



The Asian Congress for Media and Communication



in partnership with

The College of Communication
National Chengchi University Taiwan

The International ACMC Conference Taipei on
**Examining the Socio-Political Economy
of Communication**
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Messages	3
About the National Chengchi University	4
About the Conference	5
 <i>Selected Papers in the Following Sessions</i>	
Parallel Sessions A	6
Parallel Sessions B	95
Parallel Sessions C	143
Parallel Sessions D	220
Parallel Sessions E	288
About ACMC	366

MESSAGE FROM THE ACMC EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Asian Congress for Media and Communication, it is an honour to welcome your participation in ACMC 2018!

This year's conference comes at the heels of our 12th anniversary. The theme this year, "Examining the Socio-Political Economy of Communication," highlights the contextual environment in which most of today's media operate. It is only appropriate to hold this year's conference to the North East of Asia, where advancements in media technologies have influenced the Asian region's mode of producing and disseminating media messages.

Of course, there is the added bonus of being able to visit the beautiful island of Taiwan and its capital, Taipei. Hopefully, the beauty of our surroundings (the university is near the scenic Maokong mountain) and the rich Taiwanese tea, will serve to inspire our discussions in this Conference. Moreover, may the conference be the beginning of future collaborations and friendships among its participants.

For those who have been with us since 2008, welcome to another homecoming. For those first time contacts, may this be the start of our long-term friendships.

A heartfelt thanks to our colleagues at the National Chengchi University, especially the Conference Committee Secretariat headed by Prof. Tsung-Jen Shih as well as Dean Herng Su and former Dean Lin Yuan-hui, for your generous support.

AZMAN AZWAN AZMAWATI
ACMC President
School of Communication
Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang

RACHEL E. KHAN
Chair, ACMC Board
Department of Journalism
University of the Philippines

Note for this Proceedings:

Some authors have asked that their papers not be included in this online conference proceedings for various reasons, including its publication in journals outside ACMC.

**MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL CHENGCHI UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF COMMUNICATION**

On behalf of the College of Communication, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, it is our great pleasure to welcome your participation in ACMC 2018!

Taiwan, known as “Formosa,” means “Beautiful Island” lives up to its name. Full of cultural, natural, and new tech wonders, it promises to be a very special meeting experience in Asia!

At the intersection of technology and communication, with changes happening much faster and more relentless than ever before, issues surrounding media, technology, culture, and society are becoming more intriguing and complex, attracting not only scholars and researchers in the fields of communication but also those from the social sciences and humanities disciplines. The conference is relevant because it reflects the pressing need for scholars and researchers to discuss the social-political economy that influences our ways of communication from various professional perspectives.

As the great Confucius once said, “It is a great joy to welcome friends from afar!” Please take this opportunity not only to interact among conference participants but also take time to experience the many interesting and beautiful sceneries in Taipei.

Finally, I would like to express my sincere thanks to everyone who has, in various ways, helped us in hosting this conference. Without the kind contributions, cooperation, and efforts of all parties involved, hosting this conference would have been impossible. We look forward to a stimulating conference and bid you all a very special and rewarding experience here in Taiwan!

HERNG SU
Dean, College of Communication
National Chengchi University

ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

Examining the Socio-Political Economy of Communication

As communication technologies continue to progress and develop, societal and political forces are also influencing the changes and increasing challenges in the field of media and mass communication.

Meanwhile, marketing and media producers have gained direct access to their consumers. Politicians and their machinery have also invaded the public sphere by-passing traditional mass media. These developments are changing the traditional socio-political paradigm of communication and affecting the integrity of information dissemination.

The theme of the ACMC 2018 Conference seeks to initiate a discourse on the paradoxes brought about by these challenges to mass media and communication as a result of the emerging social media and the changing socio-political economy of media institutions.

*Special Thanks to:
The National Chengchi University
Taiwan Ministry of Science and Technology
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PAPERS FROM PARALLEL SESSION A**Ka-DDS: The Online Fandom-Community Of OFW Duterte Supporters**

*Justine Lester F. Cruz, Samantha M. Gabronino,
Benedict Samuel M. Salazar and Brian Angelo C. Sereneo
University of the Philippines*

Abstract

In the past two years, there has been an increased presence of online communities that support President Rodrigo Duterte, who is a controversial yet populist political figure. These political communities, or fandoms, posit similar characteristics to other communities that show support towards celebrities, television programs, motion pictures, and other articles of popular culture. However, these political fandoms are different in the sense that political discussions trigger more affective reactions as opposed to discussions on popular culture. On the same plane of thought, Duterte's supporters are viewed to be more vocal in their actions toward individuals and groups who are not part of their social group, resorting to uncivil and sometimes disturbing ways and means of discourse. This study attempts to study the nature-characteristics and communication dynamics of Duterte's supporters-fans from the outsiders' perspective — exploring how support for Duterte is communicated inside Facebook groups catered to Filipino supporters in the Middle East. Through the utilization of Social Construction of Technology Theory and the Cultural Economy of Fandom, the researchers used the textual analysis method to analyze texts, in the form of Facebook posts and comments, that the supporters have produced and circulated within their Facebook groups.

Introduction

The Philippines, dubbed the "social media capital of the world" (Mateo, 2018), is argued to facilitate support for Duterte through online platforms. Facebook in particular has been a powerful political machine for Duterte mainly because of its accessibility. However, much of the data available is limited only to people within the country, so much is still left to be understood in terms of how OFWs use Facebook to express their support for Duterte and to communicate with one another. Nonetheless, they are visible as a collective whole in Facebook groups (Caguio & Lomboy, 2014). In line with these, the researchers decided to use content inside these OFW supporters' Facebook groups, specifically those catering to OFWs in the Middle East because that is where half of the country's OFW population is ("OFW Pa-Middle East, Nais Limitahan," 2017), as the units of analysis. Lastly, because Duterte is considered a deviation from the status quo (Parameswaran, 2017), it then becomes worthy to investigate how people support him.

B. Research Problem and Objectives

RQ: How is support for Rodrigo Duterte being communicated online among his OFW supporters?

This study aims:

1. To analyze how Rodrigo Duterte's OFW supporters discriminate non-supporters in Facebook groups.
2. To analyze the production of texts through the participation of Rodrigo Duterte's OFW supporters in online activities within the Facebook groups.
3. To assess the dynamics of information-sharing among Rodrigo Duterte's OFW online supporters.
4. To examine how Rodrigo Duterte's OFW supporters' use Facebook as an arena for their internal discussions.

Review of Related Literature**A. Construction of Facebook as a Medium of Convergence for Fandoms**

With an amplified ability to construct their identities, people from multiple countries are able to transcend physical and psychological boundaries (McEwan & Sobre-Denton, 2011) and express profound attachment to their hometown while supporting their common subject of interest.

Consequently, technology is integrated into people's social lives especially when their virtual group was formed out of diverse cultures. It creates an entirely new culture with their own set of rules and characteristics (McEwan & Sobre-Denton, 2011).

The power of technology is so effective that the dominant elite and the revolutionaries are both attempting to use technology to their advantage in both political and civic terms. Revolutionaries have used technology to act against the dominant elite, as evidenced during the use of social media during the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong (Lee, So, & Leung, 2015). The dominant elite has used technology to perpetuate the status quo that benefits them, as observable with how the Russian government used the internet to solidify President Vladimir Putin's influence (Fedor & Fredheim, 2017). However, while social media can mobilize people to fight the dominant rule (Lee et al., 2015), it is also directly related to lower willingness to participate in political discourse (Hampton, Shin, & Lu, 2017).

B. Supporters vis-à-vis Non-Supporters

Fandoms are groups that are stigmatized and discredited by their "deviant" form of symbolic consumption (Cusack, Jack & Kavanagh, 2003).

This is why discrimination among fandoms occurs across different settings. Intergroup discrimination in fandoms transpire due to the members' tendency to be biased (Harnad, 1987; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2001; Plous, 2003), and their desire to attain a more positive identity (Turner, 1975) and self-esteem (Plous, 2003; Tajfel, 1970, 1981). Similarly, there is a desire to maintain superiority over extrinsic groups (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, 1981), as well as the need for social recognition, socialization, and symbolism (Dionisio, Leal, & Moutinho, 2008), "causal attribution" (which entails that the members connote negativity to the behaviors of outgroups) (Plous, 2003), and because of the differences in culture of the respective members of each group (Barry & Grilo, 2003).

Through their language, ingroups distinguish themselves as "us" while labelling the outgroups as "them" (Giles & Giles, 2012). This promotes distortion which can either reduce the perceived similitude shared by ingroup members, and likewise minimize the differences between the groups or communities outside it; ergo, outgroups are homogenized, while the ingroup perceives themselves as diverse (Plous, 2003). The aforementioned is manifested by and within the concept of "ingroup bias" (Plous, 2003; Brewer, 1999), which has been found to permeate across cultural manifestations (Aberson, Healy, & Romero, 2000; Brewer, 1979; Brewer, 1999), to make stereotyping more prominent and plausible, and to increase the effects of favoritism towards one's own group (Jones, Wood, & Quattrone, 1981; Mullen & Hu, 1989). Linville and Fischer (1998) document that people are more driven to make distinctions with members they are more likely to interact with in projected instances. Discrimination persists due to members of an in-group's perception of discrimination as normative and harmless, as discrimination adhered to extrinsic groups are considered to be bound to an innocuous and humorous nature (Douglass, Mirupi, English & Yip, 2016), and hence can consequently become resistant to change (Fiske & Stevens, 1993).

However, incongruent to the premise that discrimination and distinction root from and at the same time fruits negativity, both concepts may not always necessitate malice from one group to another (Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1999). The claim that one's identification to a specific group is not affected by negative cognitions toward the members of other groups challenges the prevailing paradigm bound to the phenomenon which permeates through concepts such as ethno-centricism, in-group bias, and prejudice (Brewer, 1999). Similarly, Hoerr, Safizadeh, and Walton (as cited in Young, Fisher, & Lindquist, 1993, p.1) state that when the members of an ingroup adhere to coordination instead of competition, they become more productive, and are able to perform better.

C. Textual Productivity and Online Participation

The internet has become a sphere for discourse, constituting an important part of democracy and citizenship, especially in polarized societies (Witshchge, 2008). In fact, it is argued that citizen participation, in political or civic form, is an inherent element of citizen democratic engagement (Delli Carpini, 2004).

It must be noted, however, that political participation aims to influence the government's actions (Verba et al., 1995) as well as the politician's election and the implementation of public policies (Delli Carpini, 2004). On

the other hand, civic participation involves actions or behaviors that seek to solve the community's problems (Zhang, 2010)

Both, however, have transcended the offline setting. Warren et. al. (2014) attest that "online activists" utilize Facebook to "publish information, call for volunteers, post civic messages, hold discussion on social issues, schedule actions, and lobby decision makers." Lanuza (2015) affirms that the Web 2.0 has drastically reconfigured political engagement and subculture.

The Internet also opens up spaces for discussions, with participants seeking different viewpoints (Stromer-Galley, 2006), and being generally more supportive of diverse viewpoints than non-users (Robinson, Neustadt, & Kestnbaum, 2004). Counter to these, one finds that abusive postings, control of agenda, and style of communication make some participants more heard than others (Dahlberg, 2006).

Moreover, the amplification of an agenda seems similar to that of the fans' textual productivity. Hills (2013) argues that Fiske's model of fan productivity is insufficient to explain the creativity of online fans. The internet has changed the landscape of how fans interact with one another. This is because Web 2.0 has features such as commenting, posting, and sharing, that allow more interaction, which then allows for a more 'democratic' content production. This is especially true for the Philippines, in which more than half of its 103 million citizens are active social media users (Williams, 2017).

During massive political events, Filipinos have shown great participation. Montiel and Estuar (2006), after examining text messages exchanged during People Power II, revealed that Filipinos were able to produce texts in three themes - political information and persuasion, protest humor, and political emotions. Texting enabled people to be vocal and to exercise democracy with protest movement against one enemy, toward one shared goal, and through the use of one political strategy. The OFWs, though dispersed in various countries, have also shown great participation in national issues by converging through online communities (Caguio & Lomboy, 2014).

Zhang (2010) reported that sense of community has an effect on social networking usage. Sense of belonging has also been found to affect online community user participation (Lin, 2008; Teo, Chan, Wei & Zhang, 2003). Within these Facebook groups, texts co-exist with social norms and context. Both social identity and group norm have significant effects on user participation while group norm affects social identity (Zhou, 2011).

D. Information as Cultural Capital

Cultural capital includes culturally-defined assets such as knowledge, education, and skills (Bourdieu, 1986), and is bound to the process wherefore fans create a foundation of knowledge about their universe (Brown, 1998). In virtual communities, what people can acquire and share is in the form of information and news (Brown, 1997; Turcotte, York Irving, Scholl, & Pingree, 2015). Information coming from various sources are shared among the members, but members themselves do not share an equal role in propagating messages, as opinion leaders can better influence the attitudes of other people (Lyons & Henderson, 2005). They also consume the same product but exert a bigger effort in influencing the decisions of others (Lyons & Henderson, 2005). Opinion leadership in social media allows the other members to cater their self-perceived knowledge and informal influence to a wider audience (Lyons & Henderson, 2005). Lyons and Henderson (2005) further explained that opinion leaders in a mediated context possess significantly higher levels of enduring involvement, innovativeness, exploratory behavior, and self-perceived knowledge than non-leaders.

Similarly, opinion leaders may frame news in a way that manifests a sense of "hot list" or immediacy and hence, audiences flock and become engaged (Brown, 1997). The folly with this, however, is that it has been found that in the case of social media, friends are seen as more quality opinion leaders than media outlets themselves, indicating how media outlets need to adapt to how audiences are becoming more inattentive. These effects are further strengthened when the person sharing the news is perceived by a viewer as an opinion leader (Turcotte et al., 2015), and when one cognizes that incidental exposure is often the cause of attention to news (Prior, 2007). Moreover, inasmuch as fans (or autodidactics, as labeled by Bourdieu) are

bound to the goal of increasing their status, a member who posits a capital that is not “in good taste” in relation to the standards set by an opinion leader is deemed inferior (Brown, 1997).

With the proliferation of social media, the consumption of messages is no longer limited to a producer-consumer relationship (Hills, 2013). Nowadays, the audiences are the creative producers. The internet has lowered the barriers for fans to create and distribute their own texts and images. With this, they are able to co-create meanings inside their virtual communities and also extend it to the external group, as they contribute ideas to the professional producers of media content (Guschwan, 2015).

The presence of cultural capital within these virtual communities enables the people involved to develop certain identities. Social media creates unique opportunities for the discursive construction of hybridized cultures (McEwan & Sobre-Denton, 2011). Hybridized cultures or third cultures are developed when “two or more cultures create a new, hybrid culture, containing components of each individual culture while developing unique cultural characteristics,” (p. 255). The unique cultural rules, norms, social support, and behaviors emerging over time and passed on to new members is a product of diversity of cultures.

Resolving identity ambiguity through transcending fandom, individuals may turn to fandom for status gain and belonging. Fandoms are consumption fields with clear, limited forms of cultural capital. Through serial fandom and engagement with fandom in different ways, individuals were able to learn the skill of identifying and accruing relevant cultural capital. The skill became decontextualized, allowing individuals to transcend fandom and accumulate general forms of cultural capital (Seregina and Schouten, 2016). Furthermore, the process of accumulating knowledge is a means to amplify a fan’s cultural status or rank within his community (Brown, 1997).

E. Filipino Diaspora

With the absence of communication means that are non-mediated, Filipino migrant workers embrace the idea of converging on social networking sites - such as Facebook - to communicate with their family and their fellows, to remain updated with news concerning their homeland (Alampay, Alampay, & Raza, 2012; Caguio & Lombay, 2014) and to manifest political action (Liwag-Lumibao, 2016) — the theoretical premise of which has been eloquently elaborated by Bijker and Pinch (1984).

With the impact of technology in facilitating communication media and serving as emotional outlets being stark and well-documented, the Filipino overseas, longing for the thought of being able to hold their *kapamilya*, is able to at least maintain relationships (Signo, 2012). In essence, political actions are manifested through the consumption of country-related news in online platforms made possible by internet-usage (Ong & Cabanes, 2011).

One should still recognize, however, that the heroic representation of OFWs – *bagong bayani* – establishes and reinforces a means to justify exported labor (Encinas-Franco, 2013) as they are “quasi-enslaved warm bodies” (San Juan, 2011, p.1). The Philippines, despite being politically “free”, is still bound to neocolonialism. The country's adherence to the neoliberal policies and propaganda of the United States has caused the country to become one of the most active suppliers of laborers. With political discourses (Encinas-Franco, 2013), an intensifying theatricality of migration (San Juan, 2009), and labor-export policies (San Juan, 2011) functioning as means to serve those who are in power both within and outside the country, the politically-and-culturally inferior Philippines yields to more powerful entities and hence amplifies the division of its people within.

Study Framework

This study looked at the discourse of OFW Duterte supporters who are involved in the interpretation and usage of Facebook and its group features. Our framework was informed by concepts in the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT), which views the development of technology as an interactive process among technologists and relevant social groups, (Bijker, Hughes, & Pinch, 1989) and the Cultural Economy of Fandom (Fiske, 1992), which argues that fans know what belongs into their fandom and what does not, creating social identities for themselves.

SCOT includes the concepts relevant social groups, interpretative flexibility, and, design flexibility, while the Cultural Economy of Fandom utilizes discrimination and distinction, productivity and participation, and capital accumulation.

As displayed in Figure 1 and 2, the process of meaning-making starts from accumulation of cultural capital, in the form of information and commentary about Duterte from external and internal sources. The accumulated capital serves as the driving force for members' participation within the political fandom. They then attribute meaning to Facebook through interpretive flexibility as Facebook gives its utilitarian offers to the group in the aspect of design flexibility.

Methodology

A. Research Design

To gather findings, we used textual analysis on texts inside the supporters' Facebook groups. Textual analysis is the most practical qualitative method to use, given the Philippine political climate as of this writing. Because many Duterte supporters are aggressive towards people from the University of the Philippines, we decided to focus on the texts they produce to avoid any untoward incidents.

Our study explored five concepts in examining OFW Duterte supporters on Facebook: constructed images of Duterte, supporters' group identity, bashing through insults and hostile behavior, expression of support for Duterte, and external and internal sources of information.

We analyzed posts, comments, shares, and other content in Facebook groups of OFW Duterte supporters in Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait. Using critical case sampling, we used four keywords to select texts in the Facebook groups.

- "Duterte" refers to Rodrigo Duterte himself.
- "Mocha" refers to Mocha Uson, known for her significant contribution to Duterte's presidential campaign.
- "Dilawan" is a term by supporters used to denote Duterte's opposition
- "Marawi" refers to a Philippine city besieged by a terrorist group for four months ("Timeline: The Battle for Marawi," 2017).

We also categorized these groups' sources of information to understand the nature of their cultural capital. We chose Facebook groups that cater to OFW communities in Middle East countries due to the high concentration of OFWs in such countries (Bersales, 2017). Support for Duterte from these communities is large and strong, making their texts the most suitable unit of analysis.

B. The Researchers

We are communication research majors from the University of the Philippines Diliman.

When Duterte became president, some of us believed in his rhetoric about changing the country, while others attempted to remain open and neutral about his administration's policies and actions. As time has progressed, however, our attitudes towards his governance became negative due to the controversies that undermined Duterte's administration. Nonetheless, there are still many Filipinos who genuinely believe and support Duterte's rule, and they want to find out why this is the case.

Results and Discussion

The OFW Duterte supporters discriminate those who are outside of their community by bashing through insults and hostile behavior. They converge and establish their group identity as distinct from the rest of the population. As fans, they express support for Duterte and other related political personas, and produce texts that perpetuate certain images of Duterte among the fandom. All of these dynamics manifest in the supporters' collective use of Facebook. They also desire truth that is not "tainted" by democratic, anti-Duterte forces, which is what makes them seek alternative media content.

A. Supporters vis-à-vis non-supporters

Perceived Failure of the 1986 People Power Revolution

The first distinction lies in Duterte's overseas supporters' beliefs about Philippine democracy. Duterte's overseas supporters have a collective enemy in their minds, called "mga dilawan" (yellows). Supporters see them in a very bad light, calling them "salot" (pest), "halimaw" (monster), "walang silbi sa lipunan" (useless in society), and other derogatory remarks. Their hatred for their collective enemy is so intense that a Duterte supporter even wished that "mga dilawan" be killed.

To understand the context of why "mga dilawan" exists, it is important to understand the symbolism of the color yellow in Philippine politics. Yellow is the color connected to former President Corazon "Cory" Aquino, who was a prominent democratic figure during the 1986 People Power Revolution (Genato Rebullida, 2006). The revolution, participated by millions of Filipinos, was a response to the decades-long authoritarian regime by former President Ferdinand Marcos (George, 2016). Therefore, it is expected that the issues of inequality, social justice, and development of the people will be addressed once a democratic government replaces the dictatorial rule (Genato Rebullida, 2006).

For Duterte's overseas supporters, then, democracy -- represented by "mga dilawan" -- has failed them. Hence, many supporters are furious with democratic institutions that in their perspective have exploited them. For instance, they do not see the (Philippine) Commission on Human Rights (CHR) as an institution that protects them from state abuse ("About Us – Commission on Human Rights," n.d.). Rather, they see CHR as an institution that "walang magawa puro nalang panira" (does nothing, always dishonors) the incumbent administration. One statement from a supporter expressed disdain over CHR as exemplified in this quotation: WATCH! CHR suddenly butts in and intends to investigate what happened in Marawi and the killed Maute! It's severe, fellow citizens, for it is really the terrorists that they are defending! Shame on you, paid hacks!

The supporters then see CHR as "walang silbi sa lipunan" (useless in society), and protector of bad elements. Prominent democratic personalities are also included in the collective enemy of Duterte's overseas supporters. For the supporters, these personalities are incompetent, calling them "salot", "masama" (evil), and idiots.

The derogatory statements against democratic institutions and personalities show that Duterte's overseas supporters were frustrated with the unfulfilled promises of democracy. Quilala (2015) warned that "if [the Noynoy administration's] reforms fail to translate into things that matter to the people by 2016, then there might be a return to populist strategies to win the 2016 elections" (p. 95). It is easy to understand then, why the supporters are clamoring not only for a populist leader that would cater to them but also a leader that wields an iron fist.

The OFW Duterte supporters' participation in supporting Duterte starkly highlights a slow acceptance of neo-authoritarianism that was an offspring not only of the failure of Corazon Aquino and her son, but also of the collective reformist regime (Teehankee, 2016; Thompson, 2016), and the demarcosification and democratization (Velasco, 1997) they have reinforced. Further fueled by the decline of public order (Teehankee, 2016), the support of the OFW ka-DDS for the current administration is, in itself, a civic and political action as it attempts to cut ties with western powers that were promulgated during the time of the Aquinos. Despite the fact that neo authoritarianism uses threat and violence, and feeds on demagoguery (Teehankee, 2016), there exists a negotiated narrative among the OFWs that there is a clear division between their quality of life before and after Duterte became the patriarchal, divine figure of the country. Encapsulating the latter argument, an OFW supporter states: Thank you so much to him who others called a dictator. Because of him, the Filipino masses had hope, most especially us OFWs. At anytime, we have someone to help us.

In this plane of thought, the act of bashing does not necessarily highlight an attempt to establish a positive identity (Turner, 1975) and increase one's self-esteem (Barry & Grilo, 2003; Plous, 2003; Tajfel, 1970, 1981). Instead, bashing now becomes a means of manifesting civic and political action that aim to establish neoauthoritarianism (Teehankee, 2016).

“Heads Be Sawed:” The Desire for Political Cleansing

Duterte’s overseas supporters see themselves as being “in the right” when it comes to their support for Duterte. Simply put, non-supporters for them are “in the wrong,” and they have a rather interesting idea about what should happen to them. This particular notion affirms what Giles and Giles (2012) said about intergroup discrimination. Perception towards the out-group tends to become homogenized, and so the Duterte supporters tend to want what is bad for this particular out-group in a way that is indiscriminate and knows no exception. For them, the homogeneity that binds the out-group together is that the out-group is evil, while they, the in-group, are good.

The country’s political landscape at the time is also something that Duterte’s supporters tend to bring up when they talk about the out-group. Inasmuch as they think the out-group is evil, they also have very specific scenarios to which they hope the out-group would find itself in, and those are, in the middle of the crisis situation in Marawi City, and on the receiving end of those convicted from the drug situation in the country. To contextualize these specific choices of scenarios would entail taking into account how intergroup discrimination occurs due to the members’ tendency to want to maintain superiority and advantage over extrinsic groups (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, 1981). Such tendencies manifest in such a way that they imply that they are better aware of the country’s issues, and as such would wish that the out-group experience such issues for themselves firsthand as expressed in the following statement: “Utak tae ipadala nayan dalawa Sa maunti group para sila na ang bahla kong papaano Nila pugutan ng ulo mgayan gago kc... (Trash mind! Bring them to the Maute group so they can decide how to decapitate them.)”

Duterte’s Overseas Supporters Emulating Duterte Himself

Duterte’s overseas supporters appear to emulate Duterte’s more controversial behavior, such as using strong and threatening language when dealing with opposing forces. On protesters mobilizing against the Duterte administration, a supporter asserted that s/he will slaughter them with his/her own hands if the protesters do not cease their operations. The use of the word “bakla” (gay), a homophobic slur when used in a derogatory way, against “mga dilawan” and other opposing forces is also present in their statements.

Duterte is infamous for statements that are controversial and noticed by both local and international press. Therefore, it can be stated that Duterte and his overseas supporters are alike in some ways. But while it seems that Duterte’s overseas supporters are merely uncivil, it can also be argued that the supporters are attempting to emulate the positive qualities that their leader has. Because Duterte possesses the image of a strongman (Teehankee and Thompson, 2016) the supporters would then desire to become the person that they support.

Enlightening the Unenlightened

One distinction which Duterte’s overseas supporters believe separates them from non-supporters, and this is, in terms of them being “enlightened”, and those that do not support him, as “unenlightened.” The ka-DDS-in-diaspora perceive the dilawans (yellows) as intellectually inferior. For the former, the dilawans are unable to see the dramatic changes Duterte has already brought with his administration as well as how they all they do is complain.

There is a narrative emerging from the texts arguing that being a ka-DDS is synonymous to wearing a mantle of social responsibility. By being a Duterte supporter overseas, one must thwart the possibility of the Philippines suffering once again from the illusion “yellow democracy” would bring. These arguments are congruent with the thought that the ka-DDS, with an emphasis on those working overseas, are now learned and initiated to the horrors of a non-dictatorial regime.

The phenomenon of the ka-DDS “discriminating” the out-group dilawans is a stark manifestation of Plous’ (2003) concept of “causal attribution”, where the in-group adheres negativity to the out-group for the latter are reduced to being homogenous. In this sense, the collective dilawans are fellow Filipinos who ought to be “enlightened” and shown the beauty of a Marcos-esque dictatorship with bias coming in as a factor as predicted (Brewer, 1999; Harnad, 1987; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2001; Plous, 2003). Moreover, congruent with the notions of Plous (2003) and Barry and Grillo (2003), the ka-DDS taking the responsibility of

enlightening in an attempt to make themselves more distinct is fuelled by their perception that the dilawans are intellectually inferior, hence manifesting a very profound difference in their culture, despite being descendants of the same soil.

With all these said the dynamics of how Duterte's overseas supporters discriminate non-supporters and distinguish themselves from them could then be summarized through this model:

B. Supporting and the Production of Images of Duterte

What brings the overseas Duterte supporters together to successful convergence through the Facebook groups is ultimately their belief that Duterte is what the Philippines needs. Therefore, they have come to agree on specific ways through which they perceive Duterte - ways that could be considered unique to them. This is consistent with Dahlberg's (2006) findings that abusive postings, control of agenda, and style of communication make it that some participants are heard more often than others. They produce texts that portray Duterte as a Messiah, a Father, and a Global Leader and these all arguably boils down into their support for a Post-Marcos dictatorship.

Duterte as a Messiah: Change has Come

Duterte's overseas supporters strongly express their gratitude for Duterte's existence, calling themselves "too blessed" for him while wishing God - whether it is the Christian God or Allah -- to "ingatan at gabayan" (take care and guide) Duterte and his presidency. They also consider him to be the "best leader in the solar system" and the "super greatest" president, citing his achievements and his good leadership qualities such as "Dignity" and "integrity". According to their statements, Duterte is their only hope for a better Philippines.

Upon further analysis, it appears that Duterte's overseas supporters have a strong, indestructible faith for him, and such faith is similar to a devout Christian faith in Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior. The supporters' use of superlative words such as "best" and "greatest" - even in the grammatically incorrect "super greatest" - imply that no one but Duterte himself can match his qualities as a leader and a changemaker.

Duterte, then, possesses what McDonnell (2017) calls as a charismatic relationship between him and his overseas supporters. According to McDonnell (2017), a charismatic relationship exists when "the followers believe the leader is on a 'mission' and possesses unique powers" (p. 28), and when "followers completely and unquestioningly accept the authority of the leader (p. 28)." This is congruent with the supporters' notions that Duterte has good plans for the Philippines, which is in itself a mission, and that Duterte is the "super greatest" president, which casts him on an infallible light.

Duterte as a Father: The Hegemony of Patriarchy

Such portrayal of Duterte as Messiah has also been applied to a more familial level. Most of the members of the Ka-DDS community refer Duterte as "Tatay Digong" as if he is their father. The affinity of these people to Duterte is linked to the idea that the president is the father of the nation, and thus is therefore their father too. Although he is most often referred to as "Tatay" some referred to him as "Dong", short term for "Dodong" which originated from the rural parts of the Philippines to refer to a younger brother or a boy.

Duterte as a part of the Filipino family is indeed a very inclusive perspective. Duterte exudes strong, stern, but seemingly nurturing attitudes. The "Tapang at Malasakit" (Courage and Selflessness) slogan made it easier to build a father image. The Father image connotes a deeper meaning hinged to the term "father". In a patriarchal society, men conform to social norms and gender roles that involve their masculinity, integrity, and responsibility within the family and respect and a sense of community towards the society (Rubio & Green, 2011). There are two dominant images of the Filipino male: protector and dominator (Aguiling-Dalisay et al., 2000). The protector role is manifested by being married and economically providing for the family. This is linked to the expectation of being the haligi ng tahanan (cornerstone of the home) and padre de pamilya (father of the family).

He is seen as a protector, and therefore exemplifies “tapang”: “If Tatay Digong never became president, drugs and crime would still be rampant in the country.” While on the other hand Duterte is also a provider with “malasakit”:

“Duterte pledges P50 million. Truly selfless, not merely for show. The Father of the Philippines. Father.”

This attribution gives him much more power and dominance to rule the country. Despite his stern leadership and his exemplification of traditional machismo, Duterte is a reflection that the country is still patriarchal in nature causing the marginalized sector to struggle even more as the leadership of the nation itself embodies a misogynist and men-dominating culture. Nevertheless, in a non-Western paradigm of masculine gender norms, it is not entirely negative to be masculine because caballerismo, which includes relatively positive values such as nurturance, chivalry, and family connectedness, is also present (Rubio & Green, 2011).

Duterte as a Global Leader

Moreover, Duterte’s overseas supporters like to believe that there is an agreed upon perception outside of the Philippines that Duterte is ultimately respected and revered. This is connected to what Opiniano (2005) stated, that Filipino diaspora communities have used Internet as a means of communicating their ideas. Indeed, the use of the Internet has further increased through social media, in which discussions about issues in the country are broadened with information that is easily accessible. This is why in communicating their fandom for Duterte, his overseas supporters have come to use information about how different personalities outside the country has also come to show support for Duterte, so that their ideas are validated and even reinforced. This is strengthened by the fact that western perspectives have generally come to be idealized by Filipinos.

C. Negotiating Truth with the DDS Media

Media and information play a big role for nation-building. However, the proliferation of “fake news” and the emergence of the OFW Duterte supporters resulted to conflicts between the press and the so-called “Duterte Media.”

Despite the issues and controversies, OFW Duterte supporters recognize the inclusion of Mocha Uson in supporting the current administration. More than a public figure, Mocha is seen as someone who can be their “voice” or because she reflects the same point of view as them. Ka-DDS found connection with Mocha Uson as their opinion leader Uson allows her self-perceived knowledge and informal influence to a wider audience. This is consistent with Berkman and Gilson (1986) that the information provided by their opinion leaders are more than formal and professional messages.

Since Mocha Uson is one of the major sources of information and opinions that the Ka-DDS consume. The media is antagonized for being so-called biased whenever they critically watch Duterte’s actions.

One of the successes of the EDSA People Power Revolution includes the freedom of the press. However, alongside with the perceived failure of the gained democracy, the ka-DDS has lost their trust for the press as they began associating the press to the other party or the “Dilawans”:

The distrust between the Ka-DDS and media institutions is very detrimental to democracy because consuming information is critical for decision making (Lyons & Henderson, 2005; Miranda & Saunders, 2003). Therefore, through the examples provided by Mocha Uson, and the sources of information being shared inside the groups, we can observe two major things: (1) they consume and share information from non-credible and co-created sources, and (2) they encourage to share and react to information.

The information that OFW Duterte supporters consume is crucial because they are not in the Philippines to experience the current situation first hand. The internet is the most accessible medium for getting news and information about the Philippines for them. It may appear that OFW supporters simply accept fabricated or false news and that they are not critical with what they read or see. However, when the framing of the story is in-line with their views and opinions, they consume it and they turn their back to factual data if it will only impede their positive constructed image of Duterte. Findings imply that OFW supporters don’t just accept media information.

The notion of information-sharing inside the group begins with “Share natin ‘to ka-DDS” (Let’s share this, fellow DDS) or the encouragement of the members to share using their personal accounts. These are propagated by the sense of responsibility to enlighten others and to embody the identity of an OFW supporter.

D. Construction of Facebook as a Medium of Convergence for Fandoms

Finally, it is important to note that the processes of discrimination and distinction, productivity and participation, and capital accumulation exist within a much broader mechanism which also demands to be examined.

By design, Facebook personalizes content for different users through algorithms (“How Does Facebook Decide,” n.d.). Due to these algorithms, OFW Duterte supporters are able to converge on Facebook groups with ease, seeing more content that caters to them in the process. Because such algorithms are tailored to a supporter’s activity, the supporter then gains an impression that Duterte’s overseas supporters, as a whole, is still “solid” and “malakas na malakas” (very strong) despite the controversies that surround Duterte’s presidency. Facebook groups also allow Duterte’s overseas supporters to share and generate cultural capital from and within the aforementioned grounds. Lastly, they are able to participate in the socio-political sphere in the Philippines despite not being geographically-present. Despite their occasional distinct identification as OFWs, many of their statements still resemble the point-of-view of a Filipino living inside Philippine borders.

Thus, Facebook becomes a platform for Duterte’s overseas supporters to exercise their political agenda in battling the perceived oppression of democracy. Apart from its profit-oriented agendas, Facebook was designed “to help people stay connected and bring us closer together with the people that matter to us” (Mark Zuckerberg, 2018, n.pag.) and built for personal connections between people (Mark Zuckerberg, 2018). The intended use of Facebook by its creators, then, is different from how Duterte’s overseas supporters use the platform.

Bijker et al. (1989) noted that a social group can interpret technologies in different ways, and online fandom-communities of OFW Duterte supporters is no exemption. Interpretive flexibility allowed the supporters to see Facebook as a political platform to push for societal changes, while design flexibility allowed them to see the features of Facebook as different ways of disseminating and sharing cultural capital among themselves.

Summary and Conclusion

Facebook allows OFW Duterte supporters to engage in a whole new world wherein they get to discriminate others and distinguish themselves from others, as well as make sense of information in ways that are unique to them.

Moreover, congruent with the findings as well as the SCOT theory, the OFW Duterte supporters converge on Facebook to forward their civic, political, and nationalistic motives. However, contrary to Fiske’s (1992) argument that fandoms are typically fuelled by admiration, the OFW Duterte supporters are fuelled by a genuine yet aggressively-manifested desire to save their country from the failure of democracy. Therefore, Facebook and the Duterte fandom groups contained therein become an echo chamber where the overseas supporters consume and produce texts – manifesting through bashing and praising. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge their worldview in making sense of the political situation in the Philippines if a policymaker wants to achieve inclusive progress and if media practitioners want to better understand the Ka-DDS community.

Implications and Recommendations

A. Implications

Our study challenges the notion that the “ka-DDS” are incapable of thought; that they are passively absorbing messages that are in favor of Duterte. We argue that the supporters are just clamoring for a better life, like most Filipinos do. Our study then promotes a more civil online discourse between conflicting political groups, not only in Facebook but across new media.

To initiate such discourse requires an understanding of the messages and ideologies that the opposing political groups adhere to. Thus, any attempt to persuade a supporter to change his or her political views requires the personalization of message. This way, they will be able to look at the compelling issues in their perspective, not on the perspective they vilify. Thus, any change of political paradigms shall happen organically, not something that is forcibly imposed by a “superior and more civil” political group. Changes that come from the inside are better than any persuasive messages that appear to “invade” the supporters’ socio-political space.

B. Recommendations

While our study has captured a firm image of the “ka-DDS” phenomenon, it is still necessary to examine the phenomenon in different angles. Future studies may conduct interviews or more personal methods to further document the shared narrative of OFW Duterte supporters. Further studies may also focus on another subset of Duterte’s supporters.

Furthermore, our textual analysis approach presents an opportunity to study political fandoms that cater to other polarizing political leaders. Given that more personal methods may not be feasible due to the underlying political context, it may be appropriate to approach other political fandoms in the same way.

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About the Authors

Samantha M. Gabronino, Brian Angelo C. Sereneo, Benedict Samuel M. Salazar and John Lester F. Cruz are students of University of the Philippines Diliman

**Rethinking Alternative Media:
The Production of Content, Editorial Policy, Identity and Politics**

*Muria Endah Sokowati and Fajar Junaedi
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta*

Abstract

The study of alternative media should become the current interesting issue in media and communication studies. Couldry (2002) stated that alternative media should become the central to the developing agenda of media and communication studies since they challenge the massive concentration power of mainstream media. In the Internet era, different media with various types emerge to challenge the existing media, called 'alternative media' (Atton, 2002), 'radical media' (Downing, 2000), or 'citizens media' (Rodriguest, 2001). The term 'alternative' used since the media has different characteristics comparing to mainstream media. One thing that differentiates alternative media with mainstream media is its radical content. Radical means anti anti-capitalist and has a clear ideological position, sometimes in opposition to the dominant ideology. The diversity of information offered through the content of alternative media provides convenience of access and widens the public perspective. Alternative media should be more independent than mainstream media. The growing of media platform based on Internet encourages the rise of alternative media. The emergence of new media variants make mass media that has long existed in the Indonesian media industry lost its dominance. This phenomenon brings us a question: Can the media still independent from any economic or political interest? Using Mojok.co as the case studies, this paper will explore the process of production, including the editorial policies and editorial schemes: the planning, production to distribution. The analysis of the production process will explain how the term 'alternative' is attached to the Mojok.co. This paper also demonstrates the political attitudes of Mojok.co, covering ownership and control issues.

Introduction

The emergence of digital media is increasingly inevitable in the present. This cannot be separated from the rapid development of communication and information technology followed by the emergence of various internet-based media platforms, such as social media or social networking sites, news sites, chat applications, websites, blogs, and others.

The 2018 Global Digital Report data created by WeAreSocial in collaboration with Hootsuite shows quite surprising data. One of the examples is that the number of Internet users in the world has reached 4,021 billion people, more than half of the human population on earth. In Indonesia, the number of Internet users has reached 132 million, approximately half of the total population of Indonesia. 60% of it accesses the Internet using smart phones. The aspect of access and duration of using the Internet has also increased. Based on the 2 Internet usage time, Indonesia is in the fourth top rank in the world with an average duration of using the Internet for 8 hours 51 minutes every day (Ramadhan, 2018).

The enthusiasm of the Indonesian people for internet-based media or digital media confirms that digital media is an important means for them to obtain information. Nugroho and Syarief (2012) stated that Indonesian people now have turned to digital media as a source of information due to their distrust of the mainstream media. There are several reasons not to trust information: first, the quality of journalists and reporting in Indonesia is quite poor because of the high demands of journalists in the tight competition of the media industry in Indonesia. The speed of news takes precedence over accuracy. Second, journalists often ignore the journalistic code of ethics in reporting without any clear sanctions. These reasons encouraged the emergence of digital media as the alternative.

The history of the rise of the Internet in Indonesia related to political background (Sen and Hill, 2007), and so did the development of digital media. It was also used politically to organize protests, support the supervision of the electoral process, and accommodate the need for free space for expression that would support Indonesian democracy (Jurriens and Tapsel, 2017). It showed that digital media was utilized by the Indonesian people to maintain and improve the practice of democracy in Indonesia. This also makes digital

media an alternative media, which is different from the mainstream media. Digital media offers variety of facilities, formats and contents that can build community involvement and political participation to support democracy. The cases of Coin for Prita and Cicak vs Buaya¹ in 2009 were the examples of the activism phenomenon through social media. The two cases of social activism could implicate to policy changes. It proved that digital media was the effective means to encourage movement to the society to create changes.

¹Coin for Prita in 2009, one of the histories in social media activism phenomenon in Indonesia. Prita, the patient of International hospital in Tangerang wrote about the bad service of the hospital in the mailing list and this brought her to the jail since the hospital accused her to defame the hospital's reputation. The social media user then raise their attention to Prita by spreading Coin for Prita campaign to collect coin to pay the fine, so Prita can free from jail. Still in 2009, social media success in voicing public's objection of an attempt to criminalize the member of the Commission of Corruption Eradication or KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi). The public pressure was success in influencing the policy to free Bibit-Chandra, the member of KPK, from the jail. This case was famous with the term Cicak vs Buaya, or Lizard vs Crocodile. Lizard represented the KPK, whereas Crocodile represented The Cop who forced to investigate this case and criminalized the KPK's members.

Supported by the rapid development of digital technology, the possibility of alternative media publications is increasingly open. There are two things that are taken into account by the authors to be the background for this phenomenon. First, the process of online media production is cheaper than print media, directly proportional to the distribution of cheaper and massive online media content. Second is the easy and inexpensive consumption of online media, along with the advancement of computer and smart phone technology as the media for accessing digital content. Another supporting factor is that digital media is able to provide broad opportunities for the public to produce, distribute, and consume information.³

Digital media allows users to actively participate, thus it also gives users the opportunity to become contributors. This implicates in a blurring of the boundary between source and recipient. This characteristic revolutionizes the source-recipient dichotomy of conventional media. As a result, each digital media users can position their roles as both source and recipient, or producer and consumer of information. Production and consumption activities become blurred. The function of source-receiver or producer-consumer still exists, but who runs it becomes unclear.

All these advantages lead to the shift of the searching for public information from the mainstream media, for example print media such as newspapers and magazines, to digital media. The changes of habits in seeking information cause the broke of most newspapers and magazines businesses. According to the Nielsen report in 2017, the level of digital media penetration has increased by 11%. The number of newsreaders in online media reaches around six million, far more than the print media readers who only reached 4.5 million (Reily, 2017).

The users of Internet network-based smart technology, both computers and smartphones, are generally young people. According to a survey conducted by the Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII) shows that 49.52% of all Internet users in Indonesia are generation Z or young people born in 1995-2005. The Nielsen survey cited above also mentions that around 17% of young people at age 10-19 get information via the Internet. While for digital media readers at age 20-49 are 80% (APJII, 2017).

Data from Central Bureau of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik or BPS) shows that 78.89% of young people use the internet to get information or news, while the biggest access is to use social media or social networking sites as much as 90.61% (90 Persen Anak Muda di Indonesia Gunakan Internet Untuk Media Sosial, 2018). Thus it can be concluded that young people make digital media as their main media consumption in seeking information or news.

For this reason, the media must begin to consider the importance of media digitization to attract this generation. This has implications for the contents of alternative online media aimed at the audience of young people. Alternative media producers who read this opportunity to build site platforms whose contents are

managed for the needs of young people. Some alternative online media that are familiar with young people are Mojok.co.

Mojok.co, an online media that was published on August 28, 2014 has unique characteristics. This uniqueness lies in how this media presents content with a different perspective from other media, as well as relaxed, sarcastic, satirical and humorous way of telling its stories that keep away from being formal. The chief editor of Mojok.co stated that Mojok.co has creative content as the content presentation method. Besides being creative in the content, Mojok.co also prioritizes the community engagement as the media strategy. The prominence of creative content and community approaches makes Mojok.co considered as the alternative media.

Alternative media have several characteristics, including the presentation of radical content politically, socially and culturally (Darnton, 1990), or having a commitment to innovation that always involves citizens, or the community (O'Sullivan et. al, 1994). It is reasonable for Mojok.co to be alternative since it has several criteria, which is relevance to the characteristic of alternative media.⁴

It is complicated to define alternative media since it is explained in variety definitions. Alternative can be has meaning as anti-mainstream in the aspect of production, distribution and consumption. But it can also mean anti-capitalist. As explained by Atton (2006) that discussing alternative media is not limited to things that are political or resistant to something. But it refers to new cultural forms. The production and consumption of alternative media are different from the mainstream one. For this reason, further research is needed on how alternative media exist in Indonesia to understand what and how their production and consumption practices are.

Mojok.co is an important and interesting corpus of research considering the characteristics of this media as described previously. There are some important issues potentially become focus of interest, such as the process of content production, which is related to editorial policies, relations to audiences, challenges faced, the political situation surrounding, and political attitudes towards developing issues and discourses. The media consumption process is also interesting to be analyzed further. Community engagement as the advantage of this media puts the audience take roles not only as consumers, but also involved in the production process. This paper will focus on the production aspect of Mojok.co. We explain and analyze Mojok.co's content production process and political attitudes as an alternative media for young people.

Defining Alternative Media

Themes related to alternative media are important and become contemporary issues in media and communication studies. Couldry (2002) stated that alternative media should be considered as the main concern because these media are able to challenge the power of mainstream media concentration.

In the cyber era, the emergence of new media variants made mass media that had long existed in the Indonesian media industry lose its dominance. These media are known as alternative media (Atton, 2006), radical media (Downing, 2001) or citizen media (Rodriguez, 2001).

Alternative media have different characteristics with mass media or mainstream media. Atton (2006) explains that one thing that distinguishes alternative media from mainstream media is its radical nature. Radical, according to Atton, means anti-capitalist and has a clear ideological position, sometimes in opposition to the dominant ideology. The variety of information offered through alternative media contents provides the easy access and brings to the wealth of perspectives of public. Atton (2006) stated as follows, "...alternative media may be considered as offering radical, anti-capitalist relations of production often coupled to projects of ideological disturbance and rupture."

In order to understand what alternative media is, here are important elements to distinguish alternative media from mainstream media.

1. Spirit for Social Change⁵

The commitment to social change makes alternative media is identical to the term of radical media. Radical means that the media makes revolutionary social changes. Tim O'Sullivan (1994) introduced the idea of

'radical' social change as the main goal of 'alternative' media. These media openly reject or challenge established and institutionalized politics. This means that the media supports changes in society, or at least provides a critical assessment of traditional values.

Meanwhile Fiske (1992) has shown the difference between mainstream media and alternative media in selecting news and also the way or process of the selection made. Alternative media specifically pays attention to the events indicated as the practices of repression. This is of course different from mainstream media, which tend to display contents based on the ruling groups' political and economic interests.

The alternative media's practice often contradicts to the beliefs held by the majority or normative perspective. In order to realize this commitment, alternative media must be independent. Alternative media independence then refers to the elements described in the following points.

2. Collective and Innovative Process of Production

Furthermore, O'Sullivan defined independent production as an important part of alternative media. He noted two further characteristics, which define alternative media practices that are different from mainstream media: (1) democratic/collectivist production processes; and (2) commitment to innovation or experiment in form and/or content (1994: 205). O'Sullivan focused on collective production processes to produce innovative content.

Collective production is a form of production that also involves the audience, or makes information consumers as producers of information. Collective production also refers to the ongoing process of communication between producer and consumer, and not to the communication function or purpose of information distribution only.

This is what McQuail (2010) called as the media adopting democratic-participant models. It refers to the use of media for interaction and communication in communities, interest groups, and small-scale subcultures that support horizontal interaction patterns. In this case participation and interaction become the key concepts (McQuail, 2010: 132).

The collective production process can be indicated from the position of the producers. They don't come from professional media workers. They are ordinary people who love and have ability in writing. Sometimes they are not accepted in mainstream media because the writing material is considered radical.

The production process as mentioned before has produced innovative contents and forms. From the content, alternative media tend to be politically, socially and culturally radical. The point is that alternative media must have commitment to make changes in society. From the graphics, the appearance of letters, visual illustrations and aesthetics have specific characteristics. The style of language used which tends to be egalitarian is also the supported the uniqueness of alternative media. The reprographics refers to the form of the media itself. Before digital technology penetrated in all aspect of life as it happens now, alternative media was formed through mimeographs, IBM settings, offset litho, or photocopying. The physical/hardcopy format of alternative media nowadays is not longer popular. The digitally/softcopy format is more profitable in production, distribution, and consumption aspect.

3. An interactive space for Sender-Receiver / Producer-Consumers

One of the advantages of digital media is the blurring of the boundary between sender-receiver/producer-consumer. This is also the difference between alternative media (especially internet/digital based) with mainstream media. This advantage makes alternative media as means to build engagement and encourage the direct participation of the community that becomes its audience.

4. Flexible Structure Of Organisation

For O'Sullivan, alternative media has commitment for social change. The citizens (not elites) involve in this process. In addition, alternative media is committed to have innovation in forms and contents. Thus alternative media does not only take into account the contents, but also the organizational presentations and procedures.

5. Anti Commercialisation

Alternative media are anti-commercialization media. This is the ideological position of alternative media that distinguishes it from mainstream media. To support the financial needs, alternative media has to negotiate with various parties. However, the financial support from certain parties doesn't have orientation to seek profit.

6. Audience/Consumers are subcultures/minority groups

Alternative publications actually support the opinions of minority groups, and views on those who do not have access to be conveyed by mainstream media. Alternative media now emerges and provides many choices for consumption of information to the public. Alternative media also encourages audience to participate to be the content providers.

Dahlgren (1997) describes the model of alternative media. In the model, he stressed that the purpose of ongoing communication become the benchmark for determining whether a media is an alternative. In alternative media, social objectives are more important than informative goals. Alternative media does not prioritize the ongoing process of sending information from producers to consumers. The more important thing is how alternative media can become a means to build engagement with the citizens.

Dahlgren explained the need to explain comprehensively the meaning of 'alternative' or 'radical' of the media. Does 'alternative' or 'radical' mean anti-mainstream, anti-capitalist, or anti the domination of ideology? The question can be developed into two things: what is 'radical' or 'alternative' is in terms of the medium? And how is the form of 'radical' and 'alternative' from the insight of communication process? To be able to answer these questions, there are three things that need to be explored further. All three are as follows: (a) Sender and production process, (b) The form and content of the message, (c) Process and impact of revenue and consumption. These three things are three important elements in the communication process: the sender-message-recipient. Thus, in analyzing alternative media it is necessary to explore the aspects of production, distribution and consumption. This paper focuses on the production process, which also involve the content and consumption aspect.

Mojok.co is an online media that contains opinions/opinions from the writers that are presented in a sarkas style. "Sedikit Nakal, Banyak Akal" (little naughty, but lots of ideas) is the slogan used by Mojok.co. In accordance with the slogan, Mojok.co received articles written out of the box. Instead of receiving articles written in a standard writing style, Mojok.co's style of writing is relaxed, playful, and coffee shop chat like. It often uses a satirical diction that is contrary to mainstream thinking.

At first, Mojok.co only published one article per day. It comes from editorial posts or reader submissions. It was the first phase of Mojok.co. In this first phase, Mojok.co had a total of 200 writers publishing their writings. The first phase ended on May 28, 2017 when Puthut EA, the founder, announced the closing of the Mojok.co's site on his personal Facebook account. Mojok.co was vacuum on that day up to March 28, 2018. Mojok.co then opened its site again with a new look. This site also had more rubrics. When it was widely announced that Mojok.co was closed, several parties from major media institution contacted Mojok.co and wanted to finance it. After assessing and adjusting Mojok.co's mission, vision and interest, Tirto.id was chosen as an investor. Up to now Putut stated that the presence of Tirto.id did not change the typical style of Mojok.co. There is no intervention from Tirto.id in content policy of Mojok.co. Tirto.id provides enough space for Mojok.co to remain creative.

Tirto.id is a news, article and infographic website in Indonesia. Atmaji Sapto Anggoro who also served as Chief Editor and CEO founded this media. Its funding is carried out independently by Sapto Anggoro (Editor in Chief), Teguh Budi Santoso (Chief Content Officer) and Nur Samsi (Chief Technology Officer). The three people are known to have worked at Detik.com, a famous online news site that has long existed in the online media industry in Indonesia. They also became director of a media monitoring company called Binokular Media Utama, based in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Tirto.id is an online news site that won many prestigious awards of journalism even though it was just launched in August 2016 and became the first Indonesian media that pass the IFCN (International Fact-Checking Network) verification. It becomes the media that has some

controversies, both related to the controversial perspective of the contents and the practice of Fact-checking on other media without verification.

Mojok.co's presence got the positive response from netizens. Mojok.co is able to reach 400,000 views in one day. Within a month it can reach 4,000,000 page views. By pursuing view as an indicator, actually Mojok.co is the same as other online media referring to Alexa's ranking. Mojok.co is currently ranked 138 (in July), while in March it was ranked 149. Within 4 months, Mojok.co had significant increase in Alexa rankings. Before the investment, Mojok.co only produced a maximum of 2 or 3 posts per day. The investment required Mojok.co to recruit more workers, and currently the number of workers is 16 people. The having of 16 workers led Mojok.co to be more productive in producing content. To pursue Alexa ranking, Mojok.co must improve the number of contents. It is not easy works since Mojok.co doesn't produce news. Improving the number of article's publication could also eliminate the writing character of Mojok.co.

In addition to increase the number of published articles, pursuing the Alexa ranking also led Mojok.co to expand its target audience. Mojok.co is targeting the audience at the age of 18-24. It also problematic since the writing style of Mojok.co doesn't match to the characteristic of young people at the age of 18-24. They don't like the satirical language style often used. It is hard to understand among young people. In the end, Mojok.co has to increase the number of rubrics related to young people's predilection with some changes in writing styles. Again, this altered Mojok.co's uniqueness. As an effort to attract young people at those ages, Mojok.co opens the internship opportunities for students.

Pursuing the Alexa ranking also caused the personnels of Mojok.co to work under pressure based on tight targets. There is no relaxing work routine. Most of Mojok.co's personnels are not the media professional. They have no formal background in the previous media. Most are writers and bloggers. Instead of having work experience as media professional, they precisely come from media community, such as independent book publication, radio community, or campus press. Due to the personnels' working experiences, the requirement to work under strict target often becomes the problem.

The articles published in Mojok.co's website have gone through the curation process. The Mojok.co's production team consists of 5 editors and 1 editorial secretary. The editorial team receives script from the contributors whose text is sent via e-mail to redaksi@mojok.co. Contributors can send the manuscript to fill in the Mojok.co's rubrics, such as Esai, Cipox, Curhat, OtoMojok.co, Konter, Balbalan, and Liputan. Furthermore, the editorial secretary will sort out the articles, which already pass the curation. The editor then edits the selected texts. Editing is done to adjust the text with the character of Mojok.co. In one day there are about six to seven manuscripts published.

The curation also avoids the articles containing SARA (Suku Agama Ras dan Antar Group or Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Inter-group) and also sensitive issues politically and culturally. The articles must also have a clear argument, not just agree or disagree. The ideas must be strong and reasonable. In addition, Mojok.co also publishes writings in accordance with the theme related to current issues. It can be identified by referring through discussions on Facebook or Twitter, and other online media, such as CNN. The editorial team will select competent contributors to produce writing related to the selected themes. After receiving the manuscript from the contributor, the editorial team does the curation. The Mojok.co has commitment to establish the closeness with the community. It is build since the first time planning of Mojok.co and will still develop in the future. Mojok.co will prioritize the community engagement. Mojok.co was established due to the community of friends. The chosen of Tirto.id as the only investor was also motivated by the friendship consideration (the personnel of Tirto.id are in Mojok.co's friend circles). It is part of Mojok.co's commitment to keep the community. As the consequence of the community engagement, Mojok.co attempts to create the strong figures to be Mojok.co's personification. The figures, such as Putut EA, Agus Mulyadi, and Iqbal Daryono are well-known writers and bloggers, and they are the editorial team of Mojok.co. Mojok.co has created all the figures as Mojok.co's personification in social media. It is the way to get closer to its audience. The statuses of the figures in Facebook or Twitter have been able to get a large number of followers. The figures often link their social media accounts to Mojok.co's website.

This strategy is successful to make all the figures representing Mojok.co, and strengthens the bonds between Mojok.co and its audience. Mojok.co as a media in delivering its content is not just for sharing information. But more important objective is to establish certain relationships with the readers. This is what engagement means, the bonds between the media and the audience. From the beginning Mojok.co already had writers who had engagement with the readers. To get more close connection to the readers from various communities, Mojok.co also made visits to certain communities to hear their opinions. The results of the visit were written in the Bertamu Seru rubric.

Mojok.co has principles to be neutral, especially when writing issues on events confronting different perspectives, such as political issue, or LGBT issues. The argument of being neutral is that Mojok.co tries to build critical thinking. If journalism adheres to the cover both side principles, then Mojok.co has the same principle. The principle of neutrality is still maintained, although it is not easy. Some problems have challenged this commitment. For example, there are articles coming from the writers (not the editorial staffs) discussing controversial issues, let's say LGBT issue. Mojok.co's editorial received some articles with the pros and cons position of that issue. Mojok.co has willingness to publish both sides, but the editorial policy of Mojok.co made the editor selected the articles, which meet the Mojok.co's characters. Selecting one good quality articles in one side brought to the rejection of other bad quality articles, which can be in the opposite side. It often misleads the readers in identifying Mojok.co's position on LGBT issue.

Sometimes, to avoid such misleading image, Mojok.co decides not to publish articles related the controversial issue. It is Mojok.co's editorial policy to build the character as the media, which appreciates any sides of arguments. Mojok.co's attempt not to take side of certain position is actually the strategy to have a safe play. This principle can be interpreted as Mojok.co's effort to expand the reach of its audience. In fact, the argument of Mojok.co avoids publishing articles relating to Ahok's case because Mojok.co does not want to be involved in the conflict. But, we conclude that it just Mojok.co's strategy not to lose the audience both pro and contra.

Is It Alternative?

Looking at the current practice of production carried out by Mojok.co raises the question of whether Mojok.co is an alternative medium. The question arises, especially for readers, since there has been the change of the independence of Mojok.co. The investment from Tirto.id has clearly caused many changes. Even though Putut dismissed this, that Mojok.co would not lose its independence, Mojok.co's products showed different things. The more numbers of articles, the changes in the character of Mojok.co, the more serious writing style, the unclear ideological position of Mojok.co indicated that Mojok.co has started to lose its independence. 10 However, does the investment from Tirto.id make Mojok.co to be still alternative? As explained in the beginning, the definition and characteristics of alternative media are not simple, not just about its independence. Downing (2001: ix) stated that alternative media is often simplified as a media that is different from mainstream media. But if it only refers to this, then Mojok.co's position is problematic. There are several things that need to be further analyzed to understand Mojok.co's position between the dualism of alternative media versus mainstream media.

Downing (2001) has warned that alternative media is difficult to categorize considering alternative media have different approaches and executions of storytelling and reportage. Kenix (2011: 18) further explains that the definition of alternative media never fix depending on the contemporary culture as the context of the media. For this reason, it is necessary to understand the cultural context to analyze alternative media. Digital media is also often called alternative media, especially at the beginning of its appearance. Social media such as Facebook, or Twitter have been attached as alternative media given their revolutionary characteristics compared to conventional analog media. However, whether at this time when new media platforms have sprung up, so many types of social media, is it still relevant to call digital media an alternative medium? Of course the answer is not as simple as yes or no. There are several characteristics and approaches that need to be considered to answer that question.

If we judge from Mojok.co's enthusiasm and commitment at the beginning of its establishment until post investment, it still shows its alternative spirit. Alternative spirit means commitment to have engagement with the community through its contents that are close to the community. It becomes the difference of Mojok.co

from the mainstream media. Alternative media in disseminating its contents is more oriented to relationships with the reader community than just conveying information (Atton, 2006).

Commitment to community engagement has implications for other alternative media characters, the commitment to innovation. Atton (2006) stated that social media always prioritizes innovation. The innovative aspect of Mojok.co lies in several aspects. Mojok.co has been successful in building its image. The image of this media relates to the satirical style of writing, as explained in the previous session. This innovative performs Mojok.co's closeness to the reading community. Based on these argumentation, Mojok.co is still appropriate to be alternative media.

In addition, Atton (2006) also mentioned that alternative media provide an interpretation of events through unusual perspectives, which cannot be found in other media. Mojok.co used to give unusual perspective (compared to other media) in its articles. This unusual perspective was performed when Mojok.co told the story of the horrendous corruption case involving 40 of 45 members of the Regional People's Representative Assembly. When other media published with the focus on the arrest of 40 members of the Regional People's Representative Assembly, Mojok.co actually wrote to explain the reason of the rest of the members could escape, with intriguing title "Beberapa Kemungkinan Pada 4 Anggota DPRD Kota Malang yang Tidak Diciduk KPK" (Some Possibilities in four Members of the House of Regional People's Representative Assembly in Malang that Are Not Sentenced by the Corruption Eradication Commission).

The same thing also performed when Mojok.co wrote the success of Hartono, Indonesia's richest tycoon who won the bronze medal in bridge competition at the 2018 Asian Games. While other media glorified the victory of Hartono as the oldest and richest Asian Games 2018 medal winner, Mojok.co actually wrote the title "Konspirasi Pasca Bambang Hartono Meraih Medali Perunggu di Asian Games" (Bambang Hartono's Post-Conspiracy to Achieve Bronze Medals at the Asian Games), the satirical article in telling Hartono's success. The article explain the events through different interpretations or points of view. Hamilton (in Atton, 2006) stated that alternative media must be deprofessionalized, decapitalized, and deinstitutionalized. Of the three characters, Mojok.co only has the first character, deprofessionalized. Mojok.co's personnels who were not professionals in the media field indicate that characteristic.

Mojok.co owned the other two characters before the vacuum period. Mojok.co had never pursued certain profits or targets. Writing and managing Mojok.co is done independently. Tirto.id's investment in Mojok.co causes Mojok.co to become capitalized as well as institutuonalized. Alexa's ranking target becomes Mojok.co's crew burden in managing the media. Tirto.id's consideration in many ways makes Mojok.co no longer independent. The spirit and motivation of Putut and friends, as well as input from readers who disappointed to the closing of Mojok.co's site keep Mojok.co still exists. It encouraged Mojok.co to negotiate the media idealization and the need for investment. The implication of the investment can be ascertained to eliminate Mojok.co's independence little by little. Putut's initial intention for investment was not for profit, but for the survival of Mojok.co's production. However, on the next phase of Mojok.co, profit becomes something that cannot be ignored. It can be indicated on how Mojok.co starts thinking about advertising or imposing to expand the audience at the age of 18-24 as a segment.

This causes Mojok.co's ideological position to be unclear. There are some indications of obscurity of Mojok.co's ideological position. First, there is a switch of writing style from satirical and informal to the more serious style. In the previous, the readers while reading satirical article, they could recognize this article was Mojok.co's. Impressed as a heavy article, but for the loyal readers, they could simply understand what Mojok.co's criticized. In the present, the readers find the difference styles of Mojok.co's articles. It is still satirical, but in different tone. The switch made shows the expansion of its target of audience. The wider the reach of the audience, the less specific its ideological position.

Second, Mojok.co seems to have the neutral ideological position. Instead of performing neutrality, Mojok.co do not show its concern to the certain groups. As a result, Mojok.co has no commitment to social change by supporting minority issues. This is certainly not an alternative media. Atkinson (2006: 252) stated that the main characteristic of alternative media is to have non-commercial sources and try to have a critical social

role and challenge existing power structures by supporting ideas such as anti-capitalism, consumerism, patriarchy and so on. It is not found in Mojok.co. Instead of being fair, the obscurity of Mojok.co's position strengthens the assumption that Mojok.co is playing safe in order to enter all circles and not to lose certain groups of readers. The main goal again is to increase Alexa rank.

Mentioning Mojok.co as an alternative media still applies to a number of characteristics, but it doesn't match in others'. Thus the dualism of alternative media versus mainstream media is no longer relevant in the Mojok.co case, as well as other digital media cases. In the current time, as happened on Facebook, Twitter and other social media, Mojok.co will become a new mainstream media.

Conclusion

The Mojok.co production process prioritizes community approaches, or what is known as community engagement. The dissemination of the articles carried out refers to these interests. The implication, Mojok.co prioritizes content innovation, both in language style, rubric and graphic display. The entry of Tirto.id as an investor resulted in a lot of changes in Mojok.co's production, such as a larger number of rubrics, an expanded reader segment, an unclear ideological position, and language that was not too satirical and humorous. Mojok.co began to lose its independence in terms of production. Pursuing Alexa rankings and plans to advertise are Mojok.co's considerations become prioritize that had never been thought before.

Reflecting on the Mojok.co's case, defining alternative media becomes more complicated. If the definition of alternative media is not fixed, then an alternative media redefinition is needed to explain the media like Mojok.co. Alternative media are innovative media. Its innovation makes it different from mainstream media. Alternative media have the passion to engage with readers, bringing up the writers or personnel who are part of the citizens/readers. Engagement and innovation are key words for alternative media, so even though the media has been institutionalized and capitalized, it does not necessarily make the media lose its alternative.

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About the Author

Muria Endah Sokowati and Fajar Junaedi are faculty members of the Department of Communication at the Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

**Beauty and the Beat: Thoughts on Female Radio DJs, Media Convergence,
and the Proliferation of Media's Idea of Beauty**

*Allison Anne Gray Atis
University of the Philippines Diliman*

Abstract

This study initiated in 2015 looked at the apparent and seemingly recent inclination of the radio industry, especially in different Metro Manila FM radio stations, with having 'attractive' female radio DJs; having the question on how the female radio DJs are recently represented especially in the proliferation of the Internet and the social media. The toolkit offered by Jason Bainbridge (2008) is what was utilized in the analysis of the texts: 1) encountering the texts; 2) analyzing the texts; and 3) encoding the texts. The first two filters in Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's updated propaganda model (2002) – 1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; and 2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media – are used to guide in making sense of the findings, with high regards on the link of these aspects to Aeron Davis's (2013) discussions on 'promotional cultures'. Taking media convergence into consideration, this study aimed to determine if the deemed representations in the broadcast radio in the advent of more technological advancements proliferate the commodification and objectification of women to adhere to the demands of the political economy of the medium or does this provide a point of distinction from the prior media representations of women. As noted by Martha Thompson and Michael Armato (2012, p. 208) it is essential to investigate the role of media in "creating and reinforcing gender images" in order to have an "understanding of gender". Quoting Gill (2007) in their exploration, "From a feminist perspective, media representations matter because they are connected to ongoing oppressions while also offering the potential to create social justice." This study can provide a useful insight on representations of women evidently reflected visually now even in the broadcast radio.

Introduction

"First, don't go into an occupation where looks matter a lot," he says in an interview with the Wall Street Journal. "Don't be a TV broadcaster; be a radio broadcaster..."

This is an excerpt from an online article entitled 'Attractive People Are Simply More Successful' (Stanger, 2012) that I have encountered upon pursuing this study. As a country with a deemed fixation on beauty, e.g. reverence of pageants, beauty products, among others, this Western article can also describe our country's position in line with the study discussed and the point of view in regarding the 'physical aspect' in the said article. The television and film industry, with its visual aspects, can be a site to acknowledge for this kind of preference. For much too long, the said media industries in the country had presented a lot of representations of 'beauty', especially when it comes to the depiction of women. Going along with the many recent changes in the media landscape fairly relevant with the said 'convergence' of 'emerging media' innovations and traditional broadcast forms, this excerpt may seem to sound naive, aside from it being a tad discriminatory, with what can be observed especially in the Philippine broadcast radio industry to date.

"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 behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society." (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 1) Up until today, radio is still regarded as an effective tool for entertainment and as a source of information. However, with the distinctions in the genres for AM and FM, there seems to be an association focused on each – AM as more on news and FM as more on music or entertainment. Nowadays, especially with the younger generations' preferences, and in terms of mobility and accessibility, it can be presumed that more people listen to the FM stations. It may also be attributed to the preference with entertainment over news, which is actually the case even in the early days of radio in the country – where "[n]ews did not enjoy as much airtime as music and other entertainment programs..." (Enriquez, 2008, p. 101)

The role of advertising as a driving force has been felt from the initial phases of radio in the country and it can be presumed that it is the same up until the recent times, especially now with the various technological advancements that up the competition. "The institutionalization of advertising as the principal support of radio programs in the 1930s led to a standard of professionalism in program production. Advertisers expected polished programs that they believed would help develop a good name and credibility for their products." (Enriquez, 2008, pp. 102-103). In relation to the advertising, it was still claimed that "[e]ven in the age of Facebook and Twitter, good old radio is still an important medium, with a growing number of FM listeners tuning in via mobile." (Adobo Magazine, 2014) Even pointing out that, "[r]adio is still an important medium and has its share of listening peaks throughout the day. When it comes to measuring return on investment, we have found that it is a vital means of communication at this current day and age of the internet and social media." With this, radio stations think of various and creative ways to have the edge in the tight arena.

"The rise of the radio personality may be related to the role of advertising in broadcasting. Sponsored programs were produced by the advertisers themselves, who selected, hired, trained, and polished the radio performers and then turned them into celebrities through entertainment programs that aired often and regularly, creating audience expectations and developing the habit of listening among audiences." (Enriquez, 2008, p. 103) Even with this kind of process back then, there seemed no direct regard specifically for the 'level of attractiveness' of a radio personality. What mattered are the talent, the quality of voice and the ability of radio talents to engage the listeners. There were more male radio announcers before and it can be noted though that in the early days of radio, most were Filipino Mestizos – those who are of Spanish-Filipino or American-Filipino descents. Nowadays, the deemed disparity between male and female radio DJs seemed to have diminished, but when it comes to the physical features of the radio personalities/celebrities, as per initial observations on some patterns, it may be noted that not much has changed – the Western influence on the definition of 'beauty' can still be observed. To quote Illo(1999, p. 49) on the particular shift in the Filipina definition of beauty as influenced by colonialism: "[p]articularly after the end of the Second World War, popular culture presented a different image of what constitutes beauty. Unlike the prewar poets [who have "generally extolled the attraction to soft, dusky skin, sometimes alluding to the brownness of the earth; the morena, the kayumanggi"], the new image-makers stress not only color (fair, mestiza) but also a particular body shape. Print advertisements invariably show models who, although dark-haired, are fair (maputi or white), taller than average Filipinas, and curvaceous. While Twiggy and other "hungry look" models (Kate Moss, being the most recent) have entered the national consciousness, the image that lingers is still that of a beauty-pageant sort of body: slim but well-shaped."

This study is set to look at the apparent and seemingly recent inclination of the radio industry, especially in different FM radio stations, with having 'attractive' female radio DJs; having the question on how the female radio DJs are recently represented especially in the proliferation of the Internet and the social media. The toolkit offered by Jason Bainbridge (2008) is what is utilized in the textual analysis of the texts: 1) encountering the texts; 2) analy[z]ing the texts; and 3) encoding the texts. The limitation of looking at the representations in the FM radio stations in Metro Manila is determined by an analysis of the primary texts, which are the 2015 online articles of When in Manila listing the "15 Prettiest Radio DJs in Manila" (Arsua, 15 Prettiest Radio DJs in Manila, 2015) and the "15 Prettiest Radio DJs in Manila....Part 2!" (Arsua, 2015). The findings were also furthered through the analysis of the supplementary texts – the male counterpart articles on the "Top 15 Sexiest Men on Radio: Manila's Hottest Male DJs" (Beltran, 2015) and the "10 Cutest Male Radio DJs in Manila... Part 2!" (Beltran, 2015) for a point of comparison, together with the radio stations' websites, and the DJs' Facebook accounts and/or pages, with consideration on general observations of the trends in the audience comments.

The first two filters in Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's updated propaganda model (2002) – 1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; and 2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media – are used to guide in making sense of the findings, with high regards on the correlation of these aspects to Aeron Davis's (2013) ideas and discussions on 'promotional cultures'. Taking into consideration the media convergence that will also be observed in this paper, this study aims to determine if the deemed gender representations in the broadcast radio in the advent

of more technological advancements proliferate the commodification and objectification of women to adhere to the demands of the political economy of the medium or does this provide a point of distinction from the prior media representations of women.

As noted by Martha Thompson and Michael Armato (2012, p. 208) it is essential to investigate the role of media in “creating and reinforcing gender images” in order to have an “understanding of gender”. Quoting Gill (2007) in their exploration, “From a feminist perspective, media representations matter because they are connected to ongoing oppressions while also offering the potential to create social justice.” They have also acknowledged the weight of “undertaking a gendered analysis of the media” due to its complexities. Taking into consideration and mainly focusing on representation, the notions are guided by what has been emphasized by Tony Krijnen and Sofie Van Bauwel,

“Representation has a dual meaning. While the first, representation, refers to a numerical analysis of women and men’s presences in the media, the second is more complex to understand and involves study of the ideologies of gender. The media are thus viewed as an arena for the struggle of cultural meanings.” (2015, p. 21)

This study does not assume to be representative of the broadcast radio industry in terms of the prevalent notions as a whole but instead aims to provide a feasible scenario that is evident with the presence of the ‘emerging media’ and how the conventional media are exploring and capitalizing on the possibilities with this platform. Though the findings may affirm the assumptions, I would like to note that this study does not impose that the assumptions, in terms of the current trend, will be the same assumptions of the media companies and the DJs themselves. These rather try to offer several perspectives, if not to give clarity to current noteworthy observations, which are based on the signs prevalent in the texts, which are reflective more of closed texts, and are put in parallel with the similar assumptions and observations of previous studies and publications together with an informed vantage point. I am hopeful that this study can provide a useful insight on representations of women evidently reflected now even in the broadcast radio.

Media Convergence: Radio and the Emerging Media

In article by the Philippine Association of National Advertisers (PANA), it was told that the “[m]edia consumption in the Philippines is showing how Filipinos today favor screen-based media. Television is at the peak of the country’s media landscape, followed by mobile, outdoor (out-of-home), the Internet and radio.” (PANA, 2015) Although radio slipped to the bottom spot, it is still being considered as a resource, with its reach to “a considerable 20 million in urban Philippines.” As furthered in the said article, which is relevant to the discussion of the convergence, “content would always be a significant driver of media consumption, and by customizing content for multiple platforms, each medium has the power to amplify others.”

In 2012, there was a study conducted entitled ‘Radio and Facebook: The relationship between broadcast and social media software in the U.S., Germany, and Singapore’. It described how “...radio adapted to peacefully coexist in the expanding media environment. Over time, radio maintained its relevance and thrived by focusing on rock music, going portable, improving its fidelity, encouraging creative personalities, and also by fine-tuning its formats to reach specific target audiences.” (Freeman, Klapczynski, & Wood, 2012) It was furthered that “The utilization of the Internet in content creation is no longer merely a novelty (i.e., to display DJ photos, programming times, and advertisers phone numbers); increasingly, it is becoming a necessary precondition for radio stations to survive and remain relevant.” This mainly shows that the radio, in these areas, had its advantages with the use of the Internet and what they refer as social media software such as Facebook.

The findings in this study highlights how Facebook enables the radio stations and users to interact through “wall posts” and “[i]n examining numerous ‘wall posts,’ there are three areas that qualify the majority of the posts: 1) designed to generate engagement; 2) promoting station benchmarks and listening; and 3) promoting radio personalities.” (Freeman, Klapczynski, & Wood, 2012). An essential discussion was provided for the third aspect in the study, which can be expounded through Davis’s (2013, p. 113) discussion about the relevance of having celebrities, where he states that “Celebrity offers alternative forms of intimacy and

guidance, albeit of a 'para-social', distanced kind. It is through celebrity that social and ethical norms and values are played out and understood. Thus, individuals construct their own identities, in part, through engaging with celebrity texts (Dyer, 1986; Stacey, 1994; Marshall, 1997; as quoted by Davis, 2013). These radio personalities, aided by the social media, can now be in a more intimate space that enables the audience to interact with them and be able to see who they are interacting with, making it a bit more personal. "Celebrity culture is far more prevalent and widespread...Processes of celebrity cultivation and maintenance have become institutionalized, systematized and commercialized. In effect, celebrity itself has become an industry." (Davis, 2013, p. 114)

Although it was acknowledged that the said study is not representative of all the cases showing the relationship between the two media, it can still paint a picture of the possibilities that can be assumed for all that deals with the same platforms. The authors have also discussed in line with their insight on how "[r]adio is always exploring ways to add value while keeping costs down", the stations they have observed "...are still seeking ways to monetize the experience and determine the return on any investments." This is a blatant manifestation of how this convergence also gives more economical advantages to the traditional medium and more creative forms to explore that can help boost broadcast radio's effectiveness.

In a more recent study in the country in 2014 entitled 'The Convergence of Philippine FM Broadcast Radio with the New Media', it was acknowledged that "Radio now lives in the digital age and struggles to keep up with the rapid advancements in technology. Radio is redefining itself by being on the Internet and on mobile phones." Furthermore, it also stated that "Now that commercialization and new media have started to dominate the playing field, it seems that radio has been re-shaped and has been forced to adjust by utilizing the technological advancements to reach its goals."

This study had its focus "on how convergence with the Internet and the mobile phone modified or transformed FM broadcast radio in the Philippines." As compared to the study formerly discussed, this study acknowledged the challenges that can be faced by the broadcast radio in the country with the proliferation of the Internet Radio and the access that most people have nowadays in terms of downloading music, which can relatively affect the FM broadcast radio industry since it was noted that it is "music-heavy" (Viray & Viray, 2014, pp. 44-45) With the study sourcing out data from three FM stations – 107.5 Win Radio ("masa" station), 98.7 DZFE (non-profit station) and 99.5 Play FM (focused on music and has less talk programs) –, the data had shown the "phenomenon of convergence" and the evident "commercialism and the profit-driven nature of radio stations." (Viray & Viray, 2014, p. 46) This is relevant to the first and second filter of the propaganda model which raised how the media companies are pressured by its participation in the market when different market proponents "have found it possible to capitalize increased audience size and advertising revenues into multiplied values of the media franchises—and great wealth" (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 7), seemingly swaying the media companies to have their focus on profitability.

Putting the "Pretty" Face behind the Voice...and Stretching the Female's Image beyond the Airwaves Encountering, Analyzing and Encoding the Current Trend through the Texts

Filipinos nowadays, especially the younger generations, can't seem to live without online access, may it be through a computer or through smartphones. This may be definitive of how the convergence is being appreciated by the populace, especially those living in the metropolitan – with its fast-paced lifestyle, and the demand for streamlined and immediate access to information. "Filipinos are no strangers to merging technology and socializing, having been regarded as the world's most active texters." (Locsin, 2014) As what was said by UM Philippines head ChitoJusi in the same article, "It is no longer enough to simply track the latest trends, because much of what you see is just background noise or, even worse, a complete distraction. What we really need is to understand the motivations behind these trends – because even the most superficial social interaction online is driven by a consumer need." (Locsin, 2014)

I have utilized the When In Manila articles on the Prettiest Radio DJs as my primary text to realize the assumptions that even the radio industry has resorted to the kind of 'promotional culture' that banks on the marketability of their 'radio celebrities/personalities', especially now with the Internet and social media. This kind of promotion falls into the following 'promotional levels' discussed by Davis (2013): "At a second

promotional level, organizations publicize their stars and the leaders they employ in order to promote themselves and their products...At a third promotional level, news and entertainment media promote celebrities as a means of gaining viewers and readers (Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004; Evans and Hesmondhalgh, 2005; as quoted by Davis, 2013). In relation to this, an excerpt lifted from the Stanger's article may be relevant to making sense of these promotional levels:

"Researchers have studied the concept of beauty as a factor in a person's success over and over again, and in multiple ways. Beautiful people tend to bring in more money for their companies, and are therefore seen as more valuable employees and harder workers, according to an article in *Psychology Today* by Dario Maestripieri, a professor of comparative human development, evolutionary biology, and neurobiology at the University of Chicago...Maestripieri calls this principle "the pleasure of dealing with good-looking people." (Stanger, 2012)

At first, one can sense that the articles are an innocent attempt denotative of the sheer appreciation of the beauty of these DJs. But through closely analyzing and encoding these texts, it is actually revealing of an ongoing proliferation of the 'promotional culture' and to be more particular, the continued 'commodification and objectification of women'. As compared to the articles done for the male radio DJs, the article used photos that are blatantly reflective of a pattern in the 'peg' of the female DJ's – seemingly sensual and showing more 'skin' – while those of the male DJs generally just have tight shots and are mostly 'clothed'. "Feminists are critical of the unequal distribution of power in media production and in media images of hypersexual women – exaggerated presentations of women's sexuality – and the negative impact these images have on children and adults." (Thompson & Armato, 2012, p. 209)

As another observation, the author of the article on female radio DJs is male and was assisted by another male; an obvious stance where one can conclude how the DJs were chosen and how the images were decided upon. To add, the captions used to describe these DJs, in both the female and male lists, were revealing of a considerable difference. For the female radio DJs list, the captions were mostly inclined solely with the looks, with side notes on some other small facts. Noting that the article is made to highlight such appreciation of the 'attractiveness', juxtaposed to the description of the male DJs (which is authored by a female), the female DJs captions showed more connotations on the physical aspects, which seems a tad limiting as compared to the male DJs captions which also highlighted traits, hobbies, interests, among others. Moreover, the female DJs article was able to achieve adding another 15 in the second part to add to the roster while the second part for the male DJs later came up with just an additional 10. The disparity may be telling of a current trend in radio stations in having more 'attractive female DJs.'

