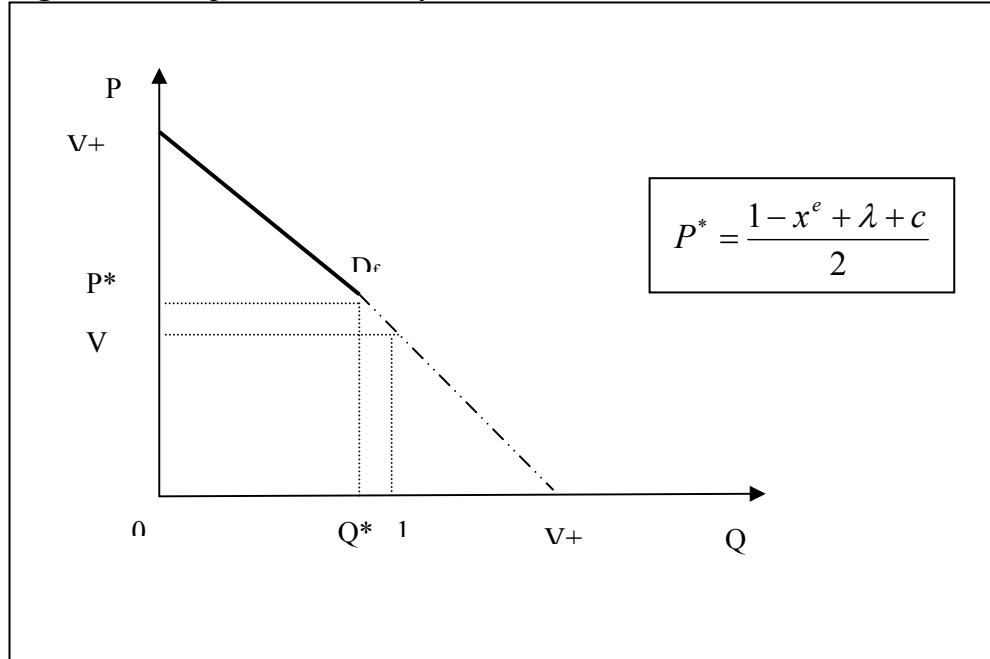
²See appendix 1.

$$(7.) q_f(P, x^e) = 1 - \frac{P - \lambda}{1 - x^e}$$

The optimal price is:

$$(8.) P^* = \frac{1 - x^e + \lambda + c}{2} \text{ and } q_f^* = \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{c - \lambda}{1 - x^e} \right).$$

Figure 2. Monopolist Demand after the Network Entrance



Hence (from 8.) if x^e rises, the equilibrium price of the monopolist falls and, vice versa, it will rise when the risk factor of the network and the marginal cost of the monopolist rise. Indeed, if a lot of consumers join the network, the likelihood of finding a song or a CD and of a quick (and quality) download increases; hence the network is more attractive for users. In this situation, the monopolist must lower its price to be competitive. On the contrary, if the time to complete a download increases, the probability of legal prosecution rises or the quality of music downloaded falls (λ factor), the monopolist can increase its price. Hence, the greater the disutility of the network, the less attractive the network is, and the monopolist can raise profits, increasing its optimal price. Note that right now the optimal price is independent from V parameter and the monopolist suffers the indirect competition of the network.

Finally, it can be noted that on the dashed demand function of the monopolist (Figure 2) there are no buyers or “pirates”. The nearer the willingness to pay for music quality r is to the monopolist price, the lower is the monopolist possibility to enlarge its market (only a few consumers decide to download from the network), the more the file-sharing effect on profits is negligible. The farther the price is from the consumers’ reservation price, the

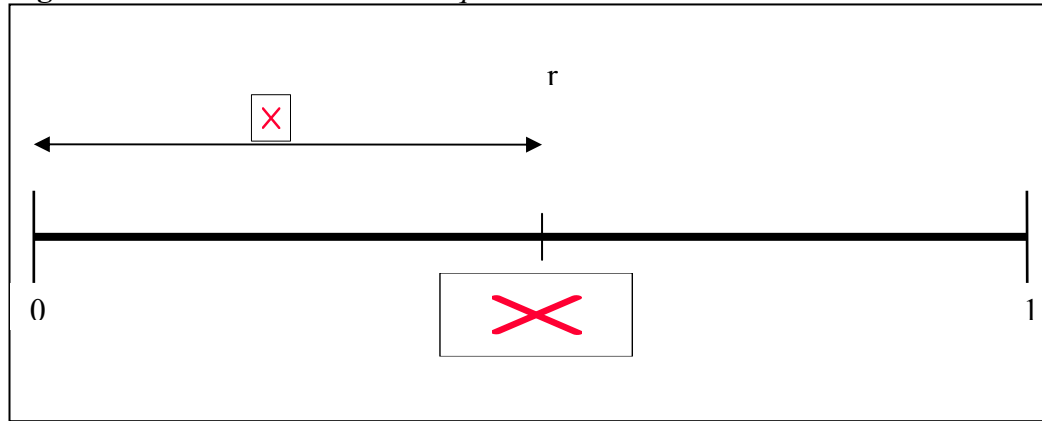
more the network attracts users (but a lot of them were previously outside of the market because of the monopolist price). It follows that it could be profitable for the monopolist to struggle for rise λ , but only to gain some pirates (ones near the marginal consumer). If consumers consider λ low and the CD price too high (as seems to be the case from empirical analyses), there would be a lot of network users would buy from the monopolist.

In fulfilled expectations equilibrium it must be that $x^e = q_n = x$. If the optimal price is taken as an input for the network demand function, the result is the following¹:

$$(9.) q_n^* = \frac{3 - \sqrt{1 + 8\lambda - 8c}}{4}$$

Figure 3 shows the results derived above.

Figure 3. Network Dimension in Equilibrium



Proposition 1: *When the disutility of using the network is equal to the marginal cost of the monopolist ($\lambda = c$), the two competitors will equally share total demand. If $\lambda > c$, the market share of the monopolist is larger than the network one (and vice versa).*

Proof:

As can be seen in figure 3 and in (9.), when λ and c are zero or equal, the demand for the network will be $1/2$, which is the same as the demand for the monopolist (since this is equal to $1 - q_n$).

If $\lambda > c$ the market share of the monopolist is larger than the network one (and vice versa).

In reality both are very low: pirates consider the risk almost nil (because of the small probability of being prosecuted by law) and, as they are expert pc and internet users, consider almost nil also other kinds of disutility. But usually monopolist's marginal costs are also almost nil in the information goods

¹See Appendix 2.

markets. Thus in reality λ and c are similar and they tend to equally share the market, but if λ increases, the monopolist gains market share.

Proposition 2: *If Proposition 1 holds ($\lambda = c$), then profit for the monopolist will be 0,125 and thus independent of the value V .*

Proof:

Substituting P^* (8.), x and $q_f = 1 - q_n$ (9.), profit for the monopolist can now be described by:

$$(10.) \pi = \frac{1}{32}(1 + \sqrt{1 - 8c + 8\lambda})(1 - 4c + 4\lambda + \sqrt{1 - 8c + 8\lambda})$$

If it holds that $c = \lambda$ (or that $\lambda = c = 0$), then profit will be $\frac{1}{32}(2)(2) = \frac{1}{8}$ which is, under certain conditions, considerably lower compared to the profit in the benchmark situation, where $P^* = V$ and profits were equal to $V - c$. However, when λ increases to V , the firm's profits will increase until they are on the level of the benchmark situation (pure monopoly).

Proposition 3: *Consumer surplus will increase because of the illegal network introduction.*

Proof:

Initially there was a consumer surplus of 1/2. In the new situation however, this has increased. Total consumer surplus is defined by the consumer surplus of the users of the network and the consumer surplus of those who buy from the firm. In function, this looks like the following:

$$(11.) CS = \frac{1}{32} [13 + 32V - 26\lambda - 3\sqrt{1 - 8c + 8\lambda} + 2\lambda\sqrt{1 - 8c + 8\lambda} + c(2 + 6\sqrt{1 - 8c + 8\lambda})]$$

If the assumption of $c = \lambda$ is used again, more clarity is reached. Total consumer surplus is then:

$$CS(c = \lambda) = \frac{5}{16} - \frac{1}{4}c + V - \frac{3}{4}\lambda$$

If holds that $\lambda > V - \frac{3}{16}$, consumers will be worse off in the new situation.

However, this is a very extreme outcome, since in this outcome where $c = \lambda$, this would mean that the marginal costs are also quite large. Therefore it can be assumed that consumer surplus will increase because of the network.

Effect of a Tax on Blank CD

Until now it has been assumed that there were no zero fixed costs associated with using the network, as it can be downloaded for free, and no

marginal cost, because there is no money charged if music is downloaded from another consumer.

However, the situation changes when the firm lobbies for an (extra) tariff on blank CDs, as is seen in reality. In this new situation, the government introduces a tariff on blank CD prices to protect the monopolist from the (illegal) network (in addition to legal prosecution of on-line and off-line pirates). The revenues for the tariff are then given to the firm so as to reimburse it for the loss in profit.

If it is supposed that users of the network copy illegal files on blank CDs after downloading¹, the marginal cost of using the network cannot be considered zero. This assumption is reasonable if the government admits that the network causes losses in monopoly profits but it is difficult or impossible (because of privacy laws, technological problem, etc) to prosecute the users in an effective way.

The revenues on blank CD sales are:

$$(12.) R = (p + T)q_n$$

where p is the price of blank CDs, T is the tariff on blank CDs and q_n the size of the illegal network or the total quantity sold.

The share of revenues (Tz) will go to the monopolist and increase profits.

The effect on consumer surplus is negative. The users of the network are worse off because of the lower value of the network; the surplus of customers who buy legal CDs is unchanged.

The consumer surplus of users of the network decreases from (5.) to:

$$(13.) U_n(r) = V + rx^e - \lambda - T$$

As for the monopolist, its profit changes to:

$$(14.) \pi = (P - c)(1 - q_n) + q_n T$$

In this new situation, q_n will be lower, thus increasing direct profit. The second effect is the tariff that also increases profit for the monopolist because of T and because the network size decreases.

Proposition 4: *An increase in tariff will decrease the network value for its users.*

Proposition 5: *An increase in tariff will increase the optimal price for the firm and profits.*

Proof:

The new network demand function is denoted by:

¹This also applies to other supports and devices used to store music over which governments extended the tariff.

$$(15.) q_n(P, x^e) = \frac{P - \lambda - T}{(1 - x^e)}$$

From this a new optimal price equation can be deduced:

$$(16.) P^* = \frac{1 - x^e + \lambda + c + T}{2}$$

Equation (16.) shows that as the tariff increases, not only does the price increase because of the decrease in the network externality (proof follows below), but also the size of the tariff makes the firm able to charge higher prices.

Finally, the model can be solved by imposing fulfilled expectations: $q_n = x^e = x$.

$$(17.) q_n = \frac{3 - \sqrt{1 + 8\lambda - 8c + 8T}}{4}$$

Also here the restriction holds that $0 \leq q_n \leq 1$. From this it follows that if it is assumed that $c = \lambda$, the tariff T must be $0 \leq T \leq 1$. Equation (17.) shows that the tariff has a negative impact on the size of the network and hence on users' surplus. When the social planner does not take into account the welfare implications of the people who use the network (for example because he views them as people engaged in criminal activities), the introduction of the tariff on blank CDs always increases social welfare. When all consumer surplus is taken into account, the total welfare will decrease (with respect to the situation without tariff) as long as the decrease in consumer surplus is higher than the gain in profit.

If $c = \lambda$, profit will be:

$$(18.) \pi = \frac{1}{16} \left[1 + \sqrt{1 + 8T} - 4T(-4 + \sqrt{1 + 8T}) \right]$$

Proposition 6: *Profit will increase in comparison with the initial situation after the introduction of a tariff on blank CDs.*

Proof:

Equation (18.) shows the profit, given that $c = \lambda$, for a certain T . With this assumption the restriction for T was found to be $0 \leq T \leq 1$. The profit without tariff was 0,125. If $T=1$, profit will increase to 0,5. Thus profit in the tariff situation will be higher than the initial situation without a network. When λ decreases ($c > \lambda$), T can be larger than 1 and profits will increase more.

Firm Introduces its Own Network (Online Store)

In reaction to the new competitor, it is supposed that the firm decides to build up its own network. This network is different from the other in the sense that people have to pay to download songs. On the other hand the use of this network is legal and quality of the songs is guaranteed. This network can be considered as an on-line music store. There are, of course, still disadvantages, such as for example, the fact that consumers do not have a real CD in their possession, hence the product does not give them the same value compared to the physical one.

The firm sets its price below its initial monopoly price in the presence of the illegal network (8.) at P_I . This induces people to choose the online store. It is also supposed that the firm's network has a λ_I below λ . The new network does not work in the same way as the peer-to-peer network does. It does not need to have a large number of users to function. This means that there are no network effects. The firm tries to maximize profits and experiences trouble from the competing network. It can reduce this by having a large network of its own, at the expense of its CD sales. This network, in contrast with the other one, has costs involved of c_I . The firm will also have to invest in the infrastructure (sunk cost).

Proposition 7: *By introducing a network of its own (an on line music shop) the firm will have no CD sales if $P_I + \lambda_I \leq P$ and, the other way around, there will only be CD sales if $P_I + \lambda_I \geq P$. CD sales and the firm's network can only coexist if $P_I + \lambda_I = P$, dividing the firm's market share.*

Proof:

The newly introduced network competes with both the illegal network and the firm itself (the physical version of the product). Consumers join the illegal network up to a point where they are indifferent between this network and the new network introduced by the firm: $V + rx^e - \lambda = V + r - P_I - \lambda_I$. This leads to the following: equation (6.) changes to

$$(19.) \quad q_n(P, x^e)^* = \frac{P_I + \lambda_I - \lambda}{1 - x^e}.$$

Consumers join the new network up to a point where they are indifferent between this network and the firm: $V + r - P_I - \lambda_I = V + r - P$ or $P_I + \lambda_I = P$. This means that either the firm has no sales or the new network has none, dependent on the P_I it charges and the λ_I involved with the firm's network. As can be seen $P_I + \lambda_I$ is constant, since every consumer has the same λ_I . Instead of writing $P_I + \lambda_I$, one can just use a new variable to see that equation (9.) (the number of illegal network users) stays the same.

There are, however, ways to limit the size of the illegal network. First, if the costs of the firm's network are lower than the marginal cost involved in

selling physical CDs, q_n^* will be lower. The firm will actually only introduce a new network if the firm's profits rise:

$\pi_I = (1 - q_n)(P_I - c_I)$ is larger than the original $\pi_f = (1 - q_n)(P - c)$ (10.) if $c_I < c$ and

$(P_I - c_I) = (P - c)$. Assuming that $c_I = 0$ in the firm's network, P_I can even be smaller than $(P - c)$, making it easier to satisfy $P_I + \lambda_I \leq P$. If this is not the case then the firm's network would not exist, simply because no one would join (at the same time, this value of P allows profits to increase). To see why this is, let's go back to Equation (9.) $q_n^* = \frac{3 - \sqrt{1 + 8\lambda - 8c}}{4}$. Take λ as the difference between λ_n and λ_I . To minimize the size of the illegal network now the monopolist has to minimize its costs and to minimize λ .

Proposition 8: *The firm can increase its market share by introducing a network of its own with zero costs. Its profits will increase when the decrease in costs is larger than the decrease in λ .*

Proof:

If $c_I = 0$ and $\lambda_I = \lambda_n$ the firm's network will be of a size of $\frac{1}{2}$ and the competing network will also have a size of $\frac{1}{2}$. When the firm maximizes λ by minimizing λ_I to zero, the competing network will decrease to a size of $q_n = \frac{3 - \sqrt{1 + 8\lambda}}{4}$. The firm will have a market share of $q_f = 1 - \frac{3 - \sqrt{1 + 8\lambda}}{4}$. Rewriting gives that the firm's newly introduced network will have a size between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1 + \sqrt{1 + 8\lambda}}{4}$ in case of $c_I = 0$. When the monopolist is able to reduce the size of q_n^* , P_I can be smaller than $(P - c)$ keeping profits at the same level.

More generally: the market share of the competing network is reduced only if the decrease in costs is larger than the decrease in λ .

The second way the monopolist can limit the size of the illegal network (and thus its own sales) is by influencing people λ_n . The monopolist can do this by, for instance, trying to get people prosecuted when they make use of the illegal network¹.

Combining the extension in the previous paragraph and the one described above, the firm can increase its profits by introducing a new network and charging a price P_I just below $P - \lambda_I$. In this way it does not sell CDs at all and demand shifts to the new network (online shop). The firm has on line sales on the one hand and collect the tariff from every illegal music consumer on the

¹But this does not imply the all the illegal network users will become firm consumers or legal music buyers.

other hand. Profits will increase by even $T(1 - q_n)$ more. But it is difficult for λ_l to be low enough to induce every consumer to buy the digital version. Some people will continue to buy by the traditional distribution channel, hence the monopolist does not have the incentive to sell at $P > P_l + \lambda_l$ but he will sell at $P = P_l + \lambda_l$.

Results and Discussion

We find that a p2p file-sharing network has a negative impact on profits of a recording company, which is monopolist by law. There two kinds of music consumers: “high value” consumers who buy from the monopolist and “low value” consumers who join the illegal p2p network to download music for free. There are consumption network externalities only in the illegal p2p network: its value rises as users increase. The size of the illegal network is also dependent on the “risk” involved in joining the network and on the production costs of the firm. The higher the risk involved with the network, the smaller it will be and vice versa. If the risk and the marginal cost are low, the monopolist and the network tend to equally share the music market. But the more the disutility of the illegal network rises, the greater is the market share of the monopolist. Because it is clear that the monopolist’s profits are independent of the value consumers give the product, one way to contrast the indirect competition of the illegal network is to increase legal prosecution of pirates by a lobbying activity on the government. It follows that if consumers consider the risk of joining the illegal network low and the CD price high, as seems to be the case in reality, another way to increase profits is to lower the market price to gain at least some marginal consumers.

On the contrary consumer surplus increases because of the network existence: some consumers left outside of the market because of the monopolistic price can now enter but by joining the illegal network.

If we assume illegal songs are copied on blank CDs, a tariff on blank CDs imposed by law raises optimal price and profits of the monopolist and, under certain conditions, even increases profits compared to the situation without the network. The tariff influences the network size: the higher it is, the lower the value of the network and the smaller its size. This shows that the tax can increase recording industry profits but it does not imply that it also increases consumers, because people can leave the market. Indeed, the introduction of the tariff has the following (negative) effects on consumer surplus:

- users that stay in the network have to pay a tariff, so their surplus decreases;
- some other users of the illegal network leave the network because of the tariff and now buy from the monopolist (their surplus decreases because otherwise they would be in the network, since that it was their first choice);

- some other users of the illegal network leave the network because some other users have left and thus created a lesser network externality. Their surplus is also lower in this situation, because going to the monopolist was their second best choice;
- some illegal network users and some customers of the monopolist go out of the market.

But if the social planner considers network users people involved in criminal activity, the total welfare with the tax is higher than before.

Another way for the firm to react to the indirect p2p network competition is by introducing a network of its own (an on-line music shop). Consumers will, in this case, have to pay for downloading legal songs. It is assumed the network has lower costs involved than the production of CDs has. We supposed this network does not have network externalities. By introducing this new network, the firm is able to reduce the size of the competing network and thus increase its profits. If the price of the legal digital song is too low, the online shop can cannibalize the physical sales. The firm is able to increase its market share imposing its own network if the marginal cost is lower than that of the physical product. And if this cost is zero, then the illegal network size decreases because of the online shop and the monopolist can lower the market price without decreasing profits. Another way to limit the p2p network's size is again to increase people's risk involved in joining that network. The firm can do this by, for instance, trying to get people prosecuted for making use of the p2p network. Hence, the recording industry gains from lobbying activities on governments to increase legal prosecution of pirates and to raise tariffs on blank CDs but these are not strategic ways to defend and increase its sales nor does it ensure an increase in customers, being only a short-term strategy to limit losses in a crisis changing market.

In respect to previous literature, this model proposes a different approach. First, it fits music piracy better than film, software, video games or book piracy. It is more itemized but it permits specific music market characteristics to be modelled and less general but more realistic outcomes to be obtained.

Second, network externalities only influence the p2p network, whose existence has not been formalized at all before. Only Shy and Thisse (1999) suppose a duopoly setting, where, contrary to our findings, market equilibria are independent of the copy protection policy only if network effects are weak. But again network effects are in the firm network and work in relation to the product dissemination. Hence, in the presence of strong network effects, the best strategy for the firm is to concentrate on high value consumers, setting a higher price which permits to obtain higher profits.

Finally, according to this model, the firm faces piracy but cannot exploit network effects. It only suffers the negative consequences of the network effects in the usage of the illegal network. Contrary to Conner and Rumelt (1991), in this setting the monopolist obtains higher profits with high copyright protection. Consequently, while Conner and Rumelt (1991) show that piracy can increase or decrease price and profits, here piracy can only decrease price

and profits because it acts like a direct price competitor. The same findings, but caused by different basis hypotheses, were obtained by Takeyama (1994) and Gayer and Shy (2003).

Empirically, in the last few years the recording industry has fought to obtain harder legal prosecution of pirates, stronger copyright protection means, higher taxes on music supports and recording devices. They have also been too late in the opening of online music stores, leaving most of the music distribution in the hands of other competitors, who were previously outside this market. This model shows these are effective short-term strategies, but not long-term ones, as the recording industry is losing customers. The music industry needs new business models to compete with p2p networks and other sharing technologies (Rochelandet and Le Guel 2005), even using p2p network characteristics (Krishnan et al. 2007) and new consumption trends (live concerts increasing success, music shared in public spaces, etc.

References

- Andersen B. & M. Frenz (2008). "The Impact of Music Download and P2P File-Sharing on the Purchase of Music: A Study for Industry Canada." Working Paper. Birbeck, University of London.
- Anderson C. (2004). *The Long Tail*. Wired.
- Bae S. H. & J. P. Choi (2006). "A Model of Piracy." *Information Economics and Policy*, vol. 18, pp. 303-20.
- Bakos Y. & E. Brynjolfsson & D. L. Lichtman (1999). "Shared Information Goods." *Journal of Law and Economics*, 48, 117-156.
- Balducci F. (2009). "Music or High-tech Lovers? Inferring into the Determinants of Music Consumption." *Rivista Italiana degli Economisti*, vol. 14, issue 2. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1525506>.
- Belleflamme P. & P. M. Picard (2007). "Piracy and Competition." In *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, Blackwell Publishing, vol. 16(2), pages 351-383, 06.
- Belleflamme P. (2003). "Pricing Information Goods in the Presence of Copying." In Gordon W. J. & Watt (eds.), *The Economics of Copyright. Development in Research and Analysis*, Edward Elgar.
- Bellemare M. F. & Holmberg A. M (2009). "The determinants of Music Piracy in a sample of college student." Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1481272>.
- Besen S. M. & S. N. Kirby (1989). "Private Copying, Appropriability and Optimal Copying Royalties." *Journal of Law and Economics*, 32, 255-280.
- Bhattacharjee S. & R.D. Gopal & K. Lertwachara & J.R. Marsden (2006a). "Whatever happened to Payola? An Empirical Analysis of Online Music Sharing." *Decision Support Systems*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 104-120.
- Bhattacharjee S. & R.D. Gopal & K. Lertwachara & J.R. Marsden (2006b). "Consumer Search and Retailer Strategies in the Presence of Online Music Sharing." *Journal of Management Information Systems*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Pages 129-159.
- Blackburn D. (2004). "On-line Piracy and Recorded Music Sales." Job Market Paper, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

- Boldrin M. & D. Levine (2002). "The Case Against Intellectual Monopoly." *International Economic Review*, 92(2); 209-212.
- Boorstin E. S. (2004). "Music Sales in The Age of File-sharing." Senior Thesis, Department of Economics, Princeton University.
- Bourreau M. & Moreau F. & Gensollen M. (2008). "The Digitization of the Recorded Music Industry: Impact on Business Models and Scenarios of Evolution." Telecom Paris Tech Working Paper No. ESS-08-01.
- Chen Y. & I. Png (2003). "Information Goods Pricing and Copyright Enforcement: Welfare Analysis." *Information System Research*, 14, 107-123.
- Chiang E. P. & D. Assane (2009). "Estimate the Willingness to Pay for Digital Music." *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 512-522.
- Conner K. R. & R. P. Rumelt (1991). "Software Piracy - An Analysis of Protection Strategies." *Management Science*, 37, 125-139.
- Curien N. & F. Moreau (2005). "The Music Industry in the Digital Era: Towards New Business Frontiers?." Working Paper, CNAM, Paris, http://gdrtics.u-paris10.fr/pdf/ws/2005-06_2/CurienMoreau2.pdf.
- Duchene A. & P. Waelbroeck (2005). "Peer-to-Peer, Piracy and the Copyright Law: Implications for Consumers and Artists." In: L. Takeyama, W. Gordon, P. Liacos, R. Towse (eds.), *Developments in the Economics of Copyright: Research and Analysis*, Edward Elgar.
- Favaro D. & C. Frateschi (2007). "A Discrete Choice Model of Consumption of Cultural Goods: the Case of Music." *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 31(3), pp. 205-234.
- Gayer A. & O. Shy (2003). "Internet and Peer-to-Peer Distributions in Markets for Digital Products." *Economics Letters*, 81, 51-57.
- Gayer A. & O. Shy (2005). "Publishers, Artists, and Copyright Enforcement." Mimeo, University of Haifa.
- Jaisingh J. (2004). "Piracy in File-sharing Networks: Strategies for Recording Companies." *Journal of Organizational Computing and Electronic Commerce*, Vol. 17(4), pp. 1-20, 2007.
- Johnson W. R. (1985). "The Economics of Copying." *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 93, No. 1, pp. 158-174.
- Johnson W.R. (1985). "The Economics of Copying." *Journal of Political Economy*, 93(1); 158-74.
- Katz M.L. & Shapiro C. (1985). "Network Externalities, Competition and Compatibility." *American Economic Review* 75, 424-440.
- King, P.S. & R. Lampe (2003). "Price Discrimination and Profitable Piracy." *Information Economics and Policy*, 15, 271-290.
- Klein B. & A. V. Lerner & K. M. Murphy (2004). "The Economics of Copyright "Fair Use" in a Networked World." *American Economic Review*, American Economic Association, vol. 92(2), pages 205-20.
- Krishnan R., Smith M. D., Tang Z., Telang R. (2007), "Digital Business Models for Peer-to-Peer Networks: Analysis and Economic Issues". *Revue of Network Economics*, Vol. 6 (2).
- Liebowitz S. (1985). "Copying and Indirect Appropriability: Photocopying of Journals." *Journal of Political Economy*, 93, 945-957.
- Liebowitz S. J. (2002). "Retinking Network Economy." *CESifo Economic Studies* Vol. 51, 2-3, pp. 435-473.
- Liebowitz S. J. (2004). "Will MP3 downloads Annihilate the Record Industry? The Evidence so Far." *Advances in the Study of Entrepreneurship, Innovation, and Economic Growth*, V. 15, pp. 229-260.

- Liebowitz S. J. (2006a). "File-Sharing: Creative Destruction or just Plain Destruction?." *Journal of Law and Economics*, 49, p1-28.
- Liebowitz S. J. (2006b). "Economists Examine File-Sharing and Music Sales." In G. Illing and M. Peitz (eds.), *Industrial Organization and the Digital Economy*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Maffioletti A. & G.B. Ramello (2004). "Should We Put Them in Jail? Copyright Infringement, Penalties and Consumer Behaviour: Insights from Experimental Data." *Review of Economic Research on Copyright Issues*, 1, 81-95.
- Michel N. (2004a). "Internet File-sharing: The Evidence So Far and What It Means for the Future." Backgrounder, No 1790, The Heritage Foundation.
- Michel N. (2004b). "The Impact of the Digital Age on the Music Industry: a Theoretical and Empirical Analysis." Working Paper (PhD Dissertation), University of New Orleans and The Heritage Foundation.
- Mortimer J. & Sorensen A. (2007). "Supply Responses to Digital Distribution: Recorded Music and Live Performances." American Economic Association annual papers, Stanford working paper, http://www.aeaweb.org/annual_mtg_papers/2006/0107_0800_0702.pdf.
- Novos I. E. & M. Waldman (1984). "The Effects of Increased Copyright Protection: An Analytic Approach." *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (Apr., 1984), pp. 236-246.
- Oberholzer-Gee F. & K. F. Strumpf (2005). "The Effect of File Sharing on Record Sales: An Empirical Analysis." Working Paper, Harvard Business School and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Oberholzer-Gee F. & K. F. Strumpf (2007). "The Effect of File Sharing on Record Sales: An Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 115, pp. 1-42.
- Peitz M. & P. Waelbroeck (2004). "The Effect of Internet Piracy on CD Sales – Cross Section Evidence." *Review of Economic Research on Copyright Issues*, 1, 71-79.
- Peitz M. & P. Waelbroeck (2006). "Piracy of Digital Products: A Critical Review of the Theoretical Literature." *Information Economics and Policy*, vol. 18 (4), pp. 449-476.
- Rayna T. (2006). "The Economics of Digital Goods: selling vs. renting music online." DIME Intellectual Property Rights Working Paper No. 13.
- Rob R. & J. Waldfogel (2006). "Piracy On The High C's: Music Downloading, Sales Displacement, and Social Welfare In A Sample Of College Students." *Journal of Law and Economics*, 49, 29-62.
- Rochelandet F., Le Guel F. (2005), "P2p Music Sharing Networks: Why the Legal Fight Against Copiers May Be Inefficient". *Review of Economic Research on Copyright Issues*, Vol. 2(2).
- Shy O. & J. Thisse (1999). "A Strategic Approach to Software Protection." *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy*, 8, 163-190.
- Stevens L. & D. Sessions (2005). "An Empirical Investigation into the Effect of Music Downloading on the Consumer Expenditure of Recorded Music: A Time Series Approach." *Journal of Consumer Policy*, Springer, vol. 28(3), 311-324, 09.
- Sundararajan A. (2004). "Managing Digital Piracy: Pricing and Protection." *Information Systems Research*, 15, 287-308.
- Takeyama L. N. (1994). "The Welfare Implications of Unauthorized Reproduction of Intellectual Property in the Presence of Network Externalities." *Journal of Industrial Economics*, 42, 155-166.
- Takeyama L. N. (2003). "Piracy, Asymmetric Information and Product Quality." In: W. J. Gordon and R. Watt (ed.) *The Economics of Copyright. Developments in Research and Analysis*, Edward Elgar.

- Varian H. R. (2000). "Buying, Sharing and Renting Information Goods." *Journal of Industrial Economics*, 48, 473- 488.
- Watt, R. (2005). "Indirect Appropriability 20 Years On." *Review of Economic Research on Copyright Issues*, vol. 2(1), pp. 1-4.
- Zentner A. (2006). "Measuring the Effect of Music Downloads on Music Purchases." *Journal of Law and Economics*, vol. 49.
- Zhang M. X. (2006). "A Review of Economic Properties of Music Distribution." *Music Industry - Emerging Paradigma*, ICFAI Press.
- Zhu K. & B. MacQuarrie (2003). "Economics of Digital Bundling: The Impacts of Digitization and Bundling on the Music Industry." *Communications of the ACM*, Vol. 46, No. 9, p.264-270.

Appendix 1

The new monopolist's profit function is:

$$\pi = (P - c)q_f = (P - c) \left[1 - \left(\frac{P - \lambda}{1 - x^e} \right) \right]$$

Applying the first order conditions:

$$\max \pi = \frac{\partial \pi}{\partial P} = \left[1 - \left(\frac{P - \lambda}{1 - x^e} \right) \right] - \frac{P - c}{1 - x^e} = 0$$

it follows P^* and Q^* :

$$(8.) \quad P^* = \frac{1 - x^e + \lambda + c}{2}$$

$$q_f^* = \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{c - \lambda}{1 - x^e} \right)$$

Appendix 2

In fulfilled expectations equilibrium it must be that the expected network dimension equals the actual dimension, i.e. $x^e = q_n^* = x$. From the equilibrium condition $V + r_i^* - P = V + r_i^* x - \lambda$ and remembering that actual dimension of the network is made up of consumers with r lower than r_i (of the indifferent consumer), the result is that:

$$V + x - \frac{1 - x + \lambda + c}{2} = V + x^2 - \lambda$$

and hence:

$$-2x^2 + 3x + \lambda - c - 1 = 0$$

Solving for x and given the optimal equilibrium price of the monopolist, the equilibrium dimension of the network is:

$$q_n^* = \frac{3 - \sqrt{1 + 8\lambda - 8c}}{4}$$

(the other solutions do not lead to acceptable results).

Chapter Thirty Eight

Film Piracy in Italy: Empirical Evidence of a Growing Phenomenon

Anna Maria Bagnasco, University IULM of Milan, Italy

The threat of piracy has grown since the development of digital distribution channels and the advancement of network structures, such as the Internet. An increased number of digital products and services (i.e. software, music and video files) have been copied and distributed without the authorization of legal owners and, as the copy of a copy does not usually deteriorate in terms of quality, the activity of copying has become a widespread phenomenon. This trend has become a concern for both product manufacturers and policy makers.

Nevertheless the Internet not only is an effective tool for piracy, but it has also evolved both as a platform for independent artists to showcase their talent and for consumers to explore movies' supply, mostly neglected by legal distribution channels, both theatrical and on line ones.

The main objective of this study is both to take a close look to the behaviour pattern of the people who engage in piracy and to estimate the overall impact of piracy on the film industry.

The survey explores the three types of piracy:

- Physical piracy: buying counterfeit or home copied DVDs.
- Digital piracy: electronic distribution (downloading/streaming/peer2peer/digital copies) from unofficial sources.
- Secondary piracy: borrowing or viewing an illegal copy – as opposed to making or buying one.

Using both IPSOS collected data for piracy and official statistics for theatrical and DVD sectors¹, we estimate the direct loss due to movie piracy in Italy.

This is the starting point to better understand the movie piracy phenomenon.

This paper fits into the economics literature on the consumers' behaviour; moreover we estimate how piracy affects the economic performance of the industries responsible for these creative works.

¹Fapav-Ipsos (2009), *La pirateria video in Italia*; Anica (2009), *Il cinema italiano in numeri* (<http://www.anica.it/news/dati.cinema.2008.pdf>); UNIVIDEO (2009), *Rapporto UNIVIDEO*, 2009.

The remainder of the paper is as follows: section 2 will review the relevant literature; section 3 will present methodology and descriptive statistics from our data set; section 4 will show the results of the discussion and will conclude.

Literature Review

Economists were engaged in the debate of piracy, especially for music industry. Nevertheless, movie piracy has different characteristics from music piracy, owing to differences in size, download speed, digital rights protection, and consumption patterns between the two types of content (Liebowitz, 2006; Smith, Telang 2009).

Economic theories or empirical studies on movie piracy do not give a clear prediction about the effects of piracy on legal sales. On one hand illegal copying can substitute sales and decrease industry profits; on the other hand, the availability of pirated contents can increase the consumer's awareness of the product and promote sales. Most empirical works on piracy have focused on estimating piracy on demand for legitimate content.

De Vany and Walls (2007) undertake a direct quantitative analysis of a first run theatrical release with its pirated competitor. They find a clear revenue loss to cinema exhibitors, with total losses for a 14 week run of \$29.2-\$49.5 million.

Rob and Waldfogel (2007) conduct a survey of 500 University of Pennsylvania undergraduates to determine whether unauthorised consumption of films displaces cinema and DVD consumption. They find that unpaid first and subsequent consumption of a film reduces total paid consumption incidence (across all consumers) by 3.5%. According to the authors, the basic characteristics of movies and music are different because of the time consuming nature and non-repetitive usage of movies unlike the music.

Khouja and Rajagopalan (2009) find that there is no evidence of network externalities in the music or film industries and that arguments made about "beneficial piracy" in the software industry do not apply to these media. They also find that copyright theft puts upward pressure on prices.