These articles are definitive of how these radio DJs are becoming visible and are also going into the generic representations as celebrities, especially on how they also carry the company name and brand; an example would be the inclusion of the name of the radio stations side by side the DJ names in the said articles, which can be a form of indirect marketing for these stations. As acknowledged by the authors of the articles, these were decided upon through checking out their social media profiles or how they put it, "by stalking them online." As per checking online, the radio stations also have their websites and they also include details about the DJs, with most websites containing the profiles and the social media links of these DJs, aside from the well-groomed and well-pegged photos available. It can be noted that Yes FM and Love Radio takes most advantage of the online presence of the DJs, with their profiles also including their own video outlets, which posits the need for DJs to produce content in order to have this portion updated. To further note details in Yes FM's website, the profile portions of the DJs present questions and elicit answers that can be considered to have suggestive meanings or sexual innuendos; a characteristic that is deemed prevalent in terms of the station's image or branding to be able to cater and be relatable to a specific and larger target audience. Almost all the known FM stations in Metro Manila were represented in the lists, with some appearing to dominate the lists with the number of 'attractive' DJs, both male and female, making it to the rosters. Among these were RX Monster Radio 93.1, Magic 89.9, 90.7 Love Radio, and 101.1 Yes FM.

"Celebrities both promote themselves and are part of elaborate promotional nexuses developed by other industries. Assisted by promotional intermediaries, they cultivate their own public images. They also

represent and promote their organizations, the cultural products to which they contribute, and goods produced by other companies. As such, they are human 'commercial intertexts' (Meehan, 1991; [quoted by Davis, 2013]) who generate 'personal brand equity' across a range of cultural planes, and therefore are a key feature of promotional culture." (Davis, 2013, p. 112)

Almost all of these DJs have their Facebook pages, which is what celebrities normally put up. It can be observed that most accounts were in the form of 'pages' and are usually categorized as 'public figure' or 'entertainer', ascertaining the 'celebrity' regard on these DJs. Majority of the accounts bear the company brand/radio stations they work for. It is also evident that these pages and accounts also garnered hundreds and thousands of followers. Upon observing the accounts of most of the female DJs, it has been evident that a number of them also endorse other products; so other than being radio DJs, they also are endorsers, with a number of them actually doing modeling stints and photo-shoots. This can be definitive of what Davis (2013, p. 116) discussed that "[a] fourth promotional level comes from organizations employing celebrities to endorse their products." More inclinations can be seen in these accounts and pages as to how it was furthered also by Davis that most organizations use the celebrity by providing free items and products to them, using the celebrity's images for promotional campaigns, and moreover, offering advertising contracts to endorse the brands.

It is noticeable that the comments cultivated from the pages and accounts usually pertains to the sheer admiration for the DJs, with recurring terms or phrases referring to the appreciation of the DJs solely based on 'how pretty' she is, up to the point that a number of people actually express that they 'started tuning in when they saw how pretty the DJ is'. It is quite evident that the level of attractiveness of the DJs can contribute to the increase of listenership, though this can be further looked into in another study involving the audience perspectives. Aside from photos, it is noticeable that these DJs also produce and posts videos on random themes and topics.

Observing the common physical traits based on the photos from the articles and in the other texts, most of the DJs had common physical traits: petite, lean, 'sexy', smooth and fair-skinned with pointed nose; this can prove that not much has changed in terms of the general definition of beauty, as this is reminiscent of the survey results of the study by Illo(1999, p. 51), which are shown in the following list:

Fair Skin and Sexy Body 51

NOTIONS OF BODY BEAUTIFUL	
In conversations with different age groups of women in a Metro Manila mixed-class neighborhood, women described the beautiful or the ideal body as follows:	
15-19 years	not too thin; tall; with small waist, long, shapely legs, and fair complexion
20-29	proportionately built, slim, medium height (neither short nor tall), with healthy skin
30-39	sexy; well-poised; healthy; slim, but with curves and a 25-inch waistline
40-49	sexy, neither too fat nor too thin
50-59	tall, medium built (neither too fat nor too thin)
60+	with 34-24-34 (body) figure and smooth skin, although not necessarily fair

I am noting again that there are hundreds and thousands of followers garnered by these radio celebrities; with what has been discussed prior, these followers can forge attachments to the identities being represented by these women. Since it is prevalent that the dominant idea of beauty is still being proliferated, even in this convergence, it can be concerning that there seemed to be little to no change in the way women are still being objectified for more profits and other gains. Shani Orgad discussed how media representations are primarily determined among other kinds of representation by how it essentially aims to 'represent' – "[i]n other words, their main function is to produce meaning, to capture in some way 'reality' in signs. (Orgad, 2012, p. 17) So to further have more media, in this case the broadcast radio, follow through with the same representations as

with what is currently trying to be changed, is to continue on with this deemed 'reality,' which can have its backlash and limiting effects. Lana Rakow and Laura Wackwitz have their own perception of the 'reality' and female representation, stating that, "...our bodies and experiences do not exist in some pure state, uncontaminated by cultural meanings. Rather, our identities, perceptions, actions, and experiences take on meanings—for ourselves and for others—based on socially available interpretations." To extend the analysis of representation, 'real' women are themselves representations...We are reminded by Penny Florence and Dee Reynolds (1995) that 'the biological body exists for the subject only through the mediation of sociocultural meanings.'"(Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004, p. 173) In this line of thought, it is not to be discounted how most of the images of these DJs may present a different perspective, a more empowering one to women most especially. But similar to what was pointed out in Davis's accounts with this line of thought: "Celebrity culture also presents a strong but false sense of equality in modern democratic society...prominent women celebrities...may represent powerful autonomous female role models. However, they also present certain gender roles that reproduce male patriarchy and the commodification of female bodies." (Davis, 2013, p. 121) Sharing the same sentiments with Tony Krijnen and Sofie Van Bauwel(2015, p. 36), the consideration should not only be on who is represented, but also how one is being represented.

This can be furthered by another discussion of Davis (2013, pp. 126-127) about the case of Jennifer 'J.Lo' Lopez. It was noted that her 'celebrity persona' offered a "complex mix of images and character traits which both challenge and sustain dominant social and cultural norms." This is with regard to the emphasis on her ethnicity, upbringing and different body image and how these are either overplayed or downplayed, depending on her "collaboration with dominant cultural norms;" which is actually in parallel also with how she represents herself as a woman. "Much has been made of Lopez's success as both an 'empowered and empowering' artist and a businesswoman in male-dominated industries. However, at the same time, she still takes on stereotypical film roles that reduce female power and autonomy...The promotion of her Latina body also serves to promote her as a 'sexualized commodity' for the male gaze... Lopez's race and class are stretched and reshaped according to audience and commercial needs. Her gendered image is connected as much to female submissiveness, personal commodification and sexualized objectification as it is to challenges to patriarchy and the male gaze." (Davis, 2013, pp. 128-129)

The reckoned instability of the representation of J. Lo may be presumed to be similar to what is prevalently observed in the analysis of the texts. While the DJs may have the freedom and the opportunities of growing in the industry, they also seemingly project such an image that is still manifesting the media's idea of beauty, and they may be 'collaborating with the dominant cultural norms' in terms of this current trend. There are numerous texts that can still be looked into in line with this phenomenon – the kind of content being produced by the DJs, the conversations they hold with several audiences in different segments, among others – most of which introduces us to different representations and significations that can still be anchored to the idea of the media being an industry, a business. Coming to terms with that thought, conflating representations to those that has been tried and tested, one may think that decisions still lie within the lines of minimizing risks and maximizing profits.

There is still no guidebook on how the media convergence will progress and how this should be rightly done, but we can still continue to be mindful of all that is being 'fed' to us through these media forms, may it be through being one of the audiences or being part of the media industries that cultivate these notions. The media may be an important tool in disseminating different ideologies but it can be policed if the people become conscious with and aware of the inconsistencies and power plays that are being depicted, especially when it comes to the concerns on gender and identity – where it seems like the road is still long and winding.

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About the author

The author is a graduate student at the University of the Philippines.

Ang Tipo Kong Babae (My Type Of Woman): (Re)Production of Archetypes of Women Based on Their Portrayal in Filipino Primetime Advertisements

Neil Arwin Mercado and John Mervin Embate
University of the Philippines Los Baños

Abstract

This study determined how Filipino primetime commercials (re)produce archetypes of women. Guided by Roland Barthes' Semiotics, this study employed a mixed methods approach to study the content of the commercials and the themes that emerge from them. Specifically, the researchers employed content analysis to identify the portrayals of women by looking at the manifest content of the advertisements, and textual analysis to generate themes and patterns of womanhood from the advertisements. A total of 169 unduplicated commercials with 227 female characters were gathered for observation. The recording of commercials started from September 4 to September 10, 2017. The advertisements were taken from three leading television networks in the country: ABS-CBN 2, GMA 7, and TV 5. Primetime was selected because it has the highest viewership among Filipino television consumers (Prieler & Centeno, 2013). The recording timeframe was set from 7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m., was divided into three one-hour blocks, and was randomly assigned to the three television networks. Majority of the female characters in the advertisements (56.39%, $n = 128$) were perceived to be young adults. Meanwhile, 44.05% ($n = 100$) of the female characters were identified to have non-working familial roles as their occupational status in the advertisements, while 42.73% ($n = 97$) of the female characters occupied family roles as their function in relation to the narrative of the story. In terms of product endorsed, more than one-fourth (26.57%, $n = 38$) of the advertisements with female characters are personal care and beauty products. In setting, one-half (50.35%, $n = 72$) of the commercials were set outdoors or indoor spaces that are not the residence of the characters. Male voice-overs (35.66%, $n = 51$) were also most likely to be used than female voice-overs. The different patterns and themes of womanhood that emerged in Filipino primetime commercials include women's ability to reach "success", humanization of the issues hindering women from achieving the ideal beauty, beauty comes with compromise and sacrifice, behind every man is a woman, women's achievements are within familial and domestic roles, acceptance of the female character of the role expected of her, dependency to men, false empowerment, and commodification of women. Meanwhile, the archetypes of women that surfaced in the study include The Elderlies, The Girl Inside the Bar, The Falsely Empowered Woman, *Chismosang Amiga* (rumormonger lady), The Mother and the Endless Household Chores, and The Strong and Independent Woman. Generally, the advertisements (re)produce stereotypes on women. Though there are portrayals of empowerment, the woman largely remains a domesticated, commercialized body who is in conflict with herself and who needs another person, often a man and her family, to define who herself.

Introduction

The scene opens up with a long shot of a church that was barely lit, only the windows from its colored windows illuminate the Virgin Mary at the altar and the small crowd gathered around the baptismal basin. The scene cuts to the close-up of the priest asking, "Ano na nga ang pangalan niya?" (What's her name?), to which the mother replied, "Sophia Bianca po." The mother was noticeably glowing, not simply because of the production lighting but because of her fair complexion that seems to bounce with light despite the dark contrast in the frame. The priest commanded the mother to remove her child's veiling. At last when the child was finally revealed, to the priest's shock, she was not as fair as her mother. She was rather dark-skinned. The frame jumped back to the parents (most definitely from the priest's perspective), and both of them were, also, noticeably white. After a series of camera movements highlighting the perplexing skin color of the infant, the commercial ends with the image of the product, a beauty soap whose name was engraved in its body. Above it hovers the tagline "naturally whitens skin."

This commercial was first shown in Philippine television in 2004. Because of its humor, it became an instant hit and also topic of controversy. This is not a surprise at all for not only does this commercial contain undertones of racism, it also brings to light how the advertising industry reinforce unrealistic and colonial standards of beauty, most especially among women. Clearly, the commercial targeted women; otherwise, the pressure brought about by having a tan, Filipino complexion should have been the weight carried by the man

in the commercial. But being a fair-skinned beauty had to be and probably will always be one of the burdens carried by the Filipino women. While this issue is cultural, Singson (2015) argues that the success of the Filipino skin whitening industry can be attributed to our American colonial past. The role of media, specifically advertisements, play a big role in this reproduction of cultural norms, ideals, and standards – however unrealistic they are. Advertisements contain images, sounds and other elements that make products palatable and attractive to its general audiences. And when these commercials are repeatedly aired, they (re)create social realities that naturalize the ideologies embedded in them. Signs become representations, and representations become reproductions.

The power of advertisements in showing recurring images of women portrayed in a stereotypical and singular manner poses a problem to the society. Hall (1997) and Lidchi (1997) wrote that social reality and the symbolic representation through which meaning is produced should have a distinction. However, media representations are major sites of struggle over definitions of what is real. The singular representation of women and womanhood in media, including advertising, creates a distorted and limited image of what is real among its audiences (Clay, Vignoles & Dittmar, 2005; Myers & Biocca, 1992)

The advertising industry is a continuously growing industry in the country. According to WARC (2010), the Philippines is one of the countries in the world that tops advertisement spending. Advertisements are strategically crafted for the brand to stick to consumers' memories and they often do this by providing images that are familiar to the consumers, commonly stereotypical associations (Nas, 2015). According Lyons and Kashima (2001) "[r]eceiving stereotype-consistent (SC) rather than stereotype-inconsistent (SI) information in communication contributes to validating the stereotypes held by the recipients" (p. 374). Stereotypes, then, are at the same time products and productive of a social reality. But these stereotypes are not only reproduced, but are also legitimized once they are embedded into advertisements and sold as a cultural commodity to the consuming public through mass media.

According to Nielsen Global's Trust in Advertising Survey published in 2015, next to word-of-mouth, traditional media advertisements are the second most-trusted source of information among Filipino buyers. Even on a global scale, branded commercials are the second most-trusted advertising format just behind recommendation from family and friends (Nielsen, 2015). These commercials are aired on radios and televisions that have a strong influence on the behavior of the consumers. Moreover, commercials contribute to the creation of society's social norms and in teaching them to the consumers (Holden, 2004). The Philippine law recognizes the power of media in shaping realities and how it affects women. The Philippine law makes it clear that the *"portrayal of women in a discriminatory, demeaning and/or derogatory manner in advertisements, shows and programs are not allowed,"* as per the Section 19 (A) of the Magna Carta of Women, a law created to eliminate discrimination through the recognition, protection, fulfillment, and promotion of the rights of Filipino women.

This study determined how Filipino primetime commercials (re)produce archetypes of women. It sought to (1) determine the portrayals of women that are shown in primetime commercials in terms of position in the commercial, perceived age, occupation, role, product endorsed, setting, and voice-over; (2) surface the patterns and themes of womanhood that are prevalent in Filipino primetime commercials; and (3) surface the archetypes of women (re)produced in Filipino primetime commercials.

Mass Media, Social Representation, and Advertising: The Commercialization of Women

The role of media in shaping the social reality remains undisputed. Shapiro & Lang (1991) stated that individuals are unable to distinguish between real and mediated events. Thus, many individuals know only of the representational reality presented to them by media.

Hall (1997) and Lidchi (1997) argue that a distinction has to be made between the social reality and the reality produced by symbolic representation since media representations are major sites of struggle over definitions of what is real (Gledhill, 1997). Representations refer to the way the meaning is learned and circulated in forms of language, images, and discourse (Hall, 1997).

From a critical lens, media is involved in perpetuating gender power relations, most especially in perpetuating the polarization of masculinity and femininity. According to Rollorata (2012), mass media continues to portray masculinity as exceptionally outstanding and valuable, and femininity as inferior and less important. Herman and Chomsky (2006) pointed out that mass media is not a neutral industry, as it is consumerist, profit-driven and a site of propaganda. From this view, mass media audiences are positioned as “consumers than citizens, seeing them as the managed subject of powerful institutional interests, vulnerable to political manipulation and commercial exploitation by the culture industries” (Livingstone, 2005, p. 2). While many mass media contents are packed as news, TV programs, among others, no other message could be more blatant in its profit-driven orientation than advertisements.

Advertisements could be deemed as containing symbolic messages that are consistent to the existing knowledge, attitudes, norms and behaviors of their target audience. In other words, it is not far reaching to think of advertisements as reinforcing structures to the dominant beliefs and stereotypes held by the society or a particular group (Bignell, 1997). That is the reason why Williams (1999) views advertising as a cultural tool, producing “magic signifiers” by circulating idealized images to make sure that capitalism and consumerism can reinvent themselves. Williams believes that advertising is “magic” because it transforms commodities into signifiers (for instance, turning a car into a sign of masculinity) and these signifiers present an imaginary world. Nas (2015) added that advertising has become “one of the most popular artifacts of contemporary society, with its potential not only to simply represent what is out there in society but also to reproduce certain hegemonic meanings or to construct alternative versions of reality” (p. 37). Often times, the commercialized images of certain groups projected through advertisements are not only unrealistic, they are also hyperreal. For instance, Sinclair (1987) cited that advertising images that show rapid changes in the female body such as losing weight, eradicating signs of aging and achieving fairer skin, aim to reproduce visions of measurable difference that seek to offer empirical evidence of a product’s ability to convert women from ordinary subjects into extraordinary spectacles.

Welter (1978, as cited in Brannon, 2004) listed four dominant stereotypes about women: naturally pious; pure, virginal and sacred; submissive; and domestic. Later studies in women portrayal in advertising have shown a shift and a change in the portrayal of women. These research results range from the role of women in business, politics, home, and society in general (Thurm, 2001). But it was only in the early 2000s when a shift of women portrayal from homemakers to business leaders, and from sex objects to sportsperson became evident. Stewart and Furse (1986) argued that the shift in advertiser’s decision regarding the role of women may be borne not necessarily of an improved regard towards women, but of a marketing strategy to differentiate the product from their competitors and emphasize a change of perception on gender roles of the company. Gill (2007) also added that while many contemporary women portrayal in advertisements display status and power, the shift in women portrayal in these advertisements was from “women as sex objects” to “women as vigorous and desirous sexual objects”.

Framework of the Study

This study mainly used Semiotic Analysis drawing from Barthes’ (1972) second order of signification. Thus, the framework follows the second order of semiological system where the sign produced in the first order of signification becomes the signifier in the second order of signification to produce the sign which is often hidden and imposed. As seen in Figure 1, the variables for the quantitative analysis served as the first level signifier and signified. Once these variables were analyzed, the different portrayals of women were generated.

As the framework enters the second order of signification, the sign (the portrayals of women) became the signifier. The different portrayals of women implied that there are different themes and patterns of womanhood through qualitative analysis. The second order signifier and signified were analyzed and formed the second-order signs which are the archetypes of portrayal.

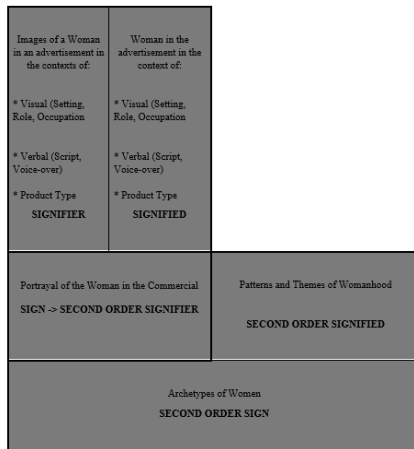


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the study

Analytical Framework

The study adopted transformative mixed method as its research design. This method was based on Creswell and Plano's (2007) four main design types in mixed method approach. The research design requires the researchers to implement two phases to be able to conduct the study – the quantitative phase and the qualitative phase. For the quantitative phase, the researchers employed content analysis to look at and analyze the manifest content of the advertisements.

Meanwhile, previous researchers have noted that the phenomenon can be viewed through an interpretive lens (Prieler and Centeno, 2013). Thus, for the qualitative phase, textual analysis was employed to study the texts in a more contextual manner.

Barthes' semiotic analysis, as the theoretical backbone of the study, was employed in analyzing the codes generated from the quantitative and qualitative phase. Guided by the results from both the quantitative and qualitative analysis, a more specific set of archetypes of women in the advertisements were developed.

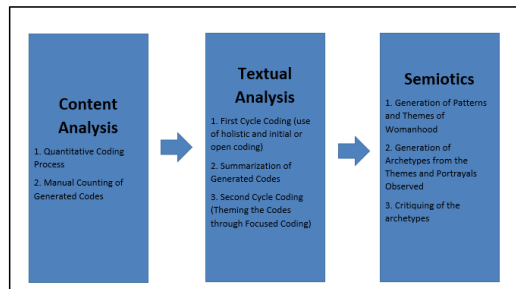


Figure 2. Analytical framework of the study

Method

The commercials that aired from 7:00 PM through 10:00 PM were observed from September 4, 2017 to September 10, 2017 and were taken from three biggest Philippine television networks: ABS-CBN 2, GMA 7, and TV5. The three-hour timeframe was then divided into three blocks of one-hour timeframes. Each one-hour timeframe was randomly assigned to a television network – 7:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. for ABS-CBN, 8:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. for TV 5, and 9:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. for GMA 7. A total of 538 commercials were aired during this timeframe from all the networks. Duplicated commercials were removed and 169 unduplicated commercials served as the final sample for the study. All of these 169 unduplicated commercials were included in quantitative content analysis. Commercials considered to be local advertisements or advertisements that are only directed for particular regions or provinces, political campaign advertisements, self-promotional advertisements of the television network, trailers for upcoming movies and television shows, advertisements for festivals and social events, and public service announcements were also excluded

from the sample. For the quantitative phase, a codebook was prepared by the researchers to serve as a guide for the three coders, including the researchers. The researchers also prepared a coding guide and a coding sheet, which the coders were instructed and oriented how to use. A total of 58 advertisements (10% of the total number of advertisements) were coded for primary coding. The intercoder reliability was computed using Krippendorff's alpha. The strength of agreement on the variables studied had values above 0.700 which Lombard et.al. (2002) regard as sufficient in an exploratory study.

Meanwhile, 20 commercials were also selected for the qualitative part of the study. These were analyzed to determine a deeper understanding of the quantitative data and to identify the pattern that constitutes the archetypal portrayals of women.

Results and Discussion

Quantitative Results

Of the 169 unduplicated advertisements that aired during the recording timeframe, most (84.62%) of the commercials featured a female character whether as a central character, supporting character, or both. While the remaining 26 advertisements (15.38%) only featured male characters or did not contain any human characters. To analyze the portrayal of women in the advertisements, the presence of female characters, perceived age of the female characters, their occupation and role, product type, setting and voice-over were determined.

Characters

The coders identified 344 individual characters in all the commercials studied, 227 of which were females (65.99%). There are 144 (63.44%) female central characters in the advertisements studied while there are 83 (36.56%) female supporting characters. The central/main character appears as the on-screen spokesperson and is most likely to get the majority of the focus of the camera in comparison to other characters. The central character is also the focus of the narrative of the advertisement which can be measured by airtime which pertains to the number of seconds the character is the focus of the camera.

Perceived Age of the Female Characters

Youth is defined as the age of 18 or younger. Young adult is defined as the age between 19 and early thirties. Middle age is characters in their late thirties to fifties. Lastly, older adult is mid-fifties and older. Majority (56.39%) of the identified female characters in the advertisements are young adults (between 19 and early thirties). This includes personalities endorsing personal care and beauty products, mothers that look to be in their early thirties, students who are perceived to be in their collegiate days, and female daughters and teenagers. Meanwhile, 67 female characters (29.52%), most of them portrayed as mothers, are regarded to be in their middle ages, 24 (10.57%) are deemed to be in their youth, while only 8 (3.52%) are older adults.

Occupation

The greatest number of 100 female characters (44.05%) are deemed to be occupying a non-working familial role while 99 female characters (43.61%) occupied a non-working recreational role. All working roles registered the least amount of female characters occupying the role. There are only 8 (3.52%) working professional characters in all the advertisements studied, two (0.88%) of whom work in an executive position. This might have something to do with the nature of the products advertised to and by women, many of which are cosmetic products that concern the personal – more than the professional -- domain of the lives of women.

Role

The role that a character occupies is defined as the function that the character fulfills for the purpose of the advertisement. Mainly, there are five categories created to define the role of the female character in the advertisement - working role, family role, recreational role, decorative role, and provider role (Pillay, 2008).

Of the 227 female characters, 42.73% (n = 97) of these female characters played a family role. Decorative role was played by 67 female characters (29.52%) while female characters that played recreational role corresponds to 21.14% (n = 48) of all female characters.

Only 12 female characters (5.29%) were portrayed in a working role, while only 3 (1.32%) performed the provider role.

Product Type

More than one-fourth (26.57%) of the advertisements with female characters featured personal care and beauty products including makeup, shampoo and conditioner, beauty soaps, among others. Meanwhile, 27 commercials (18.88%) featured food products, while 25 (17.48%) featured female characters endorsing non-alcoholic beverages (juice, yogurt drinks, powdered milk, and tea). There are more household cleaning products (12.59%) than drugs/medicine (9.09%). Drugs and medicinal products are commonly seen in storylines revolving around keeping the family healthy and staying healthy for work while household cleaning products were featured in storylines about keeping the family safe inside their homes. These top five product types – personal care and beauty, food, non-alcoholic beverages, household cleaning, and drugs - are product types that are stereotypically associated with women, while ICT and telecommunication, and automobiles are product categories associated with men (Prieler & Centeno, 2013). The results of the study show consistency in the said trend.

Setting

One-half (50.35%) of the commercials were set outdoors or indoor non-residential spaces, while 47 advertisements (32.87%) were set in domestic setting. Professional setting (2.10%) and combination of settings (2.10%) with emphasis on professional setting were rarely used in the advertisements that aired during the primetime hours.

Voiceover

Of the 143 commercials studied, 37.76% (n=54) of the commercials did not have voice-overs. Male voice-overs (35.66%) were also most likely to be used than female voice-overs (25.17%). This result supports Pillay's (2008) conclusion that male characters are most likely to be used as voice-overs than female characters because of they are deemed more credible than women. The results of the descriptive content analysis reveal that the Filipino primetime TV advertisements are not lacking in presenting female characters. However, there is a stark difference between the presence of women in these mass media contents and to their representation. According to Gross (1994), representation is power, thus non-representation means powerlessness. In this instance, female characters have a strong presence in the advertisements. However, their presence is not tantamount to the representations of their lives and interests.

Themes and Patterns of Womanhood

After the qualitative analysis and interpretation of the semiotic resources collected from the advertisements including texts from the transcripts, music, facial reactions, and gestures, among others, the researchers were able to identify themes and patterns of womanhood that emerged across the advertisements. In the discussion that follows, we will limit the demonstration of the patterns and themes from selected advertisements.

Beauty and physique

Some of the most prevalent themes across the advertisements revolved around women's beauty and physique with commercials using women as mere decorations while overlooking their character, intelligence, and skills. The definition of the so-called "essence of being a woman" is enclosed within the context of physique—including women's ability to reach "success".

To demonstrate, in an advertisement by Sunsilk, a hair shampoo brand, a woman with short hair, after expressing her dismay over her inability to grow her hair long because of split ends, was advised by her friend with a noticeably long hair to use the shampoo product.



Kathryn: Boho look.
Female Friend: Bagaysa long hair mo. ([Your headband] suits your hair well.)




Female Friend: Sayangsa'kinmaikli. (Unfortunately, my hair is short.)

The use of the words “sayang” (unfortunate) and “bagay” (looking good) to describe short and long hair respectively is not an accident, showing that having a long hair, at least from the perspective of the primary character, is necessary to be beautiful and confident. In other words, woman’s success depends highly on how she feels confident because of her looks. She needs long hair to make herself beautiful to gain self-esteem and succeed in life.

Another theme prevalent across the commercials, particularly on advertisements concerning beauty products, is the humanization of the issues hindering women from achieving the ideal beauty.

In an advertisement of Tresemme, another hair shampoo product, a woman struggling to straighten her hair says, “*I fight frizz every single day.*” In another advertisement from Pantene, the central character says, “*Our hair’s new enemy? Pollution...we beat it with Pantene.*” Advertisements tend to address hair problems as if they are actual human beings that women need to fight off. Like any other battles, women also have to have their own weapons in order to win. This is more evident in the Tresemme advertisement where the first four frames show the female central character doing her hardest to “fight” frizz in her hair. The female character is seen to use different hair equipment to straighten her hair – hair straightener, blower, and comb. These served as their weapon during the battle.

1		Female Character (VO): I fight frizz
2		Female Character (VO): Every...
3		Female Character (VO): ..single...
4		Female Character (VO): ...day...

The choice of words suggests that for women, their big battles revolve only around their physical beauty and attributes. This underplays the bigger battles that they face. Moreover, according to the female character in the Tresemme commercial, she fights frizz “every single day”. This implies that the battle against hair frizz has been a part of the woman’s everyday routine, and seems to naturalize the ugliness in women. While women are busy “fighting off” hair frizz to achieve beauty, men have their own standards of beauty to achieve; interestingly, there is a big difference between the views on beauty of men and women in this particular topic.

An advertisement of Avon selling cosmetic products shows the female characters agree that beauty comes with compromise and sacrifice. In this context, one of the characters explicitly states that the pair of high heels she is about to wear look great but they also look painful to wear: *“These heels look great pero... masakit.”* (*These heels look great but it’s painful to wear.*)

Contrary to what the female characters in the Avon commercial are saying, the male character in the Palmolive Men advertisement believes that beauty should be about being comfortable: *“Staying true to myself means...I’m comfy. I’m not trying too hard. ‘Yung natural naako. When it comes to my hair, gusto ko natural din. Walang hassle. ... with dandruff-free hair, I can relax and just be me.”* (*Staying true to myself means...I’m comfy. I’m not trying too hard. It’s just the natural me. When it comes to my hair, I want it to be natural as well. No hassle. ... with dandruff-free hair, I can relax and just be me.*)

Whereas women had to endure walking on high heels just to feel attractive and confident, men defined beauty as being comfortable, relaxed and natural.

Traits and Roles

Unsurprisingly, themes and patterns of womanhood that fell under beauty and physique came from advertisements selling beauty and healthcare products. Other types of products, however, revealed other themes of womanhood that focus on their traits, roles, and character.

In a Vicks Vaporub advertisement, a young kid is dreaming of being the first person to step foot in Mars. However, he woke up after coughing, thereby ruining his dream. Luckily, his mother is there to give him Vicks Vaporub so he could sleep again.

While the advertisement indeed honors enduring and selfless mothers who support the dreams of their children, a closer introspection of the advertisements reveals how it perpetuates the discourse that “behind every man is a woman”, which places every man always in the foreground and every woman in the shadows of her man, may it be her husband or child. The frames from the advertisement also show that in terms of the positioning of the characters, six of the ten frames positioned the mother on background while the kid was the focus. This is despite the fact that the main agent in the commercial is the mother, and that, compared to children, it is mothers who are most likely to buy and use the product.

In commercials as such, women are portrayed as those who have submitted to the (domestic and familial) roles expected of them. This refers to the woman seemingly giving in to the demands of the patriarchal society. For instance, in the advertisement of Calla, a detergent powder brand, only women characters were shown, convincing each other that doing laundry can be fun due to the fresh scent of the detergent despite the tower of clothes to be washed. Any male characters were completely absent, as if implying that household chores is a woman’s sole responsibility. Meanwhile, when male characters are involved, women are portrayed as dependent on men whether in terms of physical skills or familial monetary support. In the advertisement of Revicon, a male character in a construction site was confronted by a male voice-over, asking him if he’s capable of moving out to live with his new family. The man looks to the other direction and a female voice-over, presumably his wife, tells him that Marky (their son) is already in elementary and asks him if he’s capable of sustaining Marky’s education.

The male character is being pressured to be able to achieve his role as the man in the family which perpetuates the gender roles that men should be able to provide for the family being the head of the household. Failing to do so makes him less of a man.

The wife, meanwhile, is dependent on the husband asking him if he can sustain their child's education as if it is the male character's sole responsibility to provide. Moreover, the wife is not visible in the commercial and plays the role of the "devil's advocate" through a voice-over. Some advertisements also attempted to show a more "diverse and empowered" portrayal of women and womanhood. However, upon further scrutiny, cues of a falsely empowered woman emerged.

A Baygon commercial features a mother helping her daughter with her schoolwork at the kitchen. The scene cuts to an animated mosquito ready to attack and bite the family. A female voice-over then tells the audience that when mosquitoes are ready to attack, "tough moms" should act fast. Toughness is not a quality that is commonly associated with women. Toughness is commonly associated with physical or emotional strength. In this case, the word tough was used to describe moms. Women are called "tough" in the context of maintaining the home setting clean. This then boxed the female character inside the assumption of the stereotype that the place of a female character is the home setting. This theme was seen in other advertisements such as Magnolia chicken where the surface message is that women have the power to choose; however, the advertisement also suggests that their power to choose is still a domestic event.

Overall, commodification of women is still the most prevalent theme of womanhood present in the advertisements. This was observed by studying the overall narrative of the advertisements that purchasing a certain product is the solution to problems faced by women, whether it be on achieving the ideal body state or being able to fulfill the role of a woman as a mother or wife.

Archetypes of Women in Filipino Primetime Commercials

The following are the identified archetypes of women in the commercials studied.

The Elderlies

According to the results of the study, the older adult age group is the group with the lowest representation in terms of presence. However, when these elderlies appear on television, it is either they are playing the role of elderlies who are playing with their grandsons and granddaughters to prove that age is just a number or they are portrayed as weak and sickly people who their families have to take care of. Based on observation, women under this advertisement archetype are often in their late adulthood, are non-working, and occupies a familial role. Moreover, they are set in the domestic setting. It should be noted, however, that elderlies are also the least prevalent archetype among the archetypes listed.

The Girl Inside A Bar

This archetype is occupied by a female character, usually in her young adult stage, wearing suggestive clothing (defined in the context of the study as clothing that partially exposes the body, such as sleeveless or tight shirts, unbuttoned or open blouses, short shorts/mini-skirts, open shirts, tight clothing that enhanced the figure, or clothing that exposes the cleavage or chest areas). Since the setting is a bar, this is commonly featured in advertisements that feature alcoholic beverages. Female characters under this archetypal group are often in their young adult age, non-working, and occupies a romantic role. Sexton & Haberman (1974) also noted that women under this archetype are playing as decorative characters. They are treated as sex objects and are only defined in the advertisement by their relationship with their partner.

Falsely Empowered Woman

One of the more interesting archetypes, this displays false empowerment and subtle stereotypical depiction. This is also commonly played by an influential person to display an empowered image. However, it is in the message and lines that they deliver where subtle cues of stereotyping were observed. For clarity, this does not discredit the influence and empowerment of these personalities. It is in the lines they deliver that the stereotyping occurs and not the character herself. Women under this archetype are commonly in their young adult to middle age, can be working and non-working, and commonly occupies a recreational or familial role.

Women under this archetype are women portrayed as active, liberated, and free women, however, this positive narrative is only a decoy. Goldman (1992) argued that advertisements have formed a distorted image of an active woman. According to him, "*the active and happy image of women in advertisements is only a decoy; its purpose is to conceal the existing gender inequalities and to reduce women's issues to consumption, in a process defined as "commodity feminism" (1992, p.3).*" In essence, advertisements show that women are able to be active and make their own decisions as long as she purchases and uses the product endorsed.

Chismosang Amiga

These are women in their early thirties to late forties, sometimes even older who are talking with their friends of the same age group mostly about gossip. Women portrayed under this archetype are women in their middle age, non-working, and are occupying a familial role. These are the women portrayed to be family-oriented, sensitive, and interested in taking care of children (Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

The Mother and the Endless Household Chores

As endless as the range of the chores this character does is the number of advertisements that featured this archetype. From washing dishes to washing clothes to cleaning the bathroom, this character got you covered.

The Strong, Independent Woman

This character shows the two qualities attached to her archetype – strong and independent. These are characters who debunk the stereotype that women are supposed to be dependent on males physically, emotionally, mentally, and even financially. This showed that women can create their own futures without depending on other people. This showed that women can spend for their own selves and they are thinking of a bright future ahead of them.

Conclusion

The result of this study is supported by both local (Prieler & Centeno, 2013; Rollorata, 2012) and international studies (Furnham & Chan, 2003; Tan et al., 2002). The similarity between the results of the studies is an indicator that portrayal of women in advertisements is mere reproductions of stereotypes. Despite these repetitive stereotypes, new stereotypes are also produced as times change. Through the years, advertisers also learn to become more creative with the crafting of the advertisements. Today, women are also seen in outdoor settings. However, the role that they play is still that of a familial role. Advertisers have learned to use positive narratives and tones to falsely empower women. Gendered messages and women subordination are subtler. We see the rise of false portrayals of power and liberation in the sense that advertising message tells women that they are capable of achieving power and liberation. However, underneath the positive message, the real intent is to tell women that liberation and power can be achieved through the simple purchase of products.

Another major issue observed is that women are rarely portrayed as professionals and are rarely defined by their skills. In fact, Filipinas are still widely defined by their looks and their body as the prevalence of women portrayed as decoration and sex objects are still very much prevalent. Women are rarely defined as providers as well. This implies that women are dependent towards other people and in stereotypical depiction, are dependent on men emotionally, mentally, and even financially. The point of the study is not to undermine the "ilaw ng tahanan" portrayal. In fact, being a housewife is not a negative portrayal and so are advertisements that show the female body in order to empower them; however, the problem arises when there is singular portrayal of a woman as if it is the sole essence of being a woman, and the essence is driven by consumerism. However, having more varieties of portrayal of women is also not the end-solution. Collins (2011) put it the best by stating that solely increasing the presence of female characters does not solve the issue of women portrayal in the media since the more important aspect of women portrayal is the manner in which they are represented. Even if there are multiple portrayals of women, if the message and representation of all the varieties of women boils down to women subordination due to patriarchy, male hegemony, and the dominance of a consumer society, the varieties are useless.

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About the authors

Neil Mercado is currently the Manila news correspondent and reporter for The Filipino Times based in Dubai, UAE. John Mervin Embate is a faculty member of the Department of Communication, University of the Philippines Los Baños.

Being Woman in Gendered Situations: Dilemma of the Ilonggo Women Journalists

Carmencita Y. Robles, Ph.D
West Visayas State University, Philippines

Abstract

This qualitative research aimed to understand the Ilonggo woman journalist's position in gendered situations. It sought to find out who are the Ilonggo women journalists who are participants of the study and the gendered situations and power relations they were in. The study used observation, in-depth interview, and focus group discussion (FGD) as methods of gathering data. The participants were six practicing women journalists who were purposively selected using inclusion criteria. The data were analyzed using qualitative research analysis procedures. The Ilonggo women journalists are self-schematic on a variety of qualities, but those that are prevalent are: strength – which also manifest in independence, confidence and faith in God; attractiveness – which is built on credibility, respect and friendliness; and, virtuousness – which embody passion, dedication and humility. Through self-presentation strategies, the journalists being liked, admired and needed by others, niched themselves in a particular social status that wield a certain degree of social influence on communities, groups and individuals. Gender segregation and sexism are real in the journalists' world. They believed in some "woman stereotype" which they use in getting the news. The women journalists struggled to free themselves from male biases, however, when these struggles are articulated by them, they end up being blamed or taken lightly. Woman strategies worked as schemes designed by women journalists to win over their news sources and their male superiors, however, these strategies appear more likely to be the women's reassertion of their power over men. Sometime in their lives, the women journalists succumbed to the conditioning of having "need of a man." Their experience of getting into love relationships, however, reflect shallow emotional involvement. The journalists had been and are still exploited. Though they appear "high profile" to the public eye, yet they are lowly paid and often deprived of benefits; and are restrained by such factors as female physiology, media owners' control, and other manifestations of patriarchal and economic oppression. These, push back the Ilonggo woman journalist to a subjugated position.

Introduction

Mass communication media have engulfed the world, and journalists in most countries continue to captivate and influence diverse and large audiences. Journalists play an important role in the construction of news, not only as its producers, but also in their capacity as people who decode the world for news consumers utilizing the logic of newsworthiness, the editorial criteria of the news production organizations for which they work, and their views of the world (Travancas, 2010).

"The word *journalist* has a positive connotation. Yet, when we add the word *woman* in front of the word *journalist*, it will definitely have a different meaning and represent a paradox" (Ardyawarassanthi, 2009). Journalism is oftentimes a misunderstood job for women. As an Indian lady journalist wrote, "This is what most people outside of journalism don't realize....: Ours is not a world where women are the wives back home or the dismissible minority. There are far more women in newspaper and magazine offices than most other business and they cover more than lifestyle, arts and entertainment. They test-drive SUVs, report from Swine Flu wards, walk into abattoirs, interview the kin of murder accused, make rounds of police stations, count wickets and go on assignment to areas without sanitation, electricity or mobile-phone connectivity. Several editorial teams (including those at this newspaper) are run entirely by women. So, when it's time to dispatch the best man for the job, we do exactly that. And often, the best man happens to be a woman" (The Hindustan Times, 2013).

At present, women journalists in many countries, particularly women writers and journalists in Southeast Asia, are still struggling for their equality as professionals, coping with gender issues and policies of media companies, and striving to survive in a dangerous setting.

Pamela Bhagat worked in the research project that investigated the status of women journalists in the print media in India. The research examined the problems and issues confronting women working in the media, gauged the extent of direct and indirect discrimination in the workplace and identified contemporary issues that needed to be addressed. The research was coordinated with the support of media representatives from 37 states and union territories of India. A hundred and ninety respondents from the regional press and 220 from the English press were surveyed. The research project's survey showed that in many cases, women journalists have built their careers on the premise that they have to be "twice as good" as their male counterparts just to "get their foot in the door." (They also have) to constantly battle suggestions or perceptions that (women) are using sexuality to get ahead in their careers... they "are more vulnerable than male colleagues to gossip, to promotion prospects; and age too is a factor for discrimination." The findings also showed sexual harassment is part of work culture in media organizations in India but women either do not know how or for a variety of reasons, choose not to do anything about it. Only 15.2 percent of the women who experienced sexual harassment had made a formal complaint (<http://osdir.com/ml/culture.region.india.zestmedia/2005-09/msg00021.html>).

Elinat Lach over studied the ways in which the interactions between female Israeli journalists and their male news sources are gendered and sexually structured. The study entitled "The Gendered and Sexualized Relationship between Israeli Women Journalists and their Male News Sources" is grounded in feminist critiques of journalism as well as feminist organizational and work studies and examined the narratives of individual experiences of 32 female Israeli journalists working for ten newspapers. The author set forth the attitudes of the male sources toward the female journalists as the journalists perceive them, and then she examined the practices that the journalists adopt in order to cope with these attitudes. Finally, she examined the views that these female journalists express concerning the legitimacy of their own practices. The research findings illustrated how gender and sexuality interact in journalism by showing the dynamic character of this process in organizations. The findings demonstrate that gender and sexuality are key aspects of the relationship between the female journalists studied and their male sources in the Israeli context (<http://journals.sagepub.com/content/6/3/291/short>). One major challenge in the work of women journalists is being able to survive in a dangerous environment. A number of women journalists experience not only being sexually harassed but also being threatened, terrorized, and killed. Such is the situation in the Philippines. The Philippine media is dubbed as one of the freest in Asia; yet, the Philippines had also been known as the most dangerous place for journalists to work and live in.

In 2005, the Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility (CMFR) published an article entitled *In Search of Solutions: A Study of Journalist Killings in the Philippines, 2000-2005*. The article was written by national journalists Melinda Quintos de Jesus, Rachel Khan, with research by Nathan Lee. CMFR started its database on the killings of journalists in 1991 as the alarming number of victims attracted international attention. The first study was published in the September 1991 issue of *Philippine Journalism Review* (now known as the *PJR Reports*). The report stated that from 1986 to 1991, 32 journalists were killed. Twenty two were classified to have occurred in the line of duty, four others involved personal issues, and the rest could not be determined. None of the killings had been prosecuted with success. According to the writers, "When a journalist gets killed, however, it is sure to make news." In time, the CMFR monitor also looked at other kinds of attacks against and threats to press freedom, reporting these cases to international media watch groups, such as the International Freedom of Expression eXchange (PJR Publication, Sept-Oct 2005).

An interesting study initiated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) based in London, coordinated by MediaWatch Canada, yielded valuable results. The research project called the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), pursued gender inequality in and through the world news, and has been repeated every five years since 1995 "providing snapshots of one day's news" in 2000, 2005 and 2010. The research aimed to map the representation and portrayal of women in the world's news media, develop a grassroots research instrument, build solidarity among gender and communication groups worldwide, create media awareness, and develop media monitoring skills on an international level. For its methodology and processes, volunteer groups from all over the world were given the same detailed monitoring pack and instructions (including coding sheets and guides). There was a qualitative part of the study to give context to

the numbers. Despite differences in media styles and cultures of participating countries from 1995 to 2010, there were consistent similarities in GMMP findings. On the overall presence of women as subjects in the news from 1995 to 2010, women are still severely underrepresented. Female presenters and reporters are generally much younger than their male counterparts, but they retire (or are made to retire) from the news much earlier. While, the numbers of women reporters and presenters have steadily increased, the reporting of women in the news has not improved significantly. Women rarely appear as subjects or central focus of news stories, and usually not as authority figures or spokespersons. Females in the news often have no stated occupation, and are usually defined in terms of their family relationships. Globally, news stories are two times more likely to reinforce stereotypes than challenge them. GMMP monitors also observed that blatant stereotyping is still alive and well in news all around the world (Hernando, 2014). Despite the bulk of work about journalism and the women journalists' popularity, there is a dearth of studies conducted about them in the Philippines and most especially in its provincial areas. The most closely related to this study were still done in the late 80s to the early 90s.

The researcher has always been fascinated with the intertwining dynamics of the hidden feminine power and social expectations attached to women journalists, and the apparent behavior and emotions shown as they struggle to survive and untangle themselves from the entrapment of stereotype and a social tradition where women are subjugated, viewed as the weaker sex and still treated "differently" from men in many ways. Among these women journalists are a small group residing and working for the mass communication media in Iloilo City, in Central Philippines. They are part of the Iloilo City Press Corps which lists 21 members, seven of whom are women (Iloilo City Press Corps Roster of Members, 2014); and the Capitol Press Corps which has 16 members, including seven women (Public Information and Community Affairs Office List, 2014). This small group of women journalists is the focus of this study. The researcher looked into their profiles, observed them on-the-job, and investigated deeper their lived experiences, aiming to capture these women's concerns and struggles.

Using feminist theory, the researcher attempted to draw these concerns to the center of feminist inquiry. Feminist theory is one of the major contemporary sociological theories which analyzes the status of women and men in society, of power relations, with the purpose of using that knowledge to better women's lives. Feminist theory is most concerned with giving a voice to women and highlighting the various ways women have contributed to society (Crossman, 2014).

Denzin and Lincoln enumerated feminist works that delved into intellectual themes and used multiple methods. Feminist research in sociology and anthropology analyzes both women's representations of experience and the material, social, economic, or gendered conditions that articulate the experience.

Objectives of the Study

This qualitative research investigated the gendered situations and power relations that the Ilonggo woman journalist encounters in the exercise of her profession. Specifically, this study sought answers to the following questions:

1. Who are the women journalists who are participants of this study ?
2. What are the gendered situations that they encounter ?
3. What strategies do they use to protect their "being woman" in these gendered situations?

Significance of the Study

Educational institutions offering courses in journalism may use the results of this study to rationalize the introduction of subjects and activities needed to prepare women students for the challenges of the journalism profession. Journalists and media professionals may also glean insights from this work which in turn may help raise their feminine consciousness, and help them see women issues and concerns from a new perspective.

This study may also inform government and non-government organizations and institutions whose functions include women concerns. The results may provide qualitative data which may be of use in important decisions concerning programs, projects and activities for the women sector.

This study may be of interest to feminist groups and movements, as the results may yield valuable information that may contribute to accumulated subjugated knowledge by and about women. Further studies in these areas may contribute to the empowerment of the women race and help facilitate social change.

Delimitation of the Study

This feminist inquiry investigated the gendered situations and power relations that the Ilonggo woman journalist encounters in the exercise of her profession. The participants were six practicing women journalists based in Iloilo City who were purposively selected based on certain criteria.

The study was conducted from July 2014 - November, 2015 at West Visayas State University in Iloilo City, Philippines. This qualitative research used feminist inquiry as methodology. Observation (with the researcher as observer participant), in-depth interview, and focus group discussion (FGD), were employed as methods of research. Observation field notes, interview guide/schedule, FGD discussion guide, and the researcher herself were the instruments used to gather the needed data. The data gathered were analyzed using qualitative research analysis procedures such as open and closed coding, and categorizing.

Methodology

The Feminist Inquiry Research Design

This qualitative research employed feminist inquiry. Virginia Olesen (2000) describes feminist perspectives as a theoretical lens that view as problematic women's diverse situations and the institutions that frame those situations. Ann Oakley (1974), adopted a feminist methodology to propose an academic research endeavor. This "consists of keeping in the forefront of one's mind the life-styles, activities and interests of more than one half of humanity – women." The detailed analysis of her methodology reveals her concern with reaching the real feelings of her interviewees. Fonow and Cook argue that "feminist approaches to research are thus necessarily more creative, spontaneous, and open to improvisation, stumbling across the unexpected and being willing to follow where the unexpected leads. Such an approach yields research with a focus on the everyday world, on the lived experiences close at hand to researchers, and often results in the researcher feeling like the research found her or him rather than the researcher choosing the research." Traditionally, it was not viewed as valid to study a topic "too close" to one's identity or interest; being too similar to one's research subjects was assumed to invalidate the research. Feminist research challenged this mode of thinking, pointing out how much under such a model goes unresearched, unwritten. Now, it is common to find that researchers are studying subjects like themselves, and indeed may be facing the opposite problem of having to look like the research subjects (Pillow, 2003).

Setting

This study was conducted in two TV stations, two newspaper publications, and two radio stations. These media companies are all located in Iloilo City but they cover the whole Western Visayas Region and beyond. News sources and distribution, therefore, are not limited to the region but oftentimes extend beyond to national and international audiences.

Actors

The participants of the study were six (6) women journalists who are based in Iloilo City and are presently working or have worked with mainstream television, newspaper publications, and radio stations. The participants were purposively selected using the following procedures:

1. A list of the names of women journalists were obtained from the roster of the Iloilo City Press Corps and the Capitol Press Corps.
2. Among the names in the list, six were purposively chosen using the following inclusion criteria: they must have worked with the mass communications media as regular or permanent employees; they must have been seen on TV, heard on radio, or read in the newspapers on a regular basis; they must have practiced print or broadcast journalism for the past ten years; and they must be willing to participate in the study.

3. To make sure that the three mass media – radio, TV and print – were equally represented, two were selected from among print media journalists, two were taken from among radio journalists, and two came from among TV journalists. In case the participant worked for more than one medium, the medium that she dominantly used was the one considered.

Processes

Particular attention was given to finding and drawing the profile of the women journalists and the gendered situations they were in, their struggles and concerns.

Ethical Considerations

In the conduct of this qualitative research, the researcher expected challenges raised by certain ethical issues, especially the difficulty of maintaining confidentiality. To comply with ethical practice, the researcher obtained informed consent of the participants at the beginning of the study, and made sure that the participants' privacy is protected. The participants were given pseudonyms or "aliases" instead of using their real names, and vague descriptions were used for actual places where research was done. A "statement of confidentiality" was also made and signed by all FGD participants. The transcripts were also shown to the participants for their checking and approval.

Data Collection Strategies

Observation

For this study, the researcher was an observer-participant, which means that she was primarily an observer but since she is known to those being researched, she was also a participant when called to participate.

Interview

For this research, semistructured interview (sometimes called in-depth interview) was used. The goal of the semistructured interview is to explore the topic more openly and to allow interviewees to express their opinions, ideas, and feelings in their own words. Researchers cannot observe everything they might want to know, thus interviews are conducted to understand what life is like from perspectives other than the researcher's.

Focus Group Discussion

Some feminist researchers argue that focus groups are especially helpful "in reducing imbalances of power between the researcher and those being researched" (Montell, 1999, in Esterberg, 2002, p. 109). By enabling women to speak with others who have had similar experiences, focus groups help empower women. Esther Madriz sees focus groups as a form of "collective testimony," a way for women to break their silence and confirm their experiences with other women (Madriz, 1998, 2000, in Esterberg, 2002, p. 109). For focus group discussion (FGD), the researcher served as moderator who ran the FGD. Since it is expected that there may be a lot of confidential information that may come out in the FGD, a moderator who has established rapport with the participants is deemed as the best person to moderate the FGD. A set of questions (FGD discussion guide) was prepared to guide the moderator as she moved the group along the session and in keeping the discussion within the topics relevant to the research. Two assistants were employed to take notes during the FGD. One took notes of all verbally spoken statements, while another one noted of all the non-verbal cues. Three voice recorders were used to record the session. After the FGD, the discussion was transcribed and the transcriptions labelled and filed for data analysis.

Field Notes

During the observations, the researcher made field notes; and, right after every observation, wrote detailed field notes writing as many data observed.

Interview Guide

For semi-structured or in-depth interview, an *interview guide* was used. The interview guide listed the main topics and, typically, the wording of questions that the researcher wanted to ask. It also included some ideas about follow-up questions or probes. For this study, two interview guides were created: a long one that included many detailed questions, and a short schematic that summarizes the main topics. The detailed

guide helped the researcher prepare for the interview; while the summary helped her remember the key topics during the actual interview. During the interview, the researcher used recorders (either voice or video) and took notes.

Data Analysis Procedure

Data collection and data analysis, according to Merriam (1988) and Marshall and Rossman (1989), must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research. To begin the process, the first task was to arrange or organize data so that the researcher can make sense of it. In doing this, transcripts of interviews were separated from the field notes. The data were then coded. A two-stage process of coding was used: open coding and closed coding. In developing a qualitative analysis, the activities included looking for patterns in the data (similarities and differences), comparing cases, building typologies, and conducting content analysis.

Verification

To ensure validity of data, the following strategies were employed: (a) triangulation of data, where data were collected through multiple methods to include observations, interviews, and focus group discussion; (b) repeated observations at the research site, where regular and repeated observations of similar phenomena and settings were done on-site over a period of four months; and, (c) participatory modes of research involving the participants in most phases of the research especially in checking interpretations and drawing conclusions.

Results and Findings

The research yielded interesting (perhaps amusing) results. These results or findings were categorized into three, to answer the three specific questions enumerated in the objectives of the study.

Knowing the Ilonggo Women Journalists

General Profile

The Ilonggo women journalists' general profile yields some important demographics such as age, status, type of school they were educated in, courses taken, years of practice, monthly salary, trainings, work experience, travels and personal contacts. Their general profile is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

General Profile of the Ilonggo Women Journalists

NAME	AGE	CIVIL STATUS	SCHOOL	COURSE	YEARS OF PRACTICE	SALARY PER MONTH	WORK EXPERIENCE	POSITIONS HELD	CURRENT POSITION	TRAVELS	PERSONAL CONTACTS (officials & News makers)
Christine	46	separated	Private Catholic, State U	AB Mass Comm- Broadcasting	25	Php. 25,000	TV Radio Print	Correspondent, News Reporter	Chief – Special Report Section/ Associate Editor	US, Europe, Asia, Qatar	More than 80
Nona	55	single	Public School, Private Catholic	AB Mass Comm., LL.B., MMCom. units	31	Php. 35,000	Radio	Correspondent, News Reporter	Broadcast Production Supervisor	Hong-kong, all over Phils	More than 60
Therese	37	single	Private Catholic, State U	BS Mass Comm- Journalism LL.B	14	Php. 25,000	Print	News Reporter, Columnist, Editor	Editor, Lawyer	Key cities, Phils	More than 50
Lilian	51	single	Private Catholic, Private Catholic	AB Mass Comm	30	Php. 25,000	Radio TV	News Reporter, Correspondent	News Supervisor	Asia, Phils cities	More than 60
Annie	45	married	Public School, State U	AB Mass Comm	24	Php. 42,000	Radio TV	News Reporter	News Director	All over Phils	More than 80
Isabel	52	widow	Public School, Private Univ.	BS Mass Comm, MMCom. units	30	Php. 50,000	Radio TV	News Reporter, Commentator	Station Manager	Asia, all over Phils	More than 50

Table 1 shows that the women journalists who are participants in this study are 37-55 years old, and are mostly single or living singly. Two were educated in private Catholic schools in their elementary and high schools, and in a state university in their college years. One was educated in a public school from elementary to high school and went to a private catholic school in college. One was educated in private Catholic schools from elementary to college. One was educated in public schools in elementary and high school, and went to a state university in college. The last one was educated in a public elementary and high school, and went to a private university in college. All of them took up a general Mass Communication course with majors in either Broadcasting or Journalism. Two of them proceeded to finish Bachelor of Laws. Of these two, one passed the Bar Exams and became a lawyer. While the other one, plus another one from among the four others, proceeded to take units in the Master in Mass Communication course program.

All of them had no less than ten years of experience in the Journalism practice, and their current monthly incomes range from Php 25,000.00 to Php 50,000.00. Two practiced their professions in only one field (either radio or print) while the four others had multiple media experience. All had many trainings in their field of specialization. All of them started as news reporters and later on became heads of units with supervisory and management functions. All are well-travelled in Asia and the Philippines, and one even travelled to the US, Europe and Qatar. All of them had more than 50 personal contacts among the national and regional government officials, and other newsmakers.

The profile of the Philippine women journalists, drawn by E.S.Bernal in 1989, did not make any big difference from what they are today. They were mostly single, have earned college degrees and have been receiving low salaries. The women journalists who are participants of this study indicated salaries which may be a little higher than the present minimum wage, but that is because they have already been promoted to supervisory and management level.

Personality Traits, Self-Concept and Self-Presentation Strategies

In De Fleur's (1993) technical terms, personality is an inclusive concept that refers to the individual's more or less enduring organization of meanings, motivations, emotional patterns, orientations, skills and other attributes that make him different from others. The women journalists possess certain personal traits which are foreshadowed in their self-concepts and projected to their news sources and the public in their self-presentation strategies. Self-concept is a theory which people develop about themselves through self-awareness. And self-awareness allows people to analyze their own thoughts and feelings, as well as anticipate how others might respond to them interpersonally. This self-knowledge help people regulate their behavior and adapt to their surroundings (Franzoi, 2000).

Among the women journalists, Christine exuded hidden strength, independence, confidence and intelligence which she balanced with humility and being sensitive to people.

"...I could do anything, I'm strong...independent. I knew I was ..attractive... I'm very patient... and accept others.... I'm only an ordinary journalist ...I'm a good listener, I have nose for news... have to be brave because I'm not afraid of the dead... I'm sensitive to the leads... to people. When I present myself to my news source I play dumb and I dress the part... I make him feel that I don't know anything... actually I wear something attractive. Once I report, I project myself as if I really know... I have that much confidence... that I have authority. Experience taught me to get things first, to get it right... not only to get it fast, not only to have 'scoop... at the end of the day that will make your mark as a good journalist... What I value most in life? First, God, 'cause everything falls behind after that, next my children, family, then my work... my friends."

Therese, in her small stature, projected strength and independence balanced with flexibility and humility. Among her priorities is maintaining a good name.

" I am strong yes,... or flexible or the other way around...that I am respectable... that I am trustworthy... want to be credible. I want to be known as somebody who has believed that she can... accomplished as a woman... yeah, somebody who is self-made...I can convince, yes, but I cannot

influence (humble)... someone who likes challenges...so daw...independent, yes. I only want to dress for the occasion, what is fitting so that I won't be out-of-place... I learned that I really have to dress for the occasion to present myself also as somebody. Before an interview with news source, I research. When I appear in public...I don't even know if they know me, I introduce myself as 'somebody from this newspaper' but I really feel all along that I am nobody, so I don't have to present myself as somebody I am not. I value most...I think family.. of course God, career... name, security with friends..."

Annie believed she is also strong and hardworking like the others, but to these she added being expressive and outspoken, being aggressive and inquisitive and having integrity.

"Me?...hardworking..yes, strong... yes I believe I am. It's like that...expressive, frank... not dependent on others... I am aggressive, assertive, yes... outspoken... punctual,, inquisitive, hungry for information, outgoing, God-fearing. When I present myself to the public, I represent my company, so I have to be credible and show integrity. I need to dress up, there was a time that I really wear terno. I wear a dress really, I wouldn't know where I would be... For me, it's God, family, career, name/reputation, friends that I value most."

For Isabel, it was being perceived as a "person with character" that mattered most. She counted discipline, sense of responsibility and loyalty as desirable traits she has.

"I'm strong-willed...I want to be respected especially by high officials... I'm credible... a person with character... what is important is your character... yes, my self-confidence... dedication, passion.. . willingness to sacrifice and work hard. But I am just an ordinary person, though I have high-profile personality. I am loyal... one-man woman. I am an ordinary woman but I know I have a special gift from heaven that I can motivate people, that I can change. I have a big heart... long patience. Also discipline... and being sensitive to others. I cannot explain because my being an ordinary person comes back to me. Simple, no fake jewelry, only the basic ... tailored clothes. I don't wear sexy clothes because it is not suited with the serious topics I discuss on-the-air... I am handling public affairs programs. I value most... God, family... career, my company because that's where I get my bread and butter... my name, reputation."

The Ilonggo women journalists have conscious self-knowledge (self-concept) of their innate strength and their special gifts such as attractiveness and a certain level of intelligence. Their life experiences concretized their priorities (as they stated God, family, career, reputation, etc) and shaped their values. These priorities and values guided them in identifying the self-schematic qualities (Markus, 1977) which are important to them. Self-schematic qualities which are high are considered relevant to the self-concepts and therefore, are invested in and projected in the self-presentation strategy. The most common qualities or traits are that of being hardworking, independent, observant, confident, committed, dedicated and passionate, curious and having nose for news, a good listener, and having good people-skills. While being credible, respectable, trustworthy, disciplined, and having a good reputation, were very highly valued. In contrast to the popularity and the prestige, one trait that these journalists maintained is humility.

The Ilonggo women journalists are self-schematic on a variety of qualities, but those that are prevalent are: strength – which also manifest in independence, confidence and faith in God; attractiveness – which is built on credibility, respect and friendliness; and, virtuousness – which embody passion, dedication and humility.

Social Influence

The Ilonggo women journalists also admitted that they have some degree of social influence. Most of them take inner joy on the thought of influencing others especially high-ranking officials, and moving people and communities to action.

Christine proudly narrated how a whole town was helped by her story, and a Cabinet Secretary followed her advice:

"One LGU (Local Government Unit) passed a resolution, it's the only one ever passed by that LGU, not many of us get to have that privilege that officially you get credited by the town for the story you

did... thanking me officially, that because of my story the concerned government agency acted and rebuilt their bridge... With the influence I was able to help a community... like Yolanda, I wrote about it but I also have done something to give people help... I can influence high ranking officials... Yes, with my writing...at that time a Cabinet Secretary, what he says or what he was... I was able to influence him somehow... I watched him on TV then I felt some sense of fulfillment coz I saw that he did what I advised him to do."

Annie's social influence was concretized by a fans club:

"Especially on TV, what the audience sees, that's it... they know you by your face... but for me, I have to build my own fans club... so I can relate with my sources. Yes, we influence people. That's why we have to be careful with our stories."

For Therese, social influence manifested in a people's hope in her and seeing her as someone who could rescue them from their plight:

"It is not that I could gain popularity out of it, it's the thought that as a journalist I am able to do something. I had a story about a piggery in Barotac... where the surrounding farmland was very affected, polluted, suffocating the residents who live there... the people saw me as one hope... as I listened to the problem, I felt good that people saw me as someone who can help them."

Social influence involves the exercise of social power by a person or group to change the attitude or behavior of others. It can originate from having access to certain resources due to one's social position in society or from being liked and admired by others (Tyler, 1997). The women journalists are perceived to be in a position of power. As participant Christine would later enthuse, "Any person regardless of position, from the President to the ordinary people, gets to sit down with a journalist, at one time or another in his life." Such position, being close to the loci of power, gives her access to resources. And such allocation of power is reinforced by being liked, admired and needed by the public.

Through self-presentation strategies, the journalists being liked, admired and needed by others, niched themselves in a particular social status that wield a certain degree of social influence on communities, groups and individuals.

The Ilonggo Women Journalists in Gendered Situations

Goffman (1998) refers to a *gendered situation* as a physical arena anywhere within which a person finds himself exposed to the immediate presence of one or more others; and a gathering, all persons present, even if only bound together by the norms of civil inattention, or less still, mutual vulnerability. It may also refer to activities in which males and females engage in ways segregated by gender (Clinchy and Norem, 1998). In this study, gendered situation referred to circumstances that situate women journalists with male news sources, superiors, colleagues or publics where segregation by gender and gender biases come to play.

Gender Segregation, Sexism and the Woman Stereotype

From the beginning, the differentiation between men and women has affected people's interactions in society. The physical construct of men being different from that of women, led to gender segregation with the two sexes being separated in many ways. This segregation allowed for sexism or biases against women which, in different situations, became more favorable to men but underscored women capabilities and placed them at points of disadvantage. Gender segregation and sexism have been observed to exist in environments where the Ilonggo women journalists live, interact and perform their work. The woman stereotype, on the other hand, are concepts, beliefs and myths about women which may have been socially constructed out of the interactions and various influences undergone by a group or society. Women are, oftentimes in most situations, trapped in these stereotypes which encroach on their freedom and restrain their behavior. Gender segregation emanates from the idea that men are different from women as these differences manifest in their "maleness" and "femaleness" in their biological and physical anatomies. These biological differences were further highlighted by social constructs surrounding the two sexes, which gave way to gender bias or sexism. Sexism, according to Schaefer (2002), is the ideology that one sex is superior to the other. The term is generally used to refer to male prejudice against women.

The Ilonggo woman journalist suffered from sexism of this society, and in their experience, gender segregation is real. Annie was left out of a coverage tagged as “for men only”.

“Ah no, just because I’m a woman I can not go on this coverage? The coverages which they say are “for men only”... the likes of raids on the nude stage shows or red houses. But, there are also men who do not like being seen by women like that. Of course you’re a woman, you don’t like to look... not that you don’t like because you are embarrassed also... but for me you have to understand that you are a reporter, you are there to get the news... it’s your work.”

Therese felt uncomfortable in a situation dominated by men. For her, male bias is already embedded in the men’s private language.

“When I’m in the military camp, there are seldom women there... I feel uncomfortable because I’m a woman. Because isn’t it that the men seem to have their own language? But then...”

Lilian experienced outright gender discrimination..

“When there are coverages of flood or disaster, I am not assigned because it’s a manly job, and could not be done by a woman. There are times also when my work is broadcast, the credits is given to a male reporter.”

Isabel spoke strongly against sexism.

“They are arrogant, they are chauvinists. If they occupy high positions they look at women as if they are sex objects only, they are biased, especially news commentators. They are also biased especially with women issues. The rape cases, yes...they make them jokes. They are not sensitive to women issues. So, I really hate it! Poor women.”

Stereotypes of women depict females as less rational, more emotional, and “less actualized” than men. Being typecast into one or two stereotypes places the woman journalist in a structure that limits her independent action or agency (Cortea and Hoynes, 2003). Specific stereotypes appeared as the Ilonggo woman journalists told their stories. Lilian and Isabel were implicitly typecast in the “women are weak” category in different situations.

“During encounters... if the distance is far... my things... backpack, because I’m a woman, then the soldier is the one who carries.”

“When you’re a woman, your feelings are easily swayed, you can be loved. If the issue you bring is hot... ‘can we go out on a date?’, ‘Can I invite you to dinner?’ Then you will receive an envelope. ‘Can we do this?’ There are many temptations...you can easily be swayed.”

Christine’s experience concretized the myth that “a woman is attractive if she has many suitors.”

“I knew that I was attractive because in Grade V I started entertaining suitors, when I was in Grade VI I already had a boyfriend.”

Lilian was reared with the belief that “a woman should marry.”

“Because in our culture that if you are a woman you should marry, if you reach this certain age and still you don’t have a husband, it’s as if you are to be pitied if you don’t have a husband, that’s it. Yes as if there’s nobody who liked you.”

In Nona’s mind, “a married woman should submit to her husband.”

“That is one of my reasons for not entertaining getting married because if you are a married woman, your boss is your husband.”

Lilian was viewed as less feminine for reasons that “being ‘on-the-go’ is not for women.”

“... to the point that I was mistaken as ‘one of the boys’ because I was always on-the-go... wearing rubber shoes and pants and sporting short hair...my get-up was always on-the-go because I have to be

ready to go always... anywhere. It was my defense mechanism too. In the military, it's all men, so I have to look like one of them...so that I will not be sexually harassed."

Annie firmly believed that "a woman always charms a man."

"... a woman always charms a male source... women are more charming...sometimes if we can not interview a difficult news source, we send a woman reporter..."

Many scholars claim that people's knowledge about gender – gender segregation, sexism or gender discrimination – are based on stereotypes. Stereotypes are socially shared beliefs concerning the personalities, abilities, and motives of people within social categories. Once social categorization occurs, stereotypes are most likely to be activated if the target person closely matches the prototype for that social category. Two functions of stereotyped thinking are that it is fast and efficient, but it also functions to inhibit thought, which, among other things, can lead to illusory correlations (Franzoi, 2000). However, stereotypes can be changed, though not easily. Initial impressions of groups, like first impressions of individuals, tend to have lasting power. Established stereotypes often influence thoughts and actions in ways that make stereotypes resistant to modifications. Negative stereotypes can then be replaced by more favorable impressions, and prejudice can be replaced by more positive evaluations (Smith and Mackie, 2000). Gender segregation and sexism are real in the journalists' world. They believed in some "woman stereotype" which they use in getting the news.

Power Relations and Emotional Involvement

Power relations refers to the ability of a person or group to realize its own will in groups, even against the resistance of others (Clinchy & Norem, 1998). Specifically in this study, power relations referred to the relatedness or connectedness of women journalists to the opposite sex or gender, in situations where one asserts its will on the other in an interplay of roles, with or without a show of force.

Many studies using the feminist critical perspective delved on power relations between men and women. Cynthia Cockburn was concerned with gender relations at work and at home as she was with the conventional class relations. Sallie Westwood observed situations where women's relationships with men reinforce the dependence and subordination of women to men. While Liddle and Joshi were concerned with the idea of female power, and argued that female power which has a long history in Asia, is regarded as strong and has been seen as a threat by men (Harvey, 2011).

Struggles

Modern female psychology reflects a relatively powerless and deprived condition (Chesler, 2005). This condition is presented in various situations that ignited women struggles to reclaim their identity, power, and sense of self. The localization of these struggles is reflected in the women journalists' experiences.

Isabel's experience as a victim moved her to rise up and defend women. As such, she was seen as a threat.

"The women journalists here...they don't fight back, what a pity. That is why I will fight for the women journalists... because I have been a victim. It is not a joke. Not all men, but there are... of course it's like they feel threatened by women."

For Lilian, countering the bravery and dominance of the military was a struggle, but in the end, it is woman power that works.

"Being a woman is an advantage, especially if your beat is the military... brave men but they would prefer to trust a woman, the opposite sex... they can not refuse... they melt in the presence of a woman."

Isabel struggled for her womanhood to be respected and her "woman physiology" to be understood, but still the male boss gave her unlikely assignments.

"That encounter in Murcia... graduation of the NPA was attacked by the special force... it's only ten days since I gave birth to my eldest child. My boss sent me there, how can I refuse the words of my boss?... we went up the mountains, 45 degrees slope, that situation my boss did not understand... I

told my cameraman and a male radio reporter, 'push me up, don't leave my back, because I may slip and rip my stitches,' God forbid!"

Nona went up against a male boss who did not understand the women's situation and was indifferent to sexual harassment.

"Look at our manager. I told him about what happened. I said, 'but look, he touched my...(sensitive female part), you won't do anything?' He felt it was not important because he never experienced that, because he is a man. He could not understand our situation. Prior to that, when one of my reporters told him, he said, 'Don't mind Nona, she is troublesome.' That's what he thought of me, that if I complain, I'm the one looking for trouble."

Christine bounced back from a hurtful experience of being left alone and reclaimed her freedom and dignity.

"I never needed him. Even if how many times my child got sick, he never called, never. I guess... he was just around but we never called each other. My children are grown up now, 23 and 21. Legally, I'm still married up to today... Consciously, I tell my children, 'I stayed married to your father because that's my gift to you, but when you're finished with your studies I'm gonna get unmarried to him and get married to someone, and that will be my gift to myself.'"

Women journalists struggled to free themselves from male biases such as the thought that women are a threat to men, and that male superiors should be followed despite assignments risky to women. They are also affected by men's behaviors against women which men still think as acceptable, such as male superiors taking lightly sexual harassment issues. These thoughts and behaviors are countered by the women journalists by asserting their superiority, saying that "women are a threat to men," "men melt in the presence of a woman," and that they "never needed" men.

The women journalists struggled to free themselves from male biases, however, when these struggles are articulated by them, they end up being blamed or taken lightly. Woman strategies worked as schemes designed by women journalists to win over their news sources and their male superiors, however, these strategies appear more likely to be the women's reassertion of their power over men.

Women Concerns and Issues

The immersion of women in gendered situations produced a variety of concerns and issues that portrayed them in losing or disadvantaged positions, *just because they are women*. In the experience of the Ilonggo woman journalist, these concerns and issues came in various forms.

Gender Discrimination

Gender discrimination stems from the idea that men are superior and places women at the margins. At one extreme, gender discrimination may cause women to be ignored, misinterpreted, maltreated or rejected. The Ilonggo woman journalists experienced discrimination in several forms.

Nona was a victim of an "anti-women mindset".

They don't like women, because Mrs. I (station owner) is saying that if you are a woman you menstruate every month, when you have dysmenorrhea you are absent, eventually if she falls in love, she will get married, so she will have maternity leave... that is her thinking. The management was anti-women.

Isabel, on the other hand, was a victim of discrimination in promotion.

My promotion took a very very long time! Getting a regular position took a very very long time! Six years. My promotion took more than 10 years maybe. The men were promoted first.

Therese was subjected to a painful experience caused by men who looked down on women and did not trust women's abilities.

Yes, I was editor but then was helpless, because they feel that I don't deserve... I haven't earned it yet, that title 'editor'. I was young, a woman, I was new... and for me to be called editor... it was a male bias... It became a challenge for me because I wanted to prove to them that even if ... I'm a woman, I can write, I can manage people.

The Ilonggo women journalists' experience of gender discrimination came in several forms: being victims of "anti-women" mindset, discrimination in promotion, and being looked down upon as women.

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is an unwelcome physical or verbal sexual overtures that create an intimidating, hostile, or offensive social environment (Franzoi, 2000). This was experienced by the Ilonggo woman journalist either in the workplace or with male news sources. Annie felt harassed with the use of offensive language by a male news source occupying a high position.

... this news source... I felt disturbed with what he says... the size of the boobs of Ms. R, a woman journalist, the size of the boobs of Ms. P... the butt of Ms. J... the women reporters are always his topic... he is terrible really.

Nona's vulnerability was tested when a male co-worker attempted to seduce her.

We have this co-worker who looks somewhat handsome because he acts like he is really handsome. There was a time that he took a bath in the office, around that time, I was on duty for early morning news... he came out of the CR, and wearing briefs only. Told him that that is sexual harassment, this is not your house... but he said that they were on sign-on duty they were not able to take a bath. I said, 'Then you bring a towel... you're exposing yourself. I reported him to the station manager, but for him it was not an issue.

Nona was also an innocent and unsuspecting victim of acts of lasciviousness.

There was an incident... the one with Mr. MB, a male news source... like we came home from the anniversary of the PNP... then Ms. Dinagyang, it was very late. He said, 'So, you will go home, go with me.' I went with him because I thought... he had a driver then he sat at the back, his car was tinted... then he was touching me... I said, 'What is that?' then he said, 'Non, there in that place, somewhere you take a sudden turn near CPU.' Then he told his driver, 'Get off first.' I shook him off, I shouted.

Annie was caught unprepared for a kissing attempt, but managed to get escape safely.

He was my news source... high ranking military official. I am pursuing his story, at first he refused to be interviewed. Later, he allowed me inside his office with my cameraman. When we were interviewing him, he would not speak so I respected that. Then he said, 'Ann, you really want to know?' He then told my cameraman to go ahead... he made me stay. What I understood was he will give me some information, so he wanted me to stay. So I stayed. Later, seemed like he had nothing to say, so I asked permission to go, I stood up. But as I was about to stand up, he got ahead of me, fast, his body language was to close the door. Yes, he did not allow me to get out, then he stooped down to me... he was about to kiss me... I felt harassed... I was disturbed. He crossed my way to reach the door first. I opened the door, then I ran out...)

Christine could have been a victim of rape had she not thought of a way to escape.

I was almost raped by Mr. DI. There was an issue about him, I set an appointment, he agreed right away. He fetched me at the station. While we were eating, he was insisting that I drink... I was surprised that time because he was already touching my thighs. I told him that I will get the tape first. Then while in the car he got in at the back, with me, he started holding me... Along the way, he was touching me already. he was already whispering, 'I'm gonna make you happy tonight'... he was saying that. He was touching me all-over... I said, 'Let's go to the station I will leave the tape so they will not look for me.' So he believed me, he stopped. ... we went back to the station. When we got to the station, there were three guards at the ground floor, so he could not move. When we went up, he sensed that I plan to escape, he had a gun, he showed me the gun, then he said, 'Don't do anything stupid' saying that repeatedly. In my mind, I had to escape.

The women journalists experienced sexual harassment in various forms: offensive language, seduction, acts of lasciviousness, kissing attempt, and attempted rape. For the kissing attempt incident, the women journalists rallied together and got the support of male journalists, the Press club wrote a position paper, and a case was filed. However, the case was dismissed for lack of evidence. For the rest of the incidents mentioned, the women journalists appeared helpless and remained silent – a case of the eminent voices now becoming voiceless.

Unfair treatment of women journalists date back to the early 20th century when women reporters were labeled “front page girls”, “young and silly”, “having ‘equipment’ which referred to bust size”, and who “intertwined their bodies with the news itself” (Lutes, 2006). This is one phenomenon that progress and the birth of social consciousness failed to address, for and up to now, a hundred years later, the picture of the subordinate woman at the center of men’s jokes and abuses remained unchanged.

Low pay and exploitation

In third world countries, most especially in the provinces and the rural communities, Journalism is one job that does not pay well. As women moved into this profession, they too became victims of cheap labor and exploitation.

Isabel accepts that, “Actually, if you are in journalism, there is no money. So this is sacrifice.” While Lilian poses the question, “Can you persevere as a starting journalist that your allowance or talent fee of Php 50.00 may come or may not come at all?” Christine describes a similar situation, “When I was starting, my allowance was Php 500.00.” While Nona expresses worry about the meager pay, “Now I heard among my colleagues, there are journalists who receive take home pay of Php 6,000.00. They have families. How can there be enough? There are those who are paid GC... hahaha... gift cheque...”)

Journalists have been and are still exploited. Though they appear well-paid and “high profile” to the public eye, yet they are lowly paid and often deprived of benefits like housing, risk pay, health care and insurance. As anthropologist Laura Nader observed, “...Much of the exploited labor in developing nations... is performed by women. Women workers typically toil long hours for low pay, but contribute significantly to their families’ incomes (Nader, 1986).

Libel and internal politics

Libel is another concern that may upset a journalist’s life. Libel cases are filed against journalists who have broadcast or published information that is damaging or derogatory to a person’s reputation. The element of libel are defamation, identification, malice and publication. When journalists are charged in court with libel, they usually do not get the support of the management.

Internal politics is a related concern. Journalists, especially women, are sometimes caught in the squabble among company officers and become innocent victims of office politics. Isabel recalled a bitter experience when she was charged with libel and lost her job for two years.

My most painful experience as a journalist, my libel case. That was painful because I was at the peak of my career as news commentator, the only lady commentator here. The injustice was unbearable. My boss wanted to put a new voice, I was picked to be that new voice on-the-air. I was used. I was just telling the truth, and my manager said, ‘Go ahead...say it on-the-air.’ Then it hurt the image of the President of the Republic. Suddenly, I was suspended, lost my job. I just obeyed, had permission. During that time, I was the breadwinner of my family... my little children were still fed on milk... my parents, brothers and sisters. The painful part is, my boss denied that he gave me permission. Then when the time came that the libel case was filed, I had no support. The Union could not do anything. Yes, actually only my boss got paid, I and my co-anchor were terminated. My co-anchor was only a talent, while I was already a regular employee. I was the only one, like a chopping board. I was the sacrificial lamb. So, I fought my own case, I went to the Department of Labor, it’s good that there were a lot of lawyers. I won the case, I was reinstated after two years, two years without salary.

after me, he found fault in me... tardiness. In my 25 years at the station, for the first time I received a memo. I explained that it is not my fault because I'm on duty for 7 hours Monday to Friday, then I took Saturday and Sunday duties to fill in my lacking daily hours. So my Saturday and Sunday duties were not counted? How can I have undertime? I changed schedules, but the Station Manager did not defend me... he really was after me...what I wanted was, for them to be fair).

Libel and office politics are threats to the journalist on-the-job. In the journalists' circle, a libel case may be taken for a "trophy". It means that the journalist is doing her job, is fearless and could staunchly stand for what she wrote or said. A libel case, however, can make or unmake a journalist. With management support through the case, a journalist's career may blossom and the libel case can make her known. Without management support, the journalist may be demoted, transferred to a difficult assignment, or lose her job. Being caught in office politics is another story. Office politics is still an offshoot of power struggles that exist in the office hierarchy or between the sexes. L.B. Tan's study revealed that most problems of women journalists in the Philippines all boil down to one cause: their being women. They are perceived as weak and as "victims," victims of unfair treatment, victims of harassment. As victims, they can be victimized over and over again, because they don't fight back, anyway. Simply because they have no voice, and they are too weak and hapless.

Constraints

Constraints limit human action and limit options for many people. In the world of Journalism, women journalists are restrained by many factors that prevent them from doing what they should do, or what they want to do. Because of certain constraints, the journalists are like birds with clipped wings.

Annie complained about her "female physiology" which brings a monthly menstrual period which disables her from doing her work.

When you have your menstruation, you are not really physically active. Sometimes 'bad trip' when it comes at the time we are supposed to go to the mountains which are hard to climb, or out-of-town coverage. It's a physical constraint.

Christine was placed in a difficult situation of doing something she did not like, but was compelled to do it because she was being paid for it. For her, that was economic oppression.

I helped my news source, he was Cabinet Secretary then, find his defense... he was charged in the ____scam. I know he was wrong, I know that they really stole money. But I was paid to care of him, I mean I got paid to look for his defense. He paid me for that, I owe it to him to give him everything. I was working on that story for years, I saw something in my story, the fact that his lawyer did not see. That served as his defense, so he was absolved from the case.

Being an LL.B graduate, Nona insisted that ignorance of the law restrained the women journalists from fighting for their cause.

There is really exploitation in journalism. Women journalists should know their rights... and they can weigh their situation. They should know the laws that can protect them, so that they will not be victims. Christine articulated the media owner's bias as a limitation to what she wanted to write.

We have limitations... it is there. Whoever is my employer, the owner of our newspaper, has bias too... he himself does PR for one company, we cannot write against that company. Our main financier is Mr. B, we should also fight his enemy.

For Therese and Christine, the nature of the journalism profession itself, limits what the journalist can do.

(As journalist) ... you're there but you can only do as much, you are the messenger, but you're not really the solution to the problem. It's limiting you as a person who wants change. There's no time to mourn... because the next day there will be another event to cover and write about... that is journalism.

The Ilonggo women journalists are restrained by by such factors as: female physiology, economic oppression, ignorance of the law, media owners' bias, and the very nature of the journalism profession. With constraints

and entrapments that restrict them from taking a move or action, the women journalists are pushed to back to their subjugated position.

The subordination and devaluation of women, which are deeply rooted in history and entrenched in every culture, are strongly felt among the Ilonggo woman journalists. The idea that women are weak and dependent on men, and are wanting and need men – mindsets perpetuated by a patriarchal society – make the men think that women journalists can be taken for a ride and can be disregarded, harassed and exploited, simply because they are women who could not even fight back by themselves. When the women journalists could not stand up against the established system, they become victims. Their silence allows them to be further victimized. As Michele Guinness surmised, “Unless women are prepared to say when they find touch and sexual innuendo embarrassing, however difficult that may be, it will continue unchecked. Perpetrators will never stop at one or two victims, and even if the initial accusation isn’t acted upon at once, the effect is cumulative and vindication will finally come.”

The journalists had been and are still exploited. Though they appear “high profile” to the public eye, yet they are lowly paid and often deprived of benefits; and are restrained by such factors as female physiology, media owners’ control, and other manifestations of patriarchal and economic oppression.

Woman strategies

Women use strategies to reclaim their womanhood and “woman power” lost or temporarily obscured by gender discrimination, sexism and entrapment in some denigrating women stereotypes. In difficult situations such as in getting the news, women journalists make careful calculations of their positions in relation to that of their male news sources and, from their vantage points, craft “woman strategies” that work. Christine and Annie carefully studied their male sources and focused on their weaknesses.

“I...really plan it. I try to know who my sources are, studying their weakness.”

“We try to know our news source, I discuss with my reporters... we talk in the team...that he is like this, that is his weakness. If he has M tendencies (M stands for sex‘maniac’).... There are many of them there... then we send a woman reporter, but I see to it that she is warned about his behavior, manners... and what the reporter should do.”

Christine revealed the use of “cleavage power” and “legs power.”

“I think it has something to do with being a woman... you stoop down, you reach out. If I need to be sexy... I don’t have a problem with that, I’ve been doing that. I consider that a woman strategy. I show off my cleavage... ‘cleavage power’... Ms. R, Ms. J also does that, but she has no cleavage... hahaha... we enjoy... we talk about it... then Ms. N eh she uses legs eh... ‘legs power’ but I don’t have that, my legs are not nice.”

Lilian chose to project a ‘tough’ woman with femininity.

“Using woman strategies is easier for me. Although I project as if I am tough but with feminine touch... just to get the news. It is not my style to dress up sexy. Playing sweet may be okay...also use of body language.”

To get the news, Therese told of women journalists going out with their male news sources.

“I just know that there were some women in the media who are going out with their male news source... they talk about it, the male journalists, they talk about it. Maybe they are watching each other... I try to avoid because I feel offended because I’m a woman. My impression is they don’t think highly of us... as if it’s the ‘cheap’ way to get the news”

Woman strategies worked as schemes designed by women journalists to win over their news sources and their superiors to their side. The woman strategies are mostly non-verbal communication strategies, which De Fleur defines as distinctive ways in which people arouse meanings in others without using words. Each of these strategies depends on the use of “things.” These include the body itself, which sends numerous messages, the various possessions or artifacts with which people transmit ideas about themselves to others,

and the special category of clothing by which individuals communicate many “layers” of meaning (De Fleur, 1993).

Conclusions

The profile of women journalists drawn by E.S.Bernal three decades ago is not much different from what it is today. They are mostly single, have earned college degrees, and have been receiving low salaries. The women journalists who are participants of this study indicated salaries higher than the minimum wage because they have been promoted to supervisory or higher positions. They have also developed or acquired personality traits, self-concepts, and self-presentation strategies needed in their profession. The women journalists experience gender segregation, sexism, woman stereotypes, struggles in power relations and emotional involvement. They also experience sexual harassment in various forms: offensive language, seduction, acts of lasciviousness, kissing attempt, attempted rape.

Journalists have been and are still exploited. They appear well-paid and high-profile to the public eye, yet they are lowly paid and often deprived of benefits like housing, risk pay, health care and insurance. Libel and office politics are still threats to journalists on-the-job. Office politics is still an offshoot of power struggles that exist in the office hierarchy or between the sexes. The Ilonggo women journalists are restrained by such factors as female physiology, economic oppression, ignorance of the law, media owner's bias, and the very nature of the journalism job. In difficult situations such as in getting the news, women journalists make careful calculations and craft “woman strategies” that work.

Recommendations

- There is a need to unify and empower the women journalists to help lift them out of their subordinate and subjugated situation. Interventions for empowerment like trainings, forums, seminars, and small group meetings and talks may be considered.
- Aspiring young women journalists and media practitioners must be prepared for the challenges of the journalism profession, especially those that concern gender segregation, discrimination, inequality, and related issues. The writing and printing of a “Women Journalists Primer: A Guide for Beginners and Young Women Journalists” may be a big help. The primer can be used as a tool in the information and education campaign to prepare, empower, and liberate women journalists from situations that may render them helpless.
- The study is confined only to a small circle of women journalists in a specific community. It may be expanded to include women journalists in national and international media circles.

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About the Author

The author is the Dean of the College of Communication of the West Visayas State University, Iloilo, Philippines.

Free speech in Social Media vs Mainstream Media: Journalists' perspective*Archana Kumari, and Nidhi Slathia**Central University of Jammu, Rahya-Suchani, Bagla, India.***Abstract**

There is general perception that people can exercise the right of free speech more in social media rather than mainstream media, which seems to be very much true because we know that every information or opinion has to be passed through a gatekeeper in mainstream media; however the gate is rarely guarded in social media. It also raises the question of accountability if the freedom of speech is given to the people. Especially this matter becomes very interesting from the perspective of working journalists as their roles change in various media. Sometimes they themselves work as gatekeeper in mainstream media and sometimes write seamlessly in social media; sometimes social media becomes source of their story and mainstream media becomes a platform for their expressions, sometimes they get a lead from main media and explore its roots in social media; they play interchangeable characters in various media. This paper tries to understand the ease or difficulties, suppression or expression, limited or unlimited quest of truth in freedom of speech felt and exercised by the purposively selected working journalists from diverse media in Jammu and conducting in-depth interviews with them.

Introduction

The critical distance between a journalist and those in power is often explained this way: as in the case of fire, don't get too close as you may get burnt, but don't be too far as you may not notice what is happening. Is it possible to quantify the distance between journalists and their social media engagements? Major media organizations have a social media policy that defines how their journalists should behave on these platforms, where the focus is more on protecting the reputation of the organizations. Some journalists see these policy measures as an infringement of their individual right to freedom of expression. Social media is a huge platform to share our personal views and opinions. Journalists may like to believe that there is a clear line between their professional writing for their respective publications and their personal opinions on social media. However, the virtual space does not see any distinction between professional writing and personal opinion, it always conflates the two. It fails to understand that journalism represents the written tradition, that what is carefully researched is meant for the public sphere, unlike social media posts that mimic oral exchanges in private domains. The point to remember is that none of the usual caveats are spelt out when we speak among our friends (Paneerselvan, 2018).

A.S. Pannneerselvan, a media ombudsman, always batted for self-regulation. He refers a board advisory to a binding policy for issues that have a large grey band rather than the obvious hues of black and white. He has been attempting to come up with a formula for journalists to engage on social media for nearly four years, but in vain. A suggestion for self-restraint is viewed as self-censorship, and proposals to ignore obnoxious posts is seen as lacking in courage to expose banality. Absolute yardsticks like freedom of expression and the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution have been invoked to sidestep the crucial idea of keeping social media platforms free of vituperative attacks.

There was an obvious contradiction between a column by a journalist and some of his posts on Twitter. Farhad Manjoo, a Tech columnist for the New York Times wrote a piece on March 7 "For Two Months, I Got My News from Print Newspapers. Here's What I Learned." It dealt with the problem overloaded false claims on social media, and right way to consume news. The columnist claimed that he had been unplugged from social media for two months and his three-pronged suggestions ("Get news. Not too quickly. Avoid social") was a result of his abstinence. However, the problem was that Mr. Manjoo did not unplug himself from social media. A report in Columbia Journalism Review (CJR) points out that he "remained a daily, active Twitter user throughout the two months he claims to have gone cold Turkey, Tweeting many hundreds of times, perhaps more than 1,000. There is no private meaning or special understanding between the writer and reader in the social media space. Journalists should be careful while writing on social media too so that their credibility should not be harmed and which cannot contradict their own statements.

Social media is an internet-based form of communication. There are many forms of social media, including blogs, micro-blogs, wikis, social networking sites, photo-sharing sites, instant messaging, video-sharing sites, podcasts, widgets, virtual worlds, and more.

Billions of people around the world use social media to share information and make connections. On a personal level, social media allows you to communicate with friends and family, learn new things, develop your interests, and be entertained. On a professional level, you can use social media to broaden your knowledge in a particular field and build your professional network by connecting with other professionals in your industry. At the company level, social media allows you to have a conversation with your audience, gain customer feedback, and elevate your brand.

The variety of platforms allows for a wide range of uses and attracts users in a variety of ways. Facebook is popular because users can friend and follow others they know or like and keep up with the events going on in their lives. Twitter is the home of the #hashtag and a great place to follow people and read about events in a short and sweet way since tweets are limited to 140 characters. Instagram is a platform where all posts include a picture or video followed by a caption. Snapchat allows users to communicate with each other through pictures and videos that are seen once or twice and then go away forever. Each platform has its own unique interface, but they are all similar in being a public online space for users to connect and stay in touch. Social media began through a variety of online platforms for users to share their interests and connect with others who shared similar interests. Then, it evolved into an online public space to connect and network with people. According to Boyd (2014), "social media refers to the sites and services that emerged during the early 2000s, including social networking sites, video sharing sites, blogging and microblogging platforms, and related tools that allow participants to create and share their own content" (p. 6). Additionally, social media enables people to interact in online communities (ibid).

Social media gives a platform to the people to express their views freely. However many of the mainstream journalists are not allowed to share their personal views with the public; they have to present only the views of organization. There is a lot of difference between journalists and their social media engagements. Every individual has the right to freedom of expression. Journalists should also get benefit of these media; however there is a difference between the professional writing and personal writing. Social media platforms are not closed circuits. This study focuses upon the free speech in social media and mainstream media where the journalists have to work according to their respective organizations. But now a days with the availability of twitter, Facebook etc. they can share their personal opinions too. So there is a need to find out that how free journalists are to share their personal opinion by making blogs or by using various platforms of social networking sites.

Methodology

This research was conducted among the journalists working in mainstream media organizations in the Jammu province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir of India. The study was done by in-depth free flow interviews of some of the journalists of the region carefully selected from different media groups. The primary data was based on these interviews. The secondary data sources include books, journals, and articles. As this research is mainly focused upon the comfort zone of journalist in both mainstream media and social media and their degree of freedom in both of these media, so for this in-depth interview of various journalists seemed to be most appropriate method. The journalists chosen for in-depth interview were from both print and visual media and from both the fields of reporting and editing to keep the account representative.

Research Questions:

1. How comfortable the journalists of Jammu region are in social media and mainstream media?
2. What are the challenges faced by journalists?
3. How social media creates an impact on journalism?

Mainstream media versus social media

The realm of social networking sites is emerging as the subject of social research in the social sciences. There are various aspects of social networking sites. Both mainstream media and social media can co-exist.

However mainstream media needs to fight the misinformation being spread by social media. It can do this by itself raising standards of objectivity and calling out manipulative social media rumours and trends. This will raise standards of journalism overall. Social media has marked a great change; it has completely changed the news content. The news which was limited to the particular areas or region now social media has made it possible to go across the world. The news has its impact worldwide. Everyone can give his /her opinions on the issues provided by the journalists. If social media is important for everyone then mainstream media too has its great impact. The news channels, newspapers are the most trustable mediums for the news content and people do watch and read them in order to get news and get fully informed.

However, Shoemaker and Vos suggest that Internet differs from other forms of mass communication as it increases the prospect of two-way communication and interaction between the individuals (Chin-Fook&Simmonds, 2011). Furthermore, Web 2.0 and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter allow various audiences to take part in the dialogue, interacting with business, institutions and newsmakers (Chin-Fook, 2011)

Similarities between social media and mainstream media

1. The biggest similarity between mainstream media and social media is the need to follow a marketing plan .The message a company or organization is trying to convey needs to be aligned with what the consumer wants to hear.
2. Both mediums are measurable. Mainstream media is measured by traffic, surveys and tracking a call to action. Social is easier to track with online data per click, hashtag use and reposts. However, using both media together as opposed to one versus the other can move your message further and reach a larger audience. Planning the message you want your audience to understand and act upon. The purpose of new media is very much built on the traditional media. The main purpose of both is to make the audience informed (new social media v/s traditional media essay, 2016)

Another similarity in traditional media that extends to new media is the tedious method of gathering information, drafting and proofreading. For the newspaper readers and e-newsletter viewers to obtain only the correct news, newspaper companies engage reporters, journalists and editors in order to print a factual article without mistakes. (U.S Bureau of labour Statistics, 2010). Similarly , to uphold reputation as well as to ensure that the electronic sources tally with the printed media (Simmons, 2009).The strenuous practice of gathering information is also used in broadcast media to produce drama serials and videos of new media. Facebook is far and away the most important social network for reforming traffic, but twitter has become a crucial tool for journalists. It has spread rapidly through newsrooms, and now plays a central role in the way stories are sourced, broken and distributed – contributing to a further speeding up of the news cycle.

Use of social media by various journalists

There are many mainstream journalists who are active users of social media too. Few of them who have been interviewed are as follow:

Syed Junaid Hashmi

He is Head, News Point Live in JK channel from 13 years. He has worked for Kashmir Times for four years, for Mail Today and Early Times for six years and for JK channel for two years. He had also worked as a trainee Reporter in Greater Kashmir after just doing his 12th. He is an active user of social media. He said that when he started up with Kashmir Times, its news circulation was limited within J&K and impact was not much but due to social media, it has got wider opportunities. Now- a- days because of social media, he can write whatever he wants to write and can get reviews from all over the world. This is the best way to develop the connectivity, like if his fan is in Tamil Nadu, Canada or anywhere else, he can watch him live from there. So now he is able to send his messages across all over the world and that is why he makes use of social media. Social media is the best way for the youngsters to share their personal instincts. It is the power of social media to take younger and brighter people ahead in their life if they are connected to social media. According to him social media is the best platform and that is why he keeps connected with it.

But when we talk about his comfort zone, he would prefer mainstream media because he is also a writer and he writes for a newspaper, so definitely he wanted that his report is being published in newspaper rather than writing on social media.

Secondly after the story being published on newspaper or web portal, then he would like to post it on social media. But he would never let facebook to be a mechanism for writing his story.

He would love to appear on television not on social media because being a journalist, he is meant for television, newspaper not for social media where every Tom, Dick and Harry is available with his comments, wisdom.

Anuradha Bhasin

She is Executive Editor of Kashmir Times and her age is 45+. She is not an active user of social media, because she comes from a generation where they picked and learnt computer but did not grow with it. But she uses it sometimes; however she didn't take much interest in it. She makes use of Twitter but found it complicated and now she uses WhatsApp, Facebook. She makes use of it mainly for professional purposes to get lot of information and a lot of reading material. Cross-Checking is mostly important because the world is surrounded with fake news i.e. propaganda which is being circulated all over the world. She doesn't agree that social media are the best platforms to share the personal instincts because sometimes the discussion can be meaningful but sometimes not. There are various non-serious people on social media who make abusive comments, reviews etc. On social media instant news is there but in order to achieve the detailed information it can be done only face-to-face or in media close room. She feels more comfortable in mainstream media especially print media. She likes writing for print media because she knows that somebody is going to read that. Print media still has its relevance; it's a kind of serious media. There are some other journalists too who are not active users of social media.

Suchi Smita

She is a senior Special Correspondent in Kashmir Times having age 40+. She is having working experience of 20 years. But she doesn't make use of social media as she is least interested in using that.

Impact of social media on mainstream media: Journalist's perspective

News organizations are becoming increasingly worried about the potentially disruptive effect of social media on their business models. Though people trust journalists more than they trust social media "platforms", such as Facebook and Twitter, and this is being taken as a reassuring piece of news that quality journalism and traditional media institutions are beginning a fight back against technology giants. The loss of faith in the media isn't the worst news. This is that large portions of the audience are cutting back on or abandoning news entirely. Ultimately, government and society are benefited from a free and high-quality news media, if journalists are doing their right job.

Social media is giving mainstream media a run for its money:

Is mainstream media endangered species? Increasing numbers of young people don't use newspapers or television anymore as their primary source of information and entertainment. Network television with set programmed timings is going out of fashion. When Apple launches its TV service; it will accelerate the trend towards "Appointment TV" – viewers deciding what to watch when. Habits are changing fast as consumers are becoming the kings of content rather than the other way around.

In India, the implications are likely to be even more game-changing. Social media has democratized content. Till a few years ago producers of content were a privileged minority. With Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr, Instagram, You tube, and blogs everyone now has a voice. Consumers of content can today themselves produce content at no cost except their time. Twitter and Facebook together have over 150 million users in India. Traditional media has no option but to adjust to the new virtual reality. The really important development in India though is that social media now acts as an informal watchdog of mainstream media.

Challenges faced by journalists due to their posts on social media:

In an interview with Syed Junaid Hashmi, Head –News Point Live in JK channel told that he faced a lot of problems due to his posts on social media. He is a part of organization and works for JK Media. There was a post which was about his car, which he gave for repair & where he sent his car for repair they did not have repaired the car the way they should have done, they damaged his car. So, he put up a post on Facebook where he mentioned about this incident and put on serious allegations on the company where he sent his car. The owner of the company knew the power of social media and he knew who was posting on social media, 7 - 8 days down the line, he got a call from his boss and told by him to remove the post.

He is a journalist who is very careful about his posts on social media. But whenever he took a stand on any case against people's opinion, people started abusing him on Facebook for whom he was the hero. Some said that we will kill you, teach you a lesson etc. If someone is posting on Facebook, he should be ready for the repercussions and responses that they will get from social media because there are lot of people using facebook, so one needs to draw a line between them.

Anuradha Bhasin, Executive Editor of Kashmir Times also faced a lot of problems due to her posts on social media like she got a lot of trolling, hate mails and a lot of comments from people against her. There is also not any kind of restrictions imposed on them, as a journalist one needs to be very cautious about what to write on Facebook because no one wants to annoy his/her boss, company. Whatever boss says is news, rest is a trash.

There are no restrictions on Syed Junaid Hashmi, but whenever he operates social media, he operates within a certain limit it's not like that he is independent and can write whatever he wants. He is of the view that every organization has a particular ideology and one needs to be very careful about that. No restrictions are there on Anuradha Bhasin too, she is having a lot of independence to write, only one thing that we need to be careful about verifying our facts and figures that must be cross-checked so that it does not mislead the readers. A true journalist is one who always takes care of the demands of the public and always provides them with the real issues and news so that the public should come to know about the reality. There are various people who are still fond of reading newspapers and their day starts with the newspaper so it's the prime responsibility of the journalist to provide the valid news to his readers through which they get fully informed.

How journalism has morphed into new type of journalism with the use of social media:

The urge to spread information amongst one another has been a facet of human nature. Since the beginning, however, the ways human spread information has changed drastically. Initially information was spread verbally, as humans were still very primitive, but as technology advanced the means of information sharing advanced as well. What was once a verbal exchange of thoughts eventually transformed into a billion dollar industry called journalism! Many of these advances had a major impact on the world. For example, the printing press allowed writers to produce their literature in mass quantities in a short duration of time, as opposed to writing each document by hand. The most recent advancement being the introduction of internet, and even more recent the creation of social media has changed the face of journalism forever.

Social media today:

Today, journalism has been morphed and formed into a type of writing that anyone can create. The simplest forms of it, for example twitters, can be sent out in less than a second and only includes 140 characters. Journalism has moved from its organized and old format to that anyone can easily create. The way we use social media and journalism today impacts what people read and how they read or listen to news. Journalism has been around for a long time, but today they are getting more involved with platforms such as twitter, snapchat, v-chat, Facebook all form of social media.

The research reveals that:

Still there are various journalists that do not use social media much. They feel more comfortable on mainstream media. Being a journalist one should feel proud to appear on TV, newspaper rather than on social media platforms.

There must be a clear line between professional writing of journalist and personal writing. Being a journalist one should not contradict one's own writings. His professional and personal writing would be same so that one cannot harm their credibility.

Freedom of speech and expression:

Syed Junaid says, "As an Indian journalist, our constitution gives me every right to raise my voice against laws and to live freely. Right to freedom is given to me by our constitution. Freedom of speech means freely you can speak anything because India is the only country where diverse opinions exist. A free and impartial media is a key pillar to a functioning democracy to help spread informed views and opinions. Yet developed and developing countries alike are plagued with various problems in the media in numerous ways. International news coverage is declining which is an increasing concern at a time when the world is attempting to globalize. In many countries, journalists face threats of censorship, beatings and even death for reporting issues that may be controversial or not in the interests of power holders. The mainstream media of the developed nations pose an often unmentioned or poorly analyzed problem: the lack of objective reporting that is not influenced and, to a growing degree, controlled by elites with concentrated ownership to advance their interests.

Media and Issues of Responsibility

According to this research, journalists are adapting the new tools but they do it carefully. Research revealed that most of the journalists feel like sharing their views/ news on mainstream media rather than social media. They like to appear on TV or newspaper instead of social media platforms.

Journalists always take care of facts so that it should not harm their credibility. They don't want to break the trust of the people who are watching or reading out their news. Journalism is a field from where the public can get informed easily so the facts and figures cross-checked properly so that it does not mislead the public and don't break their trust.

The Indian media display certain defects. These should be ideally addressed and corrected in a democratic manner. But if the media is proved to be incorrigible; harsh measures may be called for. Many people, not only those in authority but even ordinary people have started saying that the media have become irresponsible and wayward and need to be reined in.

Under the constitution of India, freedom of speech is guaranteed by Article 19(a). However no freedom can be absolute and reasonable restrictions are placed on it. One of the basic tasks of media is to provide truthful and objective information to the people that will enable them to form rational opinions, which is a sine qua non in a democracy.

Duties and responsibilities of journalists:

Journalists educate the people about events and issues and how they affect their lives. They spend much of their time interviewing expert sources, searching public records and other sources for information and sometimes visiting the scene where a crime or other news worthy occurrence took place. After they have thoroughly researched the subject, they use what they uncovered to write an article or create a piece for radio, television or the internet.

Ethical Responsibilities:

Some aspects of a journalist's job are not subject to any kind of law but are just as important. Journalists must strive to present an accurate, well-balanced explanation of the stories they cover.

No Clear distinction between professional writings and personal opinions of journalists:

There is no clear line between the journalist's writings on mainstream media and personal opinions on social media because if they do so then it can harm their credibility. As a journalist, one need to be very clear about his writings, posts on whatever the media he is using. One should never use that statement that can contradict him. Journalists are meant for TV, newspapers so must always keep in mind that whatever the facts and figures they are using must be cross-checked properly. A journalist must not be double faced. There are various people on social media that can place out the indecent comments, trolls, and hate mails if the

journalists are not working out properly. Social media platforms are giving great opportunities to each and every citizen but making the right use of it is a crucial issue. A journalist's professional opinion must be same as his personal opinion as he is the one who can provide the public with true facts and figures.

Like the newspaper readers always willing to read out the news, article of their favourite journalist or writer, so the writings of a person must be same as he feels about it personally so that it cannot mislead the audience.

Facebook is not meant to share our personal life:

While interviewing the journalist one thing comes out is that Facebook is not meant to share our personal life. Because there are millions of people who are using Facebook, some can understand but others can make out the indecent comments regarding your photos you uploaded, videos etc. It can be highly insecure. Because India is full of diversity i.e. diverse opinion, mentality, culture etc.

If someone is willing to share his/her photos then she/he can put it on Instagram with a certain privacy measures and delete after 2-3 days. No doubt, Facebook is a best platform and is having a millions of users but it is having some harmful effects too. While using any platform always be careful so that nobody can take out advantage of that. People trust journalists more than they trust "Platforms" such as Facebook and Twitter, and this is being taken as a reassuring piece of news. Journalism and traditional media institutions are beginning a fight back against technology giants. Responsible media is one which is committed to the integrity of news, and has checks in place to ensure that is not deliberately manufactured or twisted.

Conclusion

Freedom of expression is a double-edge sword. The media is a potent weapon which use depends on journalists. It is time for us to decide which type of media we want in the country. Media is considered as the fourth pillar of democracy. So it's the prime responsibility of media to follow certain ethics. Media is considered as the trustable medium for the public in order to get information. But when interviewing the journalist one thing came to know that as journalists in media they should not appear on social networks like a layman. Journalism is a field where journalists need to express themselves on newspaper or television. But there are various problems faced by them like sometimes they are forced to do that which they don't want.

There should not be at all any kind of contradiction between their posts on social media and on mainstream media. Whatever they are on mainstream media the same they should be on social media otherwise it would point out their credibility. There is not at all any kind of restrictions imposed on the journalist of Jammu for working in mainstream media. Journalists always know what to report and what not to. Journalists are very much responsible about the facts and figures in the news that they are delivering to the public. Mainstream media is a best medium to express oneself. Although we use to think that journalists are free to share their views but it is wrong, they feel more comfortable on mainstream media because they believe journalists are meant for mainstream media not for social media. Following points are conferred out of this study:

1. The use of social media can cause harmful effects too. The posts on social media can also create the problems for the journalists. Public can start criticizing them if they are posting against their opinions.
 2. Social media platforms are the best platforms to share our views but there is no need to share the personal life on social media as it can be problematic sometimes.
 3. For a journalist social media is a secondary source to use i.e his/her second priority but mainstream media is his/her first priority as he/she loves to appear on that news context.
- In a nutshell media sets agenda of the campaign. So here both mainstream media journalist have certain agendas already set by organization as per which they work and on the other hand social media is also one way or other way is being used. There are various reasons to use and not to use social media. Social media has created wider opportunities not only for journalists but also for the generation to go ahead for their brighter future.

It hasn't changed the content much but with the help of social media that news which was limited only within the state, now it reaches across the world and can create a great national and international impact. Every person can get involved in that. So, social media has taken the journalism to a higher level. However the thought that social media has created the vast zone of comfort proved wrong. Because according to the

interviews journalists feel more comfortable on mainstream media rather than social media. No doubt Social media has created wider opportunities but the journalists are meant for television and newspaper not for social media. Their personality is similar, like as they are in their professional life they must be same in their personal life too. No one can point finger on their credibility. They work by following the ethics.

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About the author

The authors are faculty members of the Department of Mass Communication and New Media, Central University of Jammu.

Philippine Democracy and Moral Disengagement in the Art of Digital Propaganda

Jim Duran

Far Eastern University, Manila, Philippines

Abstract

In 2015, Mark Zuckerberg's Facebook partnered with Globe telecom in a project named 'internet.org'. Launched successfully in the Philippines as test bed, it allows everyone to have digital connectivity for free. Bloomberg reported in December of 2017, that problem is exacerbated when Facebook's engine of democracy is deployed in an undemocratic fashion. A November 2017 report by Freedom House (as cited by Bloomberg), a U.S.-based non-profit that advocates for political and human rights, found that a growing number of countries are "manipulating social media to undermine democracy." One aspect of that involves "patriotic trolling," or the use of government-backed harassment and propaganda meant to control the narrative, silence dissidents and consolidate power. This study explores how digital propaganda through 'fake news' which is intentionally communicated can shape public opinion. Also, this paper aims to discuss why digital propaganda may not undermine democracy. Now that not only the government, political parties and non-partisan groups can use social media for the party's interest (not merely for public's interest) but also ordinary consumers of Facebook in particular. These social media consumers exercise their constitutional right of free expression in one way or the other which is uncommon two decades ago. This paper subscribed to Bandura's (1977) Moral Disengagement Theory which Thomas Gabor (1994) documented the pervasiveness of moral disengagement by people of all statuses in all walks of life. In sum, each individual has the right to get access of information in any means. Social media is now the primary source of data that consumers rely so that they can be informed of current events and social issues whether there is manipulation of information from Duterte government or anti administration parties or from ordinary citizens who has now strategic ways of arming themselves in the art of digital propaganda. Banning Facebook in the Philippines is not only unconstitutional but it would undermine Philippine democracy, whether there is disinformation and misinformation formulating from unrestrained sources. People critique and digest information. Liking, commenting and sharing information seriously or sarcastically, is the manner Filipinos take fake news in social media. Lastly, media literacy may help individuals become more critical at digital content. Nonetheless, free expression whether exercised rightly or wrongly is an indication of a functioning democracy.

Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in a report in 2017 states that freedom of expression and opinion is a general right for all citizens. As stated in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right further includes the 'freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.' The universality of this has been reinforced in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) as well as General Comment number 34 on this article by the Human Rights Committee. In 2012, the Human Rights Council affirmed the applicability of the two articles 19 to the internet. In terms of international standards, the right should be the norm, and any limitations should be exceptional in nature. The latter should be justifiable in terms of international standards, which require any such constraints to be law-based, necessary and proportional, and for legitimate purpose.

For UNESCO, press freedom and the right of access to information are corollaries of the general right to freedom of expression and opinion. The status of press freedom designates the particular use of this right of expression on public media platforms, where its social visibility and significance means press freedom can be used as a barometer of the wider right to freedom of expression and access to information.

Efforts to manipulate information

Press freedom necessitates media freedom, but the concept is also wider than this dimension, as was elaborated in the Windhoek Declaration, endorsed by the UNESCO General Conference in 1991. The Declaration underlined that effective press freedom needs to be underpinned by, and realized through, a

media environment that is legally free, as well as providing for pluralism and independence. Press freedom, therefore, includes the freedom from illegitimate restriction, as well as the freedom to contribute to a plurality of media and the freedom to express oneself publicly without political or commercial interference. According to the 2017 edition of *Freedom on the Net*, governments around the world have dramatically increased their efforts to manipulate information on social media over the past year. The Chinese and Russian regimes pioneered the use of surreptitious methods to distort online discussions and suppress dissent more than a decade ago, but the practice has since gone global. Such state-led interventions present a major threat to the notion of the internet as a liberating technology. Venezuela, the Philippines, and Turkey were among 30 countries where governments were found to employ armies of “opinion shapers” to spread government views, drive particular agendas, and counter government critics on social media. The number of governments attempting to control online discussions in this manner has risen each year since Freedom House began systematically tracking the phenomenon in 2009. But over the last few years, the practice has become significantly more widespread and technically sophisticated, with bots, propaganda producers, and fake news outlets exploiting social media and search algorithms to ensure high visibility and seamless integration with trusted content.

Indeed, speaking from the distance of two millennia, the Greco-Roman political philosopher Polybius warned: “[W]hen a new generation arises,” after many years of democratic rule, it often results in developments which “tempt[] and corrupt[] the people in every possible way.” These online sites may present a danger to the democratic state that is in the spirit of what Polybius foresaw where democracy is consumed by unrestrained popular force. Polybius’ view reflected a refinement of the classical Greek idea of *anacyclosis*, or the gradual cyclical development of the state, from primitive monarchy to kingship, to tyranny, leading to broader aristocracy and then oligarchy, until finally democracy emerges, only eventually to be overtaken by ochlocracy, or mob rule, until a strong autocrat rises again and the cycle begins anew (*Freedom on the Net*, 2017).

Freedom of expression and digital propaganda in the Philippines

In one article published in *Rappler.com*, Hofileña predicts the impact of a single message sent from just one fake account and spread to hundreds of thousands of Facebook accounts. Even assuming only 10% actually share a post by a fake account, the spread of wrong information can still be damaging. They can convincingly manufacture reality on social media as they wish, transforming perception to reality, and swaying opinion on the basis of perceived number and power. In the Philippines, with a population of 100 million, there are an estimated 47 million active Facebook accounts as of 2015.

Hofileña further expounds that, one account alone we determined to be fake was connected (as of October 6, 2016) to about 2.9 million members of various overseas Filipino groups associated with Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr, and other hobby groups. Another fake account was linked to over 990,000 members of groups supporting President Rodrigo Duterte, and still another was connected to an estimated 3.8 million members of various overseas Filipino organizations and buy-and-sell groups. Because Filipinos have been drowning in a sea of fake accounts, propaganda, and disinformation in the last 3 years, a United States probe linking the Russians to these techniques raises the question of whether local propagandists and PR practitioners received similar advice from kindred spirits in the Kremlin (Gutierrez, 2018).

Now, this study is important because it gives a thorough discussion of the democratic exercise of social media users, especially Facebook consumers, where digital propaganda in the form of misinformation and disinformation is absorbed, and most often accepted or believed. Specifically, it explores the absurdity, tackiness and sarcasm as mainly primary example description of the various ways of expression social media consumers demonstrate in their quest for an equal political exertion.

Problem

This study explores how digital propaganda through ‘fake news’ which is intentionally communicated can shape public opinion. Also, this paper sought to answer the primary question, why digital propaganda in the Philippines may not undermine democracy?

Documentary Hypothesis

There is no significant contribution of digital propaganda employed by morally disengaged social media or online consumers in Philippine democracy as accounted by early scholars in misinformation, disinformation or social media studies.

Theoretical Framework

(a) Moral Disengagement Theory

The inclusion of Albert Bandura's Moral Disengagement Theory in this study is to explain the online behaviour and social media responses of users especially on Facebook that is a good case of practicing the art of digital propaganda in response to political bickering and brouhahas. Bandura discusses that moral disengagement may centre on the cognitive restructuring of inhumane conduct into a benign or worthy one by moral justification, sanitising language and exonerative social comparison; disavowal of personal agency in the harm one causes by diffusion or displacement of responsibility; disregarding or minimising the injurious effects of one's actions; and attribution of blame to, and dehumanisation of, those who are victimised. When people can see and hear the suffering they cause, vicariously aroused distress and self-censure serve as self-restrainers (Bandura, 1992). In studies of obedient aggression, people are less compliant to the injurious commands of authorities as the victims' pain becomes more evident and personalised (Milgram, 1974). Even a high sense of personal responsibility for the effects of one's actions is a weak restrainer of injurious conduct when aggressors do not see the harm they inflict on their victims (Tilker, 1970).

(b) Emergence and Complexity Theory

Also, in a micro-macro social level, each individual's way of exercising the art of digital propaganda in democratic Philippines may lead to a society's new socio-structural phenomena or system so, Emergence and Complexity Theory is added as another theoretical backdrop of the study. As cited by Sawyer (2001) many accounts of the micro-macro link use the philosophical notion of emergence to argue that collective phenomena are collaboratively created by individuals yet are not reducible to individual action (Archer 1995; Bhaskar [1979] 1998, 1982; Blau 1981; Edel 1959; Kontopoulos 1993; Mihata 1997; Parsons 1937; Porpora 1993; Smith 1997; Sztompka 1991; Whitmeyer 1994; Wisdom 1970). Moreover, in this study Complexity Theory thus refers to the metaphorical understanding of complex systems of which the phenomenon of 'emergence' forms a crucial part. Emergence simply means that, in the interaction processes of the whole and parts of a system, internally within the system and externally with its environment, something new emerges that was not intrinsically contained in any constituent element of the system before (Morin 2007:12).

Methodology

The key method employed in this study traditional redaction criticism. Due to lack of sources done in the Philippines about digital propaganda and how it is practiced by Facebook users, the researcher included findings from previous studies in selected countries to append an enhanced content on the paper. There are two ways the researcher detected redaction activity: (1) repetition of common motifs and theme; and (2) comparison of accounts from the countries selected and most importantly accounts in the Philippines. This Redaction criticism came to the fore after the Second World War, and associated in the first place with the names of three prominent German New Testament scholars: Günther Bornkamm, Hans Conzelmann and Willi Marxsen. The newer discipline of redaction criticism moves away from form criticism, however, in that it sets out to discover the theological uniqueness of the evangelists in relation to their sources. To this extent redaction criticism is not a real part of form criticism. But once the two have been separated, it is important to notice that redaction criticism does not then become simply a study of "the theology" of the evangelists (Best, 1965). As discussed by Osborne (1992) it is rather a consideration of the creative way in which writers have handled their sources at the final stages of composition.

Discussions

(a) Countering digital propaganda: Netherlands

According to Melissen (2018), in international politics fake news has real consequences, and so has countering fake news in 20th century tit-for-tat style. Probably with an eye to the 2019 EU Parliamentary elections, the European diplomatic service's EastStratcom Task Force has recently committed an additional

€1 million to expose Russian propaganda online. Giving this European online “myth busting” initiative the benefit of the doubt, one might suggest that the Twitter handle @EUvsDisinfo contributes to greater awareness of Russian practices among EU citizens. At best this initiative looks like a quick fix that fails to address underlying problems. At worst it is a classic case of preaching to the converted. Fighting Russian fake news with Cold War-style tools does not make things any better. Did it cross the minds of the mandarins of EU diplomacy that official initiatives like this one are perhaps not in sync with the zeitgeist? There are no quick fixes for what is fundamentally a problem of human behaviour. It is understandable that the EU is in a hurry, but fake news can only be understood by looking into the ways in which it is circulated and believed online (Melissen, 2018).

In the digital age everything starts with the ordinary individual – neither empowered hero nor hate speech villain – and that applies equally to finding solutions for the problem of fake news. In the variegated patchwork that is required to counter fake news, there is a greater need for practices like fact checking than in the pre-digital age, and it is important to expose destabilizing narratives based on deliberately hurtful disinformation. Powerful actors like tech giants have a job to do, but there is rightly also a call for the taming of excessive corporate power and arrogance. International organizations have a role to play, but should be conscious of their contested legitimacy in the societies of their member states. Governments need to be aware that ‘the law’ is not enough to fix a social illness, and in our collective memory it is hard to dissociate propaganda and lack of freedom of speech from state power. Civil society involvement in fighting fake news deserves more emphasis, and greater resilience of persons – as the smallest units of our society – starts with the systematic introduction of meta-literacy in education. This probably remains the best antidote to fake news (Melissen, 2018).

(b) Countering digital propaganda: Germany

As mentioned by Comrie in 2017, change is possible. Germany’s Network Enforcement act came into force on the 1st of October 2017.³¹ It fines social media companies up to 50 million euros if they don’t remove ‘clearly illegal’ content within 24 hours of it being reported. Clearly illegal content is defined as content where “the illegality can be detected within 24 hours without an in-depth examination and with reasonable efforts, i.e. immediately by trained personnel.” Other illegal content must be taken down within 7 days. Infringing content is completely wiped from the social media site, with copies kept on file to stop reposting. Quarterly reports of all complaints and subsequent actions taken are mandated. C-level executives are required to conduct monthly compliance reviews. New anti-fake news legislation modeled after Germany’s Network Enforcement act should be introduced to parliament. The ideal legislation would penalize Facebook with large fines if they failed to remove Facebook pages after fake news links were reported by the public. The public would be given the ability to report fake news links to Facebook using a form on provided on their website. Judgements on fake news reports would be made by Facebook officials and required within either 24 hours or 7 days, following the same policy as Germany. Once news links are confirmed to be fake, a copy would be kept on file, posted online, and wiped from Facebook. This law would target pages for deletion, not personal accounts, lessening fears that the public may have regarding infringement of free speech. Legislation would not necessarily be in force permanently, and could potentially come into effect only a few months before federal elections. The specific definition of what constitutes fake news is a difficult issue to tackle. Any anti-fake news law would need to be balanced enough as to not overreach and ban pages for posting opinion-based discourse. I believe this balance is possible, as it has been with hate speech laws. Publicly-released monthly reports should be required to ensure transparency in the reporting and judgement process. Dedicated government representatives, paid for by Facebook, should be required to assist in implementation and continued adherence to the legislation (Comrie, 2017).

(c) Countering digital propaganda: United States of America

From a conclusion of a conference titled ‘Combating Fake News: An Agenda for Research and Action’ organized in February 2017 by Harvard Kennedy School that touched on the cognitive, social and institutional constructs of misinformation from both long-standing and more recent work in a variety of disciplines. In this document, we outlined some of the relevant work on information processing, credibility assessment, corrections and their effectiveness, and the diffusion of misinformation on social networks. We described concrete steps for making the science of fake news more inclusive for researchers across the political

spectrum, detailed strategies for making the truth “louder,” and introduced an interdisciplinary initiative for advancing the study of misinformation online. Finally, we recognized areas where additional research is needed to provide a better understanding of the fake news phenomenon and ways to mitigate it.

Moreover, designing interventions should employ the broadest possible coalition across some high-tension zones, where the concerns about growing networks of hate movements and enhanced online surveillance through targeted data harvesting – brought to the fore by groups like Color of Change, Center for Media Justice, Center for Democracy and Technology, Southern Poverty Law Center, and Free Press – are taken into account. New interventions must involve protections from digital harms for news consumers, content moderators, and journalists. Taking a multistakeholder approach will not rid platform companies of user-generated content rife with racism, homophobia, misogyny, or harassment, but it will make it harder for groups espousing these reprehensible beliefs to find shelter by labeling themselves news organizations (Caplan, Hanson and Donovan, 2018).

With “fake news,” the risk is not necessarily that it will overtake real news, but that democracy itself might drown in information. Those unable to assess and critique online content for its veracity and journalistic integrity will run aground on hyperpartisan media sources that are trusted amongst members of their community. Without employing standards for what counts as news, societies lose the basic materials for democratic decision making. If we are to break out of the ironclad echo chambers that pattern online information, interventions must begin with acknowledging a free press as an anchor for democratic societies, while also determining how online media is manipulated for different ends; and finally, charting a course for what can be done to ensure accountability across the entire news industry through cycles of content production, delivery, and consumption. To be sure, moving towards the offing will require all hands on deck to map new routes, create new technologies, and enforce new standards; which mean fundamental organizational changes to platform corporations who seek to build a global community. What is at stake today in fighting “fake news” will not only decide whose voices matter and whose voices are worth amplifying, but also who gets to build communication technology, who gets to scale it, and for whom it is most useful (Caplan, Hanson and Donovan, 2018).

The online platforms Facebook, Twitter, Reddit, and Google represent one part of a digital revolution sweeping through nations at many different stages of political development. These platforms unlock the potential for frank and unmoderated discourse that runs counter to the elaborate political theater which sometimes typified persuasive communication in earlier eras. Yet we must also recognize that these platforms have set out to change the way we receive information not necessarily for the benefit of the world, but through a business model that profits from the new status quo they have constructed (Persily, 2017).

The changes that have taken place are seen, for instance, in the contrast between spontaneous tweets and postings of live events made possible by the Internet and the somber scene of Buddhist monk, Thich Quang Duc, burning himself alive in a 1963 protest against the Vietnam War. The latter was carefully scripted with fellow Vietnamese monks carrying signs written in English for American television audiences (Bessette, 2014). Where the Quang Duc spectacle was publicized to reporters in advance, today bystanders are able to tweet and live stream such grisly events live. The democratized marketplace of ideas has amplified exponentially in the age of the Internet.

In a study by Allcott and Gentzkow (2017), they concluded that there are many reasons why a single fake news story could have been more effective than a television commercial. If it were true that the Pope endorsed Donald Trump, this fact would be significantly more surprising—and probably move a rational voter’s beliefs by more as a result—than the information contained in a typical campaign ad. Moreover, as we emphasize above, there are many ways in which our estimates could understate true exposure. We only measure the number of stories read and remembered, and the excluded stories seen on news feeds but not read, or read but not remembered, could have had a large impact. Our fake news database is incomplete, and the effect of the stories it omits could also be significant.

Allcott and Gentzkow (2017) also note that there are several ways in which this back-of-the-envelope calculation is conservative, in the sense that it could overstate the importance of fake news. We consider the

number of stories voters read regardless of whether they believed them. We do not account for diminishing returns, which could reduce fake news' effect to the extent that a small number of voters see a large number of stories. Also, this rough calculation does not explicitly take into account the fact that a large share of pro-Trump fake news is seen by voters who are already predisposed to vote for Trump—the larger this selective exposure, the smaller the impact we would expect of fake news on vote shares.

To the extent that fake news imposes social costs, what can and should be done? In theory, a social planner should want to address the market failures that lead to distortions, which would take the form of increasing information about the state of the world and increasing incentives for news consumers to infer the true state of the world. In practice, social media platforms and advertising networks have faced some pressure from consumers and civil society to reduce the prevalence of fake news on their systems. For example, both Facebook and Google are removing fake news sites from their advertising platforms on the grounds that they violate policies against misleading content (Wingfield, Isaac, and Benner 2016). Furthermore, Facebook has taken steps to identify fake news articles, flag false articles as “disputed by 3rd party fact-checkers,” show fewer potentially false articles in users' news feeds, and help users avoid accidentally sharing false articles by notifying them that a story is “disputed by 3rd parties” before they share it (Mosseri 2016). In our theoretical framework, these actions may increase social welfare, but identifying fake news sites and articles also raises important questions about who becomes the arbiter of truth.

(d) Countering digital propaganda: Singapore

In Singapore, in a policy report by Hacıyakopuglo et al (2017), they stated that moves worldwide to enact legislation against fake news are generally at a nascent stage, with it being too early to attempt any holistic impact assessment. However, it is already clear that legislation must be contemplated only as one part of a multi-pronged strategy. Such a strategy should incorporate pre-emptive issue-focused measures, including collaborations with a wide variety of actors and organisations (e.g., regional organisations, NGOs and technology companies), and it should encompass immediate responses such as crisis communication and fact-checking measures, and long-term remedies such as media literacy and fostering appropriate social norms. According to the Ministry of Communications and Information and the Ministry of Law of Singapore, it mentioned that their country is a key strategic node for international finance, trade, travel and communications, and a key player in ASEAN. What Singapore says and the position that Singapore takes on global and regional issues matter. This makes Singapore an attractive and valuable target. If Singapore can be made to bend to the will of one or other foreign power, then that can help advance the interests of a foreign power in this region. As the experience elsewhere shows, the Internet and social media provide new and easy means through which falsehoods can be spread deliberately. Actors who wish to harm Singapore will find deliberate online falsehoods an effective way to undermine Singapore. They can, for example, try to exacerbate and whip up communal tensions through such falsehoods, particularly amongst different racial and religious groups. These messages could be selectively targeted using specific languages and channels. The Ministry of Communications and Information and the Ministry of Law of Singapore long-established the following statements:

- We have strict rules against foreign interference in our politics. The Political Donations Act prevents parties and candidates contesting elections from accepting foreign funding. The Societies Act permits only Singapore citizens to be members of political associations. Such associations must not have any foreign connection contrary to our national interest. The Public Order Act empowers the Police to refuse permits for public assemblies directed towards political ends if they are organised by or involve foreign actors.
- The same rules should apply to cyberspace. People's lives are greatly intertwined with the digital world. Many receive and share information primarily through the Internet and social media. Attempts at exerting foreign influence in Singapore are not new. This has happened to us even before the advent of the Internet, through newspapers.

MCI and MLS (2018) for instance reiterated that in the 1970s, the Singapore Herald was used as a tool of foreign interference. The newspaper adopted a virulently anti-Government line and conducted a campaign to mislead Singaporeans, especially the English-educated. Although the newspaper was losing money heavily, it continued to be funded by sources that remain murky. The supposed shareholders and creditors included a

former Chief Minister of the Malaysian state of Sabah, a Hong Kong businesswoman, and a foreign bank. All of them did not seem bothered by the heavy losses on their supposed loans and investment. When the Singapore Government intervened, the foreign bank foreclosed on its loan. The Singapore Herald folded up and ceased publication in May 1971. Its permit to print and publish was not renewed on expiry. There was also the case of The Eastern Sun, which closed down voluntarily in 1971 following the Singapore Government's revelation that it had received HK\$8 million from a Communist intelligence agency in Hong Kong. In return for soft loans at the very low interest rate of 0.1%, the newspaper had agreed to toe its paymaster's line that there would be no opposition to the donor country's agenda on major issues. The Eastern Sun was closed down voluntarily in 1971 following this revelation ((MCI and MLS, 2018).

Furthermore, the advent of the Internet has provided a new modality for those who wish to spread falsehoods to do so with greater ease and reach than before. Recently, Singaporeans were exposed to deliberate online falsehoods on a local website, The Real Singapore. This website attracted over 2 million unique monthly visitors every month. The website's editors were convicted for sedition for six articles which were designed to stir up racial and religious tension. One such story included a claim that a Filipino family had complained about a group of Singaporeans playing musical instruments during the annual Thaipusam procession in 2015 which led to a commotion between Hindu participants and the police. The promoters of the website were also profiting from such false and sensational stories by drawing eyeballs to increase their income from online advertising on their site. Singaporeans hold a wide range of opinions and viewpoints on a variety of issues, be it on education, housing, transport, healthcare, or politics. These issues are close to Singaporeans' hearts. Discussion and debate on these matters take place openly. Such vigorous exchange informs Singaporeans and enables us to express views on matters of national interest, and to shape the path of the nation (MCI and MLS, 2018).

Countering digital propaganda: Philippines

According to Aguirre (no date), he concluded that, the Duterte campaign is basically composed of two modes: offline and online. While the former provided the needed machinery to counter the strength of the administration candidate (Mar Roxas) and popularity of Grace Poe, the latter created a new resource that eventually became his main political base in the months prior to May 2016 elections. As mentioned in this study, Duterte's social media campaign is organized into three areas: to mobilize, to convert and to antagonize. Using popular SNS these days, such as FB, YouTube (though minimal), weblog, among others, supporters as well as campaigners were able to propel Duterte's numbers during the crucial days of the presidential campaign (February to May 2016).

Despite having a weak traditional or conventional party electoral campaigning, Duterte's campaign team was able to use social media to make up for his weakness. The use of social media allowed him to mobilize his supporters, to convert other voters and to antagonize the supporters of his rival candidates. This goes to show that, in the Philippines, where there is high social media penetration, social media usage can really be used by campaign teams 'to equalize' campaigning (Aguirre, n. d.).

Ong and Cabanes (no date) encourage transparency and accountability in political marketing through industry self regulatory commissions that require disclosure of political consultancies. It is a long-time industry "open secret" that executives in boutique agencies and even some multinational agencies manage political accounts. Making digital political campaigns more easily traceable and identifiable to corporate partners can help members of the industry become more accountable for, and respond to issues and questions about, the content and outcomes of their political campaigns.

Develop self-regulatory standards in the digital influencer industry. Attempts to professionalize the influencer industry following the growth of influencer companies that act as suppliers to digital advertising firms have primarily focused on maximizing opportunities for monetization potential. Undisclosed paid sponsorships¹⁰² and collaborating with anonymous digital influencers reveal ethical gaps and vulnerabilities in the digital influencer economy. Anonymity in the influencer economy enables people to elide accountability in their participation in political campaigns (Ong and Cabanes, n. d.).

Develop a Political Campaign Transparency Act that updates existing election campaign finance regulation to include digital campaigning. While politicians are required by the Commission on Elections to disclose campaign donors and their campaigns spends in traditional media platforms such as TV and radio, they are not yet required to disclose campaign spends in online platforms. The public has the right to know the full extent of campaign spending across both traditional and new media platforms. More comprehensive data would also allow corruption watchdogs to verify politicians' total campaign spends against the stated personal income they are required by law to disclose as public officials. This new Political Campaign Transparency Act should require politicians to disclose the political campaign materials for broad public discussion and reflection (and not necessarily for regulation or censorship). The public has the right to know the quantity and quality of politicians' television and radio advertising materials but also the viral videos, trending hashtags, and Facebook advertisements they purchase (Ong and Cabanes, n. d.).

Ensure strong and consistent ethical standards across all media. Entertainment and commercial placements shoehorned into news items contribute to the trivialization of factual and public service content. Media organizations should explicitly distinguish promotional content in order to differentiate it from news content. Move away from personality-based news coverage of networked disinformation, particularly narratives that confer villain or hero status onto individuals. Provide sense-making perspectives that sketch out the broader infrastructure of deception work and the policies that have normalized and professionalized it. Promote inclusive representation and encourage diverse viewpoints. Ownership of traditional media companies is widely known by the public to be dominated by elite families and oligarchs. Media professionals thus have a greater responsibility to seek out and amplify new or unheard voices. 4 Foster inclusive and transparent approaches to initiatives in fact-checking. Target the production of disinformation and fake news across the political spectrum (Ong and Cabanes, n.d.).

In addition, the concept of the "anti-media" in the Philippines may not be a well-established community, organization, or even recognized as a sector of the society. It may seem like a form of rebellion or a collection of bullies against the mainstream media but it shows how the country enjoys the concept of democracy and freedoms that come with it. Added to the mix is the role of technology that has eventually freed the common person from just receiving information to being a contributor and active agenda setter. Basically, they are part of a grass roots movement composed of ordinary, interconnected people, acting to set the agenda powerful, traditional, mainstream media would otherwise not present. However, the emergence of the anti-media then brought into the fore some repercussions which has been further reinforced by President Duterte's rhetoric and attitude on the media. One effect is on the formation of political opinions by the virtue of repeated bombardment of polarized and uninformed views of certain issues of the society. Another is the abuse of freedoms afforded by the internet's tools such as social media to promote one's agenda in the expense of other people's opinions. Lastly, the apparent "challenging" or questioning of the established norms in journalism, ethics, and even civility (Beltran, 2017).

Conclusions

In sum, over the centuries, much destructive conduct has been perpetrated by ordinary, decent people in the name of righteous ideologies, religious principles and nationalistic imperatives (Rapoport & Alexander, 1982; Kramer, 1990; Reich, 1990). Today, the world is portrayed in the social media and played by consumers as a complex community. Say, Singapore had initiated a platform solely designed for expressing grievances against corrupt government officials and more so to prevent disorganization in this small island country. The platform screens information collected which can be published or posted. Nonetheless, in the Philippines self-expression of information content is the bigger concern. Creating a platform and controlling content only to seemingly present a peaceful and orderly society is not democracy. This is why the documentary hypothesis of this study is rejected.

Within the bounds of chaos and complexity, as people become ordinary consumers of technology, every expression in the art of digital propaganda forms part of an orderly and interactive society. The Philippine experience on digital propaganda through fake news is approachable in its totality because Filipinos can attest concurrence or dissent to any political misbehaviour of public officials, elected or appointed. The bureaucratic system with the social media as another tool instigating transparency and accountability, is

taken as everybody's playground, it is not only for professional broadcasters, columnists and journalists to keep an eye on.

Each individual has the right to get access of information in any means. Social media is now the primary source of data that consumers rely so that they can be informed of current events and social issues whether there is manipulation of information from Duterte government or anti administration parties or from ordinary citizens who has now strategic ways of arming themselves in the art of digital propaganda. Banning Facebook in the Philippines is not only unconstitutional but it would undermine Philippine democracy, whether there is disinformation and misinformation formulating from unrestrained sources. People critique and digest information. Liking, commenting and sharing information seriously or sarcastically, is the manner Filipinos take fake news in social media. Media literacy may help individuals become more critical at digital content. Nonetheless, free expression whether exercised rightly or wrongly is an indication of a functioning democracy.

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About the Author

The author is a faculty member of the Far Eastern University, Manila, Philippines.

The Mocking Mainstream: Revisiting Satire News' Contribution to the Public's Political Awareness

Evangelos Voulgarakis

Independent Scholar-University of Kent, United Kingdom

Abstract

The advent of satire news and social media developed a currently popular approach to news consumption that presupposes the absence of any competence differential between viewer and journalist or between the public and the institution of news media. To that extent, newscasters are not considered the final arbiters who grant meticulously explained affirmation or rejection to the viewer's position but the service-providing announcers of the already expected and obvious - to the point of satirical amusement - validity of the viewer's outlook. Thus satire news caters to that biased viewer who questions not only the content and interpretation of the news but also the professional specialization news dissemination presupposes. This occurs within a wider cultural predisposition against expertise, encouraged by a growing momentum of social censorship on political and research discourse.

Introduction

The mocking mainstream is (much of) the general cultural substrate on which American national discourse is based; comedy news operates within it. It is a trend of anti-expertise, anti-reason, anti-demonstration through public debate, and it is becoming increasingly more dominant (Nichols, 2018), indeed, the wider mainstream discursive pattern which enables comedy news, bloggers, and podcasters, to mock the mainstream media. This paper argues that comedy news is a product and promoter of this new national discourse, this mocking mainstream.

Media and objectivity: Academic inquiry, the most reliable method of evaluating opposing views, is not marketable where media coverage is concerned, especially where a historical, legal, and/or scientific background to the already intricate issue makes concise presentation extremely difficult. In addition, viewers bring their own biases; furthermore, the business concerns of the news industry encourage the dilution of the articulation of investigative rigor to publically more digestible levels. Simpler language and debate panels offer the viewer the opportunity to inspect all facets of an issue under scrutiny -- granted, a non-academic approach, but at least one observing, however imperfectly due to air time and audience education and attention constraints, the general principles of impartiality. This is not to say that biases or syllogistical errors will disappear; but when they emerge, they at least do not preclude the sides of the story they aim to obfuscate. Political humor, on the other hand, is activist, advocacy-driven, and used as a reaffirmation over the validity of the position of the one who employs it. The assumption is that, since the ridicule is so successful, and the joke so widely enjoyed, the absurdity of the opponent's position must be self-evident. This false syllogism appears compelling especially in cases where the ridiculed position was, indeed, inaccurate. The fallacy lies in ignoring the logical processes which rendered the erroneous position erroneous, and focusing on the impact of the punchline as the proof. Yet, comedy news appears to engender politically more "knowledgeable" audiences.

A 2007 Pew Research Center poll shows that regular viewers of The Daily Show and The Colbert Report are among the most highly knowledgeable news consumers in the country. Fifty-four percent of Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert audiences rank at a high knowledge level about current events, compared with 51 percent for NPR, 41 percent for CNN and 35 percent for Fox News. (Mankoff, 2012)

However, it appears that the depth of such increased knowledge remains minimal: "Baek and Wojcieszak (2009) found latenight comedy viewing to be linked with modest knowledge gain, but only for knowledge items that were low-hanging fruit for all but the most politically engaged citizens" (Holbert, 2013) Audiences utilize existing knowledge as a framework for reaching conclusions: "it may well be the case that political knowledge is driving the consumption of political satire rather than satire generating knowledge—otherwise, how would anyone obtain political gratification from satire?" (ibid) The genre is especially popular among younger adult viewers: "According to the Daily Mail, the average viewers at MSNBC and CNN are 60, and the

average is 62-64 for the broadcast networks;" (Klausner, 2014) Viewership, however, is not mutually exclusive but shows overlap: More than a third (34%) of those who watch the liberal MSNBC ...also tune in to the conservative Fox News Channel. The reverse is true for roughly a quarter (28%) of Fox News viewers: "Even larger proportions of Fox News and MSNBC viewers...also [watch the more ideologically balanced] CNN" (Olmstead et al., October 2013).

With the above in mind, the first section of this paper considers satire news as an indictment against the genre's mainstream counterpart; the second section evaluates the prevailing assumptions among commentators, academics, and award-winning writers, about the value and function of comedy news against a perceived overestimated mainstream expertise and balanced analysis; the third section notes the cultural substrate on which anti-expertise and the proliferation of dialectic non-negotiables, as manifested by the phenomena of microaggression and safe spaces, constitute a wider background in which comedy news' hostility against mainstream media establishment and expert analysis functions in total compatibility with this prevailing norm.

Attacks against mainstream news

The advent of satire news has articulated the following indictment against mainstream media:

- Elitist and condescending: arbitrarily chosen experts; or, as John Stewart, the pioneer of the genre, exclaimed more colloquially, "Who The F@#k Is That Guy?" (Popkin, 2012)
- Irrelevant/obscurantist: unnecessary and confusing debates and analyses. (Vox, 2017)
- Constrained by capitalist interests: Satire news is believed to be unbound by "an excessive amount of corporate influence the way mainstream news networks are." (Olmstead et al, October 2013).
- Partisan: Stewart objected to his CNN hosts that "[Y]ou are helping the politicians and the corporations... you're partisan... hacks;" (Felker, Jan 16, 2006).
- Producers of false sensationalism: Stewart noted that "24 hour news was designed for 9 11." This paradigm creates unfulfilled promises of expected but inevitably un-delivered breaking news which ultimately irrelevant commentaries rush to fill. (Popkin, 2012)

The significance of his critique has been celebrated as freeing viewers from elitist and debate-driven manipulation, and enabling them to express such indictment for the first time. Mirjam Gollmitzer argues that, by shifting the discussion away from the political deficiencies of Democrats and Republicans' "[vying for control and often interrupting the hosts], Stewart was able to [alter] the attitude and direction of the program enough [to] frame the discussion around the subject of his choice" (ibid).

The challenger did not disagree with the hosts' positions but rather he challenged the very existence and function of the show by hijacking the conversation and refusing to engage in proper debate (see section 3 below for parallels). By negatively contrasting the institution's expert status and technical processes to "the people," Stewart made his opponents unable to note the audience's inevitable lack of expertise and training for fear of being dismissed as elitists. The canceling of Crossfire two months afterwards, and the comments of CNN's president, Jon Klein, demonstrated this: "I agree wholeheartedly with ... Stewart's overall premise...[against] head-butting debate shows...live guests and spirited debate. CNN [will now] report, not editorialize" (ibid).

Reporting is thus presented as true news dissemination, while debating, analyzing, and rigorously examining, as partisan power play. Nancy Snow, of The Huffington Post, believed that "it was Stewart's appearance on CNN's Crossfire... that cemented his reputation as the only honest broker about ... the real news... [about] what so many Americans were thinking but were in no position to say..." (ibid).

Similarly, Stewart's 2009 attacks on CNBC Financial News & Jim Cramer questioned the network's slogan, "the information and experience that you need," an obvious contrast to the hosts' failure to foresee the crisis of 2008-9. Stewart maintained that the burden fell upon the experts to produce results commensurate with their speciality claims (ibid). Nevertheless, the attack against mainstream media's institutional authority continued:

One of the powers of the major news networks is that they can publicly legitimize or delegitimize a person, topic, or point of view. ... the networks should be more selective about whom they have on their shows, and, in turn, claim as experts (ibid).

Another opportunity for mainstream bashing was when some analysts continued to make recommendations on presidential candidate tactics even though their own candidate had failed to remain in the race. (ibid) However, the first time a weather report or a vaccine go wrong, the entire academic discipline and scientific practice of meteorology or medicine respectively should not be in question, and the public should not somehow feel justified in acting as the ultimate monitoring agency.

Curiously, Stewart and Oliver have actually run to the defence of scientific expertise. (Last Week Tonight, May 2016) However, the framework of that treatment, especially by Oliver, actually encourages the opposite. He brilliantly demonstrated the misuse of such phrases as "scientific research," or "studies," or "findings" as mere prestige terms when not specified as to their ranking acceptance by the scientific mainstream. He also exposed the frivolous manner in which hosts and audiences alike approach "scientific studies" as consumer items, to be selected or discarded depending on the viewer's preferences. Hard science, however, is rarely the main topic in public discourse. Presumptuous subjectivity can still be maintained and even encouraged despite the audience's acceptance of the authority of experts on subjects too remote to worry about. As for the scientific authority on certain (not all) politically relevant and socially polemical issues such as abortion, stem cells, climate change, and evolution, the audiences of comedy news tend to subscribe politically to the side that science confirms academically. Also, both Oliver and Stewart emphasize fact checking, not fail safes against bias, as the main indication of fair presentation, (Helveticana, Nov 6, 2013) The traps of spin, soundbyte, and often outright bad reasoning, all of which can lead to false conclusions even from factually true premises, are simply ignored.

On another instance, Stewart accused CNN of hypocritical impartiality which stretches to the excessive lengths that dignify embarrassingly false or erroneous claims by giving them equal time through debate invitation (St. John III, 2012). Stewart's criticism against Fox News was only on its failure to fact-check. (Helveticana, Nov 6, 2013). He professed indifference to the network's right wing ideological leanings despite his own admitted left wing bias. At the same time, he praised the network's commitment to its own bias, in contrast to CNN's overly balanced approach (CNN, Oct 21, 2010). On the other hand, Fox's distancing from the rest of the networks is quite telling insofar as the network does not only dissociate itself from the liberal majority but from the actual genre, negatively referring to "the media" and "the mainstream media" as if Fox News lied on the fringe (Fox News, August 22, 2018): "the media and the left are virtually interchangeable" ever since Vietnam, and now someone is calling them out... [President Trump] is doing what we do: bashing the media." (ibid). These are just two of many examples of Fox's near constant rhetorical use.

Appropriating expertise

There appears to be an emerging popular assumption that satire news introduces not only an alternative manner of news awareness but a liberating one that justifies and encourages individual, non-expert approaches to news evaluation, and reconciles critical thinking with "fun." One representative example is the following pair of comments on the 2013 Congress shutdown. The narrative... was not controlled by either politicians or by big media. Instead, alongside the tired rhetoric, there was ... satire, mockery, and entertaining critique produced by professional satirists and by the public... [revealing] an increasing ability of satire, citizen journalism, and internet media to offer the public alternative avenues of information and critical engagement.

[T]he mainstream media... cover[ed] the shutdown with hysteria and hype rather than practical information and reasoned logic...[U]nlike the mainstream media's dumbing down of politics, [satirists] presented the public with information that was fun, intelligent, and committed to encouraging critical thinking. McClennen and Maisel, 2014, p. 4; [italics added]]

Another such example was the famous Dossier which contained allegations by a British Intelligence agent against then candidate Donald Trump's alleged collusion with Russian agencies against American interests.

An MSNBC report noted that, In the beginning of the story's development, BuzzFeed, an online alternative media source, unjustifiably published the Dossier on the basis of their slogan, "We report, you decide." But it's always been a much more nuanced mission than that. We don't throw things out there that we don't know to be true and let the public fight over [it]. (MSNBC, Jan 11, 2017).

Yet, comedy news is liberating: The internet is flooded with experts' commentaries which celebrate this notion. The liberation can be from a number of things which, when considered together, translate into expertise. The viewer is freed from the subordinate category of the non-expert by abolishing the significance of expertise altogether. Specifically, satirical journalism purports to offer the benefits presented below. It should be noted that the following positions are not mere input by obscure internet commentators. A casual search would readily identify the quoted commentators as academics, award-winning comedy and article writers, journalists, magazine editors, cartoonists, and Pulitzer Prize-winners.

The genre enables the biased viewer simultaneously to avoid accountability for own bias and outright dismiss the opponent's objectivity credentials: On Last Week Tonight, Oliver shows a commitment to accuracy and truth, but he couldn't care less about balance. As Oliver points out, the facts on this issue are unmistakably clear ... "[F]alse balance" [is] a conundrum in which journalists, by trying to give equal voice to "both sides" of a story, actually obscure the truth on topics ... which aren't exactly toss-up issues. (DeJarnette, February 18, 2016).

However, balanced presentation of issues, even within the time constraints of prime time news, is not a toss-up enterprise but a methodology of curbing bias and arriving at a publically demonstrable, yet tentative, certainty. Calling an issue a conversational non-starter only serves to isolate further group members in their own narrative bubble and to dismiss the entire notion of a need for institutional expertise. (St. John III, 2012) Example: Stewart likened the experts' debate sessions of CNN shows as "the Coca Cola Wars"

[It's] like having people on in the cola wars: "you're from Pepsi, you're from Coke, what do you think?"

"I think we taste great."

"I think we taste great."

"That's all the time we have." (Felker, Jan 16, 2006).

This, however, was not an indictment against CNN's failure to set up debates of consequence but rather an attack against the very concept of balance and impartiality: "CNN has an opportunity to be a real arbiter but being a real arbiter means taking a stand"(ibid). Stewart's subsequent responses regarding the difference between a pundit and an analyst appeared to indicate that Stewart was not against debates but in favor of legitimate ones. Nevertheless, his comment on "taking a stand" undermines the concept of impartiality. Political issues inevitably involve partisan advocates. Yet Stewart started from the presupposition that his own views on a particular issue were the correct ones and that the news outlet should promote them even within a discussion setting where analysts, by Stewart's definition, would have no political affiliation or agenda even on a political issue.

It simultaneously frees viewers from objectivity and at offers them a sense of transcending above Right and Left by virtue of remaining on the all-surveying level of comedy and satire: "[With satire,] you are unrestrained and unburdened by the gravitas of supposedly being objective... The facade of humor lets you state a truth while not being subject to attack for being unfair." (Mankoff, November 1, 2012)

It receives already informed viewers who turn to it "for fun" through entertainment, criticism, dismissal, and /or any other emotionally helpful response toward coping with events and their treatment by the mainstream media. (Weprin, Oct. 18, 2012) This is despite the fact that the choice for satire news does not preclude mainstream viewing. (Young and Tisinger, 2006) Bias among news consumers is nothing new. However, it is now redefined, at least among young viewers, as authenticity: "a youth preference for opinionated rather than objective news...does not indicate that young people disregard the basic ideals of professional journalism but, rather, that they desire more authentic renderings of them." (Marchi, October 3, 2012; italics added). This preference, furthermore, is purportedly not to be equated with lack of intellectual rigor (Baym, 21 Aug 2006).

The genre's primacy over both political loyalties and methodological constraints (anti-balance) can be further illustrated by Fox News' failed attempt to counter what it saw as a liberal satire trend. The failure rested with the assumption that satire's Left bias, not the anti-expertise focus, was the main defining factor of the genre, one that Fox, therefore, stepped up to counter with its Right - leaning equivalent (Mankoff, November 1, 2012).

Diversity in perspectives is offered by the comedy news' alternative genre status, not by the mainstream method of debate and experts' analyses: "I think that satirical news is not necessarily 'fake,' and can be effective as part of a diet of diverse news sources" (Kimball, Spring 2016). Unfortunately, diversity of sources is epistemologically relevant only if it pertains to viewpoints, not delivery method. Yet, some academic commentators have even gone so far as to suggest that comedy news allows the questioning of the established media authorities: "satirical news doesn't necessarily do a better job at reporting the news, but it does provide a new perspective that allows for questioning of traditional news." (Kimball, May 27, 2016). The genre offers a "different angle" which enables viewers to circumvent the complexity of the issues. (Gambino, August 8, 2013).

It liberates instinct from reason without a commensurate deviation from truth - in Stephen Colbert's words, truthiness. "... the idea that we should trust instinct more than reason." The same thing happens in everyday culture. (Mankoff, November 1, 2012).

It encourages the viewer to regard his or her initial cynicism as critical thought (Brewer & Marquardt, Dec 5, 2007). It brings back "public conversation lacking in the news offered by aloof network anchors" (Cutbirth, n.d.) The genre produces journalistic work despite its hosts' emphasis to the contrary. Comedy news show hosts have unequivocally denied that they are engaged in news. Yet, it appears that their assertions, although acknowledged, are doubted by a number of commentators and academics:

Although Stewart and other satire hosts have publicly said their goal is entertainment above education, a few studies have demonstrated satirical news shows' ability to inform. One well-known study found that watching the Colbert Report's segment on super PACs increased people's knowledge of campaign finance regulations. (Diep, Aug 7, 2015). Times Magazine described Stewart's work as "advocacy journalism," drawing comparisons to the journalistic activism of Edward Murrow and Walter Cronkite. (Popkin, 2012; Carter and Stelter, December 26, 2010).

R. L. Holbert's study of satire news' normative political value, on the other hand, maintains that the satirist and political advocate are mutually exclusive. For Holbert, Stewart's publically expressed indictments against the mainstream media were offered as a concerned citizen and guest on the program. (Holbert, 2013) In other, "rare" instances, Holbert continues, Stewart, Colbert, and Oliver's calls to political action did not favor a particular party or candidate. (Holbert, 2013)

Yet, others appear to agree with the fact that John Oliver was praised for "[breaking] down the complex issue of net neutrality as well as any real journalist ever has." (Uberti, August 25, 2014)

Following the same pattern, Stewart's disclaimer came into question: "[t]he Daily Show revive[d] a journalism of critical inquiry and advance[d] a model of deliberative democracy." (Baym, 21 Aug 2006). Similarly, "...Oliver has insisted that his show is "comedy first, and it's comedy second, [however,] a growing number of media critics now point to his comedy news segments as illustrations of great journalism ... Columbia Law School professor Tim Wu — who's credited with coining the term net neutrality — tweeted that Oliver had "rendered every other explanation [of net neutrality] obsolete." (DeJarnette, February 18, 2016)

It would, nevertheless, be instructive to compare the content and attempted balance of views presented in his Net Neutrality with those in other, longer, less entertaining clips by experts, one of whom even shares Oliver's views. (Eater, December 14, 2017) While one study confirms that " news exposure is more important for evaluations of issue importance," it nevertheless accepts the commonly-held view that the genre is equally effective in producing "knowledge gain." On the other hand, it is debatable whether one can be regarded as

knowledgeable on an issue simply by virtue of having been merely informed, and partially at that. The same conundrum is faced by the issue of lies and truth, where realism, pragmatism, antirealism and hyperrealism have been explored as categories of truth value in both mainstream and satire news. (Herans-Branaman, 2016).

Dark webs, safe spaces, and alternative facts

Parody was ... one of the few examples of the press really standing up to demagoguery...[a] democratic tradition with a history dating back to the ancient Greeks.”(Leopold, November, 2008). While it is indisputable that " political parody signal[s] the existence of an engaged, healthy and democratic public culture..." (Leopold, November, 2008), analogies with Classical Greek comedy inevitably fail: it is difficult to compare processes of post-industrial, post-1960s nation-states with those of an ancient city state of 30,000 citizens, with pre- (one might even venture to say non-) Enlightenment approaches to individual or human (as opposed to group, or citizen) rights (Cartledge, 2002; Goldhill, 2005) . This is without even mentioning anti-Trump demonstrations following (and having been planned long before) the very next day after the 2016 general election results, an explicit refusal to support any notion of democratic polity, and totally antithetical to Classical Athenian political ethos which allows protest but requires acceptance of electoral mandate. Just like modern day journalism, Classical comedy challenged the powerful and the influential, as well as majority opinion and established norms - at least Aristophanes did -- his rather adequate (to his contemporaries) but far from massively popular (Dover,1970) work is all that remains intact from his genre. Athenian playwrights hardly wished for, or for that matter could ever even comprehend the concept of bypassing some industry's vocational establishment.

However, the once seemingly radical attack of comedy news against mainstream media and balanced, debate-based expert analysis paradoxically emerges as itself an additional aspect of what has been increasingly becoming mainstream American political culture.

This emergent pattern has followed the more general trend underlying the paradoxes of safe spaces, micro aggressions, and identity politics. Safe spaces are the censorship areas on university campuses where individual and/or group sensitivity take precedence over any academic or scientific proposition, whether factual or debatable. The range of manifestations of this phenomenon can be seen from the deplatforming of invited speakers, to the forced self-exile of academic instructors. (The Rubin Report, 05-30, 2017) Micro aggression describes those acts or utterances perceived to be of petty or rude disposition, usually insignificant except for their tendency to upset the recipient, and they may consist of a politically incorrect word, a puerile remark, a politically opposing view, a dismissive gesture, or, in benign cases, a normal statement of scientific fact or academic possibility that is contrary to a student's convictions or sentiments. (The Independent Whig. n.d.)

It has been argued (Hicks, 2011; The Independent Whig. n.d.) that the current predicament in the political environment surrounding mainly American universities but to a lesser extent many other sectors of public discourse is the product of a direct line of development from Marxism's failed 20th Century applications, to Postmodernist challenge against objectivity and other fundamental Enlightenment principles, to the advent of social media's inevitable facilitation of confirmation bias, and to the current extremes of Leftist interpretations of political correctness:

The dogmas of the Left have become more and more religious in their quality as they have been un-moored from that fundamental economic rationality that was at the heart of Marxism. When that all went down in flames in 1989 the Left decamped to the realm of culture... One thing we all got wrong about the internet was that if everyone gets connected then everything will be fine. What we didn't realize was that when a social network forms then what emerges is what we call homophony; birds of a feather flock together. (The Rubin Report, May 30, 2018)

Whatever the historical antecedents, the role of social media within an already polarized political and social environment has been instrumental : “As society became more polarized, so did the media [i]n the networked age ... people can retreat into a sort of confirmation bias ... And the algorithms are the key here ... because you will be fed essentially more of what you already liked. “(ibid)

The emergence of The Intellectual Dark Web (IDW) phenomenon is indicative of the above. The IDW promotes dialogue among unlike-minded agents, a venture one would assume to be self-explanatory. Yet, it emerges heretically as an alternative mode of "communal sense-making" (ibid), within a wider culture of a near-mainstream dismissal of expert analysis. The IDW's grievances against mainstream media are of a different nature than those of comedy news. Eric Weinstein, who authored the trend's provocative name in anticipation of IDW's reception and unwitting spotlighting-through-relentless-criticism (ibid), speaks of a hesitation and awkward reticence by the liberal mainstream to cover positions which run counter to established liberal narrative (e.g., the Evergreen Community College incident of pressuring white students to remain off campus for one day in a symbolic gesture against white racism - a rare but unmistakable case of non-white discriminatory policy against white students; see The Rubin Report, May 30, 2018)

This is not a complaint against being deplatformed or against being silenced in the public sphere - all initial "members" of the IDW have enormous followings and host consistently sold-out events. Rather, the marginalization occurs as a type of mainstream-sponsored classification: "controversial author and academic Jordan Peterson, Islam-critic Sam Harris, conservative news commentator and podcaster Ben Shapiro..." (ibid). Such labels may be arguably accurate, but they predispose a liberal-narrative-immersed audience toward an already fixed attitudinal range of alliance or rivalry. For Weinstein, false facts is only one of four ways to manipulate news. (ibid). The remedy, however, is reform of the mainstream, and utilization of modern technology in a manner diametrically opposite to the current discursive culture of debate-rebuking, expertise-dismissing maintenance of ideological echo-chambers.

The paradoxes displayed by the above-mentioned phenomena of safe spaces and microaggression stem from the counter-functional effect they create on the institutions from which they emerge: education and the public sphere presuppose non-aggressive dialogue for the successful execution of their purposes; disagreement, in such settings, signals the beginning of discussion and mutual exploration of positions, not the non-negotiable demarcation line. While non-starters should, and do exist in social undertakings, their seriousness and severity is usually self-evident and directly linked to the extremes of the propositions they censor.

A most telling example is VOX director, Ezra Klein's thoughts on best-selling author Sam Harris' calls against identity politics and on evaluating demonstrable scientific research on its merits: "To Harris... identity politics is something others do. To me, it's something we all do, and that he and many others simply refuse to admit they're doing." (Klein, April, 2018) - a rather preposterous assertion, given the fact that different positions held by Harris, whatever their merits, have been criticized by different and often mutually exclusive interest groups and sides of the political spectrum.

This large cultural foundation of anti-dialectic and anti-expertise framing American public discourse places the genre of satire news not only in a favorable sociopolitical environment but in an organically sustaining one. This is not to say that comedy news or hostility to reason and love for identity politics caused one another. Rather, this is an observation that comedy news, as a particular and unique genre, essentially needs to make the paradoxical claims of a) providing fair, authentic and digestible news, while being both emancipated from balance, expertise, and elitist professional authority, and b) is characterized by an emphasis on non-debatable, non-analyzable facts which forgive - indeed, demand - bias and apriori acceptance of own group's interpretation of such "not exactly toss-up issues." (DeJarnette, February 18, 2016)

Finally, is worth noting that John Stewart and Steven Colbert's shows which contained news reporting, news commentary, and often interviews. Challenging an establishment from the outside without submitting to the standards on which one holds that establishment answerable may be dubious; taking one's place, however, with one's otherwise outsider status, within that same establishment (Coffee break, November 22, 2017) as yet another detail in the diversity of news-related agencies, is ingeniously self-contradictory insofar as one becomes empowered and sustained by the wider infrastructure in order to validate one's attack against it. Stewart, Colbert, Oliver, all invited, and were invited by, mainstream media and comedy hosts like Bill Maher, Bill O'Reilly, Rachel Maddow, Larry King, among others; and politicians, journalists, and U.S. Presidents have

used the genre to enhance their appeal (Associated Press, March 11, 2014) or normalize themselves (Feldman, June 19, 2018).

Conclusion

As a guest at FOX News's The O'Reilly Factor, Ted Koppel criticized the current emphasis on opinion-based journalism despite the daytime hard news coverage. O'Reilly objected that "you cannot be on top for as long as the Fox News has been on top and sell a product that's inferior or dishonest. It's impossible in this country." (The Closed Captioning Project LLC, March 2, 2016). This was an unmistakable suggestion that the public preferred high quality journalism and that opinion based news was it. Koppel countered that "the millions of people watch you and your particular point of view," i.e., not the early, hard news shows. (ibid). O'Reilly replied, "[t]hat's the way the country works. That's the free market place." (ibid) Koppel's final comment, "That's the free market place... It's a business. Once upon a time you and I actually thought journalism was a calling." though powerful, was only part of this exchange's point. What remained unmentioned was the originator of this demand that the market place rushes in to fill, namely, the public. That, of course, is the same public which cannot be accused with regard to wrong decisions, short attention spans, superficiality and proclivity to sensationalism and entertainment. "This country" does not tolerate inferior products or shows. At the same time, this same public no longer expects journalism to be impartial. From this inherent contradiction proceed the expectations that force the news industry to adapt its business model in accordance with popular demand which simultaneously expects opinion and nevertheless proceeds to doubt the mainstream's trustworthiness.