Liebowitz's (2006) survey of past empirical studies finds that almost all concur that file-sharing harms copyright owners rather than helping them. He also notes that the effects of networking and sampling which are valid for the software industry are nonetheless unlikely to be valid for music due to factors such as fixed time constraints. On balance, economic theory provides only a very thin foundation on which to support any expected impact of file-sharing on sales of sound recordings other than a negative one. Many of these arguments can be extended to films.

Bounie, Waelbroeck and Bourreau (2006) survey a sample of 620 university members to assess the effect of digital piracy on legal demand. They find no impact of piracy on theatre attendance and a strong negative impact on video rentals and purchases.

Smith and Telang (2009) collect data on the availability of movies on the Bit Torrent to measure their impact on DVD sales during eight months between 2005 and 2006. Their results show that both ad-cable and over-the-air movies experience a large increase in sales immediately following their broadcast. Moreover, they measure the impact of pirated content on after-broadcast DVD sales: the results show a significant increase in piracy after movies are broadcast on over-the-air-channels. The results generally underline the complementary relationship between free content distribution (TV and cable broadcast as well as P2P network) and DVD sales. But while television broadcasts of movies increase both DVD sales and movie piracy, these two user segments (legitimate buyers and pirates) seem to be separate: so the television broadcast acts as a stimulus affecting both segments.

Danaher, Dhanasobhon, Smith and Telang (2010) examine the interaction between legitimate and illegitimate digital distribution channels. They quantify the effect of the removal of NBC content from Apple's iTunes store in December 2007, and its restoration in September 2008, as natural shocks to the supply of legitimate digital content and analyse its impact on demand through DVD and piracy channels. Their results show a significant substitution between legitimate digital distribution and piracy channels and, in contrast, they find no change in the Amazon.com sales rank of NBC television season box sets, implying that though customers who cannot purchase digitally may turn to piracy, they do not consider DVD box sets as a substitute to digital downloads.

The original contribute of this paper refers to the original set of data used both to explore how consumers manage decisions to pirate movies and to measure the incidence of piracy on different parts of the movie sector (especially the theatrical and DVD ones). The results can be useful to help policy makers and movie companies' managers develop better strategies to protect and enforce intellectual property rights.

Methodology

The survey was conducted by IPSOS from 4th to 7th February 2009 by CAPI methodology (Computer Aided Personal Interview). The data were collected from a sampling of 2038 adults (over 15 years old) representative of the whole Italian population for gender, age and geographical area. The respondents who got involved in any form of piracy (661 "pirates") have successively been in depth interviewed (from 13th to 27th of February), with a main focus on their attitude and their previous experience with piracy as well as its contributing factors.

Piracy: Profile Demographics

The survey results will be presented in this section. The demographic information about the participants includes age, gender, provenience and occupation.

32% of the sample has got pirated movies in the last 12 months. Pirates have a close profile to the analysed sample of population for gender (little higher male prevalence), provenience and town size. The most relevant variable is the age. However, even if pirates can be found among all age groups, there is a slight decrease with age: pirates are mainly represented in the 15-34 age range, whereas their presence decreases in the over 45-54 age range.

The most relevant demographic data are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. *Profile demographics (total sample + pirates, %)*

	TOTAL SAMPLE	PIRATES
<i>Base (n)*</i>	2038	661
1. GENDER		
Male	48	52
Female	52	48
2. AGE	TOTAL SAMPLE	PIRATES
15-24 y.o.	14	25
25-34 y.o.	18	27
35-44 y.o.	22	24
45-54 y.o.	17	13
55-99 y.o.	29	10
3. GEOGRAPHICAL AREA	TOTAL SAMPLE	PIRATES
North West	26	28
North East	19	16
Center	19	19
South/Island	36	37
4. CITY SIZE	TOTAL SAMPLE	PIRATES
Up to 10.000 inh.	38	36
From 10.001 to 30.000 inh.	23	25
From 30.001 to 100.000 inh.	19	18
From 100.001 to 250.000 inh.	7	8
Over 250.000 inh.	14	14
5. EDUCATION	TOTAL SAMPLE	PIRATES
Specialisation or master after degree	1	1
University	7	6
High school	3	5
Secondary school	43	57
Primary school	34	28
Elementary school	11	3
No title	1	0
6. PROFESSION	TOTAL SAMPLE	PIRATES
EMPLOYED (NET)	53	61
Full time	45	54
Part time	6	7
Seasonal work	1	0
NOT EMPLOYED	47	39

Respondents were initially asked for their experiences of legal film consumption over the last 12 months. With regard to the legal consumption

there is evidence that the pirates make use of films also through channels that involve fee. In the last 12 months pirates have gone to cinema (74%) at least once, have rented official DVDs (53%), have bought official DVDs (48%), have borrowed or received as gift official DVD (59%), have watched films at someone else's place (31%).

For each type of piracy, we assess:

- the proportion of people who are engaged in it;
- the average number of pirated units;
- the proportion of pirated units that results in genuine lost sales.

Data survey reveal that physical piracy has an incidence of 17%, especially as to counterfeit DVDs (available on the market, in the streets, etc). Digital piracy involves 21% of the respondents: download and P2P are the principal means, with electronic distribution from non-official sources (memory stick).

Streaming has been chosen by the 4% of respondents.

Altogether 27% of the sample has been involved in at least one form of direct piracy (physical or digital), though secondary piracy involves 22% and 16%, respectively for borrowing and viewing material illegally copied by others.

A large percentage of respondents get pirated movies by different means: on P2P networks, from an intranet, by physical means (Cd-R, DVD-R, USB keys..). On average, each pirate got 21 movies in the last year: in the Table 2 we tabulate the average number of pirated movies by the different means of acquiring them.

Table 2 *Piracy: average number of pirated movies per year*

Physical piracy	Counterfeit DVDs	7,9
	Home copied DVDs	6,4
Digital piracy	Download	8,8
	Streaming	3,8
	Peer to peer	12,6
	Digital copies	6,5
Secondary piracy	Unofficial borrowing	5,4
	Unofficial viewing	7,3

With regard to the previous year, the levels of piracy are relatively stable, although there is evidence of a decline in physical piracy (-32%) and unofficial streaming appears to be a widespread form of piracy (+ 7%).

If we focus on the three different forms of piracy, we can distinguish some differences in terms of demographic profile, behaviour and technological equipment.

Compared to others, the “physical pirate” is more likely to be a middle-aged man. He lives in the South and Islands and in big towns. He has a low level of scholarship and aligned technological equipment, just with a greater presence of flat screen TV.

The “digital pirate” is young by nature. He lives in the North West and tends to concentrate mainly around small-sized cities. More often he is single,

student and with a high level of scholarship. There is a greater incidence of people with access to Internet broadband. The technological equipment is wider and there is a high presence of satellite TV or digital cable.

The “secondary pirate” profile is close to the total pirate sample. There is a larger presence of female and young people (15-24 age range). These pirates have a low level of scholarship and the percentage of non-workers is high. The technological equipment is not particularly featured.

Exploring the main drivers underneath the purchase, the download of pirated movies and the rationale for engaging with illegal activities, the results show that the most important motivations to piracy are both the high availability of titles that pirates would not have seen otherwise and the wish to see all the films they have lost in the cinema. Then costs and time saving reasons, along with the consciousness of the high availability of illegal movies, play the major role in the explanation of the individual extent of movie piracy. The pirates sometimes ‘explain’ their behaviour by a ‘justification speech’ on an overall sense of social acceptability: ‘not there valid reasons in order not to make it’ and ‘pirate movies are not really harming anyone’.

Among the different types of pirates, only digital pirate has an increasing piracy trend compared to the past; both the physical and the secondary pirates show a decreasing piracy trend, stronger for the physical one.

If we analyze the motivations for physical decreasing trend, the most relevant result is that some of those individuals are slowly beginning to be involved in piracy by themselves through the digital means: so they will be digital pirates in the future; digital pirates put the improved technical capabilities (i.e. speed of the line) as the main reason for increasing piracy trend. The main motivation of the decreasing trend of secondary pirates is the absence of interesting movies.

The survey also investigated what the pirates would do if they could not access such pirated material. The assumption is that not every pirate download/purchase/viewing is a lost sale, simply because some users will “drop out of the market” for audiovisual materials if not available in pirated forms. As a result, some 30% of viewers of pirate films indicated that they would not view the material at all if it wasn’t available in an unauthorised form. A substantial number also indicated that, in the absence of piracy, they would have viewed the material in some ways that do not necessarily involve payment (e.g. borrowing DVDs). The remainder indicated that they would have viewed the material through various paid formats (i.e. cinema, DVD sales, DVD rentals, downloads etc.). Data are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. *What would do pirates if they could not pirate movie?*

In the cinema	22%
Bought official DVD	5%
Rented DVD	16%
Downloaded from official website	1%
Pay per view TV	1%
Satellite TV/digital cable	2%
Borrowed DVD	8%
Viewed DVD someone else bought etc.	4%
Free TV	12%
Wouldn't have watched (None of the se)	29%

Based on these responses, it is possible to estimate that roughly 47% of all viewings of pirated films actually count as lost revenues. At the same time, the survey results suggest that copyright theft did indeed depress industry revenues by 537 million in 2008: this reflects the estimated revenue loss from users who would have viewed the material through paid, legal forms if they hadn't had access to pirated content.

Using the set of available data from official sources, we can measure the legal size of the theoretical movie market, piracy being absent. We proceed by adding up the reference legal market to the piracy estimates (therefore the estimates concerning the lost sales), in order to obtain the theoretical market, which is the legal market that would have existed if piracy hadn't existed¹.

REAL (LEGAL) MARKET + PIRACY (Lost Sales) = THEORETICAL MARKET

The results are summarized in Table 4².

Table 4. *Italy's movie industry (Theatrical+ DVDs): lost outputs as a result of movie piracy*

	Real market (nr.)	PIRACY (Lost Sales) (nr.)	Theoretical market (nr.)
THEATRICAL	99 mln tickets	29 mln tickets	128 mln tickets
DVD SALES	66 mln DVDs	19 mln DVDs	85 mln DVDs
DVD RENTAL	55 mln DVDs	52 mln DVDs	107 mln DVDs

	Real market Revenues	PIRACY (Lost Sales) Revenues	Theoretical market Revenues
THEATRICAL	594 mln €	173 mln €	767 mln €
DVD SALES	667 mln €	192 mln €	859 mln €
DVD RENTAL	161 mln €	153 mln €	314 mln €
TOTAL MARKET	1.422 mln €	518 mln €	1.940 mln €

	Average Price €
THEATRICAL	5,98
DVD SALES	10,1
DVD RENTAL	2,93

Through the reconstruction of the theoretical market, it is possible to calculate how much piracy affects every division. If we compare the size of the real market to the theoretical one, we will obtain the incidence of the piracy's impact on the reference market, as mentioned above. In detail:

¹This process is to be referred to the cinema industry and the DVD renting and sales' only because here is where the legal market's reference official data are available

²Data are given by the following ratio: i.e. 'Number of ticket of real market: revenues of real market = x (number of ticket of theoretical market): revenues of theoretical market'.

$$\frac{PIRACY}{THEORETICAL MARKET} \times 100 = \% INCIDENCE$$

$$\text{THEATRICAL: } \frac{173 \text{ m ln€}}{767 \text{ m ln€}} \times 100 = 22,6\%$$

$$\text{DVD SALES: } \frac{190 \text{ m ln€}}{857 \text{ m ln€}} \times 100 = 22,1\%$$

$$\text{DVD RENTAL: } \frac{152 \text{ m ln€}}{313 \text{ m ln€}} \times 100 = 48,6\%$$

$$\text{TOTAL MARKET (THEATRICAL + DVDs): } \frac{515 \text{ m ln€}}{1937 \text{ m ln€}} \times 100 = 26,6\%$$

The outcomes show that piracy has a stronger incidence on the DVD rental industry which has clearly been the sector giving the least results and the worst trend over the last years¹. With regard to the reference total theoretical market, piracy incidence shows that losses are more than ¼.

Here is the picture of the piracy phenomenon in Italy.

Results Discussion and Conclusions

From the survey emerges that pirates have heterogeneous motivations to pirate and different piracy trend: examining these aspects allow us to understand whose piracy's attitude could better be changed.

First of all, we can deduce that the phenomenon of piracy is worrying especially for its digital aspects: on one hand, physical piracy is diminishing; on the other hand, secondary piracy is a 'drop down phenomenon'. Moreover digital pirates show the greatest attitude to piracy (the only piracy increasing trend) and have the most active pirate behaviour².

Moreover data reveal that some pirates would not necessarily have paid for content in the absence of piracy: in that case movie piracy would not effect on movies' legal demand. Nevertheless the high level of legal movie consumption³ shows that a significant part of pirates are willing to pay to watch movies; moreover 47% of respondents indicated that they would have viewed the material through various paid formats, in the absence of piracy. For those people, piracy represents a way to satisfy a movie's demand not satisfied

¹DVDs rental Italians' expenditure (var. %): 2005: -0,7; 2006: -13,5; 2007: -19,8; 2008: -26,5 (UNIVIDEO, 2009).

²Digital pirates are the most active pirated movies consumers: they watch everything, or nearly everything, they can download: about 70% of them declare they have watched all the films they have pirated. Moreover they pirate a lot of movies by different digital means (see Table 2).

³See 3.1 sub-section.

by legal alternative sources: the illegal supply is perceived as wider than the legal one. Though online services carry out far more inventories than traditional retailers, the 'world of abundance', theoretically allowed by the online distribution systems (Anderson, 2006), has been more illegal than legal so far, at least in the common perception.

Survey data suggest that some pirates are involved in this illegal activity as response to an inefficient online and physical distribution system, both for the wide range of available titles and for the time of movies' release (little exposure time, high concentration, small choice)¹. For these individuals the type of distribution and/or the system of windowing is not effective and/or suitable². These results confirm the hypothesis that the current online distribution systems do not succeed in reaching the audience and providing a legal alternative for the movies that are illegally (but effectively) distributed on the Internet (Pitkar, 2008): high and prompt availability, huge size of available titles, easy to use tools, ready-to-use software to pirate and low risk to be caught. Moreover, the Internet encourages exploration of unknown movies mostly neglected by legal distribution channels: so these users can know that some movies exist but again they can't get hold of them legally.

According to Danaher (et al. 2010), if the legal purchase option is not available (removed or unknown) the individuals will start to pirate. This may also imply a spill over effect: once individuals start to pirate, they pirate more content than they would have originally purchased; and the more they find, the more they like. In addition to this consideration, if we assume that pirated files tend to be easier to share or use on a variety of devices and that digital pirates show the greatest attitude to piracy and have the most active piracy behaviour, there is an alarm that has to be taken into account by the movie industry and a focus for suggesting some areas where policies and practices to combat piracy could be strengthened.

In order to change these pirates' behaviour, it could be useful to change the current movie distribution system, both the online and the theatrical one (range of available titles and a supply in real time).

For individuals especially driven by costs saving motives the decision to purchase or pirate rests largely on the shape of the non-financial cost (i.e. moral cost) curve associated with piracy, which is technically free of cost. With the aim to change their attitude to piracy, it could be useful to increase the perception of other non-financial costs of the illegal behaviour: by increasing

¹These pirates could justify their piracy behaviour because the legal physical and online distribution channels aren't able to satisfy their movie demand: indeed, some of the movies they pirate, not only are not yet available at theatres or by other legal means, they don't know if they will ever be, either.

²This involves a more general problem about the circulation of films not only within Europe, but also in the rest of world. The majority of films (with the exception of those from Majors) still do not find their way into the cinemas, especially outside their home territories. The US Major supremacy in the audiovisual market, the growing concentration of distribution, the little movies' exposure time, the reduced choice of available titles are some of the biggest obstacles faced by movie consumers who can not get hold of many audiovisual products that they would like to view. This is a very interesting issue that will not be discussed in this paper.

the non-financial costs of illegal behaviour, regarding the gains, the attraction of piracy may be diminished. These non-financial costs are for example (Danaher et al. 2010) both the moral cost of piracy and the cost of risk if caught and punished: while the first is a main long run purpose that implies public policies involvement by different means (including educational programs and anti-piracy advertisement campaigns, BASCAP 2009), the second one could be an effective short run deterrent, useful as intermediate tool. Moreover, according to the movie industry perspective, especially on line distribution movie channels could try to capture this demand segment through an attractive and convenient movies' supply. Also, an appropriate priced legal online distribution model can be used by the movie industry to capture revenues from these pirates. On the other hand, the secondary users pirate because others do it: their attitude to piracy is drop down. As long as they can easily obtain pirated movies, as long as piracy is overall perceived as social acceptable, they will do it. If the behaviour of the direct pirates changes, their piracy behaviour will change too: getting direct pirates to return to legal options is a priority.

Our results have several managerial and policy implications. The implementation of anti-piracy measures, both in public and industrial perspectives, is able to reclaim a large part of pirated movie by increasing legal demand for movie industry products: at least, it could increase the movie industry gross revenues by some 537€ million (revenue losses). However, these direct losses to copyright owners represent only part of the story. Piracy also causes significant and measurable harm to both the upstream suppliers and downstream distributors who would also have benefited from the sale of legitimate copyright products: in one segment of the economy, piracy affects other industries because the economy is an interdependent system. Changes in supply or demand in one industry can and do affect supply and demand in other industries: higher movie industry revenues will have multiplier impacts on the entire economy (MPA&LEK, 2006). With an effective 537 million gain in revenues, the movie industry (and Italy's employees) increases their demand from other sectors of the economy (e.g. marketing, accommodation, retailing, business services etc.). They are the so-called 'indirect and induced' effects (Oxford Economics, 2009). Allowing for induced and indirect effects provides an indication of the economy-wide spread of the losses initially created by the movie sector. This provides a much broader assessment of the economic damage inflicted by movie¹.

These remarks show that there is a need for urgent action from both Government and the film industry itself (UK FILM COUNCIL, 2005). The solutions involve, among other things, tougher legislation, education of

¹A recent study conducted by Tera Consultants (march 2010) estimates that in 2008 the audio and audiovisual creative industries in Italy lost an estimated € 790 million in revenues in one year due to physical and digital piracy; this loss of legitimate revenues translates into job losses, both direct and in direct. Considering these retail losses, it can be inferred that the estimated economic fingerprint of piracy represents close to 14800 direct and indirect job losses for the Italy.

consumers as to the economic and social consequences of piracy, effective anti-piracy campaigns and a rethinking of movie business models to enable consumers to buy legitimately what is currently being stolen: piracy is forcing the transformation of the production, distribution and consumption of movies, among the others cultural goods. There are several potential positive benefits that broadband Internet access is able to bring to the movie industry. On one hand, digital networks can create new and lower cost channels for studios to promote, sell and distribute their content to paying customers: Internet retailers can both provide a substantially larger variety of movies for sale on their websites than brick-and-mortar retailers can and implement a more targeted channel to promote movies of interest to consumers. On the other hand, high speed access to the Internet might allow consumers to collect and exchange more information about movies they are interested in and to access products that would not have been available in brick-and-mortar channels (Brynjolfsson, Hu, and Smith, 2003).

Thus, to get pirates to return to legal options and to reclaim pirates' demand also movie industry has to play a great role through both the development of new business models and innovative marketing and advertising strategies: whole economy will benefit from that.

Limitations and Future Research

However, we note that there are several important data and econometric limitations associated with this study. First, and most importantly, data survey are nationally representative. Nevertheless, we think that the diminishing physical piracy and the strong emerging of digital piracy is a common phenomenon, not just limited to Italy.

Interesting potential direction for future research regards both new business models for online distribution of movies and the economic impact of copyright piracy, given the revenue losses due to piracy itself.

References

- Al-Rafee, S., T. P. Cronan (2006). 'Digital Piracy: Factors that Influence Attitude Toward Behavior.' *Journal of Business Ethics* 63: 237-259.
- Anderson, C. (2004). 'The Long Tail'. *Wired*, October.
- BASCAP (2009). *Research Report on Consumer Attitudes and Perceptions on Counterfeiting and Piracy*. ICC initiative. www.iccwbo.org/bascap
- Bounie D., Waelbroeck P., Bourreau M. (2006). 'Piracy and the Demand for Films: Analysis of Piracy Behavior in French Universities', *Review of Economic Research on Copyright Issues* 3 (2):15-27.
- Brynjolfsson, E., Hu, Y.J., Smith, M. D. (2003). 'Consumer Surplus in the Digital Economy: Estimating the Value of Increased Product Variety.' *Management Science* 49 (11): 1580-1596.
- Brynjolfsson, E., Hu, Y.J., Smith, M. D. (2006). D., 'From Niches to Riches: Anatomy

- of the Long Tail.' *Sloan Management Review*. 47 (4): 67-71.
- Cambridge Econometrics (2005). *Economic Impact of the UK Screen Industries*. UK. http://www.ukfilmcouncil.org.uk/media/pdf/m/r/The_Economic_Impact_of_the_UK_Screen_Industries.pdf
- Danaher, B., Dhanasobhon, S., Smith, M. D., Telang R. (2010). 'Converting Pirates without Cannibalizing Purchasers: The Impact of Digital Distribution on Physical Sales and Internet Piracy.' Tepper School of Business, Carnegie Mellon University. <http://repository.cmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1469&context=tepper>
- De Vany, A. S., Walls, D.W. (2007). 'Estimating the effects of movie piracy on Box-office revenue.' *Review of Industrial Organisation*, 30 (4): 291-301.
- Gan, L.L., Koh, H.C. (2005). 'The Profiles of Software Pirates among Tertiary Institutions in Singapore.' Economic Growth Centre, Division of Economics, Working Paper 2005/08 <http://www.hss.ntu.edu.sg/egc/>
- Hennig-Thurau, T., Henning, V., Sattler H., Eggers, F., Houston, M. B. (2007). 'The Last Picture Show? Timing and Order of Movie Distribution Channels' *Journal of Marketing* 71 (4): 63-83.
- Hennig-Thurau, T., Henning, V., Sattler, H. (2007). 'Consumer File Sharing of Motion Pictures', *Journal of marketing* 71(4): 1-18.
- Holm, H. J. (2003). 'Can Economic Theory Explain Piracy Behavior?' *Topics in Economic Analysis & Policy* 3: 1-15.
- Khouja, M., and Rajagopalan, H. K. (2009). 'Can piracy lead to higher prices in the music and motion picture industries?' *Journal of the Operational Research Society* 60(3): 372-383.
- MPA&LEK. (2006). *The Cost of Movie Piracy*. New York. <http://ia331404.us.archive.org/0/items/MpaaPiracyReort/LeksummarympaRevised.pdf>
- Liebowitz, S. J. (2006). 'File Sharing: Creative Destruction or Just Plain Destruction?' *Journal of Law and Economics* 49 (1): 1-28.
- Mandel, P., Sussmuth B. (2009). 'Digital Piracy in Europe: Some first micro-evidence based on a German survey.' Munich University of Technology. http://www.serci.org/2009/DP_MS.pdf
- Martikainen, E. (2009). 'Does file-sharing reduce DVD sales?' University of Turku and IASM. <http://ises.abo.fi/ace/090519-martikainen.pdf>
- Oberholzer-Gee, F., Strumpf, K. (2009). 'File-Sharing and Copyright'. *Innovation Policy and Economy* 10(1): 19-55.
- Oxford Economics (2007). *The Economic Impact of the UK Film Industry*. Supported by the UK Film Council and Pinewood Shepperton plc. Oxford <http://www.ukfilmcouncil.org.uk/media/pdf/5/8/FilmCouncilreport190707.pdf>
- Oxford Economics (2009). *Economic impact of legislative reform to reduce audio-visual piracy*. Final Report. <http://www.allianceagainstiptheft.co.uk/downloads/reports/Great%20Expectations%20Economic%20impact%20.pdf>
- Peitz, M., Waelbroek, P. (2006). 'Piracy of Digital Products: A Critical Review of the Theoretical Literature.' *Information Economics & Policy* 18: 449-476.
- Pitkar, K., Rajpathak, S., Motwani, T., Mahendiran, A. (2008). 'Minimizing Revenue Loss Due to Piracy: An Early Internet Release of Motion Picture'. University of Colorado, Boulder. <https://drachma.colorado.edu/dspace/bitstream/123456789/276/1/Digikast.pdf>
- Png, I. P.L., and Wang, Q. 2006. 'Copyright Duration and the Supply of Creative Work: Evidence from the Movies.' National University of Singapore Working Paper. <http://lev0412.dklevine.com/archive/png-duration.pdf>
- Rob, R., Waldfogel, J. (2007). 'Piracy on the Silver Screen.' *Journal of Industrial Economics* 55(3): 379-395.

- Siwek S. E. (2007), *The True Cost of Copyright Industry Piracy to the U.S. Economy*, Policy Report 189, IPI Center for Economic Growth. <http://www.ipi.org/IPI%5CIPublications.nsf/PublicationLookupMain/A2C29ADF66FD941186257369005A052D>
- Smith, M. D., Telang, R. (2006). 'Piracy or Promotion? The Impact of the Broadband Internet Penetration on DVD Sales,' Working Paper, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA. <http://archive.nyu.edu/bitstream/2451/14958/2/USEDBOOK16.pdf>
- Smith, M., Telang, R. (2009). 'Competing with Free: The Impact of Movie Broadcasts on DVD Sales and Internet Piracy.' *Management Information Systems Quarterly* 33(2): 312-338.
- TERA Consultants (2010). *Building a Digital Economy: the importance of saving jobs in the EU's creative industries*, International Chamber of Commerce/BASCAP. [http://www.iccwbo.org/uploadedFiles/BASCAP/Pages/Building%20a%20Digital%20Economy%20-%20TERA\(1\).pdf](http://www.iccwbo.org/uploadedFiles/BASCAP/Pages/Building%20a%20Digital%20Economy%20-%20TERA(1).pdf)
- UK FILM COUNCIL (2004). *Film theft in the UK Anti-Piracy Task Force: an analysis and recommendations for action*. London. www.ukfilmcouncil.org.uk/media/pdf/j/4/Film_theft_in_the_UK.pdf
- Varian, H. R. (2005). 'Copying and Copyright.' *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 19: 121-138.
- Waterman, D., Ji, S. W., Rochet, L. R. (2007). 'Enforcement and Control of Piracy, Copying, and Sharing in the Movie Industry.' *Review of Industrial Organization* 30 (4): 255-289.

Chapter Thirty Nine

Motivations for Gratifications of Digital Music Piracy among College Students: Phase III Concept Testing

Brian Sheehan, Syracuse University, USA

James Tsao, Syracuse University, USA

Jim Pokrywczynski, Marquette University, USA

Digital music piracy threatens the future of the music production industry. The Music Industry Federation has estimated that 95% of all music downloaded via the Internet, worldwide, is pirated (Pfanner, 2010). In the United States, its economic impact in terms of lost revenue to the music industry has been estimated at \$3.7 billion annually (IFPI Digital Music Report, 2008). Further, a 2007 study by the Institute of Policy Innovation (IPI) put the total cost to the US economy at over \$12 billion annually (Siwek, 2007). Beyond the loss of over 70,000 jobs in the recording industry and the associated wages, this study included economic impacts that are not so obvious, like the loss of over 26,000 jobs that would have been added in the recording industry or downstream retail industries, and over 40,000 related jobs that would have been added in other U.S. industries. It also included lost tax revenue to the US government. By any measure, digital music piracy is an illegal behavior with a tremendous economic impact.

College students represent the single group that downloads the most illegal music, according to the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA). They are notable for their large absolute numbers and for their high frequency of downloading. This group causes a particular problem because two-thirds of college students who download music do not care if the music is copyrighted (Richmond School of Law, 2006). Not surprisingly, the RIAA has stated that digital music piracy among college kids is ‘especially and disproportionately problematic’ (<http://riaa.com/faq.php>, ¶ 31).

Purpose and Significance

The purpose of this study is to identify advertising concepts targeted to college students that have the potential to decrease music piracy. They will be identified based on their abilities to substantially increase students’ desire to use legal programs and/or significantly decrease their desire to use illegal programs for downloading music.

Any piece of communication that significantly decreases digital music piracy among college students should result in a significant financial

improvement for the music industry, as well as having a positive impact on the US economy as a whole. The impact will likely be measured in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

Research Background

This paper reports on the final stage of a three-stage research study to examine the causes of illegal downloading among college students and to test the effects of various advertising concepts on students' downloading behavior.

The first stage of the study was a qualitative phase, completed in January, 2009 (Authors 2009) which created a cognitive map that identified college students' specific motivations for digital music piracy, as well as the specific factors which either reinforced or detracted from their desire to engage in the behavior.

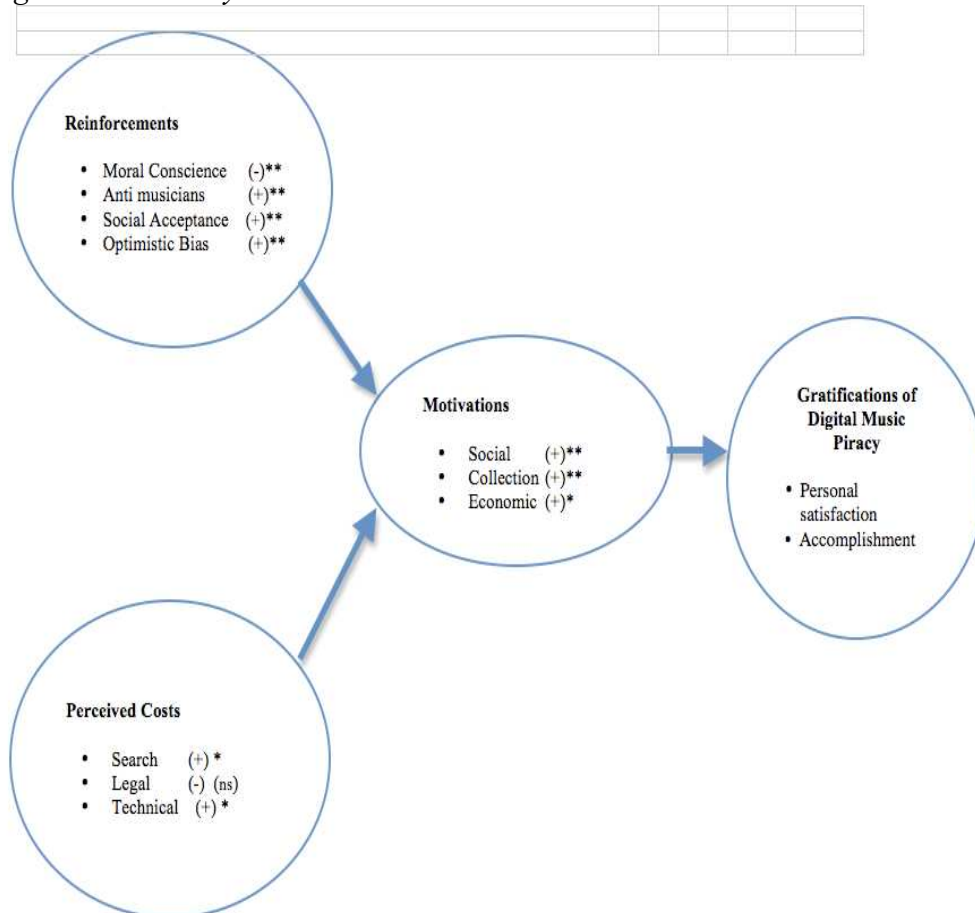
The second stage was a quantitative phase, completed in June, 2009 (Authors 2010) with the purpose of confirming, refuting, and/or adjusting the cognitive map from stage 1. The cognitive map was confirmed quantitatively with only minor adjustments (See Diagram 1). Specifically, it was confirmed that the key motivations for music piracy among college students related directly to social utility (i.e., sharing music with friends), collection utility (i.e., the ability to build a large music collection and acquire versions of songs not available legally) and economic utility (i.e., getting the songs for free). An important finding was that social utility contributed more to the level of gratification than economic or collection utility. This was somewhat surprising because our assumption, as well as conventional wisdom, was that free downloads were the primary motivator. Social aspects of music piracy were clearly very important to college students, more important than we had expected. This finding may support music piracy among college students as an aspect of social network theory (Kadushin, 2003), which underscores the importance of social connections and relationships in regard to individual actions.

Reinforcements to the motivations included optimistic bias (i.e., a strong belief they would not be caught), social acceptance (i.e., peer acceptance of the behavior), anti-musician/industry feelings (i.e., a belief that the musicians and music companies make too much money already), and moral conscience (i.e., feelings of guilt). Moral conscience, however, was inversely related, and a function of social acceptance. In other words, social acceptance of the behavior among their peers lowered any sense of guilt and actually reinforced the desire to download illegally.

Aspects that acted as negative reinforcements (i.e., costs) to decrease the behavior were search costs (i.e., the easier songs are to find illegally, the greater chance they will be downloaded) and technical costs (i.e., viruses that can destroy your computer's hard drive). Importantly, legal costs (i.e., fear of lawsuits) showed no specific ability to curtail the behavior.

The cognitive map (See Diagram 1) should accurately reflect the motivations for gratifications of digital music piracy among the college population tested at a large Eastern university. The cognitive map was developed based on solid theoretical underpinnings and within the framework of previous studies about illegal music and movie downloading behavior, as previously published (Authors 2009; Authors 2010).

Diagram 1. *Cognitive Map of Reinforcements and Costs Impacting Motivations for Digital Music Piracy*



* $P < .05$ ** $P < .001$

A “+” sign represents a positive relationship between the two variables.

A “-” sign represents an inverse relationship between the two variables.

“NS” means that there is no relationship between the two variables.

During the third stage of the research project, eight advertising concepts were developed, each of which was designed to manipulate some positive or negative cost or reinforcement identified in the cognitive map. An additional concept, featuring a generic, non-related concept about breakfast cereals, was added to control for the stimulus having an effect regardless of message. Further, a control group was included whose members received a pre-questionnaire, but no stimulus or post-questionnaire.

The concepts were exposed to students and tested to see if any had the potential to change downloading behavior, and which ones had more potential than others. In order to avoid findings that reflected only one unique college population, a second university—a smaller Midwestern university—was added to the study.

Hypotheses

The cognitive map showed that college students' motivations for illegally downloading music were either positively reinforced by some very specific areas of reinforcement (e.g., social acceptance) or negatively reinforced by very specific perceived costs (e.g., viruses). We wanted to test whether decreasing positive reinforcements and/or increasing perceived costs would have the potential to lead to a direct transformative impact on their motivations and actual behavior.

H1: Motivations for digital music piracy among college students will be reversed if certain costs currently perceived as minor are repositioned as major.

Our previous qualitative and quantitative studies showed that while students recognized the existence of legal and technical costs (i.e., fines and viruses), those costs were not perceived as major enough to curtail the behavior. The motivations were more powerful than the costs. Therefore, we created two concepts intended to significantly increase students' perceptions of their chances of catching a virus via music-sharing software, like Limewire, which expose users to thousands of potential viruses, thereby destroying their computer hard drive. One concept was more direct, while the other was more emotive. We considered that something so technical could benefit from a more emotive communication. Further, we created a concept intended to significantly increase students' perceptions of the personal financial consequences of being caught. Their chances of being caught are very low, and they know it; however, we emphasized that what is lost in frequency of economic loss is more than made up in magnitude of economic impact to those who are caught.

H2: Motivations for digital music piracy among college students will be reversed if certain reinforcements of the behavior can be repositioned as costs.

Our previous studies indicated that certain attitudes of students towards the record industry, as well as the acceptance of illegal behavior by college peers, were strongly reinforcing the motivation to download illegally. We considered that there were a number of unintended negative consequences of their behavior, which were not top-of-mind with students. If those negative

consequences could become top-of-mind, then attitudes that were positively reinforcing the behavior might be replaced by perceptions of the costs associated with them.