Yet, although disdain against mainstream media is nothing new (DeJarnette, B., & Madison, E (2018), it did, nevertheless erupt into prominence with the 2016 presidential election campaigns and, notably, Donald Trump. (Feb 13, 2018) What perhaps began with CNN's iReport and citizen journalism, and culminated in the social media with its viral stories and minimized length of coverage, played a significant role in the decline of investigative reporting and advocacy journalism (TEDxTalks; Nov 4, 2016). Clearly, other factors played a part, and some of them were already suggested to be the post-modernist entrenchment in tertiary education, and the particular types of the defamation of expertise (see previous section). Interestingly, however, debate, balanced presentation, and expert analyses do not become included in repentant, reform-seeking media veterans. Former CNN reporter Abbie Boudreau identified the loss of expertise as one of the current situation's problems, but not the defamation of polyphonous advocacy and debate within a news show.

The news judgment of the news reporter started to matter less. What really started to matter was if a story went viral... I think Donald Trump is right. I think the media should be blamed for not taking the higher road. (TEDxTalks; Nov 4, 2016; italics added). The indictment is not against subjectivity and bias but, in agreement with John Stewart, against impartiality and lack of commitment to "the higher road." The establishment of what that might be, especially on particularly polemical issues, is not clear but appears to fall under the same principle of universal subjectivity and identity-driven tribalism advocated by Ezra Klein.

Hence, Boudreau's advice: "Be a smart news consumer. A trained journalist should have multiple news sources. So should you." (TEDxTalks; Nov 4, 2016; italics added) Yet, multiplicity of sources is epistemologically useful only when impartially examined. The higher road may or may not lead to the most accurate interpretation of facts, depending on its apriori destination.

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About the author

The author holds a doctoral degree from the University of Kent at Canterbury, UK.

PAPERS FROM PARALLEL SESSION B**Impacts of Social and Emerging Media use on Public Relations Practices in Malaysia: Public Relations Practitioners' Perspectives**

*Siz Siz Lim and Tek Pheung Chuan, University College Malaysia
Cheng Ean (Catherine) Lee, Sunway University Malaysia*

Abstract

This research study aimed to measure the actual use of social and other emerging media by public relations practitioners in Malaysia, and explored its impact on public relations practices in terms of communication with audiences by adapting Wright and Hinson's (2016) survey instrument for quantitative survey online survey, and semi-structured interview with the selected respondents from quantitative survey were conducted to cross verify the results and findings. According to the 12-year longitudinal analysis study by Wright and Hinson (2017), Facebook and Twitter were the next most frequently used sites. However, this research found that Malaysian public relations practitioners' usage of Facebook and Instagram are more frequent. Results also found that social and other emerging media are enhancing public relations practices and continue to influence traditional mainstream media. Findings shows that respondents agree strongly that social and other emerging media are changing the practice of public relations, the trend of engaging key opinion leader and influencer is on a rise. The results provide useful insights for academics, researchers and public relations practitioners on how social and emerging media technologies are used in the Malaysian public relations industry as well as the perspectives of public relations practitioners on its impact in their practices.

Introduction

Due to the advancement of technology innovations in the digital era, public relations practitioners have embraced social and other emerging media technologies in their practices. For example, the pervasive use of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube has enable public relations practitioners to create more avenues of interaction with their internal and external stakeholders. Social media has been used for communication with customers, competitors, and employees in order to create a dynamic, synchronized, and multidirectional dialogue (Reitz, 2012) because it is considered a cost effective tool in public relations research and for timely targeted dialogue with a wide range of stakeholders (DiStaso, McCorkindale, & Wright, 2011). Besides, the rapid growth of these communication technologies has impacted the practices of public relations as prior research claimed that social and emerging media technologies have dramatically changed how public relations is practiced (Wright, & Hinson, 2015; 2017).

In the Malaysia context, the explosion in social media, especially Facebook has caused many public relations practitioners to recognize the need to use these new media for effective communication with the internal and external audiences (Lee, & Low, 2013). Although there is an increase in research investigating the use of social media in public relations practices especially in the Western country, however, the research to understand the patterns of social media usage in Malaysia is still insufficient.

Literature Review

Literature shows that public relations practitioners have increasingly used social media for online communication and marketing purpose, including internal and external audiences to create a dynamic, synchronized, and multidirectional dialogue (Reitz, 2012). According to DiStaso, McCorkindale & Wright (2011), social media is considered a cost effective tool in public relations research and for timely targeted dialogue with a wide range of stakeholders. Sweetser, and Kelleher (2011) found that public relations practitioners can reap the rewards of social media by opening a channel between an organisation and its publics. DiStaso, and Bortree (2012) in their study claimed that public relations professionals valued social media as a tool for sharing organisation information which is useful for others in decision making outcomes, as well as for organisations to be accountable for the informed actions. Social media technologies have the capacity to connect organisation with its publics, social media has become essential to public relations as a tool for communicating with strategic publics because social media enables real-time, two-way communication (Lewis, & Nichols, 2016).

McCorkindale (2010) argued that despite the growing importance of social and emerging media in public relations practices, practitioners still facing challenges in finding the best way to incorporate social media strategically. According to Leong, Krishnan, and Lee's (2012) study, public relations practitioners in Malaysia acknowledged the importance of evaluation research, but the lack of budget and support from the top management had affected the measurement of public relations practices. DiStaso, McCorkindale, and Wright (2011) further concluded that organisations should conduct trainings for public relations practitioners on relevant tools implementation, and learn how to effectively measure their use, because social media measurement was a topic that has more questions than answers.

According to the Malaysia Communications and Multimedia Commission (MCMC) 2017's internet users survey, there were 24.5 million Internet users in 2016 (76.9%) in Malaysia, and of those who visited social networking sites, 97.3% of them owned Facebook account, followed by Instagram (56.1%). Prior research from Lee, & Low, (2013); Gabriel, & Koh, (2016), Tang & Chan (2016), show that social media has been adopted as a formal channel of communication in the Malaysian public relations practices. According to Lee, and Low (2013), the explosion in social networking sites, especially Facebook, with the increase of two-way interactiveness and connectivity, led to the need to embrace these new media practices for effective two-way communication with the organisation's publics.

Gabriel, and Koh (2016)'s research on Malaysian social media usage found that public relations practitioners were actively using social media to communicate directly with their various constituents, and further produced the desired results. According to Tang & Chan (2016), the widespread use of social media in public relations had help enhanced their performance such as sharing information on Facebook to generate more exposure and to bring a closer relationship between organisations and its audiences. The Malaysian public relations practitioners have perceived social and emerging media as a preferable media for effective two-way communications, and in-depth relationship building with its publics. Although most researchers found that social and emerging media offered numerous opportunities for public relations practitioners, however, the research on impacts of social media on public relations practice is still inadequate for Malaysia. Furthermore, the rise of social and other emerging media has changed the preference of audience communication, this could pose challenges for traditional public relations professionals. Drawing from the literature, this study aimed to measure the use of social and emerging media by public relations practitioners in Malaysia, and to examine the impact of social and emerging media on Malaysian public relations practices. The two research questions (RQ) guiding this study were RQ1: how public relations practitioners in Malaysia have used social and other emerging media in public relations practice? and RQ2: what is the impact of social and emerging media on public relations practices in Malaysia?

Methodologies:

Quantitative

An online survey through Qualtrics.com was used to find out the two research questions of this study which asked about how public relations practitioners in Malaysia have used social and other emerging media in their practices and the impact of social and emerging media on public relations practices in Malaysia.

The public relations practitioners in this sample are those in the public relations agencies as well as in corporations and organisations in Malaysia. The respondents were selected via random sampling of members of Public Relations Consultants' Association (PRCA) Malaysia who received email invitations to participate in the survey, also distributed to other contact of public relations practitioners via email, postings on Facebook and LinkedIn.

The questionnaire comprised of eleven questions, and six demographic questions in a total of 42 items. All items in the questionnaire were adapted from Wright, and Hinson's (2016) survey instrument with minor modifications on the demographic questions. The total items of the questionnaire comprised of 36 items for the nine closed-ended questions ranging from multiple-choice questions and likert-scale questions, and six items of multiple-choice questions for demographic questions. The reliability score for the 42-item was $\alpha=0.782$, which is an acceptable value of alpha, ranging from 0.70 to 0.95 (Tavakol, & Dennick, 2011).

The online survey questionnaire was activated from June until December 2017. A total of 95 public relations practitioners in Malaysia completed the survey and the data was transferred from Qualtrics.com

to IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 25 and was further analyzed using descriptive statistics.

Qualitative

Among the 95 respondents who answered the quantitative online survey questionnaire, five public relations agency practitioners in Malaysia with more than 4 years of experience in handling social media for the respective clients, have been selected for in depth interview to find out more insights on social media usage based on the finding of quantitative research.

The interviews were conducted through face to face meet up, telephone and/or email interview based on the respondents' availability. The period of qualitative data collection was from February until August 2018. A set of 6 in-depth interview questions have been used to answer the research questions of this study which asked about how public relations practitioners in Malaysia have used different types of social and emerging media in their practices and the impact of social and emerging media on public relations practices in Malaysia.

First interview question focuses on types of social and emerging media used for public relations practices and how do public relations practitioners in Malaysia used the different types of social and emerging media for public relations and communication work. The second interview question focuses on time spent and frequency of social and emerging media usage in public relations and communication. Third question is to explore motivation of social and emerging media usage, and reason of using the specific medium for public relations practices. Fourth question is to explore whether public relations practitioners conduct research on the communication (content, influence/impact) through social and emerging media, types of research and the outcomes. Fifth question is to examine impact of social and emerging media usage. To what extent the respondent that social and emerging media technologies have dramatically changed how public relations is practiced in Malaysia, the reason and how it's been done. The last question is to find out the implications of the use of social and emerging media technologies by public relations practitioners to Malaysian public relations industry.

Although the number of respondents is small for the qualitative research, however, their job scope are tasked on managing and creating social and emerging media content based on current trends and practices.

Results and Finding for Quantitative Survey

The following tables showcasing the findings to answer the two research questions of the study – how public relations practitioners in Malaysia have used the social and other emerging media and what is the impact of social and emerging media on public relations practices in Malaysia?

Uses of social and emerging media in public relations practice

Table 1: Average time spent in public relations practices with social and emerging media

<i>Time spent with social and emerging media</i>	<i>Frequency (N=95)</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>
<i>None</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1.1</i>
<i>1% - 10% of time</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>11.6</i>
<i>11% - 25% of time</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>26% - 50% of time</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>36.8</i>
<i>51% - 75% of time</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>24.2</i>
<i>More than 75% of time</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5.3</i>

Table 2: Frequency of usage of social and emerging media as part of work in public relations

	<i>Very infrequently</i>	<i>Infrequently</i>	<i>Neither infrequently nor frequently</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Very frequently</i>	<i>Don't use</i>	<i>Mean</i>
<i>Facebook</i>	3.2%	1.1%	5.3%	26.3%	60%	4.3%	4.52
<i>Instagram</i>	4.2%	5.3%	11.6%	24.2%	42.1%	9.5%	4.27
<i>LinkedIn</i>	7.4%	10.5%	11.6%	20%	18.9%	30.5%	4.26
<i>Snapchat</i>	16.8%	9.5%	10.5%	7.4%	4.2%	48.4%	4.22
<i>Pinterest</i>	16.8%	9.5%	11.6%	6.3%	4.2%	48.4%	4.21
<i>Flickr</i>	18.9%	11.6%	14.7%	0%	0%	51.6%	4.09
<i>Tumblr</i>	18.9%	12.6%	12.6%	0%	2.1%	50.5%	4.09
<i>YouTube</i>	5.3%	12.6%	21.1%	15.8%	29.5%	13.7%	3.95
<i>Google+</i>	12.6%	11.6%	14.7%	17.9%	11.6%	29.5%	3.95
<i>Twitter</i>	11.6%	12.6%	20%	11.6%	15.8%	24.2%	3.84

Table 3: Respondents' perception on the importance of social and other emerging media used in the overall communications and public relations efforts of the organisation

	<i>Mean score</i>
<i>Social networks (Facebook, LinkedIn, Google+)</i>	4.90
<i>Video or content sharing sites (YouTube, Flickr, Instagram)</i>	4.70
<i>Search engine marketing</i>	4.65
<i>Social media management sites (Hootsuite)</i>	4.53
<i>Photo and content sharing sites (Pinterest, Instagram, Snapchat)</i>	4.35
<i>Micro-blogging sites or platforms (Twitter)</i>	4.26
<i>Bookmarking management sites (SpringPro, Evernote, Google Keep)</i>	4.16
<i>Screencast Applications (Screenr)</i>	4.15
<i>Blogs</i>	4.05
<i>Electronic forums or Message boards</i>	4.04
<i>Podcasts</i>	3.89

Table 4: Departments primarily responsible for monitoring and managing social and digital media communication in the organisation

<i>Departments/Organisational Functions</i>	<i>Frequency (N=95)</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>
<i>Communications or Public Relations</i>	26	27.4
<i>Technology (IT)</i>	4	4.2
<i>Digital or Social Media</i>	29	30.5

Marketing	22	23.2
This responsibility hasn't been assigned	4	4.2
No function has this primary responsibility	3	3.2
Others	7	7.4

Table 5: Departments should be primarily responsible for monitoring and managing social and digital media communication in the organisation

Departments/Organisational Functions	Frequency (N=95)	Percentage (%)
Communications or Public Relations	39	41.1
Technology (IT)	2	2.1
Digital or Social Media	40	42.1
Marketing	5	5.3
No function has this primary responsibility	3	3.2
Others	5	5.3

Table 6: Measurement on communication through social and other emerging media

	Frequency (N=95)	Percentage (%)
Yes	36	37.9
No	34	35.8
Uncertain / Don't know	25	26.3

Table 7: Measurement by organisation on social and emerging media communication

		Frequency (N=95)	Percentage (%)
Measured the amount of communication disseminated through social and other emerging media	Yes	57	60
	No	20	21.1
	Uncertain / Don't know	18	18.9
Analyzed the content of what's been communicated in social and other emerging media	Yes	62	65.3
	No	18	18.9
	Uncertain / Don't know	15	15.8
Measured the impact information disseminated through social and other emerging media has on influentials, opinion leaders and members of strategic audiences	Yes	54	56.8
	No	19	20
	Uncertain / Don't know	22	23.2
Measured the impact information disseminated through social and other emerging media has on the formation, change and reinforcement of attitudes, opinions and behaviors	Yes	51	53.7
	No	24	25.3
	Uncertain / Don't know	20	21.1

Table 8: Respondents' level of agreement on whether or not public relations practitioners should measure the social and emerging media communication

	Mean
Measured the amount of communication disseminated through social and other emerging media	4.03
Analyzed the content of what's been communicated in social and other emerging media	4.25
Measured the impact information disseminated through social and other emerging media has on influentials, opinion leaders and members of strategic audiences	4.28
Measured the impact information disseminated through social and other emerging media has on the formation, change and reinforcement of attitudes, opinions and behaviors	4.27

Impacts of social and emerging media on public relations practices

Table 9: Respondents' level of agreement on the impact of social and emerging media on public relations practices

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean
Impact on the overall communications	0%	1.1%	6.3%	51.6%	41.1%	4.33
Impact on how the organisation handles external communications	0%	3.2%	4.2%	55.8%	36.8%	4.26
Impact on how the organisation handles internal communications	1.1%	9.5%	13.7%	50.5%	25.3%	3.89

Results and Finding for qualitative research

Respondent A is holding a position as Associate in a local public relations agency, possess total 7 years of working experience in marketing, communication and public relations. Handling international clients in the field of mobile and internet technology, online marketing, audience engagement and events management.

Respondent A is utilising networking sites like Facebook and LinkedIn for research on and keep contact with journalists - media relations. Besides, social media platform such as Facebook, Twitter, Google +, Instagram, Blogs, and YouTube are used for content creation and public outreach, to directly broadcast messages to the public in social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Google +, Instagram, Blogs, and YouTube. As for Influencer outreach, the same platforms are used to identify key influencer and leverage on them to communicate with the public.

Following the client's request, respondent A is using social and emerging media by project basis, on average, the agency did a few projects by month. The agency is having a client in B2B that do content creation such as blog writing on a weekly basis to ensure that they build a knowledge-sharing reputation in the industry, the content is built consistently and regularly.

In respondent A's opinion, with each new media that is introduced, companies risk losing their audiences within the existing media they have. Thus, they have to adopt new emerging media constantly, experiment heavily and determine if they are the way public relations practitioners move forward.

Heavy tracking of online trends on a weekly basis such as looking at YouTube top videos and top Google search trends is a job requirement for respondent A. This allows the practitioner to evaluate trends that

can be used to their project advantage, and also provide recommendations for influencers that can work on. There is also the opportunity to do tracking of competitor activities and observe online chatter about the represented brands through close online media monitoring.

Respondent A think that the social and emerging media has changed the entire industry to become more “faceless”. A lot of correspondence with client and journalists now take place online via video, voice-calls and text mails/messages. As such, the need for human to human interaction has been greatly reduced. This has increased productivity but at the same time reduced intimacy in relationships. However, because human to human interaction has become “rare”, it appears that when it does occur, the opportunity to build stronger public relations and audience engagement becomes stronger. Public relations practitioners become more recognisable to the media representatives that spoken to face to face as opposed to the other “faceless” practitioners as they’ve only spoken to online. Additionally, public relations has become a 24 hour job, including the respondent’s experience of receiving requests for official statements that must be replied to within 30 mins. Every email that is sent to use now is sent with the expectation for immediate replies.

Respondent A pointed out that the adoption rate of social media technologies in Malaysia is pretty fast. In comparison, the pick-up rate for chat apps like Whatsapp, the adoption of apps like Waze and the use of Facebook has far exceeded the penetration of some first world countries (like England). As such, the Malaysian public relations industry has become very innovative and quick to adopt new tech. This is a trend that is likely to continue. With more adopting high tech tools to communicate, there will be more audiences adopting high tech tools to receive information and consume content. Thus, those in the traditional media space will be required to evolve fast or lose out completely. Public relations agency that live with the traditional way of working will also be left behind. The respondent believe that in the future, we will see more hybrid public relations types, in which integrated communicators will not just be skilled with all communication discipline (ad, marketing, PR, media studies... etc) but also communication technology (technical, hardware and software, know-how).

Respondent B is holding a position as Director of a local public relations agency, possess total 8 years of working experience in marketing, communication and public relations. Handling local and international clients in the field of marketing, product services, and events management.

Respondent B is utilising Facebook for news, opinion and trend watch, Twitter for breaking news, and Instagram for influencer engagement. The current trends and usage on social media platforms such as TikTok, Snapchat and Instagram’s Instastories has been on a rise with the promise of anonymity as content posted is automatically deleted after 24 hours.

Major social media platforms are being used every day with high importance.

Respondent B uses primarily Facebook and Twitter to gauge sentiments, and early crisis/issue management to form arguments (if needed) and key messaging. Other functions include gauging a writer/journalists’ interest in covering certain topics or subjects.

Research on content through social and emerging media is essential, especially looking at sentiments versus the volume of conversation happening.

In respondent B’s opinion, many people choose to communicate ideas, expressions and opinions on social media platforms, thus, public relations practitioners need to be up to speed to ensure key messaging, responses are not tone deaf. These platforms have also create opportunities for everyone to be a reporter, therefore this has also become a media platform to monitor, review and take action if necessary.

Respondent B expressed that by adding work scope, fast turnaround and diversification of skill sets in the area of content creation would help. Public relations practitioners now have to go beyond writing, and think about executing or creating a story/campaign via pictures and video.

Respondent C is holding a position as Senior Influencer Manager a local public relations agency, possess total 8 years of working experience in communication and public relations. Handling local and international clients in the field of social influencer and audience engagement, online marketing, consumer products services, and events management.

Different set of social and emerging media has been utilised based on client's request and the industry or products involved. In respondent C's opinion, Instagram works very well in the food, fashion, beauty and lifestyle industry to promote a brand or product. And hence, besides traditional media, public relations practitioners will invite influencers or media who are strong on Instagram for media events. Facebook used to be stronger before Instagram takes the front seat. The change in Facebook algorithm has made it more challenging to use Facebook for publicity without paid boosting. What the respondent likes to do is to look into relevant community/support group that the brand or company can collaborate with.

Respondent C emphasises that it is very important to make sure frequency of social and emerging media usage is high, because their lifestyle clients see more potentials and impact in social media over traditional media. Apart from monitoring monitor traditional media, Respondent C will spend one to two hours per day just to monitor social media accounts of influencers, to look out for rising influencers as well as brand mentions.

Based on respondent C's experience, public relations value and calculation by itself serve no meaning for certain types of clients in current practice, as social and emerging media has change the landscape of how impression and values been appreciated.

Monitoring the social space is been conducted on regular basis to find out what kind of photos and content can yield higher engagement rate, and whether the engagement rate bring to conversion. Due to digital space is very broad, each medium has to be used and treated differently. The respondent C found that it takes time to find the right community for one brand/influencer to grow, and a strong and unique personal or brand personality on social space will help the growth of followers.

Respondent C think that people are more accessible to content, hence it is no surprise that they are spoilt for content. With that said, audiences are pickier with content they choose for themselves. To earn more eyeballs, public relations practitioners would observe less formatted, emotion-packed, snappier, and catchy or even a more sensationalised approach in content delivery.

It has further fragmented the already fragmented audiences group in Malaysia. Consumers have more consumption options and public relations has to reach out to more relevant and targeted channels in order to bring an impact to a brand. Clients are also looking for a more measurable ROI and conversion rate.

In respondent C's opinion, for some public relations companies who didn't see and catch on this rising trend 5 years ago, they are now a little out of touch. It is not difficult to notice a lot of big integrated firms have shut down their public relations arm or switch to digital service fully. Take Geometry PR as an example. Conventional public relations is no longer in need with digital agencies having copywriting and media optimisation capability. On the other hand, you can also see other opportunities for public relations with the rise of social media. The need for issue and crisis management has also increased to manage the community in a more tactful manner.

Respondent D is holding a position as Senior Account Manager an international public relations agency, possess total 6 years of working experience in marketing, communication and public relations. Handling international clients in the field of mobile gadget and technology, marketing, consumer products services, and events management.

Standard usage of social and emerging media for Facebook, Instagram and LinkedIn is being practiced. Facebook and Instagram usage is more on mass awareness strategy that targets wide range of audiences in Malaysia. LinkedIn usage is more on networking and thought-leadership building.

Respondent D who works in an international agency spend approximately 50% of his time on social and emerging media for communication, research, and execution of communication tactics for clients. In respondent D's opinion, the dynamic of communication has switched from traditional medium to social media, where people share opinions most of the time. Research is conducted mostly on the social influencers and their performance evaluation. Sometimes, the respondent will do research on brands' social pages performance based on client's request. Respondent D thinks that the power of influence has changed. Mass audience value social media platforms over traditional media as their opinions are valued too. Having said that traditional media still hold the credible power whereas social media/ emerging media tend to raise a topic or movement only. Respondent D mentioned that outcome is happening real-

time, public relations practitioners have to be extra mindful and change the mode of working from fast to now, every single minute is being measured if the objectives are achieved.

Respondent E is holding a position as Senior Public Relations Executive in an international public relations agency, possess total four years of working experience in online media communication and public relations. Handling international clients in the field of online marketing, consumer product or services, and events management.

Respondent E's agency uses a many burgeoning online key opinion leaders, Instagramers, and bloggers in social and emerging media for public relations practices now, mainly because they are the 'new mainstream' for a lot of targeted audience now. Ways of engagement mainly can be differentiated into paid and unpaid engagement, and usually the engagement methods tend to be more creative and interactive, depending on different clients. Main purpose is to interact with their followers.

Frequency of usage is high for each client in almost all campaigns and / or public relations initiatives. It's becoming something that must be included in all activities now, as clients see this is a way to reach out to their target audience now with the digitalisation. According to Respondent C, social and emerging media is heavily used because of the digitalisation, and it's unavoidable that people are spending more and more time online. When this is happening, the traditional public relations approach might not reach as many people as desired anymore, and this will be the way to adapt, so that public relations reach is still maximised.

Media dipstick is often carried out in ensuring accuracy and suitability of content and its impact. With social and emerging media becoming one of the important public relations 'target media' segment, research is surely conducted on them on its content and effects. Apart from that, desktop research (or mobile research - Instagram trends watching, hashtag studies, etc.), objective and subjective research also been carried out. Results will usually reflect how the trends actually are, and it is greatly useful in ensuring key messages, contents are well adjusted to what target audience want to consume, as contents.

In respondent C's opinion, there are definitely big changes being brought to Malaysia's public relations industry and practices. It can be easily seen from the downsizing of many print publications - it's inevitable that target audiences are switching their content platforms from the traditional print magazines and mainstream media to online media, key opinion leaders, and bloggers. This is done by the actually interesting content, and also more fun and casual content that's created by them, and its impact to the traditional media are further enhanced when people are just going paperless, and the hugely increasing screen time.

The way of public relations practices has been changed, and even some traditional PR agencies are struggling if they do not somehow start providing public relations services for the social and emerging media segment. From the picking up of usage of social media by public relations practitioners, acceptance of online media contents by target audience, and by looking at the steadily increasing price for certain social and emerging media paid engagement, it's clear that it's already become a practice of Malaysia's public relations industry.

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings and results from quantitative survey revealed that Malaysian public relations practitioners have frequently used Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and LinkedIn for work purposes and spend long working time in public relations and communication via social and emerging media. According to the qualitative research, among the three social media mentioned earlier, Facebook and Instagram are the top two social media used by public relations agency, which is in line with the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission's Internet Users Survey (2017), where Facebook and Instagram are the top two preferences of audience market.

In both quantitative and qualitative research, the result shows that the impact of social and emerging media use on Malaysian public relations practices has changed the way their agency and clients' preference of communicates based on the current trends and audience's online behaviour. This result coincide with Wright and Hinson's research (2017) that 'the impact is much more pronounced for external than internal audience. The result on the impact of social and emerging media usage is also

aligned with some studies (Lee, & Low, 2013; Gabriel, & Koh, 2016) in which the practices have impacted the way agencies and organisations handle online communications.

Through the qualitative in-depth interview, the respondents even pointed out that for public relations agencies that only focus on traditional practices, would have lost their market or audience if they did not catch the trends for social and emerging media. The total time spent and everyday tasks of a Malaysian public relations agencies' practitioner, required relevant skills in conducting content research, engage influencers, and managing social media account for their clients.

This study concludes that Facebook is still the black horse of social and emerging media frequently used by public relations practitioners in Malaysia for communication and public relations practices, and the impact of Facebook and other social and emerging media, especially Instagram, has changed the way communication is handled by the public relations agencies for the fragmented market of multi-racial Malaysian audiences.

Although the total number of respondents is not high, this study has provided useful overall quantitative data and in-depth qualitative results and insights for academics, researchers and public relations practitioners on how social and emerging media technologies are used in the Malaysian public relations agency.

Future direction of research may focus on comparison of in-house public relations practitioners' usage and the effectiveness of utilisation of social and emerging media in various industry, also the impacts of engaging key opinion leader and influencer in social and emerging media.

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About the Authors

Siz Lim and Tek Pheung Chuan are faculty of Communication and Creative Industries, Tunku Abdul Rahman University College Malaysia; Cheng Ean (Catherine) Lee is a faculty members of the Department of Communication and Liberal Arts, School of Arts, Sunway University Malaysia, Sunway University Malaysia.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) communication through website in the telecommunication industry: Analysis on Indonesia telecommunication companies

Yeni Rosilawati

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Abstract

The internet usage among the public, has also improved the usage of official websites as a means of media disclosure for the social responsibility held by corporations. The act of communicating Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs conducted to stakeholders becomes an important part in the CSR implementation process (Ujang Rusdianto, 2013). One of the new effective media in CSR Communication is official websites. A website brings several advantages as a medium for CSR (Nurjannah, Suwatno and Welsi Damayanti, 2017). One of the purpose of this study is: to describe the nature of messages content in CSR communication published on official websites of telecommunications companies in Indonesia and the case study chosen are the Indosat Ooredoo (<https://indosatooredoo.com>) and Telkomsel (<https://www.telkomsel.com>). Besides, this study is conducted to analyze the level of interactivity of Indonesian telecommunication companies' websites. In this research, the content analysis method is used. Content analysis is employed to describe in detail a particular message or text (Eriyanto, 2011). The result obtained showed that the two telecommunications companies studied have considered that CSR information is vital, as shown at the dedicated page made for CSR communication in the website. However, the interactivity level in each website is in medium level. They used social media such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook and Twitter to build two ways of communication with the stakeholders.

Introduction

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) becomes an increasingly important issue in the business world. The demand to conduct businesses ethically is one of the challenges for companies today. Companies are expected to show concern and help to resolve problems that bring a global impact such as climate change, poverty and the spread of the HIV/AIDS virus. A survey conducted by McKinsey has concluded that 95% of CEOs in the world believe that the public has greater expectations toward the social responsibility undertaken by companies and that expectations will increase in the next five years (Frynas, 2009). A survey conducted by Cone Communications found that currently 86% of consumers are more trusting towards companies that carry out CSR reporting and as much as 82% percent prefer products manufactured by companies that carry out CSR initiatives ("Consumer demand more than CSR purpose", 2012). Thus, this proved that CSR is considered as an important issue in the era of consumer society. Recently, consumers are becoming increasingly aware of the social aspects of products sold and the companies manufacturing it (Shah & Chen, 2010). Moreover, Lo and Sheu (2007) have noted that the unethical actions taken by companies against stakeholders will affect the potential benefits that they will gain in the future. Besides, CSR is an important aspect to improve and maintain corporate reputation as it is a comprehensive strategy employed by companies that is seen to secure the interests of stakeholders (Silberhorn & Warren, 2007).

In the CSR perspective, companies are not only been demanded to focus on their business development and business progress, but also to contribute in improving environmental sustainability as well as community welfare (Dermawan and Deitiana, 2014). In Indonesia, CSR is regulated based on Law No. 40/2007 Article 74 related to the subject of Limited Liability of Companies. Paragraph (1) of the law stressed that CSR is mandatory in Indonesia. In other words, it can be understood that CSR communication is an integral part of the CSR implementation process. One of the new effective media in CSR Communication is official website. A website brings several advantages as a medium for CSR (Nurjannah, Suwatno and Welsi Damayanti, 2017).

Website is seen as a medium to communicate all the CSR activities conducted by a company transparently. Capriotti and Moreno (2007) opined that a company's website is an important tool for disseminating information about corporate CSR. Moreover, CSR disclosure is considered as part of a company's to ensure that their activities are not negatively impacting the environment. The web has various advantages for corporate communication needs such as enabling information to be immediately available at real time. The ability of mass communication and global reach owned by the web allows information to be accessed by various stakeholders (Ati Harmoni, 2011). Moreover, a website is a form of

communication channel that is easily accessible anytime and anywhere (Du et al., 2012). In addition, a company's website is designed to share information according to categories based on multiple sections that are tailored according to the stakeholder segmentation (Branco and Rodrigues, 2006).

This study will explore the tendencies of messages in CSR communication through the corporate websites of the studied telecommunication companies in Indonesia, the Indosat Ooredoo Tbk and Telkomsel. In Indonesia, the telecommunication industry has shown an average growth of 8-9% in 2017. The Indonesian telecommunication industry plays a strategic role and inadvertently, has a social responsibility as well as the accountability of securing the interests of stakeholders.

Research Objectives

- 1) To describe the contents of CSR communication on the official website of two telecommunication companies in Indonesia: Indosat Ooredoo (<https://indosatooredoo.com>) and Telkomsel at <https://www.telkomsel.com>
- 2) To analyse the interactivity level of the CSR communication published in the telecommunication companies' official websites with their stakeholders.

Literature Review

The concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

The study of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has increased significantly and involved a large number of theories, approaches and terminologies, such as management of social issues, sustainable development of business ethics, environmental law (eco-justice), stakeholder management and CSR (Garriga & Mele, 2004). According to Daft (2012), CSR is a management obligation to make decisions and take actions that will contribute to the welfare and interests of stakeholders and organizations involved.

The concept of CSR is based on the idea that the existence of a company is not separate from their environment and surrounding communities. This idea implies that organisations are considered as social institutions that depend heavily on the society they are built in. Moreover, according to Robbins and Coulter (2002), CSR is a business firm's obligation and aims to pursue the long-term goals that will be beneficial to society. Besides, Robbins and Coulter (2002) stated that companies have now play the role of moral agents in the societies that are in. In their effort to do good for society, they must differentiate between right and wrong.

CSR has become a subject of debate due to the huge impact it has brought upon businesses and society alike. Corporate operational disasters like the Union Carbide gas leak in Bhopal in 1984 and BP's oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010, corporate fraud (e.g Enron in 2001 and World Com in 2001), corporate collapse and failure (e.g the failure of the US investment banks such as the Lehmann Brothers, Merrill Lynch and Bear Stearns in 2008) contributed to this problem. Social and moral values that are infused into business philosophies and values which are embedded in society are seen as the key components of CSR (Sun, et. al, 2010).

Globalisation, expansion of stakeholders' activities and free flow of information are required for businesses to perform CSR practices more responsibly and with transparency (Amaladoss & Manohar, 2011). CSR reflects the socio-economic perspective or in other words, referring to the fact that businesses are not only concern about making profit but also their impact to the environment as well. CSR is intended to protect and improve the welfare of the society a business is built in. Businesses should not only focus on the interests of stakeholders but also the society, in general (Robbins & Coulter, 2010; Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Freeman, 1984).

According to Daft (2006), CSR implementation is under the responsibility of the management and it aims to contribute in improving the state of welfare of society. CSR is considered as an obligation that is beyond their legal and economic aims in order to achieve a set long termed objective which will benefit the surrounding community. Although the concept of CSR has become a followed trend among businesses, it is still being debated by scholars. One of the popular definition of CSR is given by the International Standard Organization (ISO 26000):

The responsibility of an organization is toward the impacts resulted from its decisions and activities that will affect society and the environment. Through transparency and ethical behaviour, a contribution can

be made in order to achieve sustainable development, especially in ensuring the health and welfare of a society.

The definition given by ISO stressed that CSR is a part of the contribution a business can make in order to achieve sustainable development especially in ensuring the health and welfare of the society. CSR is modeled after business ethics (Hadi, 2014). Ethics is a revival effort made after the collapse of moral values in the Greek culture system. Good and bad views can no longer be trusted, therefore philosophers are asked to explain the norms of societies. Ethics is a critical view towards lessons or moral thoughts (Suseno, 1987).

Business is a relationship formed between individuals. Business is an interaction that occurs due to insufficient resources that we demand in order to fulfil our wants. Through business, people can fulfill their needs (Panuju, 1995). The standards of business ethics which can easily be seen are honesty and transparency. In business, people entrust all things such as reputation, family, future of employees and the future of the society (Kerap, 1998). Business is an important societal activity. It is a modern phenomena that can't be avoided from the society now a days.

There are two ways for a person can make an ethical decision. The first way is through a prescriptive approach that provide tools to make decisions, and the second way is the psychological approach. The psychological approach relates to an individual ethical decision. Individual differences and the cognitive process creates different thinking and will give impact on the way a person think and act ethically.

CSR is a corporate obligation that goes beyond the legal and economic limits in order, to obtain long-term goals that are beneficial to the stakeholders. According to the definition given by IBLF (2003), CSR is an open and transparent business practice that is based on ethical values and respect for the stakeholders, employees, surrounding society and the environment, which have a part in ensuring the success of a sustainable business. This definition emphasises the importance of the role played by stakeholders in the aspects of socio-economy and the environment.

Meanwhile Berger, Cunningham & Drumwright (2007) noted that CSR is an important component of dialogue between companies and stakeholders such as consumers, employees and investors. The study conducted by Bhattacharya, Korschun & Shen (2009) found that the majority of Fortune 500 companies not only engage in social responsibility (CSR) initiatives, but also devote sufficient resources to report CSR activities of various company stakeholders.

Luu Trong Truan (2012) defined CSR as a "concern to treat the stakeholders of the firm ethically or in a responsible manner". In other words, CSR practically refers to the way of treating stakeholders in accordance with the ethics or behavior accepted in society. Social in this context refers to businesses with economic and environmental responsibilities. The aim of CSR implementation is to create a better standard of living while maintaining the survival of the company by creating profitability for the life of the communities, as a whole. CSR activities are carried out to preserve the sustainability of the natural environment campaign, education, training, forestation, establishment of green open spaces and parks, preservation of natural resources that are used in factories or stores as well as the application of recycled and reused products.

CSR Communication

CSR Communication in the web has been a direct offshoot in the digital evolution. Esrock and Leichty (1999) noted that corporate websites allow companies to engage in multi-stakeholder dialogue sessions, a practical challenge of CSR Communication (Antal, Dierkies, MacMillan & Martz, 2002).

The role of CSR communication is to foster relationships and trust between the company and stakeholders. The rate of CSR strategy implementation will be reduced if the company does not include a clear communication component. Besides disseminating CSR related information to CSR to stakeholders, CSR communication also aims to bring about a positive image. Communication is a two-way process of information exchange that aims to reduce uncertainty and at the same time, achieving understanding between the two parties involved. Effective communication asserted the exchange of information at the right time that uses a combination of media and techniques (Jurisova and Durkova, 2012). Ujang Rusdianto (2013) added that CSR communication is a process of reciprocal communication (two-way), not one-way.

Effective communication strategy is designed with the aim to reduce the skepticism of stakeholders and convey corporate motives in the CSR activities implemented. Companies need to communicate when they involved stakeholders in their CSR activities. CSR communication is not limited to consumers, but also for employees, local communities and society in general. CSR communication should involve the following parties; internal stakeholders, company employees and external stakeholders.

Communication is a two (2) process of information exchange that aims to reduce uncertainty in order to reach an understanding between the two parties. In general, this process is called as communication management. Effective communication needs a process of information that combines media and techniques (Jurisova & Durkova, 2012). In external communication, CSR is seen as an on-going communication when the company informs the general public, local communities and various external parties consisting of other stakeholders. Below are several ways companies communicate to external stakeholders; the internet (websites, corporate blogs, fan page on FB, Twitter accounts), brochures about companies, various events, websites, annual reports, press releases and press conferences, labeling products, as well as various packaging techniques (bio, eco).

The most important aspect of CSR implementation is the existence of external control on social and public responsibility behavior (concerning the public). This can be achieved if the company publishes information that is high in quality and relevant activities. The company should provide detailed and transparent information for all of its activities that can bring an impact to both the environment and society (Jurisova and Durkova, 2012). Meanwhile L'Tang (2006) argued that CSR is managed by the Public Relations (PR) department and all CSR activities implemented as a portfolio for public relations as well as techniques for building with certain groups (e.g. with local communities) and enhance reputation with stakeholders (in Sommerville & Wood, 2007).

Chaudry and Wang (2007) argued that the need for transparency and proactive communication in CSR activities is one of the general concerns. Previously, companies used mass media in communicating to the public and there is a significant change in using the internet as a communication medium. The increased use of webpages is a 21st century phenomenon that crosses organizational boundaries. The internet also supports PR practitioners to disseminate information quickly and communicate with a larger audience (Zoch, et. Al, 2008).

Basil and Erlandson said that organizations use various information channels to convey their CSR programs to stakeholders. The internet is one of the most important communication channels and has a major role in CSR communication (in Gomez and Chalmeta, 2011). The internet facilitates the provision of fast and comprehensive information while allows companies to collect more from various stakeholders (Chaudri Wang, 2007). There are various media used to communicate their CSR programs such as social reports, company website pages (Kaid and Pfau, 2003) and advertisements (Drumwright, 1996). Given the rapid use of the internet in the community, the use of website to communicate CSR programs is worth considering. Reports available to the public are also considered as a way for them communicate with stakeholders about CSR strategies, approaches and performances.

Public Relations (PR) professionals believe there is a strong connection between public relations and CSR, with public relations playing a big role in making this a priority in business organisations. Benneth Freeman, former US deputy assistant secretary of the state for democracy, human rights and labour, claimed that in this era of scrutiny, corporate reputation and responsibility are inseparable. Bennet & Rentschler (2003) emphasised that the company's reputation is a concept that relates to public appraisal of company's quality, trust and reliability. Reputation plays an important role in ensuring success of an organisation. Esen (2013) added that the reputation of meaningful competitive advantage and is regarded as an important asset to the company. Moreover, subtle elements such as the investigation and development of intellectual property rights, convenience, employees, consumers and reputation itself build a reputation.

Research Methods

The research method employed in this study is content analysis. The analytical technique used is content analysis by analyzing the trends of messages in CSR communication carried out on the official website. According to Eriyanto (2011), content analysis is intended to describe in detail a particular message or text. Content analysis is a research technique that draws conclusions by identifying the specific characteristics of a message objectively and systematically (Holsti, 1969). The two subjects studied in

this study are two (2) telecommunications companies in Indonesia: Indosat Ooredoo (www.Indosatooredoo.com) and Telkomsel (www.telkomsel.com). For the data analysis technique, this research will analyse tendencies of the message content in the official website regarding CSR communication, including the CSR focus and the tendencies of the messages contained in their CSR communication. This research also will analyse the interactivity of the official website for each company.

Discussion

(1) Indosat Ooredoo (www.Indosatooredoo.com)

1.1 Indosat Ooredoo Profile

Indosat Ooredoo communicates its corporate identity through their company profile on the main page of its website, <https://Indosatooredoo.com>. In the company profile page, Indosat Ooredoo communicates the history of the company from the time it was founded in 1967 as the first foreign investment company in Indonesia to provide telecommunications services through international satellite. Currently, the Indosat is officially renamed as Indosat Ooredoo. Its business strategy is providing a customer-oriented service. In its vision, Indosat Ooredoo strives to become the "Leading Digital Telecommunication Company in Indonesia".

1.2. The tendency of messages content in the "Indosat Ooredoo" website

The Indosat ooredoo has a dedicated website for CSR. The link for CSR is in minor headings, under the sub menu "About Indosat ooredoo". The website also includes multimedia, mainly in the form of photos, to show its current CSR activities. When audience visitor clicks a photo, it will give him or her further information about the activity. This website is available in Indonesian and English versions that support its accessibility to non-Indonesian speaking visitors. CSR information is found on the main website in the form of HTML. At the Indosat Ooredoo website, the sustainable development activities is reported in the Annual Report saved in the Portable Document file (PDF) format. The information about CSR can be found below the "Business" menu. Indosat Ooredoo uses the term 'corporate social responsibility' rather than the term CSR. The CSR activities implemented focus on Indosat Ooredoo's three (3) sectors; *Woman Empowerment, Education and Health*. The information included in the website is the background of the program and the objectives of each Indosat Ooredoo CSR pillars. In programs for woman empowerment, Indosat Ooredoo focuses their CSR programs for womenpreneurs in rural areas of Indonesia. The program also offer training through mobile technology, including mentoring and loan provisions.

The Indosat Ooredoo stated that the programs organised also provides business training to Indonesian women order to gain financial independence. They also strengthens the company's commitment in their CSR programs that aim to increase the number of women connected to internet in Indonesia from 40% to 43% by 2020 (more than 7 million women). The Indosat Ooredoo also provides information about the *Woman Masterclass* that has taught participants to look for opportunities available in the technology and the digital world. It communicates the goal of each CSR pillar. For the education and innovation pillars, for example, it develops the IWIC (Indosat Ooredoo Wireless Innovation Contest). It encourages and educates young people to innovate in the field of wireless digital applications as well as to promote and develop these innovations into successful and promising businesses. Meanwhile, for health programs, Indosat shared about their commitment to the health sector by promising to improve the health of Indonesians, especially children through the launch of 16 Indosat Ooredoo Mobile Clinic cars that will be dispatched to rural areas as well as victims of natural disasters. Indosat claimed success with the program based on the type of assistance provided and support, parties that formed cooperation with it, awards received by the company and CSR awards received.

(2) Telkomsel (www.telkomsel.com)

2.1 Telkomsel Company Profile

Telkomsel has consistently launched the latest cellular technology and is the first to commercially launch the 4G LTE mobile service in Indonesia. Entering the digital era, Telkomsel continues to develop digital businesses, including Digital Advertising, Digital Lifestyle, Mobile Financial Services, and the Internet of Things. To serve customer needs, Telkomsel holds a 24-hour call center and GraPARI services are available throughout Indonesia.

In order to provide excellent service to the community in enjoying a digital lifestyle, Telkomsel helped in building a digital ecosystem in the country through various DNA development efforts (Device, Network and Applications) that are expected to accelerate the formation of an Indonesian digital society. In addition, Telkomsel is also actively encouraging young people to use technology positively. Telkomsel

focused on its CSR programs related to Community Empowerment, Education and Digital Citizenship which later on be the core for the “Baktiku Negeriku” CSR program development. This program is a community assistance program with a focus on improving the quality of life in various remote areas in Indonesia through technology, community empowerment and education. Telkomsel developed Digital Citizenship (a cyber wellness socialisation and education on internet utilisation in a responsible, safe, creative and inspiring (GOOD) manner which includes a series of workshop activities that aimed to a segment of children and adolescents as entry level internet users, as well as parents and teachers who acts as supervisor and guardian. Telkomsel also informed about its IndonesiaNEXT, a certification program that aims to increase capacity and prepare professional expertise for students in the face of a more competitive global competition. In these activities, participants who are students from various departments and levels of tertiary education can participate in inspiring seminars and creative sessions.

2.2. Tendency of Messages Content conveyed by Telkomsel CSR Communication

Telkomsel has a dedicated website for CSR. The link for CSR is in minor headings, under the “About Telkomsel” submenu. The website also includes multimedia, mainly in the form of photos, to show its current CSR activities. When audience visitor clicks a photo, it will give he or she further information about the activity. This website also has both Indonesian and English versions as to make it accessible to non-Indonesian speaking visitors CSR information is found on the main website in the form of HTML. Telkomsel uses the term ‘corporate social responsibility’ rather than the term CSR.

In its website, Telkomsel communicates the goals and background of the program why they chose the program. In the Telkomsel CSR website, it is divided into two parts, the current Telkomsel Initiative and Telkomsel CSR Pillar. In the current Telkomsel Initiative page there are several programs that are Telkomsel's main focus, namely The NextDev program: The Work of the Nation's Children for Indonesia's Solution and Creating a Safer Internet. Furthermore, in the CSR Pillar, Telkomsel places more emphasis on describing the focus of the programs implemented by Telkomsel, including program descriptions, program objectives, and program background. There are four CSR programs in Telkomsel's CSR Pillar webpage, namely: Education, Digital Citizenship, Community Empowerment, and Philanthropy. Each CSR program has its own web page. Furthermore, under the web page there are several additional service menus such as the social media follow-up menu, contact us and some features offered by Telkomsel. Whereas the Community Empowerment CSR program “Baktiku Negeriku” on March 23, 2018 won the title “Champion” in the Information and Communication Technology Competition 2018 which was organized by the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. “Baktiku Negeriku” is a CSR program in the form of contributions and collaboration of the Telkomsel Workers' Union which focuses on improving the quality of life of people in various remote areas in Indonesia through technology, community empowerment, and education. Telkomsel in this case is already very good at implementing CSR communication on their official website because the packaging of the messages provided is very good and neatly arranged to group each sub-chapter of the CSR program they run. This research shows that Telkomsel's CSR website has been implemented well and neatly and it can be concluded that Telkomsel makes their official website as a strategic media in delivering their CSR communication messages.

Analysis

Based on the research made on the companies' websites, it is showed that the Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel websites are easy to access. This is indicated through annual reports and sustainability reports that are archived from year to year (in Indonesian and English). Thus, all stakeholders can be affordable and provide in-depth information about the company can be accessed. Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel try to allocate a separate menu on the official website based on the principles of transparency and communication. In regards to CSR communication, Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel try to provide information and CSR images that can be understood by various stakeholders. Both companies tried to build positive images among the public.

The data also indicated that the CSR managed is to build the company's reputation by directing stakeholders to provide a good assessment of the company. The results showed that both companies (Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel) communicated their CSR issues. The focus of CSR from Indosat Ooredoo is *Woman Empowerment, Health and Education* while the focus of Telkomsel's CSR is *Education, Digital Citizenship and Health*. Although the core of the company's second business is the telecommunications sector, their CSR focus is not only limited to the field of information technology but also penetrates the health sector as well.

The findings also showed that the Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel focus on delivering information that can create a good assessment of the companies. This statement is supported by the findings of data that showed the tendency of information about CSR programs by providing evidence of success. Information seeks to show that the company has a beneficial impact on stakeholders. It refers to the definition of Public Relations (PR) given by Grunig (1999) which stated that the main foundation in Public Relations' activities is to foster good relations between the organisation and the public. However, in terms of interactivity, Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel's official website are relatively low. CSR Communication in both website (Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel) are still applying the one-way communication flow. Moreover, both websites (Indosat Ooredoo and Telkomsel) both emphasise only on CSR publications and do not provide adequate feedback facilities as a medium of interaction as well as building dialogue with different stakeholders. Cyber communication carried out focuses more about company policy. According to Rusdianto (2014), the implementation of CSR shouldn't be based on the objectives desired by the company, but listening to stakeholders through transparent CSR communication. The analysis made on results showed that both official websites do not, maximise the potential of website as media to communicate with diverse stakeholders. From the results it is recommended that CSR Communication is not limited to program and results but also anticipate the expectations of various stakeholders. It also suggested that many aspects need to be communicated in their websites, including management approaches, CSR planning and CSR Strategies. Therefore, websites should communicate the expectations of stakeholders and be integrated into their CSR.

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About the Author

The author is a faculty member of the Department of Communication at the Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Now Serving the Social Filipino Customer: The Customer Care Management of 7-Eleven Philippines on Facebook and Messenger

Genina Mariel M. Arceo

Polytechnic University of the Philippines Open University

Abstract

Now Serving the Social Filipino Customer: The Customer Care Management of 7-Eleven Philippines on Facebook and Messenger discusses how 7-Eleven Philippines manages their customers who are rapidly turning to Social Media to vent their frustration on a bad customer service, to ask general questions, and to commend them for their satisfying product or service. Although Telephone and Email are still used by customers, complaints and inquiries made on social media are on the rise. 7-Eleven could have done its part on responding but in the social media realm, the spectators are looking. This study is a condensed version of a research that examined the customer care management of 7-Eleven Philippines on Facebook and Messenger. It analysed responses on every comment, page post and review of customers from April to June 2017 and determined if the quality of their customer care influences customer satisfaction. At the end, the researcher proposed solutions to 7-Eleven. Interviews, focus group discussions and observations were used as research methods. The data gathered revealed the customer care management of 7-Eleven Philippines was not perfect. Although there were lapses on responding because of the sheer volume, they were continuously improving their customer care strategies given the rise of social media customer service. The activities and concerns of Social Customers were sharing things that provoke their emotions. Their expectations were to get faster response, resolutions and transparency. If they got no response, they would look for ways to be noticed. In fact, they habitually left comments to every post made by 7-Eleven even those are unrelated. Results showed that customer care had a direct influence to customer satisfaction. It was concluded that fixing the structure within the organization could help in delivering exceptional service. Response time is a key driver of customer satisfaction. The researcher recommended the creation of company policies and modules for improvement and build a customer service culture.

Introduction

7-Eleven is one of the giant convenience stores operating in the Philippines. Its presence is ubiquitous as it tries to reach more Filipinos each day to provide modern convenience for their daily needs. One of its core values is customer focus. That is why 7-Eleven always put their customers first. The existence of their customer care unit undeniably helps 7-Eleven to reach their customers and listen to their feedback. The birth of the page gave them the opportunity to expose their other products, services, and promotions in social media. The following year, the brand started to notice that there was a bunch of people who use social media, Facebook particularly, not just to complain and to give negative feedback, but also to give suggestions and positive comments.

Filipino customers started using it to vent their frustrations on bad customer service, to ask general questions about the product and services, and to also commend manufacturers for their satisfying product or service. This was when 7-Eleven started to think of ways to cope with the need to answer the comments because customers not just send a message to 7-Eleven; they also post it and all other social media users can see it. Furthermore, some customers started using social media to make fun or poke jokes at the products or services of the company. It was in 2016 when 7-Eleven started to do some analysis about the existing customer care they have and how they will manage the sudden trend of using social media as additional customer service tool. The management thought of putting the responsibility of handling customer care under the Marketing Communications Division. Their point was: *the way you communicate with your customers tells something about your brand*. The brand image of 7-Eleven started to be portrayed in every conversation and response made. In 2017, they hired a customer care specialist in order to oversee and fix the current structure of the customer care given this trend.

Customer Complaints made on social media was on the rise. Customers really loved to leave feedback in a public forum. The public then could view the conversations of the customer and the brand. The worry here is that studies have shown that an angry customer will tell up to 20 other people about his bad experience while a satisfied customer shares good experiences with only 9 to 12 people (Safko, 2010). Truth to tell, customers do not only use social media to complain. They also commend marketers on social media and give them reviews. Daniel Newman (2016) argued that Social Media is no longer just a marketing channel; it is a customer experience channel. Every customer today has the notion that communicating complaints and queries on social media is faster than through traditional customer

service such as face-to-face encounters, the use of the telephone, or email. Marketers must therefore exert extra effort to address this notion and address all these customer care issues. Addressing this comes along with an expectation on how a brand provides customer service. From the kind of service received, the customers then will evaluate the quality of service delivered. The end result is either they have been satisfied or not. Customer satisfaction is a major outcome of the marketing activity and is meant to link the purchase, consumption and post purchase processes and the customers' attitude, repeat purchase and loyalty towards the brand (Churchill & Surprenant, 1982).

Satisfaction comes with expectations. One can be actually, highly satisfied if one has been delighted and has exceeded their expectations. This study, therefore, chose to determine how 7-Eleven Philippines manages customer complaints, questions, and trolls on Facebook and Messenger as part of the brand's customer care program. This wanted to analyze the responses of the social customers to determine their activities, concerns and expectations. Through this, this study wanted to confirm if the quality of customer care influences customer satisfaction. Lastly, the researcher wanted to propose best courses of action to improve their customer care service.

The researcher devised the conceptual framework of this study based on the Customer Service Theory and Expectation Disconfirmation Theory to reveal if customer satisfaction affects the kind of the service delivered to the customer.

The Customer Service Theory by Susan Dorling was built upon the existence of a customer service culture (Dorling, 2018). Every time there is a newbie in the team, he or she must be familiarized with the customer service culture. Hyken (2012) identified the reason an organization can deliver good or bad customer service: he says, it comes down to one thing, what is happening inside of an organization. If the vision and the goals are unclear and the people providing customer service in the company are demotivated, it would be translated to the kind of service you deliver and would affect the customers. Hyken (2012) also emphasized that Customer Service is not a department, it is a philosophy. At end of the day, all divisions must work together to create a culture that is focused on the customers and their great customer service experiences. Some of the service qualities from the SERVQUAL Model were included as part of the customer service culture. The Service Quality Model is the result of the comparison that customers make between their expectations about a service and their perceptions on the way the service is performed (Caruana, 2000). Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry (1988) developed a service quality model or which they called as SERVQUAL. Later on, it was reduced to five namely tangibles, reliability, responsiveness, service assurance and empathy. The Expectation Disconfirmation Theory was built upon Leon Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance Theory. This model measures customer's satisfaction from the difference on customer's expectation in comparison to the experience towards received products or services. It is composed of four components: expectations, perceived performance, disconfirmation, and satisfaction. Expectations are defined as the anticipation of a customer toward a product or service. Rai (2014) designed a formula that describes customer satisfaction: $\text{Customer Satisfaction} = \text{Customer Perception of the service received} - \text{customer expectation of customer service}$.

Since the researcher examined the customer care management of 7-Eleven Philippines, the framework of the customer service theory was used as the basis to fully emphasize how one customer service management should work when dealing with customer.

Key main features of a quality customer service culture were included to confirm if 7-Eleven had those foundations in the existence of their customer service culture. This framework includes social media channels such as Facebook and Messenger. Although they were already separate applications on mobile phones, they were still related to one another. The emerging trend of customer care being social has affected the main features of a customer service. The need to adapt to it should happen as early as now. The social customer service was not really different from the previous but an improved and developed customer service culture.

Figure 1: Customer Care Management Model with Service Qualities and Expectation and Disconfirmation

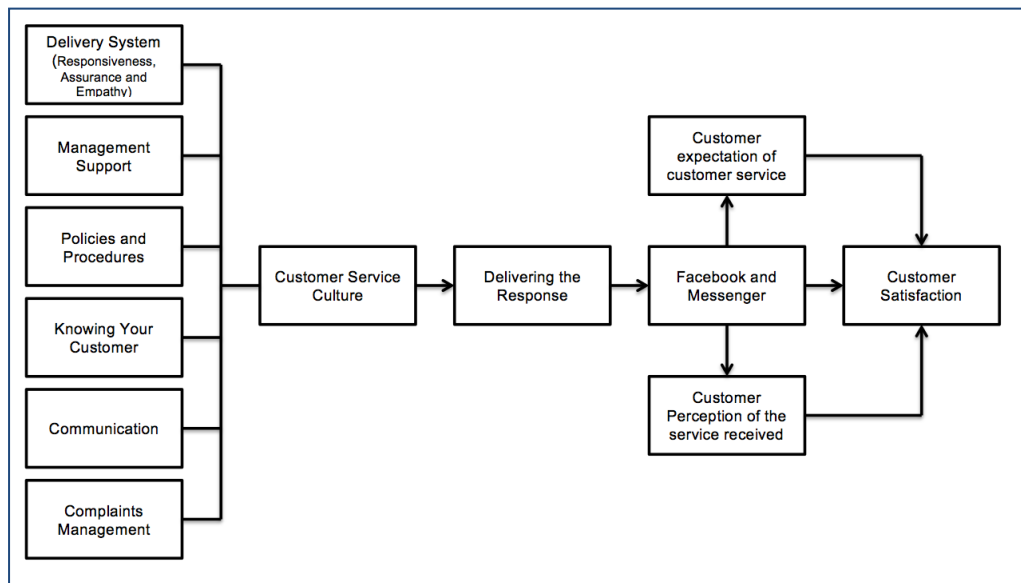
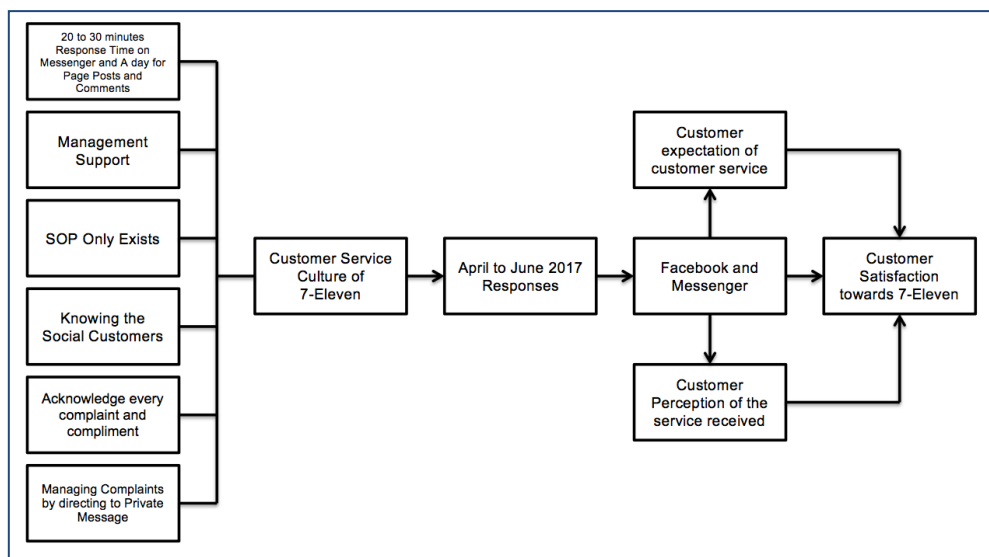


Figure 2: The Operational Framework of the Customer Care of 7-Eleven on Facebook and Messenger



Morgan (2018) differentiated customer service as giving assistance to customers while customer care as being caring to the customers, listening to their needs, and finding solutions to their problems. The definition provided by Morgan says that customer care is more holistic than customer service because it involves establishing an emotional connection, which will certainly enhance customer experience. Actually, the goal of customer service should be to increase customer satisfaction (Morgan, 2018). Hyken (2012), on the other hand, argues that there is no difference between the two. He stresses that the end goal of the two terms is to make the customers come back the next time. In addition, the process is more important than the terminology used by experts. He added that whatever term is used, both terms imply that a successful company provides quality customer service and both terms mean the same for the customers. A social customer is not bound by an age group (Simon, 2013). It can be every man, woman and child as long as they are active online. They are always in a hurry. They want convenience and service (Molenaar, 2016). This is why the expectation for speed has increased nowadays. They are more demanding unlike those before them. The social customers know what they want, and dictate how and when they want it. The constant connectivity translates into an expectation of an instant solution.

There should always be a standard time duration when one should respond as it can affect to the brand and it can escalate if the complaint is posted and out in the public without a response. There are

spectators looking at your performance in providing social customer service (Baer, 2016). They are not just spectators at that moment. Anytime soon, they can change their minds quickly and generalize everything they saw online. Goldman (2013) argued that all customer issues should be solved or redirected in a timely manner, not just to the satisfaction of the customer who is directly affected, but for anyone else in the social audience who has been paying attention. In this age where feedback and content is fast, it is important to understand and learn the many ways available for a company to communicate with its target customers. The digital word of mouth is faster than everyone knows.

This study is expected to contribute to the corporate communications team of every brand, to address and understand the trend and the growing demands of customers, and to effectively interact, reach and in some cases, pacify the customers regarding their queries, comments, reactions, and demands. It cannot be denied that a social media platform has led to a faster and easier communication with the public. Today, more Filipinos are using social media to vent their frustrations and praises to most brands. Now more than ever is the time to know which comments or direct messages must be ignored and which must be addressed immediately. Likewise, this would help the top management to assess their current customer care strategies, culture and development.

Method

This research adopted a qualitative analysis to uncover trends in the customer care channel and management of brands. It conducted a case study so as to explain an organization, how it worked and how it coped with an emerging trend. Online Ethnography was employed to understand the goals and motivations that emerge on the page. An interview was done with the Customer Care Specialist, Social Media Specialist and the Brand Communication Section Manager. They were handling the Customer Care of 7-Eleven Philippines on Facebook and Facebook Messenger. They were all female and their age ranged from 20 to 35 years old. The interview was done to have a clear view on how they manage customers' complaints and their opinions to social media as a customer service tool. The focus group discussion focused on social customers' view on the usage of social media particularly Facebook and Facebook Messenger as their main channels for customer service, their overall customer service experience, the satisfaction, and future intentions. Some demographic questions were asked to further grasp and assess the original setting and their age bracket. The choice of respondents did not have an age limit.

Results and Discussion

The data were gathered from the interview responses of 7-Eleven team handling Customer Care specifically the Customer Care and Social Media Specialists and the Section Manager, from the 10 participants of the Focus Group Discussion and from the observations and analysis of the researcher on the Facebook page posts, comments and reviews by the social customers to 7-Eleven Philippines Facebook page from April to June 2017. The result of the research problem and objectives were summarized as follows.

For the Customer Care Management, 7-Eleven Philippines used an online dashboard called Freshdesk to track complaints and concerns of customers on Messenger in the form of tickets. Majority of it came from online. On the other hand, those posted publicly on page posts, comments and reviews were just monitored manually on Google Sheets. 7-Eleven Philippines had lapses on responding to social customers because of the sheer volume. The brand recognized that it was very important to respond all the time even if it was positive, neutral or negative. But it could be observed that even at good reviews, there were no acknowledgments for a good review. It was revealed that they have an automatic response template 24/7 for the Messenger, which whatever you send there will be an automatic response. But if they need to contact the brand immediately, there's a link their on how to reach them.

When the researcher asked if they were responsive, all of the informants agreed that they were. They revealed that they were more responsive on Messenger than on the public side of complaints and compliments. 7-Eleven actually received 20 to 30 messages in an hour. They actually got a 2-minute response rate from Facebook. The Informants shared that they follow the standard 48 hours response time but for health concerns and accidents, they follow within 6 hours response time. For Trolls, they do not always respond to it but sometimes they do in an equally witty comeback. For managing complaints, 7-Eleven responded by acknowledging first their message. If it were posted on the page or on the comments section, the social customers would be asked to send a private message to 7-Eleven for further assistance. For concerns and complaints, which were very critical, the social customer care asked for the contact information of the social customer privately so they could be updated. But if the concern were

something that could be answered with information that was already out in the public, then 7-Eleven would respond as to where it was published. The challenges or issues encountered right now by 7-Eleven were the lack of top management support, the current structure was being fixed like they suggested to have a separate division for it and there were no current company policies. An SOP only existed. These were recognized by 7-Eleven to have it fixed immediately because they know very well that customers were demanding more than ever and they expected a faster response.

A social customer could send a private message, leave a comment, post on the page and make a review. Unattended social customers did these things only to be noticed. 7-Eleven Philippines did their Facebook postings almost every day. The social customers then took the opportunity to inform the company about their bad experiences even if not related to the content posted. There were social customers who loved to share things and experiences online to check if his or her friends experienced the same. They post and it suddenly started a conversation. There was no doubt that others who did not participate in the conversation were also expecting an answer from 7-Eleven.

The Social Customer Manifesto created by Christopher Carfi (2004) revealed that social customers want to connect with others who are working with the similar problems. Their perception was the brand was active and could readily reply to all their concerns. Carfi (2004) argued that social customers want to know when something is wrong and what the company is going to do to fix it. So, if the social customers got no response, they felt not attended or ignored, they would do everything to seek for the brand's attention. This was a sign that the social customers are more demanding. Social Customers were really unpredictable. They did nonstop reactions publicly and privately. The Focus Group Discussion conducted revealed that they would not want the world to see that they were complaining not until they lost their patience. They agreed that at some point they have the tendencies to go public especially if they got tired of the situation of not getting any reply or getting the same old service. They tried all means possible: Email, Facebook by posting, making a review or leaving a comment and sending private message via Messenger. In some cases, 7-Eleven did not miss in responding and even informed the customer on a page post that his or her complaint was done via personal message. Their common concerns were the product quality, stock issues, employee rudeness, offline CLiQQ kiosk machines and promo concerns. They perceived social media as convenient for them. They did not need to go to another platform to give feedback to the brand. Since it is convenient, they felt that they could have a quicker reply by using Facebook and Messenger. They expected quick resolution and transparency. They are more demanding, discontented, and discerning. The quality of social customer care had a direct influence on customer satisfaction. The quality of the social customer care provided was still an experience for the social customer. If that experience were worth telling to the whole world, then they would do so. Customer Satisfaction reduced or increased the negative word of mouth. This was also the best indicator of how likely a customer would make a purchase in the near future. The kind of service they provided could be the last chance to make things right. They were willing to spend more on companies that provide excellent service.

The customer care management model and expectation disconfirmation theory employed in this study reflected the components of a customer service culture. From your tracking and monitoring, delivery, and managing complaints down to the fundamental components of having policies and procedures. All of these were important as it could reflect on the kind of service that was delivered. Same as how Hyken (2012) referred to having a customer service culture. The researcher proposed to 7-Eleven Philippines to build their customer service culture by creating a customer care policy, hiring a dedicated team who will monitor and manage customer care on Facebook and Messenger, attending trainings for complaints management and customer service, involving the top management on the planning, and transitioning to another third party agency and updated software for efficient tracking and monitoring.

Conclusion

The Customer Care has become social. Having the right strategy to address this can help every social customer care program succeed. Through the analysis of the customer care management of 7-Eleven Philippines on Facebook and Messenger, the following have been concluded: The customer care management is still raw as a whole. Although 7-Eleven has large operations network to resolve complaints immediately, the customer care culture and internal systems are currently weak. A customer service must have an identity first known by all before the delivery of service to the social customers. Fixing the structure within the organization could help in delivering exceptional service. The Customer Care Management of 7-Eleven Philippines on Facebook and Messenger still involves telephone or mobile

phone. The telephone, a traditional customer care channel is used for more in-depth responses and discussions. It is as if the customer care channels are working hand in hand to fully assist a customer excellently. Complex social customer issues are harder to resolve on Facebook and Messenger than through the traditional.

Every interaction with 7-Eleven Philippines is a story for the social customer. A social customer's complaints and concerns are more for themselves and not for the brand itself. Response time is a key driver of customer satisfaction. Even the complaint is not yet resolved; the fact that it has been acknowledged means a lot to the social customer. Customer satisfaction drove a certain referral system on the part of the social customer. The brand must be consistent because some social customers based their expectations on responses from a brand. If they saw that they have responded to another social customer then, they expect also to receive the same.

Improvement of the existing frameworks of 7-Eleven means delivering effortless engagement with social customers. Everything must be fixed internally so that it will not reflect on the delivery of service to customers. The researcher would recommend to 7-Eleven to review the customer care structure for clarity of functions. It is important, as two third party agencies, the social media and customer care agencies, are involved on the customer care management. A customer service culture must be built to understand the employee experience and create a learning environment that is open to feedback. Furthermore, a set of rules and policies must be created for the customer care team especially in the response time period depending on the gravity of concerns. These procedures must be communicated to all concerned divisions. Although there is an operating procedure, this must be included on the company policies. It would be interesting to know how 7-Eleven Philippines performs and know its impact on customer satisfaction and brand loyalty after they have fixed their structure and built their customer service culture. In addition, the researcher recommends making a future study about this after all the improvements were made and what the social customers think about it. Evaluate the quality of responses and measure the ability of agents to resolve responses for the customer care's improvement.

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Note:

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About the Author

The author is a graduate student at the Polytechnic University of the Philippines.

Presentation Boot Camps for Communication Students' Career Development

Peter Carter

Kyushu Sangyo University, Fukuoka, Japan

Abstract

Careers in communication-related fields present a number of challenges to those interested in the subject. Salaried positions are increasingly hard to find, and staying employed is more difficult than it once was. Furthermore, the pressure experienced by new workers frequently leads to burn out or their abandoning the profession. Instructors engaged in preparing students for media or communication-related work need to find ways to ensure that their learners understand the reality of what they will face in the future and are suited to it. The purpose of this paper is to show how Presentation Boot Camps (PBCs) can help students gain this understanding, decide whether a career in communications is for them, and best prepare themselves to find work.

Introduction

Universities in Japan are struggling with two problems –first, that population of young people has fallen dramatically, meaning that there are now too many institutions and not enough high caliber candidates; and secondly, that government funding is necessary to remain in operation, with the implied threat that failing to do as the Ministry in charge of education (usually referred to as MEXT) wants may lead to a reduction in or even cessation of financial support(Shima, 2015). Humanities departments in particular have been singled out for attention, and many universities have sought to reorganize themselves with a focus on STEM fields where possible, and to create more modern and attractive departments in institutions for whom STEM is not a traditional strength.

Program outline

Given these circumstances, a new program was introduced within the author's department, with the aims of providing a more practical education than had been previously offered, and to appeal to students with a high degree of motivation. Called the "English Communication Course", it is a three-year program designed by instructors to aid students who would not be satisfied by the more traditional literature-based programs the university offers (Kakimoto, Carter, & Miura, 2013).

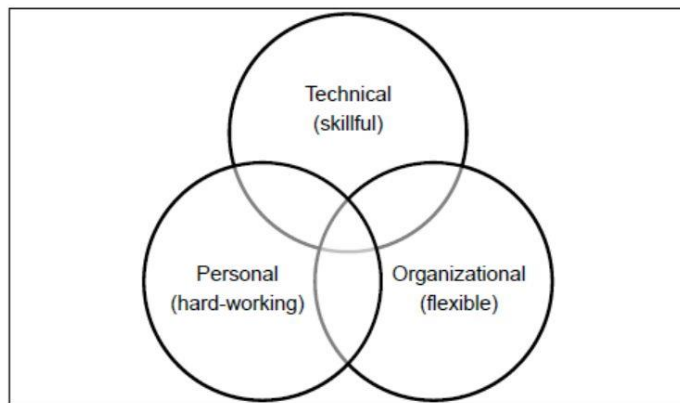
Students within the department take a year of generalized studies when they enter the university, and then specialize from their second year. Students for the English Communication Course are selected based on their academic achievements in the first year coupled with an interview that tries to ensure they understand the expectations that will be placed on them. In its current form, the program accepts up to 24 students per year, with four instructors, two of whom are bilingual Japanese and two native speakers of English. Approximately one-third of the designated curriculum focuses on general proficiency development (i.e. English as a Foreign Language), one-third focuses on technical subjects required for future teachers, including linguistics and sound systems, and the final third is devoted to business and media studies. Students in the program will take some of each of these courses, but will tend to gravitate towards either teaching-related or media and business-related subjects.

Graduate attributes

Given the ground that the curriculum covers, instructors decided that graduate attributes should not include subject-specific knowledge, but should rather take the form of a framework that will be useful to students as they go through the program and then move on to the next stage of their lives. For many students this will mean finding full time work in Japan, while some others will continue their education, or move abroad.

As such, three attributes were selected that instructors believe will stand program members in good stead regardless of what they decide to do after completing their studies with us. These three are colloquially termed as "skillful, flexible, and hard-working" during interviews with the students, and are derived from research into learner-centered education (McCombs, 2001). As can be seen in Figure 1, our terms are congruent with McCombs' "technical, organizational, and personal", respectively.

Figure 1



Intended graduate outcomes, adapted from McCombs' Living Systems Domains

These three aspects of a student's profile are useful to program members in situations where they will be asked to show why they are a good fit for a position they seek. During interviews, for example, they can expect to be quizzed about their technical skills, they will be asked to demonstrate flexibility (for example, during a problem-solving group discussion with other candidates), and it is absolutely necessary for them to have a track record of having worked hard while at university if they want to obtain a position in a competitive field. As such, then, despite its simplicity, the program's aims for its members have the potential to help them compete at the highest levels.

Graduate results

Both the university and the program's instructors collect data on the effectiveness of conceiving desired attributes as a framework instead of the more typical list that many universities produce, in conjunction with our relatively laissez-faire approach to curriculum, in which students have a wide choice of courses from which they can select those that best suit their individual post-graduation goals. Institutional research shows that students will typically enter the program with below average English proficiency (as measured by the TOEIC test), but that the entire cohort will be above the national average for the same test, and around 20% of them will be above the international average for college students when they graduate. Furthermore, entire cohorts have received offers of full-time work by the time they graduate (Carter, Kakimoto, Miura, & Anderson, 2016).

Finding work in Japan

With specific regard to the kind of work they choose, the program's students often favor company size over its particular industry. In Japan, larger companies are seen as both more stable and more prestigious. Finding a good position in Japan is harder now than for previous generations, with fewer jobs conferring lifetime employment status on the new hires, and many companies only offering limited contract work. Contract worker situations are both financially and systemically poor choices for a student about to graduate. First of all, they pay up to US\$800 less per month than permanent positions; second, they are non-renewable after five years for most kinds of work; and third, companies only hire permanent employees straight from college, therefore meaning that anyone who accepts a limited-term contract will never likely make the switch to a permanent role. Given how challenging it can be to find these positions, the program's record is extremely positive.

Students who have elected to work in media-related positions report that the selection process for such work is even more challenging. One former student who now works for a financial newspaper stated that he went through eight separate stages, with multiple interviews at each stage. Another former member, who currently produces advertising for local government initiatives, described how the group tasks candidates had to navigate during the hiring process left people in tears due to frustration and shame.

The PBC formats

It is clear that such an environment is not for everyone. Students not only report that the process of finding media-related work was exhausting, but that once they started in the company they frequently felt massive amounts of pressure. They commented on high turnover among new workers, and a sense that their working situation was tougher than that of their peers who chose work in non-media settings.

As such, it would be useful for undergraduate students to experience a more focused and challenging environment than the normal classroom plus homework assignment system that the English Communication Course uses. There is also a case to be made for offering extra opportunities to those students who are interested in them, by creating extra-curricular activities that bolster their career chances. One area that all Communication Course students should be interested in developing is that of presentation skills, and so the course instructors decided to offer a “boot camp” format during a break in the university schedule, with the aim of gauging this idea’s popularity and viability. Boot camps are increasingly common across a range of fields, but perhaps most notably computer coding and user experience (UX) design. Whichever topic is being focused on, at a typical boot camp, participants will be given high level tasks to complete, and with barely sufficient time to do so (Carter, Kakimoto, Anderson, & Miura, 2018). Regardless of their level of experience, students will be expected to present straightforward information that they are very familiar with as well as create and deliver problem-solution style content that is less well known to them. In the examples outlined below, students will present seven times in three days, with only the first presentation having an unlimited amount of preparation time. Each boot camp is held for three consecutive mornings, with participants required to prepare for the next day at the end of days one and two. Three variations have been conducted to date, with each having a different intent with regard to students’ career development.

High school PBC

The purpose of having a presentation boot camp for high school students is twofold. First, it allows them to spend more time on the campus than most other (i.e. “open” campus) events, and guarantees them a great deal of contact time with instructors and currently-enrolled students. This lets them make their own judgements about the campus itself, and whether they might be a good fit on a personal level. The second purpose is to expose them to an example of the kind of tasks students in our program are expected to be able to perform. While they are on campus, they will observe the ways in which the program’s students work, how they exhibit the attributes we expect from members, and they will also be asked to prepare, practice, and present frequently. Furthermore, each of these three areas receives feedback from the program’s students and instructors, and this means that the high school students understand something of the standard the program aspires to. For high school students, this PBC is an example of a rigorous, English-only environment, with a fast pace and the need to perform live in front of an audience. It is true that such an experience may dissuade a student from applying to our program, or may cause them to re-evaluate their future career choices. However, this is likely to be a positive outcome: it is better to think carefully before committing oneself to a multi-year undertaking, and young people should realize that a career in media is not as glamorous as it may appear. Overall, our sense is that students who would do well in the English Communication Course find the boot camp experience motivating, while those students who find it overly challenging might come to regret enrolling with us.

The fixed grade boot camp

For our own students, a PBC can be an excellent chance to strengthen bonds, and develop skills not easily taught in classroom settings. Because of its extra-curricular and voluntary nature, participants tend to be the members with the highest levels of motivation. With such members, it becomes easier to teach more sophisticated or nuanced content that may not work well in typical lessons. In effect, we have an opportunity in which there are fewer students taking part, and all four instructors are present. This situation does not occur at any other time during the students’ education. As such, we have used it to focus on evidence-based approaches to influencing an audience (see, for example, Atkinson, 2005, Camp, 2007, or Cialdini, 2007).

With students at the same grade level, we are aware of what they have and have not done in the program, and instruction can be tailored to suit them. For example, second grade students will not yet have taken part in internships or seminars about career choices, and a boot camp comprised of second grade students needs to account for this. With highly motivated students at the same level of experience, it is also possible to challenge them in new ways. Due to the fact that some students will be focused on the media side of the curriculum, while others will be predominantly taking courses that lead to a teaching license, participants can be interacting together at length for the first time, making them develop their soft skills as well as the more technical ones.

Mixed gradeboot camps

The benefits of a fixed grade boot camp tend to take time to appreciate and are hard to quantify. The idea of having a PBC for students from differing grades is to allow younger students to benefit from the

experiences of older members of the program, and for these older members to take on coaching roles that they can then use when they interview for permanent positions in companies. Mixed grade students need to work together (again, possibly for the first time), thus polishing their soft skills, and also need to submit their work for evaluation in the case of younger students, and learn to handle critiquing such work in the case of the older ones. Senior students will have successfully completed internships, and may have already found a position at a company in a permanent capacity to start directly after they graduate. As such, they have much to pass on to those students in the lower grades, and the experiences they have are much more visceral than explanations of the same ideas when provided by instructors.

For students who have not yet started the process of finding work (for example, those in their third year), a leadership role at a mixed grade boot camp can be very helpful to themselves as well as for others. Specifically, they need to explain content from the program to those younger than them, they need to show why younger participants should take their advice seriously, and they need to provide quality, actionable feedback to several different students. In other words, their work at a mixed level boot camp incorporates elements of the technical, the organizational and the personal, meaning that they are hitting all three targets of McCombs' framework. In terms of career development, this experience is highly useful to them as, first, it helps them when it comes to securing permanent employment, and secondly, it provides valuable experience to fall back on after they have started work.

Student responses to the Boot Camps

At all three forms of boot camp, the student response has been overwhelmingly positive. At the high school level, the two schools we worked with have already arranged for another visit, and feedback from the fixed grade versions has suggested that students not only want longer boot camps, but also for them to be held more often. As for the mixed grade version, it seems that senior students feel that they are benefiting from their role in terms of career development.

Participants at the high school and fixed grade PBCs are given surveys using a pre-and post-scoring system to self-rate themselves in terms of their ability to prepare, practice, and actually present. However, senior students at the mixed grade version are surveyed differently. At the start of the boot camp, senior students are obliquely primed to think about their performance through a 3-item survey.

The survey questions ask them to imagine how they envision the event will allow them to demonstrate some facet that may in fact be useful to them during internships and interviews. The three items are: a) "I think I will be able to use communication skills in this boot camp", b) "I think I will be able to use leadership skills in this boot camp", and c) "I think I will be able to show good points of the program in this boot camp". The range is from 1 -5, with five being the highest. In the most recent iteration of the mixed grade PBC, 8 senior students assisted 22 younger ones. As can be seen from Table 1, senior students believed that they had demonstrated useful attributes that are highly portable (communication and leadership) and now have experience to show that they have been part of a program that was worth studying in (program image).

Table 1. Senior students' reflections of their interactions

<u>Item</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
1 Communication skill	4.13	1.13
2 Leadership skill	4.00	0.93
3 Program image	3.75	1.39

Note: N = 8

Conclusion

This paper focused on the challenges young people face in trying to find employment that suits them well, with a particular emphasis on the current generation of high school and university students in Japan considering work relating to media and communication. For both groups of students, experiencing a presentation boot camp may be beneficial to them: in the case of high school students, it may serve to steer them either towards or away from a media-focused program. As for university students who intend to work in a media or communication-related role after they have graduated, attending a PBC will

improve their skills, while participating as a senior student at one adds a leadership dimension to their resume and gives them a competitive advantage when seeking employment.