We created one concept to counteract broad social acceptance by emphasizing the potential social cost to an individual's reputation. We created three concepts intended to turn a general feeling of Anti-artist/anti-industry into a concern about the extreme cost to smaller bands. We developed numerous anti-artist/anti-industry concepts, instead of just one or two, to see if there might be a specific angle that worked as a trigger on this issue (e.g., 'smaller bands,' 'our band,' 'the band you love') because it was a complex emotion that was described differently by different people.

Anti-music industry bias was salient in our previous research as well as the previous literature. Kwong & Lee (2002) found that when there was a perceived inequitable relationship between the music copyright holder and the individual, negative attitudes toward music piracy tended to soften. Perceptions of an inequitable relationship regarding music ownership resulted in both anti-industry feelings—against music companies—and anti-artist feelings. Lack of exposure to the corporate world combined with media-driven images of opulent music star lifestyles reinforced lax attitudes toward music piracy among college students, while allaying any feelings of guilt.

H3: Motivations for digital music piracy among college students will be reversed if a new, more powerful economic cost is introduced.

We considered that many students attend college to position themselves for good jobs in the future. In the current recessionary economy, concerns about future employment are exacerbated. According to a 2009 study from mtvU and The Associated Press, as students face 'a global recession and a receding job market,' over 60% of college seniors are worried about their ability to get a job after graduation. In addition, almost one in five had their stress amplified by having parents who have lost a job (The JED Foundation, 2009). Therefore, we created a concept to introduce a new potential economic cost, one that is real, but not currently top of mind with college students in relation to digital music piracy. Namely, that music piracy, if discovered by a potential employer, could prevent you from getting a job. We created only one concept here because the message was very straightforward, depending less on how it was phrased.

Method

Participants

This study included 415 participants from two private universities: 48 % of the samples came from a large Eastern university and 52% were recruited from a medium-sized Midwestern university. The participants were 29% male and

71% female. More than 32% of the participants were 18 years old; 23% were 19 years old; 19% were 20 years old; 22% were 21 years old; 3% were 22 years old; and 7 individuals were 23 or older. The samples consisted of 81% white, 4% Black/African Americans, 5% Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders, 8% Hispanics/Latinos, and 2% Native Americans.

Procedure

Participants were randomly divided into ten groups: eight experimental groups—each evaluating a separate concept—one generic group, and one control group. Respondents were told that their involvement in the experiment was voluntary and their responses would be confidential and used only for research. A pre and post-test was conducted in the generic and experimental groups to measure the effectiveness of the advertising concepts on the intention to commit digital music piracy. The control group was asked to fill out the pre-test questionnaire only; no stimuli were given to the group.

The stimulus applied to the generic group was an advertising concept of breakfast cereals, which is irrelevant to the behavior of digital music piracy (See Appendix 1). The rationale to include the generic group was to rule out a threat to internal validity. If the generic group had not been included in the research design, the results could be seen as the effects of viewing any ad concepts (versus none) rather than viewing particular ad concepts of the research interests. The treatment groups were exposed to eight different advertising concepts as experimental stimuli.

Each advertising concept is a single page layout (8.5 by 11 inches) (See Appendix 2). The layout included a headline, generic picture, and body copy. The most important goal of conducting an advertising concept is to communicate a key and simple message that can be understood clearly by the audience and be measured accurately (Davis, 1997).

Advertising Concepts as Independent Variables

Eight advertising concepts were tested as independent variables, in addition to the generic concept. The specific concepts tested were as follows:

Category 1 (related to H1): Increasing perceptions of cost (i.e., reframing existing perceived costs to make them appear greater)

1. Feel lucky? Bill Whipple didn't think he could be caught. Now, he's screwed.
2. You wouldn't sleep with someone you knew had an STD, would you?
3. Limewire contains thousands of computer viruses just waiting for you.

Category 2 (related to H2): Repositioning reinforcements as costs (i.e., showing the unintended negative consequences of behavior that is socially and/or emotionally reinforced)

4. Illegal downloads can haunt your reputation for years.
5. Limewire screwed our band.

6. One song can kill the band you love.
7. A great way for you to help new artists create great new music is to get their music legally.

Category 3 (related to H3): Unrecognized economic costs (i.e., introducing new and substantial economic costs that are not currently top of mind)

8. Would you illegally download music if it affected your ability to get a job?

Category 4: Generic Concept

9. Raisin Bran adds another scoop of raisins (generic concept).

Questionnaire

A pilot test on the questionnaires was conducted with 50 randomly chosen students. These students were separate from the test sample. Minor revisions on the questionnaires were made after the pilot test. Pre- and post-questionnaires were given to nine of the ten groups in the formal experiment. The tenth group, the control group, received only the pre-questionnaire. The questionnaire in all of the groups included a manipulation check to make sure respondents actually read and considered the content of the concept. It included general questions about music, music downloading, and digital music piracy. It measured specific attitudes relevant to the specific concepts (i.e., social acceptance/trust, Limewire, anti-musician/music industry bias, technical costs/viruses, and optimistic bias). It measured the intention to commit digital music piracy, which was used as the key indicator of concept success by comparing pre- and post-scores. The questionnaire also gathered specific attitudes towards the concepts (i.e., affective, cognitive and involvement), and demographics.

The pre-questionnaires were the same for all groups. Post-questionnaires were modified to fit each specific concept.

Operations of Variables

Dependent variables: Frequencies of intention to download music illegally and legally in the future were the dependent variables of the study. The measurement of the frequencies was measured according to the responses to the following questions.

- 1) 'How often do you think you will download music using a legal program?'
- 2) 'How often do you think you will download music using an illegal program?'

Responses to both questions on each questionnaire were reported on a 7-point Likert scale of 'Strongly Disagree,' 'Disagree,' 'Slightly Disagree,' 'Neutral,' 'Slightly Agree,' 'Agree,' 'Strongly Agree.' 'Don't Know' was coded as 0, which was excluded in the statistical analyses. The same scale of

measurement was applied to other questions except for the inquiries on demographics.

Independent variables were the eight advertising and the generic concepts to which the participants were exposed.

Method of Analysis

The two dependent variables were analyzed on nine paired sample t-tests. The data were filtered by nine advertising concepts before the t-tests were conducted for each concept. Each t-test compared the measurement of the two dependent variables before and after the participants read the advertising or generic concept. The research design was simple. If there was no average difference between the pre-post measurements, then the advertising concept showed no effect, so the hypothesis was not accepted. On the other hand, if there was an average difference, then the concept did have an effect, and the hypothesis was accepted.

Results

For the eight concepts taken as a whole (See Table 1), the difference between the pre- and post-test (excluding the generic and control groups) showed a statistically significant result: respondents were significantly less likely to use an illegal program to download music in the near future ($df=329$, $t=4.53$, $p<.001$). It also showed a marginally significant result: respondents were more likely to use a legal program to download music in the near future ($df=331$, $t=-1.92$, $p=.055$).

H1: Motivations for digital music piracy among college students will be reversed if certain costs currently perceived as minor are repositioned as major.

Three advertising concepts were designed to measure the first hypothesis. Paired sample t-tests were conducted individually on each concept. Table 1 shows that two of the three concepts significantly increased the propensity to both use a legal program and stop using illegal programs. These concepts were 'You wouldn't sleep with someone you knew had an STD, would you?' (Concept #2: $df=41$; $t=-2.02$, $p=.05$; $t=2.15$, $p<.05$); and 'Limewire contains thousands of computer viruses just waiting for you' (Concept #3: $df=40$, $t=-1.97$, $p=.056$; $df=40$, $t=2.73$, $p<.01$). The only concept that did not reach the statistical significance was Concept 1. We conclude that motivations for digital music piracy among college students will be reversed if certain costs (specifically, the threat of computer viruses), which are currently perceived as minor, can be repositioned as major. Therefore, the first hypothesis was mostly supported.

H2: Motivations for digital music piracy among college students will be reversed if certain reinforcements of the behavior can be repositioned as costs.

Table 1: Mean Differences Between Pre-Post Tests on Advertising Concepts

	Intention to <u>use a legal program</u>					Intention to use <u>an illegal program</u>				
	Pre-test	Post-test	Df	t	P	Pre-test	Post-test	Df	t	P
Overall 8 concepts	4.23	4.39	331	-1.92	0.055	3.54	3.27	329	4.53	<.001
Concept 1										
"Feel lucky"	4.51	4.53	42	-0.09	ns	3.28	3.28	42	0.00	ns
Concept 2										
"STD"	4.02	4.38	41	-2.02	0.05	3.95	3.60	41	2.15	<.05
Concept 3										
"Virus"	3.95	4.29	40	-1.97	0.056	3.32	2.95	40	2.73	<.01
Concept 4										
Reputation	4.76	4.57	41	0.76	ns	3.20	2.80	40	2.64	0.01
Concept 5										
Limewire screw	4.07	4.09	42	-0.11	ns	3.37	3.22	40	0.86	ns
Concept 6										
One song	4.14	4.33	41	-0.71	ns	3.40	3.38	41	0.15	ns
Concept 7										
A great way...	3.95	4.29	40	-1.97	ns	3.89	3.62	36	1.26	ns
Concept 8										
Getting a job	4.00	4.44	42	-2.09	<.05	3.91	3.33	42	2.99	0.005
Concept 9										
Generic group	4.44	4.47	35	-0.11	ns	3.74	3.89	37	-0.95	ns

Four advertising concepts were designed to measure the second hypothesis. T-tests were conducted individually again on each concept. Table 1 shows that only Concept 4, 'Illegal downloads can haunt your reputation for years', revealed statistically significant potential to change illegal downloading behavior (df=40, t=2.64, p=.01). However, the same concept did not significantly increase the propensity to use a legal program. The other three concepts (5-7) did not show statistically significant results on the legal as well as illegal downloading behaviors. The second hypothesis, thus, was not supported because most of the concepts were statistically insignificant.

H3: Motivations for digital music piracy among college students will be reversed if a new, more powerful economic cost is introduced.

Concept 8, 'Would you illegally download music if it affected your ability to get a job?' was designed to test the hypothesis. Table 1 showed that the respondents were significantly less likely to use an illegal program ($df=42$, $t=2.99$, $p=.005$) and more likely to use a legal program ($df=42$, $t=-2.09$, $p<.05$) to download music after having a chance to read the concept. We conclude that the third hypothesis was supported due to the significant result.

Discussion

The concept test highlighted two core communications areas as having great potential to transform the illegal downloading behavior of college students. These were communications about digital music piracy affecting their ability to get a good job after college, and communications underscoring the pervasive threat of computer viruses.

The concept relating to future job attainment was one of only two concepts not developed directly from a specific behavioral reinforcement or cost from the cognitive map. Rather, it was *derived* from the cognitive map on the basis of how vitally important economic issues and peer social reinforcements were discovered to be for college students in general, as found in our qualitative and quantitative phases. Getting a job upon graduation has extremely high economic value to college students. The value becomes even higher in recessionary times. Additionally, there is also a strong peer social value attached to getting a job quickly. Understanding the interconnectivity of the economic and social effects of this single advertising concept would be an excellent subject for further study.

Secondly, our previous qualitative results had indicated that the two virus concepts might be less effective than others, since students had a basic level of awareness of this issue and it had not changed their behavior to date. They recognized it as a cost, but not a big one. The results made us pose the question: why do viruses seem more powerful now than what we were led to believe based on previous research? Two potential answers seemed logical. One answer is related to the extended economic recession. It is possible that the unnecessary destruction of a computer that may cost over \$1,000 is now perceived as an untenable cost with money in shorter supply. This would be consistent with our hypothesis about why the results for the 'ability to get a job' concept were so significant. During an economic recession, it can be assumed that anxiety about getting a job is greatly increased. Alternatively, as time goes on, it is reasonable to think that people have either increasingly experienced destructive viruses or personally know more people who have, making the threat more real. Exploring these hypotheses would also be excellent areas for further study.

Limitations and Future Study

The study was conducted on two college campuses, one a large Eastern U.S. university and one a small Midwestern U.S. university. Both were private schools. The results may not be projectable across schools in different geographic area, public universities, or nationally.

We are planning to develop these concepts into actual advertising campaigns to be tested in market at the universities in question.

References

- Authors (2009). *Improving the effectiveness of anti-digital music piracy advertising to college students*. Unpublished paper. Submitted to journal for review.
- Authors (2010). Motivations for gratifications of digital music piracy among college students, *Atlantic Journal of Communication* (accepted for publication publication, January 2011).
- Davis, J. J. (1997). *Advertising Research: Theory and Practice*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.
- IFPI digital music report, 2008: *Revolution, innovation, responsibility*. Retrieved December 27, 2008 from: <http://www.ifpi.org/content/library/DMR2008.pdf>.
- The JED Foundation (July 2, 2009). Press release: *New mtvU & Associated Press Poll Shows How Stress, The Economy & Other Factors Are Affecting College Students' Mental Health*. Retrieved December 22, 2009 from: <http://www.jedfoundation.Org/press-room/press-releases/New-mtvU-Associated-Press-Poll-Shows-How-Stress-Economy-Other-Factors-Are-Affecting-College-Students-Mental-Health>.
- Kadushin, C. (February, 17, 2004). Introduction to social network theory: Chapter 2. Some basic network concepts and propositions. Retrieved March 23, 2009 from <http://home.earthlink.net/~ckadushin/Texts/Basic%20Network%20Concepts.pdf>.
- Kwong, T., & Lee, M. (2002). Behavioral intention model for the exchange mode internet music piracy, *hicss*, p. 191, *35th Annual Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences* (HICSS'02)-Volume 7.
- Pfanner, E. (January 21, 2010). Music Industry Counts the Cost of Piracy. *The New York Times*. Retrieved on January 22, 2010 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/22/business/global/22music.html>.
- Richmond School of Law (April 5, 2006). Intellectual Property Institute survey: One in three college students illegally downloads music. Retrieved September 16, 2008 from <http://law.richmond.edu/news/view.php?item=187>.
- Siwek, S.E. (August 21, 2007). IPI Policy Report-#188: The true cost of sound recording piracy to the U.S. economy. Retrieved January 18, 2010 from <http://www.ipi.org/IPI%5CIPublications.nsf/PublicationLookupFullText/5C2EE3D2107A4C228625733E0053A1F4>.

Appendix 1.

Raisin Bran adds another scoop of raisins



For years we've added two scoops of raisins to every box of Raisin Bran. But when we asked Raisin Bran lovers, they told us that you can't have too much of a good thing, so we are adding even more raisins.

50% more raisins for 50% more taste.

Appendix 2.

**Feel lucky?
Bill Whipple didn't think he could
be caught. Now, he's screwed.**



Bill thought the chances of getting caught were infinitesimally small. And you know what? They were. But you have to ask yourself one question: "Do I feel lucky?" Bill felt lucky. Now he's totally screwed. He has fines, legal fees, and a bad reputation that will haunt him for the rest of his life. He'll be working for years to pay it off and live it down. You probably won't get caught, but God help you if you do.

So, do you feel lucky?

**You wouldn't sleep with someone
you knew had an STD, would
you?**



Then why would you download from Limewire, home to thousands of computer viruses? Computer hackers around the globe are working 24/7 to corrupt your computer. By using sites that host the viruses you're just helping them.

It's not about a free song;
it's about a ruined computer.

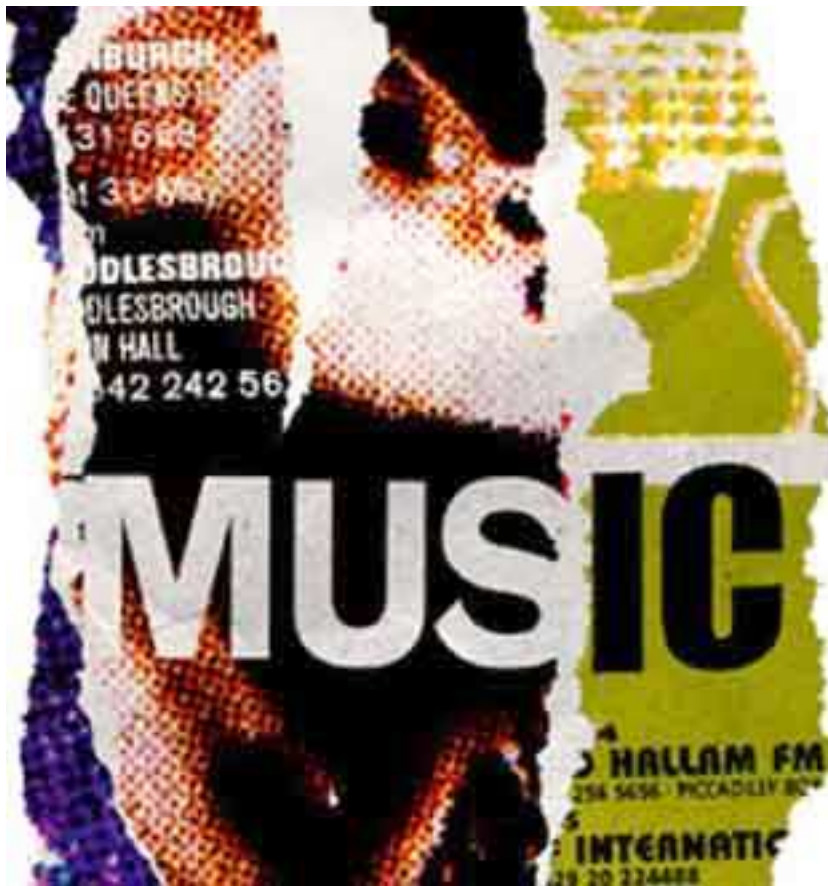
Limewire contains thousands of computer viruses just waiting for you.



Have you ever wondered why your computer doesn't work as well as the day you bought it? If you are illegally downloading music, it's probably several of the thousands of computer viruses found right now on Limewire. Sharing your favorite music with friends can be fun, but thousands of computer hackers around the world are working 24/7 to ruin your computer. That's what they call fun.

To protect your computer, stop illegal downloading now.

Illegal downloads can haunt your reputation for years.



Why embarrass yourself? You don't pal around with shoplifters and students that cheat on tests, so why would you be one. Illegal downloading is stealing. Even if "*everybody does it*" seems like a good excuse, your friends don't want friends they can't trust. Isn't your reputation worth more than a song you can download for 99 cents?

Isn't your reputation worth more than that?

Limewire screwed our band



Some people think Limewire is cool, but they make millions of dollars from music, and don't share a dime with the bands. We work hard to write songs and save money for studio time to record, while they get rich. When people get sued for using it, they leave them holding the bag.

I Hate Limewire

One song can kill the band you love.



One song won't hurt anyone. What does it cost the music industry or the artists? 99 cents? But up and coming bands are quitting every day because they can't make any money. It's not the one song you download that's a problem; it's the millions of people just like you doing the same thing. One song might not hurt, but millions do. At some point, one song is the difference between playing and quitting.

Don't let your song be THAT song.

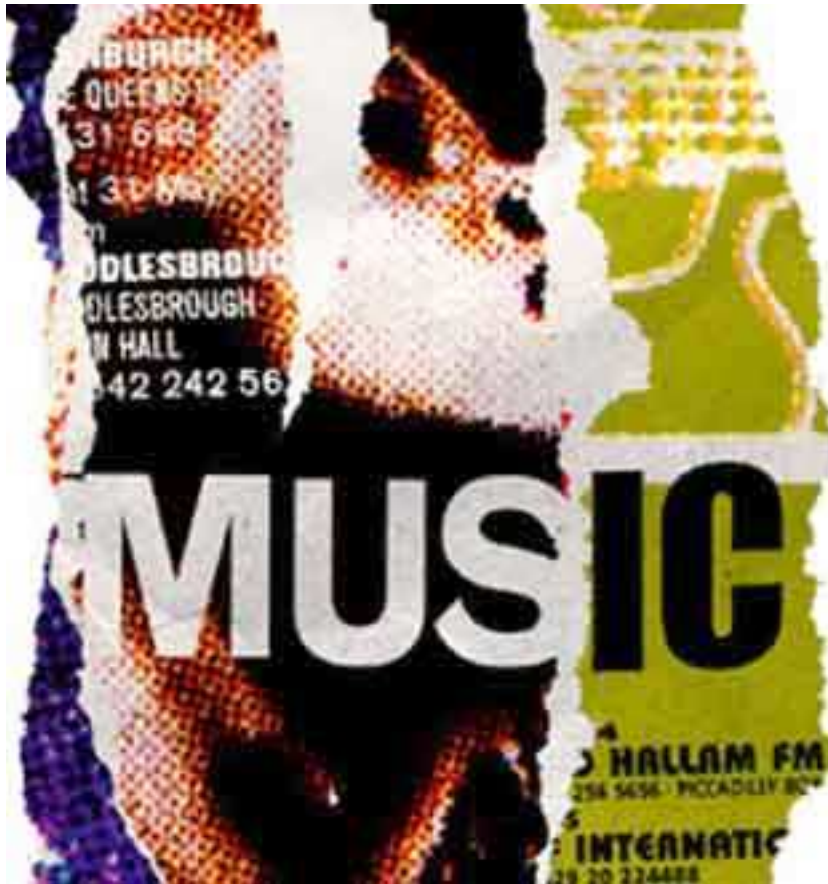
A great way for you to help new artists create great new music is to get their music legally



If you love music, then you know how important new artists are for moving us forward with fresh, new sounds. Unfortunately, up and coming bands are the ones most hurt by illegal downloads. It starves them of the money they need to keep making music and prevents the record companies from investing in them.

If you love great music and you want it to have a future,
make a difference: buy music legally.

Would you illegally download music if it affected your ability to get a job?



Colleges require interviews. So do jobs. Too bad you can't interview with your friends. Your friends don't think that illegal downloading is a big deal. Unfortunately, they are not the people you depend on for your future. Your cyber footprint remains on the web forever, and if employers found out they wouldn't want to hire someone they can't trust. Whether you are interviewing for college or for a job, professionals see illegal downloading as a character issue.

Don't let illegal downloading cost you your dreams.

Part IX:
Miscellaneous
Communication Studies

Chapter Forty

Media and Memorializing: Requiem by the Photographers who Died in Vietnam and Indochina

Catherine Ann Collins, Willamette University, USA

This essay explores issues of media memorialization, and cultural memory about the Vietnam War. Specifically, I want to focus on the work of 135 photojournalists who went missing or lost their lives in Vietnam between 1945 and 1975 while on assignment to cover the war, and a requiem to their oeuvres and sacrifice in the form of a book and traveling exhibition titled *Requiem by the Photographers Who Died in Vietnam and Indochina*. Photojournalism as seen in *Requiem* proves as productive of cultural memory as monuments and formalized rituals. The book and exhibit demonstrate how photography shaped the way we remember the war. The photojournalists who are memorialized were American, European, North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese. These journalists, including Robert Capa, Larry Burrows, and Henri Huet, and their photographs helped to shape the public perception of the war then, and when viewed today continue to move audiences to question the morality of war. Whether serene or obscene the images these journalists captured offer an intimate view of the human and environmental costs of war.

Photographs have always been viewed as receptacles of memory as they fix a moment in time. Marita Sturken (1997) argues that despite our knowledge of the ease with which photographs can be doctored, we accept them as ‘evidence of the real. . . One looks through the image to the “reality” it represents, forgetting, in essence, the camera’s mediating presence’ (21). She argues that the still image, more so than the moving image, carries with it a sense of finality, of ‘certitude in its evidence of death, its capacity to conjure the presence of the absent one’ (Sturken, 1997, 23). Both images of the dead, like Henri Huet’s 1967 image of a field of bodies (Faas & Page, 1997, pp. 196-197) and final portraits of those who died, like Robert Ellison’s photo from Khe Sahn 1968 (p. 210) preclude a surgical, distanced view of war. The images leave no doubt about the finality of war.

These images of war are often more powerful mediators of meaning than the accompanying news stories for which they offer evidentiary support. David Halberstam, writing the introduction to *Requiem*, argues that their reporting was the riskier task: ‘They were real because they had to be real. . .they could not as we print people could, arrive a little late for the action. . .We could miss the fighting and still do our jobs. They could not. There was only one way for them to achieve intimacy; by being eyewitnesses’ (1997, 9).

Requiem offers a case study in media and memorialization of the Vietnam War and the photojournalists who brought the war to the public sphere. Photojournalism as seen in *Requiem* proves as productive of cultural memory as monuments and formalized rituals. The book and exhibit demonstrate how photography shaped the way we remember war, especially the Vietnam War.

The Artifact

Horst Faas and Time Page, photojournalists who served and were wounded in Vietnam, collected thousand of photographs that were shot by the 135 photographers who died in that conflict. They were collected from around the world, including the Vietnam News Agency; 72 Vietcong photographers were killed during the war. French, American, and British news agencies and wire services as well as personal collections provided the images and information on the photographers who died. Sarah Boxer, writing for the *New York Times* observes, 'Usually photographs of war are a way of seeing the war itself. In this volume they are a way of seeing the photographers, through their own eyes. Whatever these photographers were focusing their cameras on. . .they were all, whether they knew it or not, looking at their own deaths' (1997, 1). *Requiem* features their final rolls of film, their final shots. It is both the fact that the images are linked to the photographers' deaths and the fact that both sides of the war are recorded in one volume that makes *Requiem* a unique artifact.

Faas and Page re-circulated these images in the book and touring museum exhibit by the same name. Reviewer Malcolm W. Browne concludes, 'The knowledge that the reader is seeing what the photographer saw just before dying invests "Requiem" with a sepulchral fascination' (1997, 1). The book and exhibit were designed as a memorial to honor and remember their fallen colleagues. 198 of these photographs are reproduced in the book; the touring exhibition includes either 161 or 292 of the collected images depending on the space available for display. Both versions of the exhibition organize the photographs into seven sections. An Introduction identifies the memorial nature of the project; the five content divisions employed in the book follow it. Distant War locates the war in Indochina and frames this place as a part of the world, different from the West, but containing a rich history of ancient civilizations. Escalation, Quagmire, Last Flight, and Final Days demonstrate the increasing destruction and carnage of the Vietnam War. A concluding Grid of Recognition offers portraits of the photojournalists who died in the war. The Grid of Recognition models the wall of names so typical of war memorials. The layout of photographs in the exhibition is approximately chronological, as is the book.

Curators of the exhibit have some discretion in hanging the photographs. For example, the exhibition may be edited for space, except one is prohibited from excising an entire section or any of the portraits of the 135 photojournalists. Thus, Faas' and Page's framing of the project will prevail in

any installation of the images. Text panels are included with the exhibit, again preserving the original message of the book.

The permanent collection, which contains at least one photograph by each of the journalists who died or remains missing, was donated to the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film in 2001. The exhibition has traveled extensively within the United States and internationally. Eventually a duplicate version of the exhibition will cease traveling around Vietnam and be permanently on display at the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City. The exhibition has also shown at university museums including the Hallie Ford Museum of Art at Willamette University in Salem, Oregon.

Reviews of the book and exhibition are positive, and focus on the breath of coverage of the war—from multiple sides of the conflict, over a span of more than thirty years, and through the eyes and lenses of over 100 photojournalists. The images reveal both the war and the men and women who successfully captured the land, the people caught up in the conflict, and the terrible cost of war.

Theoretical Perspective

This essay draws on two related yet distinctive research areas. The first involves work on media coverage of war, specifically the role of photojournalism in shaping the public's response to war, and the second focuses on war memory and commemoration. Research on media coverage of war and the way this coverage shapes public perceptions is well explained in the work of Hariman & Lucaites (2007) and Daniel Hallin (1986) who explore how photographic images depict the Vietnam War and continue to interrogate contemporary war policies. This research focuses on how photojournalism creates political identity. During the Vietnam War, the media, especially television, was credited with changing the course of the public's support for the war. Images of the dead and wounded brought the reality of war into American homes on a daily basis.

A largely uncensored media had access to the battlefield in ways that were unprecedented. In his discussion of the role that the media played in Vietnam, Daniel Hallin (1986) concludes, 'There is no doubt that control of images and information is central to the exercise of political power' (p. 214). Hariman & Lucaites (2007) concur; photographs influence public opinion, negotiate collective memory, and define communities by displaying the 'state and other institutions. . .and valoriz[ing] some behaviors over others' (p. 12). Whether the media caused the American public to lose confidence in the policies that prolonged the war in Vietnam is still subject to debate, but 'many journalists were shocked both by the brutality of the war and the gap between what they were told by top officials and what they saw and heard in the field, and were free to report' (Hallin, 1986, p. 213).

A second research area attends to war memory and commemoration. According to Ashplant, Dawson & Roper (2004) scholarship focuses on commemoration and public mourning as a way of coping with individual and nationally felt trauma resulting from the experience of war. Studies about the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, for example, have largely focused on this site as a place for healing for family and friends of those who died in the war, and for all who experienced the social rupture brought on by the Vietnam War. Studies of the trauma of war and the need to commemorate as a first step in recovery from personal or national trauma include specific analyses of the Vietnam War, in part because this was a war that deeply divided and thus further traumatized the American public.

But separating the political from the psychological misses the complexity of war memory and commemoration. 'The politics of war memory and commemoration *always* has to engage with mourning and with attempts to make good the psychological and physical damage of war; and wherever people undertake the tasks of mourning and reparation, a politics is *always* at work' (Ashplant, Dawson & Roper, 2004, 9). The combination of the two paradigms for approaching war memory and commemoration informs the critical stance of this essay.

Photographic images offer us a memory, which, while temporally fixed, can nonetheless be shaped to mean different things at different times, especially in times of war. 'Though the still photographic image is crucial to memory, and memory and history are often evoked by flashes of images, it could also be argued that memory takes the form of cultural reenactment, the retelling of the past in order to create narratives of closure and to promote processes of healing' (Sturken, 1997, 24). Because wars are traumatic events, to the nation as well as individuals directly affected, the still photographic images re-present the trauma as a way of beginning the recovery process.

Requiem offers a poignant case study of photojournalism's role in war commemoration, political identity construction, and trauma rhetoric. The book and the exhibit highlight photojournalism in Vietnam that Horst Faas calls "an eternal marker for all subsequent wars" and Alex Burmaster says "Every photographer who walks through these offices, whether covering conflicts in the Balkans or Chechnya, is still trying to emulate' (Burmaster, 2001, 1).

Requiem's Images Shape the Public's Response to War

Photographic images simultaneously recount and shape the political response to the Vietnam War. Hariman & Lucaites (2007) argue that photographs have the potential to 'redefine one's relationship to the political community' (p. 18). A close reading of *Requiem* reveals the relationship between the visual and the political.

Requiem begins with tranquil shots of Indochina in the late forties and fifties. The still landscapes and images of people amidst ancient ruins will soon give way to increased levels of weaponry, destruction, and carnage. So

ordered, the images take the viewer on the traumatic journey taken by soldiers and photojournalists. As I write about the images in each section I will focus on the content and order of images in the book and in the exhibit as they were ordered at the Hallie Ford Museum of Art fall 2009.

Beginnings frame the audience's perception, and using Everette Dixie Reese's shot of the Causeway of Gods and Demons in Angkor, Cambodia in 1952 followed by a photograph from the main temple of Angkor Wat, and a third image of a twelfth-century stone relief from the temple serve to distance the American viewer's experiences from Indochina as place. All three images point to an ancient civilization with a different aesthetic. Ruins surround the humans, a peasant and his sons in the first photograph, a Buddhist monk in the second. The people are nude (shot 1) or dressed in a simple robe (shot 2) while the ruins show elaborate ornamentation. The book labels this introductory material the Land and People of Indochina. But in the book, four landscapes precede these images. Only one of the landscapes is offered in the limited exhibit—Reese's Vietnam in monsoon season—which is the first image in the book in Part 1: A Distant War.

Why is this structural decision problematic? Indochina as place, with a focus on rivers and rice paddies, is an important orienting frame that is missing in the exhibit. Although still relatively abbreviated, it is the opening sequence for the book, and appropriately so. Place and its associated values are central to an explanation of the difference in states of mind between the Vietnamese and western cultures, and these different states of mind, according to Francis Fitzgerald (1973) prolonged the conflict. 'To the Vietnamese the land itself was the sacred, constant element; the people flowed over the land like water, maintaining and fructifying it for the generations to come' (1973, 11). The American strategic hamlet program, for example, revealed how differently the West understands and values the relationship between the land and the Vietnamese people. This same disjuncture in values occurs in the orientating images chosen for the exhibit. The importance of place gives way to people and their artifacts—temples, empires, and stone reliefs of sovereigns guarded by soldiers ready to defend the king. The choice of orienting focus replicates the misunderstandings that were part of the American experience in Vietnam—more so in the exhibit than in the book, but evident in both. The focus on ancient civilizations simultaneously constructs a people and culture foreign to the Western tradition; the images *other* Indochina, and that othering serves a political agenda.

The political critique of the war is most apparent in images that document the brutality of war as it impacts combatants and non-combatants as well as the landscape. American debates about whether to intervene militarily and ultimately declarations of war have traditionally invoked just war theory. A powerful justification for war is the depiction of harsh treatment of non-combatants that demand we intervene. If war is justified to protect innocents, then images of innocents repeatedly harmed by the continuation of war challenges the justness of the cause. For example, Kolenberg (1965) has

captured a small child sitting in the middle of the path along which the soldiers march. The caption explains she has been abandoned by parents who were fleeing from South Vietnamese troops (Faas & Page, 1997, p. 119). The argument is further advanced by Huet's (1966) shot of several children and their mother framed by the legs of the soldier (Faas & Page, 1997, p. 121), and Sawada's 1966 Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph of a mother and her children swimming to escape US bombing raids similarly questions how military intervention is helping non-combatants (pp. 152-153). Ut's image of the napalmed girl, Flynn's image of the tortured child, a series of images of small children abandoned in the midst of war challenge the justness of the cause.

The viability of winning the war is further challenged in the section of the book and exhibit called Quagmire. Huet's 1966 images of trenches filled with dead and wounded in muddy trenches and Bob Poos' AP account noting, "The light of dawn exposed a picture of bloody battle. . . It was a dawn that did not come peacefully" (Faas & Page, 1997, p. 166) captured the futility of the Vietnam War. The quagmire is furthered in images of soldiers caged by downed limbs and exposed roots of trees or sloshing through mud. *Life* carried one of Burrows' shots of a makeshift first aid station littered with wounded (Faas & Page, 1997, pp.176-177). The wounded, covered in mud, and the landscape devastated by the war, reinforce a political argument that progress was not being made; America was neither winning the war nor the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese.

Some of the photographs documenting the brutality of the war have become iconic of all that was wrong about America's presence in Vietnam. For example, Nick Ut's 'Accidental Napalm' (Hariman and Lucaites, 2007) of a young girl screaming in pain and running toward the photographer became emblematic of the immorality of war. Hariman and Lucaites (2007) explain the power of the image: 'As she runs away from the cause of her burns she also projects the pain toward the viewer. This direct address defines her relationship to the viewer; she faces the lens, which activates the demanding reciprocity of direct, fact-to-face interaction, and she is aligned with the frontal angle of the viewer's perspective, which 'says, as it were "what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with"' (p. 176).

Ut's image resonates with David Levi Strauss' description of photojournalists in the idealist tradition 'who believed that by showing the horror and desolation of war they could hasten the end of war: by "photographing the truth" they could influence public opinion and public policy and change the world' (2005, 20). Images in this tradition link the technology of war to its painful consequences, which, in the specific case of the Vietnam War, were traumatic for the families of military and civilian casualties, and for the American public who were daily confronted with the human cost of war. This onslaught of still and video images of the war contributed to the perception of it as a shameful part of American history. Not all images are iconic, but collectively they all contribute to the impression the American public garnered of the Vietnam War and the cultural memory that emerged and changed over time.

The images in the last content section, Final Days, are increasingly disturbing. Non-combatants fleeing, prisoners huddled before their inevitable execution, bodies of women and children, dead and wounded, largely abandoned, and cycles loaded with corpses fill the final pages of the book. The war near Phnom Penh, Cambodia leaves destruction and a kind of lawlessness in its wake. The requiem in this section includes a black and white photograph of a road littered with debris and part of a human spine. The war in Southeast Asia was over for American troops, but the recovery was a long way off. These images, even as a retrospective of a long ago war, continue to challenge the political decisions of the sixties and early seventies.