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About the author

The author is a Japan-based teacher, with over ten years of experience working with Asian students. He is currently on the faculty of International Studies of Culture at Kyushu Sangyo University where he lectures in English communication. His research interests include small-group learning and academic skills development.

Communicating Taiwan's History and Culture Through A Storybook: Perception of The Digital Generation

Shiela Mae C. Quero

West Visayas State University, Iloilo City, Philippines

Abstract

Today's generation is digital. With the popularity of the Internet, people get information from online sites, video blogs, social media sites, etc. Even facts about a country's culture and history are conveniently available through *Google*. The internet has become a vast source of information leaving behind the power of books, specifically storybooks. It is a sad reality that less attention is given to storybooks. Digital technology took over the interest of readers from print media such as the storybook. The rise of mobile phones and virtual images made the storybook a thing of the past. Does this mean that the magic of storybook has lost its power? Is storybook an effective tool to tell a story about history and culture? This research was conducted to find out if a storybook can help increase the awareness and appreciation of Taiwan's history and culture. Taiwan, being known as beautiful island has very rich culture and history and it is but proper to document the stories through a printed storybook. The storybook "Trip to Taiwan" is created based on the observation, actual experience, and researches of the author. There are five short stories and five rhymes in this storybook which is all about Taiwan's beautiful spots, amazing culture, interesting history, and wonderful people. After the creation of the storybook, a focus group discussion among six communication students in the Philippines was done. In the focus group discussion, it was found out that the participants have limited knowledge about Taiwan because they seldom see promotional materials (specifically online videos) about Taiwan. Having read the storybook, the participants learned important information about Taiwan and have started to appreciate Taiwan's history and culture. They pointed out several advantages and limitations of using a storybook. They also gave suggestions on how to maximize the potential of a storybook in communicating culture and history especially to the digital generation.

Introduction

In today's fast-paced world where technology dominates traditional media, less attention is given to storybooks. Digital technology took over the interest of children from print media such as the storybook. The rise of mobile phones and virtual images made the storybook a thing of the past. Does this mean that the magic of storybook has lost its power?

Storybooks are collection of stories intended for children. There are different types of storybooks such as picture books, rhythmic books, issues books, etc. Storybooks include colorful illustrations the reason why children are much more attracted to read these types of books. In the recent study conducted by Great Australian Reading Survey, about three-quarters of children aged six to 12 and almost half of under five-years-old are card-carrying members of the local public library in Australia. Major findings in this survey revealed that 98% of the parents read printed books to their children and 78% of children prefer printed books to e-books (Armstrong, 2017).

The survey result above is an indication that storybooks are not yet obsolete. This is a strong proof that children still love to read stories because of its benefits and positive effects. Storybook reading was a strategy used to systematically build the vocabulary and comprehension skills of primary-grade English-language learners through daily read-alouds (Hickman, Pollard-Durodola, & Vaughn, 2004).

Storybooks can also be used to promote multicultural sensitivity among elementary school children. In the study conducted in the United States, it was suggested that counselors in schools can use storybooks to provide information, facilitate understanding, and allow children to role-play cross-cultural situations that they may encounter with their peers (Kim, Green, & Klein, 2006). Storybooks are great learning tools because of its storytelling capacity. Storytelling is the oldest form of education. People learn about cultural beliefs, history, traditions from stories passed from generations to generations (Hamilton & Weiss, 2003).

Storytelling can help students understand, appreciate, and respect other cultures and it can also enhance intercultural understanding. With the use of stories, children can explore different traditions and values and can appreciate the difference and similarities of cultures around the world ("Storytelling benefits &

tips", n.d.). With the benefits of storytelling, using storybooks to present a nation's history, culture, and people can be attainable. Readers are more attracted to read stories with photos and illustrations as these provide a creative and artistic learning environment. Presenting information through pictures is a developing method of communication in the global world ("Storybooks in the classroom", n.d.). There are a lot of storybooks having published that aimed to teach kids about the world. A good example is *Strega Nona* by Tomie de Paola. This classic book showcases the terrain and food of Southern Italy. *WabiSabi* by Mark Reibstein is a about a kitten which faced an extraordinary journey in Kyoto, Japan discovering the beauty of the place. In the Philippines, a storybook authored by Reni Roxas entitled *Ay Naku!* tells the story of a young boy depicting Filipino family life and culture.

There were also attempts of writing storybooks about Taiwan's culture, history, and people. Storybooks such as *Typhoon Holidays* by Yi Ling Hsu and *Evie and Andrew's Asian Adventures in Taiwan* by Katie Do Guthrie are written in English and very much available worldwide. There were also several novels and travel guides about Taiwan which can be purchased online. Taiwan's literature has been gradually recognized in the global scene. However, Taiwan's children literature endured a lot of challenges. With the influence of its colonizers, it is evident that the context of Taiwan's children literature was focused more on the colonizers' culture rather than its own. Wanting to encourage nativism in creative writing, a group of Taiwanese students studying in the United States raised funds to publish *Ertongyuekan* (Children's Monthly) in 1972. In 1974 the Hung Chien-ch'uan Ertong Wenxue Chuangzuo Jiang (Hung Chien-ch'uan Children's Literature Creative Writing Award) was established by entrepreneurs, and attracted the attention of society to children's literature. In the 1980s, children's books gained a mature market in Taiwan. After the nineties, the world of publication entered the age of electronics and replaced the traditional books printed on paper. Since then electronic children's books have gradually become the favorite of the new generation (Kuo-ching, 2007).

Kuo (2005) in his attempt to study the representation of Taiwanese Culture in children's picture books emphasized that most picture books published in Taiwan are translated from other languages. Only a small portion of them are made by Taiwanese writers and illustrators. To make Taiwanese picture books visible to consumers and let the society learn about traditional Taiwanese folk lives and values, publishers usually select several books to put in one set and create a special title for this set of books. In his study, it was found out that the common cultural representation of the picture books of Taiwan illustrates Taiwan as an agricultural society, which represents a pure Taiwanese culture reflecting Han Chinese folkways without foreign cultural influences. With cultural hybridity missing in the picture books, current social reality may not be reflected effectively. To attract young readers, a contemporary visual language may be adopted in presenting local culture in the picture books.

Taiwan storybooks may be an ideal medium to promote its culture considering the visual representation of the information. Stories about values, heritage, fairytales, etc. were now transformed to visual formats such as storybooks. However, seldom can readers find a storybook which aims to tell a story about Taiwan – its culture, traditions, sceneries, tourists spots, food, and many more. Storybook was so focused only to children as target audience which in fact storybooks can also be appealing to young adults. In fact, the use of storybook was proven to be effective in teaching foreign language among adults. Malu (2013) confirmed in her research that to successfully incorporate children's picture storybooks in EFL teaching of adults and adolescents, teachers must consider storybooks which have appropriate message and theme. Storybooks must be carefully chosen for their content including the language, culture, and illustrations.

With its informative content and visual representation, there is a high chance that storybooks, aside from the usual brochures, travel guides, and coffee table books, can be used as a printed material to popularize a country's history and culture. In an effort to communicate Taiwan's history and culture using printed material, a storybook was thought to be the most interesting and educational tool considering its visual appeal. For foreigners who want to explore Taiwan, they may find travel guides to be more straightforward and useful. Nevertheless, the drama, adventures, and moral lessons presented in storybooks can offer a richer insight of Taiwan's history, culture, and people. Storybooks are also more convincing as a print media because of the following elements: strong characters who evoke strong emotion, a story that teaches, and mind-expanding illustrations, vocabulary or concepts (Richmond, n.d.). It is all in the hands of the author and the illustrator on how to put together these elements to create a more compelling and informative storybook intended for mass audience. As a print media, storybook is thought to be lagging behind the digital media. Children would often play online games rather than read

storybooks. Young adults may prefer to engage in social media sites for entertainment rather than to browse books. Surprisingly, results from the latest Pew Research Center survey revealed that Americans prefer traditional print book than a digital product and print books remain by far the most popular format among all age groups in America. Millennials read books for a specific purpose, such as work, school, or research and also “for pleasure” or “to keep up with current events.” These findings are reinforced by a 2015 study from the National Endowment of the Arts when it examined the narrower category of “literature,” or novels, plays, short stories, or poems not required by work or school. Results showed that 43% of 18- to 34-year-olds read literature, outmatched only by 65- to 74-year-olds (at 49%). It was also found out that the share of 18- to 24-year-olds who read literature rose sharply starting in 2002 (Howe, 2017).

The results of the studies give hope to storybooks. Even when today’s generation has easy access to digital information, storybooks might thrive. By writing storybooks with realistic content, attractive photos and illustrations, striking cover, and engaging stories which can cater to wider audience such as the millennials, communicating Taiwan’s culture and history to the world using a storybook may be possible after all. There are beautiful stories about Taiwan and these are all worth documenting. This is the reason why the researcher was interested to go to Taiwan and read documents, observe the way of living, and conduct interviews with the locals to gather information and to create these into short stories for others to read. The creation of the storybook can be a practical way in understanding Taiwan and be able to appreciate its culture and history. Storytelling can be an effective method to make Taiwan known to non-natives especially to those who plan to visit, work, study, and live in the country. Storytelling cuts across all boundaries (Selling, 2004). With the use of storytelling, Taiwan and its never been familiar but interesting stories may be introduced to those who are not aware about Taiwan. The purpose of this exploratory focus group research is to find how the digital generation perceives a storybook in communicating Taiwan’s history and culture.

Specifically, this research aimed to answer these questions:

1. What do the participants learn about Taiwan after reading the storybook?
2. What are the advantages of using storybook in communicating history and culture?
3. What are the limitations of using storybook in communicating history and culture?

Methods

Before conducting the focus group discussion, the researcher produced first a storybook which serves as the material to be read by the participants. In the production of the storybook, the following steps were done. The researcher went around Taiwan to visit possible places to be featured in the storybook. These places were chosen for their cultural and historical values and tourism potential. These places were Taipei City, Yilan, Hsinchu, Sun Moon Lake, and Tainan. The researchers gathered facts and information from the brochures distributed in the Visitors’ Centers. She also took photos to be included in the storybook. Aside from the printed resources, the researcher also read some history books and travel guides about Taiwan. She also joined field trips and lectures for more hand-on experiences. Her 9-month stay in Taiwan specifically in Hsinchu City gave her a chance to observe the culture of Taiwan and to interview the locals which contributed to the authenticity of the stories.

In summary, the data gathering techniques used in writing the stories and rhymes were: interview, participant observation, review of documents and records.

The storybook is entitled *Trip to Taiwan: Short Stories and Rhymes for Travelers*. The content of the storybook included five short stories not more than 1400 words each and five rhymes. The language in the storybook is English since this is the global language and it is easier to introduce Taiwan to other parts of the world using the English language.

Although some characters may be fiction, the stories are still based on real events to clearly explain the historical background of Taiwan, the culture and traditions, and the characteristics of the people living in Taiwan. Pictures taken from archival records and from actual events were also presented to make the stories and rhymes more colorful and interesting to read. After the creation of the storybook, a group of six communication students (18-20 years old) was invited to participate in the focus group discussion. They were all considered as members of the digital generation for they have easy access to digital information and communication technologies (Way, 2009) and they were all skilled to use those technologies (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). The participants are also well-travelled millennials and had

experienced immersing in foreign cultures and traditions. All of them have visited one or more countries outside the Philippines but none of them had visited Taiwan.

An interview schedule served as instrument of the study. Several questions were prepared which guided the moderator all throughout the focus group discussion. Prior to reading the storybook, the participants were asked what they know about Taiwan. Then, they were given an hour to read the storybook. After reading the book, the moderator asked several questions about their perception of the storybook in communicating Taiwan's culture and history. Results were presented in narrative form. The whole duration of the research lasted for nine months. For the production of storybook alone, it took the researcher almost 6 months to finish from creating the stories, editing the stories, designing the storybook, and printing of the storybook. One month was allotted for the gathering of data and transcription of the interviews.

Results

Based from the research problems presented, here are the results gathered from the focus group discussion.

Participants' awareness about Taiwan after reading the storybook

After an hour of reading the stories and rhymes from the storybook *Trip to Taiwan: Short Stories and Rhymes for Travelers*, each participant was asked about their general impression about Taiwan. All of them had a positive impression about Taiwan:

"Taiwan has a rich culture." – Participant A

"They have a lot of tourist attractions and interesting activities for the visitors." – Participant B

"Taiwan has a well-preserved history and I am a little sad that this country is always associated with China." – Participant C

"I thought Taiwan is a boring place but now my impression changed. Taiwan has a lot of beautiful places and these are worth visiting." – Participant D

"I felt that Taiwan gives so much respect to their culture." Participant E

"My general impression of Taiwan now is that the people have strong sense of nationalism because I can sense that they are fighting for their independence. For a place that came from a dark history, Taiwan really emerged to be a progressive nation." –Participant F

Most of them were surprised that the bubble tea originated from Taiwan. One of them just learned that one of the tallest buildings in the world before was in Taiwan in the name of Taipei 101. They also had a deeper understanding about Taiwan's history because of the places and tourist spots featured in the storybook such as the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and Tainan City. They also had a deeper understanding why Taiwan is called the Republic of China and the relationship of Taiwan with mainland China.

They also learned from Taiwan about interesting things which are unusual to other countries such as the musical garbage truck, the matchmaker pavilion and the Lalu island in Sun Moon Lake, and the story of the Rainbow Village in Taichung. After reading the storybook, participants became more fascinated about Taiwan's culture and if given an opportunity, they would want to discover more about Taiwan:

"I considered the bubble tea, the Taipei MRT, and the dragon boat festival very interesting because these are the things that are prime to that country so I would want to try, I would want to see, I would want to experience what makes their culture different from others and why they put so much importance in those things." – Participant E

"I want to experience the night market because I am a foodie. Everytime I travel, I always try the local food because it is part of a country's culture. Then I want to try ordering the food in their local language."- Participant F

Having learned their general impression about Taiwan, they were asked if they are interested to go to Taiwan. All of them answered yes. Here are the replies of some of the participants.

"I know that this book has a lot to say about Taiwan but I think there's still more beyond this book that Taiwan has to offer." – Participant B.

“Compared to before I can say yes it’s one of the places that I want to go. I mean who doesn’t want to travel abroad? With what I’ve read in this book, I can agree that there’s more to see, there’s more to discover.” – Participant C

Advantages of Using Storybook in Communicating History and Culture

At this part of the discussion, the participants were asked if the storybook *Trip to Taiwan: Short Stories and Rhymes for Travelers* can be used to communicate Taiwan’s history and culture and what makes this storybook different from other forms of media. Most of them see the potential of the storybook as a way to promote Taiwan. One participant still believes that a book is still persuasive enough despite the popularity of modern technology among kids:

“I believe in the power of books and there are people who still read books. What I like about this storybook is that, it is very significant and very easy to understand. You can bring this anywhere and read it anytime.” – Participant D

“This type of storybook can instill something of interest to kids. Upon reading this storybook, they will be convinced to start researching about the places featured in the stories and eventually save money so that they can visit those places someday.” – Participant E

Being exposed to different types of media, the participants added that a storybook has also its advantages compared with other forms of media. Some of these advantages are: the storybook can present deeper understanding of a certain subject, it can widen the imagination of the readers, it is educational, and it can be a travel buddy because it can be read anywhere without using electricity:

“Storybook is printed so you don’t need batteries or electricity to read it. You can bring it anywhere. If you missed any information, you can just browse and reread the storybook.” – Participant B

“If I will compare it to video, I would prefer a storybook because stories in the storybooks are written in a way that you want to imagine more. With videos, the information are presented straight to the point. What you see is what you get.” – Participant B.

“In the storybook, you can be more flexible with how you present the content. When you compare to promotional video you have to go directly to the point but in the storybook you can make it like as in the point of view of a local or a tourist so you can add twists in the story. Also for those places which are not technologically-advanced, the storybook can be presented to kids as an educational tool. By reading the storybook, these kids will be informed about Taiwan without using modern technology.” – Participant F

Limitations of Using a Storybook in Communicating History and Culture

One the other hand, some participants said that storybook has its limitations in communicating history and culture especially when compared with new visual tools such as videos. Since storybooks are known to present fictional stories, there is a tendency that it might not present the real thing:

“The storybook applies the fictional side of storytelling which sometimes not applicable to real life. A storybook is really different compared with the official guide book for travellers so if this storybook will be used as reference for your travel in Taiwan, it can still be possible as long as the stories are based from real life experiences.” – Participant C

Others also agreed that the storybooks need to be deliberately introduced to the readers like book events or in storytelling activities. However, they are quite uncertain if a storybook can compete with the gadgets and other forms of new media especially now that people are too busy to read.

“Today’s younger generation, most of them do not patronize books so if you just place this type of storybook in the library, they will not read it. But if there are discussions or events such as this where this storybook can be introduced then there is a possibility that they will read it.” – Participant A

“I think for little kids, storybook can be effective but for older kids like 11 years old and above, they would choose modern technology. I think it is more effective if the contents of the storybook will be introduced in other platforms such as social media or online sites.” – Participant B

Participants also reached a decision that communicating Taiwan's history and culture through a storybook is very much possible. Storybooks can also be an ideal supplemental materials in telling stories about history and culture. However, with the popularity of social media such as Facebook and YouTube, storybooks may have a hard time competing with the new technology. They mentioned the use of promotional videos as one tool that might overpower storybooks in terms of communicating history and culture:

"Promotional videos are universal and these are effective tools to tell a story just like what Thailand has been doing now." -Participant D

"We know that videos, Facebook, Youtube, Vimeo can reach massive audiences so Taiwan might take advantage of these technology to promote its culture and history." -Participant E

"Promotional videos may include celebrities to communicate about Taiwan's culture and history. That is its advantage over storybooks." - Participant F

Discussion and Conclusions

This part discusses the results and interprets the findings on the use of storybook in increasing the awareness and appreciation of Taiwan's history, culture, and people. Responses from six participants were gathered during the focus group discussion after they were given a certain period to read the storybook. Based from their responses, assessment of the importance of the findings was then presented. Implications of findings were also summarized and new areas for exploration were also identified.

Most of the participants are not that familiar about Taiwan especially its history and culture before reading the storybook. The participants find less interest to travel to Taiwan even if it is very near because they find the language barrier a problem. It was also observed that the participants find very few promotional materials about Taiwan. They seldom read stories about Taiwan specifically about its history and culture. One participant even noticed that tourism promotion of Taiwan is quite invisible in the Philippines because few Taiwanese are coming to the country unlike South Koreans who intentionally stay in the Philippines to study English. However, after reading the storybook *Trip to Taiwan: Short Stories and Rhymes for Travelers*, the participants became more interested about Taiwan. They had a positive impression about Taiwan specifically its culture, history, people, and tourist attractions. This validated the theory that a storybook can be an educational tool as what Hamilton and Weiss (2003) confirmed. With the storytelling capacity of the storybooks, it can be an ideal medium to learn about culture, history, and people of a certain country such as Taiwan. The author of the storybook also made an effort to write stories about Taiwan based on the point of view of a foreigner. This creates another angle on how to present Taiwan's culture so that it may incorporate cultural hybridity. According to Kuo (2005), for a storybook to be interesting to read, it must not only present pure Taiwanese culture but it may also reflect foreign cultural influences. In this storybook, some of the characters in the stories came from different countries (Japan, Mainland China, Philippines) and they created a different twist to the story which helped construct a more positive image of Taiwan. Apart from that, the storybook entitled *Trip to Taiwan: Short Stories and Rhymes for Travelers*, used photos to make the stories more comprehensible. Considering the effect of visual representation, information about Taiwan's history, culture, and people can be understood when supported with illustrations. Malu's (2013) observation was also proven correct when she said that storybooks can be used to teach adults as long as the contents are carefully chosen. In this research, the storybook, although considered to be for children, was also applicable for young adults. As long as the theme, language, and illustrations are appropriate for the readers, it is possible that the message of the stories can be fully understood and appreciated by the readers. Stories which have strong characters, present moral lessons, and are supported with engaging illustrations and photos can make a storybook more compelling to read. It is definitely doable to create and write a lot of stories about Taiwan because it has a very interesting history, rich culture, and kind people which make up a good story content. In addition, Taiwan is visually appealing so it is achievable to take creative and captivating photos that can convey messages and emotions.

The participants appreciate Taiwan more based from the stories presented in the storybook. Most of them prefer the short stories than the rhymes may be because they want a literature which had characters and dialogues. Also, the short stories had exciting conflicts which the character surpassed in the end. Upon overcoming the problems, the characters in the story also learned a moral lesson. Although not all information about Taiwan was presented in the storybook, important facts were described which made the readers become more aware what Taiwan is and what it has to offer to the world. This validated the research of Kim et al. (2006) that storybooks can be used not just to give

information but also to foster understanding especially in presenting multicultural diversity and sensitivity. Storybook can definitely influence readers as long as the stories are relatable and moral lessons are reinforced. A country's history and culture will be understood and appreciated more if presented in a storytelling method which is simple and relevant. Making stories about Taiwan is very promising to do because Taiwan possesses all the essential features of storytelling –interesting stories and fascinating visual representation.

The use of storybook to communicate Taiwan's history and culture had its advantages. It was discussed in the focus group discussion that books are still alive and there are still young readers who prefer to read books. This confirmed the Pew Research Center survey that printed books are still popular and teenagers still read literature. Having this affirmation, the use of storybook to promote Taiwan is very much feasible because of the following advantages: 1) The content of the storybook is very simple and easy to comprehend. 2) It can be carried anywhere and can be read again and again without the use of electricity. 3) Storybook can be an effective educational tool for children in introducing information about culture and history. 4) It can widen the imagination of the readers by opening their minds about new ideas and experiences introduced in the stories and illustrations. Having all these advantages, writers and illustrators may consider creating storybooks about Taiwan culture, history, and people as a tourism marketing strategy.

However, storybooks have limitations because of its nature as print media. Although it can still reach large audience, electronic and digital media are too fast in spreading information at one time. Videos and other online tools more engaging because information is presented with visuals, sounds, and motion. Using a storybook as new approach in communicating Taiwan's culture and history may be challenging considering that younger generations are more interested with technology. They would rather spend most of their time in social media reading blogs and watching online videos. But rather looking at digital media as a competitive platform, this can actually help in promoting the love for reading by creating storybooks about Taiwan and make it available online.

Taiwan is not just a small island. It has so much to prove from its natural wonders, cultural traditions, and rich heritage which are worth documenting. Writing stories about Taiwan and spreading it internationally is one step in letting the world recognize what Taiwan is and will be. To be able to intensify its tourism marketing strategy, Taiwan may venture into creating storybooks focusing on themes on Taiwan values, culture, and traditions. Through this initiative, more people starting from younger generations to older ones will be able to appreciate what Taiwan has to offer to the world. Furthermore, it is suggested that apart from storybooks, Taiwan may produce more promotional materials such as audio-video materials to communicate its history and culture to the world.

This research has its limitations having only interviewed six participants. The method used which is focus group discussion may be further reinforced with more interviews and surveys to validate the responses of the interviewees. However, the responses of the six participants may serve as an initial insight about the potential of storybooks as a tool to communicate a country's history and culture. It is suggested that more researches will be conducted to further explore and investigate the use of storybooks to introduce, inform, and educate the digital generation about history and culture. It may also be interesting for future studies to examine how to make storybooks more engaging for the digital generation so that the passion for reading and appreciation of books will be sustained even if the world is now in the information superhighway.

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About the author

The author is an Associate Professor I, West Visayas State University, Iloilo City, Philippines

Communication Media and Food Nutrition Awareness Among Mothers

Annelyn Juntoria-Deasis

Iloilo State College of Fisheries, Barotac Nuevo, Iloilo, Philippines

Abstract

Malnutrition, a prevalent problem in the world today especially in Third World countries, is partly caused by lack of awareness among mothers who prepare food for the family. This survey research aimed to find out if communication media significantly contributed to awareness of mothers in Barotac Nuevo, Iloilo, Philippines about food nutrition. The study surveyed 120 randomly selected mothers residing in two baranggays, Ilaya Poblacion and Ilaud Poblacion, using a researcher-made questionnaire validated by experts. The mothers were classified according to locale (place of residence) age, educational attainment, monthly family income and household size. Statistics used were t-test and one-way Analysis of Variance. Significance level of differences was set at .05 alpha. The study found out that mothers from Ilaya Poblacion mostly lived in subdivisions with communication amenities such as internet and cable connections, and were heavily exposed to communication media. While majority of the mothers from Ilaud Poblacion had minimal exposure to communication media. The results showed that the mothers as a whole group were only *fairly aware* about food nutrition. They also showed that the level of awareness of mothers from Ilaya Poblacion significantly differed from that of the mothers from Ilaud Poblacion; while no significant differences were noted when the mothers were classified according to age, educational attainment, monthly family income and household size. The study concluded that although exposure to the communication media significantly raised the level of awareness of mothers in Ilaya Poblacion, still they were only *fairly aware* of food nutrition. Only exposure to communication media was able to effect a significant difference, while the other variables yielded non-significant differences.

Introduction

The Population Commission Survey of the Municipality of Barotac Nuevo, in 2016, identified Poblacion (Ilaya and Ilaud) as the 3rd baranggay in Barotac Nuevo which has the most number of malnourished children. Most families are poor and have no fixed income (BN Local Statistics Office, 2016), and could not afford to buy quality and highly nutritious food stuff in the market.

Food has been basic to man's existence. In fact, food has been the primary concern of man in his physical environment throughout all recorded history. Man must eat to live, and what he eats will affect in a high degree his ability to keep well, to work, to be happy, and to live long. All recorded history shows that food has played an extraordinarily vital role in the rise and growth or the fall and decline of nations because of its effect on health and efficiency; in fact, the history of the world could probably be written in terms of food. Since earliest times, food has been considered in the light of both cause and cure of disease.

Food has always been connected to health. Health as defined by the World Health Organization of the United Nation is the "state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (World Health Organization, 1995). Good health is attained through proper nutrition. Good nutritional status, on the other hand, is achieved through appropriate and proper nutritional care. The World Health Organization (WHO), underscored *malnutrition* as the gravest single threat to global public health. Malnutrition occurs when an individual does not consume enough food. It happens if a person has poor diet that gives him the wrong balance of nutrients from basic food groups.

In poorer, developing nations, malnutrition is commonly caused by: food shortages, food prices and distribution and poor *food preparation*. Food preparation refers to the preparation of foodstuffs for eating, which generally requires the selection, measurement and combining of ingredients in an ordered procedure to achieve a desired result. It includes, but is not limited to *cooking* (Tannahill, 2011). In poor communities, food shortages, high food prices and poor distribution can be addressed by encouraging backyard gardening and growing and utilizing home grown vegetables; poor food preparation can be addressed by introducing educational intervention specifically teaching mothers the proper food preparation without losing vital nutrients. Nutritionists, home economists, and health workers help families in numerous ways to apply the principles of nutrition. They guide families to better food habits through good food selection, and food preparation. No influence upon food habits is greater than that existing within the home. The *mother*, especially sets the pattern for the food habits that will be developed by the children, for she is the one who plans the meal, purchases the food, prepares it, and

serves it. Her values had been developed in the environment in which she grew up and they are based upon income, and geographic region from which she came (Robinson, 2011).

Attaining good nutrition, according to Corrine Robinson, is a multi-disciplinary effort. The achievement of good nutrition requires (1) application of technology to produce sufficient amounts of foods of high nutritive value; (2) processing of foods for maximum retention of nutritive values; (3) educational programs in nutrition within the schools and at the community level; and (4) efficient use of food within the home, public eating place, and institution. The researcher agrees with Robinson and believes that intervention for the improvement of the nutritional status of residents in non-urban communities in the province of Iloilo may be channelled through educational programs in nutrition in schools and community level, and through the use of communication media.

Corollary to this, she also believes that increasing the mothers' food nutrition awareness and improving their competency in food preparation are necessary for the success of any nutrition program that may be introduced. With the proliferation of communication media nowadays, *observational learning* also happens with people learning from and imitating models in the communication media specifically those on radio, television and the internet. Oftentimes, people's learning from these media even have stronger and far-reaching effects.

Objectives of the Study

In this study, the researcher wants to find out if communication media significantly contribute to awareness of mothers of Ilaya Poblacion and Ilaud Poblacion, Barotac Nuevo, Iloilo, Philippines. The study also aims to answer the following specific questions:

1. What is the level of exposure of mothers from Ilaya Poblacion and Ilaud Poblacion to communication media?
2. What is the level of awareness of the mothers about food nutrition when taken as an entire group?
3. Is there significant differences in the level of awareness when the mothers were classified according to barangay (Ilaya or Ilaud), age, educational attainment, monthly income and household size?

In view of the aforementioned problems, the following hypothesis is advanced: There is no significant difference in the food nutrition awareness when the mothers were classified according to barangay (Ilaya or Ilaud), age, educational attainment, monthly income and household size.

Significance of the Study

The results of this study may be significant to the following groups and sectors:

Food and nutrition workers may use the results of this study as their reference in planning, launching and implementing Health, Food and Nutrition Programs for mothers in communities similar to Barotac Nuevo, Iloilo.

Communication Media Practitioners, Advocates of Gender and Women Studies may find the results of this study interesting as they focus on a smaller sector of women, that is, mothers and their awareness of food nutrition, meal planning practices and competency in food preparation. Government Agencies Involved in Health, Food and Nutrition may find this study useful in making decisions when planning for programs and projects aimed to empower women in the community through skills in meal planning, food selection, and preparation which they can use at home, in public eating places, and in the institution--with the view that these will help minimize the malnutrition problem in the province.

International Organizations Involved in Food Production, Nutrition Education, Health Improvement, and Poverty Alleviation may be able to make use of this study in their survey and investigation of the meal planning skills, food nutrition awareness and food preparation competency of mothers in the Philippines and in Third World countries.

Methodology

This study employed the survey method of research. According to W.M. Trochim (2006), survey research is a research method involving the use of questionnaires and/or statistical surveys to gather data about people and their thoughts and behaviours. There were one hundred twenty (120) mothers of the Ilaya and Ilaud Poblacion who were randomly chosen as respondents of the study. They were given a pre-validated researcher-made survey questionnaire to determine their means of and levels of exposure to communication media. To determine their level of awareness about nutrition, a 30-item test was administered to them. The obtained data were classified, tabulated, analyzed and interpreted.

Results and Findings

The study yielded the following results:

Of the 120 respondents, 60 or 50% were residents of Ilaya Poblacion, and another 60 or 50% were residents of Ilaud Poblacion, both in the town of Barotac Nuevo, Iloilo, Philippines.

Table 1 shows the data.

Table 1. Distribution of Respondents

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Ilaya Poblacion	60	50%
Ilaud Poblacion	60	50%
TOTAL	120	100%

The mothers of both Ilaya Poblacion and Ilaud Poblacion are exposed to communication media in different levels. The mothers of Ilaya Poblacion listen to radio for an average of 8 hours a day; watch Television for an average of 6 hours a day; use the internet for an average of 6 hours a day – which shows that they have *heavy exposure* to these communication media. However, they are exposed to other media for only an average of 4 hours a day, which shows that they have *moderate exposure* to these other media. All in all, the mothers of Ilaya Poblacion are exposed to communication media for an average 6 hours a day which shows *heavy exposure*.

On the other hand, the mothers of Ilaud Poblacion listen to Radio for an average of 4 hours a day which shows *moderate exposure*. They watch Television for an average 2 hours a day; they have zero use of the internet; and have an average of 2 hours a day with other media. These show *minimal exposure*. All in all, the mothers of Ilaud Poblacion have an average of 2 hours a day exposure which shows *minimal exposure*. Table 2 shows the data.

Table 2. Level of Exposure of Mothers to Communication Media

BARANGAY	COMMUNICATION MEDIA	AVERAGE HOURS /DAY	LEVEL OF EXPOSURE	AVERAGE EXPOSURE/BARANGAY
Ilaya Poblacion	Radio Television Internet Others: (comics, movies, magazines, Posters, etc.)	8 6 6 4	Heavy Heavy Heavy Moderate	
Average		6 Hours/day	Heavy	
Ilaud Poblacion	Radio Television Internet Others: (comics, movies, magazines, Posters, etc.)	4 2 0 2	Moderate Minimal Minimal Minimal	
Average		2 Hours/day	Minimal	

Scale
Hours of Exposure
6 and more

Description
Heavy

3 – 5 Moderate
1 – 2 Minimal

With regard to the mothers' levels of awareness, they were taken as an entire group and classified according to their Baranggay residence or locale, either Ilaya Poblacion or Ilaud Poblacion. their test scores on nutrition awareness were tabulated and described. When taken as an entire group, the 120 mothers had an average Test score of 16.5 which means they were *fairly aware* about food nutrition.

When classified according to Baranggay residence or locale, the mothers of Ilaya Poblacion had an average test score of 19.3 which means that they were *fairly aware* while the mothers of Ilaud Poblacion had an average test score of 13.9 which means that they were only *barely aware* about food nutrition. Table 3 shows the data.

Table 3. Level of Awareness About Food Nutrition when Mothers were classified according to barangay.

GROUP CLASSIFICATION	<i>f</i>	AVERAGE TEST SCORE	DESCRIPTION
Entire group	120	16.5	Fairly Aware
Barangay Residence:			
Ilaya Poblacion	60	19.3	Fairly Aware
Ilaud Poblacion	60	13.9	Barely Aware

Scale	Description
Average Test Score	
25 – 30	Highly Aware
20 – 24	Moderately Aware
15 – 19	Fairly Aware
10 – 14	Barely Aware

With regard to mothers' levels of awareness when classified according to age the following results were derived: In Ilaya Poblacion, mothers' ages 40 years and older had an average test score of 18.76 which means they were *fairly aware* while those 40 years old and below with an average test score of 19.10 which means they were also *fairly aware*. While those mothers from Ilaud Poblacion ages 40 years old and older as well as mothers below 40 years old had an average test score of 13.99 and 14.10 respectively, which means both groups of mothers were *barely aware* about food nutrition. Table 4 shows the data.

Table 4. Level of Awareness About Food Nutrition When Mothers were Classified According to Age.

AGE	<i>f</i>	AVERAGE TEST SCORE	DESCRIPTION
Ilaya Poblacion:	60		
Old: 40 yrs. old & older	37	18.76	Fairly Aware
Young: below 40 years	23	19.10	Fairly Aware
Ilaud Poblacion:	60		
Old: 40 yrs. old & older	42	13.99	Barely Aware
Young: below 40 years	18	14.10	Barely Aware

Scale	Description
Average Test Score	
25 – 30	Highly Aware
20 – 24	Moderately Aware
15 – 19	Fairly Aware
10 – 14	Barely Aware

With regard to mothers' levels of awareness about nutrition when classified according to educational attainment, in Ilaya Poblacion, college graduate and high school graduate mothers had an average test

scores of 18.30 and 19.10 respectively, which means they were both *fairly aware*. Not even one mother was an elementary graduate only.

In Ilaud Poblacion, college graduate mothers had an average test score of 14.16; high school graduate mothers got 13.86 and elementary graduate mothers got 6.48, which means all three groups of mothers were only *barely aware* about food nutrition. Table 4 shows the data.

Table 5. Level of Awareness About Food Nutrition When Mothers were Classified According to Educational Attainment.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	<i>f</i>	AVERAGE TEST SCORE	DESCRIPTION
Ilaya Poblacion:	60		
College	48	18.30	Fairly Aware
High School	12	19.10	Fairly Aware
Elementary	0	0	
Ilaud Poblacion:	60		
College	20	14.16	Barely Aware
High School	32	13.86	Barely Aware
Elementary	8	6.48	Barely Aware

Average Test Score	Scale Description
25 – 30	Highly Aware
20 – 24	Moderately Aware
15 – 19	Fairly Aware
10 – 14	Barely Aware

With regard to the mothers' levels of awareness when classified according to family income, in Ilaya Poblacion, mothers with high income had an average test score of 18.90 and those with moderate income had an average test score of 17.89 which means both groups were *fairly aware*. While in Ilaud Poblacion, mothers with high income had an average total score of 11.98, mothers with moderate income had an average test score of 11.96 and those with low income had an average test score of 13.78 which means the three groups were only *barely aware* about food nutrition. Table 6 shows the data.

Table 6. Level of Awareness About Food Nutrition When Mothers were Classified According to Monthly Income

Monthly Income	<i>f</i>	Average Test Score	Description
Ilaya Poblacion:	60		
High (PhP20,000 & Up)	52	18.90	Fairly Aware
Moderate (PhP10,000 – PhP 19,000)	8	17.89	Fairly Aware
Low (below PhP 10,000)	0	0	
Ilaud Poblacion:	60		
High (PhP20,000 & Up)	8	11.98	Barely Aware
Moderate (PhP10,000 – PhP 19,000)	31	11.96	Barely Aware
Low (below PhP 10,000)	21	13.78	Barely Aware

Average Test Score	Scale Description
25 – 30	Highly Aware
20 – 24	Moderately Aware
15 – 19	Fairly Aware
10 – 14	Barely Aware

With regard to levels of awareness when classified according to household size, mothers with big families had an average test score of 19.11 while mothers with small families had an average test score of 18.70 which means both groups were *fairly aware* about food nutrition. In Ilaud Poblacion, mothers with big families had an average test score of 13.11 while mothers with small families had an average test score of 12.10 which means both groups were only *barely aware* about food nutrition. Table 7 shows the data.

Table 7. Level of Awareness About Food Nutrition When Mothers were Classified According to Household Size

HOUSEHOLD SIZE	<i>f</i>	AVERAGE TEST SCORE	DESCRIPTION
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		SCORE	
Ilaya Poblacion:	60		
Big (6 or more family members)	8	19.11	Fairly Aware
Small (5 or less family members)	52	18.70	Fairly Aware
Ilaud Poblacion:	60		
Big (6 or more family members)	14	13.11	Barely Aware
Small (5 or less family members)	46	12.10	Barely Aware

Average Test Score	Scale Description
25 – 30	Highly Aware
20 – 24	Moderately Aware
15 – 19	Fairly Aware
10 – 14	Barely Aware

Differences in the Food Nutrition Awareness Among Mothers According to Baranggay or Locale and Age

The *t*-test results showed that there was a significant difference in the mothers' food nutrition awareness when they were classified according to baranggay or locale, *t*-value of 118 = 8.239 ; *p*-value of .000. Since *p* < .05, therefore the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the food nutrition awareness among mothers when classified according to baranggay or locale is rejected.

Therefore, the difference in the levels of exposure to communication media in the two locales contributed to the difference in the levels of awareness of the mothers about food nutrition. Moreover, *t*-test results shows that there is no significant difference in the level of awareness among mothers classified according to age, *t* (118) = 1.167, *p*-value of .246, therefore, the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the food nutrition awareness among mothers when classified according to age, is accepted.

Furthermore, *t*-test results shows that there is no significant difference in the level of awareness among mothers classified according to household size, *t* (118) = .980, *p*-value of .358, therefore, the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the food nutrition awareness among mothers when classified according to household size, is accepted. Table 8 shows the data.

Table 8. T – test Results of the Difference in the Level of Awareness when Classified as to Barangay/Locale, Age and Household Size.

CATEGORY	M	df	t-Value	Sig. (2-tailed)
A. Barangay/Locale				
Ilaya Poblacion	24.40	118	8.239*	.000
Ilaud Poblacion	8.60			
B. Age				
Old (40 yrs old & older)	39.5	118	1.167	.246
Young (below 40 years)	20.5			
C. Household size				
Big (6 or more family members)	11	118	.980	.358
Small (5 or less family members)	49			

P < .05 alpha level

The one-way ANOVA results showed that there is no significant difference in food nutrition awareness among mothers when classified according to educational attainment, *F* (2, 117) = 1.307, *p* = .274 and monthly family income *F* (2, 117) = .482, *p* = .619; *p* > .05. Since *p* > .05 therefore the null hypothesis that there is no significant differences in the food nutrition awareness among mothers when classified according to educational attainment and monthly family income, is accepted.

Table 9. One-way ANOVA Results of the Difference in the Level of Awareness when Classified as to Educational Attainment and Monthly Income

<u>df</u>			<u>Sum of Squares</u>			<u>Sum of Squares</u>			<u>Sig.</u>	
Between	Within	Total	Between	Within	Total	Between	Within	Total	F	F

	groups	groups	groups	groups	groups	groups	groups	groups	groups	groups	groups
Educational Attainment	2	117	119	.128	5.721	5.849	.064	.049	.113	1.307	.274
Monthly Income	2	117	119	.048	5.801	5.849	.024	.050	.074	.482	.619

Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the foregoing findings, the following conclusions were formulated:

Access and availability of communication media contribute to mothers' higher level of exposure. Educational programs through the media help people learn new knowledge via television, radio and the internet. Factors like age, educational attainment, monthly family income, and household size did not affect or influence mothers' level of awareness about food nutrition.

The study also concluded that although exposure to the communication media significantly raised the level of awareness of mothers in Ilaya Poblacion, still they were only *fairly aware* of food nutrition. Only exposure to communication media was able to effect a significant difference, while the other variables yielded non-significant differences. The researcher recommends:

1. Communication media play an important role in the life of every individual, both young and old. Media provide basic knowledge and teach people. In this way, the power and influence of communication media may be utilized to introduce new knowledge, innovations and skills to improve the nutritional status of residents in the local community.
2. Communication media companies may be encouraged to produce and disseminate more educational programs on health and nutrition and embark on advocacies to help increase awareness about proper food nutrition to help improve the quality of life in the country and in the whole world.
3. Government agencies and leaders may give priority to projects which provide access to communication media and make these media readily available to marginalized communities.
4. The media can also develop myths and fallacies about food and nutrition which need to be corrected. In this case, educational interventions initiated by schools can be one way to correct wrong food beliefs, habits and practices, and food fallacies and myths.

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About the Author

The author is a Professor at the Iloilo State College of Fisheries, Main Poblacion, Barotac Nuevo, Iloilo, Philippines.

PAPERS FROM PARALLEL SESSION C**Convict Communication, Inmate Conscientization:
A Socio-Political Model for Reformation**

Benamina Paula Gonzalez-Flor
University of the Philippines Los Baños

Abstract

This paper explores the socio-political impact of communication within the prison system particularly through the use of personalized and /or digital media. This paper proposes a model that may lead to reformation by articulating social realities to the consciousness of convicts. Socio-political impact may range from penal reforms, prison governance, changes in prison behavior and more meaningful societal reintegration. Reforming inmates has to be addressed from a socio-political perspective. A process called inmate communication assumes that reformation has to be both social and political. Reformation has been commodified. Efforts of the National Bilibid Prison to reform erring individuals and reduce recidivism among inmates may come to naught if left unaverted. The socio-political milieu or the communication environment inside and outside the penitentiary should lead to inmate reformation.

Introduction

Prisoners face maltreatment because they are viewed as menace to society. They are ridiculed and shun upon for the wrong deeds committed. However, it is universally acknowledged that criminals are a product of the society. Radical views tend to suggest that social class structures, socio-economic dynamics and socio-cultural injustices bleed criminality (Maburi, 2009). In essence, the society is obliged to foster prisoners, to an extent, once they serve their sentences and attempt to reintegrate themselves and reduce the likeliness of recidivism in the process. Recidivism is the act of a person repeating an undesirable behavior after they had either experienced negative consequences of the behavior, or had been trained to extinguish that behavior.

Being imprisoned for erring individuals is giving prisoners a chance to rethink while serving their sentences what they have done which could eventually reform them in confinement. Ironically, in the Philippines, life behind bars faces challenges and difficulties that are no better than life outside. Prisoners also experience plights of their own including overcrowding, hunger, poor hygiene and sanitation facilities, violence, lack of rehabilitation measures, and a slow-moving justice system. Prison population, including pre-trial detainees and remand prisoners, are currently at a total of 178,661, a 436% increase in 2017. While several programs are being implemented to support prisoners' welfare and development in serving their time, a structured transition program has to be designed and implemented by the Government to further assist prisoners in reintegrating themselves in society. A proper and smooth reintegration of prisoners in the society does not only ensure their welfare but also lessens the tendency of recidivism. Reintegration programs aim to assist ex-prisoners in acquiring skills, knowledge, and access to government support system that will enable them to start over upon release. Ex-prisoners are envisioned to have a 'second shot' at being productive citizens of the society, and they will also be able to live a dignified life away from the plights of being 'criminals' behind bars.

With these arguments, the Philippines has to start rethinking of its correctional and post-correctional programs that will support prisoners as they seek for reformation and assist them in becoming productive members of the society. Correctional and post-correctional programs for ex-prisoners are critical for several reasons: 1) to reduce prison population; 2) to reduce the likeliness of recidivism; and 3) to ensure safety and security of the members of the community. With these arguments, the Philippines has to start rethinking of its correctional and post-correctional programs that will support prisoners as they seek for reformation and assist them in becoming productive members of the society. Therefore, should management need to be more humane and change how they communicate with inmates? Should they need to talk to them and not at them?

Background

Republic Act 10575 or the Bureau of Corrections (BuCor) Act of 2013 enacted on 24 May mandates that "the state should promote the general welfare and safeguard the basic rights of every prisoner incarcerated in the national

penitentiary. It also recognizes the responsibility of the State to strengthen government capability aimed towards the institutionalization of highly efficient and competent correctional services. Thus, the State shall provide for the modernization, professionalization, and restructuring of BuCor by upgrading its facilities, increasing the number of its personnel, upgrading the level of qualifications of their personnel and standardizing their base pay, retirement, and other benefits.

It also recognizes the responsibility of the State to strengthen government capability aimed towards the institutionalization of highly efficient and competent correctional services. In RA 10575, the BuCor is in charge of safekeeping and instituting reformation programs to national inmates sentenced to more than three years. The safekeeping of inmates shall include decent provision of quarters, food, water and clothing in compliance with established United Nations standards. The Custodial Force consisting of Corrections Officers with a ranking system and salary grades similar to its counterpart in the BJMP undertakes the security of the inmates. National inmates should also be assisted through reformation programs, which will be instituted by the BuCor for the inmates, and should consist of the following holistic approach:

1. Moral and Spiritual Program;
2. Education and Training Program;
3. Work and Livelihood Program;
4. Sports and Recreation Program;
5. Health and Welfare Program; and
6. Behavior Modification Program, to include Therapeutic Community.

Professional Reformation Personnel consisting of Corrections Technical Officers with ranking system and salary grades similar to Corrections Officers must undertake these reformation programs. These officers must be composed of the following:

1. Corrections Technical Officers are personnel employed in the implementation of reformation programs and those personnel whose nature of work requires proximate or direct contact with inmates.
2. Corrections Technical Officers include priests, evangelists, pastors, teachers, instructors, professors, vocational placement officers, librarians, guidance counselors, physicians, nurses, medical technologists, pharmacists, dentists, therapists, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, social workers, engineers, electricians, agriculturists, veterinarians, lawyers and similar professional skills relevant to the implementation of inmate reformation programs.

Under Section 7 of the RA 10575 also articulates the facilities that BuCor has to possess. It states that the BuCor shall operate with standard and uniform design of prison facilities, reformation facilities and administrative facilities, through all the operating prison and penal farms, such as the following:

- a) Dormitory;
- b) Administration building;
- c) Perimeter/Security fences;
- d) Hospital/Infirmary;
- e) Recreation/Multipurpose hall;
- f) Training/Lecture center;
- g) Workshop facility;
- h) Mess hall/kitchen;
- i) Visiting area;
- j) Water tank and pump;
- k) Reception and diagnostic center; and
- l) Service personnel facilities.

In line with RA 10575, there are several government-supported programs that are being implemented in the national prisons, especially at NBP. These programs are categorized as follows:

- a) Literacy Program – Alternative Learning Systems by the Department of Education
- b) Sports Development
- c) Paralegal Services
- d) Health/Medical & Dental

- e) Religious & Spiritual Program
- f) Art Therapy

There are also external livelihood programs conducted by several NGOs, but more specific to municipal prisons. Some of their programs include: 1) Carpentry; 2) Agriculture; 3) Arts and Crafts; 4) Sewing; and 5) Grooming and Cosmetology. In realizing the provisions of the law especially on modernizing the facilities, it will entail huge amount of money, which the government may not afford to build, furnish, maintain and sustain operational requirements and custodial services. Thus, BuCor through the Private-Public Partnership Center of the National Economic Development Authority with support from the Asian Development Bank sought the assistance of a contracting firm to conduct a feasibility study on how best to improve current prison facilities. However, inasmuch as a number of reforms that need to be instituted would greatly affect major decisions to be made as far as safekeeping, reformation, and administration changes are concerned, a strategic communication analysis to implement the reforms among affected stakeholders was deemed necessary to ensure clarity and understanding of the intents of the law. Anchoring the plan on the intents of the law would be the best stance to promote the public-private partnership program.

As part of its technical assistance, the contracted firm has engaged a communication specialist to: a) conduct a public communications needs analysis involving the project; b) design mechanisms such as, but not limited to, workshops to generate feedback from stakeholders on critical aspects of the project, identify conflicting stances and facilitate communication aimed at finding mutually acceptable modes of collaboration among stakeholders; c) propose communication strategies across multiple stakeholders to address the identified communications needs which should be aligned with the objectives, solutions-orientation and positive messaging of the Philippine PPP program; and develop a communications plan, detailing out the phases of implementation, use of tools, including those online, to improve the engagement process of stakeholders, periodic monitoring and evaluation of the plan, and the cost of the plan. The Plan should also incorporate key message development, positioning and management of issues anticipated to arise in the key areas of the project such as economic and financial aspects, the environment, gender, and social safeguards, among others.

In spite of the significant progress in improving the management of prison facilities in the past decades, the Philippines is still struggling to keep up with an ever increasing demand for a more humane and rights-based penology. Prison facilities remain perennially plagued with the lack of physical appropriations and communication space that inmates direly need.

The Essence

Correctional stage interventions must capture needs of various types of offenders and must also take into account their eventual re-integration into their communities. At the post-correctional stage, interventions should in essence re-integrate ex-prisoners back into their communities while addressing their psychological, social and economic resettlement needs. Some suggestions include addressing psycho-social needs of ex-prisoners through counseling, while economic needs can be met through funding or credit for income generating activities. Unfortunately, prisoners are often released from the institutions without adequate preparation for the outside world. The psychological disorientation, social stigma and economic hardships that they experience are at times overwhelming that they become vulnerable to the inevitable consequences of re-offending or recidivism (Maburi, 2009).

Ex-offenders also need compassion and understanding from the criminal justice system. They feel a mixture of joy and anxiety after years of being in prison, and wish to start over but not sure where and how to begin. Their needs include shelter, employment, and counseling. Sometimes, even a simple ride from prison to their destination is enough (Ferner, 2015). Their reintegration into the society should not just begin on Day 1 post-prison sentence but on the first day behind bars. A successful transition back in the community requires several phases to fully motivate ex-prisoners to start over. It was suggested to help prisoners acquire the skills set required to succeed in the community, address personal challenges, and factors associated with their criminal behavior, and establish necessary contacts and relationships in the community prior to their release (Griffiths et. al., 2007). An example of a 'Success in the Community' matrix that shows each phase of

ex-prisoner reintegration and what activities under each life area can be done for an ideal transition is hereby presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Ex-Prisoners' Success in the Community Matrix

PHASE	BASIC LIFE AREAS					
	Livelihood	Residence	Family	Health and sobriety	Criminal justice compliance	Social/civic connections
Survival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gate money • Public assistance • Soup kitchens, pantries • Personal care kits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shelter • Family or friend • Street 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find children • Make contact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuity of medication • Relapse prevention 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report to supervising authority (court, probation, parole, etc.) • Comply with requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Receive peer support
Stabilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public assistance/workfare • Employment or education training • Clothes for interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transitional residence • Family or friend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supervised visitation • Get re-familiarized • Trial discharge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug treatment and treatment of urgent health and mental issues • Counseling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earn reduced supervision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join support group or nurturing community • Volunteer work
Self sufficiency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job that pays a living wage and provides benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One's own apartment with public subsidy, if necessary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reunify • Participate in family counseling • Contribute to others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular health visits paid by health insurance • Ongoing support, 12 step, therapy, community activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfy conditions of supervision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help others • Contribute to community life
GOAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adequate money for food, clothing, transportation, and personal and family expenses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe, clean, affordable home that accommodates household comfortably 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reunification with children • Reconciliation with family members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physically and mentally healthy, or receiving affordable quality care, including prescriptions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abide by laws • Live without community supervision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Healthy friendships and network of supportive adults • Opportunities to give back, civic participation (voting, etc.)

Source: John Jay Prison Reentry Institute
Matrix originally developed by Ann L. Jacobs when Executive Director of Women's Prison Association, New York, NY.

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The Government of Canada, on the other hand, offered a comprehensive crime prevention program that includes effective measures to reduce the risk of recidivism of ex-offenders. It was suggested that a key feature of social reintegration of ex-prisoners into the community is the development of interventions that are designed to reduce the levels of recidivism, including substance abuse and unemployment. Evidence shows that positive reintegration outcomes are attained when factors predisposing a person to criminal behavior are addressed in a holistic fashion and where their physical and social needs of ex-offenders are supported both within the prison and after their release (Travis, Solomon, and Waul, 2001).

Social reintegration encompasses a number of interventions following an arrest that include restorative justice process and suitable treatment while awaiting trial and sentence. Prisoners, in the first place, have experienced a range of social, economic and personal challenges that triggered committing the crimes that they had. These societal issues include social isolation and marginalization, physical or emotional abuse, poor employment or unemployment, and involvement in criminal lifestyle at an early age. Meanwhile, physical and mental disabilities, and health issues that might be related to substance abuse and drug addiction, lack or poor formal education/illiteracy/innumeracy, lack of planning and management skills are the issues they might face upon release (Griffiths et. al., 2007). Ex-prisoners must be well equipped with skills, knowledge,

government support system, and a humane environment that will enable them to overcome these social issues. There are three main types of offender reintegration: 1) Institution-based programs; 2) Surveillance-based transition programs; and 3) Assistance-based transition programs.

Institution-based programs are those designed to prepare offenders to re-enter society that include education, mental health care, substance abuse treatment, job training, counseling, and mentoring. On the other hand, surveillance-based programs are the ones centered on supervision of offenders in the community following release. Lastly, assistance-based programs are those designed for ex-prisoners with special needs such as mental illness and substance abuse. Addressing their needs in a holistic approach from correctional to post-correctional stages will help ex-prisoners' divert their attention from committing yet another criminal behavior into one that is more healthy and productive in the society.

Research studies have found that the most successful approach in reducing recidivism among offenders—both upon release over time—are prison-based and community-based therapeutic community models (MacKenzie, 1997). One study found that “prisoners who participated in in-prison and community aftercare programming had a three-year re-incarceration rate of 27% as opposed to prisoners who had failed to participate in aftercare treatment services, and prisoners in the “no treatment” control group, had three-year re-incarceration rates of 82, 79, and 75% respectively (Wexler, et al, 1999; Prendergast, et al, 2004).”

It also suggested some interventions to address the dynamic risk factors of offenders that have a higher chance of success if there is adherence to the 'principles of effective correctional treatment' as set out by Andrews and Bonta (1998). For offender reentry programs, it is becoming clear that successful interventions are those which:

1. Focus on a specific target group of offenders and their specific challenges;
2. Rely on sound methods for assessing the needs and risk factors of offenders;
3. Hold the offenders accountable and responsible for their own choices and their actions;
4. Begin while the offender is in confinement in the correctional institution and continue throughout the offender's transition to, and stabilization in, the community (through care);
5. Are offered as a coordinated effort of all agencies involved and supported by strong agency cooperation (supported by partnerships and interagency cooperation and information protocols, clear definition of respective roles and responsibilities; and a clear articulation of services to be provided and the relevant time frames);
6. Are supported by sound case management practices and adequate information management systems;
7. Reflect the public safety priorities of the community in which they are developed;
8. Engage the community in both the planning and the delivery of the intervention and fosters strong community ownership; and
9. Have a robust evaluation component that allows the program to evolve, self-improve, and remain accountable to the community for crime reduction results.

There are some significant cases of successful correctional and post-correctional programs that have proven that design and implementation of which is possible provided that government structures are in place.

In Louisiana, USA, the State allows younger inmates who qualify to learn a trade such as plumbing, welding, and culinary arts, and also provides hours on anger management and communication sessions. On the other hand, San Quentin Prison, California, offers college-level education to inmates through the Prison University Project, the largest in-prison college program in the California Prison System. A 2013 Study from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service shows that in-prison college education programs did effectively lower recidivism rates; they also stayed crime-free longer than those who did not participate in the program due to having ‘a sense of purpose’ upon release. Singapore Prison Service, on the other hand, focuses on training staff members of facilities to assist an inmate through a prison-warden matching program where the warden is matched to an inmate whom they can mentor and assist during the course of their sentence and specialize their social reintegration preparation.

Some of these re-integration programs are provided at NBP. However, due to the increasing number of inmates, a more aggressive communication intervention is needed.

The Changing Theory and Practice of Communication.

The existing communication environment in the Philippines needs to be analyzed to provide an appreciation of strategic options and communication tools that BuCor can use in communicating its plans and programs. At present, stakeholders internally and externally to an organization play a crucial role in achieving organizational goals and objectives. While RA 10575 has to be implemented within 90 days upon execution, it is a reality that many orientations, workshops, seminars, debates, fora, consultations, consensus building, and the like have to be carried out internally and to some extent externally. Of late, participants in the communication process are no longer seen as dominant sources and passive receivers but as co-equals. A slight deception from BuCor can ruin all plans. While the communication process nowadays treats participants as co-equals, credibility of the source is at stake. Public Relations or propaganda no longer work. The goal of communication is not anymore seen as persuasion or rhetoric but as mutual understanding. Therefore, communication campaigns should not be media-centric or source-oriented. Communication undertakings should be directed at not just changing behaviors but at transforming social norms, which determine behaviors. There has also been a pronounced change in communication practice. The role of communication in setting national agenda has been recognized. Laws, national policies, local ordinances are influenced or triggered by media coverage. Media has been known to make or break national leaders. So is mainstreaming noble initiatives such as modernizing, professionalizing, and upgrading the status of penitentiaries.

The use of new media. New media refer to digital media such as the Internet, the World Wide Web, mobile devices such as hand phones, netbooks, pods, and social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumbler, BlackBerry Messenger, Skype, IM, and other applications such as YouTube and wikis, cable television, digital radio, etc. Using these tools for greater awareness is the challenge on how to take advantage and transform those into action. Traditional Information, Education, and Communication strategies may not be enough to change people's behavior. Changing the norms such as the gang system in the penitentiaries may be difficult to change. Simply talking about reformation without deliberate action may not happen. BuCor should explore the use of the new media. The eDalaw services can be strengthened. Its website should be enhanced to make it more interactive and transparent. With smart phones, a message carried by BB platform, iPhone, MyPhone platforms has the potential of reaching millions considering that the Philippines' population is reaching if not a 100 million by now. Mobile phones are now becoming the device that every Juan or Maria owns, whether rich or poor. It has become the universally accepted medium for knowledge sharing and reuse.

Big media, small media, my media. The tool use for national communication campaigns is no longer limited to the big media like national dailies, national television and radio networks. Little media such as community radio stations, community newspapers, and community cable television have been more and more co-opted in national media campaigns. Nowadays, another category besides Big Media and Little Media, have gained much prominence and an increasingly significant role in national media campaigns. This category, known as My Media, involves social networking using digital media such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube that capitalizes on Web 2.0 or the provision for user generated content in the World Wide Web, thus encouraging direct participation in the communication undertaking itself. One's Facebook page is actually one's published website. One's Twitter account becomes an individualized television channel considering Twitter's slogan, "Broadcast yourself."

Networking. Another element that is assuming a dominant role in today's communication undertakings is networking. A network is a structure made up of nodes and links. Networking involves establishing links among like-minded nodes. Networks form the natural structures of living things. Thus, organisms, ecosystems, communities and societies are structured as networks, or networks of networks. Networks may be personal or social, individual or institutional, analog or digital, so long as there are nodes that are connected by links. Information travel via networks, knowledge is shared through networks. Thus, networking has become a built-in, common strategy in most IEC activities or communication campaigns. Since BuCor is working closely with non-government Organizations (NGOs); civil society; and the private

sector, linkages should be strengthened. Civil society, itself, is composed of: the Church; media; schools; and socio-civic organizations. Even if non-profit in nature, non-government organizations are differentiated from civil society groups since the former are organizations who perform services parallel to government agencies and are thus registered as such. Similarly, although privately run, NGOs differ from the private sector in the sense that the latter is profit-oriented. Another phrase used for the private sector is the business sector or the corporate sector.

Indigenous and local communication. Communication materials like komiks may still be appropriate given the nature of Filipinos who are fun of reading and learning moral lessons from those stories. Reformation can be communicated through this medium more so if these are translated in major local dialects like Ilocano, Cebuano, Ilonggo, and the like. Balagtasan, balitaw, plays, rap, singing, interpretative dances or puppet shows can be explored as presentation of messages in the prison facilities. These will not only bring enjoyment but unleashed the inmates' creativity and talent in expressing themselves and drawing out deep feelings and sentiments of their unfortunate circumstances. Actors like Robin Padilla can be invited for inspirational messages or talks or as endorsers to promote reformation programs.

Distance learning. The use of electronic media did not only hasten communication but education access as well. More and more universities locally and internationally have offered online courses that range from certificate, diploma, bachelors, masters, and even doctorate degrees. The UP Open University for instance offers all programs 100 percent online. Alternatively, examinations may be conducted at the facilities if needed.

Conscientization approach. Adult learning stems from experience. According to Freire (1970), hinging experience to real life situations can change how people view one's self in a given environment. As a communication strategy, conscientization digs deeper into relationship of inmates with one another to be liberated from the bondage of ignorance and animosity. However, conscientization requires training of staff and jail guards on how to unleash inmate's inner desire to reform. Some forms of conscientization could include exposure to media collaterals bearing words of endearment, affirmation, light of hope, spiritual reminders, songs, poems among others made visible and accessible to inmates and management. Walls can be transformed into galleries where encouraging communication materials to develop a positive outlook of the future or what is in store for inmates when they leave the penitentiary for good. Through exposure to pictures or text, inmates can reflect on their situations and eventually would act as a reformatory action. For instance, an inmate who is constantly exposed to words of endearment and caring environment would have a positive mindset and might lead to developing a brighter future ahead. On the other hand, an inmate who is surrounded by ill words and derogatory utterances would further push their morale down and perpetuate wrongdoing.

In other words, a more accommodating and reformatory abode can hasten change, which could consequently provide a communication space for them to act and reflect on their actions. In like manner, staff and jail guards who are exposed to these media collaterals will be reminded to control their temper and have more compassion to people who have erred and are willing to reform.

Issues, Controversies, Problems

Based on secondary data gathered by the social scientist, gender specialist, legal officer, BuCor's consultant, and personal observations made, these issues and concerns at NBP can be clustered into the following dominant themes:

1. The Inmates'

Physical, environmental, and economic issues. At present, the overall feeling when one enters the maximum security arena is "barangay-like," or the smallest political unit in the country with businesses operated by inmates (business kiosks, increasing number of inmates, type of goods, income generating activities; business establishments (massage services, hair cut); congested, and livelihood of inmates selling different kinds of street foods, other stuff much like *sari-sari* (a small shop that sells items in small sachets, quantity or volume) stores. Such establishments make the place rowdy and messy. The environment though clean smells, which

may be due to the open canals but also perhaps, lack of sufficient toiletries for better hygiene and sanitation of inmates. In the new facility, definitely these features and accommodations will not be tolerated. However, how will taking away their businesses affect sending of income generated to their families?

Social relationships. The presence of “gang system” at the NBP numbering 13 or so where each one has allotted space; separate rules; legitimate organizations within NBP; international plaza where all gangs converged as a group were there are suspected clandestine operations. If the gangs need to be disintegrated, what reforms have to be in place? What urge members to form into regional groups? Definitely, this goes back to self-concept of being part of a group. Being “alone” in this kind of environment definitely, one would tend to cling to somebody that they can hold on or depend on.

Security issues. While security and safety need to be ensured and in the spirit of disciplinary action, jail guards sometimes resort to violence. This is not at all acceptable because this is a violation of human rights. Jail guards who are ill tempered should be reprimanded or trained to be more emphatic and sympathetic especially to emotionally and psychologically impaired inmates.

Emotional and psychological state. It was apparent that the conditions inside NBP could hasten emotional and psychological stress given the crowded and congested conditions. While the number is not much, inmates who have to be rehabilitated do not get well due to harsh treatments of jail guards.

Conjugal visits. The cramp cells are not suitable for conjugal and family visits. The “*kubol*” (booth) system may be a good innovation but kind of embarrassing especially for women and children. The “*kubo*” (nipa hut) system for high profile prisoners should also be looked into. These are special arrangements made within the penitentiary to sustain peace and order. Once the new facility is in place, most likely this system will die a natural death.

Economically viable businesses will die. The fear that talented inmates may no longer be able to earn a decent living because the new facility is far and no visitors might come to buy their products. However, if these products can commercially be packaged and sold in department stores or other outlets aside from the facility, inmates will earn more. As well, loss of economic activities around the facilities will affect many entrepreneurs’ socio-economic conditions once the facilities are transferred. The same will affect taxes and money supply in the locality.

2. The staff and employees

Fear of losing one’s roots. As the saying goes “there’s no life without roots,” old employees fear that they will leave their roots behind given the proposed transfer plans. Leaving their abode and transferring to a new location where hardly anyone lives is a hurdle indeed.

Lack of amenities in the new prison facility. Staff and employees are apprehensive that the new place will have no housing facilities, no markets, no school, no churches, no malls, no night life, no recreational outlets, and never would be like Metro Manila. Living in the metro all their lives is something that would be difficult to replicate. Of course, BuCor has to implement the law and for all its intents and purposes they should also be ready to legally and properly provide basic necessities.

Wife or husbands’ lack of opportunity to work in the new facility. Employees feel that if they will transfer to the new facility, their husbands or wives who are working in the metro may become jobless and thus the family income will not be sufficient to afford their needs.

3. Support Groups

While compensatory policies of current proprietors are not pro-workers who are paid dismally (i.e. P18.00/pc and minimum of 25 pieces of handicraft divided by 5 workers or approximately P2,500/month divided by 5), inmates felt that this was a better alternative instead of loitering or being under the sun. The little amount can somehow help defray personal expenses for self-hygiene, better food, and giving some money to family members when they come to visit them. There is also no assurance that they will establish

their business, which is far from the city and may require higher overhead because of the transport cost and hauling services. As well, several civic organizations like Rotary, other NGOs, universities may not be willing to transfer their charitable works in the new facility due to costs to be incurred. There is a possibility that new partners will join and volunteer, though. However, given the new reformation programs, external support groups may no longer be needed. As well, if proprietors can pay inmates with daily wages coupled with SSS contributions and Philhealth insurance made available to families through bank accounts that they can withdraw from, reintegration in the society may be easier and faster. Building inmates' morale is very crucial in values formation. While the current practice is to create bank accounts for inmates' payments for products produced, family members cannot access those. Once the inmate dies, the bank account could be either froze, goes back to the state or could be a source of corruption. Agricultural production should likewise be made more systematic and to treat inmates not simply as farm labor but producers and earners as well. In the absence of policies or manual of operations, the practice can again be in danger of corruption. Transparency in business operations should be publicized as means for governance communication at various levels through different communication platforms. Establishment of standards that are locally based is recommended instead of international standards, which are too western and may not be culturally acceptable and viable. Standards that are attuned to Filipino realities have to be developed to prepare inmates for reintegration without much difficulty in the outside world.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Treating inmates inhumanely is against the law. Communicating reformation properly can conscientize prisoners to do well and serve their sentence without any complication. Correctional and post-correctional reform programs are crucial for prisoners to ensure that they live a dignified life while serving their sentence, and motivate them to focus on their transition upon release. Not only will the knowledge and skills acquired in these programs, as well as emotional, mental, and religious support can help divert their attention from re-offending upon release but they will also become productive members of the society. The benefits of having strong correctional and post-correctional reform programs can create ripples of positive impacts in the society and that nation as a whole because it assures safety, security, and productivity of its citizens. In order to realize these plans, however, strict implementation of policy, resources, political will, and government support system should be in place to properly conduct inmate communication.

RA 10575 remains to be BuCor's strongest point in establishing correctional and post-correctional reform programs but plenty of machinery should be in place first before these can be designed and implemented. In this case, changes in the National Level would prove to be more effective than having the Institution implement programs themselves.

It should be noted, however, that the Government can begin strengthening the Justice System first and give everyone access to an effective and sound trial. In this way, there is a likelier chance that the Correctional System will be managed better and programs for the inmates can be prioritized. Based on the foregoing, the Philippine Government can begin strengthening the criminal justice system and ensure proper court trials are conductive, and restorative justice measures can be accessed. It is also critical to train jail staff members to be compassionate, and serve as mentors and support system for prisoners to be motivated towards working on their transition and reformation. The country can begin to design and implement inmate communication little by little, step by step. It can work on what the country has at the moment, and build a stronger BuCor that does not only look after criminals but help them transition back to becoming productive members of the society without ending up re-offending.

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About the author

The author is an Associate professor, director, learning resource center, uplb and chair, master of development communication, UP Open University; consultant in various capacities such as development communication, eLearning, monitoring and evaluation and communication education in international programs.

Representations of Cold War Thailand in U.S. Army Documentaries and British Pathé Newsreels 1955-1967

Alexander J. Klemm

Webster University Thailand, School of Communications

Abstract

Rising Cold War tensions between the United States, USSR and China, fear of an unstoppable expansion of Communism in Southeast Asia, and France's withdrawal from Vietnam in 1954 resulted in the foundation of SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization) and a rapid increase in U.S. military presence in Thailand. From 1955 to 1967 U.S. Army documentaries, British Pathé newsreels, and various television reports sought to acquaint viewers in the West with Thai demographics and culture, and the air bases from which the U.S. military was operating. They were vehicles to rationalize U.S. military activity in Southeast Asia, economic aid to Thailand, and the necessity to stop communist insurgence in Vietnam, Laos, and the northeast provinces of Thailand. The films can be grouped according to phases of the Cold War and particular events: 1955-59: SEATO and the U.S.-Thai alliance; 1960: The Thai royal couple in the U.S.; 1961-1963: U.S. military buildup in Thailand; and 1964-67: Conflict escalation. The paper discusses the films within their historic contexts and explores their representations of Thailand. An awareness of their underlying messages leads to a deeper understanding of the dynamic U.S.-Thai alliance, Thailand's complex role during the Vietnam War, and the international effort to prevent the spread of Communism in Southeast Asia.

Introduction

1945-1954: Prelude

After World War II French Indochina suffered political turmoil and became an international conflict zone. In 1945 the independence-seeking communist-nationalist coalition Viet Minh seized power and its leader Ho Chi Minh liberated the nation. This resulted in the Vietnam Declaration of Independence. There followed an attack by French forces against the Viet Minh in Haiphong in 1946 with a subsequent Vietnamese guerilla war against the colonial power. In 1950 China and the USSR officially recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and from March to May 1954 the conflict between the Viet Minh and the French military escalated. France's defeat in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu compelled it to agree to peace talks in Geneva and later to relinquish all territorial claims in Indochina. Vietnam gained its independence and was divided into a communist North and a U.S.-supported South, yet this division was not recognized by the U.S. and South Vietnam.

SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) was founded in Manila in September 1954 by eight member states: the Western powers – Australia, France, New Zealand, the UK and the United States, as well as the Asian nations – Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan. The headquarters were strategically established in Bangkok to facilitate the close cooperation between Thailand and the West. Amidst rising Cold War because of the Korean War (June 1950 – July 1953) where the U.S., China, and USSR were heavily involved and the turmoil in Vietnam. SEATO's mission was to contain communist expansion in Southeast Asia through a combination of military cooperation and various aid projects in Thailand's rural North and Northeast.

After 1955 the presence of American military personnel, engineers and development aid workers in Thailand increased steadily, as did Western media interest in their missions and the Thai contexts in which they operated. Some U.S. Army documentaries, British Pathé newsreels, and several commercial television reports sought to familiarize Western viewers with Thailand, to justify American presence in and economic aid to Thailand, and to explain the necessity to use Thai airbases for the fight against communists in Laos and Vietnam.

Questions and Objectives

How do the U.S. Army documentaries, British Pathé newsreels, and television reports portray Thailand? What are the underlying purposes of these portrayals? This paper seeks to establish and contextualize a comprehensive body of relevant films and to provide plausible interpretations of their representations of Thailand by decoding their Cold War messages.

Significance

American engagement in Vietnam has been well studied, but only a few studies have focused on Cold War U.S.-Thai relations, and none on film. This paper is taking the first step toward filling this research gap. An awareness of the Cold War messages in U.S. Army documentaries and British Pathé newsreels with references to Thailand will result in a better understanding of the U.S.-Thai diplomatic and military relationship and Thailand's stance on Communism. Furthermore, insights gained from this genre of foreign filmmaking in Thailand during the Cold War helps to contextualize other western film productions set in Thailand during the same period, namely U.S. travel documentaries made between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s and European adventure and espionage films made in the 1960s.

Methodology

By way conducting extensive archival research online in the British Pathé historical collection, U.S. presidential materials collections, the Moving Image Research Center, archive.org, and the Internet Movie Database, the researcher could determine thirty-five relevant documentaries and newsreels that comprise the corpus of film material examined in this paper. The researcher used production information and a contextual approach to sort the films chronologically and to place each one in its proper stage of the Cold War and, where applicable, of the Vietnam War. He then applied critical discourse analysis to noteworthy scenes and voiceover commentaries of selected films in order to answer the research questions and to reach the objectives.

Limitations

The paper is limited in scope. Amateur films shot by American GIs stationed in Thailand were not considered because they did not reach a mass audience. Also, despite painstaking care the researcher may have missed some professionally made films, while others are not available in the public domain as they are awaiting conversion to a digital format.

Results and discussion

1955-59: SEATO and the U.S.-Thai Alliance

The formation of SEATO in 1954 made Thailand and the U.S. de facto Cold War allies and preceded political upheavals in Vietnam and Thailand. In 1956 South Vietnam's president Ngo Dinh Diem campaigned against political dissidents and in the following year a communist insurgency ensued. In Thailand in September 1957, Prime Minister Pleak Phibunsongkhram (PM 1938-1944 and 1948-1957) was ousted in a bloodless coup led by the anti-communist Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat and ideologically supported by the United States. Thanom Kittikachorn became the new prime minister, but in October 1958 he was replaced by the coup d'état leader Thanarat under whose leadership Thailand's stance against Communism intensified and cooperation with the U.S. deepened. Kislenko (2004) explains that by "consolidating the Thai military's hold on power, and co-opting key political rivals into his fold, Sarit [Thanarat] ushered in a new era of harsh but stable rule which allowed for the expansion of US covert operations in Thailand" (p. 4).

The establishment of SEATO and the emerging U.S.-Thai alliance was captured by several documentaries analyzed below. The researcher could not locate relevant film material for the year 1959, even though notable developments in the region took place, for instance, the intensifying North Vietnamese engagement in Laos, the creation of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and increasing CIA activity in the region. However, much of Western media interest had turned to Cuba, where in January 1959 Fidel Castro brought the revolution to a successful conclusion and established a socialist state, and to meetings between U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in July.

The British Pathé news clip Bangkok – Eden at SEATO Talks (1955) documents the first SEATO summit in February 1955. Images of a temple, a monk, and a busy street establish Bangkok as the host city. An enthusiastic Thai crowd is holding the national flags of Thailand, the U.S., the UK, and Australia, as well as banners that proclaim "Back SEATO" and "Fight for the Free World", driving home the film's message that all Thais support SEATO and welcome its representatives, particularly those from Western countries. This is emphasized by the voiceover commentary: "This vital get-together is warmly welcomed by the local people, crowds of whom turn out to demonstrate their goodwill towards the delegates." Said delegates are seen

arriving at Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall and waiting for the conference to begin. The clip presents the delegates from English-speaking countries as leaders, particularly Sir Anthony Eaton from England who is addressing the summit. The silent clip *Selected Originals – Bangkok – Eden at SEATO* (1955) includes additional footage, such as the welcoming ceremony for the U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at Don Muang Airport. The clip instills the notion that the Thais' support SEATO unequivocally and are enthusiastic about the Western delegates.

The *Big Picture* was a documentary television series produced by the U.S. Army Pictorial Service. It started in 1951 when during the Korean War film footage collected by the U.S. Army was edited for commercial use. CBS, ABC and DuMont aired over 800 episodes until 1964. The episode *The Big Picture: TV 333 – Pictorial Report No. 21* (1956) is central to an understanding of the early U.S. perspective on Thailand during the Cold War. It begins with SEATO's joint military exercises in Bangkok. The audio commentator states that the American soldiers are determined to defend the American people with modern weapons against foreign aggression. Sergeant Stuart Queen appears as an authority on SEATO. Sitting behind a desk he speaks into the camera, thus addressing American television viewers:

To bolster the forces of freedom in a troubled area of the world, the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization, SEATO, was created in September of 1954. [...] SEATO is a powerful deterrent to any future communist aggression. In March 1956, SEATO held its first joint defense maneuver, exercise *Firm Link*. Designed to destroy the communist propaganda label of "paper tiger", *Firm Link* proved that SEATO is a tough tiger with teeth. Let's focus our *Big Picture* cameras on Southeast Asia and exercise *Firm Link*. The commentary is crafted to manipulate the viewers. Southeast Asia is summed up as a "troubled area of the world". The script uses alliteration such as "forces of freedom" and "defense maneuver [...] designed to destroy" and creates a simple dichotomy: SEATO = good ("powerful deterrent", "defense", "tough tiger with teeth") vs. Communism = bad ("aggression", "propaganda").

Bangkok is introduced with stock footage of busy streets, markets, a Chedi, golden Buddha statues, a canal, and a floating market. The commentator emphasizes the unity of SEATO and describes Thailand as a free nation threatened by communist subversion. He asks: "Can this corner of the world remain free?" The pivotal question reveals the speaker's attitude that sees the U.S. at the center with Thailand in its periphery. The film shows the 508th Airborne Regimental Combat Team flown in from Beppu, Japan, U.S. military equipment and airpower, and American soldiers boarding a plane. There follow impressions of SEATO troops at Don Muang Airport, the arrival of naval units from the U.S., New Zealand, Australia, and the UK in the Gulf of Thailand, as well as airborne helicopters and parashooters jumping from American, British and Royal Thai Air Force jets. Thai PM Pleak Phibunsongkhram is observing the exercises together with thousands of Thai civilians who appear awed by the weapons and maneuvers. The purpose of these images is to display the capabilities and determination of the SEATO alliance and to confirm the support by the Thai public and government of these activities on Thai soil. Kislenko (2004) posits that for Thailand it was not self-evident to tolerate the presence of foreign troops, given the country's tense encounters with French and British armies at its doorsteps in colonial times. "However, as the Cold War dawned Thai fears about communist expansion outweighed any nationalistic sentiment. From Bangkok's point of view it appeared that China was bent on expansion" (p. 2).

The film continues with U.S. soldiers sightseeing in Bangkok. Commenting on friendly interactions between U.S. soldiers and Thai children the commentator says that the Thais "seem to us to be as happy and cheerful a people as we'd ever met." Since Thai children learn English at school, they and "the boys in our outfit" (emphasis added) could communicate just fine and laugh together. He also says: "One thing we all noticed about Thailand was the heat. Judging from the way the Thais themselves went for cold soda, they feel it too. Or soda pop was just a national institution like it is with us" (emphasis added). The scenes and comments imply that the average Thai and American have much in common, and – more importantly – that Thai children's innocence and vulnerability necessitate Western protection.

The next segment presents a SEATO military parade on Ratchadamnoen Road. It passes Democracy Monument, an important landmark to commemorate the 1932-coup that ended absolute monarchy in Siam. Thousands of Thais are waving flags in front of marching soldiers and the spectacle of weapons of war. When

the Honest John rocket is rolled by the commentator observes that no atomic warhead was installed on it but that the crowd was aware of this possibility. The parade served to demonstrate to Thai spectators and Western television audiences SEATO's unity and commitment to democracy, and to keep communist governments at bay. The voice over comment explains the purpose of SEATO, calling it a tiger determined to defend itself against any aggressor. He states that SEATO must oppose the danger of "countries disappearing behind the Iron or Bamboo Curtain."¹

Two other films are of interest. British Pathé's newsreel First Joint SEATO Exercise (1956) features the same drills from different perspectives, including paratroopers and marching U.S. marines, troop carrier airplanes, helicopters, and flame-throwers, with the Thai crowd keenly watching the exercises. The half-hour documentary The Big Picture: TV 403 – Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (1958) is again about SEATO and features a segment of military maneuvers and a parade near Democracy Monument. The film replicates the messages of the previous Big Picture episode. The majority of films discussed in this paper are accompanied by voiceover commentary, and the discussion above has already revealed their central roles in establishing certain notions about Thailand and the Cold War. Knowledge, power, and trustworthiness are presented as male domains as all commentaries are spoken by men. Their observations carry weight due to their perceived authority, and their direct address to the viewers – like teachers speaking to students – seek to form a bond of trust with them. The comments draw the viewers into the logic of the film, making them active participants in the events on the screen. Furthermore, they help to establish a context from the outset, contribute to the structuring process, and explain images and events when explanations are needed for better understanding. In a biased and manipulative manner, they determine the meaning of the images, thereby controlling the viewers' interpretation. In some instances humor is used to lighten the mood.

1960: The King and Queen in the United States

Thailand had supported neither side of the Vietnamese-French conflict, but in the Cold War it sided with the U.S. that consistently broadened its aid program for South Vietnam and whose army was permitted to use selected Thai airbases to fly attacks against North Vietnamese positions. North Vietnam retaliated by supporting the Thai communist party in the North and Northeast of Thailand. After Field Marshall Sarit Thanarat had ousted Phibunsongkhram in 1957, the Thai monarchy adopted a proactive role domestically and internationally. His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej initiated development projects in the country, toured through remote provinces, and revived cultural traditions, such as the royal barge procession on the Chao Phraya River. In the summer of 1960, King Bhumibol, Queen Sirikit, and their children went on an official tour through North America. Anticipation of the royals' visit was great; for instance, the June 1960-issue of LIFE magazine featured the article "Royal Guests from Thailand". It announced their tour and catered to the American fascination with royalty. They were greeted by enthusiastic crowds and massive media interest. British Pathé, in particular, captured the couple's meetings with politicians and celebrities.

The clips His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej and Royal Family visit Disneyland in California(1960) and Walt Disney and Thai King at Disney Land (1960) filmed on 22 June, document the royal family's visit to Disneyland, Los Angeles. The images of them enjoying various activities and taking a ride through the park together with Walt Disney himself were appealing to family-oriented Americans.

On 23 June the King gave a speech at the World Affairs Council. On the same day the couple met Elvis Presley on the set of G.I. Blues (USA 1960) in Paramount Studios, Hollywood. Rare footage titled The King meets The King (1960) captured the encounter. Presley was enjoying global fame at the time; thus, images of the meeting of the King of Thailand and "the King of Rock and Roll" must have resonated positively with the Thais and many liberal Americans. Washington Welcome for Thailand's King (1960), filmed on 28 June, documents shows the royal couple's arrival at Washington Airport where the U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower welcomed them. The commentator sees this as a sort of homecoming for King Bhumibol because he was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and his father, King Mahidol Adulyadej, studied at Harvard Medical School. A

¹ Because the second half of the film is a recruitment video enticing young Americans to join the army, the entire Bangkok/SEATO-segment may be considered as a part of this promotion.

grand welcoming ceremony with a parade through the capital follows. “The King heads a nation that has been closely aligned with the United States,” says the commentator, implying that the U.S. is the leader in the Cold War alliance with Thailand. President Eisenhower welcomes Their Majesties on their first visit to Washington, D.C. (1960) provides further footage of this event. Part of the royal couple’s state dinner with Eisenhower and Vice President Richard Nixon was also recorded in Their Majesty attends a state dinner hosted by President Dwight Eisenhower (1960).

U.S. Mission Thailand (2016) wrote: “The most remarkable of the fourteen speeches His Majesty gave during that trip was the address to the U.S. Congress on ‘mutual goodwill and close cooperation between our two countries’” (online). His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej speaks at the Joint Meeting of U.S. Congress (1960) includes an excerpt of the king’s speech, delivered on 29 June. Of all the stages the king took to represent Thailand, this one was paramount. The king expressed, among other things, his wish to learn more about tolerance in a multi-cultural society and to visit his place of birth. He explained the need for development in Thailand, emphasized the importance of SEATO to the security of his nation, and made these significant statements: “We are grateful for American aid; but we intend one day to live without it,” and “Our two countries have had the best of relationships” (Address to Congress). The king also expressed his concern about Thai national security – without mentioning a communist threat – and demonstrated his role as Thailand’s representative and leader. His speech served to assure the American public of Thailand’s loyalty. Thailand’s King Swings into New York (1960), filmed on 5 July, shows King Bhumibol being driven through the streets of New York in an open-deck car, past an enthusiastic crowd. The royal couple was welcomed by Mayor Robert Wagner and his wife. The commentator remarks that the reception is “a swinging welcome for the 32-year-old, jazz-loving monarch.” Their Majesties are warmly welcomed by New Yorkers with a ticker-tape parade (1960) provides additional footage of this event. According to Tang (2006), the king also went to jazz musician Benny Goodman’s New York home where they enjoyed a jam session together. [The king played the clarinet.] The two men had already played together at Bangkok’s Ambara Throne Hall in 1956 (online).

On 7 July King Bhumibol visited the hospital where he was born in 1927. In His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej visits Mount Auburn Hospital in Massachusetts (1960) the hospital staff and nurses have lined up to greet the distinguished visitors with a large crowd observing the event. Presenting the king’s place of birth and thus his close connection to the United States was an important goal of this newsreel. After their North American tour, the royal couple visited fourteen countries in Europe, among them SEATO allies France and the UK. Again mostly British Pathé newsreels documented their meetings with politicians and various European royals. In the following years, official visits to countries in the anti-communist block continued, for instance to SEATO ally Australia in 1962. The journeys of the Thai royal couple were carefully planned and the host nations strategically chosen. Their visits served to maintain and strengthen Thailand’s close relationships with friendly nations, to elevate the nation’s image in the international community, and to present Thailand as a steadfast member of the free world. The extensive news coverage in newsreels and print media was consistently positive and contributed to the realization of these objectives.

Phillips (2016) considers the royal couple’s U.S. visit an event that “marked the height of the Thai-US relationship, when a Thai ‘victory’ on the world stage was most explicitly defined in terms of acceptance into an American imperial order” (p. 16). He emphasizes the role of Queen Sirikit and the media: “[T]he King and Queen’s visit to the United States at the start of the 1960s was celebrated in newspapers as a moment of pride for all Thais. The ability of the Queen in particular to represent the Thai nation effectively to the world was highlighted” (p. 16). The Western media admired Queen Sirikit for her beauty and sense of style. In 1965 she was included in the International Best-Dressed Hall of Fame List (“The International Hall of Fame: Women”, 2009).

Furthermore, in 1965 18-year old Apasra Hongsakula from Thailand was crowned Miss Universe in Miami Beach, Florida.² Phillips (2016) states that this honor “was heralded as a watershed in Thailand’s national history” and that it was a second key event that defined U.S.-Thai relations at that time, yet that “[b]oth of these moments were also fleeting. They were tied to the supremacy of the USA on the world stage and to the ongoing logic of the Cold War” (p. 16). Hongsakula later married into the Thai royal family.

1961-63: U.S. Military Buildup

The years 1961 to 1963 saw significant developments in the Cold War with regards to the Thai and U.S. American political landscapes and the conflict in Vietnam. In January 1961 John F. Kennedy succeeded Dwight Eisenhower as President of the United States. Four months later Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson went on a diplomatic tour through Asia. In Saigon he pledged to Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem continued U.S. support. In 1962 the number of American military advisors in South Vietnam increased to 12,000 and the U.S. began using the chemical weapon Agent Orange in its warfare against North Vietnam. In 1963 the Viet Cong defeated units of the South Vietnamese Army and a CIA-backed military coup ousted President Diem who was assassinated in November 1963. In the same month Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, and Johnson succeeded him as president. One month later, Thailand's PM Sarit Thanarat died suddenly and was succeeded by the anti-communist Field Marshall Thanom Kittikachorn who held the post until October 1973. Through all these turmoil the alliance between Thailand and the U.S. strengthened further. Kislenko (2004) states: "For Thailand, the US represented protection from the external threat of communist neighbors and the risk that an indigenous communist insurgency posed. For the US, Thailand represented a bastion of anti-communism in a region full of political uncertainty" (p. 1). Especially British Pathé newsreels documented the intensifying U.S.-Thai cooperation during the early 1960s. They recorded the buildup of the U.S. military in Thailand, with the overwhelming U.S. airpower as the recurrent theme.

Vice President Johnson of U.S.A. in Thailand (1961), a British Pathé Telenews clip, documents Johnson's stopover in Bangkok during his Asian tour. A USAF Boeing 707 taxis on the runway, Johnson and his wife disembark and are welcomed by Thai military and guards of honor. In the Grand Palace he is shown signing the Royal Book and is the guest of honor at a state dinner. U.S. Jets to Thailand (1961) of the British Pathé "News of the Day" series takes place on an airfield where Thai generals and U.S. representatives have gathered. The commentator announces: "More power for the defense of democracy in Southeast Asia. Twenty U.S. Sabre jets are presented to the Royal Thailand Air Force by U.S. ambassador U. Alexis Johnson. With the Reds driving on the government in neighboring Laos, these planes will bolster Thailand's defenses." As the men marvel over the long line of Sabre jets, the film emphasizes the necessity to support Thailand's defensive capability and to value the cordial relationship between America and Thailand. First Films of U.S. Build-Up in Thailand (1962), also a newsreel of the British Pathé "News of the Day" series, is about U.S. battle ships arriving in Bangkok and marines boarding an airplane on a Bangkok airfield. Marines go in (1962) begins with a view of the U.S. airplane carrier Valley Forge. On deck marines are rushing to helicopters and take off. Aerial shots taken from the helicopters suggest that cameramen were allowed to fly with the marines and to capture footage that would display the American supremacy in the sky.² The soldiers are deployed near the Mekong River where they are marching across a field. The voiceover commentator uses Cold War jargon when he concludes that the soldiers' mission is to ward off "the red aggression in these troubled areas". U.S. Takes Action (1962) presents the U.S. fleet cruising in the Gulf of Thailand, followed by views of a mountainous border region between Thailand and Laos. Soldiers are moving through a rough terrain and U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara is inspecting the area.³ In People & Events: Thailand's King Visits U.S. Base (1962) King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit arrive on an airfield to a reception by Thai and U.S. military officials. The King is dressed in a flight uniform. They are then touring the military camp. Thai and U.S. American flags are standing side by side. The film's message is that the U.S.-Thai partnership is sanctioned by the monarchy. An objective of the films mentioned above was to portray Thailand as a reliable ally of and valuable strategic partner to the U.S. The two nations are presented as aligned in their anti-communist stance and Thailand is facilitating American military presence on her soil. They also imply that the Thai government fully supports the U.S. military buildup. While Western viewers of such clips were to perceive Thailand as a defender of democratic values and a stronghold against Communism, Thai viewers were to feel assured that their freedom was being protected.

² Scored by orchestral music with brass instruments, the aerial helicopter shots are strikingly similar to the "Ride of the Valkyries" scene in Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (USA 1979).

³ The second segment takes place in Maryland during an open day at Andrews Air Force Base. The public can examine various military equipment and watch Blue Angel aircrafts flying by.

1964-67: Conflict Escalation

During the Cold War peak years 1964 to 1967 the American public was still supportive of U.S. engagement in Southeast Asia. Following the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964 in which North Vietnamese patrol boats allegedly fired on U.S. Navy destroyers, the United States Congress authorized military action in Vietnam. The conflict escalated and in 1965 200,000 U.S. troops arrived in South Vietnam. Thailand authorized her ally to use selected airbases for attacks and Thai troops were also deployed. The Americans initiated the aerial bombardment campaign Operation Rolling Thunder against North Vietnam that lasted from March 1965 to November 1968. Kislenko (2004) states that by “early 1966, over 200 American combat aircraft were based on Thai soil, with a complement of over 9,000 USAF personnel. By the end of the year, there were over 400 planes and nearly 25,000 men” (p. 9), and that “by the mid-1960s nearly 80 percent of all American bombing missions flown against North Vietnam and Laos were launched from air bases in Thailand” (p. 1). By 1966 the number of U.S. troops engaged in the war effort rose to 400,000 and in 1967 to half a million. During the escalating conflict Thailand’s role became more than just that of a host to foreign troops, as Osornprasop (2006) writes:

In 1966, the Royal Thai Government (RTG) began actively to support the Vietnam War by dispatching two Royal Thai Navy (RTN) vessels into service in South Vietnam. In July 1967, a combat regiment amounting to over 2,200 troops were sent to fight the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. By early 1968, the Thai combat force in South Vietnam was upgraded to full division strength, with 12,000 troops. (p. 350)

Several relevant documentaries were made during these turbulent years. USAF Participation in Southeast Asia: July – December 1963 (1963), released in 1964, documents the missions and logistics of the U.S. Air Force in Vietnam in the second half of 1963. Included are impressions of the joint SEATO military exercise Title Wave in Thailand. The film bears testament to the U.S.’s airpower capabilities and aerial supremacy. Special Forces Training in Thailand (1964) was produced by the U.S. Army. The commentator explains that U.S. Army personnel has been training units of the Royal Thai Army in counter-insurgency and that the cooperation between U.S. and Thai Special Forces was close. The training includes the proper operation of military equipment and weapons, marching in unison, radio communication on the battlefield, man-to-man combat, survival in the wilderness, and jungle warfare. Also seen are medical units in training and soldiers assisting civilians. The documentary is accompanied by dramatic music and ends with the voiceover statement: “Skilled in the many facets of counter-insurgency, the Royal Thai Special Forces today are a significant factor in helping to maintain the security of a nation whose stability will determine the course of history in Southeast Asia.”

The setting of the U.S. Army-produced *The Big Picture – Thailand* (1964) is established with a rudimentary map of Southeast Asia with Thailand and Bangkok at the center and with stock footage of a handful of well-known sites of Bangkok. Shots of the flags of the U.K., the U.S., and France, and of Thai soldiers at a parade on Ratchadamnoen Road begin a new segment. Audio commentator Rod Mitchell delivers this introduction: Strange lands, odd customs, and unfamiliar civilizations have become a common sight to personnel of the United States Army. Men and women whose mission today takes them into once mysterious regions of a shrinking globe. Of these distant places, none is more exotic than the ancient Kingdom we used to call Siam, and few are of greater importance to the cause of freedom in Southeast Asia. The Kingdom of Thailand, which once appeared on our maps as Siam, is the home of a people whose reported history goes back more than seven hundred years. To the people of Thailand, the name of their country means, literally, Land of the Free. The country’s location, almost completely surrounded by nations which have known independence for only a few years, makes it a key area in a peninsula threatened by Communism. Mitchell employs Orientalist clichés and reveals his Anglo-American-centric worldview by associating Thailand with strangeness, mystery, exoticism, and distance and by locating it “on our maps as Siam” (emphasis added). He then brings Thailand into the fold of the American value system by saying it is the “Land of the Free” and “threatened by Communism.” Mitchell goes on to stress the enduring friendship between Thailand and the U.S. and the U.S.’s mission to help its Asian ally in the fight against communist infiltration.

The film justifies American support for Thailand. To this end, it includes impressions of civilians at work in education, farming, fishery, medical aid, and of Thai soldiers and their American advisors engaged in training.

At Bangkok harbor U.S. medical equipment for the Thai civilians is unloaded. The camera lingers on a box sticker with a handshake in front of the American flag. The film shows transportation on rivers, a joint military exercise, road-building under the supervision of American engineers, military tanks on roads, and technicians setting up radio broadcast towers. Thai border patrol police units accompanied by U.S. advisors are advancing through the jungle near Laos. They have a close encounter with a python and a more pleasant one with the locals of a remote village where students are studying in a rudimentary classroom and recruits are training for combat.

Reference is made to the Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG) and its mission to improve health standards, to prevent diseases, and to bring medical aid to remote areas. Thus, JUSMAG strategists are deliberating in front of a map of Thailand. A substantial part of the film then outlines the work of the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory in Chiang Mai where researchers are creating prevention measures to eliminate malaria and the liver fluke disease. Taking all these impressions into account, *The Big Picture – Thailand* makes obvious the urgent need for development in Thailand's remote regions; yet while the film shows many Thais, it fails to give them a voice.

Korat, some 260 kilometers northeast of Bangkok, developed into an important hub for U.S. military operations and for new roads to the Northeast. Kislenko (2004) states: "American technicians and engineers also arrived to bring Thai air bases to full capacity in the event that large-scale, offensive operations were required against either Laos or North Vietnam. The augmentation of air bases and landing strips throughout Thailand was in fact the real success of the deployment. Korat quickly became an important nerve centre and 'rumble seat' for secret air strikes against Laos and North Vietnam" (p. 7). The clip *Korat – Thailand* (1966) visits Korat Airbase. The first segment features the work of U.S. engineers and training units, as well as highway construction. A military representative is outlining the activities on a map. The use of roads and rivers for the transportation of military units is explained, followed by a display of military barges and joint U.S.-Thai training exercises on the Chao Phraya River. The U.S. Army clip *US Army Engineers – Thailand* (ca. 1967) shows Camp USARTHA (a.k.a. Camp Friendship), a facility in Korat that houses U.S. military personnel and Thai construction workers. Impressions include the construction of the extension of the camp and Thais and Americans working side by side on a countryside road. Both films suggest that the American military personnel is welcome in Korat and that the infrastructure development is to everyone's benefit.

Lyndon B. Johnson paid two visits to Thailand in his capacity as President of the United States. The first one took place in 1966 during a two-week diplomatic tour through Asia when he visited eight countries. Bose (2015) states:

The tour occurred just around the time when President Johnson was controversially beginning to escalate the United States' involvement in the war between South Vietnam and the communist controlled North Vietnam. [...] The main event of Johnson's journey occurred in the middle, where he attended a United Nations Summit in Manila, The Philippines, and discussed the progress of the war in Vietnam, and potential peace negotiations, along with the leaders of all the nations Johnson visited during the two weeks. (p. 10)

Footage of Johnson's visit to Bangkok is included in *The Asian Odyssey* (1966). Part of the documentary is a Bangkok-segment filmed on 28-29 October with scenes of Thai beaches, a welcoming ceremony at the Bangkok Pavilion Buddhist temple with the presidential couple and the royal Thai couple, a classical dance performance, and Lady Bird Johnson's visit to the floating market. At Chulalongkorn University Johnson signed the International Educational Act of 1966 and received an honorary doctorate in Political Science. In his acceptance speech Johnson said: "I say to the leaders in Hanoi: Let us lay aside our arms and sit down together at the table of reason. [...] Let us begin the work of healing, of teaching, of building, and of providing for the children of men" (Johnson). These words were addressed not only to his immediate audience on campus but also to the North Vietnamese leadership. The British Pathé newsreel *Thailand Gay for L.B.J.* (1966) provides further footage of Johnson's duty call to Bangkok. The scene of the presidential couple and the royal couple greeting one another in front of Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall is accompanied by the commentator's words: "Two worlds and two ages met at Bangkok. The timeless Far East and the Western World came together as President Johnson arrives for a short stay in the Thai capital. There to welcome the

President and his wife were Thailand's King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit." This comment mystifies Thailand by equating it with all of East Asia, which is summed up as "timeless". The assumption that Thailand is symbolic of an ostensibly unchanging Asia only works when one sees it in contrast to an apparently modern and progressive West. The film also includes a traditional Thai dance performance, a motorcade on Uthong Na Alley along a cheering crowd, Lady Bird's visit to the floating market, and the two distinguished couples at a gala dinner. The commentator concludes: "He [Johnson] reported that Thailand, like all the countries he's visited, was whole-heartedly with America over Vietnam." Both films aimed to confirm the two nations' steadfast alliance and to communicate to the viewers the Thai people's appreciation of American support. Three films served to assure the viewers of American superior airpower. The Thailand-segment of the military clip December 1967: LBJ Visits U.S. Soldiers in Thailand and South Vietnam (1967) shows Johnson arriving at Korat Airbase and giving a speech to boost the morale of the pilots and crews, emphasizing the key role of the U.S.'s airpower to fight the enemy. He mentions Thailand indirectly by assuring the troops that they have the appreciation of all U.S. allies.⁵ The British Aircraft Corporation One-Eleven aircraft was introduced in 1965. BAC 111 in Bangkok (1960-1969) (ca. 1967) was filmed around 1967. The silent film footage includes establishing shots of Bangkok streets, fishermen, and boats. A BAC One-Eleven aircraft is landing and then taxiing on the runway of Don Muang Airport. One aircraft is being repaired in the hangar while another one is taking off. The British Pathé newsreel American Bomber in Thailand (1967) introduces an American B-52 bomber aircraft. It has just returned to a Thai military airbase from a bombing mission. Shots of military personnel standing outside the plane and of the plane's wing-span illustrate its overwhelming size. In the next segment Johnson meets U.S. soldiers and staffs at Cam Ranh Bay airbase in South Vietnam.

Journalists Lou Cioffi and John Scali ask pertinent questions in the ABC Scope documentary Thailand, Counterattack (1967): For Thailand in the 20th century the main problem has been to retain its freedom and dignity as a nation. The pessimists say it's going to be a second Vietnam. The optimists say this can be avoided. The cynics say the greatest danger is that Thailand will become a simple satellite state of the United States. The realists look at a map of Asia and know that Thailand is important. The American people ask the question: How important? How many American men? How much money? This report is about Thailand. What are we doing here? Where are we going?

Following convention of the travelogue film genre, Bangkok is presented as the former "Venice of the East". Staple images of busy roads, nightlife, landmark buildings, temples, the Chao Phraya River, and the "picturesque" floating market combine to paint it as a city of tradition and modernity and as the engine of Thailand's economic boom. Scali explains the economic disparity between Bangkok and the rural Northeast and the U.S.-Thai joint strategy to prevent the spread of Communism in the poorest region. He labels Thailand as "American's most dependable ally in Southeast Asia", basing this description on the flourishing tourism industry, the absence of anti-colonial conflict, and the three pillars Nation, Religion, and King.⁴ In an interview the editor of a Bangkok newspaper voices his concern about the domestic communist threat and states that the government's neglect of poor regions has given communists an opportunity to spread their propaganda. The film then explains the construction of Sattahip Port, Friendship Highway, and development projects in the Northeast. The consensus is that sustainable rural development is necessary to prevent one village after another from falling prey to communist propaganda – notion that evokes the domino theory. The Thai foreign minister in an interview expresses his hope that Thailand would not turn into a second Vietnam and welcomes the protection given by the U.S. military umbrella.

Reporter Scali concludes that Thailand will not have to endure the same fate as Vietnam because of its three pillars and visible progress in the Northeast. It is noteworthy that with the exception of King Bhumibol's speech to the United States Congress, the interview segments are the only instances when Thais are given a voice – yet the interviewees are members of the elite who have a broad perspective and are fluent in English. Regular Thai civilians are never given a voice in any of these films.

⁴ The red, white, and blue stripes of the national flag symbolize these pillars as they constitute Thai society.

Maps serve to locate Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, the Thai airbases used by the Americans, and Thailand's domestic danger zones close to neighboring Laos.

The Tet Offensive: The Turning Point

After more than a decade of U.S. Army and British Pathé documentary filmmaking in Thailand, this activity came to an almost complete stop at the end of 1967. In January 1968 the Tet Offensive (a.k.a. the General Offensive and Uprising of Tet Mau Than) began orchestrated attacks by the North Vietnamese army and the Viet Cong on South Vietnamese and U.S. positions. The coordinated strikes were a turning point in the conflict as they exposed American and South Vietnamese vulnerability. The “American War-Related Deaths” had increased from 206 in 1964 to 11,153 in 1967. In 1968 the number of deaths peaked at 16,592 (“Vietnam War Casualties 1955-1975,” n.d.). Also in 1968 North Vietnam and the U.S. took first steps toward peace negotiations. In January 1969 Richard Nixon succeeded Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States, in September 1969 Ho Chi Minh died, and in November the My Lai Massacre that had taken place in March 1968 became public and was met with outrage. The public’s perception of the drawn-out conflict became increasingly negative and the presence of American troops in Vietnam could no longer be supported by positive portrayals in documentaries and newsreels. Under pressure Nixon began the withdrawal of American forces.

The war continued but it had changed dramatically. In 1970 national security advisor Henry Kissinger and Hanoi government representative Le Duc Tho started peace talks in Paris. In 1972 another 70,000 troops were called back, and in 1973 a ceasefire agreement was reached with the complete withdrawal of all American troops in March. Also in 1973 the U.S. and Thailand negotiated a reduced American presence. In 1975 the North Vietnamese army invaded South Vietnam and the last Americans had to evacuate. The Fall of Saigon (a.k.a. the Liberation of Saigon) on 30 April 1975 sealed the victory of the North Vietnamese Army and the defeat of South Vietnam and its allies. In a sort of epilogue, SEATO, the anti-communist alliance that featured so fervently in the 1950s documentaries, had lost its purpose and was dissolved in June 1977.

Conclusion

The researcher could establish a body of Thailand-related U.S. Army documentaries, British Pathé newsreels, and television reports that were produced in the Cold War years of 1955 to 1967. By dividing the films into four periods and analyzing selected films in-depth, the researcher could determine recurrent representations of Thailand and underlying Anglo-American Cold War ideology. The voiceover comments are crucial. They provide context for the viewers’ grasp of complex issues and draw them into their narrative logic. The commentators act as neutral observers, but in many instances they reveal a pro-American and anti-communist bias and resort to Orientalist clichés in their descriptions of Thailand. Several films use Bangkok as their starting point, presenting images (often stock footage) of glittering temples, the Royal Palace, Wat Arun, the Chao Phraya River, the floating market, and busy streets, and calling Bangkok a city of the ancient and the modern. The cliché of the “Venice of the East” is also used. Many films go on to create a contrast between modern Bangkok and the underdeveloped countryside.

The films present Thailand as a hospitable nation in need of Western support against communist insurgency from Laos, and they repeatedly claim that when it comes to Cold War ideology and anti-communist sentiment, Thailand is fully aligned with the West. Thailand’s leaders are always presented as dependable and capable, and the Thai population is claimed to be supportive of American military presence on Thai soil, yet no civilians are ever interviewed. The rationale behind the making of many of the documentaries and newsreels was to explain the importance of SEATO, Thailand’s strategically critical geopolitical position on the Indochina peninsula, the necessity of U.S. military presence in Thailand, the value of the U.S.-Thai alliance to America’s foreign policy interests in Southeast Asia, and the need to fight against the spread of Communism. They justify American support for Thailand, especially economic aid, development assistance, and the training of the Thai Special Forces. They also instill in the viewers a sense of constant communist threat – but Communism as such is never explained.

This paper could be expanded in several directions. Following the Tet Offensive only a few Thailand-related war documentaries were produced, for instance US Army Pacific USARPAC Thailand (ca. 1968), US Army Engineers – Thailand (ca. 1969), and Sattahip – Tomorrow’s Thailand (ca. 1970). An analysis of these films may provide further insights into the American representation of Cold War Thailand, as would an analysis of two Hollywood films: *The Ugly American* (USA 1963), based on a popular 1958-novel and partially shot in

Thailand. The novel and the film are critical of the U.S. diplomatic strategies in Southeast Asia. The story is set in the fictitious country Sarkhan that resembles Laos and alludes to Vietnam. The idealistic U.S. ambassador MacWhite is struggling to find his way in a country threatened by civil war and to accept the contradictions of U.S. foreign policy. Also noteworthy is Tarzan's Three Challenges (USA and GB 1963), shot near Bangkok and Chiang Mai and situated in an unnamed Southeast Asian country. A white Tarzan's fight for the rights of an Asian people against an oppressor symbolizes democracy's opposition to despotism. Vernon (2009) has pointed out that Tarzan's "turn to Asia occurred just when U.S. neocolonialism was on the verge of its most nefarious phase: the American war in Vietnam" (p. 392). Thus, these fiction films and the body of documentaries and newsreels presented here could also be viewed through the lens of U.S. neocolonialism and shed further light on the West's many representations of Cold War Thailand.

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About the author

The author is a fulltime lecturer of Webster University of Thailand, School of Communication.

Theme- Social Media Potentials and Pitfalls Indian Millennials and Fragmented Identity*Tanushree**Indraprastha College for Women***Abstract**

India is expected to become the country with the highest population of young people by 2022 with an average age of 29. Though used among all age cohorts, the millennial generation is there biggest consumer of social media. The type of social media practices involved in the construction of communication in the public space also lead to popular contentions at times. This paper tries to explore the possibility of bearing two identities backed by contrasting ideologies on two different arenas- online and offline. Further, the study embarks to find how each identity affects the existence of the other and how this conflict affects the overall sense of self identity in terms of interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships of a person.

Introduction

The definition of millennials according to Webster dictionary is a person who is born post- 1980s. The unique trait of these millennials is that they change more rapidly than any other generation. The reason of this fluidity is technology such as the internet and smartphones. Globally, this generation has the maximum penetration of smartphones. This increased usage of technology has created generational traits which are collectively shared by a standard way of living life, thinking patterns, media culture and a shared and collective experience of significant trends and events. As per researches, there has been a significant rise in mental illness amongst global population (Psychology Today). The reason has been seen as a result of a disparity between reality and confusing expectations of life. The question arises that is there and to what extent is the difference between reality and pseudo-reality created by technology and further is this leading to a fragmented self? This study aims to explore these quintessential questions faced by millennials. Two objectives of this study are to first examine the presence of fragmented identity in millennials exposed on social media and second to see how and to what extent this online presence translates into their offline identities. Identity deals with the question: "Who are you?" What does it mean to be who you are? Identity relates to our fundamental values that dictate the choices we make (e.g., relationships, career). Identity can be seen belief systems, cultural reflections, behavior, and qualities. Psychology has identified two typical traits of human behavior which are - who I am (real self) and who I want to be (ideal self). The term 'self' is used in theology, psychology, and philosophy with different meanings. Heinz Kohut adheres to the traditional use of self, indicating it as a specific structure of the mind or personality, that is, as a self-representation in the ego. According to his work, self-means the center of the individual's psychological universe. Whereas the fragmented self is the needs to integrate to a different experience which are probably created by altering realities (in our case it can be internet) thereby if not fulfilled, reacting to the narcissistic disappointment.

With the advent and deeper penetration of internet and social media, the debates also rose of change in behavior and time utilization of young millennials. Social media may be the breakthrough innovation of the 21st Century and incidentally, the growing of years of millennials also coincides with growing years of the internet. Therefore, this reason for both growing simultaneously gives a reason of exceptional scope of research on all possible fields of effects of social media on the young minds. Unlike the generation before, the social hierarchy of millennials are generally, according to them, are decided by the presence on social media. Social media helps young adults in socialization, self-status, entertainment and gathering information and knowledge. It has become their space and time. For them, the line between online presence and off-line presence are blurred. Millennials are caught in a tussle of contrasting views and ideas and yearn for self-identity and exploring their ideologies. This is challenging the long existing ideologies stemming from the deep-rooted value of traditions and culture in the Indian society and therefore, causing a crisis of identity in Indian millennials. They tend to wear a cloak of a different fabric of ideologies in the online space and another in the offline. In this process, a fragmented self is discovered and an identity crisis seems to exist. This is the fragmented identity.

Social media is a space which dissolves boundaries and reveals ideas and views which would have otherwise taken many more years to evolve and emerge. There are various categories under which social media usage is

categorized i.e. social connection, maintaining existing relationships and also creating new ones, content gratification and validation, social investigation, status updates, shared identities, and social network surfing. This generation is continuously updating their different social media accounts with photographs, videos, and stories about life and experience generally trying to portray an all good things and avoiding the severe and awkward talks. Some positive stories of travel and happy times motivate these young minds and create jealousy and become the cause of sadness in their own lives. This builds suppression of thoughts which becomes much more impactful because of the absence of offline dialogue. This in some cases this results in the development of depression, feeling of loneliness. Thus, their offline identity becomes drastically opposite to their online presence. The race to gain validation and in the constant race of setting trends before anyone else just as breaking news and become famous and gain importance ignoring the fact that this is leading them to the fragmented self.

It would not be incorrect to say that social media is a reasonably liberal space with more emphasis on the individual rather than the community. An individual refers to a sole person with separate autonomy, having a personal set of values, , and emotions. On the other hand, any given community is made up of a group of individuals. Indian adults are influenced by interdependent self-construal which have a significant influence on their social media usage patterns. In various studies, it has been found that both interdependent self-construal play significant roles, with interdependence being the dominating driving force. In the Indian scenario, this dichotomy between one's online and offline identities induces a sense of dilemma in millennials who are exposed to social media and are also a part of a society weaved by a fabric of traditions, culture, and collectivism.

Indian Culture and Society

Nearly 50 % of social media users in India fall under the age group of 25. And with the rapid increase in the growth of smartphones and cheap smartphones and a small chunk of this population is even in tier two and tier three cities of our country. Therefore, the phenomena of fragmented identity are not just urban phenomena. The communication and narrative that occurs on the online platform can be very different from the reality of Indian culture where traditions and rituals are deeply rooted in the family systems. These families continuously try to ensure that the upbringing of a child should be culturally rooted. Which is again a constant reason of strife between the two worlds of young minds an online world which promotes western, homogenized and alter reality ideas and offline life where apart from some urban nuclear families, families try to infuse Indian cultural values into its children.

Literature Review

Theories and Millennials

Social media separates from traditional media and other forms of new media by the level of personal involvement. Social networking sites and applications generally focus on direct and personal communication and thereby have differing effects on its users and audience as compared to traditional mediums. These effects can be deeply examined by looking at broadly accepted and applicable media effects theories.

The *Uses and Gratification Theory* is an audience-centric media effects theory that originated and came into prominence in the 1970s. It seeks to understand why members of the audience seek out certain types of media to satisfy specific needs. The agenda setting theory by McCombs and Shaw in 1972 explains the nature of the influence of social media. More bloggers, citizen journalists, social media influencers and web content developers influence the young minds. This became more concerning because of lack of barrier or gatekeeper on the content plus easy availability of the internet. As per the two-step flow of communication model proposed by Paul Lazarsfeld (1994), most people are not directly impacted by media, but their opinions are influenced by 'opinion leaders.' These opinion leaders are prominent personalities and people exposed to early forms of media such as celebrities, industrial honchos, news networks, media houses etc. They interpret media messages and codes in a certain way and use their platform to propagate those interpretations. As a result, the general public is influenced. In the age of social media, newer 'social media influencers', have come into the foray as opinion leaders - especially in the millennial market.

Culture and Millennials

According to the book, *Psychosocial Analysis of the Indian Mindset* by Jai BP Sinha, the origin of the terms individualism and collectivism dates back to 1980 when Hofstede termed them as viable constructs to different cultures. Later, Kim et al(1994), Triandis(1995) and Hofstede (2000) related it to social systems, morality, religion, modernity etc. In simpler terms Individualism states that each individual act on his/her own, makes his/her own decisions and interacts with others, as individuals. Collectivism, on the other hand treats the group as a primary entity i.e. judges the group as a whole and individuals as members of the group. Both individualistic and collectivistic characteristics are not particular to any one culture. They can coexist in the same culture and create separate pulls on one's actions towards collectivism and individual culture. This coexistence can be internalized by Indian millennials where offline they pushing towards collectivism and online towards individualism due to exposure to varied content originating from varied culture. This diversity may lead to a conflict within the mind with respect to self-identity and ideology.

Psychology and Millennials

The psychology of millennials is deeply affected by conflict of culture and social media. In her book *Generation Me*, Jean M. Twenge talks how millennials differ from their predecessors. In her another book, *iGen*, Twenge identifies ten important trends that are shaping iGen; indefinite, independent, inclusive, income insecurity, insulated but not intrinsic, irreligious, insecure, in person no more, Internet and In no hurry. Jean M. Twenge and Stacy M. Campbell in the paper '*Generational differences in psychological traits and their impact on the workplace*' demonstrates higher self-esteem, narcissism, anxiety, and depression. However, the degree of each of these psychological traits can be amplified if the direct environment of an individual (a millennial) are completely in contrast to the virtual environment or space the individual spends time in because we cannot generalize the characteristics of millennials across the globe as the influencing factors and cultures in each geographical location are different. The article, '*Frequency and Quality of Social Networking Among Young Adults: Associations With Depressive Symptoms, Rumination, and Corumination*' by Joanne Davila, Rachel Hershenberg, and Lisa R. Starr examines associations between social networking and depressive symptoms among youth. The article further elaborates that "social networking may serve as a salient venue in which youth experience the depressogenic effects of poor-quality relationships.

Primary Study

The methodology adopted for this research is primarily qualitative in nature. Since this study deals with the psychology of human beings there can be no definitive answers. The study requires collection and analysis of primary data using survey and interview methods from actual test subjects as well as intensive study of available literature on various aspects such as ideology of individualism vs collectivism, the behavioral tendencies of people of the chosen demographic (Millennials aged 16-25), and how they are affected by social media and how much. A method of more interpretative nature will be used since there is a link to be established between the referenced content and the data gained from various research methods.

Survey: Using *descriptive* survey method we try and capture the current attitudes and mindsets of millennials. Here are some of the highlights:

1. The maximum amount of responses gauged in this survey was from people aged 19 and 20, 48% in total. This was followed by 18 year old, who formed 21% of the survey's respondents. The other demographics were as such - 17 year old at 8%, 21 year olds at 11%, 23 year olds at 5%, 24 year olds at 2% and 25 year olds at 5%.
2. The wide majority of respondents in the survey were students, followed by working professionals in the field of engineering and medicine.
3. 74.7% of the respondents are currently living with their parents. Of these, a majority comprise students and some working professionals. Interestingly, the 25.3% who do not live with their parents also majorly comprise students studying away from home and living and lodging outside their hometowns.
4. 40% of the respondents said that they spend between 0 to 3 hours accessing social media every day, followed close on its heels by 36% of them bracketing their usage between 3 to 6 hours whereas 24% of the answers indicated a social media usage of more than 6 hours per day.
5. The social media platform most respondents have an account on is WhatsApp, followed by Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat and Twitter respectively.

6. The most used social media on an individual level holistically is WhatsApp, closely followed by Twitter and Instagram.
7. The maximum number of respondents (54.7%) have memes in their feeds. The next most common content exchanged by respondents is conversations over text messaging followed by updates from people's daily lives and news, current affairs.
8. Motivational quotes constitute the least consumed content.
9. 54.7% of respondents concurred that they tend to access social media more than having real life interactions with the people they talk to.
10. 74.7% of the respondents said that they are in some way connected to their family members on social media.
11. A major chunk of disagreements (54.7%) happen on Value Distinctions i.e. what constitutes good or bad behavior. The second leading area of conflict constitutes of ideas like homosexuality, same sex marriage and adoption, followed by disagreements in the field of Romantic relationships and in Political issues.
12. 57.3% of the respondents attributed these differences in opinions or "clashes" with their family members on various ideas to the new atmosphere they encounter on social media platforms. Meanwhile, social media didn't play any role in creating different opinions in the remaining 42.7% of the respondents.
13. An overwhelming 60% of the respondents have admitted to using social media specific acronyms/terms in everyday life, 56% respondents have experienced feeling of dread/ nervousness in situation where their parents can potentially check their social media accounts and 20% of the respondents have felt frustrated in cases where they don't receive an expected amount of responses on their content
14. 77.3% of the respondents felt no psychological disconnect from themselves due to the difference in opinions introduced by social media on various occasions.

Content Analysis

An open ended question asking the respondents to list at least 10 posts that they can see on their social media feeds was asked in the survey. The purpose of this question was to find out how the conflict of ideas affects their sense of self and how it further translates into their online presence. It helped us get more clarity in how and how much that conflict manifests itself in their online activities. Here is the list of online activities millennials consume time on social media:-

- Quotations and Poetry
- Memes and Pop Culture References
- College events
- Sport related content
- News and Politics
- Entertainment and Food
- Popular and funny videos
- Personal Posts
- Photography, Travel and Culture
- Don't know/Can't say

Hence, this demonstrates the various categories of content that the respondents see on their social media feeds. Clearly, the majority of posts shared on their feeds comprise of Memes and Pop Culture References (29%). It is followed by posts on News and Politics (14%), Sports (11%) and Entertainment and Food (9%). Other categories include posts on College events (6%), Quotations and Poetry (6%), Photography, Travel and Culture (6%) and Personal Posts (7%). Around 6% of the respondents couldn't say/ didn't know. The vast majority of respondents admitted to sharing memes and pop culture references, which over the past year has gained tremendous popularity. The idea behind a meme is to add a slight humorous or sly twist to any ordinary situation/ thing/ prevalent ideas/ behaviour, etc. to make it extremely relatable and of course, humorous. The fact that majority of people share or post memes on their social media feeds can imply these following things:

- To indulge in funny content which stems from real life instances and which covers a range of contemporary topics which would otherwise be considered as too serious, for relaxation or entertainment purposes
- They can serve as a commentary on social and current issues ranging from politics to entertainment
- To mask general thoughts and feelings in the form of humor to avoid directly talking about it. This can either be due to the person being shy or uncomfortable to talk directly about a topic or the topic being too sensitive to have a conversation over. One may also choose to do this to avoid making the conversation too awkward or serious.
- To connect or feel a sense of relatedness with the online community. Sharing of memes can serve as a consolidation of similar school of thoughts and a creation of feeling of belongingness on the internet. Moreover for a lot of people, the whole act of people sharing/liking memes created by them can fulfil the inner desires of validation and belongingness.
- The second most posted/ shared content was related to News and Politics with 14% of the total responses. Primarily, this indicates a certain degree of involvement and interest in the daily happenings and political situation among the respondents. News content on social media platforms majorly consists of personal blogs and independent news organization which have a completely different style of reporting and disseminating news. Unlike the fixed and rigid structure of traditional newspapers and news channels, news content on social media has no fixed structure and is completely tailor made to the audience's preferences. News content, online can be biased and endorse personal opinions. Therefore, this exposure of such content determines the political affiliations, viewpoints and thought process of the respondents. The next most shared content was related to sports. This can only be accredited to an interest in the particular game.

Conclusion

This study has examined the effect of social media on an urban, middle-class, millennial respondent group in terms of influencing their offline identity. It sought to examine this influence in three capacities - the existence of a conflict in identity of millennials who live their lives in two contrasting worlds; to what extent their offline presence is affected by this conflict in identity; and what effect this conflict has on their individual self-identity.

Firstly, the aim of the study was to establish that millennials with access to social media are beginning to live their lives in two different worlds - and this causes a fragmentation in how they identify themselves. 100% of the respondents in the study have social media presence, and over 57.3% of them admitted to being influenced by the content they consumed on the daily on social networking platforms. A majority of them also admitted to having conflicting opinions on at least one topic of social or personal importance with their parents. These facts establish that the respondents to our study, do have a conflict in identity to some extent due to exposure to social media.

Secondly, the study has established that the subjects' offline presence is affected by this conflict in identity. This is manifested mostly in matters of the interpersonal self, such as - ideology, personal relationships, language habits, familial dynamics; and the at the intersections of these factors. Ideologically, over 54% of the respondents admitted to clashing with their parents over ideas relating to value distinctions. Such ideas include the dichotomy between what comprises good and bad behavior and how such behavior is manifested in a social and cultural context. Technically speaking, a fact refers to "what is" and a value refers to "what ought to be." Therefore, the latter is a subjective term with cultural experiences attached to it. For example, in certain cultures, public display of affection is acceptable to varying degrees. In a collectivist society like India's, however, it is not. With increasing exposure to social media, millennials do not necessarily conform to these value distinctions their society makes and that leads to a conflict within the self, as founded by the survey. 60% of the subjects said that they had used social media specific language and acronyms in real life conversations. This also highlights the extent of penetration of social media in one's offline life. Finally, in terms of personal relationships and family dynamics - variables like conflicting opinions and the need for validation weigh heavy on young people accessing social media. These variables are also gauged from social media interaction and performance itself - thereby presenting it as a close substitute for offline interaction.

Lastly, the study examined the effect of this exposure to social media on the overall self-identity of the respondents. This is manifested mostly in matters of the intrapersonal self, such as - esteem, self-worth, decision making etc. According to the findings of the survey, in terms of esteem, over 25% of the respondents said that they felt a psychological disconnect with themselves, pointing towards esteem issues. Most of the respondents who said so constituted the top tier of social media users in terms of the time they spend accessing such platforms. While that represents just a quarter of the respondents - the fact that this demonstrates an inclination towards negative self-concept is not one to be ignored.

The most pertinent finding of this data is that the amount of time spent on social media platforms is directly proportional to the degree of internal and external conflict faced by millennials belonging to urban middle-class backgrounds.

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About the author

The author is an assistant professor of Indraprastha College for Women and Suruchi is an assistant professor at Lady Shri Ram College for Women, Delhi University.

Failed State Rapture: Expression of Objectivism and Evaluation of Governance Failure in *BioShock*

Haryo Pambuko Jiwandono

University of Brawijaya

Abstract

Rapture, a fictional objectivist submarine colony in *BioShock* universe, was established by Andrew Ryan as a resistance toward post-World War II hegemonic cultures of the United States, the Soviet Union and Vatican which encapsulate democracy, communism and theocracy ideologies respectively (2K Boston, 2007). It was intended to be a laissez-faire capitalism and meritocratic community which is based upon individual freedoms without interference from state and religious groups and promised the most affluent members of society above a place to express, trade and innovate among others to their hearts' content (2K Boston, 2007). This research examines how objectivism is manifested (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003) in Rapture and how it affects governance failure (Richmond, 2014) by studying the simulations and representations (Dovey & Kennedy, 2006; Mayra, 2008; Bogost, 2010) of objectivism (Peikoff, 1993) and the resulting dystopian world of *BioShock*'s cybertexts (Aarseth 2004; Aldred & Greenspan, 2011). It also provides an alternative scenario of Rapture as thriving city-state if only it was governed properly.

Introduction

The concept of objectivism was founded and developed by Ayn Rand (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003). There are three central tenets of objectivism in *BioShock* which are conceptualisations of aspects of realities by humans' senses and thoughts (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckmann, 2009; Salmieri, 2009), absolute respect toward individual rights to pursuit and develop individual rational self-interests (Peikoff, 1993; Gbate, 2009; Milgram, 2009) and Laissez-faire enterprises (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckmann, 2009; Morgan, 2010; Gibson, 2011;). Rand philosophically positions existences as centres of universe and every concept, and a single person is the sole proverbial master/mistress of his/her universe. Any external coercive factor in influencing one's decision making is to be considered wrongful (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999). Interpretation of Rand's objectivism (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003) are cores of expressions of *BioShock* which will be discussed below.

BioShock (2K Boston, 2007) sets in Rapture, an underwater colony which is built upon objectivism interpretations (Peikoff, 1993). Andrew Ryan was worried by increasing authorities' interferences in dictating societies' ways of lives which override individual rights during and immediately after the World War II. He'd later be able to swiftly gather likeminded people with vision of pure meritocratic community unshackled by authorities and poorer members of societies which will not let accomplished person; like himself and his soon to be Rapture Family colleagues, to fully express, trade and enjoy their plentiful fruits of labours. Thus, along built Rapture with Andrew Ryan, Brigid Tenenbaum, Yi Suchong, Sander Cohen, and Frank Fontaine as key figures. All of whom contributed greatly to developments and objectivist visions of Rapture. Rapture's promise of individual absolute freedoms and right of determination, coupled with Rapture elites' pre-existing vast resources, created ideal circumstances for unbridled capitalistic enterprises.

Rapture's golden age of 1952 until 1958 bore witness to the rise of bourgeois societies and, more impressively, various technological innovations which were never seen on the world above. The most significant is the invention of ADAM; a harvested and processed substances from sea slugs which inhabit undersea area within Rapture's vicinity, by Tenenbaum. ADAM is foundation of genetic modification culture of Rapture most notably in the form of Plasmids; active formulas which give their users supernatural abilities as long as those formulas are regularly consumed, and Gene Tonic; passive formulas which permanently enhance their users' physical attributes. The story of Rapture up to the point of its glory in many ways parallel to that of *Atlas Shrugged* (Rand, 1999). They are stories of protagonists'; Andrew Ryan and Dagny Taggart, attempts to escape what they deem to be oppressive and leeching authorities (Rand, 1999; 2K Boston, 2007). The 'parasites' of *BioShock* and *Atlas Shrugged*'s looters are depicted as collective minded societies which 'unfairly' place the burdens of sharing to thriving capitalistic persons such as Ryan, Taggart and their colleagues. Rapture and Galt's Gulch serve as Edens of *BioShock* and *Atlas Shrugged* respectively where brightest people of both stories would seek refuge to thrive in their new visions.

One of Rand's (1999) strongest narrative objectivist themes in *Atlas Shrugged* is the sense of entitlement and perceived mistreatment from governments and masses toward brightest members of society which concludes in an alternative scenario of the world without involvements of its brightest inhabitants (Rand, 1999). Indeed, the final part of the novel tells the collapse of American socialist government as a result of what can be construed as a reversal of Gramsci's argument of mechanistic Marxism (Holub, 1992) and direct interventions from adherents of John Galt's ideas as leading objectivist figures in *Atlas Shrugged*. *Bioshock* illustrates what would have been if John Galt, Dagny Taggart, Hank Rearden and others objectivists in *Atlas Shrugged* managed to establish their own free-minded, individual oriented, community far from the leeching reaches of masses and governments. Rapture is the place where invention like Rearden Metal (Rand, 1999) is possible to be optimally developed, marketed and implemented based on visions of its inventor unhindered by counterproductive bureaucracies and interests of the masses. Half a century after John Galt proclaims that he and other objectivists in *Atlas Shrugged* are going to reorganise the world as we know it (Rand, 1999), Andrew Ryan provides audiences with realisations in the form of Rapture; an objectivist utopia...or so it seemed.

Fall of Rapture: Evaluation of Rapture's Governance Failure

Rapture only properly functioned for from 1951 until 1958. Indeed, when players take the role of Jack; the protagonist of *BioShock*, and navigate around Rapture, it is a decaying dystopia. An explanation for this is civil war between consummate objectivist Andrew Ryan and his loyalist factions against the followers of Atlas who felt like they have become victims of Rapture bourgeois culture in a twist of irony from *Atlas Shrugged*'s narrative of 'oppressed' objectivists rebel against the 'oppressive' collectivist societies and socialist governments (Rand, 1999). How could such a utopia take a tragic turn in less than a decade? To answer, we need to evaluate the governance of Rapture within governance theory framework (Donovan, 1993; Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015). To clarify, I will first address the matter of Rapture's status as a state. The broadest definition of state is a political organisation with centralised government (Donovan, 1993; Dubreuil, 2010) which holds legitimate authority over certain area (Simpson, 2008). Additionally, terminology of state refers to "a form of coordination in the taking of collectively binding decisions within certain community" (Beunen et al, 2015: 4) of which such coordination always involve hierarchical co-operations between rule makers, operators and groups of compliant (Dubreuil, 2010; Beunen et al, 2015). I argue that Rapture fulfilled the requirement of being a state because of three factors.

The first factor is its politic. Despite being promoted as meritocratic civil society; Rapture's politics are centralised (Donovan, 1993; Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014) on Andrew Ryan. It was built based on his personal dream and political ideal of objectivism and economic vision of The Great Chain (2K Boston, 2007) which can be understood as laissez-faire free market economy solely concerns with individual interests and pricing-distribution-supply-and-demand principle. Ryan also deliberately omitted element of hierarchy (Dubreuil, 2010) and control which are closely associated with governance of state as they are antithetical to his visions, therefore asserting his legitimacy authority over rapture. Despite that, Rapture has one golden rule which prohibits its citizen to ever leave it; showing that even a free-minded society such as Rapture are still under codified law.

Secondly, it is Rapture's status as a Westphalian sovereignty (Krasner, 1999). While Rapture is a secret hermit kingdom and therefore receives no recognition from other states as its presence is not widely known, it is a legitimate governance with clearly defined territory (Dubreuil, 2010) and rights of self-determination (Peikoff, 1993) for its citizens to pursue their own interests without being bureaucratic and social justice ramifications. The third factor is Rapture's interpretation of objectivism as its political ideology (Adamson, 1983) although it does not explicitly assert (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014) its political hegemony (Adamson, 1983) due to its secretive nature. Yet Ryan's adherence to his The Great Chain brand of objectivism ultimately became Rapture's undoing. The guaranteed pursuit of one's self-interests equally means guaranteed injustice as certain persons will be socially economically and politically more powerful (Peikoff, 1993) than some due to unregulated practices of laissez-faire capitalistic enterprises in addition to absence of regulations to protect the interests the less fortunate citizens from predatory acts of such enterprises. Ryan's unwillingness to accommodate poorer members of society; which is one of his main motivations of establishing Rapture, ultimately become one of main factors of his utopia's decay. its lack of

formal, comprehensive and accommodative governing body (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche, 2015) in the state-building (Richmond, 2014) further exacerbated aforementioned situations as Rapture became a proverbial hotbed for pursuits of so many interests with little to no preventive authorities.

Rapture's governance's circumstances at this point was best analysed with concept of evolutionary governance by Beunen et al (2015) and Van Assche et al (2015). Evolutionary governance refers to argument that the best form of governance is an adaptive one (Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015) which constantly changes and evolve out of necessity (Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015) in accordance to its environments and circumstances. As governance changes and evolves to solve problems, so will its complexity (Beunen et al, 2015). Ryan responded to Rapture's crisis by gradually transforming it into a totalitarian state, and he would become more vulgar as numbers of disenfranchised Rapture's citizens toward its politic and governance continued to grow. The proverbial bubble of unrest would later burst at New Year's Eve 1959 with assault on Kashmir Restaurant which marked the beginning of Rapture's Civil War.

Rapture at this stage is an irony which highlighted problems of objectivism (Ryan, 2003) as a political ideology of a state (Adamson, 1983; Ryan, 2003). Arguments by Peikoff (1993) and Ryan (2003) regarding objectivism reveal how it strongly adheres values of individualism with emphasize that one's right of self-determination is absolute (Peikoff, 1993) and thus, within objectivism framework, any form of government's moral principle ought to "conforms to the requirements of man's life" (Peikoff, 1993: 350). Yet in governance, assemblages of actors and systems which bind them in collective cooperation (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015) are imperatives.

Beunen et al (2015) also emphasizes that "governance is never matter of few people taking decisions, even if at first sight there is only a king, a pharaoh, a priest, a dictator, or a small club of businessmen" (Beunen et al, 2015: 4) which highlights interdependencies of actors who are involved in system and process of a governance in certain society (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015). Furthermore, good governance requires peacebuilding (Richmond, 2014) which can be achieved by focusing the system on fulfilment of what are needed by masses (Richmond, 2014). Rapture's brand of objectivism philosophy creates a proverbial roadblock toward fulfilment of such needs. This is elaborated in the story of *Bioshock* which states that poorer citizens of Rapture were segregated into ghetto with bad living standards which fuelled their resentments toward upper class Rapturians and ultimately led to Rapture Civil War. Another objectivist tenet which contravenes epistemology of good governance is its rejection of collective (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003). Objectivism argues that universe is conceptualised by individual's thoughts relations and actions (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999; Milgram, 2009) and combining this with objectivism's absolute adherence to individual's rights, universe in objectivism framework exists within individual area (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999; Milgram, 2009) and not as a collective consensus. This is problematic as governance always requires collective participations through agreements of shared values and systems (Richmond, 2014). Governance always involves negotiations of actors' roles and affordances, and those two processes affect governance's systems (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014). Such negotiations; actions which put collective interests over individual ones, are considered wrong in objectivism framework (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999).

It is hard to disagree that Rapture is a failing experiment founded upon incompatible ideology and unsustainable form of government. But this discussion thus far only covers concepts and processes of objectivism and governance which are set in backstory and is hardly explored by players when meaningfully interact with *Bioshock's* cybertexts (Aarseth, 1997; Salen& Zimmerman, 2005). The next chapter of this article will explore and evaluate expressions of Bioshock's objectivism and governance failure in the form of its simulations and representations within frameworks of digital games formal system (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009) and ergodic experiences (Aarseth, 2004; Newman, 2004; Neitzel, 2005).

The Ocean on Player's Shoulders: Expressions of Objectivism and Governance Failure in *Bioshock*

I will open this chapter by analysing how abstract (Peikoff, 1993; Bogost, 2006) of objectivist discovery of universe by individuals are encapsulated and instantiated (Bogost, 2006) in *Bioshock*. There are three axioms of objectivist ontology and they are existence, identity and consciousness (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003).

Existence refers to an axiom which “subsumes everything” (Peikoff, 1993: 5). It is a state of being exist along with its corollary which solidifies its nature (Peikoff, 1993). Identity is attribution of certain existence which define and differentiate it from other existences by their natures (Peikoff, 1993). Finally, consciousness is human’s “faculty of awareness” (Peikoff, 1993: 48) which serves as existences identifier and conceptualiser (Peikoff, 1993). Connecting these arguments with *BioShock*’s Andrew Ryan pre-set narrative, overarching existence in *BioShock* refers to concept of rights to self-determination (Peikoff, 1993) in *BioShock* universe as it subsumes what Andrew Ryan perceives as natural.

How is the discovery of a universe by individual expressed (Neitzel, 2005; Bogost, 2006) on ludic level? I will first analyse formal and situational dimensions of digital games as they provide interesting encapsulation and instantiation of the aforementioned abstract in addition to understanding of digital games’ systems (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009) and players’ ergodic experiences (Newman, 2004; Neitzel, 2005) within digital games’ cybertexts (Aarseth, 1997) and how they parallel ontology and epistemology within objectivism framework (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999) before applying my arguments in *Bioshock* context. Peikoff (1993) argues that objectivism acknowledges metaphysically given facts which exist beyond humanist values and are to be “accepted *without evaluation*” (Peikoff, 1993: 25). Metaphysically given facts are parameters and foundations for individual to be used as guidelines and containers for his/her actions (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckman, 2009). Metaphysical given facts (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckmann, 2009) are similar to formal systems of digital games, namely in individual’s; as player, necessity to accept them (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009). It should be noted, however, that formal systems of digital games are technically man-made facts (Peikoff, 1993; Aarseth, 2004; Juul, 2005; Bogost, 2010) as they are designed by humans (Juul, 2005; Mayra, 2008; Bogost, 2010). Yet, they are independent from player’s interactions, and only through conformity of digital games’ formal systems can player experiences digital game (Newman, 2004; Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010; Rigby & Ryan, 2011).

Adherences toward affordances of digital games’ formal systems; namely their rules, are imperatives in the formations of players’ ergodic experiences (Aarseth, 2004; Newman, 2004; Neitzel, 2005; Salen & Zimmerman, 2005; Mayra, 2008; Rigby & Ryan, 2011). Both metaphysically given facts (Peikoff, 1993) and digital games’ formal systems (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009) are unnegotiable, and individual; or player for the latter, are bounded by them. Peikoff (1993) adds that individual’s actions are only afforded by the reality which surrounds him/her (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckmann, 2009). In digital games, only through proverbial corridors of their formal systems can players meaningfully interact with simulations and representations which form their cybertexts (Aarseth, 2004; Neitzel, 2005; Salen & Zimmerman, 2005; Mayra, 2008; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010).

Metaphysically given facts (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckmann, 2009) and formal systems of digital games (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009) are just partial dimensions of both objectivism and digital games. Objectivist universe require individual to discover reality through consciousness (Peikoff, 1993). Thus, while metaphysically given facts’ existence are not dependent to human’s grasps, individual’s consciousness and conception of said facts strongly correlate with one’s discovery of universe (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckmann, 2009). Peikoff (1993) asserts that conceptual consciousness is not automatic and human requires volitional exercise of rationality to identify and finitely manipulate existences around him/her. Ultimately, conceptual consciousness depends on existential evidence(s), and human’s knowledge and cognitive abilities (Peikoff, 1993). This is similar to the fact that digital games need to be experienced for them to be meaningful for players (Newman, 2004; Neitzel, 2005; Mayra, 2008; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010; Rigby & Ryan, 2011). Player’s subjectivity toward digital games depend on how he/she interacts with digital games formal systems affordances (Newman, 2004; Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009). As such, subjectivities in digital games are personal and unique per-player (Rigby & Ryan, 2011); parallels to how conscious conceptualisation within objectivism framework depends on individual’s sensory perceptions and knowledge which are not exactly similar from one person to another (Peikoff, 1993).

Finally, both objectivist consciousness and digital games experience requires volition (Huizinga, 1980; Peikoff, 1993; Goldstein, 2005; Holmes & Pellegrini, 2005; Mayra, 2008; Bogost, 2010). Peikoff (1993) argues that consciousness requires willingness prior to effort. To become conscious, individual must first be willing to initiate process(es) toward reaching the state of consciousness (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckman, 2009). Volition is, thus, a pre-requirement of any individual who adheres objectivism (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckman, 2009). Play

is an inherently volitional activity (Huizinga, 1980; Caillois, 2001) and if it becomes mandatory, if it is to serve purpose other than fulfilment of intrinsic needs (Huizinga, 1980; Rigby & Ryan, 2011), or if it is conducted against player's wish (Goldstein, 2005; Holmes & Pellegrini, 2005), it stops being play (Huizinga, 1980; Caillois, 2001; Goldstein, 2005; Holmes & Pellegrini, 2005). To experience digital games player must volitionally initiate effort to play (Huizinga, 1980), but her/she must follow affordances of digital games rules (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009) similar to how metaphysics of existences are foundations of human's consciousness which frame conceptualisation and action (Peikoff, 1993; Boeckman, 2009; Salmieri, 2009).

Applying discussion above within *Bioshock's* context, I will focus on game play as the most prominent rule in the game; a corridor of interaction for player (Newman, 2004; Juul, 2005; Neitzel, 2005; Sicart, 2009). *BioShock* is a semi open world first person shooter with role playing game elements. These rules afford players; as Jack, to eliminate enemy units by using weapons in addition to Plasmid powers. The role playing game elements of *BioShock* concern with affordances to upgrade in-game statistics and abilities through skill points spending and modifications. Throughout the game, players will mostly oppose various splicers enemy units in additions to Big Daddy variations units.

I argue that protagonist unit of and ergodic experiences (Aarseth, 1997; Bogost, 2006) as Jack are the most prominent encapsulations of absolute individualism abstract (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003; Aarseth, 2004; Newman, 2004; Neitzel, 2005). Jack is interestingly simulated and represented as Fontaine's 'tool' during the first half of *Bioshock*. Jack's lack of free will during the first half of *Bioshock* reflects *Atlas Shrugged's* main morality issue of which a person's existence and aspirations are bonded to another person's interest; Frank Fontaine in *Bioshock* and the socialist governments and collectivist societies in *Atlas Shrugged*. Abstract of absolute individualism is also encapsulated and instantiated (Bogost, 2006) by players' meaningful actions (Salen & Zimmerman, 2005). It is worth to remember, however, that encapsulations and instantiation of absolute individualism are limited to affordances of *Bioshock's* rules (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009).

Again, the most prevalent example of this would be *BioShock's* gameplay as rules of which its primary first person shooter mechanics rarely allow players to overcome obstacles by pacifist mean in addition with numerous goals which require players to permanently incapacitate various in-game units. Therefore, violence is still the main ludic and ethical expression of *Bioshock* which is largely unnegotiable (Huizinga, 1980; Caillois, 2001; Sicart, 2009; Rigby & Ryan, 2011) despite objectivism strong emphasize on individual liberty (Peikoff, 1993). Additionally, *Bioshock's* mostly linear story design afford little room for simulation of procedural branching narratives (Neitzel, 2005) and consequences as players will begin the game with airplane crash and descend to Rapture, murdering Andrew Ryan at the middle of the story and conclude it after final boss battle with Frank Fontaine. Players' interactions with Little Sister units provide interesting evaluations of individual ethical freedoms (Sicart, 2009). To provide overviews, narratives of Little Sister units are pre-adolescent girls who are genetically modified to be able to survive submarine pressure in order to collect ADAMs from sea slugs. Little Sisters are mostly accompanied by Big Daddy units; genetically spliced individuals who don't diver armours to act as their protectors from splicers and Jack. Little Sister units, as far as rules of *BioShock* are concerned, function as source of ADAMs which can be spent to modify players' abilities. In order to gather ADAMs from Little Sisters, players must first dispose their Big Daddy protectors, and then players can choose to either harvest or rescue Little Sister units in order to obtain ADAM. Harvesting Little Sister units will murder them and rescuing will undo their genetic splicing; transforming them back into normal human units. I argue this particular mechanic of *BioShock* serves as criticism of objectivist concept of individual freedoms which rarely discuss altruistic possibilities and omit emotional factors (Peikoff, 1993).

Peikoff (1993) emphasizes that individual rights consist primarily of rights of lives, rights of liberties, right of properties and rights of pursuits of happiness which are overarched by motivation of one's own welfare; where one should live for "one's own sake and fulfilment" (Peikoff, 1993: 352). Ryan himself states that altruism is the root of all problem in *Bioshock* universe (2K Boston, 2007). *Bioshock* provides criticism of this concept by affords players to explore with altruistic aspects related to objectivist individual rights through meaningful interactions with Little Sister units; namely rescuing them, of which player as Jack align their rights of pursuits of happiness with. Another units which strongly encapsulate and polymorph (Bogost, 2006)

morbid perversion of ideal conceptualisations of objectivist absolute individual rights (Peikoff, 1993) abstract are splicer units. Splicers, within the myth of *BioShock*, are humans who are overdosed on ADAM and are genetically spliced which result in enhanced physical capabilities but severely deteriorated mental wellness. It is also heavily implied within the game that splicer units derived from human units of *BioShock* myth who consume ADAM mainly for recreational purpose; akin to usage of narcotics in molecular world.

The recreational usages of ADAM by Rapture inhabitants and how that substance morbidly mutates would-be splicer units exhibits how egoism is capable of inflicting self-harm as a contradiction of objectivist argument which regards egoism as the ethical foundation of self-fulfilment guided by conscious observance to metaphysical existences (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999; Ryan, 2003). *Atlas Shrugged* and the story of *BioShock* up to establishment of Rapture express egoism; and with it absolute individualisms, as alternative righteous solutions to external collectivist tyranny. What Rand (1999) did not explore is how self-interests may conflict among themselves. Furthermore, *Bioshock* affords players to experience the morbid of such idea in addition to grasp its conceptual harm. The absolute individual rights are strongly related to rampant laissez-faire enterprise (Morgan, 2010; Gibson, 2011) in *Bioshock* world. Laissez-faire enterprises are the main cultural processes of Rapture which also serve as main practical conducts of objectivism ideology, and it is not possible to separate objectivism from laissez-faire enterprises (Peikoff, 1993). Virtually every significant units of *BioShock* consist of Jack, splicers, Big Daddies, Little Sisters, Andrew Ryan and Frank Fontaine encapsulate and instantiate core ideas of laissez-faire enterprises. The game world of *BioShock* in the form of Rapture also mainly revolves around laissez-faire enterprise as how it and all its features are direct products of such process; including its transport systems, technological marvels, and last but not least its sales of goods. The last point is significant as players would directly experience laissez-faire enterprise through interactions with Circus of Value vending machine units across Rapture. The most glaring example is how some items can be priced beyond sensibility, with the price will also generally spike as player progresses further in the game.

Gene Banks and Power to the People are also meaningful vending machine units as they directly affect players' experience in interacting with the game through character and arsenal modifications. Additionally, as in the case of absolute individual rights abstract, *BioShock* also affords player with instantiation of laissez-faire enterprise abstract subversive encapsulation through hacking of vending machines which will result in items prices reduction. Similar to how altruistic dimension of individual rights enforcement contravene discussions of egoism in objectivist axiology (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999; Ryan, 2003), hacking of vending machines by players do not correspond with capitalistic values as such enterprise will hinder capitalistic processes; namely regarding its focus on generating profit (Morgan, 2010; Gibson, 2011).

Conversely, there are aspects of laissez-faire enterprise abstract in *Bioshock*, which allow little procedural reflection (Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010). Player is afforded with procedural simulations which are to be undertaken mainly by interacting with Little Sister units throughout the game. Harvesting Little Sisters will provide players with more immediate high amount ADAM which can be exchanged for upgrades and, other than grimmer ending of the game, there'd be no procedural negative consequence of such action. Players' actions in either harvesting or liberating Little Sister units will not significantly affect the ludic experience of *BioShock*. This is different from *BioShock's* contemporaries such as *Metal Gear 3: Snake Eater* or *Dishonored* in which callous actions from players correspond with increasing difficulty (Sicart, 2009) and/or obstacles in completing games. While representations of ethical issues surrounding child homicide are sufficient for reflections by players (Sicart, 2009; Gibson, 2011), they are not paired with rules which enforce criticism (Sicart, 2009) of laissez-faire enterprise abstract within *Bioshock* context. It creates interesting juxtaposition where on one hand *Bioshock* affords representational and procedural criticism, yet on the other hand the game affords laissez-faire enterprise as one of its main ludic rules.

I will move on to discuss how abstracts (Bogost, 2006) of good governance (DuBreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014) are simulated and expressed (Newman, 2004; Juul, 2005; Neitzel, 2005; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010) in *BioShock*; or lack thereof. It will be opened with analyses of expression and simulation of collective agreement abstract (Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015). Collective agreement is clearly lacking at the procedural part of *BioShock* where Rapture is reduced to warzone with fiercely competing non-state actors as well as constant

violent among its citizens who are reduced to insane and violent splicers. *BioShock* instead encapsulate and instantiate antitheses of collective agreement which align with characteristics of failing state (Kasfir, 2003; Klare, 2003; Widner, 2003; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015). Player will also take orders from two most prominent Rapture's citizens; Frank Fontaine and Brigid Tenenbaum, both of whom plot to further destabilize Andrew Ryan's governmental legitimacy over the submarine colony. Drawing proverbial red thread between digital game's pre-set narratives with its gameplay rules (Huizinga, 1980; Wolf, 2001; Newman, 2004; Juul, 2005; Neitzel, 2005; Mayra, 2008; Bogost, 2010), destabilization of Rapture is the main procedural narrative of *BioShock* and is not negotiable if player wish to experience it as play (Juul, 2005; Sicart, 2009).

Open resistances toward Andrew Ryan's authority illustrate several key characteristics of failing state. Dissatisfaction toward the Great Chain political economic system would lead to unrest which paved way for Fontaine and Tenenbaum to operate against Ryan's authorities, and they as ludo-narrative units of *BioShock*, encapsulate and instantiate failing state characteristics of violent predation and security dilemma (Kasfir, 2003) respectively. Fontaine's actions are motivated by material greed akin to real world non-state actors who are profiting from domestic anarchy as a result of state failure (Kasfir, 2003; Richmond, 2014). It is argued that ongoing anarchism within a failing state gradually severs kinships among its citizen as society splinters into various cells with conflicting interests (Kasfir, 2003; Klare, 2003; Widner, 2003; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015), thus creating distrusts which foster hard-line measures to preserve one's safety and interests (Kasfir, 2003; Richmond, 2014). Violence in Rapture, as it is spiralling down to failure (Rotberg, 2003; Taylor, 2013), is centralized on ADAM. It is expressed and simulated in *BioShock*'s ludo-narrative as splicers, Frank Fontaine even Jack himself who commit acts of violence which revolve around ADAM and player is rarely afforded with non-violent method in gathering the substance.

Player as Jack, Frank Fontaine, Andrew Ryan and Brigid Tenenbaum are not expressed and simulated (Juul, 2005; Neitzel, 2005; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010) as having collective agreement among each other even on the brink of Rapture's failure as a state (Rotberg, 2003; Kasfir, 2003; Taylor, 2013). Richmond (2014) highlights interdependence of society in the peacebuilding process and how "coordination of collectively binding decisions for a community" (Beunen et al, 2015: 25) is imperative in ontology and epistemology of governance in addition to state's sustainability (DuBreuil, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015). Main character units of *BioShock* clearly contravene these arguments as they encapsulate and instantiate (Bogost, 2010) failing state actors (Taylor, 2013) which are characterised as being splintered into various cells based on interests and employment of violent methods as means to ends (Kasfir, 2003; Rotberg, 2003; Taylor, 2013).

The next step is to analyse how governmental adaptability abstract is encapsulated and instantiated by interactions among units (Bogost, 2006) in *BioShock*. Abstract of adaptability is ambivalently expressed and simulated (Juul, 2005; Neitzel, 2005; Sicart, 2009) in accordance to good governance theory (Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015). Its pre-set narratives tell stories of Ryan's negotiating his objectivist ideology; albeit reluctantly, to restore stability in Rapture by means of nationalisation of Fontaine Futuristic because it was threatening his enterprise and to lesser extent because population of Rapture due to their rampant usage of ADAM. Ryan also adapted to Fontaine's combat tactics by using ADAM and even splicers to his advantage through reprogramming Big Daddies and usage of hypnotic pheromone which result in splicers to become obedient to Ryan's orders. Within short time, Ryan successfully turned the tide of civil war to his favour.

Andrew Ryan's actions reflect arguments made by Luhmann (1995) and Beunen et al (2015) regarding social systems and adaptive governance. Luhmann (1995) argues that discursive communications are foundations of social system and society's understanding of it is the main driving factor of its dynamics. This argument is applied in governance framework by Beunen et al (2015) and Van Assche et al (2015) who argue that evolution in governance is based on collective's dynamic discursive knowledge in addition to adaptation toward sociocultural circumstances which I have elaborated on previous sections. Ryan reluctantly resorted to totalitarianism discourse with rationale that it'd be temporary and enforcement of objectivism at that point would not be possible as the civil war raged on. But the transformation process was rocky.

Ryan was unable to restore prosperity in Rapture. While he managed to push back Fontaine's forces from full-fledged insurgents to sporadic guerrillas, Rapture was horribly devastated with most of its populations were either deceased or degraded into splicers in addition the previously prosperous goods and services enterprises became completely defunct. Ryan's pyrrhic victory over Fontaine ultimately only serves as result of his governance inadaptability. Andrew Ryan's discursive transition from objectivism into totalitarian was sudden and he poorly distributed the knowledge to his fellow Rapturians. As a ludo-narrative unit (Bogost, 2006), Andrew Ryan encapsulates (Bogost, 2006) stuttering governance contingency (Beunen et al, 2015) as he struggled to balance objectivist individualism (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003; Boeckmann, 2009) and centralised use of legitimate authority (Klare, 2003; Dubreuil, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Richmond, 2014). Ryan initially deemed Fontaine's ADAM enterprise to be perfectly aligned with the Great Chain ideology, yet nevertheless became wary of Fontaine as Fontaine Futuristic gained more profit and its owner became more influential; even rivalling Ryan himself. Ryan took drastic measure in the form of Fontaine's (botched) assassination after he learned that Fontaine also smuggled goods from the surface world, and he would police Rapture with increasing authority.

Rapturians were predictably unhappy with sudden and drastic authoritarian government as they were mostly still possessing discursive knowledge (Luhmann, 1995; Beunen et al, 2015) of Rapture as a state under objectivism which upholds individualism and laissez-faire enterprises at the utmost importance. Andrew Ryan would also become increasingly vulgar in asserting his authority which take forms in public arrest, mass incarcerations and even murders of individuals who he deemed as threatening to his hegemony over Rapture. Yet, pre-set narrative of *BioShock* do not discuss how Andrew Ryan accommodate poorer Rapturians after he's transforming Rapture into authoritarian state. The decreasing freedom of affluent Rapturians was not balanced by increasing welfare of their less prominent counterparts, thus disrupted dissemination of Andrew Ryan's new governance discourse (Luhmann, 1995; Beunen et al, 2015) on both layers of society in Rapture.

Finally, Ryan and his allies had no intention to fully discard laissez-faire entrepreneurship as they turn to war profiteering amidst Rapture civil war crises. Andrew Ryan had Yi Suchong to reprogram Big Daddies from construction workers to protectors of Little Sisters as they gather ADAM from splicers corpse across Rapture, which would enable Ryan to mass produce the substance in forms of Plasmids and Gene Tonics. Ryan and co would later take advantage of Rapture's minimum availability of arsenals by selling ADAM derived products to Rapturians as means of self defense, and later by adding arsenals into Circus of Values item lists in addition to installing Ammo Banditos; vending machines specifically for firearms trades, and Vita Chambers which are able to resuscitate mortally wounded individuals for prices.

Impact of Ryan's ambivalent adaptive ability and his inability to properly construct and disseminate discursive knowledge (Luhmann, 1995; Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015) in addition to absence of peacebuilding attempt (Richmond, 2014) can be experienced directly (Neitzel, 2005; Bogost, 2010) by player throughout ludo-narrative portion of *BioShock*. Interactive presences and threats of Big Daddy and splicer units, consumable ADAM derived products, wide availability of combat supportive peripherals, and the overall violence as player takes control of Jack in accomplishing ludo-narrative goals which are set by the game's formal systems; culminated in demises of both Andrew Ryan and Frank Fontaine and Rapture's desolation, are expressions and simulations of Andre Ryan's governance adaptiveness or lack thereof (Neitzel, 2005; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015). By this point of this discussion, I have elaborated expressions (Neitzel, 2005; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010) of objectivism (Peikoff, 1993; Rand, 1999; Ryan, 2003; Boeckmann, 2009) good governance (Luhmann, 1995; Dubreuil, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015; Van Asschen et al, 2015) and state failure (Kasfir, 2003; Klare, 2003; Rotberg, 2003; Taylor, 2013) in *BioShock*. Epistemological and axiological contrasts between objectivist individualism (Peikoff, 1993) and collective necessities (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015) of governance are represented and simulated (Juul, 2005; Neitzel, 2005; Sicart, 2009; Bogost, 2010) as problematical root of Rapture's failure as a state. The next, and concluding, part of this discussion will critically analyse such Rapture's root of failure with emphasize on comparison between objectivist rationality and interpretation of objectivism in *BioShock* to proverbially draw their respective consciousness of existence.

Choose the Possible: Rapture's Foundation as Evasion of Reality

Andrew Ryan's most fatal flaw was his primacy of consciousness over existence (Peikoff, 1993). Peikoff (1993) argues that human's faculty of awareness is to discover, and not to create, as human's rational awareness are bounded by existence(s) and its/their corollaries of natural laws causality. Therefore, identification of existence is guided by thorough understanding its corollaries, not by human's desires in interpreting it which possibly lead to 'creation' of realism regardless of whether or not such realism is in accordance with existences' natures (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003; Boeckmann, 2009). Deliberate evasion of reality is objectivist axiological root of corruption (Peikoff, 1993).

Contextualising arguments above with establishment and governance of Rapture, we must proverbially connect identified corollaries of objectivism and governance to envision what actions ideally to be taken by Ryan. In objectivism, individual must first identifies existence(s) and their/its natural corollaries (Peikoff, Boeckmann, 2009) to conceptualise and commit his/her actions in accordance to those corollaries by virtue of absolute individualism (Peikoff, 1993). Governance requires collective agreement (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015) adaptability (Beunen et al, 2015; Van Asschen, 2015 et al) and assertion of authority legitimacy (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014). Andrew Ryan was unable to fully commit himself to adherence of objectivism corollaries and totally averted adherence of governance corollaries.

There are two main points of contention of Ryan's partial adherence of objectivism. The first one is his initial offhand approach toward production distribution and consumption of ADAM. Peikoff (1993) clearly argues that individual's recreational drugs and narcotics usages contravene corollary of objectivism as he/she fails to identify harms it caused to his/her body. The terrible effect caused by ADAM toward Rapturians who ultimately degraded into splicers occurred mainly due to Andrew Ryan's unwillingness to act in accordance to ADAM's harmful nature. By doing so, Ryan has placed his vanity and pride of the Great Chain ideological laissez-faire enterprise over the natural corollaries of ADAM toward humans' bodies. Thus hampered Ryan's rational consciousness as he averted his consciousness from focusing on reality of ADAM in Rapture.

The second point is Rapture's political dilemma where Ryan put himself as the centre of Rapture's politic and governance despite him promoting it as a meritocratic society where everyone gets equal opportunity and unrestricted freedom. Yet he actively undermined Frank Fontaine's business and increased censor and policing of Rapture. Ryan betrayed objectivist axiology and even his Great Chain ideology by gradually asserting more power and authority; again putting desire over reality. If Ryan was to fully adhere objectivism, then Rapture would not be governed at all and each Rapturian would be a self-contained unit who discover the affordances of existences surround them through his/her consciousness and action within Rapture by virtue of his absolute right to pursuit individual fulfilment (Peikoff, 1993). Such actions, however, would not be possible and they lead to evasion of reality which serves as the root of corruption in *Bioshock* universe: the foundation of Rapture. Peikoff (1993) argues that evasion of reality rooted in insistence toward existence even though evidences prove otherwise and is usually motivated by unwillingness to accept reality. To accept reality is to accept affordances of existences' natural corollaries and act in accordance to them, and state's natural corollaries act in antitheses of what Andre Ryan envision Rapture to be. To summarize, objectivism contravenes natural causalities and corollaries of state and good governance (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015). Andrew Ryan's deliberate disregard of causality of state and good governance existences by founding Rapture, has doomed it to inherent failure (Peikoff, 1993).

I conclude this discussion by arguing that Andrew Ryan was under impression that objectivism equals absolute individual freedom, while it does not (Peikoff, 1993; Ryan, 2003). Such impression made Ryan fail to realize that collectivist approaches of governments of the world are necessary parts of bigger corollaries and causalities assemblage which form existences of both states and good governances in addition to peace-building (Dubreuil, 2010; Richmond, 2014; Beunen et al, 2015; Van Assche et al, 2015), and such impression lead to him founding Rapture without intention to adhere aforementioned corollaries and causalities. Thus, fail state of Rapture; Andrew Ryan should not choose the impossible.

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About the author

The author is a lecturer at the University of Brawijaya's Department of Media and Communication. He has 5 years of experience as digital game studies researcher since he was an undergraduate student at the GadjahMada University. He continued his education at the University of Leicester from 2015-2017, and he has received Letter of Acceptance from the University of Leeds. Mr.Jiwandono has 4 years of experience as a conference speaker since 2014. from 2017-2018, Mr.Jiwandono was invited to 3 international conferences and one international workshop in Slovak Republic, Poland, Czech Republic and Republic of China.

New situation of the media environment and “crisis” of journalism in Japan

Shuzo Yamakoshi
Keio University, Japan

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to analyze various aspects of “crisis” on journalism in contemporary Japan caused by both changes in the media environment and political society. In Japan, the environment of the media and conditions of political society have changed radically in the past decade. Social media such as Twitter has penetrated rapidly and the presence of mainstream media has declined. The experience of the Great East Japan Earthquake and Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant accident in 2011 changed political and social situations in Japanese society and encouraged a more active voice from among ordinary citizens through social media. Thus, research explores the concept of “voice,” provided by media theorist Nick Couldry for analyzing the process of giving an account of oneself and recognizing others. This research develops this concept in order to analyze the change in Japan’s media environment.

Introduction

This paper considers how changes of media environment and political culture effect journalism in Japan. In recent years, the “crisis” of news media and journalism has been discussed at the global level: populism and media politics of the Trump regime in the US, Brexit in the UK and the rise of far-right politics in the EU. In other words, it is said that “populism,” “fake news” and “post-truth” have undermined the legitimacy of journalism.

In Japan, the debate over “crisis” of journalism has also been activated. In this discussion, the particularity is emphasized. There is no populist political leader who utilizes social media like President Trump. And xenophobic or racist political parties have never gained a seat of the National Diet. Then, what kind of “crisis” is developing in Japan?

From a perspective of international comparison, Kaori Hayashi pointed that “silent distrust of the media” is developing in Japan (Hayashi 2018: 161). In Japan, traditional mainstream media such as newspapers and television keep a significant presence. Alternative journalism has little influence. However, according to Hayashi, there is an apathy to journalism among the general public. They are less concerned about the decline of news media and problems of journalism. Under such situation, the mainstream news media has been shrinking by the market fundamentalism. Hayashi finds “crisis” of Japanese news media and democracy in that the legitimacy of journalism is unknowingly undermined (Hayashi 2018: 140). Hayashi says that the cause of such “crisis” of journalism in Japan is that the mainstream news media has not appropriately included the voices of citizens (Hayashi 2018: 216). Therefore, she insists that it is important to activate “healthy media participation” by citizens.