W. J. T. Mitchell argues that the conventional wisdom is that the Vietnam War was lost 'because it lost the support of the American public. And the loss of public support is generally traced to the media coverage of the war' (1994, p. 402). That coverage, as *Requiem* makes apparent, focused on the human body. With unprecedented access to the front, there were endless bodies to be photographed: 'To remember Vietnam is to remember the television coverage of body counts and innumerable flag-draped caskets, of massacres, atrocities, and mass burials, and of singular images like the naked Vietnamese girl with her flesh aflame with napalm. . .and the dismembered American soldiers returning home' (Mitchell, 1994, p. 401). Subsequent wars have attempted to impose significantly more censorship by controlling media access to the front, especially military casualties. The lesson of Vietnam was that images shape public perceptions of war and American war policy. *Requiem* re-narrativizes this historic fact.

Requiem as Commemoration and Catharsis

The images in *Requiem* contribute to the disillusionment with war, but they also serve a commemorative and cathartic function. The introduction to the book, written by David Halberstam and excerpted for the first text panel in the exhibit, identifies the purpose of the collection as paying homage from 'those who made it back from Vietnam to the memory of those who did not' (1997, 8), their friends who lost their lives shooting some of the images on display. The tone of the introduction is personal; it reflects the trauma of re-experiencing the Vietnam of their memory. 'I am—like so many others who were part of that story—haunted by these scenes and moved far beyond expectation by them' (1997, 8). Halberstam writes that the survivors have spent the years since Vietnam 'learning to forget or at least learning to soften those chapters in our lives. . . .And as we read, we are at first flooded by these images of the past, and then we are surrounded by a terrible stillness, a special silence produced by the most relentless of all forces, the power of memory' (1997, 8). He captures the threat these journalists faced as they shot the photographs in the book, all the while 'aware that there is no immunity in situations like this' (1997, 9).

What is remarkable about the sequencing and compilation of images in the book is that neither the West nor Asia, in reviewer Marianne Fulton's terms, 'shows a war of storybook heroics' (1997, para. 11). Instead the images show an increased awareness of the horror of war. Fulton notes, 'No statistics have been run on the book; I cannot tell you if it is perfectly even-handed; I do know that everyone suffered and many died in one way or another. South Vietnamese soldiers with knives at women's throats and other scenes of torture spread enough sorrow to last a lifetime—if one still has a conscious life to worry about' (1997, para 12). A series of 5 images in the middle of the section, Escalation, focusing on torture is difficult to forget. The first by Sean Flynn shows a Viet Cong suspect hung by his feet and questioned by mercenaries, one of whom faces the camera and calmly makes direct eye contact. The other three observe the tortured victim. The caption tells the viewer that after 15 minutes hung upside down the prisoner confessed to being a sniper (Faas & Page, p. 112). Torture, if nothing else, is efficient. One cannot help but wonder if the observers know from experience what we suspect, torture will bring the desired answer, regardless of its truthfulness.

In the first of three shots by Huynh Thanh My the viewer is drawn to the facial expression of the interrogating soldier; his hatred is palpable (pp 114-115). My's subsequent two shots show women being tortured, one, with her hands tied behind her back, by repeatedly submerging her in the river, and the second is the photograph Foster mentions about the knife held to a woman's throat. The final shot, again by Flynn, shows a terrified boy crying after hearing a gunshot; he believes his father is being shot by the soldiers, 'a ruse designed to make the boy reveal information about Communist guerrillas' (Faas & Page, 1997, p. 118). These five images remind us of the trauma inflicted on everyone involved in the Vietnam War. Surely the soldiers' anger is as traumatic as the victim's helplessness. All parties are traumatized by war. The viewer, forty years later is drawn back to the cultural trauma Vietnam evoked. One museum visitor captured the impact of these images: 'The exhibit has opened my eyes and my heart. [The] cruelty of man is incredible. These priceless portraits of war should never be stored away but shown to the public as reminders of pain and anguish that humans can endure & experience. Please remember the missing and the dead.'

If sites of commemoration become sacralized in Haines' (1986) terms when they are either mechanically or socially reproduced, one might make the same claim for images; the reproduction of the images is part of the meaning making enterprise. Faas & Page include a sequence of four images first published in *Life* April 16, 1965 with a photo story titled 'One ride with Yankee Papa 13.' This series is part of the Escalation chapter of the book and museum installation. Photographed by Larry Burrows, the first shot is of a smiling young soldier carrying his weapon to a helicopter. In the second shot, filmed from a camera affixed to the helicopter we see the soldier leaning out of the copter, a determined look on his face and firing his gun. The third shot is from inside the helicopter where Crew Chief James Farley's gun has jammed. We see him calling out to the gunner while two wounded colleagues frame the

foreground. In the fourth shot in the series, Burrows captures Farley weeping in a supply shack after returning from the mission.

Burrows also tells the story in a 1969 BBC film, *Beautiful Beautiful*. After shooting the scene of Farley breaking down Burrows wondered 'whether it is my right to capitalize, as I feel so often, on the grief of others. But then I justify, in my own particular thoughts, by feeling that I can contribute a little to the understanding of what others are going through; then there is reason for doing it' (Faas & Page, 1997, 98). The trauma of war is captured eloquently in the sequence of shots because the viewer is brought into the trauma so unexpectedly with the positive emotional expressions in the first two images and is then contrasted with the obvious despair Farley experiences in the final shot. As a carefully constructed sequence of images, Burrow's photos bring the observer into the trauma of war. The narrative that is constructed takes the viewer through the same loss of control the young soldier experiences; war, not the individual, is in control.

It is the sequencing of the shots that makes the story powerful, yet when hung in the Hallie Ford Museum the images are out of order: the scene of despair appears first followed by shot two, then three, and ending with the jaunty walk that Farley made to the helicopter. The mistaken reproduction of the series of images destroys the story, offering instead random images of a soldier in Vietnam. When viewed in the proper order the images put the viewer into the traumatic experience of the Vietnam War.

For veterans, these images, even out of order, may awaken forgotten memories. Although I do not know which images spoke so strongly to the visitors who signed the comment book at the Hallie Ford exhibit, one writes: 'Honor, sadness, guilt (my high school buddies went, but I stayed home: two didn't return) Yes I agree Why! Why! Why! When I have more tears I'll try to come back and look at this again.' Image after image haunted the photojournalists who captured them and they continue to haunt readers and museum visitors. A Navy medic simply wrote, 'We keep practicing the same insanity.' Individual images are powerful, constructed sequences that tell poignant stories, and the accumulation of moments, each hard to view alone, recreates a cultural trauma that must be acknowledged.

As images are shown they participate in the reenactment of history for the nation 'Renarrativization is essential in memory. . .but the cultural value of the camera image of the real shifts this reenactment into new territory of verisimilitude. . . .Reenactment is a cathartic means for people to find closure in an event. It is not clear whether the sense of healing involves an erasure and smoothing over of difficult material or a constant rescripting that, like memory, enables an active engagement with the past' (Sturken, 1997, 42-43). As memory of the war constitutes us, we simultaneously constitute a version of history that is useful to us in the moment. The constitutive process is imbued with special interests. The conflictual nature of memory is especially pronounced with respect to the Vietnam War because the war itself was entangled with dissent and its conclusion by a sense of national shame.

Wounds from the Vietnam War remain open for many Americans more than 35 years after the last American troops withdrew. *Requiem*, however, offers both commemoration and a chance to reconsider and hence begin the process of closure to a traumatic cultural event. If the images for then prompt critique of the war now, the viewer has displayed his/her agency and that too is a step toward healing from trauma. Visitors to the Hallie Ford Museum made the connection between Vietnam and current military intervention. One writes, 'I'm a survivor of the war in Vietnam. That was bad enough but that we made the same (worse) mistake in Iraq is truly tragic.' A second concludes simply, 'Will we see more of these from Iraq in 2040? Let us never forget.'

Conclusion

The book and exhibition that Faas and Page have created are doubly a requiem--a tribute to the photojournalists who gave their lives in pursuit of the images that would capture the meaning of the war in Vietnam, and through their images an homage to the landscape and lives, civilian and soldier, forever changed by this war.

The final words of Tim Page's eulogy in *Requiem* read: 'The legacy of these images is unassailable. The face of death is painted in grain and chrome, locking out hopes and fears to the imponderable, making us smell that edge, tease it, pray for a certain peace' (Faas & Page, 1997, p. 334). *Requiem* illustrates how photographic images can constitute an understanding of war that is highly politicized. Over the course of the Vietnam War the images become more traumatic. Body counts, torture, angry faces, abandoned children, and an overwhelming portrait of devastation and quagmire call into question the justification for war. These same images and progression reinforce the trauma that is war.

For Faas and Page, the loss of friends and colleagues who risked their lives to cover the war in Indochina demanded commemoration. In offering a requiem for them, and for all of the lives lost during the war, the book and exhibitions offer a first step in re-narrativizing the war and thereby beginning to come to terms with the trauma Vietnam created for the soldiers, civilians, and the nations involved. This sentiment is captured in Halbertam's introduction when he writes,

'I am glad Horst Faas and Tim Page, among the bravest of the brave, have put this book together. . . . They gave us images that have the power to endure. Now that the war is past, consigned to the negligence normally accorded to history in America, those images remain powerful, a critical part of what constitutes modern memory. We are grateful to those who took the photographs; now, as then, we remain in their debt' (Faas & Page, 1997), p. iv).

Bibliography

- Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G. & M. Roper (eds.). (2005). *The politics of memory. Commemorating war*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. 5 14 10
- Boxer, S. (1997). 'Eyes on a war. Fixed images, still shutters.' *New York Times*, November 3. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/library/books/110397viet-warpix.html>.
- Browne, M.W. (1997). 'The face of war.' *New York Times*, November 2. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/library/books/97/11/02.02brownet.html>.
- Burmaster, A. (2001). 'Showing both sides.' *New Statesman*. July 16. Retrieved from <http://www.newstatesman.com/200107160033>.
- Faas, H. & T. Page (eds.). (1997). *Requiem by the photographers who died in Vietnam and Indochina*. New York: Random House.
- Fitzgerald, F. (1973). *Fire in the lake*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fulton, M. (1997). 'Requiem by the photographers who died in Vietnam and Indochina: Review.' *The Digital Journalist* 97 (11). Retrieved from <http://www.digitaljournalist.org/issue9711/review9711.htm>.
- Haines, H.W. (1986). '"What kind of war?": An analysis of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 3(1): 1-20.
- Hallin, D.C. (1986). 'The uncensored war'. *The media and Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hariman, R. & J.C. Lucaites. (2007). *No caption needed. Iconic photographs, public culture, and liberal democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. (1994) *Picture theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Strauss, D.L. (2003). *Between the eyes. Essays on photography and politics*. New York: Aperture Foundation.
- Sturken, M. (1997). *Tangled memories. The Vietnam War, the AIDS epidemic, and the politics of remembering*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chapter Forty One

Reading Obsession: Mediation and Transparency in a Visual Rhetoric of Fear

Catherine Ann Collins, Willamette University, USA
Jeffrey K. Lukehart, McMinnville, USA

In September 2008, readers of more than 70 newspapers in the United States found a free copy of the DVD *Obsession: Radical Islam's War Against the West* in their newspapers. 28 million copies were distributed. Accused of being propaganda, hate speech, and a politically motivated attempt to influence the presidential election, *Obsession's* distribution and message is packaged to maximize the threat posed by radical Islam. Originally released in 2006, the documentary was directed by Wayne Kopping and financed through the nonprofit The Clarion Fund.

The documentary employs interviews with a variety of authority figures, archival footage, and narration amid high-paced, music video-like production effects to engage the viewer. It is divided into titled sections. The introduction contends it will differentiate Radical Islamic terrorists from most Muslims who are peaceful. In the second section jihad is described as a 'religious/holy war for the sake of Allah, and jihad, like *Mein Kampf*, means to struggle--self-struggle.' Section three highlights selected Arab media clips to depict Arab hostility toward the West and all Jews. In the fourth section radicals are characterized as seeking to make Islam the law of the land by using our laws and democracy against us. The fifth section recalls the dangers of Nazism and links global terrorism with Nazism, arguing history is repeating itself. The link between Hitler and Mufti of Jerusalem in 1941 asserts the roots of the contemporary terrorist campaign are in Hitler's Germany. The next chapter answers the question, What do radical Muslims want? by asserting a systematic and unified campaign to eliminate all Jews, Christians and Buddhists through a global revolution. The final section, 'We've Been There Before', returns to the analogy of Hitler's domination and atrocities as a prototype for Islamic terrorism.

The text and images impose a visceral fear--first of radical Islam, then of Islam, and finally of Arabs through visual and verbal reduction. Clips from Arab television of radical clerics, news footage of terrorist activities, still photos of suicide bombers juxtaposed with video of the attack on the World Trade Center are combined with interviews of Palestinian journalists, former terrorists and others to create a compilation documentary in which words and images seem to speak for themselves.

This essay focuses on the documentary form of the film and the visual arguments it advances. We argue that in opting for a documentary form that

privileges its reception via a transparency reading rather than a mediated reading (Corner & Richardson 1998; Dornfeld 1990), the audience is given what appears to be factual, and thereby authoritative, rather than highly edited and interpreted discourse (White 1987). The result is increased malleability (Watson 2007) because viewers are encouraged to believe that the depicted Islamic rhetoric is directly perceived reality and hence accurate. *Obsession* is not a passive recording of radical Islamic discourse; the film's constructed visual and verbal enthymemes, through a series of reductions, conflate Nazism and radical Islam, Islam and terrorism, Islamic teaching and propaganda.

Documentary Form

In his seminal review of documentary form, Bill Nichols reminds us that each of the four major documentary styles—direct address, *cinéma vérité*, interview, and self reflexive—has its own limits to privileging meaning. Voice, structure, and articulated transparency or mediation all influence the audience's perception of the truth of the argument and evidence. *Cinéma vérité* emerged as a move away from mediation; the new ethic of non-interference in Stephen Mamber's (1974) words would make direct cinema documentary highly unmediated. The compilation/interview form emerging from *cinéma vérité*, lacks a narrator's commentary, and overtly sublimates the voice of the film in favor of the testimony of witnesses who seemingly report, objectively, the truths of their experiences.

Obsession follows the compilation/interview form in asserting the direct experience of the witness. But interviews are intercut with compilations of images of historical events (in *Obsession* this includes clips of the planes crashing into the Twin Towers, footage from suicide bomber induction ceremonies, and archival news footage displaying terrorist attacks around the world). The compilation images perform as observational documentary, collapsing argument and evidence through narrative manipulation, such that in Hayden White's (1987) terms, historical events seem to speak themselves, telling their own story. Of course they do not. Narrative choices in selection, arrangement, and performance all assign a preferred reading. In like manner, interviews are selected, edited and arranged in the documentary to argue a particular perspective. Seemingly transparent, this form remains highly mediated.

Barry Dornfeld argues that compilation films intercut historical material with contemporary interviews to achieve a 'malleability and potential for credibility and authority available to a range of polemic strategies in both content and aesthetic structure' and are therefore 'a form well suited for overtly political documentaries' (1990, p. 283). In the case of *Obsession*, the photographs and video clips from Arab television and propaganda films are offered as evidence of an obsessive hatred of all non-Muslims and the West in particular. The interviews with self identified ex-terrorists and conservative scholars and authors reinforce the fear evoked by extremist views being

promoted by the video clips and images. In this sense the structure of the documentary is highly mediated. The compilation/interview form, however, seemingly leaves the viewer to link the images and arguments espoused by the experts.

Eschewing the authoritative voice of direct address documentary gives the viewer the illusion that he or she draws independent conclusions about the arguments and evidence. Nichols explains,

'Interviews diffuse authority. A gap remains between the voice of a social actor recruited to the film and the voice of the film. . . .these less assertive authorial voices remain complicit with the controlling voice of the textual system itself, but the effect upon a viewer is distinctly different' (Nichols 1983, pp. 23-24).

Combined with compilation images, the text of the documentary asserts its truthfulness.

Great models of this form of documentary retain a distinction between the voice of the film and the intercutting of archival compilation with testimony of witnesses. Structurally they call into question both the interviews and the images, but this is not the case in *Obsession* where images and interviews reinforce the same anti-Muslim, anti-Arab position. The archival footage engages what White has identified as 'willing backward' which entails

'rearranging accounts of events in the past that have been emplotted in a given way, in order. . .to draw from the new emplotment reasons for acting differently in the future from the way we have become accustomed to acting in our present' (1987, p. 150).

Obsession asserts that we are failing to see the global significance of Islamic plans to annihilate all non-Muslims. Careful editing and the structural subdivision into chapters in the story—The Culture of Hatred; Jihad in the West—control the preferred reading. Brian Winston argues that 'Direct cinema's rhetoric of unstructured observation encouraged' a denial of the narrativity of the documentary (1995, p. 157). In fact, structural decisions make this and other interview documentaries highly narrativized and mediated even when the selected interviews and compilation images appear transparent.

Mediation is most overt in three paradigmatically and syntagmatically conjoined chapters: The Culture of Denial, The Common Denominator, and Hitler and the Mufti. The chapter titles highlight the overt analogy that the threat from radical Islam parallels the threat in the 1930s from Hitler. Interviewees assert the comparison. The claim that the threat from terrorism is unified and that ignoring the threat, as the world did in the thirties is fatal, forges a link between the holocaust and Islamic terrorism. The claim that Muslims daily call for our defeat is intercut with the testimonial of a former member of the Hitler Youth program. His claim that Germans were intelligent

people but nonetheless were taken in by Hitler's propaganda by analogy asserts contemporary inaction will enable terrorists to succeed.

The film's form supposes 'that things were as the participant-witnesses recall them, and lest we doubt, the film-makers respectfully find images of illustration to substantiate the claims' (Nichols, 1983, p. 26). The problem is compounded when the experts are questionable witnesses. A summary of the problems with the film's choice of interviewees is available on obsessionwithhate.com:

'Obsession's main problem is one of credibility. The film ignores well-known scholars on Islam, Muslim-West relations, and Radicalism – the three key topics it is supposedly "educating" the public on' and replace these witnesses with individuals credible media sources have labeled as biased, extreme, and on the fringe' (2009).

Documentary that offers witnesses direct voice losses or gains ethical credibility in its choice of witnesses. The credibility of the documentary is further challenged by the selection and compilation of images that are intercut with the interviews.

Visual Argument in *Obsession*

Visually, *Obsession* creates an image of Islam for Western viewers that, independent of the interviews, offers a preferred reading of terrorism, Islam, and Arabs. W.J.T. Mitchell's *Iconology* offers a productive starting point for understanding the visual argument the film asserts. He likens the conception of the image to a family tree with branches from which multiple disciplines approach the concept of an image--graphic, optical, perceptual, mental, and verbal. Our discussion of visual manipulation in *Obsession* focuses on all except the optical. Images approached as graphics includes design, and packaging the product is the first way in which Islam is conflated with terrorist. The graphic for the film's title--*Obsession*-- replaces the O with the universal symbol of Islam, a crescent moon with a five-pointed star. The N at the end of the word is replaced with an upturned rifle. Bookmarked as the first and last letters of the title the graphic conjoins Islam and violence. All of the publicity on the packaging of the DVD includes this basic graphic, as does the 8.5 x 9.5 inch advertising insert in newspapers. On one side the insert is an enlarged image of the center of the DVD. At the top of the page and centered is a man wearing a keffiyeh covering his face. He is surrounded by a crowd of angry men brandishing flags and sticks. Below the image is the title with the modified O and N, and below this is an image of the remains of the twin towers with an American flag in the foreground. The back of the flyer contains the DVD with a condensed version of the title and images just described. It is centered on a page otherwise dominated by text, an enlarged graphic of the

title, and one additional graphic, a close-up picture of a young boy, five or six, holding an upright rifle. Graphically, the packaging and DVD itself emphasize the link between Islam and violence.

The use of a verbal metaphor of war furthers the polarization between Islam and the rest of the world that the graphic images establish. While the title of the film includes the qualifier *Radical* before Islam, the word's placement below the crescent (the darkest coloring of the word *Obsession*) against a black backdrop deemphasizes the word. From the letter E through N *Obsession* becomes increasingly brighter than the darker brown of the O, B, and S, turning to a light yellow for the remaining letters and the upturned rifle. The color gradation draws the eye to the right, away from *Radical* on the line below *Obsession*. Compositionally, *Radical* is minimized; Islam and violence are further inextricably linked.

The conflation of Islam and violence is reinforced in the visual track of the film, which informs the viewer perceptually and offers a stereotypic and hateful mental image of Islam. These two additional limbs in Mitchell's family tree of images--perceptual and mental image constructs--further the polarizing message. 'Single pictures are mere reality. Only the montage turns them into either truths or falsehoods' (Macdonald & Cousins, 1998 quoting Balazs). It is the montage of rapidly intercut images of Arabs with face masks and guns, shots of the plane crashing into the Twin Towers and their subsequent collapse, bombed out building, and masses of Arabs burning the American flag that turn *Obsession* from a factual documentary into propaganda, and it is these same images that make it difficult for the viewer to hear and accept the caveat in a white on black title: 'It is important to remember, most Muslims are peaceful and do not support terror.' Consider the sequence of titles and images that constitute the first 1 minute 15 seconds of the film.

- Title 1: 'The following presentation contains graphic scenes of violence. Viewer discretion strongly advised.'
- Title 2: 'The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil. . . . is for good men to do nothing.'
- Image 1 (3 shots): close-up of a gun with fingers wrapped around the muzzle; slow pan back to a masked Arab face, and then a cut to a medium shot of the figure with an overlaid title, 'This is a film about Radical Islamic terror.'
- Title 4: 'A dangerous ideology, fueled by religious hatred.'
- Image 2 (3 shots): Middle Eastern men holding up a portrait of Osama bin Laden and chanting, followed by two rapid cuts of Arab protesters.
- Titles 5 and 6: In the fade between the protest and three images of middle class Middle Eastern families lasting 14 seconds. The documentary flashes the written disclaimer noted above followed by the statement, 'This is not a film about them. This is a film about a radical worldview, and the threat it poses to us all, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.'

The shots and titles belie the statement that ‘most Muslims are peaceful and do not support terror.’ The overwhelming repetition of negative images preceding and following the disclaimer overwhelms 14 seconds of positive images. The implicit rhetoric of direct cinema objectivity wherein the images seemingly tell their own story is nonetheless highly mediated to privilege anything but an objective rendering of Muslims or Arabs.

Combined, visual and verbal images, or to borrow Mitchell’s (1986) designation, ‘the dialectic of word and image’ (p. 43), in the film constructs a mental image of Islam: ‘words signify. . .the “mental images” that have been impressed on us by the experience of objects’ (p. 22). In the absence of actual experiences with Muslims, the images and verbal text in *Obsession* create a powerful mental sort from which the viewer can form an image of the religion and its practitioners. That mental image is one of irrational, threatening religious ideologues for whom violence appears to be the primary form of communication. The remainder of the film juxtaposes still and video images stereotypic in the media of terrorism with talking head interviews of experts on Islam, terrorism, and the history of violence globally. There are a number of Muslims interviewed who warn the viewer that the radical sects of Islam have crept into the United States and will soon, if they have not already, control the Islamic voice in the U.S. The images tell us that *these people* intend to destroy non-Muslims and reinforce the privileged mental image of fanatics out to destroy the viewer.

In the tradition of WWII propaganda films demonstrating the spread of Nazism or cold war films about the spread of communism, the film uses an image of a map with the spread of red Xs to show Islamic terrorist attacks around the globe. The British Home Secretary tells a press conference: ‘Tentacles of terrorism are reaching out to every corner of the world.’ A series of stops on the map show the viewer NY City in 2001, Madrid 2004, Bali 2002, Istanbul 2003, London 2005, Russia 2004, etc. Twelve locations reveal buildings devastated and innocents harmed by terrorist attacks, all in three graphic minutes.

The image is one of contagion circling the globe. The metaphoric disease is captured in shot after shot of angry, vengeful Muslims threatening or destroying symbols and property of non-Muslims. Without countervailing images of Muslims working toward peace and against radical Islam, the visual messages ‘ignore the individuality of people and treat them as proxies for some group we have decided they should represent’ (Enteman, 1996, p. 10). All Muslims become the threatening Muslims repeatedly flashed on the screen.

A suicide bomber sequence is especially disarming. It begins with a video clip of a man arming a suicide vest and then shows clips of the suicide bomber induction ceremony complete with title: ‘We swear by the blood and severed bodies of our children and the torment of our prisoners, and we will reply by blowing our bodies!’ The DVD cuts to an interview with the daughter of a Shahia martyr who tells the viewer that this is not a clash of cultures; it is a declaration of war on Western culture by radical Islam.

In city after city the same sequences appear: a map locates the attack, debris and victims are filmed, a group of armed men are shown threatening to continue the destruction that the viewer has just witnessed. Shots emphasizing the keffiyeh do not distinguish Muslims from non-Muslims. While technically a scarf worn throughout the Middle East that wraps the head and face to protect it against the sun and blowing sand, Koenig (2006) argues it has 'become a symbol of Islamic militancy.' As stereotypic costume of Arabs and resembling a mask with its negative connotations in Western culture, the use of images with keffiyehs wrapping the face give the wearer--*Arabs*--a sinister appearance thus reinforcing the conflation of Arab and terrorist.

In the section of the program titled *The Culture of Jihad* the viewer is visually subjected to a repetition of images of clerics whose angry gestures are reinforced in chilling subtitles warning the viewer that Muslims are taught that killing in the name of Allah brings martyrdom, and their goal is to raise an ideological generation. The final visual sequence in this chapter is from Iraqi TV and shows a man preaching jihad who builds to the climax in which he pulls out a sword with which to cut off the head of the enemy--in this case Jews. In the background the viewer hears the crowd's frenetic chanting followed by a camera pan of men with upraised fists and angry faces. The scene immediately cuts to the title for the next segment, *The Culture of Hatred* that begins with proclamations of Americans as 'beasts in human form' who are 'enthusiastic about drinking elderly people's blood.' More than responsible for generating a temporary fear, non-Muslims become hated for the evil they represent. Aristotle argues that hatred of types is not curable; the one who hates "wants [the detested class of persons] not to exist" (II.4.31). The images in this section, mostly from Iranian television demonize non-Muslims in all of the classic propagandistic ways. Cultural symbols are distorted--the Statue of Liberty's face becomes a skull with flags as eyes, political leaders' faces are given fangs and dead eyes, and blood is juxtaposed over diplomatic meetings between Bush and Israeli leaders. Because the images are so patently propagandistic they create an association between irrational argument and irrational, fanatic peoples. Their irrational hatred of us becomes our motivation for hating *them*, for naming them terrorists. Added to this is a taped interview in which a Muslim equates fanaticism, extremism, violence, and terrorism.

The film's structure--a montage of video clips featuring frenetic and threatening Muslims--only furthers the universality of the claim. The Middle East is populated by Muslims who are then equated with violence and irrational hatred of non-Muslims, especially those in the West. Whether the viewer interprets this as proof that there are radical Muslims throughout the Middle East or that Muslims in the Middle East are all radical becomes the question for debate. Both assumptions result from the conflation of violence with a broader group to which a minority of radicals belongs.

Once an association has been made, argumentation theorists Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca contend breaking a link is difficult. If the connecting links are seen as natural rather than constructed--Arabs are sinister; Arabs are terrorists--these links can only be cleaved through a process of dissociation. 'It

is then no more a question of breaking the links that join independent elements, but of modifying the very structure of these elements' (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 412). When terms are linked they may take on an 'independent existence' (p. 423), e.g. Arabs equated with terrorism, that is hard to break; 'it is very difficult to repudiate terms when the mere mention of them, even for the purpose of attacking them, recalls their existence' (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 427). Herein lies the ethical problem with conflating Muslims with terrorism and Arabs with Islam. To disclaim the conflation is not enough once the visual track of the DVD has naturalized the conflation of terms. Dissociation becomes almost impossible; the attempt to do so evokes the violent images staccatoed before the viewer. Detached and disconnected in time and space, their juxtaposition forges a clear connection between Muslims and violence. For the viewer the images do speak their own story--in fact, they speak it too well when these structural manipulations naturalize a highly constructed conflation. Missing are images of Muslims speaking out against radical Islamists, Arabs offering sympathy to victims of terrorist attacks and separating Islam from the actions of fanatics, and images and explanations of the broader social, economic and political context from which terrorists acts emerge.

In a pseudo-logical argument that relies almost exclusively on pathos, Muslims are equated with Hitler in the section titled *The Culture of Denial*. This conflation is both visual and verbal. Visually, clips from Hitler rallies are intercut with an interview explaining that people in Germany and the West thought Hitler was someone else's problem so they did nothing to prevent his exercise of power. The interviewee tells the viewer radical Islam is doing the same thing Hitler did and again people are doing nothing to stop the madness. 'If you ignore a threat. . . then the world will pay with millions and millions dead.' Quick cuts to video clips of massed Muslims with raised fists chanting 'Death to America' intercut with file footage of German crowds saluting provides the proof. A series of photos from Middle Eastern countries show Muslim men using a salute almost identical to the Nazi salute. By intercutting contemporary and historical photographs the argument by analogy conflates radical Islam with Nazism. In case the comparison was incomplete, the next section of the DVD begins with a side-by-side comparison of Palestinian and Nazi propaganda posters--the spider in a web and octopus with its spreading tentacles. Video clips of Muslims urging the butchering and killing of Jews remind the viewer that these followers of a fanatical leader are like the followers in Hitler's Germany. Both commit acts of terror in the name of their ideology.

Perhaps more emotionally frightening than the comparisons between radical Islam and Nazism are the sequences of clips that show children who have been and are being indoctrinated into hatred and a belief that it is their duty to exterminate the infidel. The commentators equate indoctrination with child abuse and thereby further demean those Muslims who preach hate. The children with raised guns are consistently shown smiling, laughing, caught up in the joy of seeing the infidel defeated.

Conclusion

The choice of compilation/interview documentary form reveals a strategic manipulation to which the viewer must be attentive. Nichols concludes,

'We return to the simple claim, "Things were as these witnesses describe them, why contest them?"—a claim which is a dissimulation and a disservice to both film theory and political praxis' (1983, p. 27).

Nonetheless, this is the claim fostered by the seeming transparency of archival images and expert witnesses who appear to let real events--historical and contemporary--speak themselves. Although documentary scholars have long abandoned a belief that *cinéma vérité* or the compilation/interview form is any less mediated than the direct address form, for the viewer, these filmic techniques still appear more transparent and hence more truthful. Ryan Watson explains that documentaries are seen as superior to narrative films because 'they participate in the discourse of the real by passively recording it' (2007, p. 5).

We have demonstrated that the images throughout the film clearly conflate Muslims with violence, which since 9/11 is automatically named as terrorism. Rhetorical scholar Kenneth Burke explains that the act of naming is not neutral, it

'is intensely moral—its names for objects contain the emotional overtones which give us cues as to how we should act. . . To call a man a friend or an enemy is per se to suggest a program of action with regard to him' (1965, p. 177).

In hating terrorists, we carry forward a desire to eradicate them. In effect the culture of hatred the film assigns to Muslims and Arabs is turned back on the film and the viewer whose stereotypic conflation of Muslim, Arab, and terrorist enflames our own hatred. In their research on viewer recall of images after 9/11 and subsequent emotional responses to threats of terrorism, Fahmy *et. al.* pointed to the televised image of Palestinians cheering in the streets after 9/11 that led to an emotional response and a heightened concern with terrorism: "the more images individuals recalled, the more concern they had about terrorism" (2006, p. 13). Logically, the intensity and frequency of negative images of Muslims, Arabs, and confessed terrorists and the inclusion of images of 9/11 has an impact on the viewer of the documentary.

In writing about journalistic stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination, Enteman (1996) reminds us that in imposing 'a rigid mold on the subject' and then encouraging 'repeated mechanical usage' (p. 9) the pictorial stereotyping violates at least two preconditions of ethical communication: it denies the viewer choice and it violates a commitment to do what is right (p. 10). The documentary, with the exception of 14 seconds in the first minute, omits

positive images of Muslims, Arabs, or persons of Middle Eastern heritage. The absence of a counterbalance to the negative images hides positive and neutral image choices and their subsequent renaming of these groups of individuals. Without contravening images of rational Muslims, the claim that all Muslims are radical and to be feared is the more likely reading of the message.

In the selection of documentary form and the edited images contained in the film *Obsession* offers the illusion of a transparency reading of the argument that we must be vigilant in our attention to Arabs and Muslims, and that these individuals have enacted a global revolution of terrorism. If as Burke contends the act of naming carries with it a program of action, *Obsession's* conflation and naming of Arabs and Muslims with violence and terrorism becomes a naturalized link that is not easily broken. As such it, at a minimum, ethically suspect and hence worthy of our consideration.

Bibliography

- CAIR-Ohio. (2008, September 2008). 'Central Ohio leaders stand together against hate propaganda.' *Christian Newswire*. Available at <http://www.lexisnexis.com:80/us/inacademic/results/docview/docvie...isb=22.T6041200608&treeMax=true&treeWidth=O&csi=144577&docNo=119>.
- Corner, J. & K. Richardson. (1998). 'Documentary meanings and the discourse of interpretation.' In J. Corner (ed.), *Documentary and the mass media*, 140-160. London: Edward Arnold.
- Dornfeld, B. (1990). 'Dear America: Transparency, authority, and interpretation in a Vietnam War documentary.' In: L. Dittmar and G. Michaud (eds.), *From Hanoi to Hollywood: The Vietnam War in American film*, 283-297. New Brunswick, RI: Rutgers University Press.
- Enteman, W. F. (1996). 'Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination.' In: P. M. Lester (ed.), *Images that injure: Pictorial stereotypes in the media*, 9-14. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Fahmy, S., S. Cho. W. Wanta & Y. Song. (2006) 'Visual agenda setting after 9/11.' *Visual Communication Quarterly* 13(1): 4-15.
- Koenig, R. (2006). 'Reviews: Visual arts.' *The Independent*, April 28.. Available at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_20060428/ai_n16223872
- Kopping, W. (2006). *Obsession: radical Islam's war against the West*. New York: The Clarion Fund.
- Macdonald, K. & M. Cousins (1996). *Imagining reality: The Faber book of documentary*. Boston: Faber and Faber.
- Mamber, S. (1974). *Cinéma vérité in America*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. (1986). *Iconology: Image, text, ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Musaji, S. (2007). 'Obsession: Radical Islam's war with the west?' March 26. Available at http://www.theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/obsession_radical_islams_war_with_the_west/.
- Nichols, B. (1983, Spring). 'The voice of documentary.' *Film Quarterly* 36:3, 1-30.
- Perelman, Ch. & I. Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969). *The new rhetoric: A treatise on argumentation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

- White, H. (1987). *The content of the form*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Watson, R. (2007). 'American myth and national inspiration: Bill Couturie's *Dear America: Letters home from Vietnam*.' *Journal of Film and Video* 59(2): 3- 12.
- Winston, B. (1995). *Claiming the real*. London: British Film Institute.

Chapter Forty Two

Media Habits: A Re-Assessment of Mass Media Selection Processes

Robert LaRose, Michigan State University, USA

Is media consumption behavior fundamentally an active process governed by ongoing internal conversations about the merits of media options or more a matter of habit? For the last thirty-five years scholars have pursued the active selection hypothesis, primarily through the uses and gratifications paradigm (Katz *et al.*, 1973) but also through other expectancy theories that stress continuing cogitation about media behavior, including the Theory of Reasoned Action (Babrow & Swanson, 1988), the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ouellette & Wood, 1998), and Social Cognitive Theory (LaRose & Eastin, 2004). Research on habitual media behavior, provisionally defined after LaRose (2004) (following Triandis, 1980, p. 204) as situation-media behavior sequences that are or have become automatic, so that they occur without self-instruction, has largely been confined to the periphery of the field. Media habits have been periodically discovered, forgotten, and re-discovered (LaRose, 2004; Palmgreen *et al.*, 1985; Rosenstein & Grant, 1997; Rubin, 1984; Stone & Stone, 1990). Growing interest in troubling forms of media habits that are variously described as addictive (McIlwraith, 1998), problematic (Caplan, 2005), or pathological (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 2002) and recent developments in neurology and social psychology call for renewed discovery of the role played by habits in media behavior.