Although Hayashi rightly points out the particular characteristic of “crisis” of journalism in Japan, there are some problems with her explanation. First, how can we distinguish between “healthy media participation” and “unhealthy media participation”? Hayashi acknowledges that right-wing politics are also activated in Japan, and some activities attack the liberal news media. Can these activities be distinguished from criticisms against the mainstream news media by anti-nuclear movement? Second, she cannot explain why some activities that criticize journalism have been activated despite of large indifference to it. Third problem is a “thin” explanation of the relationship between journalism and political culture. The distrust of the media system and emergence of media populism are inherently related to political culture and democracy. In order to answer these problems, it is necessary to consider the characteristics of Japanese political culture and its relationship to the news culture.

This paper argues the characteristics of “crisis” of journalism in contemporary Japanese society from the perspective of “political culture.” This paper focuses on the following two points. First, media populism existed already in Japanese politics in the early 2000s. And this populism had been developed by the

mainstream news media. Second, there was a “critical event” which affected both journalism and political culture. This event is the Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011. This accident not only raised distrust of the mainstream media, but also stimulated political activism. The development and diffusion of social media has promoted these tendencies. Changes in these two political cultures and changes in the media environment are factors of crisis of journalism and democracy. This paper clarifies its phase and presents what kind of theoretical concept can explain such crisis.

The mainstream news media and political culture in Japan

(1) Hegemony of the mainstream news media

In order to consider Japanese news culture, it is useful to focus on the configuration of the mainstream news media in Japanese society. As is well known, in the Japanese news culture, the national media has played a central role. National media is five national newspapers, five private TV news networks, a public service broadcasting NHK, two news agencies. This configuration is basically maintained even in a situation of digitalization. The mainstream news media has institutionalized a large news gathering system. Japanese mainstream news media has established a nationwide news gathering system called “*kisha club*”⁵. This system enables an efficient news production, but it also standardizes contents of the news. This media system also functions as an education system for professional journalists.

The core of this news culture is five national newspapers: *the Asahi Shimbun*, *the Yomiuri Shimbun*, *the Mainichi Shimbun*, *the Nihon Keizai Shimbun (the Nikkei)* and *the Sankei Shimbun*. These newspapers have millions of copies. Also, the five private broadcasting news networks have strong relationships with five national newspapers⁶. The important point is the political function that national newspapers have played. That is the production of a consensus in the postwar Japanese society. The five national newspapers are divided into conservative camp (*the Yomiuri*, *the Nikkei* and *the Sankei*) and liberal camp (*the Asahi* and *the Mainichi*). Despite these ideological differences, a consensus was formed between the camps of the two sides. One consensus was the priority of economic growth and the other was the building of a peace nation. These were national goals that all members of society should aspire to. Consensus on “economy” and “peace” functions as a stabilizer of society. Postwar society is integrated through consensus without polarizing public opinion. Here, the news gathering system which produces the uniform news contents becomes important. In other words, consensus has influenced news values and has been reproduced through the production and consumption processes of daily news.

Consensus on the economic growth and the peace nation was established from late of 1950s to early 1960s. It was linked with the establishment of the “1955 system” between the conservative Liberal Democratic Party and the progressive Japanese Socialist Party. National newspapers and the NHK (public service broadcasting) had supported ordering this system through news production (Krauss 2000). People shared common image on the society, of “grand narratives” through consumption of the news produced by the mainstream national news media (Oishi 2014). Media theorist Nick Couldry named this mechanism as “the myth of the mediated center” (Couldry 2012). “Social reality” can be shared at national level if people access the center made by the national media. It means that the smaller the number of “centers” are, the higher the degree of sharing “reality” is.

(2) The “Lost 20 Years” and neo-liberal populism

This consensus has changed significantly during a period of the “Lost 20 Years” since the 1990s. In the first half of the 1990s, the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the bubble economy and the end of the “1955 system” occurred. From this time on, politics, society and economy of Japan enter a long stagnation. That is the “Lost 20 Years.”

⁵According to the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association, “the *kisha club* is a voluntary institution for news-gathering and news-reporting activities made up of journalists who regularly collect news from public institutions and other sources.”

<https://www.pressnet.or.jp/english/about/guideline/>

⁶These relationships are: NNN and *the Yomiuri*, ANN and *the Asahi*, JNN and *the Mainichi*, TXN and *the Nikkei*, FNN and *the Sankei*.

The "Lost 20 Years" has greatly changed the political culture. The symbol of political culture during this period is "reform." Through this symbol the following discourse has been formed. First, the cause of the "Lost 20 Years" is in the system of politics, economics, society of Japan so far, so it is necessary to change them. Second, in order to solve this problem, it is important to accept global standards and introduce the market principle. The important point is that such "reform" was signified in a populist way. As is well known, populism develops the following discursive strategy. First, it presents an image of a society divided into two forces. Second, one force is positioned as the "good" and the other is the "evil." The "evil" side are blamed for causing social and political problems. Third, it presents "poetic justice" story, which is about rewarding the "good" and punishing the "evil." In this case, the populist and ordinary people are the "good," and their oppositions are the "evil." By presenting this narrative, populist tries to mobilize people who are dissatisfied with the current situation.

Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (LDP) conducted neo-liberal reform, developing populist discursive strategy. Koizumi administration (2001-2006) put up the slogan "structural reform without sanctuary" and promoted neo-liberal policies such as privatization of public sectors and deregulation. The political style of Prime Minister Koizumi is called "theatrical politics." Characteristics of theatrical politics are as follows. First, a populist posits itself as a reformer who carry out difficult tasks with the general public. Second, this populist calls the oppositional groups as "resistance forces." Third, such politics is described as "poetic justice" story (Otake 2006). The interesting point is that not only opposition parties and bureaucrats but also the LDP politicians themselves who are supposed to be comrades are included in resistance forces. Prime Minister Koizumi is the leader of the LDP, who claimed to "destroy the LDP" and became a prime minister.

The mainstream media such as newspapers and TVs provided such "theaters." Newspapers played a role of spreading the logic of neo-liberal reform to society. And the television provided a stage for theatrical politics. The Koizumi administration gained a high support rate and became a long-term government for five years. The important point is, first, that this neo-liberal reform has become a new consensus between liberal media and conservative media. And second, the logic to discover and attack "enemies" based on good-and-evil dualism and poetic justice story was produced and reproduced by the mainstream news media. It develop into a logic of "antagonism."

The change of the media environment and "3.11"

(1) Digital media environment and news culture

The mainstream news media has constructed discourse on neo-liberal "reform." It articulated with populist discursive strategies and produced the logic of "antagonism." The mainstream news media played the role of spreading it in society. This logic becomes the dominant code of political culture today. Not only the mainstream news media cannot solve conflicts caused by this logic, but also it regarded as an "enemy" by this logic. This undermines legitimacy of the mainstream news media. These difficulties are the foundation of the "crisis" of journalism today.

The cause of this situation is two trends in the past 10 years. The first is the change in the media environment. And the second is the change of political culture after 3.11. In Japan, social media has developed and spread in the past ten years. YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, Line is used by many people. Meanwhile, the circulation of newspaper has been decreasing since about 2000. Though television is still watched by elderly people, among people in under 40s, the presence of television has declined (Kimura, Sekine and Namiki 2015). Nonetheless, the mainstream news media still plays a central role in the production process of news. Powerful citizen journalism does not exist in Japan. In 2006, Korean civic news media *OhmyNews* established Japanese version, but it withdrew soon. HuffingtonPost and BuzzFeed are also deployed in Japan, but their presence is low. Noteworthy is the change in consumption of news. According to a survey by Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism 2018: 131), consumption of newspapers has declined sharply from 2013 to 2018 (63%→37%)⁷. The consumption of news via television is slightly reduced (69%→65%). Social media increases slightly (17%→21%). Online news consumption is 59%, and news aggregator-based consumption is larger than in other countries (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism

⁷ Weekly usage.

2018: 15). Also, compared with other countries, active usage such as comment and share to news is the lowest level (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism 2016: 101). It can be said that Japanese news consumption is very passive.

These data show that in Japan, though the news outlet is multiplied, online news is consumed in the same style as TV and newspaper news. Using the concept of "mediated center," this means pluralization of "center." It brings about a relative decline in the presence of newspapers and television. Japanese audience has low loyalty to particular news media (Hayashi 2018). For people, Yahoo! news and Line news are also equivalent to news items of NHK and *the Asahi Shimbun*.

(2) Social media and political culture after 3.11

In 2011, East Japan great earthquake and Fukushima nuclear power plant accident occurred. This disaster has huge impact on Japanese society. As a result, discussion on the change of political culture of "post 3.11" or "post disaster" was activated (Samuels 2013).

The first is the activation of political activism. For a long time, Japanese citizens have been told that they are passive to participate in politics including social movement (Gonoi 2012). However, as a result of the Fukushima nuclear power plant accident, anti-nuclear movement came to be generated in various forms: a rally of 200,000 people and a regular demonstration in front of the prime minister's office. Currently anti-nuclear movement became latent. But the important point is that the culture of activism has become established. After the anti-nuclear movement, large-scale protests such as opposition movement against the national security-related bills of 2015 develops. Also, in Okinawa, activism opposing the US military bases has come to large. Such activism has also been actively carried out by right-wing forces in the form of a racism movement. Social media plays a major role in revitalizing these activities.

It can be said that social media has promoted activism and greatly changed Japanese political culture. However, at the same time, these activism intensify conflicts and divisions in society. Consensus is lost in Japanese political culture, and antagonisms are growing. The fact that the second Abe administration of the LDP, established in 2012, is promoting authoritarian and conservative policies is also a factor that is intensifying conflicts and divisions in Japanese political society. Social media plays a role of promoting rather than resolving such antagonisms.

The second is a change in political communication. From just before 3.11, it has been developing with the diffusion of social media. As noted above, social media is used much like mass media, rather than being used interactively. In other words, the stage of theatrical politics has expanded to social media. There is also the logic of antagonism. In 2009 and 2010, the government of the Democratic Party of Japan conducted the "Government Revitalization Unit." This was a "theater" where politicians and business elites criticize wastefulness of bureaucrats based on "market principle." And this "theater" was disclosed publicly through streaming on the Internet. Politicians came to use Twitter and Facebook actively after 3.11. Twitter account of Toru Hashimoto, who was a leader of Japan Restoration Party and radical neo-liberal "reformist" politician, had more than one million followers. He actively made tweets attacking bureaucrats and other politicians with antagonistic logic. A series of cases means that the logic of antagonism created by the mainstream news media began to develop in social media.

(3) Legitimation crisis of the mainstream news media

The mainstream news media became a focus of severe criticism in the process of changing media environment and changing political culture over the past decade. Due to changes in the media environment, the mainstream news media is no longer the exclusive "center." And the mainstream news media began to be attacked by the logic of antagonism which was created by themselves.

The Fukushima nuclear power plant accident in 2011 caused criticism against coverage of the mainstream news media. Early in the accident, the mainstream news media conducted reports that heavily depend on the information by the government and Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO). As a result, same kind of news was produced among the mainstream media. Criticism against mainstream news was directed to the

production system of such news based on the *kisha* club. The critics argued that the mainstream media had been manipulated by the information strategy of TEPCO and the government, which was trying to conceal the impact of nuclear accident. It was also criticized that the mainstream media had supported nuclear policy until the accident. Critics said that the mainstream media was a member of the inner circle of nuclear policy promoters with politicians, bureaucrats, companies and scholars. These criticisms were directed specifically to liberal newspapers. On the other hand, the role of social media right after the accident was highly appreciated. Scientists and activists critical of nuclear energy policy have posted their own opinions and information through social media. This is the frame of "Social media versus the mainstream media." In other words, it is a frame that social media is "good" and the mainstream news media is "evil."

This frame is also visible in political communication, for example in the controversy between Toru Hashimoto and the mainstream news media, especially *the Asahi*. When he was the Mayor of Osaka city, Hashimoto announced that he would refuse any interview from the mainstream news media in the future. Instead of answering questions from news media, he repeatedly posted his idea on Twitter. He claimed that his comments on "comfort women" issue were distorted by the mainstream news media. Here is his recognition as follows. That is, the mainstream media edits some of his comments. It is a "bias" for him. Twitter, on the other hand, can communicate accurately and directly to the public without editing his opinion or thought. Many people shared his frame and supported him. It is the new style of political communication that politicians attack the mainstream media through social media. The mainstream media has come to a target of attack by politicians who develop "poetic justice" story.

Under these circumstances, *the Asahi* problem occurred in 2014. *The Asahi Shimbun* was a symbol of liberal media. And at that time, *the Asahi* was also a symbolic "enemy" that was strongly attacked by right-wing politicians and social media. This problem itself is triggered by the misinformation of *the Asahi* (*the Asahi Shimbun*, September 12, 2014)⁸. However, this problem symbolizes the transformation of the mainstream media. Firstly, *the Asahi* as representative of the mainstream news media was attacked by other mainstream media. National newspapers were divided into two camps over the nuclear policy and the Okinawa problem, and it brought social polarization. There is no consensus as once existed. Secondly, not only *the Asahi* but also other national newspapers greatly reduced the number of copies by this scandal. In other words, legitimacy of the mainstream news media itself is decreasing in Japanese society.

Another symbolic event is the misinformation problem of *the Sankei Shimbun* in 2017. *The Sankei* was very conservative and became a powerful supporter of the Abe administration. *The Sankei* reported a traffic accident in Okinawa in 2017 (*Sankei News* (web), December 9, 2017 and *The Sankei Shimbun*, December 12, 2017). One of the victims of this traffic accident was an American Marine. *The Sankei Shimbun* reported that he rescued other victims. And *the Sankei* criticized local media in Okinawa that these local papers do not report such good stories of US soldiers⁹. But it was a fake news. *The Sankei* created a news story based on information through social media. But the information itself was a fake. *The Sankei* did not interview basic news sources such as Okinawa Prefectural Police (*The Sankei Shimbun*, February 8, 2018). Okinawa U.S. military base problem is one of the issues to divide Japanese society today. Especially this antagonism is manifested on social media. The mainstream media fulfills the function to make it more serious than to resolve such antagonisms. The new "antagonism" that has emerged from the development of the social media is affecting news values of the mainstream media. The professionalism of news production is undermined.

Antagonisms and voices

By referring to the various aspects of "political culture," the "crisis" of journalism in Japan is made clear. It is a different dimension of "crisis" from "silent distrust of the media." The "crisis" of journalism in Japan is interrelated with antagonisms in political culture. However, the news culture institutionalized by the mainstream news media cannot respond appropriately to antagonisms of political culture. First, news culture of the mainstream news media itself has built the logic of antagonism. Second, as the media environment has changed, the mainstream news media itself is involved in this logic. Therefore, how to construct a news

⁸ This misinformation was about investigative reports on the comfort women issue and Fukushima nuclear disaster.

⁹ *The Sankei* is in favor of the government's base policy. Local papers are against it.

culture that solves these problems is an important task. In Japan, the mainstream news media have to do it, because professional news culture is not yet established on the Internet. And social media is also incorporated into mechanisms that develop antagonisms. So how is it possible to rebuild a news culture? This paper refers to political theory and social theory that addresses antagonisms in political culture.

In this respect, criticism of neo-liberalism and the concept of "voice" by media theorist Nick Couldry are suggestive. Couldry considers "voice" as a process. A voice as a process means firstly "the process of giving an account of one's life and its conditions," and "to give such an account means telling a story, providing a narrative" (Couldry 2010: 7). And secondly, "voice" as a process means to speak to others, to listen to the voice of others and to share "the world" through it. Couldry criticizes neo-liberalism as it undermines values that enable "voice" as a process. As a result of the neo-liberalism becoming the principle of disciplining everyday life, a culture of "non-listening" has been formed. This criticism of neo-liberalism is useful in analyzing "crisis" of journalism in Japan. First, it is possible to clarify how Japanese mainstream news media since the 1990s has undermined the value of "voice." And second, it presents the norm to overcome the "crisis" of the mainstream news media today. The crucial point is to link the concept of "voice" with news culture. As a practice of journalism, it is important to consider whose voice should be listened to in the news gathering process and how to articulate multiple voices in the editing process. By reconsidering the news culture in terms of "voice," it will be able to regenerate the legitimacy of journalism in the contemporary media environment.

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About the author

The author is an associate professor of Keio University, Tokyo Japan.

Decision-Making Process of Residents in the Coastal Areas of Naujan, Oriental Mindoro During Disaster Risk and Evacuation

*Catherine Joy C. Dimailig and John Mervin Embate
University Of The Philippines Los Baños*

Abstract

The municipality of Naujan in the province of Occidental Mindoro, Philippines is prone to disasters and has been batten down by storm surge and typhoons. Its locals, therefore, are not strangers to disaster risks and evacuation. Guided by the Boes' Analytical Emergency Response Decision-Making Model, this study aimed to trace the decision-making process of residents of coastal areas in Naujan during disaster risk and evacuation. A total of 273 respondents from the different districts in the 11 barangays of Naujan located along the coastal area were asked to answer a researcher-administered survey. The study concludes that media still play an important factor in the decision-making process of the residents of Naujan even though the districts are rural areas where communities have a tighter connection than those in urban settings. However, unlike in traditional models of media, the pieces of information that are broadcast to an audience undergo a more complicated social process of decision-making that includes (1) turning on the television/radio to gather more information, (2) sharing information with neighbors and letting them decide what to do; (3) gathering family members and/or relatives, and (4) evacuating immediately as the local government unit has instructed. The community members, therefore, are conscious, rational and networked individuals whose decisions are based on information from trusted sources. The study recommends that risks and other warning signals before or during disasters be communicated through trusted information sources, taking consideration the decision-making process of the residents of Naujan.

Introduction

Decision-making is defined by Wihanaarachchi and Setunge (2014) as "one of the basic cognitive processes of human behaviors by which a preferred course of action is chosen from among a set of alternatives based on certain criteria" (p. 177-178). Now that the frequency of natural disaster occurrences has increased, responding to disasters has become a serious challenge for individuals since it requires making critical decisions during difficult circumstances (Platt, 2015). Similarly, the decision-making process during disasters varies depending on the intensity of a disaster's occurrence. Therefore, decision-making is flexible, responsive, and capable of reacting to the unexpected in a timely and effectively manner (Lahidji, 2004).

In times of extreme disaster, communities are instructed to evacuate to specific designated safe areas. Often times, disaster risk officers have a hard time convincing families to evacuate, most especially those who prioritize securing their properties. In order to mobilize families in a community, it is important to involve them in disaster risk management planning. One of the ways this could be done is through considering the various factors considered by the families according to their information-seeking behavior and tailor-fitting the risk messages to help them decide during disaster evacuations.

Risk communication plays a vital role in the resiliency of communities. According to Bradley, McFarland, and Clarke (2014), "risk communication in disasters aims to prevent and mitigate harm from disasters, prepare the population before a disaster, disseminate information during disasters, and aid subsequent recovery" (p. 3). Disaster Risk Communication comes in different levels such as gaining knowledge on the possible disaster risk, identifying desired behavior and perception changes, and identifying roles, methods, and tools during a disaster (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2010). These levels show that disaster risk communication goes from simply raising awareness to empowering communities by educating them on the various risks imposed by disasters and giving them the necessary information to decide what to do during those times.

This study aimed to analyze the decision-making process of residents in areas of Naujan, Oriental Mindoro in the matter of disaster risk and evacuation. Naujan is the biggest municipality in the province, in which 11

barangays are situated along coastal areas, making them prone to natural calamities like typhoons and storm surges. In 2015 and 2016, these barangays were ravaged by typhoons Nona and Nina, respectively, and by storm surges in 2004 and in 2016.

Specifically, this study aimed to 1) identify their information-seeking preferences during an event of disaster and evacuation in terms of channels of information and sources of information; 2) determine the tendencies of the respondents to adopt or change a decision in times of disaster risk and evacuation; 3) identify the options and opinions considered by the respondents when deciding whether or not to evacuate; 4) determine their immediate behavioral responses; and (5) discuss the decision-making patterns of the respondents during past encounters with disaster risk and evacuation.

Risk perception and Decision-Making Process during Disaster

Studies on risk perception characterize the decisions that people undergo in evaluating precarious objects, events, and activities (Slovic, 1987). It also describes existing beliefs and values of people to understand their roles in risk-related choices. It aims to develop and evaluate communication efforts designed to bridge the gap between what the people know and what they need to know to ensure making the best choices (Fischhoff, 2009).

Like risk perception, the decision-making process during disasters is a crucial factor in knowing how to communicate risk. It is one of the basic and fundamental cognitive processes of human behavior by which a certain choice is selected from a set of options based on a criterion (Withanaarachchi&Setunge, 2014). Individuals make decisions to form a coherent solution that would prevent certain harmful consequences. Withanaarachchi and Setunge (2014) believe that the result of decision-making about the dynamics of the situation depends on the decision maker's "abilities, characteristics, and approach" (p. 3) into reaching a solution.

Risk perception and decision-making are two important factors that need to be considered in communicating risk to individuals during disaster. Faulty decision-making may result in inaccurate risk perception, while an imprecise perception of risk may similarly result in wrong decisions. Perry (1979) concluded that the more an individual perceive any impending threat as "real", the higher the probability that he/she will evacuate. This is the reason why communicating risk and warnings play an important role in encouraging a more accurate risk perception and more sound decisions among affected individuals. According to Williams and Noyes (2007), some of the factors that influence risk perception are concerned in how the message was design (message, source and risk target). However, more than risk perception, other factors also come to play. As Perry (1979) argued the individual's relationship to his/her family and extended kinsman, and his/her participation in the community are also variables to the possibility of an individual's evacuation.

Dimensions of the decision-making Process

ParveenGoel (2015), director of Engineering and Operations at Canada Post, argues that there are five dimensions involved with the decision-making process: motivating and influencing factors; thinking and analyzing; adapting and changing; bias and preference; and opinions and support. ▀

Motivating and Influencing Factors

Goel (2015) argues that the first aspect that an individual should consider during the decision-making process are the internal factors inherent to an individual's personality traits, such as being an introvert or an extrovert, and/or being risk takers or hyper-vigilant person. This aspect deals with how a person sees the environment and his/her cultural behavior. Pohankova (2015) explained that these motivating and influencing factors, together with decision-making, are interdependent and mutually influencing. She further discussed how decision-making is a process that affects both the external and internal motivation of the decision maker. In the same manner, motivation also has an impact on the execution of the decision.

Thinking and Analyzing

The second dimension of the decision-making process is thinking and analyzing. This is the part where a person assesses the hazard and thinks of possible solutions that he/she can do to avert disastrous

consequences. Gladwell (2005) argues the great decision-makers are not those who process information very late or spends the most time deliberating. Likewise, Egan (2005) concluded that thinking and analyzing during hazard is a way of raising what is subconscious in our reasoning to the level of conscious recognition. More so, decisions take control of our thinking in order to understand the pathway and input the process that an individual employ. Thinking and analyzing during an event of a disaster put the extent of our real understanding into perspective. It illustrates what we do and do not know about a subject by revealing the nature and significance of assumptions and gaps in information (Egan, 2005).

Adapting and Changing

This dimension refers to how an individual reacts to certain decisions. It usually deals with how eager they are to adapt a certain decision or how often they change their decision before executing it. Goel (2015) says that in some cases, reducing loss is the best way to gain out of a situation.

Bias and Preference

Bias and preference are based on an individual's experiences and value system. It is the aspect wherein decisions are made knowing or unknowingly in favor of a certain choice. Because of this, there is a tendency for an individual to be selective on the information he/she chooses to believe, and therefore to have biased response to a situation. Studies made by the Global Knowledge Network (2005) suggest that bias and preferences are things taken for granted as being true when we make decisions. According to them "They are part of our system of beliefs. We assume our beliefs to be true and we use them to interpret the world" (p. 9). Furthermore, biases work like assumptions that can help us decide what to believe in. Assumptions therefore basis of inferences that can help an individual makes sense about his/her environment.

Opinions and Support

The last dimension involved with the decision-making process, according to Goel (2015), ranges from making individual decisions to consulting to other people on what to do during a situation. Furthermore, Goel (2015) argues that individuals tend to be more independent while others might prefer considering the opinions of others before making a decision. In a study made by Drabek and McEntire (2002), they found out that individuals and groups often agree that action must be taken in response to a disaster. This decision usually materializes as volunteerism that is both emergent and organized with different manifestations depending on the type and degree of a disaster. Aside from this, social media becomes a source of information and support during natural disasters because it provides access to relevant and timely information from both official and non-official sources, and facilitates a feeling of connectedness (Taylor, Wells, Howell, and Raphael, 2012).

Behavioral responses during disasters

The issue on natural disasters' influence on behavior becomes very important because of the events that devastated the world over the last few decades. According to Ahsan (2014), various aspects like risk preferences, time preferences, prosocial preferences, and other personal preferences and attitudes are affected in an event of a natural disaster whether directly or indirectly. The long-term effects of these disasters may affect people's behavior when it comes to financial, social, and real-life choices. It is essential to understand this in order to create effective policies concerning disaster recovery as well as the community resilience and adaptation strategies (Prediger, 2016). In a study conducted by Cameron and Shah (2012) on risk-taking behavior during natural disaster, they found out that having an experience on these kinds of hazards alters an individual's risk perception and therefore results in a negative attitude towards risks. In addition, they noted that these experiences affect real-life decision-making process because changes brought about by disasters are long-lasting since it could lower economic activity and participation. In relation to this, changes in risk aversion and trust levels of the people should be given more importance in crafting effective policies that can aid communities to have a positive impact on economic growth (Cassar, Healy & Kessler, 2011).

Fritz and Marks (1954) also found that panic flight and other uncontrolled forms of behaviors, which happen depending on the nature of disasters and may not occur to all affected individuals, are not the major source of problem but the "lack of coordination among the large number of persons acting on the basis of different (and oftentimes conflicting) personal definitions of the situation" (p. 41). It is in these instances that

communication plays a crucial role. The information that must be disseminated and shared to affected communities must not only be accurate, reliable and accurate, but they should also aid in dissipating panic attacks by mobilizing the family or household units as basic units in designing evacuation plans (Mikemi& Ikeda, 1985). Sitkin and Weingart's(1995) conclusion from a managerial and organizational perspective also rings true for risk communication:

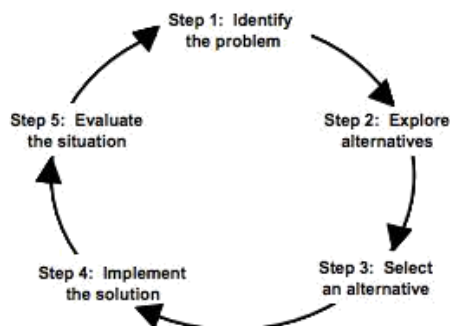
risk perception [has] a crucial influence on individual risk-taking behavior, an influence that mediates the effects of at least several other influences on risk behavior... [M]anagers who wish to either increase or decrease the risks taken by subordinates or others can most effectively target their efforts toward problem framing or other determinants of risk perception. (p1589)

Emergency response model

Emergency response, such as evacuation efforts, is simply ways to solve a problem during natural disasters. Federal Emergency Management Association (FEMA,2005) utilizes a five-step model to show the decision-making cycle that an individual should consider in times of emergency. These processes are: (1) identifying the problem, (2) exploring alternatives (3) selecting an alternative, (4) implementing the solution, and (5) evaluating the situation. As shown from Figure 4, this process works as a cycle that continues until the hazard is no longer present or the individual is surely at a safe condition.

The five-step problem-solving model is a basic model that can be used for group or individual decision-making. This model can be used in crisis communication which has an emphasis to the decision-making process. Effective decision making reflects the three factors in emergency decision-making which are clear values, quality information, and analytical approach (FEMA, 2005).

Figure 1. Five-step problem solving model (FEMA, 2005)



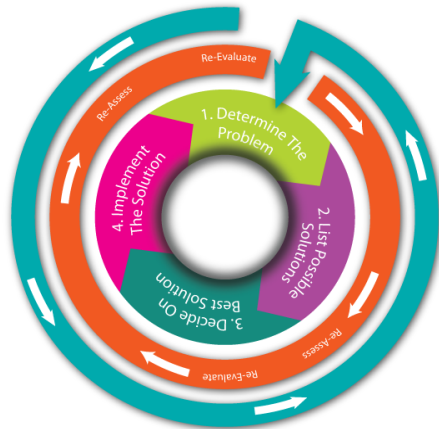
While this simple step proved to be effective for most emergency responses, Boes (2014) argues that in order for it to be more analytical, certain adaptations must be done in order for it to be more effective than it already is. He suggests that step one must be adequate and accurate by ensuring that communication systems are in place. In step two, the individual must choose alternatives that could be executed quickly with the available resources. The process of elimination in the third step must be done fast while also planning for other contingencies in case it fails. In step four, people need to follow a certain chain of command with all communications being repeated so that the information remains accurate. Lastly, he suggests that the fifth step be continuous and ongoing through the cycle, and that it be done simultaneously with the fourth step before returning back to the beginning. These adaptations can be viewed in Figure 2.

Methods

The study was conducted in the 11 barangays situated along the coastal areas of Naujan. Through stratified random sampling, a total of 373 respondents (set with a 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error) were chosen to answer a researcher-administered survey. The survey questionnaires were pretested and pilot-tested. Similarly, to ensure full comprehension and to avoid intimidation among the respondents, the survey questionnaires were written in Filipino. Five enumerators were properly briefed and assisted the researcher in administering the survey.

Preferred channels of information

Figure 2. Analytical emergency response decision-making model (Boes, 2014)



Results show that television (82.8%), radio (42.1%), and personal communication (35.7%) were the most frequently used channels in gathering information during disaster risk and evacuation. Respondents preferred television the most because almost all of the respondents have them at home; they only use their battery-operated radio during black-outs. Furthermore, 35.7 percent of the respondents favored personal communication with barangay officials or the local government because they constantly reminded them of the risks of a disaster. According to the respondents, barangay officials would go house-to-house to convince the residents to evacuate, and if there were residents who decided not to evacuate, the officials would return and persuade them to leave the area for their own safety. On the other hand, the least preferred channels for gathering information were newspaper (3.5%) and bulletin board (3.2%) because there was not much circulation going around in the barangays. Most of the barangays do not regularly produce and distribute newspaper nor update their bulletin boards; thus, the residents did not usually rely on these kinds of channel. Some respondents identified megaphones as a channel for gathering information, which pertains to the instrument used by the local government when they make their rounds to warn the residents about the threats of a disaster.

Preferred sources of information

The top three most preferred sources of information of the respondents were barangay officials (81.2%), Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (DRRMC) (53.9%), and media (46.4%). Among these three, the barangay officials were the most preferred and trusted source of information. Although the respondents said that they first heard the warning through media, they would only evacuate their houses if the barangay officials instructed them to do so. Aside from this, lack of electricity during disasters meant that the residents could not access their television and/or other gadgets, thus they cannot fully utilize media as source of information. Respondents in some barangays noted that they preferred the DRRMC as much as the barangay officials as source of information. However, since the agency could not reach the three farthest barangays of the municipality, residents in these areas were unaware of the warnings issued by DRRMC.

Looking at the least preferred sources of information, friends (14.7%) got the lowest percentage. Meanwhile, one respondent answered that his/her preferred source of information is the president of their community. This particular respondent lives in a Gawad Kalinga community, so before the barangay officials reach them, their president had already given them instructions to evacuate their area because of a disaster.

Adopting or changing of decision

Adopting or changing a decision pertains to the respondents' tendency to push through or back out from their decision when it comes to disaster risk and evacuation. Most of the respondents (78.8%) said that they always think of their decisions thoroughly during times of disaster and/or evacuation. A number of respondents (36.7%) said that they always consult other people, usually those with authority or credibility, before making their final decision. Similarly, 244 out of 373 respondents said that they always stick with their

decision during disaster risk and evacuation. Data also suggest that most of the respondents (33%) were experienced enough to know whether they made the right decision to stay or evacuate during times of disaster. Those who never changed their decision (27.1%) said that they were no longer able to change their mind and evacuate because the disaster was already in their area.

When asked if they rely on others to decide for them, 116 respondents answered that they always follow other people's decision because they think it is also best for them. Those who answered 'sometimes' were not sure if it was right to follow their neighbors' decision, while those who answered "never" believed that it was not in their decision whether to evacuate or not.

Options and opinions considered

The three most-considered options and opinions by the respondents when deciding to evacuate were family (65.1%), properties (41.3%), and neighbors (38.2%). Based on these data, family came first when it comes to the options and opinions considered during difficult times; some respondents claim that it is their priority to keep their family safe. After securing the family, it is also important to secure their property and belongings, including their house. The respondents want to make sure that after the disaster, they still have a home to return to. On the other hand, the least considered factors were social media (29.5%), friends (25.7), and other considerations (14.5%) such as animals. Social media was least considered since they cannot utilize it when electricity is down. Proximity of the respondents to their friends limit their interaction especially during disaster risk and evacuation since, as mentioned above, the respondents' priority are their family members. Some respondents identified animals as other considerations when they were deciding to evacuate. They should secure these animals first so that they could still sell or make use of them after the disaster.

Immediate behavioral response

There were five different questions to determine the immediate behavioral response of the respondents. First, each respondent was asked of his or her immediate behavioral response after learning from the local government unit (LGU) that there was an impending disaster. Next, they were asked about what they did with the information they gathered about the presence of disaster risk in their area. Third, the respondents were asked of their immediate behavioral response after the LGU instructed that they must evacuate the area. If the respondents did evacuate, they were then asked of the first thing they considered while evacuating. However, if they did not evacuate, they were asked to identify their behavior while the disaster is present in the area. Upon learning from the LGU about an impending disaster, 60.3 percent of the respondents answered that their immediate behavior was to turn on their television and/or radio to gather more information. On the other hand, the respondents (23.9 %) who had no television and/or radio went to their neighbors to gather information or watched through their neighbor's television. When it comes to the respondents' immediate behavioral response, data show that their primary source of information was media. However, looking at the respondents' preferred sources of information, media (46.4 %) only ranked second to barangay officials with 81.2 percent. At times of disaster and evacuation, there is usually loss of electricity within the affected barangay; this is why while most respondents turn on their television to confirm the disaster, they still relied on barangay officials who roam around their community warning and instructing them on evacuation measures. The respondents also noted that the LGU and/or DRRMC would often go back to their area if there were still people who refuse to believe that there is a disaster present in the area.

The second question is all about the respondents' behavior in confirming the disaster upon gathering data about it. Almost half of the respondents (49.9 %) answered that they usually share the information they have gathered to their neighbors and family members. However, some claimed that this only applies to the neighbors nearest them or the compound where they belong. It was also found out there are five out of 373 respondents who keep the information to themselves. These respondents live far and usually do not have any nearby neighbors.

In the third question, the respondents were asked for their immediate behavioral response after the LGU instructed them to evacuate. From the data gathered, 57.9 percent of the respondents indicated that they evacuated immediately upon hearing the notice from the LGU. According to the respondents, barangay officials and other Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Officer would personally go to every barangay

and instruct them what to do and where to evacuate. On the other hand, seven percent answered that they usually stayed at home and waited out the disaster because they live in a sturdy house or in an area farther from the shore line compared to other residents.

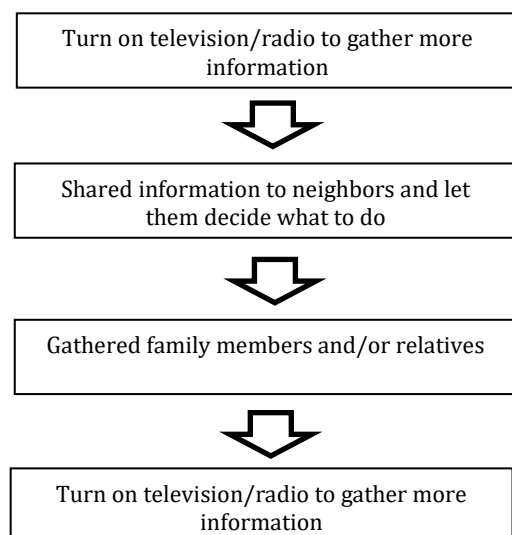
The fourth question asked about the first thing that the respondents considered when they evacuate. Data show that 89.5 percent of the respondents evacuated after the warning from the LGU and/or the DRRMC. From this, 39.82 percent answered that the first thing they did upon evacuating was gathering their family and/or relatives. Some respondents noted that the first to evacuate were women and children, while most men stayed for a while to secure other things in their respective barangays. On the contrary, one resident answered that they immediately evacuated without considering anything; and another answered that he/she convinced other residents to evacuate.

Lastly, only 10.4 percent answered that they did not evacuate their area after the communication efforts of the LGU and/or the DRRMC. Among them, 33.33 percent answered that even though they did not evacuate, they secured their houses and belongings. Some of them did not evacuate because compared to other residents, they have sturdier houses and are farther from the shoreline where disaster risk is usually high. Similarly, 23.08 percent of the respondents reconsidered evacuating depending on the strength of the disaster. Two respondents answered that they convinced their neighbors not to evacuate far because their house is strong enough to withstand the disaster risk so their neighbors should just stay with them.

Decision-making process patterns

Based on the data gathered from the respondents' immediate behavioral response in their past encounters of disaster risk and evacuation, several decision-making patterns were observed. Figure 3 shows the most followed decision-making process of the respondents during disaster risk and evacuation while Figure 3 shows their least followed decision-making process. Finally, Figure 4 shows the decision-making process used by the respondents who decided not to evacuate. Data on the residents' most followed decision-making process (Figure 3) suggest that most of the respondents tend to share the information they gathered from the media to their neighbors. Then when they receive instructions from the LGU to evacuate, the respondents gather their families and/or relatives first before evacuating.

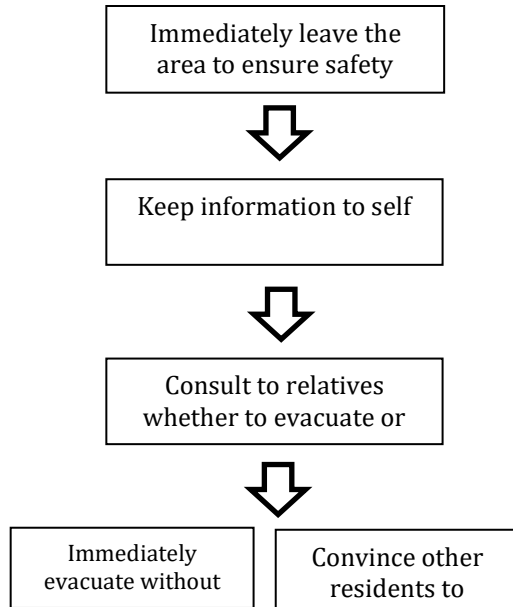
Figure 3. Most used decision-making process of residents based from their immediate behavioral response



When it comes to the residents' least used decision-making process (Figure 4), data show that they immediately evacuate upon learning from the LGU that there is a disaster in their area then keeps the information to themselves. However, Figure 12 also shows that while they decide to immediately evacuate,

some respondents still tend to consult with their relatives whether to push through with it or not. In the end, their final decision reflects that they do evacuate without considering anything such as property and belongings, but they convince their neighbors to evacuate with them.

Figure 4. Least used decision-making process of residents based from their immediate behavioral response



Lastly, data suggests that those who decided not to evacuate still gather their family members to ensure everyone's safety in times of a disaster. Furthermore, they secure their belongings and make sure that everything is safe around the area since they decided to stay in their houses

Conclusion and Recommendation

In general, the respondents' most preferred channel for gathering information about disaster risks is television (82.8%) since almost all of them has one at home. While their most trusted source of information are the barangay officials (81.2%), others said they also preferred the DRRMC (53.9%). The most followed decision-making process of the respondents upon learning about the disaster risk is: turning on the television or radio to gather information, sharing the information gathered to family members and/or neighbors, then gathering their family members and prepare for evacuation measures as instructed by the LGU.

Furthermore, Majority of the respondents tend to stick with their decision to evacuate while some of them would consult with their neighbors and/or observe what others are doing before deciding to evacuate. Properties, family, and neighbors are often considered when evacuating. Finally, Age, educational attainment, and household size have a significant relationship with the preferred channels of information of the respondents during disaster risk and evacuation. Those who have attained higher level of education know how to utilize most of the channels of information compared to those who have not finished nor have any formal education. The household size affects the preferred channel of information according to the number of channels utilized: the higher the number of a household, the more channels of information.

To effectively communicate risks and warning signals to the coastal communities of Naujan, it is important that the messages are communicated through their most trusted and preferred channels. This study found out that interpersonal communication, door-to-door and other public announcements work best for the household respondents. The DRRMOs can utilize their volunteers in schools and barangays to do house-to-house or public-address system once in a while to keep the public updated and reminded. Aside from this, seminars and trainings are recommended be held in order for the attendees to really understand disaster

management. It is also important to ensure that the key people attending the seminars and trainings will share their learnings to their constituents.

Finally, organizations and/or institutions are advised to conduct evaluation of their disaster risk communication efforts to determine which should be improved for future initiatives and to ensure that the objective of the communication effort is achieved. Based on the results of the study, almost all (98.12%) of the respondents received formal education and are therefore able to make concise decision during disaster risk and evacuation. More than half (65.42%) of the respondents stick to their decision of evacuating but sometimes tend to consult others before doing so. Moreover, they rely on people with authority and credibility before they evacuate the area during disaster. Finally, most of the association shows no statistical significance with each other but have very weak to moderate relationship.

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About the authors

Catherine Dimailig hails from the municipality of Naujan, Oriental Mindoro in the Philippines. She graduated from the University of the Philippines Los Banos (UPLB) with a bachelor's degree in BS Development Communication. In her pursuit to do public service, she is currently working as a researcher and information officer at the Philippine Council for Health Research and Development which is one of the three sectoral councils of the Department of Science and Technology in the Philippines. During her free time, Catherine enjoys travelling to various places in and out of her county to experience different cultures and discover hidden beauties.

John Mervin Embate is an instructor at Department of Educational Communication, College of development Communication, University of the Philippines Los Banos.

**Natural Disasters Reconstruct the Self: A Semiotic Exploration of Youth Survivors'
Symbolic Representations about Typhoon Yolanda and
How They Help Reconstruct the Self, Family and Spirituality**

Nimrod L. Delante, James Cook University, Singapore

Juliet Calda Lerios, Leyte Normal University, Tacloban, Leyte, Philippines and

Maria Trixia Tanala-Ofemia, Gregorio C. Catenza National High School, Tunga, Leyte, Philippines

Abstract

People create images and constructs about or associate symbols to a natural disaster that has caused them pain, grief, loss and suffering. Just as people do this, natural disasters also communicate messages to people that enable them to reconstruct themselves, to redefine their sense of family, and to reinterpret their sense of spirituality making the process a two-way street. This study explores the images, symbols and constructs that the youth survivors in Leyte have created about typhoon Yolanda, a natural disaster that hammered Leyte in late 2013 and caused the death of about 8,000 lives. In juxtaposition, this study investigates how those images, symbols and constructs helped reconstruct the youth survivors' sense of self, their sense of family and their spirituality. Using Craig's (1999) semiotic tradition of communication theory as a communication lens, this study draws insights and lessons from the narratives of 25 youth survivors of Yolanda who are residing in Tacloban and Palo in Leyte, the Philippines. The narratives were gathered through a four-month in-depth face-to-face interviews, which underwent a rigorous textual analysis to arrive at codes, themes or concepts. Results showed that the youth survivors' reconstruction of Yolanda involve striking images, symbols and constructs. These images or symbols include Yolanda as a wild beast or a Godzilla, a bulldozer, a nuclear bomb, a horror film, a broom, and a faucet. The key characteristics of these images or symbols suggest a predominant idea: that Yolanda flattened, hammered down or swept away Tacloban and Palo. Other images that the youth survivors have created are linked to Armageddon by relating Yolanda to the movies 2012, Noah's Ark and Titanic, suggesting an end-of-the-world rhetoric. On the other hand, the constructs that were created involve Yolanda as a heartbreak, depression, twist of fate, blessing in disguise and corruption. Except 'twist of fate' and 'blessing in disguise', these constructs suggest an image of destruction of a person, group or society. Surprisingly, twist of fate and blessing in disguise suggest a more reflective orientation for the youths. Overall, these images and constructs serve as instruments for the youth survivors to reconstruct their sense of self by believing in common sense, human instinct or intuition, by valuing resourcefulness, preparedness and initiative of self and others in times of disaster, by making Yolanda as an educational prompt for the self to study not only typhoons, storm surges and weather patterns but also related concepts such as disaster preparedness, response and rehabilitation, and by perceiving Yolanda as a self-reflecting tool that expands self-awareness, environmental awareness and social consciousness. In terms of reconstructing their sense of family, Yolanda acts as a tool to validate looting as an act of survival for the self and family, to test compassion and unity in times of disasters, and to value life, family relationships and community cohesion above material things. Lastly, in terms of reconstructing their spirituality, Yolanda acts as an instrument for people to be reminded of their sins, to seek repentance, to cling to hope, to accept death, to abhor hatred and anger, and to have faith in God no matter the odds. We conclude that natural disasters indeed play a role in making possible the reconstruction of the self, family and spirituality. Future studies of this nature may explore empathy during disasters as well as the role of bayanihan (community cooperation and belonging) in disaster preparation, disaster response and disaster risk reduction.

Introduction

The Philippines is one of the countries in the world that is considered dangerous to live due to the frequent occurrence of natural disasters along with man-made disasters (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, [UNISDR], 2015; United Nations University - Institute for Environment and Human Society, [UNU-EHS], 2014). In 2013, super typhoon Yolanda¹ struck Tacloban and Palo in Leyte causing massive deaths of people and unprecedented havoc to properties, businesses, infrastructure and agricultural vegetation. This super typhoon brought the people in Tacloban, Palo and other nearby parts of Leyte and Samar to a standstill, and then to chaos. Thousands of survivors resorted to looting for food and water in order to survive.

Local or Philippine name for super typhoon Haiyan.

There was perceived anarchy in Tacloban (Cooper, Hancocks & Shoichet, 2013) that was thought to have been intensified by the seemingly unending political vendetta between two elite political families in the country (The Marcoses and the Aquinos) leaving an enormous number of people into despair (Tiglao, 2013). This perceived anarchy resulted in the local officials not being united with national government authorities. Tacloban, in Leyte, is a political haven of the Romualdezes, with the Marcoses as their crony and political ally. When Yolanda hammered down Leyte in November 2013, the president of the country was then an Aquino. The Marcoses and the Aquinos are, until now, the Philippines' top two political rivals and their political feud seems to transcend even to their great grandchildren (Tiglao, 2013). It so happened that during Yolanda, the mayor of Tacloban was a Romualdez, a nephew of Imelda Romualdez Marcos who happens to be the wife of the late political strongman Ferdinand Marcos. Ferdinand Marcos, until today, is still the prime suspect of the assassination of the then liberal frontman, Ninoy Aquino, the father of Noyon Aquino, the president of the country when Yolanda struck the people of Leyte. Thus, the outcry of some of the pro-administration during that period was: Why help a relative of a suspect of the killing of a national hero? As this unfolded, the poor victims of Yolanda laboured in hunger and despair.

In a viral video, a former senator of the country in the name of Mar Roxas, an ally of Aquino, is seen telling Mayor Alfred Romualdez this statement: "You have to understand that you are a Romualdez and the president is an Aquino, so, so we just want to legalize. If not legalized, well, okay, you are in charge. We can't help you. Bahala na kayo sa buhay niyo." (Gonzalez, 2013), the last sentence being "You take care of yourselves." This further supports the unending vendetta between the two political rivals leading to anarchy and lackadaisical support for the people of Leyte when Yolanda pummelled down the city with its deadly winds, devastating storm surges, and torrential rains (Cooper, Hancocks & Shoichet, 2013). Days before Yolanda, local and international weather forecasters and news agencies had been giving staunch warnings to the people of Tacloban, Palo and other nearby towns to evacuate. These included the Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA), the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), CNN, BBC, ABS-CBN and GMA network. The local government of Tacloban, through its mayor, Alfred Romualdez, was determined to implement their forced evacuation measures in order to save many lives. However, many of the residents, especially those living along the shorelines of Tacloban bay (this includes those living in San Jose, Real, Naga-Naga and Anibong), were recalcitrant to follow the order from the local authorities. The perceived reason for this obstinately uncooperative attitude towards local government order could be that typhoons are not uncommon to these residents. Typhoons, to them, are a part of their lives since they started to develop social consciousness. Not only this, people were complaining about the physical condition of evacuation centres, which are mostly public school buildings. Many of these public school buildings are not in good condition, some are weak in structure and are even dilapidated. This made them unheeding to the call of the local authorities to evacuate to higher grounds. Unfortunately, this seemingly stubborn attitude led to the thousands of deaths.

Context and Rationale for the Study

This study was conducted in Tacloban and Palo, two of the bigger towns in Leyte which recorded the highest death toll during Yolanda. The target respondents for this study were select youth survivors in Tacloban and Palo. The main purpose of interviewing them was to hear their stories and voices. In natural disasters, the youths often face the burden - physically, emotionally and socially. Including children, the youths are mostly vulnerable and are at risk of developing mental health issues due to the severity of a disaster. These entail serious governance and mental health response (Aptekar & Boore, 1990). The bulk of the problem even increases after the onslaught of the disaster. Trauma, grief and despair of those youth victims, including children, who lost their loved ones can linger for months, even years, bringing a negative impact on their mental health (International Organisation for Migration, [IOM], 2014; Botor, Del Puerto & Pagaduan-Lopez, n. d.; Kargillis, Kako & Gillham, 2014; Parr, 2015; US Department of Veteran Affairs, 2015). Also, the youths and other marginalised groups, as Ferris (2008) pointed out, are oftentimes muted and immobilised by these catastrophes. Traumatic experiences that are caused by these disasters can pose serious threats to the normal psychological functioning of many youth survivors who try to continue to rebuild their lives and their families amidst the economic challenges they face and the political turmoil that is faced by the country. And outbreak of diseases and potential epidemics may also ensue without proper risk reduction measures and when

disaster risk response is lackadaisical (IOM, 2014; Manandhar & McEntire, 2014). In our study, we were interested to hear the narratives of the youth survivors, so we could understand how they coped with the disaster, how they dealt with the trauma, and how they are moving on with their lives.

The Value of Narratives

In the context of natural disasters, narratives can serve as channels to express people's intense emotions such as grief, longing, hatred and trauma after experiencing a disaster. Narratives about natural disasters may be able to represent concepts, ideas and themes such as disaster preparedness, disaster risk reduction and disaster risk management to name a few, which will be useful in disseminating advocacy and social mobilisation messages to the public or when encouraging policy change both in the national and local levels. Since narratives reflect reality, they can serve as tools to uncover manifestations of power such as political feuds, corruption, loss of trust in governance and other socio-economic problems such as poverty, housing congestion and lack of health and sanitation (Kargillis, Kako & Gillham, 2014). Lastly, narratives may illustrate images of hope and messages of rehabilitation, recovery, bayanihan² and change. All these may be helpful in creating bottom-up strategies that other disaster-prone communities in disaster-prone regions in the Philippines and abroad can emulate and implement on their own.

A Filipino word that refers to the spirit of communal unity to achieve a desired goal.

This focus on youth survivors' narratives is driven by the principle of contextual narratology, a poststructuralist view that enables participants who are sharing their stories to relate the phenomena they have encountered to specific cultural, historical, thematic, symbolic or ideological contexts, (Meister, 2013) with them being in the subject position as experiencers of the phenomena (the disaster). With narratives, we can somehow be informed about how the youths reconcile their experiences with the present, how this helps them question and interrogate themselves, and how they tend to reframe or reconstruct themselves. The novelty of our study lies with the fact that it will capture narratives from the perspective of the youths who are generally viewed to be more truthful in sharing their experiences, opinions, and emotions (Fu, Xu, Cameron, Heyman & Lee, 2007).

This study is an extension of Parr's (2015) study because aside from narratives, we included art representations such as drawings and poems as representations of the youths' narratives. Parr's (2015) study focused only on visual arts (e.g., drawings) in making sense of traumatic experiences captured in narratives. Moreover, the utilisation and analysis of narratives by the young people who are both victims and survivors of the disaster is novel in the sense that it invigorates a bottom-up approach (rather than top-down approach), which can enhance community awareness and psychosocial and psychological preparedness mechanisms (e.g., disaster risk reduction, recovery, coping and rehabilitation) when it comes to facing natural calamities. This study is also a staunch response to the flawed perception by some groups of people that the younger generations are ignorant and have little consciousness, care and involvement towards environmental, social and development issues (for example, Sabbagh & Shafman, 2009; Weinberg, 2009; Ready & Wright, 2011) and they lack perspectives about things that are happening around them. In the Philippine context, the late national hero, Dr. Jose P. Rizal, had been a stalwart believer of the Filipino youth. This is couched in his famous line: "The youth is the hope of the motherland."

This study therefore explored how the youth participants' sharing of their experiences has served as: (1) an avenue for them to mentally reconstruct a natural phenomenon, such as Yolanda, by sharing striking images, concepts and representations they have in mind; and (2) as an opportunity to reflect and reframe themselves, their sense of family and their spirituality through these images and constructs, which is considered necessary for self-healing, recovery and moving on. The practical value of this study underscores its potential to be a valuable education resource for groups or organisations including communities-at-risk, emergency response teams or emergency services workers in terms of handling topics about coping, recovery and rehabilitation as after effects of the destruction caused by natural disasters. Trauma, pain and grief should not be taken lightly. Through the youths' narratives, these organisations or institutions that handle these emotional or psychological issues may be able to acquire some insights that will help them carry out their practice more effectively.

The Semiotic Tradition of Communication Theory as Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored in the semiotic tradition of communication theory, which views communication as intersubjective mediation by signs. Communication theorised this way explains the use of language, symbols and other sign systems to mediate between different perspectives or viewpoints (Craig, 1999). There is intersubjectivity between people if they agree on a given set of meanings or a definition and understanding of a situation. Therefore, intersubjectivity can be another word for “agreement” (Gillespie & Cornish, 2010). Intersubjectivity has also been used to refer to the common-sense shared meanings constructed by people in their interactions with each other and used as an everyday resource to interpret the meaning of the elements of social and cultural life. If people share common sense, then they share a definition of the situation, thus, they share an intersubjective mediation, agreement or understanding (Scheff, 2006).

Semiotics views communication as a process that relies on signs (or words as symbols) to bridge the gap between subjective viewpoints. The semiotic tradition posits that signs construct their users or subject-positions, that meanings are public and indeterminate, that understanding is a practical gesture, and that codes and media of communication are not merely neutral structures or channels for the transmission of meanings, but have sign-like properties of their own, i.e., the code shapes the content and the medium itself becomes a message, or even the message (McLuhan, 1964).

The semiotic tradition of communication theory seems plausible and practical when it appeals to the common-sense beliefs that communication is easiest when we share a common language, that meanings are often conveyed differently or by subtle aspects of behaviour that may go unnoticed, and that certain ideas are easier to express in certain media (e.g., a picture is worth a thousand words or sobbing expresses pain more than talking about pain). Semiotics can seem interesting and insightful when it challenges commonplace beliefs such as the fact that we use signs, symbols and media of communication as tools to represent and share our thoughts, or as instruments to express our feelings.

In this study, the youth respondents shared various symbolic representations of super typhoon Yolanda couched in forms of narratives, images, constructs, drawings and even poems. They used these as media of conveying a message, or they used these as the message. Their narratives, drawings and poems served as medium to transform those abstract images and constructs about Yolanda as a natural disaster into something concrete, visible or tangible. In return, these images and constructs about Yolanda served as an instrument for the youth survivors to reconstruct or reframe themselves – their perspectives about life, their sense of family and their spirituality. The semiotic tradition of communication theory serves as a lens from which to view the world, i.e., to understand Yolanda both as a natural phenomenon and as a symbol. Since meanings are subjective, people can express them in varied ways, directly or indirectly. Studies show that narratives, poems and artwork (e.g., visual art/drawings) can serve as symbolic representations of meanings or messages, and they make an impact on how human beings live their lives.

Research Questions

This study therefore answered the following questions:

1. What images and constructs do the youth survivors have on Yolanda as a natural disaster?
2. How did these images or constructs help the youth survivors reconstruct themselves, their sense of family and their spirituality?

Methodology

This section describes the respondents of the study, discusses the research sites and research procedures, and explains the qualitative research methods utilised in gathering the data.

The respondents for this study included 25 select youths³ in Tacloban City and in Palo, Leyte, the Philippines. They were aged 19-28 as of 2017, the time we conducted the in-depth interviews. Fifteen of them are males and 10 are females. They are residents of San Jose, Tacloban City and Palo, Leyte. It has to be noted that Yolanda happened in November 2013. Therefore, those who were 15 years old in 2013 were already 19 years old in 2017. At the same time, those who were 24 years old in 2013 already turned 28 in 2017. We, therefore, targeted those youths aged 19-28 who survived Yolanda in 2013. One key criterion in selecting the youth

respondents is that they must have had experienced and survived Yolanda which is relevant to our research objective: to engage the youths in sharing their experiences with Yolanda as a way of reconstructing this natural disaster from their subject position, and in return, to determine how Yolanda helped them reconstruct their perspectives in life.

Youths are defined by the United Nations (UN) as those persons between 15-24 years, without prejudice to other definitions by UN Member States. To get a record of the participants' demographics, we asked them to go to a secured Qualtrics URL (Note: James Cook University Singapore is paying for its annual Qualtrics license) prior to the interviews. We provided a mobile phone or a tablet with internet data connection for them to go through the link to key in their demographics. As researchers, we are the only people who have access to the demographics which are saved in our Qualtrics soft drive. These data, as indicated in the informed consent form, will be destroyed within 3 years. In the 'Results and Discussion' section, numbers are used to refer to the youth respondents as a way of making their identities anonymous, e.g., youth 1, youth 2, youth 3, etc. Our research assistant helped us de-identify the youth respondents prior to transcribing the narrative data and the coding procedures.

Research Sites and Research Procedures

For us to be able to conduct the interviews, we had to undertake house visits in two badly hit areas: San Jose in Tacloban City and Palo. Before we conducted the house visits, we secured the list of Yolanda survivors from the city social work division office (CSWDO) in Tacloban City where permit to conduct the study was also obtained. The house visits served as our key step to conduct the face-to-face interviews considering that informed consent was necessary before an interview can happen. Letters of approval from the local government unit (LGU) of Tacloban, LGU Palo and DSWD Region 8 (Eastern Visayas region) were secured prior to the conduct of the interviews. The mayors of Tacloban and Palo as well as the regional director of the Department of Social Work and Development (DSWD) in Eastern Visayas signed our letters of permission granting us the clearance to conduct our study. Copies of these letters are kept in our hard drives. In the Philippines, LGUs are authorised to make decisions about projects, e.g., research projects of local scope, by virtue of Republic Act 7160: An Act Providing for a Local Government Code of 1991. Therefore, approval from the local governments of Tacloban City and Palo, Leyte, along with the support from the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) regional office through signed letters by their respective heads of units, validates and legitimises this research study. Copies of these signed letters are available upon request. After explaining the main objective of our study, we asked the youth respondents if they were interested to participate in an interview. This is part of the ethical process in conducting a study. More about the ethical procedures which were followed during the conduct of the interviews can be found in the next section 'In-Depth Interviews'.

For those who agreed, an informed consent sheet, both in English and in Waray-Waray versions, was explained and provided for them. With their agreement, we invited them to sign the consent form and a schedule for an interview was arranged within the confines of their homes. Anticipating that some respondents may experience distress during the interview, a guidance counsellor who is a resident of Tacloban City was commissioned to be on-call in order to provide professional counselling services in his private office. To determine behaviours of distress during the interview process, we used an observation checklist adapted from Pretzlik and Sylva (1999). This is shown in Appendix B. The guidance counsellor's private counselling office is a 10-minute ride from Tacloban City to Palo and vice versa. Reaching the private clinic of the counsellor can be done through common public transports in the area including jeepneys, tricycles and motorcycles. The guidance counsellor promised to provide free counselling services as a way of giving back to his community, especially to Yolanda victims. Fortunately, despite having a few respondents who were emotional (mostly in a form of sobbing or crying) during the interview process, no one opted to see the guidance counsellor on board to submit themselves for counselling; everyone was able to carry on with the interview process, which is an indication of their strength, bravery, and coping mechanism.

Ethical Considerations

We followed some ethical procedures in conducting the interviews. These included the following: (1) an informed consent was obtained from the respondents and they were provided with an information sheet

about the study for them to keep; (2) the interview was conducted in a private space that was comfortable and convenient for the respondents, mostly their homes; (3) the respondents were made aware that the interview will be audio-recorded – this was also made clear in the consent form; (4) the respondents were not forced to speak and they were made aware that they can stop participating in the interview at any time without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data they have provided; (5) any information from them are kept strictly confidential and that no names will be used to identify them in this study; (6) data taken from them will be destroyed three years after the interview process; and (7) counselling support was made available during the interview process in case some respondents become distressed during the interview. As a token of participation, each youth respondent who participated in the study received an P800 worth of grocery voucher from Robinsons Place, a department store in Tacloban City. The budget for the vouchers was provided by James Cook University, Singapore.

In-depth Interviews

To invite the youth survivors to share their experiences with super typhoon Yolanda, we conducted in-depth face-to-face interviews with them which helped us capture their stories and create a corpus of these stories. In-depth interviews are proven to be effective in achieving depth and breadth of information in qualitative research (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). The corpus of stories that we gathered from in-depth interviews helped us in identifying and generating themes, concepts and representations that served as basis (1) to determine the images or constructs of Yolanda that youth survivors have created, and (2) to map out how Yolanda has helped them reconstruct their sense of self, their sense of family and their spirituality. We used an audio recorder in conducting the interviews after informed consent had been obtained from the youth respondents. All of them consented to the use of audio recorder. We transcribed the narrative data in Waray-Waray⁴ and translated them to English for analysis and interpretation. As Waraynons, we are well-versed with Waray-Waray because this is our first language, therefore, translation was not a problem. However, due to time constraints, we had to seek help from a research assistant to transcribe all the narrative data. As mentioned above, the research assistant helped us de-identity the youth respondents before transcription and coding of narrative were undertaken.

Waray-Waray is the widely spoken language in Tacloban and Palo in Leyte. It is the main language in the Eastern Visayas region comprised of Leyte, Samar and Biliran. The interview questions used in getting the youth respondents' narratives are found in Appendix A. These questions were supported by Kargillis and Kako's (2014) suggestions when conducting interviews with survivors of calamities, man-made or natural. These questions invite reflection, deconstruction and self-disclosure. The questions also encourage the use of preference with a focus on sharing a personal story (Kargillis & Kako, 2014). Because these questions are in English, we translated them in the first language that the youth survivors are familiar with, that is, in Waray-Waray, the main language in Leyte and Samar. Again, as Waraynons, since we are well-versed with Waray-Waray, we did not have difficulty translating. More importantly, we conversed with the respondents in Waray-Waray for them to be able to express their ideas freely and comfortably. To ascertain the interview questionnaire's reliability, we piloted it with seven disaster victims and survivors of another natural calamity. We made minor changes to the questions after the pilot testing. One of the key considerations when we revised the interview questions was to anticipate sensitive topics and to respect the decision of the youth respondents whether to continue the interview or not.

Textual and Thematic Analysis

The textual translations underwent an extensive textual coding that helped us in the identification of codes, code structures, concepts and themes which became the basis for our thematic analysis. In the framework of thematic analysis, textual coding refers to a line-by-line reading and interpretation of textual data that will pave the way for codes to emerge. Codes gathered will help the researchers to create code structures or categories, which, in turn, help in the creation of themes, representations, concepts and parallelisms that will be the researchers' key material in interpretation, analysis and insight formation (Yale University, 2015). To supplement this, we used Leximancer¹⁰ which helped us map out concepts and other associated relationships

¹⁰ Leximancer is a software that allows researchers to map themes, concepts and their associated relationships from a body of text. It is a concept-mapping tool "offering objective, actionable insight in the form of visually-compelling maps and dashboard

and themes from the narrative data. Textual coding and thematic analysis are governed by the interpretivist framework of framing social reality. Interpretivism asserts that the researcher and respondents are interdependent and mutually interactive; that due to the complex and unpredictable nature of what is perceived as reality, the researcher goes out to the field to investigate and be more open to new knowledge or new ways of thinking that respondents offer, thereby creating an emergent and collaborative nature of understanding social reality that is unique, specific, time-bound and context-bound (Pizam & Mansfeld, 2009; Myers, 2008). From a qualitative researcher's point of view, truth and meaning reside in the respondents' minds and interpretations, not in the researchers'. The researchers' role is to tell a story that illuminate that truth or meaning.

Findings

This section presents the images and/or constructs that the youth survivors have created to symbolise Yolanda as a natural disaster. A discussion follows about how these images and/or constructs help the youth survivors reconstruct their sense of self, their family and their spirituality. Furthermore, concepts and themes have been determined from the textual data with the aid of Leximancer. The relevance of these concepts and themes to the youth respondents' views and narratives about Yolanda have been discussed. What images do the youth survivors have on Yolanda as a natural disaster?

Table 1. Themes Generated from the Youth Survivors' Views on and Experiences with Yolanda Themes generated

Typhoon	54%
Time	16%
House	14%
Family	11%
Able/ability	10%
People	9%

One of images that the youth survivors have created to symbolise Yolanda is a wild beast, a demonic force or a Godzilla. In the movie, Godzilla is viewed as a massive unidentified terrestrial organism that emerged from the depths of the Pacific Ocean and caused a devastating tsunami killing thousands of people. Just as the people wanted to kill the beast to protect the earth from collapsing due to seismic movements it had created, Godzilla also tried to kill those people who were planning to end his life and his race. The result were buildings massively destroyed, thousands of people killed, and huge cities flattened. To the youth survivors, Yolanda was a Godzilla, a beast that killed thousands of people in Tacloban, Palo and other nearby towns; a huge beast that stomped the city into ashes. Therefore, as a Godzilla, the youth survivors perceived Yolanda as a strong, demonic force that created a massive scare to all people.

Another image that the youth survivors have created to describe Yolanda is a broom. In Leyte and in many parts of the Philippines, a broom is an implement that is used for sweeping leaves and wiping out other wastes scattered on the ground. It consists of a bunch of stiff stalks from coconut leaves or bamboo shoots bound together and attached to a handle. The youth survivors described Yolanda as a broom because it swept away the houses, cars, fences, trees, small buildings and even concrete roads and pavements. Yolanda also destroyed their source of food and income by sweeping away their agricultural vegetation and small-sized businesses. Youth 14 exclaimed: "Hi Yolanda бага hin kuan, бага hiya hin siphid para ha akon kay nga tanan nga iya gin-agian nga lugar, mga butang ngan ano la, багат iya talaga nadara, o na wash out, iya talaga ginlimpiyo ngan ginhamis." (To me, Yolanda was a huge broom. She cleaned the whole of Tacloban and other areas. She swept away all the dirt and everything else along her path.).

Yolanda as a broom. J. P. Binay (2018) Yolanda as a bulldozer. J. P. Binay has been hired as an artist to illustrate the images created by the youth survivors about Yolanda. He is not one of the youth respondents. He did not have access to the demographics of the youth respondents. He was only given some excerpts of the narrative data to help him visualize the images and constructs. Related to this is the image of a bulldozer. "Бага gud man ginbuldos an Tacloban, Sir. Na-flat gud hiya. Bagan gin agian hin pison." (Tacloban was somewhat bulldozed. It was flattened.) stated youth 8. A bulldozer is a powerful track-laying machine with

caterpillar tracks and a broad-curved upright blade at the front used for clearing, pounding or flattening the ground. It has an irresistible force that can clear away the ground from heavy objects such as rocks and other forms of concrete. Yolanda, to the youth survivors, was seen as a bulldozer because it pulverised the city, leaving only a few concrete buildings standing frail.

Moreover, Yolanda was viewed as an electric fan. Youth expressed: “Baga hin sugad kamakusog hin usa nga electric fan nga signgun ta level 5 an kamakusog nga baga an imo mababatian nala an hagurong han hangin. Sugad hito kamakusog.” (Yolanda was like an electric fan. When set into full swing, one will only hear its roaring sound.) An electric fan is a mechanically- NATURAL DISASTERS RECONSTRUCT THE SELF 13

powered machine used to create a flow of air. It consists of a rotating arrangement of blades which manoeuvre the air. The rotating assembly of blades and hub is known as impeller, rotor or runner. Usually, it is contained within a housing or case which directs the airflow or increases safety by preventing objects from contacting the fan blades. In full force, an electric fan will blow away those light to medium-light materials.

Yolanda as a deluge. Yolanda was also associated with the movies 2012 and Noah’s Ark suggesting an end-of-the-world rhetoric. The movie 2012 shows how the turbulent storm surge and deluge of water carried away and drowned almost all living and non-living things. It was caused by extreme weather condition that was brewing in the Atlantic. The movie shows how earth was falling apart, that the world has an expiration date and its end has come. Also, in the Bible, Noah has been summoned by God to build an ark in preparation for a long deluge to be followed by drought. This was God’s plan to cleanse the world from sinful inhabitants. Youth 1 narrated: “Kuan, makaradlok hin duro adto nga experience, baga maikukumpara ko adto nga bagyo nga kuan, inin end of the world. Katapusan han katawhan, tungod nga agi han kamakusog han bagyo, makaharadlok, ngan baga ako hin na mental block, baga diri na ak maaram kon ano an akon bubuhaton.” (I thought Yolanda was the end of the world. It’s strength and power were enormous. Nothing could rival its force. I was on a mental block. I didn’t know what to do.). To the youth survivors, Yolanda seemed to have re-enacted the events in the movie 2012 and Noah’s Ark, a Biblical story that somehow served as a reminder for people to repent from sins and to follow the righteous path to save their souls. The guilt that they felt served as an instrument to strive for righteousness and change.

Yolanda was further associated with Titanic, another movie about an action-packed romance between two lovers set against the ill-fated maiden voyage of Titanic, the massive and most luxurious ship in its era that sunk in the ice-cold waters of the Northern Atlantic killing almost 1,500 people. The Filipinos have the tendency to romance with typhoons considering that the Philippines braves a number of typhoons each year making them a part of the Filipinos’ way of life. Generally, the youth survivors did not mind the news about the tremendous power and strength of Yolanda. In fact, they could not fathom how the news agencies were being overly dramatic in reporting about the typhoon because typhoons are a part of their lives. Also, hours before Yolanda, Tacloban was scorching with heat. “How could there be a super typhoon when Leyte is scorching hot?” was the question that many of the people were asking? However, they experienced an unsurmountable fear when Yolanda came like a thief. It came so quickly and left so quickly making the people petrified. It was too strong that it submerged the whole city of Tacloban and Palo killing almost 8,000 people. Like Titanic, Tacloban and Palo drowned in the deadly waters from the raging Pacific Ocean.

Yolanda as a faucet. J. P. Binay (2018). Moreover, Yolanda was likened to a faucet. What does a faucet do? Faucets hold back water flow when turned off, but when turned on quickly and in full force, the water will splash drastically, drowning and eroding the plants and other living things in surrounding areas. This is caused by the strong pressure of the water from the pipes. Youth 17 exclaimed: “Bagan gripo an Yolanda kay kuan, bagan mayda hiya switch nga ig o-on ngan ig o-off nga kon natitigdaan pag-abri, makusog it awas. Sugad han Yolanda, waray man adto kami salabutan nga mahitaas an tubig nga magin sugad hadto kamakusog. Amo ito nga baga hiya hin gripo nga kon tigda mo gin a-abrihan, makusog talaga an bugawak han tubig.” (Yolanda was like a faucet. When one swiftly opens a faucet, the water will catapult and may drown the surroundings. Yolanda was like that. It was unexpected.).

Yolanda as a nuclear bomb. J. P. Binay (2018) The youth survivors further gave a macro view in symbolising Yolanda as a disaster: that it was like a huge dam whose gates were destroyed by the force of water because the water pressure on the gates was so powerful that it was not directly proportional to the area of the water that is flowing past the gates. The result was a deluge submerging a huge part of Tacloban and Palo. Like a splashing faucet or a surge of water from a leaked dam, Yolanda inundated the people of Tacloban and Palo with storm surges that killed almost 8,000 lives. Yolanda was also described as a nuclear bomb that pulverised Tacloban city and its nearby towns. It shook the whole city. Because of this, the government seemed to have been crippled and anarchy or a war-like situation ensued in the city. This anarchy or war-like chaos was represented through widespread looting and burning of establishments, shooting others with guns who were not willing to share their food and other goods, and smouldering street barricades demanding payment from passing vehicles who were trying to leave the desolate city. According to Mulles (2014), there were deaths everywhere. There were no leaders. The police, the army, the politicians, and the civilians, everyone was a victim. Many of them lost a loved one. It was a moment of panic and despair. The exodus was seen as a better way to escape the desolate situation. "There were dead people everywhere", said the youth survivors. Youth 24's illustration of Yolanda memorial attests to the thousands of deaths that Yolanda caused. Youth 2 stated: "Baga baga hin kuan, hin giyera. Tungod nga pagkita ko ha gawas, nagsasaramok an mga tawo, ngan mayda mga kapulisan, mga sundalo, ngan mayda gihap nagkakaada hin balita nga an mga priso nagkagawas ha city ngan provincial jail, ngan an mga tikang ha bukid, an mga NPA, ito ba nga mga sinisiring nira nga Badjao namumurihisyo hin kabtangan ngan kinabuhì." (Yolanda was like war to me. It was chaotic, the place, the people, everything was in chaos. There were no leaders. The police and army did not know what to do. Then, a rumour came out that convicted felons have escaped the city and provincial jails. Also, the NPA (new people's army) and the Badjaos were suspected to be out in the city, looting food, money and jewellery and even killing people.). As a nuclear bomb, Yolanda led the city government of Tacloban and Palo to lose control of its people, to lose the sense of government so to speak creating tremendous chaos, crime and violence.

Lastly, Yolanda was seen as a horror film by the youth survivors. Horror films are unsettling films designed to frighten and panic, to cause dread and alarm, and to invoke our hidden worst fears, often in a terrifying, shocking finale, while captivating and entertaining us at the same time in a cathartic experience. As a horror film, Yolanda left the people in terrible fear and panic. The thousands of stinking cadavers on the ground, and the people's utter thirst and deep hunger for food exacerbated this massive fear and panic. There seemed to be mania almost everywhere. Many of the respondents said that many of the survivors acted like zombies. If the relief goods arrived a little later, some people might have lost some sense of sanity and cannibalism might have ensued for them to survive. They were very thankful to the relief operations conducted by international non-government organisations (NGOs) and international government agencies such as the Tzu Chi Foundation, AUSAID, USAID, Habitat for Humanity, Oxfam and the United Nations (UN) among others, because without these NGOs and agencies, the survivors might have resorted to cannibalistic acts and an outbreak of diseases might have emerged and caused more deaths.

The youth respondents claimed that these NGOs and government agencies were more ground-level, direct and sincere in their approach to help them than the government agencies. "An DSWD ginpanagan kami sardinas, noodles ngan NFA nga bugas. Ok la adto ha amon. Pero an mga NGOs mas maupay talaga an ginpanhatag ha amon kay may mga sabon, gamit panlimpiyo ha lawas ngan ha kusina, imported nga mga de-lata ngan naka-pack nga pagkaon, mga muskitero kontra lamok, mineral water ngan de-kaledad nga bugas. Maupay hira, an mga NGO." narrated by one of the youth respondents who is finishing his undergraduate degree in a local university in Leyte. (Instead of the usual sardines and noodles that DSWD gave, the NGOs provided us with cleaning detergents, cleaning materials, mosquito nets, imported goods, mineral water and quality rice. They personally gave their donations to us.). During their relief operations, the NGOs did not want any government intervention whatsoever due to their growing distrust in the Philippine government authorities. Youth 12 shared this drawing, which displays the role that NGOs took in the aftermath of Yolanda. It also reflects that the spirit of bayanihan is not dead; that bayanihan endures in times of need. This is captured in the moving lorries.

What constructs do the youth survivors have on Yolanda as a natural disaster?

One of the constructs that the youth survivors have made about Yolanda is that of a heartbreak. It was emotionally painful on the part of the survivors to see their loved ones dead or not to see their missing loved ones anymore. With heartbreak, one feels great sadness or disappointment. It happens when one leads someone on, then randomly becomes unfaithful to her that twists and punctures her heart with pain. “Ah, para ha akon, бага talaga hiya hin heartbreak. Kay siyempre ma’am, makuri, багат after hadto natigdaan la ma’am, tapos kahuna namon diri talaga hiya makusog, tapos amo ngay-an adto an kagagawsan, tapos makuri talaga mangalimtan. Makuri talaga adto wad-on ha dughan tungod kay masakit” youth 6 expressed. (Yolanda made me feel heartbroken. It was sudden. The pain was intense. It is difficult to forget. Like heartbreak, it is hard to get rid of pain.). Yolanda seemed to have been a heartbreaker in many forms – from a mother losing her children, to a father losing his whole family, to a son losing his parents, to a baby boy losing his mother, and many more. “Masakit hinduro mawad-an hin Tatay. Swerte an mga anak nga may Tatay pa ha ira panimalay nga naniniguro magin maupay an ira pamuyo.” (It’s so painful to lose a father. Lucky are those with their fathers alive. The role that they play in the family cannot be underestimated.), narrated Youth 10.

Because of this heartbreak, Yolanda led the survivors into some form of depression. Depression is a mental condition characterised by feelings of severe despondency and dejection, typically also with feelings of inadequacy and guilt, often accompanied by lack of energy and disturbance of appetite, concentration and sleep (American Psychological Association, [APA], 2010). As a form of depression, Yolanda led the youth survivors to hopelessness and despair due to the destruction that it caused them mentally, physically and geographically. “Hangtud yana, kon nabalik ha akon huna-huna an panhitabo, nawuwurok la gihap ako. Nanluluya ngan nasusubo. Maul-ol ha dughan. Waray na an akon Nanay. Diri na hiya mabalik pa. Aadi nala hiya ha akon kasing-kasing.” (My memories with Yolanda still make me weak, sad and despondent. I lost my mother. Yolanda took her away. My mother is not coming back anymore, but I always keep her in my heart and mind.), youth 11 sadly told. Youth 7 added: “Kay an anxiety, sadness, an pagigin hopeless, nga tanan nafeel mo. Diri ka maaram kon paano ka makaka-stand on your own, ultimo ikaw, yourself, diri ka maaram kon paano mag stand. Diri ka maaram paano nimo mabubuligan an imo kalugaringon ngan an imo pamilya. Diri ka nangangaturog ngan grabe an imo paghinunahuna. Nakakalurong hin tawo.” (Anxiety, sadness, hopelessness – I experienced all these. I did not know how to pick myself up, how to stand on my own. I did not know how to help myself and my family. I could not sleep, and I could not stop overthinking. It was madness. That time, I thought I would go insane.).

Youth 11 shared this drawing to illustrate the pain that Yolanda caused her. Tears were flowing from her eyes when she was sketching this. “Sometimes, I just need to cry to let go of pain.”, she uttered. The woman in the drawing is seen facing the viewer. This perhaps suggests that youth 11, as personified by this woman, has learned to confront her pain.

To some, Yolanda was a twist of fate, an unfortunate turn of events. When Yolanda struck Leyte, there was no rich and no poor. Everyone was equal in the face of the disaster despite their socio-economic status. Everyone suffered the same suffering, physical or psychological. In short, in times of disasters, everyone else’s feet are on the ground, vulnerable to risks including death. Youth 8 captured this in these lines: “Bagan twist of faith ma’am kay, in a way, an mga riko ngan mga pobre papratas po. An kwarta waray value, waray gud kami mahihimo kundi for survival gud. Nanlo-looting talaga ma’am, amo adto an siyahan namon nga ginhimo. An pinaka importante nadara namon an tubig ngan de-lata para ha amon pamilya. Nakakita kami hin warehouse nga damo an tawo, upod an akon mga bugto po, kumuha kami hin mga sako tapos nag-alsa kami hin mga tubig ngan de-lata pauli gamit an sako.” (Yolanda was a twist of fate for all victims. Money had no value. Everyone was equal. No rich, no poor. What we had in mind was survival. We did not want to die. We looted for food and water in open shops and warehouses in order to survive. I was with my siblings. We thought it was the right thing to do. I mean, who would not do that in a hopeless and fearful situation, right?).

In some way, Yolanda was viewed as a blessing in disguise. Even though they have suffered so much, Yolanda is a reminder for people to self-reflect and to challenge their social consciousness, environmental awareness and moral compass. “Para ha akon, an Yolanda багат, unique hiya, nga багат may positive ngan negative... kay bagan napabag-o gihap niya an kinabuhi han mga tawo diri la hi ako, kundi tanan gihapon nga nagin biktima nagkaurusa... maski an iba nga bansa diri magka-arasya, ngan hin it Pilipinas nag aaragway an mga lider ha

politika, pero nagbinuligay gihap ngan an iban nga bansa nag-send gihapon hira hin bulig ha aton.” youth 10 narrated. (Yolanda was unique. It brought both negative and positive effects. Yes, it caused thousands of deaths, but it also brought people and nations together. There were no enemies. All nations were united to help us regardless of race and religion. It was heart-warming to know that the world stepped up to help and stayed behind us. I was humbled.). Some of the youths felt guilty about their actions. Youth 13 recounted that she was regretful about the way she disposes of her garbage and her uncaring attitude towards nature. She also narrated about how irresponsible people are in terms of throwing away their waste to riverbanks, lakes and the ocean. Another youth (Youth 17) was honest to have recounted the serious business his uncles and father have in terms of performing illegal logging activities in the mountains of Leyte as their way to make a living. Yet another (youth 9) delineated his personal observation about the immoral activities that people are engaged in, such as premarital sex among the youths, using drugs, marital infidelity among couples and the endemic corrupt practices of many of the local government officials and businesses. These, according to the youth respondents, are reminders for the people of Tacloban and Palo to repent by taking the right path guided by moral values and fear in God.