The premise of the present argument is that habits may account for a wide range of media consumption behaviors and that a sizable body of media research has examined media habits, even if not always acknowledging them as such. The importance of media habits is reflected in syndicated audience research data (Rosenstein & Grant, 1997), the audience behavior models of media executives (Klein, 1979), and in the words of media consumers (Adams, 2000). Media behaviors may be more habit-prone than others. One recent study found 54 percent of media-related behaviors (compared, for example, to 21% for cleaning behaviors and 45% of all behaviors) were habitual (Wood *et al.*, 2002). Obvious examples of media habits include reading the newspaper over breakfast each morning, automatically checking email upon arrival at the office, and turning into a “couch potato” nightly at 7 pm. Some less obvious, yet theoretically provocative, examples of media habits include faithfully tuning in a favorite TV program each week, switching to holiday music when it is in season, and continually seeking new adventures in online fantasy environments. Doggedly seeking out favorite recordings online, incorrigible

“channel surfing,” selecting a new movie featuring a favorite actor, and even purposely *missing* a favorite show to spend time with a neglected family are counterintuitive examples of possibly habit-driven media behaviors that may seem on their face to exemplify active selection processes.

The present paper rediscovers media habits yet again by reviewing recent neurological and social psychological research together with media research that has examined habits from the perspectives of Uses and Gratifications (UG), Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), and so-called “media addictions.” The end result is a synthesis of media-related habit research, leading to an agenda for future investigations.

Neural Origins of Media Habits

Habits have a physiological basis in mechanisms that protect individuals from being overwhelmed by processing information about their routine activities. Certain cognitive and behavioral tasks are assigned to nonconscious, automatic processes so that attention may be focused on the most relevant stimuli. In neurological terms, automaticity is the ability to perform tasks without executive control; that is, without conscious thought originating in the prefrontal cortex (Poldrack *et al.*, 2005).

However, habitual versus intentional behavior is not an either-or proposition but rather a continuum governed by the interaction of two separate processes. Goal-oriented, instrumental behavior is controlled by the values of the expected outcomes of a particular behavior and their causal connections to that behavior, learned through plastic (i.e., flexible) neuronal connections sensitive to the dopamine neurotransmitter. With further administration of rewards after the initial acquisition phase (the overtraining phase) responses are no longer contingent upon the expected outcomes in a particular situation, but rather upon long-run average expectations across multiple trials. At that point the behavior becomes habitual and driven by external stimuli that prompt the behavior. The transition from goal-directed learning to habit is controlled in the medial temporal lobe and the basal ganglia, a group of nuclei in the cerebrum, although the exact mechanism is not yet fully understood. Habits may also be formed through interval training, in which rewards are delayed and thus apparently not contingent on behavior, or through Pavlovian conditioning of behavior to neutral situational cues, but all three habit formation mechanisms may involve the basal ganglia (Yin & Knowlton, 2006). The relative influence of intention and habit is determined by the amount of training (i.e., the number of times in which the behavior and its outcomes co-occur), the ease in which the association between reward and behavior can be learned, and the condition of the basal ganglia and the medial temporal lobe (Toates, 2006; Yin & Knowlton, 2006). However, habitual processes may be interrupted or overridden at any time by “executive commands” from the prefrontal cortex (Saling & Phillips, 2007).

Functional MRI studies of humans confirm important aspects of the above account, which is based primarily on small animal studies (see Saling & Phillips, 2007, for a review). When a task becomes automatic through repetition, there is decreased activation in cortical areas which are associated with working memory¹ compared to when controlled processing takes place. With practice, brain activity shifts to regions connected to the basal ganglia.

Thus, media habits may be acquired by repeating media consumption behaviors that are initially goal –directed and associated with active and conscious thinking about the value and likelihood of the outcomes of specific media choices -- but perhaps also when there is no conscious goal activation initially. With sufficient repetition, media behaviors may be triggered by environmental stimuli and performed automatically without the “executive control” of conscious thought processes.

The Social Psychology of Media Habits

Habits are an enduring topic of interest in social psychology. The conceptualization and measurement of habits and the nature of their relationship to intentional, goal-directed behavior are continuing topics of interest.

Foundational Concepts

William James (1890, p. 121) called habit “the enormous flywheel of society.” His observations that habits make behavior automatic and less demanding of attention and that they develop through an incremental deepening of “channels” in the brain foreshadowed current neurological accounts.

For much of the 20th Century habitual behavior was the domain of behaviorists (Skinner, 1938; Watson, 1913) who denied the role of conscious thought. A cognitive revolution in psychology brought about a re-assessment of the origins and functions of habits and, with that, attempts to integrate conscious and nonconscious processes that guide behavior. Bentler and Speckart (1979) were the first to empirically demonstrate that the frequency of previous behavior, a commonly used measure of habit strength, directly predicted future behavior in conjunction with conscious intentions. Triandis (1980) proposed a model of interpersonal behavior in which habits, along with intentions and facilitating conditions, determined behavior. Consistent with current descriptions of habitual behaviors that are initially goal-directed (Yin & Knowlton, 2006), habits were said to develop as a function of the magnitude of the reinforcement applied to behavior, if experienced in temporal contiguity

¹Activity decreases in the left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex and the right superior frontal cortex) and activity also lessens in the bilateral cerebellum, premotor cortex and prefrontal cortex. Controlled processing also activates different subregions of the anterior cingulate cortex than does automatic processing.

with the behavior, across settings, in conjunction with simple and familiar cues that were clearly associated with the situations in which reinforcement was applied.

Conscious guidance of behavior to obtain desired outcomes gives way to nonconscious processes as habits develop. Triandis (1980) and later researchers (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000a; Verplanken & Wood, 2006) defined habits as automatic behaviors. Automaticity denotes an autonomous process that, once started, runs by itself and does not need conscious guidance or monitoring (Wegner & Bargh, 1998). Automatic processes are characterized by a lack of effortful attention, intentionality, awareness, and controllability (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999). They may be triggered by environmental cues, without awareness, even when the individual does not intend to think about the event, when attention is directed elsewhere, or when there is an attempt to actively ignore the triggering cue. In this view, conscious intentions may be cognitive representations of behavior that adjust actions in progress, socially determined rationalizations about personal responsibility for one's behavior, or *post hoc* explanations for behavior (Wegner & Bargh, 1998).

Current Social Psychological Theories of Habit

The integration of cognitive efficiency and automaticity within theories of human behavior that combine conscious and nonconscious influences define current social psychological perspectives of habits. Three competing paradigms have emerged, one emphasizing the goal-dependence and context-independence of habits (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000b; Dijksterhuis & Smith, 2005) and another emphasizing their goal-independence but context-dependence. The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) is the third perspective, from which the validity of habits in theories of human behavior is questioned (Ajzen, 2002).

Goal Dependent Habits. A group of European researchers defines habits to be “goal-directed automatic behaviors [that] are represented as links between goals and actions that are instrumental in attaining [the] goal” (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000b, p. 54). Goals are defined, in turn, as expected or desired outcomes or end-states that result from biological needs or psychological motives. People initially engage in thoughtful behavior to obtain a goal but the frequent association of a goal, the action that attains it, and the situation in which it occurs makes the mental representation of the habit more and more accessible to memory. Once habits are established the behavior in question no longer requires conscious thought to enact and can be elicited merely by priming the goal through cues in the environment. Habits are thus a mental construct rather than the behavior itself.

A series of experiments involving travel habits (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000b; Aarts *et al.*, 1998) demonstrated the power and efficiency of habits compared to conscious, intentional thought. Cognitive representations of bicycle use were more accessible (as measured by a response frequency task described later) to those who had well-established bicycling habits than to those who did not when activated by a goal to attend an on-campus lecture.

Also, the amount of planning, in the form of intentions to implement the chosen travel mode, had no effect on the response times of habitual bike users, although planning did interact with the response times of non-habitual bike users, slowing responses when implementation intentions were present. And, those with well- established travel habits were more likely to choose their preferred mode of transportation compared to other options and less likely to consider or search for detailed information to inform their decision.

Translating these findings to the domain of media behavior, movie fans primed with the goal to “relieve boredom” should make more rapid associations between that goal and the concept “movie theater” than with other entertainment alternatives. The fans should select a night at the movies rather than television more often, and more rapidly, and more consistently across different genres of entertainment -- and with less consultation of either movie or television reviews—compared to non-movie fans. And, getting the movie fans to form implementation intentions (e.g., by getting them to formulate plans for a quiet evening of television viewing at home) would have no effect on the speed with which they make the associations, although it would affect the non-fans.

Context Dependent Habits. The competing theory of habits might be called the American School after the home country if its advocates. Wood and Neal (2007, p. 843) proposed that habits are “learned dispositions to repeat past behaviors [that] are triggered by features of the context that have covaried frequently with past performance.” Initial empirical evidence came from a meta analysis (Ouellette & Wood, 1998) of correlational studies conducted under the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) in which habits (defined as the frequency of past behavior) predicted future behavior. Habits had a stronger influence, both in absolute terms and relative to conscious intentions, when the opportunities to perform them were frequent (e.g., occurred daily or weekly as opposed to yearly) and when there was a consistent supporting context (e.g., automobiles as the context for seat belt use) than when opportunities were infrequent (e.g., voting) or the contexts unstable (e.g. blood donation). Past behavior also had a significant direct effect on behavioral intentions, which causally precede future behavior in TPB.

Context stability thus emerged as a defining characteristic of habits for the American school. Habits are learned slowly through the repetition of behavior in stable contexts, with individuals gradually learning to respond to the long run average reward encountered in a context rather than to the specific outcome expectations they have at a given moment (Ouellette & Wood, 1998; Wood & Neal, 2007; Wood *et al.*, 2005). The cues present in the context in which a behavior is learned may then trigger behavior either through the activation of cognitive schema or a pattern-completion mechanism which elicits the completion of the pattern whenever some elements of the pattern are present.

At the American School habits are said to be goal-independent. Even though habitual behavior may originate by pursuing goal-directed activities, behavior-specific goals do not need to be accessible to memory to activate a

habitual response. In this view, habits and goal-directed behaviors may both be automatic but reflect different varieties of automaticity in that the latter may be pursued through varying, equifinal, means that can produce the same result. In contrast, habitual behavior is an inflexible response to the context for the behavior, as defined by a physical location, person, or other environmental cues that were typically present when the behavior was performed in the past.

To return to the media attendance example in the preceding section, the selection of a night at the movies over a night at home with TV would be driven by contextual cues such as the arrival of Saturday night or the presence of one's significant other rather than by an internal goal state. Indeed, the possibility that the TV option could relieve boredom just as well as the movie would be evidence that the two options are "equifinal" and thus neither could be considered habitual. For movie attendance to be habitual according to the American School there could be no other choice and the selection would likely proceed to completion upon presentation of the relevant stimuli without further active thought.

Habits in the Theory of Planned Behavior. Although the context - dependent (American school) theory of habit emerged from a meta-analysis of TPB research (Ouellette & Wood, 1998) and its main conclusion, that habits explain unique variance in future behavior, was supported by a second meta-analysis (Conner & Armitage, 1998), the theoretical implications of those findings are controversial. The originator and chief proponent of TPB (Ajzen, 2002) argued that there is no reason why habits, at least when defined as the frequency of past behavior, should have any effect of future behavior.

The TPB position is that as long as the context is stable, the intentions and the beliefs that form them should also remain stable, especially when the behavior is performed frequently over a relatively short period of time. The correlation between past and future behavior merely reflects this stability. Routinized behavior remains under the control of the independent variables of the TPB model (attitudes, norms, behavioral intentions, and control beliefs) that are activated automatically and direct behavior unconsciously, rather than by external stimuli. Aside from that, any residual effects of past behavior might be the result of model insufficiency. That is, the effect of past behavior could be subsumed by later additions to the TPB model, such as self-identity or moral norms, that had not been fully examined in conjunction with habits in time for the meta-analyses of the late 1990s.

Returning again to the example of the Saturday movie "habit," TPB argues that all of the behavioral beliefs (e.g., "a movie will cheer me up"), normative beliefs (e.g., "my significant other wants me to attend a movie"), and control beliefs ("going out to a movie is easy") that initially influenced the choice of movies over TV in a given context are still active, although perhaps at an unconscious level. Any residual tendency to repeat the Saturday movie attendance behavior not explained by those factors should be controlled by latter-day additions to the TPB model. For example, the movie-goer might identify herself as a "movie fan" (self-identity), or find it repugnant to be a lazy TV couch potato on a Saturday night (moral norm).

The empirical evidence Ajzen reviewed challenged both habituation perspectives. The American School's position cannot explain habit effects that have been observed for low-opportunity behaviors in *inconsistent* contexts, such as the conduct of repeated extra-marital affairs. Also, high-opportunity behaviors should be the most- habit prone and therefore intentions should be less predictive for them than for low-opportunity behaviors, but that was not the case in Ouellette and Wood's (1998) meta-analysis. Contrary to Aarts et al. (1998), there were studies in which the intention-behavior relationship increased as a function of the amount of prior experience with the behavior. The discrepancies could originate with the practice of equating habit strength with frequency of past behavior and that will be explored further shortly. However, a frequency-independent measure of habit utilized by Aarts et al. (1998) failed to predict future behavior when the other two determinants of behavior, intentions and perceived behavioral control, were included (Bamberg *et al.*, 2003a). Repeated performances of "bad habits" such as cigarette smoking present a further problem in that they are often accompanied by anguished reflection and are thus by no means unconscious and automatic in the sense of being performed without awareness or effortful attention.

Measuring Habits. Measurement issues obscure the role of habits in human behavior (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Behavioral frequency measures (e.g., ratio-scaled estimates of the number of times the respondent performed the behavior in the prior two weeks) are by far the most common. When both past and future behaviors are assessed as behavioral frequencies but different forms of measurement (e.g., interval level, 7-point semantic-differential scales) are used for other variables common methods variance may lead to a false conclusion that past behavior is more predictive of future behavior than behavioral intentions (Ajzen, 2002). Also, some repeated behaviors may be intentional rather than habitual (Ajzen, 2002 uses the example of repeatedly climbing the same mountain) and thus measures of their past frequency could in fact be indicative of conscious intentions. If habitual behaviors are by definition nonconscious and automatic, estimates of their past frequency are likely to be inaccurate, subject to either under-estimation or over-estimation based on such factors as their salience and recency and the nature of the heuristics used to formulate the estimate (Verplanken *et al.*, 2005). Finally, habit strength may not vary linearly with repetition and is unlikely to increase further after the point that a habit is firmly established (Verplanken et al., 2005; Yin & Knowlton, 2006).

Possible solutions to the measurement problem reflect the assumptions of the competing schools of thought. The American School favors ordinal-level measures that classify the frequency of performance relative to specific time intervals (e.g., monthly or less often, at least once a week, just about every day, Wood et al., 2002). Following their conception of habitual behavior as context-dependent, the behavioral frequency is either multiplied by an indicator of the stability of the context in which the behavior is performed (Wood et al., 2002) or the stability measure stands alone as the measure of habit strength (Ji &

Wood, 2007) (e.g. scored 3 if always in the same place, mood, time or with the same people present, 1 if seldom). Stability may be determined by independent raters' judgments of the regularity of the behaviors recorded in experience sampling diaries that precede the habitual action (Wood et al., 2002) or via respondents' self-ratings of the stability of location, time, mood, and social context (Ji & Wood, 2007). Thus, this approach somewhat dilutes the impact of behavioral frequency by combining it with a measure of the consistency of the context but in so doing may confound two separate, but equally flawed, indicators of habit strength.

Consistent with their own theoretical position, researchers from the European School developed measures of consistency in goal-related behaviors across different contexts and focused on habits as cognitive structures rather than repeated behaviors. In the response frequency (not to be confused with behavioral frequency) procedure, respondents are prompted with a variety of scenarios (e.g., traveling to school, traveling to the mall) and then asked how they would implement the goal (e.g., by bike or driving a car). A research assistant applies time pressure to the respondent to prevent the formation of a well-reasoned intention. The number of times a response (e.g., "by bike") is given across scenarios is a measure of habit strength (Aarts *et al.*, 1997). A variation of this procedure is also called a response frequency measure but might better be termed a response latency task (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000a). Respondents are primed with a goal and a means to achieve it on a computer screen and, again under time pressure, asked to respond yes or no whether they would choose the behavior to achieve the goal. The time they take to answer is the indicator of habit strength, with shorter response times corresponding to stronger habits.

The previous two procedures are difficult to implement so a paper and pencil measure was developed and validated against them. The Self-Report Habit Index (SRHI, Verplanken & Orbell, 2003) consists of twelve likert-type items tapping three characteristics of automatic behavior (after Bargh *et al.*, 1996); namely, they are to some degree uncontrollable (e.g., behavior X is something...I do automatically), are implemented without awareness ("I do without having to consciously remember"), and are efficient ("that would require effort not to do it"). A fourth attribute of automatic behaviors, that they are unintentional, was ruled out on the assumption held by the European school that habits are goal-dependent and thus purposeful. Also, habits are repeated behaviors and SRHI items also reflect this property ("that I do frequently," "that I have been doing for a long time"). However, the latter are arguably alternative ways of asking about the frequency of past behavior and may therefore be confounded with measures of past behavioral frequency. An alternative form omitting these items was found to have a high correlation with the original. An experimental manipulation demonstrated that habit strength as measured by the SRHI was independent of behavioral frequency and it provided superior predictions of future behavior compared to a behavioral frequency measure. Moreover, the new measure completely mediated the relationship between past behavioral frequency and future behavior and the

effects of habit remained significant after controlling for standard measures of the TPB model, thereby establishing the discriminant validity of habit within the TPB paradigm (Verplanken, 2006).

Defining habits as automatic behavior was also followed in research reported in the management information systems literature (Limayem *et al.*, 2007). Respondents were asked directly whether the behavior in question was automatic, and also whether the behavior was natural or an obvious choice. The three-item measure showed high reliability and had evidence of convergent and discriminant validity.

Why not just ask behavior is habitual? For example, Wittenbraker *et al.* (1983) asked respondents to indicate how many times a behavior was performed in the past “by force of habit.” It has been argued that lay persons may not understand what is meant by habit, may not have access to the psychological processes that determine behavior, and that this particular approach confounded behavioral frequency and habit (Verplanken *et al.*, 2005). However, there is a neural mechanism that may alert humans to their own habitual behavior: The anterior cingulate cortex reacts to situations in which behavior is incongruent with intentions and notifies the prefrontal cortex. In a behavior sampling study, self-reported perceptions that a behavior was a habit were related to the frequency of the behavior, in stable contexts, with minimal thought, all indicators of habit strength (Wood *et al.*, 2002). So, direct measures of perceived habit strength that remove the confound with behavioral frequency might be a viable option. A multi-item measure that included a direct assessment of habit strength (“I am in the habit/not in the habit of X” assessed on a seven-point bipolar scale) combined with other items that reflect habitual responses (e.g., I am steadfast/not steadfast about X, I reliably/not reliably X) exhibited evidence of reliability and validity (Trafimow, 2000).

Thus, the SRHI and other multi-item measures of habit strength that do not include the frequency of past behavior remain standing as possible solutions to the habit measurement problem. In the critiques of habit theory and research, the confounding role of behavioral frequency measures must be recognized.

Media Habit Research

To this point media habits have served as illustrative examples for the purpose of theoretical exposition, but a number of empirical studies have focused on media behaviors. These are found in the social psychology and management information systems literatures and also in communication research that has examined habits through the perspectives of Uses and Gratifications, Social Cognitive Theory, and problematic forms of media use.

The Social Psychology of Media Habits

Ouellette & Wood (1998) applied the Theory of Planned Behavior to “television watching” and included habit strength, operationally defined as the

self-reported frequency of past television watching in each of the prior six months. Standard TPB measures of attitudes, perceived behavioral control, perceived social norms, and behavioral intentions were included, and a three-week follow up survey assessed the correspondence between intentions and subsequent behavior. The study addressed two competing explanations for the effect of habits on future behavior: It could be that attitudes become stronger and can be accessed more easily (as assessed by a response latency measure) with experience. Or, frequently performed behavior might form part of the person's self concept (e.g., as a TV fan). Additionally, consistency of context was assessed in relation to the presence of behaviors that normally preceded television viewing. Viewing at the time of the three-week follow-up was found to be highly correlated to habit strength ($r = .55$) and was said to be higher for those who viewed in stable contexts than those who did not. Attitude accessibility was correlated to neither future nor past behavior, ruling out that rival explanation, but self concept was highly correlated with both. However, in multiple regression analysis, only habit strength was a significant predictor of future behavior among those with a stable TV watching context, while for those with an unstable context conscious behavioral intentions and self-concept were predictive. In a re-analysis of these data Ajzen (2002) found that the correlations between past behavior and future behavior did not differ significantly by the stability of the context, however. This yields the intriguing hypothesis that media habits do not require a stable context to be enacted.

A two-wave panel study employing a variant of TPB, the Technology Assessment Model (TAM), found that usage of a university-sponsored portal site by college students was highly dependent upon the frequency of previous usage (Kim & Malhotra, 2005). The impact of behavioral intentions on usage was significant before considering prior usage but was reduced to nonsignificance when habit was entered. The researchers concluded that previous investigators had grossly overestimated the impact of intention on the use of computer media.

A second TAM-based study (Limayem et al., 2007) found that predictions of continuing Web use were improved by adding habits to intentions as independent variables. Predictions were further improved by including an interaction between intentions and habit in which the effect of intentions was suppressed in the presence of strong habits.

Wood et al. (2002) used experience sampling techniques to obtain information about the thoughts and emotions that preceded habitual behaviors, including media-related ones (defined to include TV, music, Internet, games, movies, and newspapers). Breaking out the results for television viewing, they found that when indulging in habitual television behavior, defined as a frequently repeated behavior in a consistent setting, respondents were less thoughtful and attentive than when watching in non-habitual mode. This confirmed that the cognitive efficiency mechanism applies to habitual media consumption. This was also the study, cited earlier, that found that over half of media-related behaviors were habitual.

Wood et al. (2005) took advantage of a natural experiment to examine the influence of unstable contexts on newspaper and television habits among a group whose context had been disrupted; namely, college transfer students. Intentions to engage in these behaviors, their habit strength, and information about changes in the location where the behavior was performed and other contextual cues (roommates' behavior, the social context of the behavior, and general similarity) were obtained a month before and a month after transfer. Habit strength was the product of frequency of performance and stability of context. Wide variation was found among behaviors: habit strength was greater for television than for newspapers (and also greater than for exercise, a third behavior included in the study). The greater the perceived change in context, the less the students watched TV at their new university and this effect was greater for those who started with strong TV habits than with weak ones. The context change also brought behavior under intentional control for those who started with strong habits and experienced the greatest changes in location, indicating that the change in context not only disrupted habits but forced renewed active thinking about TV viewing. The effect of intentions was minor among transfer students with strong habits who did not experience a major change in location (e.g. still watched in their own room). Similar results were obtained for newspaper reading when examining stability of context as defined by the social context and roommate behavior.

Two media behaviors were included in the study in which the SRHI was validated, viewing of a daily Dutch soap opera and "turning on music at home" (Verplanken & Orbell, 2003). SRHI scores obtained three weeks preceding the collection of consumption data were highly correlated with later viewing ($r = .74$) and listening ($r = .65$). The results suggest that both the consumption of specific media products (i.e., a particular television program) as well as media systems (i.e., home music systems) are both related to habit strength and the former is as strong as the latter. Also, the relationship between habit strength and future media consumption was strongest for the behavior (watching the soap opera) that had the lower behavioral frequency of the two. Thus, habits may have a powerful impact on media consumption even when the availability of opportunities to complete the behavior is constrained by media scheduling; that is, the soap opera could only be viewed five times per week, while music could be consumed at any time of the day the respondent was at home.

Ji and Wood (2007) found significant albeit relatively weak correlations ($r = .30$ -.33) between measures of habit strength and intentions to watch TV news. However, habit strength was a significant direct predictor of news consumption, as recorded in diaries, and intentions failed to predict behavior among those with well-formed habits. Unlike two other behaviors (fast food purchases and bus riding) included in the study, habitual behaviors were performed independent of intentions in the presence of all four types of cues assessed in the study: consistent location, mood, time, social context.

Together, these studies demonstrate that habits are significant and powerful predictors of media behavior even after accounting for the influence of

conscious influences represented by behavioral intentions. This effect has been found across multiple media behaviors and using varying operational definitions of habit strength, including those focusing on the frequency of past behavior, automaticity of behavior, and stable contexts. Media habits may be unique in that they do not necessarily require stable contexts to elicit them. But, when media behaviors are repeatedly performed in consistent contexts they are better predictors of behavior than when they are not and a wide variety of contextual cues (location, time, mood, and social cues) may evoke habitual media behavior. Media habits may survive radical disruptions of their contexts, especially when individuals recreate the context of media consumption following disruptive events, such as continuing to watch TV in their rooms after transferring to a new university. Media habits determine behavior even when opportunities to express them are limited, such as by the availability restrictions imposed by a television broadcast schedule. There is evidence that contradicts an assumption long held by certain media professionals (Klein, 1979) and media scholars (Webster & Wakshlag, 1983) alike; that is, while attendance to media systems (e.g., nightly viewing of television) is determined by habit, selections within media systems (e.g., individual TV programs) are not. Instead, it appears that both selections of media systems and of media products within systems are strongly related to habits.

Uses and Gratifications or Media Habits?

For some 35 years the uses and gratifications paradigm has dominated thinking about media selection behavior in communication studies. By stressing active media selection processes uses and gratifications research is clearly at odds with the present perspective of media habits.

Such was not always the case. Habits were included in an early model (Palmgreen et al., 1985, p. 17) in which they were conceived as a distinct from gratifications sought. There, media structure and technology, the structure of society and culture, and the characteristics of individuals preceded media habits. Beliefs and expectations about media alternatives as well as felt needs were thought to have reciprocal relationships with habits. This model was in some ways consistent with current knowledge. For example, connections between habits and media structure and technology and also with society and culture might be interpreted as providing the contextual cues that trigger media habits. The connection between beliefs and expectations about media alternatives and habits aligns with current neurological research in which active consideration of expected behavioral outcomes gives way to automated, habitual thought processes. If felt needs may be understood as goals, then the European, goal-dependent model of habits was represented in the relationship between needs and habits and the model also anticipated research that suggests goals can be inferred from habitual behavior (Wood & Neal, 2007). However, Palmgreen et al.'s model failed to include a direct relationship between habits and media consumption, a relationship that now enjoys deep empirical support and which directly challenges the core "active audience" assumption of uses and gratifications.

Unfortunately, by the time Palmgreen et al.'s model was published the concept of habit was on its way to getting lost amid the exploratory factor analyses that are used to identify dimensions of uses and gratifications. LaRose (2004) traced the itinerary of the habit concept in uses and gratifications research to Greenberg (1974), who included the statement "I watch TV because it's a habit" in a factor analysis of television viewing motivations among British school children. In that study the habit factor was the most frequently chosen reason for watching television.

From Greenberg's study emanated the practice of constructing multi-item measures that confounded habits with gratifications. Drawing from Greenberg's work Rubin (1983) included "Because it's a habit, just something to do," "Just because it's there," and "Because I just like to watch it" in a study of television gratifications that lent items to two decades of uses and gratifications studies that followed. Three items is generally regarded as the minimum to establish a separate factor; however, many of the subsequent studies included only one or two such items, too few to distinguish a separate dimension. As a result, the habit-related items were repeatedly confounded with gratification dimensions, usually loading with expressions of a need to relieve dysphoric states (e.g., to eliminate boredom, loneliness, or stress) under the rubric of "pass time gratifications" (Abelman & Atkin, 2000; Bantz, 1982; Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000; Vincent & Basil, 1997).

Rubin (1983, 1984) developed a two-dimensional classification system that distinguish between a goal-directed, instrumental orientation and a ritualistic orientation, defined as "the more or less habitualized use of a medium to gratify diversionary needs or motives" (Rubin, 1984, p. 69). On its face, the ritualistic orientation provides an account of media habits, especially noting the inclusion of statements about habit formation (i.e., "because it's a habit") in the initial empirical studies investigating it. The statement "Just because it's there" reflects the stimulus-response mechanism thought to prompt habitual behaviors, but with the television receiver rather than the other elements of stable context advocated by the American School (location, time, persons present) providing the cue. The associations between self-reports of habit strength and other "pass time" gratifications might be said to support the European (goal dependent) School position in that they reflect a relationship between the goal of relieving dysphoric states and habit. But according to the American (context dependent) School the relationship might also be evidence of consistent moods that cue habitual media behavior.

However, Rubin's interpretation does not match current theories well on several key points. The inclusion of "Because I like to watch it" combines habits with attitudes, thereby confounding conscious and non-conscious processes. Ritualistic television viewers were thought to have an affinity for the medium rather than for individual programs but research reviewed in the previous section found that habit strength predicts not only consumption of the medium (e.g., television) but also genres of content (e.g., news) and particular media products (e.g., specific soap operas). Rubin's account departs from

current theories in that he conceived the ritualistic orientation as an individual difference variable, a component of personality, whereas the current view is that habits are a function of the repetition of specific behaviors in the contexts in which they occur. Above all, classifying a habit as a gratification requires habitual responses to be active, conscious thought processes rather than automatic responses. There is abundant evidence, reviewed above, that this is not the case.

The submergence of the habit concept in the communication literature was summed up well in the title of the next work that attempted to resurface it, "lurking in the literature" (Stone & Stone, 1990). Habits were said to be "acquired or 'learned' through willful acts that are repeated until their pattern becomes automatic and routine" (p. 26). The authors reviewed earlier studies of newspaper and television viewing that suggested that habits were involved in patterns of media attendance, although without directly assessing the concept. Their own measure was a single item applied to television viewing, "it's an enjoyable habit I like doing" and that item had the highest mean rating among eight television viewing motivations. However, this measure once again confounded attitudes with habits and by treating habit as a gratification the authors again conceptualized it as willful selection process.

In an unpublished doctoral dissertation Newell (2003) employed structural equation models to explore the relationships among behavioral intentions, "pass time" gratifications (replicated from Rubin, 1983), habits (as measured by the SRHI), and consumption of television, the Web, e-mail, and instant messenger. Confirmatory factor analysis demonstrated that the three habit items in Rubin's "pass time gratification" belonged with the SRHI items, while the remaining pass time gratification items were retained as a gratification measure. In the best fitting models, the pass time gratification causally preceded habits and intentions, habits and intentions both preceded behavior (recorded in diaries the day after the survey in which the other measures were administered) and habits predicted intentions. Habits successfully predicted all four behavioral intentions and all four future behaviors. Intentions predicted future behavior in three of four cases (e-mail being the exception). The pass time gratification predicted habit strength in all four instances, but had a significant direct relationship to intentions only for instant messenger. Newell also assessed the stability of context during the night in which the diary was administered with a single item ("Tonight was a typical night"). However, he found no variation in the relationship between habit strength and behavior between those who reported a stable context and those who did not.

Newell's finding that habits, a nonconscious process, may causally precede intentions, a conscious one, may seem counterintuitive on its face. However, it duplicates a finding from one of the earliest empirical studies of habits (Bentler & Speckart, 1979) and can be explained (Wood & Neal, 2007) as follows: Since people have rather limited insight into the causes of their own behavior, habits may be used to infer goals. It is possible that habits inform an intuitive self, especially in domains where individuals have extensive experience, such as media consumption. So, if one is in the habit of watching television and is

asked why they do so, they may infer the goal of “passing the time” from their repeated behavior. Bentler and Speckart explained their findings in similar terms, drawing (as did Wood and Neal) on Bem’s (1972) hypothesis that attitudes are inferred from reflections on one’s past behavior.

Alternatively, gratifications sought may predict behavior only to the extent that they call up memories of still-relevant reasons for performing media behaviors while they were still in the initiation phase (Ronis *et al.*, 1989). Lin (1999), for example, had extraordinary success explaining variance in intentions to use the Internet from uses and gratifications among those who had not yet adopted it. However, Papacharissi and Rubin (2000) had minimal success explaining usage among current Internet users.

Habit poses a rival hypothesis in studies in which uses and gratifications have been employed to predict media consumption behavior. Typically, uses and gratifications research has achieved disappointing results when predicting media consumption, explaining only small amounts variance in media behavior (Palmgreen *et al.*, 1985). That could be an indication that the media behaviors in question are determined by habits rather than by controlled thinking about gratifications. This explanation gains credence from studies where habit-related items similar to those found on Rubin’s ritualistic dimension were included with pass time gratifications. The habit-pass time dimensions are often significant predictors of media consumption (Abelman & Atkin, 2000; Bantz, 1982; Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000; Perse & Dunn, 1998; Vincent & Basil, 1997) and at times the only dimension significantly related to media consumption behavior. Variations of Rubin’s original habit items have also been associated with entertainment and social gratifications (LaRose, 2004). But rather than providing evidence of the active, controlled thinking about media selections, these studies may be evidence of the predictive power of habits formed in attempts to alleviate dysphoric moods through entertaining diversions or social support. As Newell’s (2003) research suggested, it may have been the habit items rather than the gratification items that explained media consumption behavior. The next section advances an explanation for the relationship between gratifications sought and habits that further accounts for their common factor loadings and for their relationships to behavior.

Thus, uses and gratifications, even when successful in predicting media behavior, may not reflect the thought processes of media consumers, even if consumers can produce them as explanations for their behavior when researchers ask them to do so (Dijksterhuis & Smith, 2005). Rather, media behaviors may be primed outside of awareness by exposure to environmental cues, such as the mere sight of a TV set, and consumers can be induced to give false accounts of their actions. Citing the need for cognitive efficiency, Dijksterhuis and Smith (2005) questioned whether the level of conscious thought required for routine consumer choices in the supermarket (or when holding the TV remote or computer mouse) is possible.

By re-visiting the uses and gratifications literature with theories of habit a provocative re-interpretation of an extensive body of communication research

emerges in which automatic behavior contends with controlled, conscious thinking about media selections. A fundamental question about the direction of the causal relationship between media selection behavior and conscious gratification seeking also arises. Uses and gratifications research in turn poses new questions for habit theories: Are stable contexts always required to elicit habits? Are habits likely to develop from the pursuit of certain types of goals (i.e., relieving dysphoric states) more than others? And, are there further cues beyond location, time, mood, and persons present – including cues provided by media systems themselves—that evoke habitual responses?

A Social Cognitive Perspective of Media Habits

LaRose and colleagues (LaRose & Eastin, 2004; LaRose *et al.*, 2001) mounted a critique of uses and gratifications that reconceptualized media attendance through Bandura's (2001) Social Cognitive Theory (SCT). In their model, outcome expectations rather than uses and gratifications are primary determinants of media behavior, and the model also adds self-efficacy, or belief in one's capability to organize and execute a particular course of action (Bandura, 1997).

The incorporation of SCT's self-regulation mechanism (Bandura, 1991) is of primary interest here. Self-regulation describes the role of self-direction and forethought as humans engage in long-range planning in pursuit of their goals. The three sub mechanisms of self-regulation are self-observation, judgmental process, and self-reaction. Self-observation is the process of monitoring one's own behavior to provide diagnostic information about the impact of the behavior on oneself, other people, and the environment. These observations are then compared with relevant personal, social, or collective stand standards through the judgmental process. Behaviors that are observed and judged to be inconsistent with these standards may be modified through self-reaction by applying self-generated rewards or punishments and by responding to one's own self-evaluation. Thus, the self-regulatory mechanism accounts for the controlled thought processes used to regulate behavior. Evidence for a relationship between self-regulation and habit formation is found in current social psychology research. When self-regulatory resources were diminished (by requiring people to use the "wrong" hand to complete tasks), habits were more powerful predictors of behavior than when self-regulation was undiminished (Neal *et al.*, 2006).

While much of the communication research on self-regulation focuses on how to make it more effective in contexts such as health promotion (Bandura, 2005), LaRose and colleagues expanded the concept of self-regulation to situations in which self-control is *ineffective* and media behavior is guided by uncontrolled thought processes. They defined deficient self-regulation (LaRose *et al.*, 2001) as a state in which self-regulatory processes become impaired and self-control over media use is diminished. Media behavior might be especially susceptible to deficient self-regulation due to the casual nature of many forms consumption, at least as compared to such highly valenced activities as maintaining one's health, finances, family, or personal appearance.

Deficiencies in self-observation and judgmental process often complement one another. Self-observation is deficient when individuals act without conscious awareness of the expected outcomes of their media behavior; for example, automatically checking e-mail without thinking if there might be a better use of their time. Or they may fail to observe the relationship of their behavior to relevant personal or social standards, a deficiency of the judgmental process, such as when idly “surfing” the television or the Internet and pausing at destinations that meet neither their standard for quality entertainment nor worthwhile information. They may compare themselves to lax standards inferred from self-observations of their own media behavior by explaining to themselves that their media consumption patterns are “just a habit,” part of their daily routine, or even something that defines them (e.g., as a “news junkie” or a “sports nut”). In that case, *nonperformance* of the media behavior violates personal standards, leading to “weird” feelings of “missing something” or to irritability. In socio-cognitive terms, the latter are self-evaluations capable of motivating behavior, but perhaps defective ones that encourage mounting media consumption without regard to its broader consequences.

The judgmental process may also be corrupted by invoking rationalizations for excessive media behavior or making comparisons to others who engage in it to equal or greater excess. For example, LaRose and Kim (2007) found that rationalizations for music downloading (e.g., “there’s nothing wrong with file sharing”) and comparisons with other downloaders increased deficient self-regulation.

Even when media consumers observe their behavior accurately and judge it to be inconsistent with relevant standards, they may still fail to generate self-reactive influence to correct their behavior, leading to the perception that the behavior is out of control. For example, video game fanatics may find themselves automatically logging in whenever in the presence of their game machine and without forming a considered intention to do so, even in the face of negative life consequences or feelings of guilt, or even while consciously intending to stop. They may respond to urges to repeat the behavior do not originate in conscious thought. They might conceal the extent of their involvement with their game to avoid the disapproval of significant others who might urge them to apply self-corrective influence. So-called “video game addicts” might be said to have deficient self-reaction even while being aware of the (negative) consequences of their behavior on their family life or even while painfully attentive to the discrepancy between it and the standards set forth by their spouses. Thus, the distinctions among deficient self-observation, judgmental process, and self reactive influence might account for “bad” habits that individuals are abundantly aware of yet are seemingly powerless to stop.

Deficient self-regulation therefore encompasses the four dimensions of automaticity that define habitual behavior: lack of awareness, lack of attention, lack of intentionality, and lack of controllability (Bargh *et al.*, 2001). Seeking a framework that could account for self-regulation deficiencies in normal

populations as well as the more problematic media consumption patterns discussed in the following section LaRose et al. (2003) drew upon accounts of media addictions that traced back to the symptoms of substance abuse (APA, 1994): preoccupation, tolerance, withdrawal, concealment, relapse, and loss of control¹. Table 1 shows that there are substantial parallels between a measure of habit developed from automaticity theory, the SRHI (Verplanken & Orbell, 2003), and measures of habit and deficient self-regulation used by the LaRose and colleagues (LaRose & Eastin, 2004; LaRose & Kim, 2007; LaRose et al., 2003; LaRose et al., 2001), including a study in which both sets of items were included (LaRose *et al.*, 2008). The two measures differ in that LaRose and colleagues did not have items reflecting the frequency of past behavior; however, that is not one of the dimensions of automaticity.² LaRose and colleagues did include items that measure lack of intentionality, which is an automaticity dimension that Verplanken and Orbell omitted to be consistent with their conception of habits as goal-directed behaviors. However, it was argued previously that goal-directedness is not a necessary component of habitual behavior so that was perhaps an unfortunate oversight.

Also, the four dimensions of automaticity are now believed to be independent of one another and therefore may be found in varying combinations (e.g., automatic behaviors lacking in controllability but high in awareness such as video game addictions) across behaviors (Saling & Phillips, 2007). This likely explains the differing dimensional structure of deficient self-regulation across studies. LaRose and colleagues work from the pool of items shown in Table 1 and empirically derive measures of habit and deficient self-regulation from the pool for each media behavior under study using principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation. Bandura (1986) associated habits with lack of awareness within the self-observation mechanism and so LaRose and colleagues followed suit by calling one dimension habit and the other deficient self-regulation when two emerged. When they found a single dimension corresponding more to one of the two dimensions they named it after the dominant one. To resolve the inconsistency between studies and to integrate their work the habit research, while remaining faithful to socio-cognitive terminology, they now distinguish deficient self-observation (formerly termed habit) and deficient self-reaction as separate dimensions of deficient self-regulation (LaRose et al., 2008).

Perhaps because they believed – erroneously it now appears – that automaticity is a unidimensional construct Verplanken and Orbell eschewed varimax rotation and thus may have failed to uncover this underlying dimensional structure. Also in Table 1, it appears that items that Verplanken and Orbell selected to reflect lack of awareness and cognitive efficiency align with deficiencies in self-observation and judgmental process, while

¹A seventh symptom, *Escapism*, defined as a means of escaping or counteracting dysphoric moods, is accounted for through the expected outcome mechanism in SCT.

²Verplanken (2006) responded to criticisms that the SRHI confounded automaticity and behavioral frequency by offering an alternate version of the SRHI which omitted the behavioral frequency items.

controllability issues correspond to deficient self-reaction. Thus, the deficient self-regulation concept may provide a more satisfactory explanation of habitual behavior by further elaborating the habit concept and examining relationships among its components.

Structural equation modeling techniques were used to devise a model of media attendance (LaRose & Eastin, 2004). In this model deficient self-observation¹ and deficient self-reaction² were distinguished from outcome expectations and all three, along with self-efficacy, had direct, significant relationships to general Internet usage. The basic model was also reproduced in a study of favorite Internet activities (LaRose et al., 2008) including social networking, entertainment downloads, online games, and messaging activities. The effects of habit are not limited to new media, however, in another study a measure of deficient self-regulation also predicted news consumption across both conventional and online media (Diddi & LaRose, 2006). As in the TPB research reviewed previously, both conscious influence, represented by expected outcomes, and non-conscious represented by deficient self-regulation predict behavior, evidence of a dual process mechanism governing behavior.

The relationships among expected outcomes, deficient self-observation, and deficient self-reaction are of special interest since they offer an explanation of the development of habits. The causal relationship between expected outcomes and deficient self-observation is thought (LaRose & Eastin, 2004) to be the result of active media selection decisions giving way, through repetition, to automatic processes that are independent of the merits of any specific instance of Internet usage. This explanation is consistent with current accounts of the neurophysiology of habits in which behaviors initially under the control of outcome expectations gradually make a transition to non-conscious neural processes (Yin & Knowlton, 2006) which then can directly guide behavior without further reference to consciously processed beliefs. This means that, as was confirmed in a study of cell phone usage (Peters, 2007), well-established behaviors should be more determined by deficient self-regulation than novel ones. Deficient self-reaction is thought to cause deficient self-observation in that failure to apply self-reactive influence to a behavior (e.g., by ignoring pangs of guilt over excessive online pornography consumption or giving up on efforts to control it) is another means of reducing the cognitive resources necessary to make media selections, thus making them less subject to attentive self-observation. The relationship between self-observation and self-reaction is presumed to be uni-directional for the purposes of structural modeling, but it might well be reciprocal, since individuals are unlikely to apply self-reactive influence to behaviors they are inattentive to or are not actively comparing to relevant standards.

¹Called habit strength in the original article.

²Called deficient self-regulation in the original

Table 1. Comparison of Deficient Self-Regulation and SRHI Items and Constructs

Automaticity Dimension	SRHI Items (Verplanken & Orbell, 2003)	DSR Items	Addiction Symptom	Deficient SCT Process
Lack of Awareness	I do without having to consciously remember.	I do it without having to consciously remember ⁷	Loss of Control	Self-Observation
	I do without thinking. I have no need to think about doing.	I use it without really thinking about it ^{4,6,7}	Loss of Control	Self-Observation
	I would find hard not to do	I get tense, moody, or irritable if I can't do it when I want ¹	Withdrawal	Judgmental Process
	that would require effort not to do it	I would miss the Internet if I could no longer go online ^{2,3,5}	Withdrawal	Judgmental Process
Cognitive efficiency/Lack of Attention	that makes me feel weird if I do not do it	It makes me feel weird if I do not do it ⁷	Withdrawal	Judgmental Process
		It is a habit I have gotten into ^{4,5,6}	Preoccupation	Self-Observation
		I often spend longer on it than I intend to when I start ³	Loss of control	Self-Observation
	N/A	I get strong urges to use it/do it ³ I would go out of my way to satisfy my urges ^{1,3,8}	Preoccupation	Judgmental Process
Lack of Controllability	I do automatically	I do it automatically ⁷ My use is out of control. ^{1,3,6}	Loss of Control	Self-Observation
	that belongs to my (daily, weekly, monthly) routine	The Internet is part of my usual routine ^{2,4,5,7}	Preoccupation	Judgmental Process
	I start doing before I realize I'm doing it.	I find myself doing it about the same time each day ²	Loss of control	Self-Observation
		I spend so much time that it is interfering with my life ^{3,6}	Life Consequences	Self-Reaction
		I feel guilty about the amount of time I spend on it ⁸	Life Consequences	Judgmental Process
		I have tried unsuccessfully to cut down on the amount of time I spend ¹	Relapse	Self-Reaction
Repetition		I have a hard time keeping my use under control ^{1,8} I sometimes try to conceal how much time I spend from my family or friends ^{1,8}	Concealment	Self-Reaction
	I have been doing for a long time. I do frequently.	I have to keep doing it more and more to get my thrill ^{1,3,8}	Tolerance, Preoccupation	Self-Reaction
	that's typically "me."	Because I am a "news junkie" ⁵	Preoccupation	Judgmental Process

1. DSR (LaRose & Eastin, 2004) 2. Habit (LaRose & Eastin, 2004) 3. DSR (LaRose et al., 2003) 4. Habit (LaRose et al., 2003) 5. Habit (Diddi & LaRose, 2006) 6. DSR (LaRose & Kim, 2007) 7. Deficient Self-observation (LaRose et al., 2008) 8. Deficient Self-Reaction (LaRose et al., 2008)

Accurate observation of one's media behavior and its consequences is particularly likely to be "short circuited" when seeking self-reactive outcomes, such as trying to relieve boredom through media consumption. The pursuit of self-reactive outcomes may offset the negative self-evaluations that arise when judging one's media behavior. It is cognitively more "efficient" to sit back and enjoy the show than to agonize about the consequences of excessive media use on family life, for example. Shortly we will see how this might lead to a self-perpetuating cycle of dysphoria and mounting media consumption.

Thus, the SCT-based concept of deficient self-regulation explores media habits as a multidimensional construct and proposes causal mechanisms with which to further understand the development of habitual behavior. Next, we examine how this approach may explain the "bad habit problem" posed by Ajzen (2002).

Habits as "Media Addictions"

How can supposedly nonconscious and automatic habitual behavior, such as cigarette smoking or excessive video game play, be accompanied by intense self-awareness in the form of tormented internal dialogues about the continuation of the behavior? This could be an instance where one of the dimensions of automaticity, lack of controllability, is present but the other three dimensions are not. What Ajzen might call "bad media habits" have variously been described as media addictions (McIlwraith, 1998; Young, 2004), media dependency (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 2002), or problematic Internet use (Caplan, 2005).

A few words of caution are in order when associating problematic media use with symptoms of mental disease. The American Medical Association concluded that the matter needed more study before classifying a new form of mental illness (AMA, 2007) and "addictions" to other media are not under consideration at this time. Moreover, it is likely that very few actual cases of media addiction, dependency, or problematic use have ever been included in any of the studies reported in the communication research literature under these rubrics. That is because the diagnosis of a mental disease requires that the behavior in question cause severe life consequences, such as dropping out of school, losing one's job or one's home, or destroying a family (Shaffer *et al.*, 2000). While such cases have been documented in the psychiatric literature (Shapira *et al.*, 2000; Yellowlees *et al.*, 2007) they are seldom if ever found among the subjects of communications research, as indicated by the low levels of addiction "symptoms" reported in such studies. LaRose *et al.* (2003) proposed that the extant communications literature does not describe pathological media behavior but rather deficient self-regulation processes that govern habitual media behaviors among normal users and that only in extreme cases might lead to negative life consequences and become problematic, pathological, or addictive.

The relationship between habits and addiction is evident when defining addiction as a:

“repetitive habit pattern that increases the risk of disease and/or associated personal and social problems...often experienced subjectively as ‘loss of control’ that continues despite volitional attempts to abstain or moderate use”(Marlatt et al., 1988, p. 224)

Defined in this way, media addictions are automatically repeated media behaviors that lack controllability and intentionality even though the user is both highly aware of them and attentive to them, consistent with our earlier definition of media habits and the emerging view that habits are a multidimensional construct. Three theoretical perspectives of this syndrome are found in the communications literature; that it is the product of an addictive personality (McIlwraith, 1998), the effect of deficient social skills (Caplan, 2005), or a function of social cognitive variables (LaRose et al., 2003).

The addictive personality position attributes media addiction to a defective ego (Smith, 1986) or addictive personality traits (McIlwraith, 1998). Correlations between substance abuse and media use lend credence to this position (J. L. Greenberg *et al.*, 1999). McIlwraith (1998) classified self-reports of television addiction on a five-point scale on which those who either agreed or strongly agreed that “I am a TV addict” were deemed to be addicted to the medium. Compared to the other respondents the self-identified addicts were more likely to use television to relieve dysphoric moods and to fill time. A multi-item measure of television addiction reflecting the symptoms of substance dependence (Smith, 1986) was positively correlated to relieving dysphoric moods, filling time, neuroticism, psychoticism, poor attentional control, and daydreams of guilt or fear of failure. It was negatively correlated to extraversion. The relationship of media addictions to dysphoric moods was confirmed in a study of problematic Internet use that found that Internet addiction, defined in relation to (self-reported) symptoms of pathological gambling, was correlated to depression (Young & Rogers, 1998). In one of the few studies to include clinically diagnosed media addicts, Shapira et al. (2000) found that problematic Internet users had a high incidence of mood disorders, anxiety disorders, and impulse control disorders in their background and every one of the 20 subjects included in the study met the criteria for a current impulse control disorder not otherwise specified. Nearly all reported significant social distress (e.g. family conflict or divorce) connected to their Internet use.

The latter finding is consistent with the social skills account of problematic Internet use (Caplan, 2005) in which problematic, compulsive use is thought to be compensation for a deficiency in real world social skills. There, the dependent variable of ultimate interest was the occurrence of negative life outcomes such as impaired social relationships or diminished performance at work or in school. In a structural equation model, these outcomes were preceded by compulsive Internet use, an index of items that align well with the controllability dimension of automatic behavior (e.g., I am unable to reduce the amount of time I spend online, I have tried to stop using the Internet for long periods of time, I've made unsuccessful attempts to control my Internet use) and with the concept of deficient self-reaction. Compulsive use was also

significantly related to depression, loneliness, perceptions of extensive Internet use, preferences for online social interaction, and the use of the Internet to alter negative moods. Perceptions of excessive use included items that implicate the awareness and intentionality dimensions of automatic behavior (e.g., losing track of time online, I use the Internet for a lot for a longer time than I expected) (Caplan, 2002). Other items paralleling those found in the SRHI (Verplanken & Orbell, 2003) as examples of the efficiency dimension of automaticity (I feel lost if I can't go online, I miss going online if I can't go on it) were located on Caplan's withdrawal dimension, which was highly correlated (r greater than .5) with mood alteration, compulsive use, and excessive use. All of these dimensions were also correlated with negative outcomes. However, the mean levels of negative outcomes were consistently low across Caplan's studies, suggesting that cases of truly pathological behavior were seldom if ever encountered in the student populations he studied. Thus, if PIU is understood to be a form of habitual, automatic media behavior, Caplan's work provides further evidence of the multidimensional nature of the construct.

The social cognitive account of media addictions attempted to integrate media addiction into an overall model of media attendance (LaRose et al., 2003). The basic SCT model of media attendance, described in the previous section, explains how behaviors progress from willful and conscious ones guided by outcome expectations to habitual ones that yield to deficiencies in self-observation and self-reaction, two components of the SCT self-regulation mechanism. To understand media addiction, depression was added to the model. A consistent finding of studies of media addiction is their association with dysphoric moods and the use of media consumption to regulate those moods. The use of media to regulate dysphoria has also been established experimentally (Zillmann & Bryant, 1985). The relationship may be explained by the model proposed by LaRose et al. (2003) in which depression caused both deficient self-reaction and the pursuit of media behaviors intended to relieve negative moods. Self-reactive outcome expectations (e.g., watching a favorite TV show expecting it will cheer oneself up) are causally related to deficient self-reaction, which in turn increases habit strength. This may explain why "pass time" motivations aimed at relieving negative moods so often co-occur with habit "gratifications" in the Uses and Gratifications literature. In SCT, depression diminishes self-regulation by making individuals likely to slight the success of their own efforts to restore self-control (Bandura, 1999). In cases in which media behavior might truly be said to be addictive, depression is part of a downward spiral in which the media become a primary means of relieving negative moods, followed by negative life consequences that produce more dysphoria, followed by mounting media use to relieve it (Marlatt et al., 1988). However, most people stop well short of becoming addicts by becoming aware of excessive behavior and restoring effective self-reaction. The social cognitive model has been supported both for general Internet use (LaRose et al., 2003) and for specific favorite Internet activities

(LaRose et al., 2008) including social networking, downloading, online games, and e-mail.

The social psychology literature (Ji & Wood, 2007) treats mood as one of the attributes of a consistent context that is thought to initiate habitual behavior. However, unlike the other cues (time, place, preceding behaviors, and persons present), mood is an internal state that has motivational qualities apart from its cue value. Moods can prompt conscious media selections as well as nonconscious ones, such as when thoughtfully casting about for a means to relieve boredom or loneliness. Thus, the socio-cognitive account of the role of mood in habitual media consumption would seem to be the more satisfactory one.

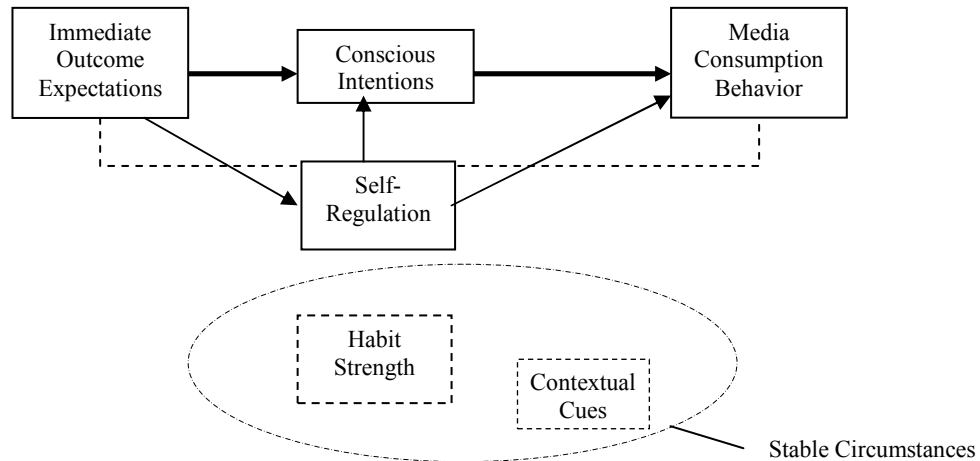
So, rather than posing a conceptual problem, media addiction research adds to our understanding of media habits. The seeming paradox of habits that attract awareness and attention to themselves is a manifestation of the multidimensional nature of habits in which controllability, intentionality, awareness, and attention are separate qualities of habitual behavior that may occur in varying combinations with one another. Media addiction research, while perhaps finding little evidence of a “disease,” does confirm a relationship between dysphoric moods and habitual behavior not found in the social psychology literature and which may explain why media behaviors may be particularly habit-forming.

Toward An Integrated Theory of Media Habits

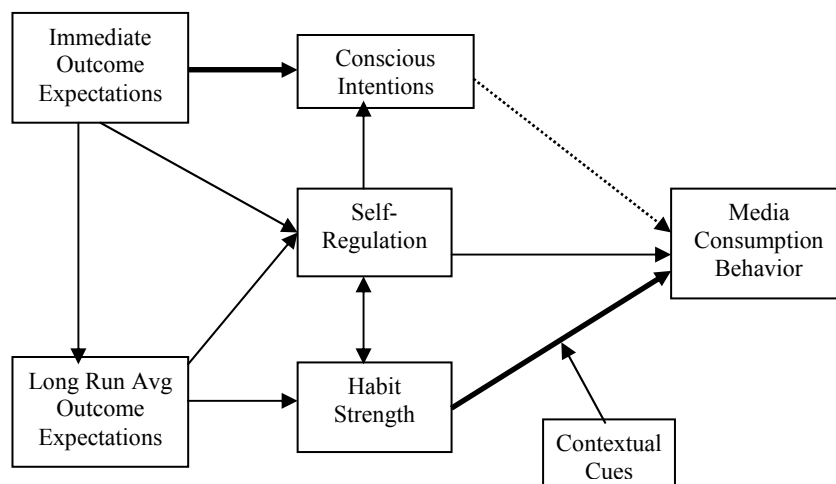
Figure 1 presents a model of media habits that integrates current habit theory and research in neurology, social psychology, and communication. It separates habit acquisition from habit activation to address a vexing finding of media habit research, their seeming context-*independence*. Re-analyzing Ouellette and Wood (1998), Ajzen (2002) found that the correlations between past behavior and future behavior did not significantly differ by the stability of the context in which the behaviors were repeated. Newell (2003) also found no variation in the relationship between habit strength and behavior by stability of context. These findings seemingly violate the definitional requirement that habits arise in “stable circumstances.” To resolve this paradox, it is proposed that media consumption behaviors and their expected outcomes are associated in stable circumstances, and in the presence of consistent contextual cues, while habits are being acquired. But, through the continuing process of cognitive restructuring (as described by Saling & Phillips, 2007), habits may no longer require stable situations to be activated and the stimuli that trigger them may also be re-organized over time. Consistent with the notion of scripts (Abelson, 1981) and recent habit research (Verplanken et al., 2007), habits are cognitive structures and thus may be activated through mental associations in situations that are similar to, but not necessarily identical with, those in which they were formed.

Figure 1. *Habits as Determinants of Media Consumption Behavior during Habit Acquisition and Activation*

Habit Acquisition



Habit Activation



In the habit acquisition phase, shown in the upper half of Figure 1, it is assumed (after Yin & Knowlton, 2006; Verplanken & Wood, 2006) that habits form through the association of specific media consumption behaviors and their immediate expected outcomes in stable circumstances defined by both external (e.g., time, location, the presence of interaction partners, preceding events) and internal (e.g., moods, goals, related thoughts) cues. Behavior is determined by consciously formed intentions to obtain desired outcomes and avoid undesirable ones at that stage. These are defined in TPB by the relationships of beliefs about the outcomes of behavior and the evaluation of those outcomes to behavioral intentions and of behavioral intentions to behavior (Ajzen, 1991). But humans are not blindly driven by expected rewards. Their actions are also determined by forethought and planning, represented in the figure by SCT's self-regulation mechanism (Bandura, 1991).

As shown here, expected outcomes are considered in the self-regulation process which in turn affects intentions (e.g., through self-reactive influences such as self-administered rewards) and media consumption behavior (LaRose & Eastin, 2004). Note that for the sake of simplicity additional variables thought to control conscious behavior (e.g., perceived behavioral control and social norms from TPB, self-efficacy from SCT) are omitted.

The transition from habit acquisition to habit activation is not completely understood but depends upon some number of repetitions of a behavior (Triandis, 1980, suggested as few as three), the ease of learning the association between reward and behavior, and the condition of the brain structures that govern habitual behavior. Moreover, habits begin to have an influence before they are fully established; that is, before they reach the stage where further trials no longer increase habit strength (Toates, 2006; Yin & Knowlton, 2006).

In the habit activation stage, media habits co-determine media consumption behavior along with controlled thought (Limayem et al., 2007, Ouellette & Wood, 1998) and in some cases may determine behavior to the exclusion of conscious influence, indicated by a heavy line from habit strength to media consumption behavior and a dotted one from conscious intentions to behavior. However, a stable situation may no longer be needed as individuals, through continuing conceptual re-structuring (and the formation of new pathways between the cortex and the basal ganglia, Yin & Knowlton, 2006), form new associations with their media consumption behaviors.

So, a habit of watching the CBS Evening News, fixed in youth through thousands of repetitions following dinner, might be triggered in later years by the sight of the TV set in the early evening, even if the dinner hour, the news presenter, the family, the “news time,” and expectations about the outcomes of news viewing have all changed in the interim. The target behavior might also change, generalizing to a different news program or to turning on the TV for the evening at 6:30. There is also evidence of media habits that operate across media systems, such as “news junkies” who habitually attend to a variety of news sources (Diddi & LaRose, 2006). So, the cognitive structure of the habit and the cues that trigger it may change. This is indicated by the transition from dotted lines in acquisition phase to solid lines in the activation stage.

Established habits are maintained by long run average outcome expectations that only slowly respond to changes in short-term expectations (Wood & Neal, 2007; Yin & Knowlton, 2006). Since neither UG research (e.g. Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000) nor SCT research (LaRose & Eastin, 2004) impose time constraints when assessing expected media outcomes, their measures may represent long-term average expectations rather than immediate ones. Thus, the relationship found between expected outcomes and deficient self-regulation (LaRose & Eastin, 2004) and the tendency of habit measures to combine with UG dimensions (LaRose, 2004) is perhaps evidence of a relationship between long-run average expectations and habit.

Habits are subject to “executive control” by the frontal cortex (Yin & Knowlton, 2006) and complex sequences of “scripted” media consumption behaviors may be interrupted (Abelson, 1981), here indicated by the influence

of self-regulation on habit strength. However, the possibility that automatic, habitual processes define personal norms (after Bem, 1967) that can either stimulate self-regulation (Bandura, 1991) or impair it (LaRose & Kim, 2007) argues that the latter relationship is bidirectional.

Media habits can account for attendance to media systems, such as the Internet (LaRose & Eastin, 2000), as well as determine consumption of options (e.g., individual TV shows, Verplanken & Orbell, 2003) within those systems. The estimate that 54 percent of all media behaviors are habitual (Wood et al., 2002) is possibly an under-estimate. By defining habits as occurring in a consistent context (and not including time of day as an element of the context) the researchers would not have noted a habit of watching the evening TV news across inconsistent contexts, for example. There also might be low-frequency media habits that do not occur daily, weekly, or monthly, such as watching the Superbowl. In their meta-analysis, Ouelette and Wood (1998) found that habits were still significant determinants of behavior in studies where the target behavior was performed annually or biannually in inconsistent contexts, although the relationship was weaker than among studies where the behavior was more frequent.

The proposed model therefore departs from the consensus theory of habit found in social psychology (Verplanken & Wood, 2006) in that a stable situation is required for the formation of media habits but not necessarily for their subsequent activation. The ubiquity of media products and their multiple connections to each other, to people in one's life, and to a host of cultural symbols may account for the relative context-independence of media habits compared to other behavioral domains. This distinction may account for the observation that media habits are triggered by a wider range of stimuli than other habits (Ji & Wood, 2007) and may also explain the existence of low frequency habits and those occurring in inconsistent contexts that Ajzen (2002) cited in his critique of the habit construct. That is because media consumption behaviors and the scripts in which they are embedded have a wider range of cognitive associations connected to them than many other types of behaviors so that virtually any object, event, person, mood state, or memory may follow a chain of mental association that activates a habitual media consumption behavior. Media purveyors reinforce these associations through promotions of their media products and continual expansion of the contexts in which those products are encountered, contexts that do not correspond to "stable circumstances" vis a vis those under which habits were initially acquired. And, the media-saturated culture found in all developed societies further expands and reinforces associations among media consumption behaviors and cultural symbols. Also through these rich networks of associations, infrequent media consumption behaviors (e.g., playing holiday music) may become habitual through the formation of long term average outcome expectations more readily than behaviors (e.g., shoveling snow) with fewer such associations and requiring effortful consideration on each occurrence.

So, which of the many examples cited here are media habits and which are not? That is perhaps the wrong question to ask. Recognizing that dual conscious and non-conscious processes determine media consumption behavior, it is likely that there is a habitual component in many repeated media behaviors. But also, no media consumption behavior is purely habitual, since “executive control” may intervene at any time and the extent of influence exerted by habit depends on individual experiences and contexts.

Implications for Further Research

The present model of media habits poses significant challenges to UG research. Save for an early conceptual model that incorporated habits (Palmgreen et al., 1985, p. 17), UG researchers have overlooked habit as a unique determinant of media behavior, confounding habitual processes with active selection in some cases, ignoring habits in many others. It is recommended that future UG studies that attempt to predict media consumption behavior employ separate measures of media habits, either the SRHI (Verplanken & Orbell, 2003) or one of the direct measures cited earlier (e.g., Limayem et al., 2007) and discontinue the practice of including habit items in their exploratory factor analyses of media gratifications. UG researchers might also distinguish immediate from long run average gratifications/outcome expectations since the former are likely to reflect active media selection, while the latter are associated with habitual behavior. This might be accomplished by adding temporal frames of reference to UG variables, such as by asking about gratifications expected in the next week or the next time a medium is encountered as is recommended in the TPB research tradition. The possibility that gratifications sought are inferences drawn from observing habitual media consumption behavior, and are thus the effects of media consumption rather than their cause, could also be tested by providing false feedback about media consumption patterns (after Verplanken, 2006).

The present analysis urges further exploration of self-regulation in relation to media habits. A relationship between self-regulation and habit has been established experimentally (Neal, Wood, & Quinn, 2006) and LaRose and colleagues (LaRose & Eastin, 2004, LaRose et al., 2003, LaRose et al., 2001) equated media habits with deficiencies in self-regulation. Recent research (Baumeister, Schmeichel, & Vohs, 2007) offers insights into conditions under which self-regulation can be depleted (e.g. lack of sleep, competing self-regulatory tasks) and restored (e.g., in the presence of positive emotions), conditions that also can affect the acquisition and activation of habits. In media research, improved understanding of the self-regulation of habits could lead to interventions that would help control excessive media consumption and reduce the risks of dysfunctional behaviors (e.g., aggression, over-eating, social isolation) associated with media use.

Media habits afford an opportunity to explore the boundaries of habitual behavior. Frequent and recent repetition in consistent contexts often co-occur,

so much so that Ouelette and Wood (1998) could not find sufficient cases of infrequently performed-consistent context and frequent-inconsistent habits to include in their meta-analysis. Nonetheless, habits were still significant determinants of behavior in situations with infrequent (e.g., annual or biannual) opportunities and unstable contexts (e.g., voting and blood donation). Ajzen (2002) interpreted this as evidence against the validity of the habit construct, but it could also be evidence that habits may be acquired through infrequent activities and that they require neither stable contexts nor frequent opportunities to be activated. Mobile communications technologies (e.g. cell phones, iPods) and the multiple locations (e.g., bars, airport terminals) in which media may be consumed supply possible examples of frequently performed, context-independent habits. Seasonal media consumption patterns (e.g., the Final Four basketball tournament in March) are examples of infrequent behaviors that occur in consistent contexts. This possibility should be explored through frequency-independent measures of habit strength such as the SRHI that are able to distinguish habits from behaviors that are repeated each time under full volitional control. Media research has also proposed habitual responding as an individual difference variable (Rubin, 1984) and that habits have a particular affinity for certain types of goals (e.g., relieving dysphoric states, LaRose et al., 2003), issues that might further illuminate the antecedents of habitual behavior.

What lies within the “habit strength” box in Figure 1 remains a question. A revisionist view of automaticity (Saling & Phillips, 2007) informs the issue. The defining characteristics of automaticity (lack of intentionality, controllability, attention and awareness) do not always co-occur and are independently modifiable. This suggests the possibilities of multidimensional habits and multiple types of habits that include these dimensions in varying combinations (e.g., with awareness but without intentionality or controllability) and raises the question of the relationship of those dimensions to each other and to behavior. The SRHI’s originators purposely left out one of the four dimensions of automaticity, intentionality, and that should perhaps be reconsidered. Further work to uncover the dimensionality of habits and validate and compare competing measures of media habits is needed.

Finally, comparing current neurophysiology (Yin & Knowlton, 2006) with the social science literature it appears that both social psychologists and communication researchers have focused on only one of the neural mechanisms responsible for habit formation; that is, the transition from actively imagined, goal- directed behavior to automatic, habitual behavior. Habits also form through interval training, in which rewards are delayed and thus not contingent on behavior, or through Pavlovian conditioning to neutral situational cues, but all three mechanisms involve the basal ganglia (Yin & Knowlton, 2006). It is therefore possible that habitual behaviors may form without first going through a stage of conscious activation.

Summary

The foregoing argument integrated the construct of habit into a model of media consumption behavior. Media habits, defined as a form of automaticity in media consumption that develops as people repeat media consumption behavior in stable circumstances, were reconceptualized here as direct determinants of media consumption behavior. Proceeding from recent neurological and socio-psychological theory and research, habit was shown to co-determine media consumption along with conscious thought processes that have been variously described as behavioral intentions, uses and gratifications, or expected outcomes. Media habits exist so that media consumption behaviors may be enacted efficiently and without conscious thought when triggered by relevant external or internal stimuli. Yet, media habits are not entirely “ballistic” in the sense of being uninterruptable once started. Media habits are subject to conscious override or may be incorporated in complex scripts that include both habitual and volitional media consumption behaviors.

A challenging critique of the habit construct (Ajzen, 2002) has been answered. Media habits do not merely reflect more rapid processing of the information used to form conscious media selections. Rather, they involve both neurological and cognitive restructuring. Habit stands as a determinant of behavior after accounting for rival constructs including conscious behavioral intentions, self-identity, and moral norms. The four dimensions of the defining concept of automaticity – lack of awareness, attention, intentionality and controllability—were demonstrated to be independent so that “bad habits” that are uncontrollable but enacted in the presence of effortful thought can still be counted as habits. Recent developments in the measurement of habit are proof against the possibility that empirical evidence of their influence on behavior is artifactual.

A contribution of the present analysis was to propose a resolution of a paradox found in previous studies of media habits (Newell, 2003; Ouellette & Wood, 1998) in which the relationship of habits to behavior was not dependent upon the consistency or frequency of the contexts in which media were consumed. This is paradoxical since habits are by definition formed through repetition under stable circumstances. It was argued that owing to the ubiquity of media products and their many associations with cultural and personal experience that, once formed, media habits may be activated under widely varying and infrequent circumstances, as well as under consistent and frequently repeated ones.

Finally, it was argued that the influence of habit on media consumption behavior has long been evident in media research although identified and, in the case of the UG paradigm, confounded with other constructs. By revisiting and extending a UG conceptualization of media habits from a generation ago (in Palmgreen et al., 1985) a foundation has been laid for the integration of current theories of habit with prevailing theories of media consumption behavior, in the interest of developing more robust theories of media consumption behavior.

References

- Aarts, H., & Dijksterhuis, A. (2000a). The automatic activation of goal-directed behaviour: The case of travel habit. *Journal Of Environmental Psychology*, 20(1), 75-82.
- Aarts, H., & Dijksterhuis, A. (2000b). Habits as knowledge structures: Automaticity in goal-directed behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(1), 53-63.
- Aarts, H., Verplanken, B., & Van Knippenberg, A. (1997). Habit and information use in travel mode choices. *Acta Psychologica*, 96, 1-14.
- Aarts, H., Verplanken, B., & van Knippenberg, A. (1998). Predicting behavior from actions in the past: Repeated decision-making or a matter of habit? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28, 1355-1374.
- Abelman, R., & Atkin, D. (2000). What children watch when they watch tv: Putting theory into practice. *Journal Of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 44(1), 143-154.
- Abelson, R. P. (1981). The psychological status of the script concept. *American Psychologist*, 36, 715-729.
- Adams, W. (2000). How people watch television as investigated using focus group techniques. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 44, 78-93.
- Ajzen, I. (2002). Residual effects of past on later behavior: Habituation and reasoned action perspectives. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 6(2), 107-122.
- AMA. (2007). *Report 12 of the council on science and public health (a-07)*. Paper presented at the American Medical Association.
- APA. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4 ed.). Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association.
- Babrow, A. S., & Swanson, D. L. (1988). Disentangling antecedents of audience exposure levels: Extending expectancy-value analyses of gratifications sought from television news. *Communication Monographs*, 55, 1-21.
- Bamberg, S., Ajzen, I., & Schmidt, P. (2003a). Choice of travel mode in the theory of planned behavior: The roles of past behavior, habit, and reasoned action. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 25(3), 175-187.
- Bamberg, S., Rolle, D., & Weber, C. (2003b). Does habitual car use not lead to more resistance to change of travel mode? *Transportation*, 30(1), 97-108.
- Bamberg, S., & Schmidt, P. (2003). Incentives, morality, or habit? Predicting students' car use for university routes with the models of ajzen, schwartz, and triandis. *Environment And Behavior*, 35(2), 264-285.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (1991). Social cognitive theory of self-regulation. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50, 248-287.
- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: W. H. Freeman.
- Bandura, A. (1999). A sociocognitive analysis of substance abuse: An agentic perspective. *Psychological Science*, 10, 214-217.
- Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 1-26.
- Bandura, A. (2005). The primacy of self-regulation in health promotion. *Applied Psychology-An International Review-Psychologie Appliquee-Revue Internationale*, 54(2), 245-254.

- Bantz, C. R. (1982). Exploring uses and gratifications - a comparison of reported uses of television and reported uses of favorite program type. *Communication Research*, 9(3), 352-379.
- Bargh, J. A., & Chartrand, T. L. (1999). The unbearable automaticity of being. *American Psychologist*, 54(7), 462-479.
- Bargh, J. A., Chen, M., & Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behavior: Direct effects of trait construct and stereotype activation on action. *Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology*, 71(2), 230-244.
- Bargh, J. A., Gollwitzer, P. M., Lee, C., A., Barndollar, K., & Trosschel, R. (2001). The automated will: Nonconscious activation and pursuit of behavioral goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014-1027.
- Bem, D. J. (1972). Self-perception theory. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 6, pp. 1-62). New York: Academic Press.
- Bentler, P. M., & Speckart, G. (1979). Models of attitude-behavior relations. *Psychological Review*, 86(5), 452-464.
- Caplan, S. E. (2002). Problematic internet use and psychosocial well-being: Development of a theory-based cognitive-behavioral measurement instrument. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 18, 553-575.
- Caplan, S. E. (2005). A social skill account of problematic internet use. *Journal of Communication*, 55(4), 721-736.
- Conner, M., & Armitage, C. (1998). The theory of planned behavior: A review and avenues for future research. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28, 1429-1464.
- Diddi, A., & LaRose, R. (2006). Getting hooked on news: Uses and gratifications and the formation of news habits among college students in an internet environment. *Journal Of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 50(2), 193-210.
- Dijksterhuis, A., & Smith, P. K. (2005). What do we do unconsciously? And how? *Journal Of Consumer Psychology*, 15(3), 225-229.
- Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Fort Worth, PA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Greenberg, B. S. (1974). Gratifications of television viewing and their correlates for british children. In J. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.), *The uses of mass communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Greenberg, J. L., Lewis, S. E., & Dodd, D. K. (1999). Overlapping addictions and self-esteem among college men and women. *Addictive Behaviors*, 24, 565-571.
- Hagger, M. S., Chatzisarantis, N. L. D., & Biddle, S. J. H. (2002). A meta-analytic review of the theories of reasoned action and planned behavior in physical activity: Predictive validity and the contribution of additional variables. *Journal Of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 24(1), 3-32.
- James, W. (1890). Principles of psychology.
- Ji, A. W., & Wood, W. (2007). Purchase and consumption habits: Not necessarily what you intend. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 17(4), 261-276.
- Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1973). Uses and gratifications research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 37(4), 508-523.
- Kim, S. S., & Malhotra, N. K. (2005). A longitudinal model of continued is use: An integrative view of four mechanisms underlying postadoption phenomena. *Management Science*, 51(5), 741-755.
- Klein, P. (1979). Programming. In Morgenstern (Ed.), *Inside the tv business* (pp. 11-36). New York: Sterling Publishing.
- Kubey, R., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2002). Television addiction is no mere metaphor. *Scientific American*, 286(2), 74-81.

- LaRose, R. (2004). Cybercompulsions: Media habits, media addictions and the internet. In P. Lee, L. Leung & C. So (Eds.), *Impact and issues in new media: Toward intelligent societies*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- LaRose, R., & Eastin, M. S. (2004). A social cognitive theory of internet uses and gratifications: Toward a new model of media attendance. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 48(3), 358-377.
- LaRose, R., & Kim, J. (2007). Share, steal, or buy? A social cognitive perspective of music downloading. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 10(2), 267-277.
- LaRose, R., Kim, J., & Peng, W. (2008). The problem of problematic internet use: Anti-social disease, dangerous habit, or just one of our favorites? Michigan State University.
- LaRose, R., Lin, C. A., & Eastin, M. S. (2003). Unregulated internet usage: Addiction, habit, or deficient self-regulation? *Media Psychology*, 5, 225-253.
- LaRose, R., Mastro, D., & Eastin, M. S. (2001). Understanding internet usage - a social-cognitive approach to uses and gratifications. *Social Science Computer Review*, 19(4), 395-413.
- Limayem, M., Hirt, S. G., & Cheung, C. M. K. (2007). How habit limits the predictive power of intention: The case of information systems continuance. *MIS Quarterly*, 31(4), 705-738.
- Lin, C. A. (1999). Online-service adoption likelihood. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 39, 79-89.
- Marlatt, G. A., Baer, J. S., Donovan, D. M., & Kivlahan, D. R. (1988). Addictive behaviors: Etiology and treatment. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 39, 223-252.
- McIlwraith, R. D. (1998). "i'm addicted to television": The personality, imagination and tv watching pattern of self-identified tv addicts. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 42, 371-386.
- Neal, D. T., Wood, W., & Quinn, J. M. (2006). Habits- a repeat performance. *Current Directions In Psychological Science*, 15(4), 198-202.
- Newell, J. (2003). The role of habit in the selection of electronic media: Michigan State University.
- Ouellette, J. A., & Wood, W. (1998). Habit and intention in everyday life: The multiple processes by which past behavior predicts future behavior. *Psychological Bulletin*, 124, 54-74.
- Palmgreen, P., Wenner, L., & Rosengren, K. (1985). Uses and gratifications research: The past ten years. In K. Rosengren, L. Wenner & P. Palmgreen (Eds.), *Media gratifications research* (pp. 11-37). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Papacharissi, Z., & Rubin, A. M. (2000). Predictors of internet usage. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 44, 175-196.
- Perse, E. M., & Dunn, D. G. (1998). The utility of home computers and media use: Implications of multimedia and connectivity. *Journal Of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 42(4), 435-456.
- Peters, O. (2007). *Social psychological determinants of mobile communication technology use and adoption*. University of Twente.
- Poldrack, R. A., Sabb, F. W., Foerde, K., Tom, S. M., Asarnow, R. F., Bookheimer, S. Y., et al. (2005). The neural correlates of motor skill automaticity. *Journal Of Neuroscience*, 25(22), 5356-5364.
- Ronis, D. L., Yates, J. F., & Kirscht, J. P. (1989). Attitudes, decisions, and habits as determinants of repeated behavior. In A. R. Pratkanis, S. J. Breckler & A. G. Greenwald (Eds.), *Attitude structure and function* (pp. 213-239). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Rosenstein, A. W., & Grant, A. E. (1997). Reconceptualizing the role of habit: A new model of television audience activity. *Journal Of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 41, 324-344.
- Rubin, A. M. (1983). Television uses and gratifications: The interactions of viewing patterns and motivations. *Journal of Broadcasting*, 27, 37-51.
- Rubin, A. M. (1984). Ritualized and instrumental television viewing. *Journal of Communication*, 34, 67-77.
- Saling, L. L., & Phillips, J. G. (2007). Automatic behaviour: Efficient not mindless. *Brain Research Bulletin*, 73(1-3), 1-20.
- Shaffer, H. J., Hall, M. N., & Vander Bilt, J. (2000). "computer addiction": A critical consideration. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 70, 162-168.
- Shapira, N. A., Goldsmith, T. D., Keck, P. E., Khosla, U. M., & McElroy, S. L. (2000). Psychiatric features of individuals with problematic internet use. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 57, 267-272.
- Sheeran, P., Aarts, H., Custers, R., Rivas, A., Webb, T. L., & Cooke, R. (2005). The goal-dependent automaticity of drinking habits. *British Journal Of Social Psychology*, 44, 47-63.
- Skinner, B. F. (1938). *The behavior of organisms: An experimental analysis*. New York: Appleton-Century.
- Smith, R. A. (1986). Television addiction. In J. Bryant & D. Anderson (Eds.), *Perspectives on media effects* (pp. 109-128). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Stone, G., & Stone, D. (1990). Lurking in the literature: Another look at media use habits. *Mass Communications Review*, 17, 25-33.
- Toates, F. (2006). A model of the hierarchy of behaviour, cognition, and consciousness. *Consciousness And Cognition*, 15(1), 75-118.
- Trafimow, D. (2000). Habit as both a direct cause of intention to use a condom and as a moderator of the attitude-intention and subjective norm-intention relations. *Psychology & Health*, 15(3), 383-393.
- Triandis, H. C. (1980). Values, attitudes and interpersonal behavior. In *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 37, pp. 195-259). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Verplanken, B. (2006). Beyond frequency: Habit as mental construct. *British Journal Of Social Psychology*, 45, 639-656.
- Verplanken, B., & Faes, S. (1999). Good intentions, bad habits and effects of forming implementation intentions on healthy eating. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29, 591-604.
- Verplanken, B., Myrbakk, V., & Rudi, E. (2005). The measurement of habit. In T. Betsch & S. Haberstroh (Eds.), *The routines of decision making* (pp. 231-247). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Verplanken, B., & Orbell, S. (2003). Reflections on past behavior: A self-report index of habit strength. *Journal Of Applied Social Psychology*, 33(6), 1313-1330.
- Verplanken, B., & Wood, W. (2006). Interventions to break and create consumer habits. *Journal Of Public Policy & Marketing*, 25(1), 90-103.
- Vincent, R. C., & Basil, M. D. (1997). College students' news gratifications, media use, and current events knowledge. *Journal Of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 41(3), 380-392.
- Watson, J. B. (1913). Psychology as the behaviorist views it. *Psychological Review*, 20, 158-177.
- Webster, J. G., & Wakshlag, J. J. (1983). A theory of television program choice. *Communication Research*, 10(4), 430-446.

- Wegner, D. M., & Bargh, J. A. (1998). Control and automaticity in social life. In D. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4 ed., pp. 446-496). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Wittenbraker, J., Gibbs, B. L., & Kashy, D. A. (1983). Seat belt attitudes, habits, and behaviors. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 13, 406-421.
- Wood, W., & Neal, D. T. (2007). A new look at habits and the habit-goal interface. *Psychological Review*, 114(4), 843-863.
- Wood, W., Quinn, J. M., & Kashy, D. (2002). Habits in everyday life: Thought, emotion and action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 1281-1297.
- Wood, W., Tam, L., & Witt, M. G. (2005). Changing circumstances, disrupting habits. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(6).
- Yellowlees, P. M., Marks, S., & al., e. (2007). Problematic internet use or internet addiction? *Computers in Human Behavior*, 23(3), 1447-1453.
- Yin, H. H., & Knowlton, B. J. (2006). The role of the basal ganglia in habit formation. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 7(6), 464-476.
- Young, K. S. (2004). Internet addiction - a new clinical phenomenon and its consequences. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(4), 402-415.
- Young, K. S., & Rogers, R. C. (1998). The relationship between depression and internet addiction. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 1, 25-36.
- Zillmann, D., & Bryant, J. (1985). Affect, mood and emotion as determinants of selective media exposure. In D. Zillmann & J. J. Bryant (Eds.), *Selective exposure to communication* (pp. 157-190). Hillsale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Chapter Forty Three

Conference as a Game

Elena Nikitina, Institute of Linguistics, RAS, Turkey

Let us pose a question: what area of life does a conference refer to? Obviously, it is work for the organizers. Communication for the participants. Cognition for observers. Let's make it clear. If you consider the main participants – in fact a conference is intended for them - then to what form of communication does the conference refer? In this case, our question concerns not a micro-conference at the beginning or end of a busy day and the conference as a way of interaction lasting from several days to several months. Such things also occurred, for example, the first symposium on psycholinguistics, during which this discipline took shape as an independent field of knowledge. So, the question is: to what kind of activity relates a conference, if it is based on the typology of three forms of personal activity: practical, cognitive and communicative? Not an idle question, because it has direct relevance to what can be considered a positive result of the investigated interactions. What drives by a man to cross space to speak and be a listener at the conferences?

We will make a small digression into history. Even ancient people traveled far and often, even just for tourist purposes: many took joy to see someone else's town and country. But, of course, not tourism has given rise to travel and camping. This motive could appear only when the ancient states have already stabilized, the roads became accessible and safe means of communication meet the needs and interests of travelers, and the level of culture has led to the widespread desire to seek knowledge and something new. In Greece also, we cannot state any definite date when a name of the first traveler - the man who first left his native place in search of new lands. In Greece itself people began to travel from state to state early. In addition to political purposes, that was required and daily life practice: a variety of geographic and economic conditions in the country, forcing even inhabitants of the most distant from each other regions to join together in contact and maintain these mutual ties for centuries.

This was by no means an easy task, because each state had its own special laws and regulations adapted to local conditions.

In Greece, its topography and soils were not conducive to entertaining travel for pleasure. By far hikes and travel were spurred by the need for trade links, other economic activity, religious tradition, finally, political affairs and military expeditions. In the myths, of course related and closely intertwined with the unknown for us ancient reality, the road and travel play an enormous role. And yet, the reasons and goals of the legendary movements were as varied as in real life: the political conflicts which caused prolonged foreign

wars (such as the Trojan War), the search for new, more fertile lands, the foundation of colonies and trade. Moreover throngs of people moved from city to city, heading for the sanctuary of a local deity or hero, or the famous celebrations and holidays – national ones, such as the Panathenaic or all-Greece, as the Olympic Games. Particularly frequented by the Greeks was the sanctuary of Asclepius, looking for miraculous healing of ailments.

Family affairs encouraged long journeys (such was, for example, a trip of Clytemnestra and her daughter Iphigenia and her young son Orestes to her husband king Agamemnon at Aulis). Finally, beyond the borders of their Motherland went those who were driven either by the road inquisitiveness and curiosity or a passion for daring adventures. When big names of philosophers, poets, scientists began to appear in Hellas, local lords gladly invited them to their yards, some – out of the interest and love for the arts and sciences, other – out of vanity.

Since then, the scientist folk continue to experience direct contact, exchange, debate, advice. Internet technologies do not replace the joy of direct communication. What is the reason?

It seems to us that the overall goal of movement has not changed: concern for oneself is pushing people to travel over the vast spaces, both geographically and mentally. The content of this concern changed. It became a game.

Freedom to dispose of oneself and one's time is a prerequisite in order to conduct a genuine dialogue. Joining the dialogue implies a willingness to be an individual entity, otherwise, show and prove one's identity and outstanding, the need for another in a continuing dialogue. Participation in dialogue requires the assimilation of unusual style of communication and thinking. Understanding as a prerequisite requirement exposes belonging to 'interactive environment', environment of 'humanists'.

Conferences of today revive the ancient tradition of cultivation, cultivation of the soul through the words, mainstreaming opportunities offered by nature in the individual.

According to M.M. Bakhtin, Socratic discovery of the dialogical nature of thought and truth presupposes carnival familiarization of the relationship between people engaged in a dialogue, the abolition of all sorts of distances between them, and moreover, involves familiarization of relationship to the subject of thought, no matter how high and imposing it was, and to the truth itself. ***Carnivalization of science is a way of change, development, and thus - conservation.*** And although this is only a part of cognitive activity, without it knowledge as a quest for the truth would be impossible. The ancient Greeks noticed that the human mind is a dispute transferred to the plane of his own consciousness, the dispute with an imaginary enemy, the dispute with some other party.

Starting to discuss an issue not only from one's own point of view, but also taking into account the opinions of others, we can arrive at a correct conclusion – that it is a specifically human way of thinking, that is, the discussion of the same object from different points of view. And this other side is first conceived

quite specifically, then it becomes a point of view and can then get a shape in the concept of position and as such enter into the scheme of scientific activity.

Truth is born between people together seeking the truth, in the process of dialogic communication. Dialogical way of seeking the truth is always juxtaposed with a formal monologue, claiming to possess the final truth, and the naive confidence of people who think that they know something, that is, hold some truths. The conference, symposium, congress is a game, but masked by gravity pressing scientific issues.

Conference game situation is genetically linked to the carnival - a holiday endangered and resurgent time. At the carnival, all are active members, all partake of carnival performances. Carnival life is a life, torn out of its normal track, 'life turned inside out', 'the world of the opposite. At the carnival people live, live by its laws until those laws apply. Carnival life - a life, derived from its normal track, 'life turned inside out', 'the world is its opposite'.

Game is a basic phenomenon of life – the sense of the game is in the game. The game has a lot of functions, but they are pleasant for the players. Characteristic features of the game of life and world view: a) the hierarchical structure and all its related forms of fear, awe, piety, etiquette, etc. at the carnival are canceled. Any distance is canceled and a special carnival category - free, familiar contact between people comes into effect; b) behavior, gesture and word of man are freed from the power of any hierarchical position: class, rank, age, wealth, and thus become eccentric, irrelevant to the logically normal out-of-carnival life. Eccentricity - a special category of carnival spirit, is organically connected with the category of familiar contact and it can open up and express itself - in a concretely sensuous form - implicit side of human nature, c) *carnival misalliances* are associated with free, familiar attitude to everything: the values, ideas, events, things. Everything that was closed, disconnected, removed from each other joins the carnival contacts and the connections. The carnival brings together, unites, betroths and combines the sacred with the profane, high to low, with a great void, the wise with the stupid, etc.; d) carnival of blasphemy, the whole system of carnival cuts and down toning, obscenity, associated with the productive power of land and body, carnivalesque parody of the sacred texts and sayings related to the fourth category of carnival - *a sham*.

Lead carnival action is buffoonery crowning and subsequent dethroning of the carnival king. The basis for this ritual and spectacular "thought" is the core of carnival spirit - the pathos of shifts and changes, death and renewal. And here comes the last thing. Most carnival laughter is genetically related to ancient forms of ritual laughter. 'Ritual laughter was directed at the sublime: the sun (Supreme God) other gods, the supreme earthly authorities were abused and ridiculed in order to compel them *to renovate*. All forms of ritual laughter were associated with death and rebirth, with the productive act, with the symbols of the productive force. Ritual laughter responded to crises in the life of the sun (solstice), the crises in the life of the deity, in the life of the world and man (funeral laughter). It merged glee with ridicule' (Bakhtin 1963, 162-171).

Ultimately, the ludicrous idea of time, a model of linking times: past, present and future forms a communication paradigm change.

A game (there exist rules of the game and a need to follow these rules), on the one hand, allows you to capture the normative level of interaction. But at the same time, the game allows you to make a small step, to destroy the balance, to create a situation of uncertainty, when emergence of a certain kind of utterances, and going beyond the limits of everyday relations becomes possible.

Michel Foucault notes that only in relation to certain external practices, realities, and one can become a subject, and the practice of speaking the truth is necessary for this purpose. The truthful statement makes the appearance and the actual realization of subjectivity possible.

Practices of statements of truth about oneself, one's own position in social institutions enable us to take a critical look at the what is going on, perhaps to join a game, sometimes dangerous, sometimes unpleasant, with practices of distrust of oneself, one's representations, beliefs, opinions, opening the prospect of changing the shape of one's own existence.

According to the teachings of the ancient people truth is not really a kind of award for one's cognitive act and not given to him simply as the completion of this act. Truth is what illuminates the subject, which gives him peace of mind. In short, the truth itself, its knowledge is something that allows the subject to realize his/her very existence.

From the standpoint of spiritual experience never the act of cognition itself as such could ensure the attainment of truth, had it not been prepared, accompanied by, duplicated, completed by a definite transformation of the subject - not the individuum, but the subject itself in its being as a subject. Foucault identifies three characteristics of spirituality:

1. The possession of truth is not an inalienable right of the subject. To get to know it, he should turn himself into something else. His existence is at stake: the price of comprehension of the truth is the conversion of the subject.
2. Truth can not exist without conversion or reformation of the subject. This conversion is carried out by: a) the movement of love, through which the subject loses its status, and b) his work on himself, which should allow him to acquire the ability to comprehend the truth: the movement of asceticism.
3. The result of comprehension of the truth is its return to the subject. Truth is what illuminates the subject.

We can say schematically that since antiquity the philosophical question, 'How to find the truth?' and the practice of spirituality as a necessary transformation of a subject's being, which should let him find the truth - the essence of two issues that belong to one category and therefore they can not be considered isolated from each other.

In modern times, the truth is no longer able to remain a subject's rescue. Accumulated knowledge in an objective social process. The subject affects the truth, but the truth does not affect the subject more. The relationship between the access to the truth and the demand of the transformation of the subject and his existence was finally broken by himself, but the truth began to be autonomous development of knowledge. And it is only in the game that the connection between them still exists. Here you can find traces of the structure of the spirituality that was imbued with the question: how should the subject transform to open a path to the truth? (Foucault, 1991: 284 -311). Michel Foucault in the course of lectures 'Hermeneutics of the subject' discusses the problem of taking care of yourself as a psycho-philosophical problem of the relationship between subject and the truth. Foucault introduces a number of concepts, discussing *epimeleia/cura sui* ('care of oneself') because it is a certain relation to oneself, to others, to everything on earth.

Taking care of oneself means switching a glance, shifting it from the outside, world to oneself. Taking care of oneself involves observation of one's own consciousness and the acts of consciousness. It also means a certain way of action by agents in relation to themselves, namely, an action by which he takes care of himself, alters, cleans, and transforms himself. To achieve this result a set of practical skills acquired by a large number of exercises is required. These include: techniques of meditation, mnemonic techniques aimed at remembering the past, the study of consciousness techniques, techniques of monitoring any representations as they appear in consciousness. We will focus only on the practice Parres, since it has direct relevance to the topic under discussion.

What does it mean to take care of yourself? According to the theory of Plato, without having to worry about yourself it is not possible to find the truth, not having a practical skill or even a whole system of practical skills. These skills are highly specific, they transform the mode of existence of the subject and define it in the process of transformation. These include: 1) the practice of spiritual concentration, 2) the practice of seclusion - *anahorezis*: apparent absence, and 3) the practice of patience: we must be able to endure suffering. Consequently, care about ourselves should become art, *techne*, a skill which would enable one person to lead others.

Caring for yourself is tantamount to taking care of your soul: I am my soul. It is the soul because it is the subject of the action, because it moves the body, acting through its instruments, etc. Using the expression *chresis*, Plato shows that the ratio of the subject to his means is not simply instrumental in nature (*chrestai* means to use, and noun *chresis* denotes a certain type of attitude to another person). In using the verb *chrestai* and the noun *chresis*, Plato seeks to define a kind of passion of transcendent-oriented nature, which the subject is experiencing to everything that surrounds it, to objects at its disposal, as well as to other people with whom he enters into a relationship to his body and, finally, to himself. So when Plato used the concept to refer to the 'I', who should be cared for, he discovers not the soul-essence but the soul-entity.

Movement of self-cognition leads to wisdom. Since the moment when your soul acquires the wisdom, it will be able to distinguish truth from falsehood, it will know how to behave, and thus, it will be able to manage. However the obligation to take care of itself has a wider meaning - it is meaningful to all people, but with the following restrictions: a) 'take care of themselves' can only tell people who possess cultural and economic opportunities, the educated elite (the actual separation), b) this phrase is spoken only to people capable to stand out from the crowd (taking care of oneself has no place in everyday practice, this property is a moral elite - the separation imposed).

Thus, one of the conditions of access to truth is the attitude towards self and the divine; attitude towards oneself appears as a manifestation of divine origin and relationship to the divine for his 'I'.

The man cares about himself for himself, and this is taking care of himself gets its reward. Caring for himself a person is the object of its own, he becomes an end in itself. In other words, there is a simultaneous absolutisation of 'I' as an object of care and the transformation of the "I" as an end in itself by itself "I" in practice, referred to as care of yourself. The art of living and art to be oneself are more clearly identified. What knowledge indicates how one should live? This issue will be gradually taken over by another question: what should be done to 'I' so that it becomes and remains what it should be?

An end in itself has no less significant implications for various ways of life and individual experience. There follows genuine flourishing of the culture of the 'I'. The culture implies a certain amount of values located in a certain sequence and hierarchically organized. These values are universal, but at the same time life makes them available only to certain people; a person can find them, only sacrificing his life and following certain rules of conduct. Methods and techniques for finding these values are organized in a certain order and form an area of knowledge, which manages and transforms human behavior.

Central to this issue is the notion of *parēsia*. This term refers both to the moral quality (the *ratio ēthos*), and the technical procedures necessary for transferring the common sense to those who need it, so that he could establish himself as a subject, sovereign in relation to himself and speaking the truth to himself about himself. Etymologically *parēsia* means 'tell all'. However *parēsia* means not so much to 'say everything' as sincerity, freedom, openness, by which a man says what he has to say because he wants to say at the moment when he feels like saying this, in the form he considers it necessary to do. *Paresia* is freedom of the speaker.

The inner sense of *parēsia* is identity of the subject of speaking and the subject of behavior. It is this identity that gives the right and opportunity to go out in the speech beyond the proper and traditional, to speak independently of the resources of rhetoric, which, if necessary, can be used to facilitate the perception of what is said. *Parēsia*, the ability to speak frankly is free from the rules, freed from the rhetorical devices that, with respect to its attachment to the situation in a particular case and to the peculiarities of the listener. It's speech, which equals the obligation on the speaker's part and represents a definite agreement between the subject of speech and the subject of behavior.

The subject is committed at the very moment when he sincerely said that he would do what he says and will be the subject to such behavior, which gradually integrates him with the truth, formulated by him. A parresiast is characterized through the following qualities:

Sincerity

Applying Parres, parresiast, expresses all that he thinks: he does not conceal anything in his speech, he fully discloses to others his heart and mind. Thus, the word 'Parres' indicates a special type of relationship between the speaker and his speech. Using Parres, the speaker clearly and unambiguously makes it clear that he expresses his own opinion. It achieves this by evading any kind of rhetorical figures, which would have veiled his thoughts. If the rhetoric provides the speaker technical tricks to dominate the minds of the listeners (regardless of the attitude of the speaker to what he says), then through Parres the parresiast affects the minds of other people, showing them as directly as possible, what he actually believes in.

If the distinction between the speaking subject (the stating subject) and the grammatical subject of the speech is made, then we can say that there is also the subject of the alleged, referring to the personal conviction or opinion of the speaker. In Parres a speaker emphasizes that he is both the subject to approval and the subject to being approved – the subject to the opinion, to which he refers. Thus, the specific "speech" of the parresiast approval takes the form: 'I am the one who thinks so-and-so'.

Importantly, Parres can not be used by anyone. To use the 'democratic Parres' – i.e., apply to the community, you must be a citizen, should actually be one of the best citizens and possess those specific personal, moral and social qualities which confer the right of free speech.

Truth

Parresiast not only sincerely expresses his opinion, his mere opinion is true. He says that the truth of what he knows. Thus, the second characteristic of Parres is complete coincidence between belief and truth.

The coincidence between belief and truth is achieved for the Greeks not in the (psychological) experience, like in Descartes, but in verbal activity - in Parres. Michel Foucault observed that in none ancient Greek text known to him a parresiast shows doubts about his possession of the truth.

This, in his opinion, is the difference between the Cartesian problem and the parresiast tenets. While Descartes does not receive undisputed, clear and precise evidence, he will not be convinced that the object of his beliefs is actually true. In Greek concept of Parres there is no problem of truth, since truth is ensured by the speaker's possession of certain moral qualities: if a person has the necessary moral qualities, it is the proof of his access to the truth - and vice versa. 'Parresiastic game' suggests that a parresiast is a person with special moral qualities necessary, firstly, to know the truth and, secondly, to convey that truth to others. And if you still have some 'proof' of the Parresiast

integrity, it is his courage. The fact that the speaker expresses a dangerous thing - contrary to the majority view - is a sure sign that he is a parresiasist.

Danger

A man said that he uses Parres is deemed a worthy parresiasist only if, expressing the truth, he puts himself at risk or danger. For example, if a teacher of grammar can speak the truth teaching his children and does not doubt the truth of what he teaches, however, despite the coincidence of belief and truth, he is not a parresiasist. If the philosopher turns to the governor, a tyrant, and says to him that his tyranny is objectionable and repulsive, because it is incompatible with justice, then the philosopher is telling the truth, he is convinced that he is telling the truth, and he takes the risk (because a tyrant can become angry, may punish him, exile, execute him).

If in the political debate, he risks losing his popularity due to the fact that his opinion is contrary to the majority view, or because his opinion could provoke a political scandal, he uses Parres. Parres thus is linked to the manifestation of courage in the face of danger. Parresiasist - is someone who is at risk. In Parres danger is always connected with the fact that the proclaimed truth can offend or displease the interlocutor. The limiting form of statements of truth takes place in the "game" of life and death. The threat of death comes from the Other and therefore requires a certain relationship with the Other. But a parresiasist first establishes a special relationship with himself: he prefers to be the voice of truth, and not a liar to himself.

Criticism

Parres is a kind of criticism directed at any other, or oneself, but always done in a situation where the speaker or the one who confesses is in a subordinate position in relation to the interlocutor. A parresiasist is always less powerful than the one to whom he addresses. Parres, if I may say so, comes 'from below' and is directed 'up'. Therefore, an ancient Greek would not have said that a teacher or a father, criticizing the child, uses Parres. But when the philosopher criticizes the tyrant, when a citizen criticizes the majority, when a student criticizes his teacher, they in all probability apply Parres.

Since a parresiasist must take the risk, saying the truth, Parres is usually unavailable to a king or tyrant, as they risk nothing.

Duty

The last characteristic of Parres is as follows: in Parres pronouncing the truth is imperative. The speaker expressing the truth, for example, to those who are unable to accept it, is exposed to the risks and can face expulsion or any other punishment, is free to remain silent. No one is forcing him to speak, but he perceives it as his duty. Parres, thus, linked to the freedom and duty.

"If you sum up the aforesaid, Parres is a kind of verbal activity, within which a speaker sets specific relationship with the truth through frankness, a certain relationship with his own life through danger, a special relationship

with himself and other people through criticism (self-criticism or criticism of others) and specific relationship with the moral law through freedom and duty.

More precisely, Parres - is a verbal activity, in which the speaker expresses his personal relationship with the truth and risks his own life because he believes his duty is to utter the truth in order to make people better or to help them (and himself). By using Parres the speaker uses his freedom and prefers honesty to credibility, the truth - to lies or silence, the threat of death - to life and security, criticism - to flattery, and moral duty - to selfishness and moral indifference' (Foucault, 2006: 24-23).

For Parres typical is a dialogue, consisting of questions and answers, i.e., the dialogue is the basic technique in playing a parresiastic game. In Seneca, for example, you can find the idea that individual interviews best advance sincere utterances and expressions of truth, because such conversations can dispense of rhetorical tricks and tweaks.

Thus, according to Foucault, the subject is not some natural substance, which comes with man, and then only emerging in his lifetime. Foucault sets subjectivity as some dynamic form that can be a multitude of subjects, which casts doubt on our belief in the possibility of an existence of some unified self-identical subjectivity steady in time and space. Such a multiplicity of subjectivities allows the subject to separate from himself, to break relations with the set, given, and prescribed 'I'.

Setting apart often identifiable concepts of subjectivity and identity, Foucault's presents subjectivity as aesthetics of himself: 'You can interact with yourself like a master, artisan, artist, who from time to time stops working and looks over what has been done, reminds himself of the rules of his art and compares what he has done to the current moment, with these rules' (ibid: 141). The metaphor of the artist, who stops working, goes back, stands at a distance and assesses what he was doing, according to the principles of his craft, can detect small differences, which are made invisible by the habit created by continuous perception.

If a person has virtually no means to resist the practice of power, then the games with his own subjectivity retain the ability due to techniques of self-care to fix, maintain, or transform the subjectivity depending on the purposes, and this means constant variation of the subject in a certain length of time. Such aesthetics provides an opportunity to choose your own lifestyle without any restrictions and you are responsible for this choice. Subjectivity is always a choice. The ability to choose is conceived as one of the essential characteristics of formed subject.

The truth is here a means, due to which people can construct themselves and give an account of what happened. Truth is a special kind of knowledge about themselves, their current situation.

Parêsia is a technique used in the relationship between doctor and patient, teacher and pupil. This is freedom of action, which allows using the knowledge that is most suitable for modification and improvement of the subject in the sphere of true knowledge. The true and acceptable knowledge both to the wise and his pupil should not be directed at themselves and should not turn the "I"

into the object of cognition, it must be knowledge aimed at things, the gods and the people, the result and the function of which must be modified being the subject. It is imperative that the subject were touched by this truth.

Conference is communicative, dialogical space. The self-measure of its position is confronting the positions of others. Of course, participation in the conference can have different senses:

1. Business reasons: numerical examples for the thesis defense article (the needful); hear from others about their work (research, cognitive interest), looking for partners to receive the grant (search artists of his designs), spend the grant money to be happy (intermediate between the activities and games motive).
2. Game motives: to spend time with smart people, listen to other people's logic, to act as a parresiat.

Only the communicative subject, who has passed through the conference as parresiat, gets peace of mind and the truth as a reward. Knowledge is only useful in case it is capable of producing *ēthos*. Useful knowledge, knowledge concerning the issue of human existence is a type of relative knowledge, simultaneously approving and directing, which might change the way the subject's being.

This knowledge of nature to the extent to which it can serve as a principle, determining human behavior, and criteria for determining the degree of our freedom, as well as the extent to which it can turn a man - the man who was trembling of fear and horror in the face of nature, into a free personality, who will be able to find in itself its inexhaustible and absolutely calm will.

References

- Bakhtin M.M. (1963). Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics. Moscow, Soviet writer.
Foucault M. (1991). Hermeneutics of the subject / Socio-Logos: Moscow: Progress.
Foucault M. (2006). Discourse and Truth. Minsk. Propylene.

Chapter Forty Four

The Influence of Mass Media on Contemporary Francophone Literature

Alina Tenescu, University of Craiova, Romania

Nowadays, globalization is specific of a society where there are no more reference points, where nothing is any more recognoscible. This loss of references is reflected by the emergence of places without landmarks, of *non-places* that people transit and with which they come into contact every day. The proliferation of media non-places implies a loss of identity at individual level. Globalization thus has a certain consequence on the perception people have of themselves and of others, as well as on the perception they have of time and place. Novel matter is also subject to essential changes, under the influence of globalization and under the influence of these non-places.

The fictional universe of Frédéric Beigbeder evokes the changes that take place in supermodern society. Besides the innovation in terms of literary technique, of vocabulary, of language and besides the hybridation of literary and media techniques, there is a certain constant of the fictional space that is brought forth: the omnipresence of *non-places* within the framework of which there is circumscribed a new individuality.

The proliferation and accumulation of media technology in the novels by Frédéric Beigbeder lead to the emergence of spaces called „non-places”.¹

Non-Places as New Spaces in Francophone Literature

The omnipresence of non-places implies a loss of identity, the disappearance of the incentive spirit, of individualism in favour of collective subjugation. We are witness nowadays to a splinter of the literary and of the artistic space, a space which is invaded by media and popular culture. Novel writers of 90s and the year 2000 are interested, by way of their use of non-places, in the impact mass media exert on the identity of individual consumers. These writers denounce on the one hand, the alienated and neutralized identity due to the influence of mass media, and, on the other hand, bring forth characters who delight in experiencing the limits of their own body and mind inside the hyperreal space of the non-place.

¹The anthropologist Marc Augé (1992) uses for the first time this term in his work *Les non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

We are not going to detail upon the typology of these new media spaces inside Beigbeder's fictional space, but rather reveal the main elements characterizing the media electronic space in literature and also try and see to what extent the supermodern spaces invade the fictional text as the writing space gradually transforms itself into a non-place.

Definition of the Non-Place

In order for us to be able to do so, we first have to define the non-place and understand its meaning.

By opposition to the anthropological place, the non-place is defined as non-identitary, non-relational, non-historical. Non-places thus refer to spaces destined to circulation, to professional occupations and to leisure activities: highways, means of public transport, airports, malls, entertainment centers, discos and stadiums – transitory spaces which have no memory, but also to the means of transport which transit these spaces and to the *media* that occupy these places:

*'Si un lieu peut se définir comme identitaire, relationnel et historique, un espace qui ne peut se définir ni comme identitaire, ni comme relationnel, ni comme historique définira un non-lieu. L'hypothèse ici défendue est que la surmodernité est productrice de non-lieux, c'est-à-dire d'espaces qui ne sont pas eux-mêmes des lieux anthropologiques et qui, contrairement à la modernité baudelairienne, n'intègrent pas les lieux anciens: ceux-ci, répertoriés, classés et promus "lieux de mémoire", y occupent une place circonscrite et spécifique. Un monde où l'on naît en clinique et où l'on meurt à l'hôpital, où se multiplient, en des modalités luxueuses ou inhumaines, les points de transit et les occupations provisoires (les chaînes d'hôtels et les squats, les clubs de vacances, les camps de réfugiés, les bidonvilles promis à la casse ou à la pérennité pourrissante), où se développe un réseau serré de moyens de transport qui sont aussi des espaces habités, où l'habitué des grandes surfaces, des distributeurs automatiques et des cartes de crédit renoue avec les gestes du commerce "à la muette", un monde ainsi promis à l'individualité solitaire, au passage, au provisoire et à l'éphémère, propose à l'anthropologue comme aux autres un objet nouveau dont il convient de mesurer les dimensions inédites avant de se demander de quel regard il est justiciable. Ajoutons qu'il en est évidemment du non-lieu comme du lieu: il n'existe jamais sous une forme pure; des lieux s'y recomposent; des relations s'y reconstituent.'*¹ (Augé, 1992: 100).

¹Our translation of the original text in French reads such as follows: 'If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place.'

Definition of Mediatic Literature – Context and Points of View

We would like to emphasize the fact that the issue of non-places with Frédéric Beigbeder must be understood in a wider context of definition of a literature marked by non-places, by mass media, a literature that we call “media/mediatic literature” and whose main traits we try to render:

1) Stylistics where mediatic literature is conceived as a way of writing.

A certain unusual way of using the language leads to a mediatic narrative specific of Frédéric Beigbeder. This definition remains rather vague as it could be applied as well to an advertising slogan as to Beigbeder’s novel.

2) A type of discourse specific to mediatic literature

Our issue focused on mediatic literature in the world, at the same level as electronic, media and information technologies, could not admit this type of reduction; if there is a specificity of this literature, it is feed upon and developed by all these communication practices.

3) Semiotics where the fictional account specific to mediatic literature is understood as text in itself.

This new literature expresses concepts indirectly. In brief, an excerpt taken from a mediatic fictional account asserts something, but it means something else. We propose to start from the premise that the difference between mediatic literature and non-mediatic literature can be thoroughly explained by the manner in which a text generates its meaning. It seems to us that if the literature influenced by the media reveals a particular work on the language, it apprehends it in an indirect, fluid, rapid, aggressive way- starting from the linguistic matter that brings forth words that mean something else than what they say: the same as the language of advertising.

The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are themselves anthropological and which, unlike Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate the earlier places: instead, these are listed, classified, promoted to the status of “places of memory”, and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position. A world where people are born in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions (hotel chains and squats, holiday clubs and refugee camps, shantytowns threatened with demolition or doomed to festering longevity); where a dense network of means of transport which are also inhabited spaces is developing; where the habitué of supermarkets, slot machines and credit cards communicates wordlessly, through gestures, with an abstract, unmediated commerce; a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, temporal and ephemeral, offers the anthropologist and others a new object, whose unprecedented dimensions might usefully be measured before we start wondering to what sort of gaze it may be amenable. We should add that the same things apply to the non-place as to the place. It never exists in pure form; places reconstitute themselves in it; relations are restored and resumed in it; [...].

4. An approach in interaction with the world, with the media.

This approach represents an attempt at locating the mediatic fictional account in its interaction with the world. This is with a view to demonstrate that it is a place of encounter with the world and with the media and that the language specific to mediatic authors is a means of placing themselves in the modern world as writers. This new writing technique has emerged in the '80s in order to describe a literary phenomenon that entails the comprehension or articulation of that which is specific of the new mediatic literature.

From Literature to the Media or from Media to Literature?

Our research is situated on the side of the contemporary interrogation on the notion of popular media culture, avoiding all attempts of hierarchy, with its effects of overvaluation or devaluation, and we notice a movement from literature to the media¹, from the literary to the mediatic, not only in the Anglo-American area, but also in the French and Francophone areas, with novels by Thomas Gunzig, Frédéric Beigbeder, Marc Gendron, Michel Houellebecq, Jean-Philippe Toussaint. In the present paper, we will take into consideration excerpts from Frédéric Beigbeder's works, a representative of French mediatic literature, who does not claim himself anymore to be subject to the influence of the Anglo-American space (Bret Easton Ellis), but on the contrary, brings forth his own scriptural techniques.

As we have already mentioned before, we are not going to detail upon the typology of non-places inside Beigbeder's fictional space - the media (television, advertising, radio, Internet, cybernetics), the spaces destined to circulation (the railway station, the airport), the means of transport (the car, the plane), and great surfaces (supermarkets, hypermarkets, entertainment centres). We will rather reveal the main operational dichotomies and trichotomies within the non-place (place/non-place, silence/ noise, invasion/ hybridation/ evasion) and show to what extent the supermodern spaces invade the fictional text as the writing space gradually transforms itself into a non-place.

A Reversible Reaction – Place and Non-Place

If it is true that non-place is non-identitary, non-relational and non-historical, then it means a non-place lacks identity, relationships and own history. There is though a

¹In 'Le concept de la culture médiatique. D'Eugène Sue au concours Eurovision de la chanson' in Marc Lits (coord.) *Les Dossiers de l'ORM*, COMU, no 6, 1999, *La Culture médiatique aux XIXe et XXe siècles*: 89-100. Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain, Marc Lits considers a five-sequence movement with mediatic literature starting from the paradigm: literature - popular-culture-media/mediatic: 1. a movement from literature to culture, 2. a movement from the popular to the media, 3. a movement from the literary to the media, 4. a specific popular culture, and finally, 5. from literary towards the mediatic.

certain paradox in the uses made of this idea of the non-place in French mediatic literature, especially in Frédéric Beigbeder's novels.

If a non-place lacks identity, it is not because it is defunctionalised, but because it functions as a space of transit, starting from which are distributed other places. In this sense, it offers the possibility of a peculiar experience of the plurality of places and non-places existent within the container - non-place, through the unusual experience of a sort of dislocation, experience lived by the inhabitants of non-places in the fictions by Frédéric Beigbeder.

We discover that the non-place also represents a place of solitude, although it could be a populated solitude, as with the discos in *Holiday in a coma/Vacances dans le coma*. The French mediatic writer, like the anthropologist of supermodernity, wants to render a singular experience, specific of the "supermodern" condition of the contemporary individual and of the type of wandering that the non-place renders possible. The inhabitant of the non-place thus becomes a sort of spectator and the space of the passenger, of he who transits the non-place - an archetype of the supermodern non-place.

A discotheque like *Les Chiottes* in *Holiday in a coma* can be reduced to a series of advertisements or invitations to *opening-nights*, or to a world apart unfolding behind a window pane that separates or isolates the individual who spends a night of authentic experience, not manipulated by the masters of this non-place: the disc-jockeys.

With Beigbeder, the non-place does not correspond to a utopia, since utopia in literature has its own space, distance, metrics, and spatiality.

In Frédéric Beigbeder's works, the non-place is not an unreal space or the absence of space or of real referent. It rather reveals a category of supermodern spaces that dynamite other spaces within by creating other heterogeneous microcosms inside the container-non-place.

What seems to be particularly interesting in Beigbeder's novels is the constant passage from place to non-place and from non-place to place. They substitute each other and sometimes they are invested with meaning or memory by their inhabitants; this is the case where non-places turn into places.

We are going to exemplify with a current non-place in the novel *Holiday in a coma*, the discotheque that can be considered at different instants, either as a non-place or as a place.

When a Place becomes a Non-place

Under the spell of music in the disco *Les Chiottes*, the individuals become a human magma that reflects the decline of individualism. The factor which brings about the homogenisation of this new social organisation is represented by the musical technology of the discotheque.

The feeling of belonging to the peripheral clan of the non-place is reinforced by the technological and mediatic development inside the disco in Paris. This electronic mediatic galaxy is organized through a network that uniforms individuals and brings them together into an undifferentiated mass. The operator of this giant uniformization, the disc-jockey, becomes the master of the world:

*'Le disc-jockey ne mélange pas seulement les sons, il veut tout marier: la prière, les clips, les amis, les ennemis, les lumières et les endorphines. [...]. Marc a le vertige. Il comprend qu'il se trouve dans la nuit définitive. Que cette soirée pourrait bien être sa dernière: la Nuit de la Fête Ultime. C'est Paris dans la danse, un début d'apothéose. La multitude de corps en lévitation gracieuse. Ils ne font plus qu'un dans le tempo métronomique des boîtes à rythme. Les têtes ne portent qu'un seul corps, et cette pieuvre n'émet qu'un seul cri, monstrueux de pureté.'*¹(Beigbeder, 1994: 74).

When a Non-place becomes a Place

Nevertheless, the meaning of the space of the non-place can change, since the party spirit and the *noise* can also serve as possible refuge for the inhabitants of the non-place who can thus create a space of their own, allowing them to withdraw into themselves. The media technological environment that clutters the space of the disco destroys on the one hand, any form of possible socialisation, but, on the other hand, encourages a withdrawal into oneself, that is the possibility to recover oneself in a place of one's own inside the space of the giant non-place. "Neutralising the world by the power of sound" (Lipovetsky, 1983: 107-108) supposes to withdraw into oneself and feel one's own body and the rhythm of one's own thoughts alongside the rhythm of music amplifiers, forgetting the exteriority of the real non-place. This doesn't mean a certain indifference to the world that populates the non-place, an indifference accompanied by self-contemplation, but rather a withdrawal into oneself that allows the spectator to avoid mass alienation by the conscientization of the elements of the immediate proximity of one's own body. The non-place thus shelters a series of microcosms of places:

«La fête gonfle ses poumons», mais Marc devient conscient qu'à l'intérieur de la discothèque «Chaque nouvel arrivant symbolise un univers, chacun est une munition pour plus tard, un ingrédient dans la recette diabolique de Joss».'(Beigbeder, 1994 : 34)²

¹'The DJ does not only mix sounds, he mixes almost everything: prayers, clips, friends, enemies, lights and endorphines. Marc feels dizzy. He understands that this is the final night. That this evening party could as well be his last night: the Night of the Final Party. It's Paris dancing, a beginning of apotheosis. The multitude of bodies in gracious levitation. They are all one in the metronomic tempo of rhythmic discos. Heads are attached to a single body, and this octopus utters a single sound, monstrously pure.' - our translation.

²'«The party inflates his lungs», but Marc becomes suddenly aware that inside the disco «Every newly arrived symbolizes a universe, and represents munitions for later on, an ingredient in Joss's diabolical recipe.» - our translation from the original text in French.

Invasion/Hybridation/Evasion within the Framework of the Non-Place

It is more than obvious that the imaginary of the media writer is invaded by elements of popular culture, of media culture¹.

The invasion by media signs and slogans is highlighted in Frédéric Beigbeder's novels by the ubiquity of advertising brands and textual references to audio-visual VIPs and to elements of televisual culture.

The proliferation of elements of televisual culture is highlighted by three aspects: first, the impact and consequences that the continuum of images has on characters populating Beigbeder's novels of which the most important is the lack of communication between individuals evading in the hyperreal reality of television:

*'Nous restions dans notre lit, sans communiquer, nous nourrissant exclusivement de foie gras et de Coca-Cola (l'anorexie est un hédonisme), regardant les vidéo-clips à la télévision jusqu'à la fin des émissions.'*²(Beigbeder, 2001: 89-90).

Secondly, the references to televisual VIPs who, insignificant as though they might be, are not forgotten by media consumers in spite of the fact that they assert they don't recall them anymore:

*'J'ai oublié les années quatre-vingt, cette décennie où j'ai eu vingt ans, donc où j'ai compris que j'étais mortel. J'ai oublié le titre du seul roman de Guillaume Serp (mort d'une overdose après sa publication). [...]
J'ai oublié «Tainted love» de Soft Cell et «Devenir gris» de Visage [...]
J'ai oublié Yves Mourousi. J'ai oublié les disques de Human League... J'ai oublié de vivre (chanson de Johnny Hallyday)... J'ai oublié les œuvres littéraires complètes d'Hervé Claude... J'ai oublié TV6.'*³ (Beigbeder, 1994 : 35-36).

¹The concept « média culture » is defined by by Douglas Kellner (1995) in *Media Culture*, New York: Routledge and by Stéphane Santerres-Sarkany (2000) in *Teoria literaturii* (La théorie de la littérature), Bucharest: Cartea Românească.

²Our translation from the original text in French: "We would lie in bed, without communicating, feeding ourselves on fat liver and Coca-Cola (anorexia is a form of hedonism), watching the video-clips on TV till the end of shows."

³Our translation from the original text in French: 'I have forgotten the 80s, this decade when I was 20 years old, that is when I understood that I was mortal.

I have forgotten the title of the only novel by Guillaume Serp (who died of an overdose after the publication of his book) [...]

I have forgotten «Tainted love» by Soft Cell and «Devenir gris» by Visage [...]

I have forgotten about Yves Mourousi. I have forgotten the discs by Human League... I have forgotten to live (a song by Johnny Hallyday)... I have forgotten the complete works by Hervé Claude... I have forgotten TV6'.

and finally, the impact that televisual scripts have on Beigbeder's innovative writing technique, once the fictional account of *14.99 euros* becomes itself, at the beginning of each chapter, a short movie script:

'LA SCÈNE SE PASSE A LA JAMAÏQUE. TROIS RASTAS SONT ALLONGÉS SOUS UN COCOTIER, LE VISAGE PLANQUÉ SOUS LEURS DREADLOCKS. ILS ONT VISIBLEMENT FUMÉ D'ÉNORMES JOINTS DE GANJA ET SONT COMPLÈTEMENT DÉFONCÉS. UNE GROSSE BLACK S'APPROCHE D'EUX EN S'ÉCRIANT :

- *HEY BOYS, IL FAUT ALLER TRAVAILLER MAINTENANT! LES TROIS REGGAE MEN NE BRONCHENT PAS. ILS SONT ÉVIDEMMENT TROP CASSÉS POUR LEVER LE PETIT DOIGT ILS LUI SOURIENT ET HAUSSENT LES ÉPAULES MAIS LA GROSSE DONDON INSISTE:*
- *DEBOUT! FINIE LA SIESTE ! AU BOULOT LES GARS! COMME ELLE VOIT QUE LES TROIS "BROTHERS" NE BOUGENT TOUJOURS PAS, EN DÉSESPoir DE CAUSE, ELLE BRANDIT UN POT DE DANETTE.'*¹ (Beigbeder, 2000: 63)

The queer coexistence of the literary space and of elements of popular culture in the Frédéric Beigbeder's works proves to be one of the essential features of the scriptural non-place.

The space of non-place is entirely invaded in the excerpts from Frédéric Beigbeder's novels by advertising signs and by references to elements of media culture and to personalities from the media. The space of non-place gradually transforms itself into something that resembles more to an advertising space. This new spatial entity functions both as a utopia and as a contrary of utopia – that is a society which exists as such, but does not shelter any organic community, since it is based on hyperreal images. With Beigbeder, hyperreality within the non-place can be thought of as "reality by proxy", reality by the impression of proximity and is a means to characterise the way in which the consciousness of both occupiers of

¹Our translation from the original text in French: 'THE SCENE TAKES PLACE IN JAMAICA. THREE RASTA MEN ARE LYING UNDER A COCONUT TREE, THEIR FACES REMAINING SAFELY SHELTERED BY THEIR DREADLOCKS. THEY HAVE OBVIOUSLY SMOKED JOINTS OF GANJA AND THEY ARE COMPLETELY MESSED UP. A FAT BLACK WOMAN APPROACHES THEM CRYING OUT: "HEY BOYS, YOU NEED TO BE WORKING NOW!" THE THREE REGGAE MEN KEEP STILL. THEY ARE OBVIOUSLY TOO WASTED TO DO ANY LITTLE EFFORT. THEY ARE SMILING AT HER AND SHRUGGED THEIR SHOULDERS, BUT THE FAT WOMAN INSISTED: "STAND UP! THE SIESTA IS OVER! NOW TO WORK!" AS SHE SEES THE THREE "BROTHERS" STILL DON'T MOVE, SHE BRANDISH A DANONE YOGHURT JAR IN DESPERATION [...].'

non-places and media consumers defines what is actually “real” in a world where a multitude of media (television, advertising and so on) shape and filter the events and sensory experiences being depicted in novels such as *Holiday in coma* or *14.99 Euros*.

The invasion of the fictional media narrative by media and signs is manifested through certain specific recurrent themes: for example, the advertising space and the use of a hybrid language.

Like real supermodern metropolises that house a series of microcosms of architectural non-places such as Paris, Tokyo, New York (populated by characters in *Holiday in a coma* and *Windows on the World*), the fictional texts taken from Beigbeder’s novels are invaded by advertising panels and commercial slogans from daily reality. The cityscape architecture of non-places overlaps the landscape engendered by the imaginary of Beigbeder’s media novels:

L’ABUS D’ALCOOL EST DANGEREUX POUR LA SANTÉ A CONSOMMER AVEC MODÉRATION GILLETTE LA PERFECTION AU MASCULIN DU LEERDAMMER OU JE FAIS UN MALHEUR BELLE DE MINUIT DE NINA RICCI LA NUIT TOMBE LES GARÇONS AUSSI MICHELIN LES PLUS BELLES PERFORMANCES SONT CELLES QUI DURENT VISA PREMIER [...] ENJOY COCA-COLA’ (Beigbeder, 2000: 280-281)¹

Sometimes, the invasion of the narrative is reflected by what there seem to be true advertising spots: ‘*Maigrette 0 % aux fruits. Pour être en forme physique et mentale!*’ (Beigbeder, 2000: 35); ‘*Mon secret c’est... Maigrette.*’² (Beigbeder, 2000: 219)

As with non-places, the organization of the narrative borrows a lot from the clipping technique. The same way an article or advertisement is clipped from a newspaper, the advertising references and the references to real brands are cut out and then pasted on a surface with other materials not normally associated with one another. This is done with the aim to interpellate the reader. The advertising non-places thus establish a transition, a “link between a fictive intrigue and a hyperreal reality” (Durand, 2004: 59).

Alain-Philippe Durand argues that “the ubiquity of media culture perturbs the organisation of the fictional story and narrative” (Durand, 2004: 46). We are faced to a true calling into question of language. Inside non-places, the writing and the traditional modes of expression disappear in favour of advertisement slogans and of a hybrid language which is incomprehensible and remains misunderstood by

¹Our translation from the original text in French: ‘THE ABUSE OF ALCOHOL IS DANGEROUS TO YOUR HEALTH TO CONSUME WITH MODERATION GILLETTE THE MASCULINE PERFECTION LEERDAMMER OR, IF NOT, I AM UNHAPPY BELLE DE MINUIT BY NINA RICCI THE NIGHT FALLS THE BOYS ALSO MICHELIN THE MOST BEAUTIFUL PERFORMANCES ARE THOSE WHICH LAST VISA PREMIER THERE IS NOT ONLY MONEY IN LIFE [...] ENJOY COCA-COLA’.

²Our translation from the original text in French ‘Maigrette 0 % with fruit. To keep fit mentally and physically. My secret is Maigrette’.

the occupiers of this new media community. We advance the idea that hybridation can be understood under two forms: hybridation of stylistic means and hybridation of genres.

The first form assumed by hybridation operates on stylistic means.

The same way as his characters (for example, the DJ Joss Dumoulin who mixes all kinds of music with texts or sounds recorded in all languages) - the writer Frédéric Beigbeder continuously mixes stylistic means. He juggles with Frenglish, with slang, informal language, formal language and mixes bawdy language with poetic metaphors. As examples, we can refer to the epigraphs that we find at the beginning of every chapter in *Vacances dans le coma/Holiday in a coma*. We can distinguish the lyrics of a disco song by Donna Summer:

*'Let's dance
The last dance
Tonight
Yes it's my last chance
For romance
Tonight.'
Donna Summer, Last Dance
Casablanca Records.'
'Les deuxièmes romans s'écrivent dans un état
second.
Moi.'*¹ (Beigbeder, 1994: 11).

or a quote from *Haiku* by Jack Kerouac:

*2 h 00
Entracte
'There I am
2 a.m.
What day is it ?'
Haiku de JACK KEROUAC.'* (Beigbeder, 1994: 104).

or a retort of Samuel Beckett to André Bernold:

- *'Qu'auriez-vous fait si vous n'aviez pas été écrivain?*
- *J'aurais écouté de la musique.'*² ((Beigbeder, 1994: 67)

or a sequence with dialogue from *Holiday in a coma*, where the characters Irène and Fab use Frenglish, a mixture of French and English:

¹Our translation from the original text in French: 'Second novels are written in a second state. Me.'

²Our translation from the original text in French: 'What would you have done if you hadn't been a writer?' 'I would have listened to music.'

'La première candidate au « test du Triple Pourquoi » vient d'être reçue avec les félicitations du jury.

Mais pour qu'un théorème soit scientifiquement démontré, il faut plusieurs vérifications. Marc se tourne donc vers Irène de Kazatchok.

- *Je bosse vachement, dit-elle.*
- *Pourquoi? lui demande Marc, tout sourires.*
- *Well, pour gagner de l'argent.*
- *Pourquoi?*
- *Get out of there! Parce qu'il faut bien manger, that's all!*
- *Pourquoi?*
- *Give me a break! Pour pas crever, my boy!' (Beigbeder, 1994:35-36)*
- *'Yo Chestnut-Tree*! Ça m'a l'air fresh ici! L'anglais est très hypno. *Marronnier en anglais. L'anglais est très hypno. (Author's note)¹ (Beigbeder, 1994: 51)*

The second form of hybridation is represented by the hybridation of genres.

As far as the strange cohabitation between the literary space and the popular culture is regarded, we discover the stylistic innovation of Frédéric Beigbeder at the end of the novel *99 francs* when this opens out to a quick passage from the aphorism of the hyper-consumption society to an extraordinary poem in prose. At the end of the novel *99 francs*, we find enumerations of strong poetic images, with sky, the ocean, and quotes from Rimbaud which enable the reader to understand that we do not laugh and make fun of things anymore, but we are on the contrary faced with an instant of emotion, of delirium of the copywriter who turns out to be a poet. That is why we are witnesses to the final scene of the hero's death, a scene whose main elements are defined by violins, blur, and superimposition:

'[...]sombrier; traverser le miroir ; enfin se reposer; faire partie des éléments; des ocres propres aux rayons pourpres [...]; boire des larmes de rosée; le sel de tes yeux ; leur bleu rigoureux; tomber; faire partie de la mer [...]; crawler entre les anges et les sirènes; nager dans le ciel; voler dans la mer; tout est consommé; au commencement était le Verbe; on dit qu'au moment de mourir

¹Our translation from the original text in French: 'The first candidate at the test "Triple Why" was about to be received with congratulations by the jury. But for a theorem to be scientifically demonstrated, we need several verifications. Marc turns to Irène de Kazatchok.

"I'm working hard", she says.

"Why?" Marc asks her, all smiling.

"Well, [in order to gain money]" (In French).

"Why?" "Get out of there! Because I need to eat, that's all!"

"Why" "Give me a break! I do it in order not to die, my boy."

'Yo Chestnut-Tree*! This seems cool! English is very hypnotic!'

*Marronnier in English. English is very hypnotic! (Author's note)'.

on voit sa vie défilier mais Patrick, lui, revoit autre chose [...]
CARTE NOIRE UN CAFÉ NOMMÉ DÉSIR J'EN AI RÊVÉ
SONY L'A FAIT GAP TOUT LE MONDE EN CUIR SNCF LE
PROGRÈS NE VAUT QUE S'IL EST PARTAGÉ PAR TOUS
FRANCE TELECOM BIENVENUE DANS LA VIE.COM'
¹(Beigbeder, 2000 : 279-280)

The hybridation of stylistic means and of genres is symbolic not only of irony and self-irony, but also of the writer's wish to take a distance from the text and to breathe outside the space of non-place. Therefore, this practice enables him to find a way to protect himself against the dangers of a world made up of displacement places, by continuously negotiating and renegotiating their meaning and their impact on both characters that populate his novels and on auctorial instances (the author Frédéric Beigbeder and his alter ego, Marc Maronnier). He weaves his prose through a series of "collages" that come together as a work of art made from an assemblage of advertisement clippings and quotes from classic literature and poetry, thus creating a new whole from an intertextual network originated at the same time from the literary tradition and from media culture. This strange world made of collages turns from a non-place into a place where he laughs at the supermodern world, made of mockeries and of the strangest mixtures.

Finally, the evasion from the non-place which reflects the image specific of a supermodern society is translated by the desire of individuals and characters that inhabit Beigbeder's media novels to escape by all means life spleen and nostalgia. How do they escape? By means of drugs in *Tales on ecstasy* or by the illusive evasion in the hyper(i)rreality of visual and electronic media in *Holiday in a coma*, by making us discover the world of displacement places, of supermodern non-places.

Mass Media Invasion of the Scriptural Space

The notion of invasion reaches its highest impact when media technology, besides intruding on the fictive spaces present in Frédéric Beigbeder's novels, occupies the fictional text itself.

The invasion of the non-place overruns the border between the real space of the non-place invading the fictional text and the scriptural space itself when the inspiration of the columnist-writer Marc Maronnier in *Holiday in a coma* is constantly blurred, blocked by the progressive invasion of popular media

¹'[...] sinking ; passing through the mirror ; be a part of the elements ; clear ochres with scarlet beams; drinking tears of dew; the salt of your eyes; their rigorous blue; falling; be a part of the sea [...]; crawling between the angels and the sirens; swim in the sky; everything is consumed. At the Beginning there was the Word; there is said that the moment we die we see our life unfolding in front of our eyes, but Patrick sees again another thing[...]' CARTE NOIRE A COFFEE NAMED DESIRE I HAVE DREAMT SONY DID IT GAP EVERYBODY DRESSED IN LEATHER SNCF PROGRESS IS WORTH WHEN IT IS SHARED BY ALL FRANCE TELECOM WELLCOME TO LIFE.COM' – our translation.

culture, and especially by the information technologies and by the noises of soul blues listened to the radio and in the disco where Joss Dumoulin works.

In the case of the journalist-columnist-writer, the attempt to write proves to end with a failure, since the narrator cannot finish what he begins to write. The inspiration of the columnist-writer Marc Marronnier, the alter ego of the writer in *Holiday in a coma* is constantly interrupted by the progressive invasion of popular culture, by the proliferation of information technologies that invade his own system of perception and by the noise within the non-place. He gets away from everything that surrounds the writing act, starting with the deafening environment intruding on his working space.

Nevertheless, the major distraction that stops the narrator from focusing on writing is the invasion of his private space by a public space, that of the non-place, which is reflected by the dysphoric environment of the songs that distract and invade his thoughts:

'Ses pensées ressemblent bel et bien à une oeuvre de Pierre Guyotat. Il les note sur ses Post-it.' (Beigbeder, 1994:132)

Marc a envie de logorrhée sans ponctuation. À une heure pareille, vous voudriez qu'il ait les idées claires ? Il réfléchit comme quand on donne des coups de poing sur une machine à écrire.

Cela donne à peu près ceci :

"uhtr!B !jgikotggbâf!ngègpenkv(ntuj.kg ukngqrjg(jrh k,v kvviOYEASVGN)ç]è à-; à;, v'»i.jugjg(ikggk (g(jgkxe\$('ç!4"¹
(Beigbeder, 1994: 132)

If the narrator of *Windows on the World* is courageous enough to separate himself radically from the television in order to be able to work better, the media (TV) comes back to haunt him, assault him, reinvesting his private space and stopping him from writing.

Otherwise, the narrator of *Windows on the World* finds that the invasion of his private space by the televisual non-place blocks his reflection, and the free course of his thoughts. The high-tech cannot be mastered by the occupiers of the non-place. Subsequently, the narrator becomes conscious of the fact that the role of books is precisely that of "writing about all that we cannot watch on television", given the fact that literature is more and more menaced by the media:

'Le rôle des livres est d'écrire tout ce qu'on ne peut pas voir à la télévision...La littérature est menacée, il faut se battre pour la défendre, c'est la guerre... [...] Thomas et moi sommes tombés d'accord sur le fait

¹Our translation from the original text in French: 'His thoughts resemble more to a work by Pierre Guyotat. He writes them on his Post-its.

Marc logs for logorrhoea without punctuation. At this hour, would you expect clear ideas from him? His reflective thoughts resemble to punches on a typewriter.

What this results in is: "uhtr! B !jgikotggbâf !ngègpenkv(ntuj,kgu kngqrjg(jrh k, v kwiOYEASVGN)" ç!4'.

que mon combat-en-prime-time-pour-la-sauvegarde-de-l'art-scriptural-contre-l'oppression-médiatique pouvait attendre'.¹ (Beigbeder, 2003: 112).

Besides proper non-places, we find that in the Frédéric Beigbeder's novels the text itself is invaded by advertising slogans of radio and television broadcasts, by the informatics jargon, by radiophonic references or mixtures of music genres. This progressive invasion within the non-place eventually renders the texts incomprehensible. To a certain extent, the writing becomes itself a non-place:

'MOI ADECCO ÇA NE CHANGE PAS LE MONDE MAIS ÇA Y CONTRIBUE L'ORÉAL PARCE QUE JE LE VAUX BIEN AUTANT D'ATOUTS C'EST UNE DAEWOO [...] ERICSSON COMMUNIQUEZ L'ÉMOTION'² (Beigbeder, 2000: 281)

Conclusions

Our paper tackled on the issue of literary cross-breeding and hybridization in supermodernity, starting from the analysis of corpus excerpts from works of the mediatic writer Frédéric Beigbeder. Even if the concepts of cross-breeding and literary hybridization are already being applied to a variety of activities across traditions and languages, both formal and thematic, we focused on the exploration of a dichotomy operational within our corpus of study: the hybridizing of stylistic means that brings about a new language identity altered by the media and by the virtual interactive non-places and the cross-breeding of genres. This dichotomy is doubled by a trichotomy operating within the fictional space with Frédéric Beigbeder: invasion/hybridation/evasion. Invasion is revealed as far proliferation of media signs and slogans is translated into Frédéric Beigbeder's novels by the omnipresence of brands and of audio-visual VIPs. The strange cohabitation between the literary space and popular culture in the Beigbeder's works becomes one of the essential characteristics of the supermodern scriptural non-place.

Finally, we dwelt upon a possible answer to the question: "Does the scriptural space become a non-place?"

We concluded that, apart from general non-places that we encounter with Frédéric Beigbeder, the text itself is invaded by a series of radio and television advertising catch phrases, as well as by an informatics jargon. The progressive

¹Our translation from the original text in French: 'The role of books is to write about all that we cannot watch on TV...Literature is menaced, one must fight in order to defend it, the war has begun [...]/- Thomas and I agree on the fact that my-prime-time-fight-for-the-safeguard-of-the-scriptural-act-against-media-oppression could still wait.'

²Our translation from the original text in French: 'ME ADECCO THIS DOES NOT CHANGE THE WORLD BUT IT CONTRIBUTES TO IT L'OREAL BECAUSE I'M WORTH IT SO MANY ASSETS – IT'S A DAEWOO L'OREAL BECAUSE I'M WORTH IT [...]ERICSSON COMMUNICATE EMOTION'.

invasion of non-places ends by rendering the texts incomprehensible thus transforming the writing space into a non-place.

References

- *** (1997). *Recherches en Communication, Le récit médiatique*, no 7/1997. Université Catholique de Louvain: Presses de Université Catholique de Louvain.
- Augé, M., (1992). *Les non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Augé, M., (1994). *Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains*. Paris: Aubier/Flammarion.
- Augé, M., (1994). *Le Sens des autres*. Paris: Fayard.
- Baetens, J. & Viart, D., eds. (1998). *Écritures contemporaines 1: Mémoires du récit*. Paris: Lettres Modernes/Minard.
- Baetens, J. & Viart, D., eds. (1999). *Écritures contemporaines 2, États du roman contemporain*. Paris : Lettres Modernes/Minard.
- Beigbeder, F., (2003). *Windows on the World*. Paris: Grasset.
- Beigbeder, F., (2000). *99 francs (14.99 euros)*. Paris: Grasset et Fasquelle.
- Beigbeder, F., (1999). *Nouvelles sous ecstasy*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Beigbeder, F., (1994). *Vacances dans le coma*. Paris: Grasset et Fasquelle.
- Blankeman, B. and Millois, J.-C., (2004). *Le roman français aujourd'hui- transformations, perceptions, mythologies*, Paris: Prétexte Editeur.
- Blankeman, B., (2002). *Les fictions singulières - étude sur le roman français contemporain*. Paris: Prétexte Editeur.
- Castells, M., (1981). *La Question urbaine*, Paris: F. Maspero.
- Di Falco, J. M., Beigbeder, F., (2004). *Je crois-Moi non plus*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy.
- Durand, A.-P. & Mandel, N., (2006). *Novels of the Contemporary Extreme*. New York: Continuum.
- Durand, A.-P., (2004). *Un monde techno*. Berlin: Weidler-Buchverlag.
- Kellner, D., (1995). *Media Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Mavrodin, I., (1994). *Mâna care scrie. Spre o poietică a hazardului*. Bucharest: Eminescu Publishing House.
- Mavrodin, I., (1998). *Poietică și poetică*. Craiova: Scrisul Românesc.
- Lipovetsky, G., (1983). *L'Ère du vide*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Lits, M. (coord.), (1999). *Les Dossiers de l'ORM, COMU*, no 6, 1999, *La Culture médiatique aux XIXe et XXe siècles*. Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain
- Samoyault, T., (2001). *Littérature et mémoire du présent*. Paris: Ed. Pleins Feux.
- Santerres-Sarkany, S., (2000). *Teoria literaturii*. Bucharest: Cartea Românească.
- Interview of Cyril de Graeve with Frédéric Beigbeder published in Chronic'Art, retrieved on the 27th of March, 2009 from <http://www.chronicart.com/printwebmag.php?id=1395>.