Lastly, Yolanda has been viewed by the youth respondents as a corrupt politician. In many democratic governments such as the Philippines, corruption seems to be deeply rooted in people’s culture (Transparency International, 2016). A corrupt politician is one who uses and abuses his power to accumulate an illegitimate private wealth to maintain his hold of power and for other personal gains, leaving the majority of people in hunger, poverty and desolation. Yolanda was perceived as a corrupt force because for months, it left the people of Tacloban and Palo in deep sorrow, hunger, hopelessness and desolation. It sucked the energy, material resources, emotions and even sanity from the people and left them in depression. Youth 3 shared this construct through a poem below. The writer described corruption in a form of taking advantage of donations from international agencies and the seemingly unending political dispute between the two major political families in the country.

Kawatan

by G. M. D. C. (Youth 3)

It kamatayon baga la hin kawatan
Yana ada ka, buwas waray na ngay-an,
Pakabuhi, butang, kwarta ngan kinabuhi
Tanan ito nawara ngan ginbawi.
Masakit mawarayan hin kwarta, butang ngan
kaurupdan.
Pero masakit nga pati it bulig ngan donasyon
kinawatan.
Tawo nagpapakabuhi pero opisyal puros nan-
ngangawat.
Hasta it news gintatakpan ngan nan-ngunguwat.
Ano it problema hit paggawas hit tunay nga ihap
hit patay?
Nahadlok ba it gobyerno nga waray na hira
makukuha nga pahalipay?
Gobyerno nga dapat bumulig nga waray pili,
Pero kay “Romualdez ka ngan Aquino an
presidente!”
Tagan unta puros higugma it mahuna-huna,
Pangawat, kupit, buwa - tanan ito panguwat.
Maski an bata surat la an padara,
Maaram kami ngan sana an pangawat masiwalat.

English translation:

Thief

by G.M.D.C. (Youth 3)

Death is a thief.

Now you live, tomorrow you die.

Occupation, thing, money and life,

All these will have an end.

It is painful to lose money, things and relatives.

But it is more painful that donations are stolen.

Citizens work, but officials steal.

Even the news misleads the people.

What’s wrong with revealing the real number of
casualties?

Is the government afraid to lose donations and
incentives?

The government must help without favouring
anyone,

But no, because “You are a Romualdez and the
president is an Aquino!”

Let pure love be given to those who hunger,

To steal and lie - all these are forms of deceit.

The child offers nothing but a letter,

We hope the corrupt practices be exposed.

Graft and corruption is already ingrained in the Philippine political system. Proof of this are surveys by international agencies (e.g., Transparency International) evidenced through the “neglect of basic infrastructure and existence of chronic underinvestment in the armed forces and civil service” (Heydarian,

2013) breeding capacity deficit and painful absence of basic services leading to a lackadaisical response to crises such as a natural disaster. It is sad to say that during the height of Yolanda's wrath in the country, little was done for the local people, especially the poor and the marginalised, despite the spill over of international donations that reached the Philippine government. Transparency, clean government, and moral integrity are tested in times of natural disasters. In the case of Yolanda, graft and corruption bred like insects, and as this practice continues in the country, it will gravely impact the lives of the underprivileged.

How did these images or constructs help the youth survivors reconstruct themselves, their sense of family and their spirituality? The youth survivors expressed that the symbolic images or constructs they have created in their minds helped them to reflect on their own situations and circumstances and enabled them to think about themselves and their plans for their future. These are interesting to note because such reflections served as an agentive force for them to reconstruct the way they view themselves (sense of self), to redefine their sense of family and community, and to re-establish their sense of spirituality. These are discussed in the sections below.

On Reconstructing the Self

One of the salient themes that arose in the youths' narratives is for them to appreciate the value of common sense, and to believe in the power of human instinct as well as the insights from the elderly and fisher folks. When youth 4 noticed their roof being battered by strong winds, his common sense was telling him to gather his family inside their toilet because it was made of concrete and some steel. He also told his other siblings to stay under the bed to be safe from flying objects. Also, when youth 6 noticed the unusual low tide in San Jose Bay (locally called Cancabato bay), his father, a fisherman for many years, directed him and their neighbours to run for their lives to higher grounds. His father's instinct was telling him that tsunami-like waves would be coming, and such waves would be very high and deadly. This instinct saved his father and himself. The storm surge brought deadly waves into the shore killing thousands of people. Further, with the unusual heat a few hours before Yolanda came, youth 9's grandfather was already telling the whole family to evacuate. Her grandfather's instinct interpreted the unusual heat as a message to prepare for a turbulent storm. Her grandfather was right not to take for granted the unusual humidity. They evacuated their house in the shorelines of San Jose and moved to a house of their uncle located in higher grounds. All these affirm a message that, as human beings, the youths can reconstruct their sense of self by believing in their common sense, listening to their instinct as well as valuing the insights of the elderly who have experienced life more than they do.

In reconstructing one's self, Yolanda also acts as a reminder for the youths to learn the science behind typhoons and storm surges. We can reconstruct ourselves if we are willing to educate ourselves about scientific facts and the reasons behind these facts. This education entails acceptance that weather patterns are unpredictable, and these include the unpredictability of typhoons. Learning about the characteristics of typhoons, storm surges and the weather as a whole must be a personal call; it should not only be the job of scientists or weather forecasters, youth 13 and youth 17 argued. Both of them expressed that the world has changed drastically in the past two decades. It is now a world of advanced technology, machineries, and artificial intelligence. We can always access the internet to learn about storms and typhoons and to adapt effective life hacks and survival skills. "Diri ini dapat ginta-take for granted. Dapat ngani ha esweklahan gin i-introduce na ini han mga bata para maaram na hira kon ano an bubuhaton kon may bagyo." (Typhoons should not be taken for granted. Typhoons must be seriously taught in schools so that the children are informed and that they would know what to do when typhoons come.), said Youth 17.

Youth 19, youth 22 and youth 24 explained that Yolanda must have taught the people in general about the paralysing impact of climate change. Yolanda, to them, must be considered as an educational prompt that should convince the people to take climate change seriously; to accept that climate change is not a mental construct but a reality. Yolanda must have alerted the people that future typhoons would even be stronger and more deadly due to climate change. Yolanda must be a wake-up call for people to reflect on their roles and relationships with nature. The tremendous carbon footprint that are deposited in the atmosphere would have a more debilitating impact on humanity in the next 50 years or so. This will be exacerbated by people's lifestyle that increases global warming not to mention the tons of wastes that people throw away to the

oceans, lakes and riverbanks that destroy our natural habitat. Alunan, the editor of the book *Our Memories of Water*, which is a memoriam for the victims of Yolanda, expressed that the people in the Third World nations are the ones that suffer the most from natural calamities even if they are not the ones who contribute greatly to carbon footprint. The Philippines remains an agricultural country; most of its produce are agricultural; not industrial or technological. Compared to the highly developed nations, the Philippines remains at the bottom in terms of contributing damage to the atmosphere brought by carbon emissions that alter weather patterns. However, the Filipinos suffer the most when it comes to facing the ill effects of the changing weather patterns or climate change.

Youth 19's impression of Yolanda suggests a few striking themes. One of which is the power of destruction that a natural calamity can bring to humankind. This is encapsulated in his lines "When nature strikes...". The message that this line conveys is not to be taken for granted. As Alunan (2016) expressed, "Typhoon Yolanda slashed a wide swathe of the Visayas with unmitigated fury and forced the world to see the brutal impact of global warming and climate change upon human civilisation" (p. 3).

In times of hopelessness and despair, the youth respondents realised the meaning of survival of the fittest. This became clear to them and this has helped them reconstruct their sense of self. Yolanda, to the youth respondents, validated looting as an act of survival. They had to scavenge for food and water to fill not only their hungry stomachs but also the stomachs of their families. A weak person will not survive that disaster. Yolanda also enabled them to understand the meaning of violence, aggression and crimes because these happened in front of their eyes. "Kumita gud ako Sir han pagpusila han usa ka tawo han usa nga babaye nga tag iya hin usa nga bodega han bugas kay waray man gud an babaye humatag hin bugas nga an mga tawo ginpapan gutom na nga бага nan mga lurong an ak pagkita han iba nga tawo." (I saw one man shooting a woman, an owner of a rice store. He did that because the woman did not share her rice and goods to the people. The people seemed to have ran out of sanity. We were all hungry and what we wanted was to eat.), narrated Youth 11.

To the youth survivors, preparation is key. Any typhoon should not be underestimated. People must be ready; they have to be resourceful and mentally strong. Typhoons must be a test for them to apply safety skills, life skills and survival skills. The poem below captures a unique attitude of Filipinos: being hopeful that a bad incident or calamity does not come despite the higher probability for that calamity to come based on scientific projections. This wishful thinking syndrome is popularly called the 'sana' attitude in Filipino, e.g., *Sana di mangyari* (I wish it won't happen) or *Sana lumihis ng landas and bagyo* (I wish the typhoon will change its course). In the poem, youth 15 said "A typhoon which demolished families/ Why did you come?/ I wish you went somewhere..." (lines 5-7). Although common in the Filipino mindset, youth 9, youth 13 and youth 16 shared a similar comment that challenges this mindset: to change this wishful thinking to a proactive mindset so that people will take typhoons seriously and focus on planning and preparation which are key to safety and survival during calamities. As youth 16 mentioned, "Diri na kunta kita magsigen yakan hin sana, sana, sana... Kailangan gud kon bagyo andam kita ngan nanginginano mintras wa pa umabot an bagyo. Kay an weather forecast diri man ito nagbibinuwa." (We must stop wishing for the typhoon to change its direction. The weather forecast does not lie. We cannot stop a typhoon from coming. It's beyond our control. We must prepare and not delve into wishful thinking).

Bagyong Yolanda
by K. M. Y. (Youth 15)
Ang bagyong kumitil sa karamihan
Ay hindang hindi malilimutan kailanman
Sana mga tao ay makabangon ng tuluyan
Nang bayan ay hindi malungkot ng sukdulan.
Ang bagyong nagbuwag ng pamilyang Pilipino
Bigyan mo sana ng kasagutan ang tanong ng mga
tao
Kung bakit ika'y dumating sa aming bayan

Sana ay hindi na lang para wala ng kalungkutan sa
aming kabahayan.
Mga pamilyang naghiwalay sa isat-isa
Sana ay magkita-kita na
Muling ibalik ang kasiyahan sa bawat puso
Nang muling masilayan ang ngiti sa bawat nguso.
English translation:
Typhoon Yolanda
by K. M. Y. (Youth 15)
A typhoon that killed many lives
will never be forgotten.

May the people stand tall,
And may the nation rise from grief.
A typhoon that demolished families,
Why did you come?
I wish you went somewhere.
On Reconstructing the Sense of Family and Community

You brought sorrow to our homes.
You separated hundreds of families.
I wish they will meet some day.
Let joy return to every heart,
and smile to every face.

Just as natural calamities break families and communities apart, they, too, have the power to put these families and communities together. This is true to the youth survivors. Yolanda, to them, was a test of compassion, selflessness, resilience and unity. No typhoons can break them. Their love for each other and their unity are their strength. Yolanda is a testament that they were selfless, brave and resilient for the sake of their family. Their sense of unity, cooperation, courage and resilience is captured in the poem below.

Tindog Tacloban! Tindog mga Kababayan!
by K. K. M. G. (Youth 9)
Usa nga bagyo
Bagyo nga nagpatumba ha akon ginhigugma nga Tacloban
Bagyo nga naghatag hin pahimutang nga diri ko mangangalimtan
Bagyo nga nagkuha hin diri maihap nga kinabuhi
Bata, lagas, babaye, lalake – waray pili.
Pero bisan ano kakusog nga bagyo it mangadi ha am,
Nangingibabaw it gugma ha tagsa-tagsa.
Pagkalipay, pagburubligay, pagtuo ha Ginoo ngan pagigin positibo,
Labis na pagkaurusa makikita mo ha mga tawo.
Bisan ano kakusog it bagyo,
Bisan ano kakuri an natabo,
Waray makakatibag ha akon ginhigugma nga kababayan.
Ha kada problema may solusyon,
Ha kada dagok ha kinabuhi may paglaum,
Ha kada kasiruman may lamrag nga makikita.
Hi Yolanda usa nga bagyo nga nagigin rason
Para makita kon ano't tinuod nga Taclobanon.

Hi Yolanda ka la!
Diri mo mapipirdi an mga Taclobanon! NATURAL
DISASTERS RECONSTRUCT THE SELF 26

English translation:
Rise Tacloban! Rise My Countrymen!
by K.K.M.G. (Youth 9)
A typhoon that knocked down my beloved Tacloban,
Unforgettable and deadly, it took countless lives,
Child, elderly, male, female – no one was spared.
But no matter how strong a typhoon comes,
Love dominates in each one of us.
Joy, cooperation, trust in God and optimism,
Unity, most of all, will prevail.
No matter how strong a typhoon is,
No matter how tragic the situation can be,
No one can tear down my beloved country.
In every problem, there is a solution,
In every downfall, there is hope,
In every darkness, light will shine through.
Yolanda has provoked the real Taclobanon.
You are just Yolanda! You will never defeat the Taclobanon!

Yolanda also served as a reminder to value life and family above material things. Youth 17 narrated: “Han gin-anod an akon Nanay han baha, ginbuhat ko gud an nga tanan nga masalbar la hiya. Nakit-an ko an akon Nanay ngan nasalbar ko hiya. Kasiring ko diri ko na hiya makikita. Kami nala ni Nanay an pamilya yana.” (I did my best to save my mother from the flood. I thought I won’t see her anymore. She’s the only one left. She’s my only family now.). By valuing family, the youth survivors affirmed that it is important to set aside personal conflicts and to resolve disputes. “Siguro panahon na nga an mga personal nga bikil ha panimalay dapat na mawara. Han panahon han kalamidad, diri dapat ginpapairal an garbo. Kailangan gud magtinabangay.”, youth 5 shared. (It’s about time to look for each other as a family. Personal conflicts must not prevail. In times of disasters, pride should not persist. Everyone needs to help each other.). Material things are useless in times of disasters. There’s no rich and no poor. Everyone’s feet are on the ground. Everyone wants to survive. Money, during those times when the youth survivors were hungry and desolate, had no value. It was family that matters to them. More importantly, the community that is devastated by the natural calamity must be cohesive and strong. The bond must remain solid. The moral support must be present. Without these, the community will disintegrate, and peace and order will vanish.

As a family and community, youth 15 and youth 22 were asking the people of Tacloban and Palo to rise and have courage. There is no point to stay in a corner and grieve. The people must learn to let go so they can carry on with life. This message of optimism, rising up and courage is captured in the poem below.

Bangon Tacloban!
D. F. M. (Youth 22)
Ginpaluhod kita
Han usa nga kalamidad.
Nawuwurok ngan nagnguyngoy han kasakit.
Pero nawara na hi Yolanda.
Gumawas na an balangaw ha sinirangan.
An lamrag han adlaw nagyayakan: "Paghigugma
kamo ngan pagkaurusa."
Bangon Tacloban!
Pangamuyo ha Makagarahum.
Pagmata ngan atubanga an sinirangan.
Ha imo dugo, kinabuhi.
Ha imo kasingkasing, waray kahadlok.
Diri ka namon biyaan.
Didi ka namon itubyan.
Ini nga mga pagsulay aton mapipirde.
Ha pagkaurusa ngan paghigugma
Kita magmalampuson.
English translation:

Rise Tacloban!
D. F. M. (Youth 22)
Yolanda made us kneel.
We grieved in pain,
We mourned in sorrow.
But Yolanda is gone.
The rainbow has come.
And the daylight is telling us:
"Love each other and be united."
Rise Tacloban!
Kneel and pray to the Almighty.
Wake up and face the rising sun.
In your blood is life.
In your heart, courage.
We will not leave you.
We will not forsake you.
All these trials we can defeat.
With love and unity,
We will prosper.

On Reconstructing Spirituality

There is no single, widely agreed definition of spirituality. To some people, spirituality is the quality of being concerned with the human soul as opposed to material or physical things. To others, it is a source of inspiration in life; something that encompasses beliefs in immaterial realities or experiences of the transcendent nature of the world. To the youth survivors, this sense of spirituality is associated with their faith in God that is greatly influenced by their religious beliefs. To them, Yolanda stood as an instrument for them to cling to faith and hope no matter the odds. Youth 12 exclaimed: "Han nananalasa an bagyo, waray gud kami sabot kon mabubuhi pa kami hadto nga delubyo. Nag-inampuon la kami ha Ginoo. Grabe an amon pangamuyo nga salbaron la kami niya kay hiya man an Makagarahum." (We did not think we will survive that monster. All we did was pray sincerely to the Lord. We were calling His name because we believe He is the most powerful.). Youth 9 added: "Kasiring namon waray na katapusan an makusog nga uran ngan hangin. Kasiring namon diri na magpapawa. May kaluoy an Ginoo. Diri hiya napabaya ha aton." (We thought the strong winds and the heavy rains would not stop. We thought we would see light no more. God is merciful. He does not forsake us.).

In this art work, Youth 5 narrated that despite the devastation caused by Yolanda, he did not lose hope. He believed that helping each other is one way to enliven hope in each of the victims.

With this sense of spirituality, Yolanda has coaxed people, in general, to repent from sins and to recalibrate their already skewed moral compass. Some of the youth survivors believed that Tacloban has already been vastly infested by immorality and social malaise including corruption, drug addiction, criminality, premarital sex and marital infidelity. They believed God has a way to cleanse the city through natural calamities, a symbolic and literal illustration of the deluge that happened in the Bible. To save Noah and his family, God asked him to build an ark because a deluge was about to come, a way for people to be cleansed from their immoral acts. "An sosyudad man gud bagan mahugaw na. Makarimadima na an mga ginpapanmuhat han kabataan ngan mga katawhan labis na premarital sex ngan droga. Makaharadlok. Bagat feeling ko diri na hira natuod hin gaba ngan kon may Ginoo pa" said youth 1. (Society is filthy. People's acts are abhorrent. Young and old alike perform disgusting acts such as premarital sex and drugs. I think they no longer believe that there is God. This is God's way for them to repent from their sins. This is God's way to cleanse our society.) Youth 8 added: "Damo nga tawo an nawawara hin landas. Damo na an mga ginpapanbuhat magraut. Bagan

waray na hira kahadlok ha Ginoo. Bis ako nangangalimtan ko na magsimba. Mas damo an akon oras ha barkada ngan lakwatsa. An pag ampo ngan pagsimba nangangalimtan ko na. Leksiyon gud ini hi Yolanda ha amon.” (I think a lot of people are lost. They are involved in distasteful acts. They don’t fear the Lord. I’m guilty of this. I even forget to go to church. I have enough time to spend with friends, but I have no time to spend in the house of God. God has taught me a lesson, indeed.). These youths’ testaments seem to suggest that it is right to be guilty and to incriminate one’s self as a form of repentance from sins.

Themes and Concepts that Emerged from Narrative Data

Below are themes and concepts that emerged from the narrative data. These themes and concepts were generated though Leximancer. Interpretation of these themes and concepts is given below. Leximancer is a concept-mapping tool that is used to generate themes and concepts in qualitative studies.

About the primary author

Nimrod Delante is a learning advisor at the Singapore campus of James Cook University. He handles students with academic skills issues such as academic writing difficulties, qualitative research problems and plagiarism. Nimrod's research interests are on teaching and learning in the English language and communication disciplines. These include reflective teaching, language assessment, literacy skills development and intercultural communication using both semiotic and rhetorical traditions of communication theory.

Selfies from Pope to Obama Girls

Theodore A Fernando Warnakulasuriya
The Open University of Sri Lanka

Abstract

Despite the selfie's obvious photographic component little scholarly research has been done in Sri Lanka. Since selfies are a new medium of communication due to the widespread popularity of social media this paper is an attempt to present various use of selfies in a form of a literature review, citing recent, four scholarly articles written on selfies, namely how and why people make selfies and publish them on the social media. Today, the selfie has rapidly entered the 'public sphere' and seems to accent and depict a culture obsessed with itself. Some have applied labels of narcissism to the users of the selfie. However, selfie also invites a different consideration about the complex nature of networked society. Scholars attest that at the moment of capture, a selfie connects disparate modes of existence into one simple act. It features the corporeal self, understood in relation to the surrounding physical space, filtered through the digital device, and destined for social networks. Each of these elements appears in relation to the others, attracting competing logics and languages of belonging and expression into one quick photograph.

Introduction

What is that Presidents of the World are doing today, Prime Ministers are doing, you and me are doing, and your wife is doing, your children and your grand children are doing, your girl friend or other friends are doing, even Pope Francis and Obama's daughters are doing, all celebrities and everyone with a camera phone are doing? May be you have guessed it right. A selfie or "selfing" to make a verb out of it. Whether we like it or not, photo sharing sites, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Tumbler and Flickr, are filled with selfies or self-portraits. According to BBC, celebrities such as Rihanna, Justin Bieber, Lady Gaga and Madonna are all serial uploaders of selfies and their photos are sometimes going viral in the Social media. For some observers "loneliness, desperation, and need of attention are the reasons why people selfie. However, from a psychological perspective, a good self image of oneself is important. From the communication perspective, intra-personal communication, namely communicating with oneself has its own value.

Looking from communication perspective, one's self image is important, and not always narcissistic. It is how we normally define ourselves, and present ourselves for others to see and accept. In day to day life, We rely very much on others' perception, judgements, and positive appraisals to develop our social self or shelves. According to recent findings from the Pew Research Centre, teenagers in America are sharing more information than ever about themselves on social media. Of those studied, 91% post photos of themselves online - up from 79% in 2006. According to (Brandt, 2014), the number of selfies taken each day by smartphone users is approximately 93 million, and the estimated number of photos shared online in 2014 was 880 billion (Zigterman, 2013). For many selfie-ing is still inexorably associated with "sexting" namely sending sexual photographs via text, which are typically self-taken. Sexting is becoming a growing problem in many countries even in Sri Lanka. Selfies have been even blamed for causing harm to others, such as sporadic accidents caused by a preoccupation with camera over one's surroundings.

On November 19, 2013 Oxford Dictionaries announced "Selfie" as "the international Word of the year. One of the technology reporters of New York Times, articulated that "Selfies have become the 'cool' term for digital self-portraits, helped by the explosion of cellphone cameras and various photo editing and sharing services. The popularity of the selfies as such, that from the Pope to Obama girls have been captured by a selfie. Use and misuse of selfie by the fans have prompted some to describe selfies in these negative terms: "a symptom of social media driven narcissism. A "way to control others' images of us, a "new way not only of representing ourselves to others, but of communicating with one another through images, "the masturbation of self image and a 'virtual "mini-me. Oxford dictionary defines a selfie, as a photograph: a pictorial image produced by a camera. This ordinary observation informs first widespread understandings of the selfie as a cultural

category: “A photograph that one has taken of oneself” (Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year, 2013). Yet despite the selfie’s obvious photographic component little scholarly research is been done in Sri Lanka.

Since selfies are a new medium of communication due to the widespread popularity of social media this paper is an attempt to present various use of selfies in a form of a literature review, citing recent, four scholarly articles written on selfies, namely how and why people make selfies and publish them on the social media. As a Form or a new medium for self expression a selfie, provides new means of communicating and expressing of one self in order to connect with others. As already said , selfie, is a form of self-portraiture typically created using smartphones or webcams and shared on social networks. Today selfie has rapidly come into the ‘public sphere’ and seems to accent and depict a culture obsessed with itself. Some have applied labels of narcissism to the users of selfie. However, selfie also invites a different consideration about the complex nature of networked society. Scholars attest “ that , At the moment of capture, a selfie connects disparate modes of existence into one simple act. It features the corporeal self, understood in relation to the surrounding physical space, filtered through the digital device, and destined for social networks. Each of these elements appears in relation to the others, attracting competing logics and languages of belonging and expression into one quick photograph. Instant popularity of selfie has prompted Gómez Cruz and Meyer (2012) to proclaim the arrival of a new “fifth moment” in photography history.

“What does a Selfie say? Investigating a Global phenomena, researchers Theresa M, Senft and Nancy K. Baym (2015) bring together views of diverse scholars working together and lay ground work for treating the selfie as a phenomenon. Answering one of the fundamental questions raised by people, what precisely is a selfie, they explain the following facts. First selfie is a photographic object that initiates the transmission of human feeling in the form of a relationship (between photographer and photographed, between image and filtering software, between viewer and viewed, between individuals and circulating images, between users and social softwear architectures. Further according to their definition, a selfie is also a practice, namely a gesture that can send and is sent with different messages to different individuals, communities and audiences. This gestures importantly can be dampened, amplified, or modified by social media censorship, social censure, misreading of the sender’s original intent, or adding additional gestures to the mix, such as likes, comments, and remixes. In their observation of a selfie, their research article highlight that, though the selfie signify a sense of human agency, namely a photograph one takes of himself or herself and often shown to others, selfies are created, displayed, distributed, tracked, and monitored through an assemblage of nonhuman agents. The politics of this assemblage according to two researches , renders the selfie, generally considered a gesture that occurs every day of immediacy and co-presence, into a constant reminder that once something enters a digital space, it instantly becomes a part of the infrastructure of the digital superpublic, outliving the time and place, in which it was originally produced , viewed and circulated.

Aaron Hess, in his though provoking essay titled ‘The Selfie Assemblage’ articulates that selfies exist as emblems of a narcissistic contemporary culture. He discusses, the need for a deeper reading of selfies and provides insight into the relationships between technology, the self, materiality, and networks. Selfies exist in a unique moment in human technological history, one that invites consideration of the multiple worlds that individuals inhabit (Hjorth & Pink, 2014), the nexus of the intimate self, public spaces, locative technology, and digital social networks. Quoting Slack, Hess says, “Assemblage” refers to the dynamic collection or arrangement of heterogeneous elements (structures, practices, materials, affects, and enunciations) that expresses a character or identity and asserts a territory” (Slack, 2012). For, Hess, assemblages link subjects (whether individual or collective), via networks and activities, to particular arrangements of bodies, technologies, and materials in order to do something, namely to enable the production of surplus value, to produce citizens, to move or secure populations or resources, to expand human knowledge and develop technologies, to manage and direct force and violence, to create community and solidarity, and so on. (Wiley, Becerra, & Sutko, 2012).

As digital manifestations of material existence—that attempt to portray today’s material substance—selfies display the often contradictory and complicated nature of media and material logics. They underscore the tensions in digital and material existence, each operating as its own assemblage. Selfies are, first on about the self, yet they long for—require, even—sharing to be considered “true” selfies. They document the tangible

material around oneself territorialized as unique places and opportune moments. Further, selfies afford for users the means to materialize the self via their immediate photographic composition in everyday existence, giving credence to our emplacement in the here and now. Contained in pockets and purses as people travel, and held at arm's length as selfies are composed, smartphones document the spatial and temporal coordinates of a life events that are simultaneously extraordinary and normal.

Yet, according to him, selfies are ephemeral, quickly circulated, discarded, and forgotten. In short, taking a selfie displays the unique position—the touching down—of the subject existing within multiple subject positions, or within the larger constellation of assemblages that “explains the complex, changing, and apparently idiosyncratic patterns of mobility, emplacement, social interaction, and communication that characterize a life” (Wiley, Becerra, & Sutko, 2012, p. 189). This is not merely because of selfies’ networked quality, although they inherently exist as networked images; rather, it is because of the presumption of the selfie as existing in multiple spaces simultaneously. They conjure a dual sense of mobility, of bodies moving in both physical and networked spaces, with each carrying its own subjective experiences and articulations.

Importantly, selfie assemblage according to Hess, is a constellation of multiple elements of existence within contemporary technological culture that expresses—even copes with—the affective tensions of networked identity: the longing for authenticity through digitality, the conflicted need for fleeting connection with others, the compulsion to document ourselves in spaces and places, and the relational intimacy found with our devices.

The application of assemblage to selfies and their articulations provides insight into how selfies operate rhetorically and what their function in society might signal for individuals. Assemblage and articulation, as concepts, are useful for understanding that technology is “integrally connected to the context within which it is developed and used; that culture is made up of such connections; and that technologies arise within these connections as part of them and as effective within them” (Slack & Wise, 2005.). Within technological culture, selfies illustrate the complexities and desires inherent to smartphones, networks, and self-expression. As rhetoric, selfies provide clues into meaning-making practices expressed through vernacular visualities composed on devices that follow users from intimate spaces in the home to public places and shared across social networking sites. Situated within the larger articulations and assemblages of technological culture (Slack & Wise, 2005), selfies enunciate representative practices of the self with spatial, temporal, material, and networked existences. Read within a larger constellated assemblage, selfies enunciate the affective experiences found within and between each element.

For Hess, the selfie assemblage articulates four main elements: the self, physical space, the device, and the network. First, selfies presume a sense of authenticity, even though they are staged performances. Second, selfies are emplaced. Taking a picture in private or public places is a unique act of place expression, even while networked dissemination of the photograph compresses space. Third, selfies are about today’s locative and networked media technology, which provide filtered understandings of the material spaces and bodies around us. Forth, selfies presume a networked audience and its language of Web 2.0 content, meaning that they invite digital-vernacular expression and user-generated content typical of this era (van Dijck, 2009).

At a primary level, selfies accent the self. As photography, they powerfully represent and authenticate, although because they are taken on digital devices with accompanying editing software and are designed for networked dissemination, they also signal a performative self (Goffman, 1959). As enunciations in the assemblage, selfies are best understood through their stylized language of the self, which often features a sense of representational authenticity. In an era when the photoshopping of images is frequent, selfies are typically understood as spontaneously performed but rehearsed, lending them a character of performed legitimacy. Taken and retaken to find that perfect angle, selfies are staged performances, yet they also invite users to state as evidence that they indeed were at that vacation spot, ran into that celebrity, or lost that weight. While questions can be raised regarding online deception and authenticity of identity (Baym, 2010), selfies provide “real” glimpses into the corporeal presentation of self. Selfies have a relationship to space and place. Taking a selfie is a form of place expression, meaning that selfies are about the placement of one’s self in a place at a time. As a new medium selfies feature users navigating public spaces using technology. “Users simultaneously see their physical surrounding space, plus a representation of that same space mapped on

their mobile devices” . While typically understood through augmented reality, which overlays digital information onto the physical scene, double perception in the case of selfies reflects the representational quality of the user within the space and through the smartphone. Selfies invite consideration of the composition of the self in space as digitally and visually rendered. In other words, selfies visualize the user as emplaced within the physical surroundings and as digitally embedded into social networks. To take a selfie is to mark the temporal and spatial existence of the networked user. Simultaneously, selfies require decorum both in the composition of the photograph and in when it is taken. Although selfies are frequently taken in private settings, they also feature places that are notable and public. When taken in intimate settings, selfies often speak a language of “publicized privacy” (Sloop & Gunn, 2010). In public, the capturing of a selfie records a personal moment that is shared, oddly with people who are not necessarily physically present. Vacation spots, famous landmarks, and recreational destinations are all featured as primary elements of place for selfies.

When selfie is examined as a concept of assemblage, the physical act of holding the device also signals the intersection of body and machine. Indeed, Wise (2012) offers assemblage as a way of examining latest portable devices, such as iPods, iPhones, and PDAs, that looks at the process of orienting the body to the device. As the device becomes connected to the body, such as through earbuds or the thumb, it “shapes the space around it, transforms behavior, molds attention, distracts, focuses” . The gesture of extending the arm with smartphone in hand inherent to the selfie speaks of the orienting nature of the technology to the space around us. The device serves as a filter not only through its use of software to alter an image but also in the ways that it frames and removes elements of the physical surroundings through the physical relationship of hand, device, body, and backdrop.

Further, as an assemblage of technology, the smartphone selfie invites a digital and visual grammar of the self and scene. The device becomes a technological overlay upon the material existence, requiring angle, light, and perspective in order to be best received by the networked audience. More than just pictures, therefore, selfies underscore the relationship between the body and digital technology through the relational corporeal composition with the device and through the networked spaces selfies are destined to travel in. As one clicks the photo button and upload, he/she express a desire to be recognized at this material moment, composed in digitality, understood through their smartphones, and understood as members of a networked community. The smartphone links these multiple worlds, instantly collapsing the digital and analog, virtual and material.

\The final relationship inherent to selfies is their networked quality. While self-portraits have long been a tradition in photography, selfies are taken to be shared on digital networks and through location-based services (Hjorth & Gu, 2012). In this sense, they are understood as public acts and public artifacts. It is certainly the case that photographs of the self, even those taken in unusual places with smartphones, might also exist in private albums. However, private photographs do not fully qualify as selfies. Selfies imply circulation. In this sense, they are always public. When (re)circulated, selfies are given what Jenna Brager calls a “second life” and are “subject to disjuncture of meaning, misinterpretation and appropriation” . As they slip out of the networked circles of friends on Facebook or Instagram, selfies are then read and reread outside of the control of the original photographer and within larger articulations of power and identity. In recirculation, the selfie can be placed within racialized and gendered frames regarding the appropriate use of technology to represent particular bodies.

The networked quality of selfies further changes the nature of attention and distraction (Wise, 2012) relative to the network and to material space. The selfie’s composition relies on the physical space but operates in a logic of presentation inherent to the network and its decorum. Selfies also pinpoint the user between material and networked spaces. As these planes of existence overlap, they carry differing conceptions of decorum and language use. The selfie, then, operates as a statement of co-presence, of embodying the physical, digital, and networked words simultaneously. It is an expression of multiple memberships to physical, public spaces and public networked places connected via Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and the like. In the constellation of assemblages, this conduit of expression locates users in a technological community and culture.

According to Hess, reading the selfie through assemblage offers insight into the various connections between machines, physical spaces, bodies, and networks. The complexity of identity and subjectivity is accented by a mere tap of the screen as the user simultaneously expresses the multiple memberships and markers of physical and digital being. For members of a complex technological culture, the concept of assemblage provides a means of mapping the tension between representational practices and our devices. Furthermore, assemblage provides clues to the competing logics that circulate within machines, physical spaces, bodies, and networks. To read selfies as primarily self-oriented provides an entry point into selfies as cultural capital or statements of identity and individualism. Reading selfies as device-oriented underscores the relationship between technology and the body, while their networked quality speaks of the social relationships of mass dissemination. Finally, examining them in relation to physical space hints at the relationship between materiality and digitality. Each of these orientations carries blessings and burdens as users attempt to speak in an era of infinite audiences while remaining bound in our materiality.

Posting content to the network not only expresses a desire to be seen and the agency of circulation but also carries users into corporate-controlled spaces that profit upon the labor of Web 2.0 users (van Dijck, 2009). Snapping that selfie articulates a sense of self that is read to be authentic but that also displays the uncertainty and fragmentation of self in contemporary societies, including the many desires and burdens of body-image politics. Sending the selfie out into networked spaces invites reframing of the body within racialized and gendered discourses regarding the appropriateness of bodies or the “typical” user of locative media.

Alise Tifentale, in her article “Introduction: Selfiecity and the Networked Camera, raises number of question about use of selfie. In her observation, selfies make us aware about a particular method of self-fashioning and communication that is historically time specific in the sense that it could materialize only in the moment when several technologies have reached a certain level of development and accessibility. According to her, a selfie to make its presence, mainly due to the availability of internet connection, hardware such as easy to use smartphone with cameras, and software drives that drives the online image-sharing platforms, geo-tagging of uploaded images and other features. Therefore, selfies suggest new approaches to studies of vernacular photography in general, as smartphones in this case function as cameras connected to the Internet, presenting a new and hybrid image-making and simultaneously image sharing device significantly different from previous predecessors. She frames her observations mainly basing herself, on “selfiecity” a research project led by Dr. Lev Manovich and Software Studies Initiative, which is an attempt to make sense of selfies posted on Instagram. Selfiecity project further discusses the inherent complexities of understanding the selfie as a product of the advancement of digital image making and online image sharing as well as a social phenomenon which serves as a means of individual and creative self expression. In Selfiecity, research project, the selfie is treated as a form of self expression of individual Instagram users as well as a communal and a social practice. The research project has considered both the individual artistic intentions of a single image and the overall patterns revealed by large amount of selfies made in a particular geographic location during one week. The team had downloaded Instagram photographs that were taken one week in October 2013 and geo-tagged in the central areas of five global cities: Bangkok, Berlin, Moscow, New York, and Sao Paulo. In her article Alise mentions, some of the scholarly responses to the sudden rise of popularity and even notoriety of the selfie. Mark R. Leary professor of Psychology and Neuroscience at Duke University says that “by posting selfies, people can keep themselves in other people’s minds. In addition, like all photographs, that are posted online, selfies are used to convey a particular impression of oneself. Through the clothes one wears, one’s expression, staging physical acting, and the style of the photo, people can convey a particular public image of themselves, presumably one that they think will garner social rewards. For Karen Nelson-Field, of Institute for Marketing Science, “Selfie is simply a brand advertising.

According to her, various scholars so far, have proposed that the selfie among other usages, can function as a means of self-expression, a construction of a positive image, a tool of self-promotion, a cry for attention and love, a way to express belonging to a certain community (even if it is as vague and ephemeral as “all the young, beautiful, and successful ones”). However, one need to confirm or reject such claims by inspecting individual selfies photos. Sometimes the claims are made based on outstanding exceptions that catch people’s

attention, go viral, and easily become a symbol of the whole phenomenon such as Kardashian's white swimsuit selfie, which is featured in numerous articles discussing the selfie.

Therefore, she believes that before making arriving at such conclusions in order to avoid generalizations unsupported by measurable evidence, some methodological questions should be clarified. For instance, she suggests that if we use content analysis, to analyse the use of selfies, a standard method used in communication studies, we should keep the following in mind: what is the source of the selfies we are to analyze and why we have chosen this particular source, what is the total amount of selfies inspected, what kinds of categories we should use for analysis, what is the statistical breakdown within this set of selfies supporting and contradicting our preliminary hypothesis. By analyzing large sample of selfies taken in specified geographical locations during the same time period, as an example, Selfiecity research project argues that we may be able to see beyond the individual agendas (such as the notorious celebrity selfies) and instead notice larger patterns, which sometimes can contradict popular assumptions.

Accordingly, the use of technology, the new online platforms of dissemination of the images in particular, is what makes selfies different from earlier forms of self-portrait Rawlings (2013) notes that "On one hand, this phenomenon is a natural extension resulting in the increasing democratization of the medium. But on the other, the immediacy of these images – their instantaneous recording and sharing – makes them seem a thing apart from a photograph that required time and expense to process and print, not to mention distribute to friends and relatives." instantaneous distribution of an image via Instagram and similar social networks is what makes the phenomenon of the selfie significantly different from its earlier photographic precursors. It is a product of a networked camera. The selfie consists not only of a self-portrait photograph, but also of the metadata, generated automatically and by the user, of the chosen platform of sharing it as well as the following comments, "likes," and re-sharing by other users.

Considering sudden rise of selfie as a paradigm shift, the simplicity of online sharing of the images taken with a smartphone is one of the factors that contribute to this shift, which is characterized by "complete mobility, ubiquity and connection." Yongjun Sung, et al., in their research, titled "Why we post selfies: Understanding motivations for posting one self" articulate following motivations for posing selfeis online: (1) attention seeking, (2) communication, (3) archiving, and (4) entertainment. However, analyzing further they say that the motivations of attention seeking, communication and archiving, as well as narcissism significantly predicted selfie posting intention while narcissism was the only significant predictor of selfie positing frequency. Importantly, as theoretical foundation for their research, they mention the uses and gratification paradigm, one of the most used theories that explain why and how people use certain media to gratify their needs as explained by (Katz, 1959, Katz & Blumler, 1974,). Instead of being prejudiced against selfie users, it time for us to look at selfie as a new medium of communication. Selfie, selfie, tell me whether whose selfie is making news on social media today. Selfie, selfie help me to accept myself with my talents and idiosyncrasies.

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About the author

The author is an Associate Professor at the Open University Sri Lanka.

**Populism and Voices in the Mass Media:
How the Mass Media Reported People's Voices on the Issue of Comfort Women**

*Fumie Mitani
Nihon University, Japan*

Abstract

In the contemporary society, the news media play a huge role in delivering messages of political elites. But what about the voices of the ordinary citizens. This paper examines how the traditional news media covered the voices of the ordinary citizens in the case of the comfort women issue in 2012. This issue has been debated in the Japanese society for decades. But this issue in 2012 was one of the most notable and debated because the populist politician Toru Hashimoto, former mayor of Osaka, spoke frankly about the issue. Because of his popularity, he had been covered everyday by the local station since he got elected. In addition, he also gathered the public's attention by using Twitter for delivering his conservative opinion. How did the public respond to Hashimoto's remarks on the comfort women issue? This paper analyzes two Japanese national newspapers, the Yomiuri and Asahi Shimbun, the most subscribed papers in Japan.

Introduction

Recently, the word "populism" has been frequently referred to in political articles. Populists are politicians who advocate for anti-elitism and criticize existing political forces for representing "established interests" over "people." In order to gain the support of the people, populists also maintain that they represent "true" people. The mass media is closely related to this process. Sometimes, populists gain mass media attention because they are "outsiders" in the established political world. The mass media conducts interviews with populists and reports on them and therefore the media coverage gets involved in the politics of populism.

There are also populist politicians in Japan. They "fight" against the "established forces" or the "resistance forces" and gain people's support by an appeal of "reformation." In their activities, such politicians claim that no one, except for them, represents the "people," and they criticize the mass media and the established political forces for not reflecting people's voices. The question becomes how does the Japanese mass media listen to and report people's voices in the context of populist politics.

This article analyzes how the Japanese mass media reported people's voices in the context of populism politics, and it describes characteristics of the Japanese mass media. This research explores the case study of Toru Hashimoto, the populist mayor of Osaka, who expressed his opinion about the issue of comfort women in 2013. His remarks about this issue gathered the public's attention, and the remarks were reported heavily nationwide. This article examines how the mass media reflected people's voices about his remarks.

Populism and "people's" voices

What is populism? The meaning of "populism" depends on the situation being analyzed. In the European context, populism refers to anti-immigration or xenophobia. In the Latin American context, populism refers to the politics of clientelism. Although it is difficult to develop a common definition, there are certain characteristics of populism that are commonly shared, such as direct communication with people, anti-elitism, and anti-pluralism (Mudde and Kaltwasser 2017=2018: 14-17; Canovan 1999: 7). In this perspective, liberalism (which protects minorities' rights) conflicts with populism. This is one of the reasons why populism is regarded as a political/social problem in liberal democratic states. However, populism also emerges from democracy itself. Democracy has two faces –the ideal one that remedies the "people" by listening to them, and the pragmatic one that refers to the rational political operation. When Populism emerges from these conflicting ideals, it is seen as a dark side of democracy (Canovan 1999: 3).

For this analysis, populism will be defined as a communication strategy with three main characteristics. First, there is a "populist" appeal to people that there is no one but him/her who represents "people." Second, he/she provides "people" with a dichotomy and refers to other political forces as "enemies" and criticizes them. Third, his/her purpose will be achieved only by defeating the "enemies." In addition, the "populist" has the capability to communicate with "people," uses a tabloid style of language and displays a mediagenic trait

(Mazzoleni 2003: 5). The concept of "people" does not merely indicate "citizen" or "constituents" (Canovan 1999: 5). Instead, the word "people" is a political symbol which gives meaning through struggling over meanings. In this sense, the "people" as "empty signifiers" is constructed (Laclau 2005). The people that populists appeal to do not include the mass media. It is the mass media that populists criticize on the line that they do not listen to the people and that they instead report in an elitist way. Due to the line has been historically constructed and widely shared by a society, populist resists a common sense. The mass media labels them as "outsiders" and refrains from reporting on them. As a result, the mass media unconsciously helps to maintain the status quo (Mazzoleni 2003: 11). Moreover, the populist prefers to communicate directly with the "people," so the populist views the mass media as interfering with this direct communication.

Populists criticize the mass media because of their elitist attitudes. Given this, it is important to ask how the mass media reports the public's opinions on populist politics. Do they ignore people's voices? How does the mass media construct the "people" through its coverage? To address these questions, this research analyses Mayor Hashimoto's 2013 remarks on the issue of comfort women. Mayor Hashimoto originally admitted that the media coverage was accurate but then criticized the traditional media for reporting the "truth" after his remarks received public attention, and he consequently refused to hold a news conference for several days. His adversarial attitude toward the traditional media is sufficient to regard him as a populist.

Review of Related Literature

In a liberal democratic society, the idea is that people's voices, or public opinion, should be reflected in politics. Because of this ideal, the mass media is protected by the constitution. This means that the mass media is expected to report the information that is necessary for the public to make informed decisions, and it necessary for the media to report on public opinion. Numerous existing studies have agreed that the mass media plays a critical role in a democratic society (Okada, 2002; Sato, 2008). Studies on Japanese public opinion can be separated into three main points of view. The first group of research refers to the coverage of public opinion surveys. Various surveys are conducted by government institutions, private institutions, or the media organization itself. Also, the mass media conducts several types of surveys as experiments. The mass media tends to cover the results of public opinion surveys and regards these results as the "public opinion." The mass media examines and interprets the survey results in detail. Scholars criticize against the mass media and argue that public opinion has been "constructed" with the survey (Bourdieu, 1980=1991). Also, people use the Internet to critically respond to the media's interpretation of the survey results (Yamaguchi, 2016).

Second, studies analyze the coverage of mass media that reflects socially shared values. These studies demonstrate how the mass media represents "us" and "them," and the studies analyze who is the media is referring to with the terms "us" and "them." Numerous studies illustrate how the media represents either "us" or "them" through discourse analysis (Yamakoshi, 2012; Karasudani, 2003; Oishi 2005; Kobayashi, 2007).

Third, studies analyze quotations that appear in the news in order to demonstrate which types of people the mass media gives weight to in various contexts. For example, news organizations tend to quote political elites in their coverage of foreign issues (Bennett, 1990). Given that journalists tend to quote them, foreign news "indexes" debate in Congress instead of gathering information overseas (Bennett, 1990). Also, Elis Krauss illustrated that Japanese news programs in the 1990s mostly reported bureaucratic voices because these programs were dependent on the press club or "Kisha" club¹ for its sources (Krauss, 2000=2006). In addition, even though there were massive social movements against forced lawmaking, news programs mainly reported politician voices and "indexed" debates in Congress (Mitani, 2015). Based on these three points of view, it is important to verify which "people" are being referred to in the specific populist context. This article will verify which "people" were being constructed in the 2013 media coverage on the issue of comfort women, which was led by Mayor Toru Hashimoto's remarks. However, during the analyzed period (May 13 - June 25, 2013), there were no public opinion surveys on the comfort women issue conducted. For this reason, this article analyzes from the third viewpoint and explores which people's remarks were cited in the news. Through these analyses, the characteristics of the media's coverage of public opinion are illustrated.

¹The "Kisha" club provides exclusive access to information by central or local governments and business associates with its membership organizations.

3. Analytic background

3 – 1. Background of Toru Hashimoto's remarks on the comfort women issue

A comfort woman refers to a woman who performed sexual "labor" for the Japanese army during the Second World War. In Japan, the comfort women problem attracted a substantial amount of attention in 1991 when there was appeal to the Court by former comfort women, and media coverage increased in January 1992 immediately before Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa visited South Korea. Since the early 1990s, there have been active discussions on the issue of comfort women. A controversy arose over how to recruit comfort women and how to operate a comfort station. Public opinion concerning what "comfort women" are is a polarizing issue in Japanese society². Although opinions are divided regarding how comfort women were recruited and how comfort stations were managed, the chief cabinet secretary Yohei Kono stated in 1993, "Comfort stations were operated in response to the request of the military authorities of the day. The then Japanese military was, directly or indirectly, involved in the establishment and management of the comfort stations and the transfer of comfort women. The recruitment of comfort women was conducted mainly by private recruiters who acted in response to the request of the military. The Government study has revealed that in many cases they were recruited against their own will [...] and that, at times, administrative/military personnel directly took part in the recruitments."

Popular Osaka Mayor Hashimoto, who established the national party "Nihon Ishinno Kai" (Japan Restoration Party or JRP), made controversial remarks about comfort women in May 2013. In April 2013, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who has argued that the Japanese military did not directly recruit comfort women and is critical of the Kono Statement, commented that the Murayama Statement, which shows apology of Japanese colonial rule, was not inherited "as it is." Because Prime Minister Abe is very famous as a conservative politician who justifies the past history, Japanese society began paying attention to history recognition of a politician. Mayor Hashimoto, the highly popular mayor of Osaka City, subsequently established the "Osaka Ishinno Kai" (Osaka Restoration Association) and the national party "Nihon Ishinno Kai" (Japan Restoration Party). The Japan Restoration Party became the ruling third party in the House of Representatives. Mayor Hashimoto supported Prime Minister Abe's amendment of the Japanese Constitution which was also seen as a conservative policy in Japanese society. Because of this connection with the Abe administration, the conservative aspect of the JRP began drawing attention.

It was under these circumstances that Mayor Hashimoto remarked about comfort women in May 2013. In June 2013, there was an election for the Tokyo Metropolitan council. However, the results of the Tokyo Metropolitan council election ended with the disastrous defeat of the Japan Restoration Party. In light of this situation, this article analyzed how Hashimoto's message on the issue of comfort women was reported from May 2013 until the election of the Tokyo Metropolitan council in June 2013, how Mayor Hashimoto reacted, and which voices were reflected in the reporting. Materials from the "Yomiuri Shimbun" (hereafter "Yomiuri") and the "Asahi Newspaper" (hereafter "Asahi") were analyzed. In addition, we analyzed the twitter account of Toru Hashimoto from his time as the Mayor of Osaka. The analysis period is from May 13, 2013 to June 25, 2013. For the analysis period, all of the articles that aligned with the search results of "comfort women" and "Hashimoto" were analyzed. This analysis only used information from this period about the speaker and any statement contents that were displayed in brackets. This information included statements, protest statements, and press releases. The various attributes for the quotation speakers included: "ruling party," "opposition party," "non-partisan," "Osaka Ishin-no Kai" (ORA) and "Nihon Ishin-no Kai" (JRP), "intellectuals," "the international community," "social movements/pressure groups," and "ordinary people." The "ruling party" included the LDP and Komeito's politicians in Congress, City Council, and the prefectural assembly. The "opposition party" included the Democratic Party of Japan, the Social Democratic Party, and the Japan Communist Party. The term "Bipartisan" was used to refer to either a press conference or press release by

² Views are also divided in terms of whether they should be termed "military comfort women or comfort women." Moreover, while there are opinions that "comfort women" are "sex slaves" because they were not free to move, there are also opinions that this was prostitution (Morris-Suzuki, 2015: 7-8). Given the diverse forms of sexual violence in the battlefield, there is criticism that the definition of "sex slave" is limited and that the structural problem of sexual violence in the battlefield is not captured by this definition (Kumagai, 2014: 32 -33). In this way, Japanese society is not in agreement about the meaning of a "sex slave."

bipartisan politicians. "The ORA and JRP" excluded any comment made by Mayor Hashimoto. "Intellectuals" refer to academic professionals. "Social movements/pressure groups" refer to organizations that are engaged in activities such as the problems of comfort women. The guests' remarks at events organized by these groups were also included here. However, the voices of people who participated in the event were still deemed "ordinary people." "International community" refers to statements made at foreign protests and press conferences by foreign governments, statements adopted at international organizations (such as the United Nations), press conferences, and reports and comments by foreign reporters or foreign media. When the same remark from the same person was used in different articles, it was set as one case. In addition, one case was reported in which various parts of a statement were removed and then reported.

3-2. An index hypothesis analysis of the media's coverage of Hashimoto's remarks

3-2-1. Mayor Hashimoto's remarks on the issue of comfort woman and his interview refusal

Osaka Mayor Toru Hashimoto remarked on the issue of comfort women on May 13, 2013. In the morning, Mayor Hashimoto told reporters in Osaka's City Hall that "For soldiers who risked their lives in circumstances where bullets are flying around like rain and wind, if you want them to get some rest, a comfort women system was necessary. That is clear to anyone." In response to this remark, a small press conference was held later that evening. Hashimoto told reporters that when he visited the Futenma Air Station in Okinawa for an inspection, he recommended to the commander that US soldiers make use of legal sexual services. These remarks highlighted both the issue of comfort women and the Okinawa US military base problem, which are both controversial issues that are intensely repeated in Japanese society.

Hashimoto's remarks were widely noticed in Japan, and a majority of media outlets discussed them critically. Both "Asahi" and "Yomiuri" pointed out that Mayor Hashimoto disregarded women's human rights and trampled their dignity. In response to media critics, Mayor Hashimoto thoroughly accused media reports that his remarks were reported incorrectly³. When he was interviewed on May 17, 2013, he declared to the reporters that he would not answer additional media questions, and he shared the following statuses on Twitter:

"They said that I should have accurately spoken word for word on television. This is the end." (May 17)

"Well, it was too much. This is, I guess, the limit of the political coverage of Japan." (May 19)

"The (TV performer) does not understand my explanation. Effortlessly, they have criticized me out of context in the media." (May 19)

"Media professionals, commentators, experts.... All aside, Japanese Congress members display how low level they are." (May 19)

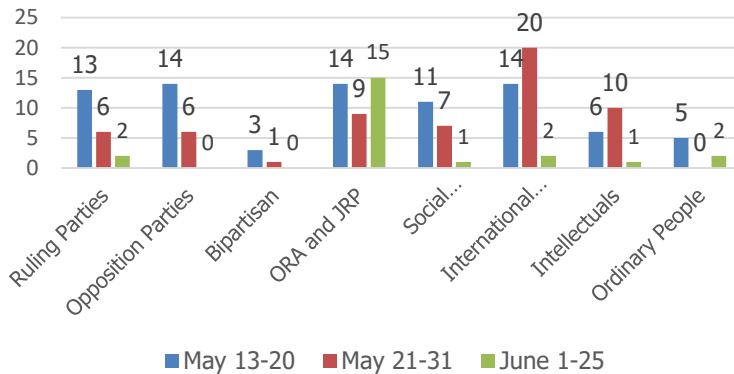
As clearly demonstrated with these tweets, Hashimoto argued that the media "distorted" his remarks, and that such "elite" journalists could not understand how difficult it is for "common people like us" to speak accurately in front of the television camera.

During Hashimoto's stint of refusing media interviews, both the "Yomiuri" and the "Asahi" published remarks from former comfort women who came to visit Japan during this time, and they also critically reported on his attitude toward the media. For example, two former comfort women visited Japan on May 18 and each held a lecture meeting in the Okinawa Prefecture and the Hiroshima Prefecture on May 19. The "Asahi" published this comment from a former comfort woman at a press conference: "if you do not properly reflect on what your country has done, the misery of the atomic bomb will not be understood by the world." The "Asahi" also quoted eight people who criticized the remarks of Mayor Hashimoto. On the other hand, the "Yomiuri" only posted one comment at a press conference the day before the lecture by the former comfort women, writing, "I did not think that it was a remark by a person who is in the position of mayor. I was very hurt. I want you to notice the past mistakes" and "there are people who say things that are outrageous among Japanese

³ Mayor Hashimoto appeared on the television program and admitted that he did not choose the right words (May 16, 2013). However, the criticism continued after this explanation. As a result, Mayor Hashimoto began criticizing the media. Despite his earlier comment that the media reported his remarks correctly, he criticized the media and argued that his remarks were reported incorrectly, and that the media was responsible for his remarks evolving into a problematic issue.

politicians. I wish that they would apologize for the past mistakes. People who were comfort women still exist. I cannot resist listening to Mr. Hashimoto's remarks."

Figure 1 Voices of Yomiuri and Asahi



As displayed in Figure 1, throughout the first period (May 13- May 20), the "Opposition Party," the "Japan Restoration Party" and the "international community" were the most quoted sources (14 quotations), followed by the "ruling party" as fourth most quoted sources (13 quotations). The number of quotations from "social movements/pressure groups" is slightly fewer than the first four sources (11 quotations). In both newspapers, the "ordinary people" responses were not reported as much as were the above sources, like politicians and official associations.

3-2-2. Press conference at Japan Foreign Correspondents' Association

After the press conference resumed, there remained no significant change in the mayor's argument. During the second period (May 21- May 31), the most common criticism came from foreign countries/organizations. For instance, on May 21, the UN Commission on Human Rights issued a statement calling for Japan to improve hate speech about comfort women. Although this statement had been written before Mayor Hashimoto's remarks, the statement was connected to his remarks in Japan. Also, on May 22, the executives of the US city of San Francisco sent an email to Osaka city in which they "personally" hoped to postpone the mayor's scheduled visit to San Francisco because protest groups would surround him. On May 23, 68 organizations, including Amnesty International, announced in a protest statement that a system of comfort women seriously abuses human rights, violates international law, and cannot be justified or realized in any way. This statement also conveyed that Mayor Hashimoto's remarks deeply hurt the victims. On May 24, two former comfort women canceled their planned visits with Mayor Hashimoto, reasoning that victims with their endless pain cannot interact with a performance like Hashimoto's.

In response to growing criticism from foreign actors, Mayor Hashimoto held a press conference with foreign journalists at the Japan Foreign Correspondents' Association in Tokyo (May 27). The "Yomiuri" and the "Asahi" both reported the overseas responses to the press conference, including interviews with reporters who had attended the press conference. The "Yomiuri" and the "Asahi" posted a comment of New York Times reporter that "internationally, it is understood as human trafficking including women's transfer and management. Mr. Hashimoto's explanation is unacceptable overseas" and concluded that a critical voice from overseas would not be withdrawn. The next day, Mayor Hashimoto cancelled his upcoming June visit to the United States and commented that, "this situation would result in a meritless visit." The following day, in response to Mayor Hashimoto attacking the media for its "false reporting" that caused him a great deal of attention, the "Asahi" newspaper posted a protest statement, written by the head of the Osaka headquarters social division, that their news was not "false reporting."

3-2-3. Tokyo Metropolitan Election and the "defeat" of the Japan Restoration Party

After rejecting the censure resolution, the media's attention moved to the June 23 Tokyo Metropolitan Election. It was thought that this election would affect the results of the upper house elections that would take

place in July. As shown in Figure 1, the number of comments related to the mayor's remarks began to decline. During this period, the media paid attention to each party's movements toward the election and particularly focused on whether or not the Japan Restoration Party could win.

According to the Tokyo metropolitan election, it was expected that Shintaro Ishihara, a co-chairperson of the JRP and 13-year governor of Tokyo, would positively affect the Tokyo metropolitan election results. Mayor Hashimoto actively campaigned in Tokyo and gave a supporting speech. However, even in his supporting speech, he did not change his opinion about comfort women. For example, on June 5, he told reporters, "there is a significant gap in the recognition of the comfort women between the Japanese, South Korea, and the world." He also remarked in a supporting speech on June 16, "My remarks were misunderstood by the news media. It was bad to have used a comfort woman. We have to reflect on our history. However, it is not acceptable that the system of comfort women is perceived the same as the Holocaust in the rest of the world." On June 19, he answered questions from the media at the Osaka city hall regarding how his remarks on the issue of comfort women created unfavorable conditions for the candidates. The election results led to the JRP losing representation from three seats down to two. These results were reported as a "crushing defeat." The female candidate who lost commented that she was losing support from women due to Hashimoto's remarks. After these events, the JRP tried to switch the focus from the Tokyo metropolitan election defeat towards the Upper House election in July. It appealed to the public that the JRP seriously needed the power of the people in Osaka. As a result of the Upper House election, the JRP gained small number of seats which could not submit the bill by their own party alone. Therefore, the upper house election was seen as a "defeat." On July 29, Mayor Hashimoto announced that he would withdraw from national politics.

3-3. Discussion: Background of elite central reporting

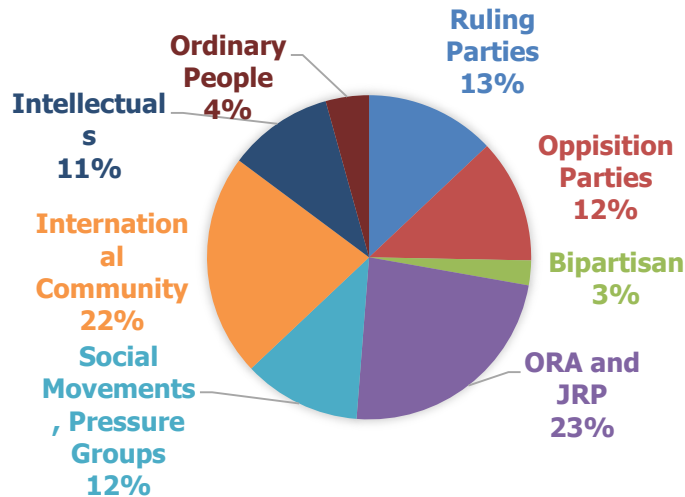
From the distribution of the types of people quoted, important points can be made. First, in the reporting of Hashimoto's remarks on the issue of comfort women, voices of "ordinary people" were hardly quoted. Second, the majority of the reporting on this incident used responses from political elites, such as Congress members and Osaka City Council members. This suggests that the comments made by Mayor Hashimoto about the issue of comfort women were discussed in the world of politics by the 'elite'. Also, the "international community" and "intellectuals" are different than "ordinary people." The "ordinary people" regards them as "elites." In other words, the media focused on "elite" sources for its quotations.

The following three points can provide the background for such elite-centered reporting. First of all, this is the issue of comfort women. As mentioned earlier, the comfort women issue is a complex issue where views are divided in Japanese society, and ordinary "people" rarely have concrete opinions. For this reason, political elites, who can accurately express the problems of Hashimoto's remarks, became central. Also, this problem is perceived not as a "gender" or a "human rights" issue but as a "political" issue. This is because Hashimoto's remarks also included the Okinawa Futenma US base problem and because his remarks were linked with the election. A comparative survey of eleven countries regarding sources in political news resulted that in television news on public issues, the emphasis is placed on the government and the ruling party while vox pop was only reflected 12% of the time (Curran et al, 2017: 826). Compared with this survey, the mass media reflected fewer voices (4%) on the 2013 issue of comfort women as shown in Figure 2.

Second, the news media generally finds high value for the political elites. The news media tried to explain why his remarks needed to be covered. To accomplish this, it is convincing to include a comment from an authority figure in a responsible position with a high profile. This is also proved by the above mentioned survey. It suggested that the news media tends to focus mainly on male elites (Curran et al, 2017: 824).

Third, the routines of the news gatherings also matters. The "Yomiuri" and the "Asahi" newspapers both most often selected members of the Japan Restoration Party for sources. Both newspapers have frequently interviewed many members of the ruling and opposition parties. For journalists, it is easier to interview political elites than it is to establish a new reliable source among "ordinary people." However, unlike previous

FIGURE 2 RATIO OF VOICES IN YOMIURI AND ASAHI



studies that illustrate how Japanese television news programs mainly focused on bureaucrats or discussions within Congress, the current study found that the voices of various organizations not belonging to the bureaucracy, Congress, or City Council were also included in news reports. As shown in Figure 2, the percentage of politicians belonging to the ruling or opposition parties, the bipartisan press conference comments, and JRP politicians' remarks combined was 51.2% of the total comments. The comments from social movements/pressure groups, remarks at press conferences, remarks at a press conference by foreign governments or protest statements, and comments by intellectuals and ordinary people totaled 48.8%. Because a popular populist politician caused this incident, it is likely that members from other associations were as sources. Given that people in populist discourse does not include social movements, the international community, or intellectuals, these results suggest that "ordinary people" only represent a small amount of newspaper quotations. This suggests that newspapers focus more on the elites in society than on general people.

Conclusion

Mayor Hashimoto actively attacked the media and repeatedly offered the criticism that the media could not understand the opinions and feelings of "us" as "ordinary people" because the media are positioned with the elite as "them." Such populism strategies were widely accepted, and these strategies were also applied for Hashimoto to deal with the remarks on the issue comfort women. Hashimoto's discourse suggested that the elites were self-righteous in their criticism of "ordinary people/us."

On the other hand, this analysis revealed that the media has not been able to construct "people" that can resist the population's binary confrontation schemes such as "elite" versus ordinary "people." The analysis revealed that the majority of newspaper sources belonged to members of the ruling and opposition parties, as well as foreign actors. However, compared to previous research, the proportion of bureaucrats and politicians quoted was smaller, and there were numerous quotations from foreign embassies, spokespersons, media reactions, and individuals from social movement organizations. There has been criticism of the binary conflict schema in the populist's communication strategy and also criticism that the media are "elitist" and not representative of ordinary "people." However, with regard to the comfort women issue, in response to the populist criticism about the media focusing on elites, there was no discourse by the mass media that effectively challenged populist's strategy.

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About the author

The author is an assistant professor at Department of Journalism, Collage of Law, Nihon University, Tokyo. She received Ph.D. in Keio University in 2017. Her articles have previously been published in Journal of Mass Communication Studies and Keio Communication Review. Her research field is political communication and her recent project is "media representation of public opinion in democracy."

The Philippines In Suis Exes: An Analysis On The Image Of The Philippines In Chinese Media

Michael Joe T. Delizo

University of Santo Tomas, Philippines

Abstract

In a content analysis on articles published by Chinese newspapers China Daily, People's Daily and Global Times during the pre-arbitration period on the South China Sea, this study showed how the media outlets stayed within the lines of the government's perspective with nationalistic approach in covering the maritime row. Although the Philippines was generally framed negatively for filing an arbitration case against China, it can be noted that even before the warming of ties under the Philippines' Rodrigo Duterte administration, the newspapers had not been totally hostile to Manila and had actually been proposing promising partnership, citing the two countries' complementing economy and natural resources. The Chinese media commonly used attribution of responsibility frame, stating that the supposed provocative moves of the Philippines were only a result of behind-the-scenes instigation and political manipulation of its colonizers-turned-allies, the United States and Japan, who were primarily blamed for intensifying the tensions in the disputed waters for allegedly wanting to contain the rise of the Asian giant.

Introduction

The Chinese media is known for its nationalistic attacks against other countries. They are considered vehemently condemning the country's enemies over different issues and crises, and have always seemingly framed Beijing on the right track.

Lee (2003) claimed that the Chinese press has been portraying their country "as being encircled by an ocean of potential enemies who are out to destroy it" (:p.2). Generally, their framing has a mixture of "collective victimhood and historical memories in seemingly contradictory modes of xenophobia and narcissism" (:p.2). The Philippines, one of China's rival countries in the hotly-contested South China Sea, was once criticized by People's Daily for using the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an "accomplice" in the violation of its sovereignty claims in the territory. It also accused the Philippines of being guilty of "seven sins," including the "illegal occupation" of some parts of the Spratly Islands, strengthening control over disputed coral reefs, inviting foreign companies to develop oil and gas resources in disputed waters, and promoting the "internationalisation" of the Sea (Agence France-Presse, 2013). Another commentary from state-owned Xinhua News Agency called Philippine President Benigno Aquino III as "amateurish politician who was ignorant both of history and reality" (Ming, 2014). To prevent any challenge to the authority, Xu (2014) claimed the Chinese government is heavily controlling both traditional and new media. D'Hooghe (2007) added that the media organizations in China are all state-owned; and although the possibilities for journalists and editors to bring their own news and messages have increased, much of the content of the television and radio programs, newspapers and magazines is still dictated by official policy lines.

According to Fujioka (2005), the media shape the public's perception and contribute to the societal racial environment. Tiegreen and Newman (2008) said framing of news stories has been shown to influence readers' attributions of responsibility, general attitudes and knowledge level pertaining to public policy issues. Pande (2010) added that the nature of frames does not only influence the salience of the story but also its interpretation.

Several studies (Benett, 2011; Esarey, 2006; Kalathil, 2002) have agreed that Chinese media companies are under the watchful eye of the government. The authors claimed that Chinese authorities heavily control the media through a complex combination of party monitoring news content, legal restrictions on journalists and financial incentives for self-censorship. This suggests that the government also has a hand in the news framing of Chinese media. The China's constitution affords its citizens' freedom of speech and the press, but Chinese law includes media regulations with vague language that authorities use to censor stories, which supposedly endanger the country by spilling state secrets. The monitoring agencies provide media outlets directives restricting coverage of politically sensitive topics.

This study analyzed how the Chinese media frame the image of the Philippines on the South China Sea dispute; it thus sought answers to the following questions:

1. How did news articles of China Daily, People's Daily and Global Times portray the Philippines in terms of the following images?
 - a. as a fellow claimant in the South China Sea
 - b. as a bilateral partner of China
 - c. as an ally of the United States
 - d. as a member of Association of Southeast Asian Nations
2. What specific images were formed that constitute to media bias and ideological construction?

The researcher aims to contribute to communication scholarship by illuminating the way the media report disputes. With the way media largely affect the people's perception and response on the issue, it is necessary to encourage others to be critical observers of the way media is shaping "reality," particularly at times of disputes.

Methods

This study used qualitative-quantitative design to analyze the frames made by Chinese media on the image of the Philippines. It explored the content of English-language news articles, editorials, columns and op-eds from Chinese newspapers on how the Philippines was portrayed as a fellow claimant in the South China Sea, as a bilateral partner of China, as an ally of the U.S. and as a member of ASEAN. It also determined the specific images that were formed, constituting to media bias and ideological construction. The researcher gathered news articles, editorials, columns and op-eds from China Daily, People's Daily and Global Times during the first quarter of 2016, amid the looming ruling of The Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague, The Netherlands on the case filed by the Philippines against China. Forty-three (43) articles from China Daily, 14 from People's Daily and 48 from Global Times were retrieved and reviewed.

The researcher designed a coding sheet to observe the framing, objectivity/subjectivity, neutrality/partiality, treatment of stories and the recurring themes in the selected articles. The first part of the coding sheet examined the framing of the write-ups. The researcher observed the presence of the following five basic frames, as identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): (a) Attribution of responsibility, (b) Human interest, (c) Conflict, (d) Morality, (e) Economic consequences, as well as (f) Issue-specific frames like territorial row, war/terrorism, crime and violence, health and safety, politics, entertainment, religion, among others. The researcher also described how the Philippines was framed as (a) a fellow claimant in the South China Sea, as (b) as a bilateral partner of China, (c) as an ally of the U.S. and (d) as a member of ASEAN.

On the second part, the researcher located the sources of the information to determine the balance of the write-up. Each article was checked and analyzed if it suggested (a) that the Philippines has to be blamed for the dispute; (b) that the Philippines was acting on basis of deliberate strategy designed to hurt China; (c) that other party was the cause of the dispute; (d) that the dispute was caused by situational or environmental features; (e) that the dispute was outside the Philippines' control; and (f) if the article contained bashing to the Philippines. The researcher also examined the arguments presented, if the article contained: (a) substantive argument at all; (b) only arguments from one side; (c) at least one substantive argument (or rebuttal) from each side, but with the presentation of the opposing point of view coming only after intervening material; (d) and at least one argument (or rebuttal) from each side, the two points of view presented conterminously.

Finally, on the third part, the researcher examined the articles' common stereotypes to the Philippines and the media's glaring propaganda it wanted to instill to the audience.

Findings

The presence of conflict and politics frames was evident in almost all of the sample articles with 60 percent and 89 percent, respectively, as shown in Figure 1. This, however, was understandable and expected since the chosen write-ups were about disputes between the Philippines and China, a political issue that mushroomed tensions and beefs along with other countries.

The interesting part, though, was the presence of attribution of responsibility frame in almost half or 49

percent of the sample articles. The newspapers blamed the Philippines, as well as outside forces, such as the U.S. and Japan for the disputes. The Philippines was considered to be the one who triggered the standoff when it challenged China's sovereignty and security interests.

China has been exercising self-restraint amid fishing disputes with the Philippines in the South China Sea. However, Manila has captured and sentenced Chinese fishermen several times, and even shot Taiwanese fishermen dead. Manila's barbarity finally triggered a standoff near Huangyan Island in 2012. Since then, China has been in full control of the island. Now, Manila hopes it can bring US troops back, like a Mafia gangster asking their "godfather" for help. The Philippines, obviously aware that international arbitration has no jurisdiction over territorial disputes, filed a petition to an international court in Hague. China's non-participation in the arbitration is protected by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, but the Philippines, with the support of the US, has used this chance to taint China's image internationally (Global Times, No more ship-grounding tricks allowed in South China Sea, March 2, 2016).

Meanwhile, the U.S. and Japan flared up more tensions in a bid to supposedly "contain" the rise of the Asian giant, according to the articles. In China, some say the US seeks to "contain China" and thwart its historic rise. They see the US encircling China by alliances, explicit or implicit, with Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam and India; coercing China to open its markets to control its industries and exploit its consumers; restricting Chinese companies' operations and acquisitions and mergers in the US; hacking China's computers and sending spy planes to patrol China's shores; fomenting "extremism, separatism and terrorism" in the Tibet and Xinjiang Uygur autonomous regions; and injecting Western values to overwhelm Chinese values, eroding China's independence and undermining its sovereignty (China Daily, 'Asymmetric harmony' for US-China ties, 2016). Tokyo intends to take advantage of the South China Sea disputes to cause trouble for Beijing. Abe's government expects Manila and Hanoi to be its two pivots in the South China Sea to contain Beijing. Thus, Japan has offered substantial economic and military aid to the Philippines and Vietnam in exchange for their strategic support (Global Times, Tokyo looks to Manila to strengthen pivot to South China Sea, January 28, 2016).

1. As a fellow claimant in the South China Sea

The articles suggested that the Philippines does not have sovereignty over the disputed territory and that its supposed seizure, occupation and militarization to some islands were illegal. The Philippines was noted to be the one aggravating the tensions in the waters and then passing the buck to China for resulting frictions. This move, the articles claimed, was an irresponsible and provocative behavior that ratchets up the disputes.

The Philippines was highly-criticized for unilaterally filing an arbitration case against China, surmising that the country may have secret motives in pursuing the case knowing that it was a "mission impossible." This action was said to be in violation with international law and with the consensus reached by the Philippines and China, as well as with the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) to resolve the disputes through peaceful negotiations. The write-ups claimed that the case only added uncertainties to the process of the already speeding up negotiations on the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea (COC). Further, the articles said the Philippines violated the spirit and provisions of the DOC by changing the status quo unilaterally. With the waters' marine resources, mineral deposits and strategic geographic location being gradually realized and valued, the articles questioned the timing of the Philippines when it abandoned the policies, which consented to China's sovereign rights, and announced its sovereignty over the West Philippine Sea, even defined the boundary lines of its territorial waters. The Philippines was said to have breached its promises under the consensus and rejected any negotiation with China.

According to Wang, international practice also requires the Philippines to secure China's consent for arbitration before initiating it, yet the Philippines has not done that at all.

The Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea signed by the Philippines, China and several other nations would require countries directly involved to solve their disputes through negotiations.

Rules also say that a country cannot seek arbitration before exhausting bilateral avenues of discussion. Yet the reality is that negotiations over a dozen issues brought up by the Philippines to The Hague have never started. "So we cannot but question the credibility of that country," Wang said, referring to the Philippines (China Daily, Wang blunt on misperceptions of South China Sea, February 29, 2016).

The Philippines was described as the U.S. and Japan's pivot in the South China Sea to counterbalance China. The articles suggested that the Philippines' action was influenced by these outside forces.

Unlike before when the US usually remained behind the scenes to influence the development of the South China Sea issues, it has become more active in backing the Philippines and Vietnam to counter China, and it is paying more attention to realize its purposes through regional mechanisms. Washington is shifting its South China Sea policy, and the US-ASEAN Summit is the latest proof (Global Times, US ready to reposition in South China Sea, 2016).

Right now Tokyo and Manila need each other. Japan wants the Philippines to be a key pivot in countering China, particularly diverting China's attention from the Diaoyu Islands to the South China Sea. In the meantime, Manila needs Tokyo's economic support and help in improving its military capabilities (Global Times, Japan moves to rope in Philippines, January 24, 2016).

As a bilateral partner of China

In terms of bilateral relations, the Philippines was blamed for bringing ties with China to its lowest point in 40 years. The articles noted that agreements between the two claimants stipulated that disputes should be resolved peacefully, through dialogue. However, the Philippines allegedly complicated the situation when it refused negotiation and ignored China's supposed goodwill and generosity for shelving disputes, and seeking joint development of regional cooperation.

[I]f Manila keeps seeking support from the US and insists that China respond to the judgment but refuses any negotiations, it will further irritate China. China will have no other options but to strongly strike back and the bilateral relationship will risk being locked into a vicious circle (Global Times, New leader in Manila may soothe Beijing ties, March 20, 2016). Despite sharp criticisms, the articles still recognized the Philippines as its close neighbor that has a strong bond with Chinese people. The articles indicated that the Philippines and China were ancient friends and good trading partners; they likewise suggested that the Philippines should engage in mutually beneficial cooperation with China rather than confrontation, and that bilateral ties should not be taken hostage by differences and disputes. The Philippines was highly considered as China's promising partner since their economies complement each other, recognizing that the Philippines was resource-rich but lacks in capital, technology and infrastructure while China needs more natural resources.

"The Philippines is an ancient friend and good trading partner with China," Lee said. "Let us not forget that the two countries have never had any history of conflict or war. In fact, both countries were allies during World War II in jointly resisting the Japanese military invasion of Asia.

"The Philippines can benefit from the initiative by becoming an active partner once again in the revival of the ancient Maritime Silk Road. We should be an active partner in the AIIB to help our infrastructure projects. And we need to expand mutually beneficial bilateral trade and investment exchanges" (China Daily, Mutual benefits seen in links with Philippines, March 8, 2016).

As an ally of the United States

Due to its mutual defense and security alliances with the U.S., the articles emphasized that the Philippines heavily relies on the Western superpower to modernize the ill-equipped Armed Forces of the Philippines and; in turn, use the country as a military base of American troops to allow their presence in the Asia Pacific region. The write-ups questioned that the Philippines was more interested in military support rather than financial aid and economic boost, which Manila needed the most. The Philippines, knowing that it can get weak and cannot stand alone, was said to be seeking the help of the U.S. to counterbalance China and guarantee its interests in the region. In return, the Philippines allowed itself to be a "blind follower" and "chess piece" of the U.S. to interfere in the South China Sea.

The Philippines was said to be wooed by the then U.S.' Obama administration in order to consolidate the rebalancing strategy in the Asia Pacific as part of his political legacy. The American government allegedly manipulated a range of topics, such as the arbitration case and joint patrols in the South China Sea to escalate tensions in the region hence the Philippines can be tied to its chariot of its rebalancing Asia Pacific strategy.

How to “kidnap” the Philippines and tightly bind the country to the U.S. has become a significant starting point of American moves, the articles suggested.

The Philippines was described as being incited by the U.S. to take more provocative actions against China. The articles noted that the Philippines received guidance and help from the U.S., including manpower and money, to file the arbitration case against China. The Philippines was supported by the U.S., who was presented to be more enthusiastic, in urging China to unconditionally accept the result of the arbitration case by whipping up public opinion.

Now, Manila hopes it can bring US troops back, like a Mafia gangster asking their “godfather” for help. The Philippines, obviously aware that international arbitration has no jurisdiction over territorial disputes, filed a petition to an international court in Hague. China’s non-participation in the arbitration is protected by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, but the Philippines, with the support of the US, has used this chance to taint China’s image internationally (Global Times, No more ship-grounding tricks allowed in South China Sea, March 2, 2016).

As a member of Association of Southeast Asian Nations

The Philippines was said to have no support from the member states of ASEAN in the South China Sea issue since it will supposedly undermine the central role of the bloc in boosting regional integration and growth. Further, the Philippines was said to be unfeasibly trying to hijack all ASEAN members by attempting to persuade them to support its position on the issue, but to no avail since it will not serve the interest of most ASEAN members and it will diminish the solidarity of the bloc.

The articles stated that among the 10 Southeast Asian countries, only the Philippines publicly adopts a pro-U.S. attitude; but it does not stand in complete opposition to China. Ruan Zongze, vice-president of the China Institute of International Studies, said the US and the Philippines have long attempted to persuade ASEAN to support their unilateral claims or positions, a move “not serving the interests of most ASEAN members”.

The statement on Tuesday indicates that “most ASEAN members are not willing to take sides between major countries”, Ruan said (China Daily, China hopes US, ASEAN honor ‘self-restraint’ pledge, February 18, 2016).

Biases

Figure 1: Blaming

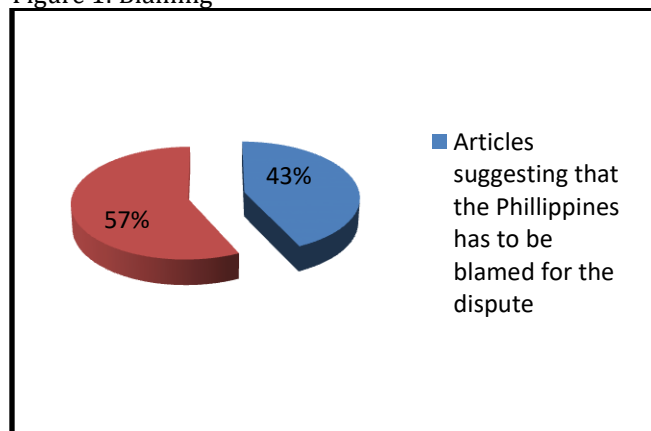


Figure 2 shows that 57 percent of the sample articles did not suggest that the Philippines has to be blamed for the dispute, while 43 percent said otherwise.

Figure 2: Suggestion

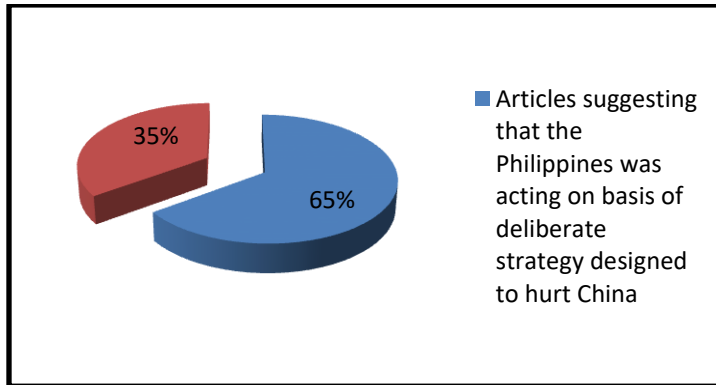


Figure 3 shows that 65 percent of the sample articles suggested that the Philippines was acting on basis of deliberate strategy designed to hurt China, while only 35 percent said otherwise.

Figure 3: Bashing

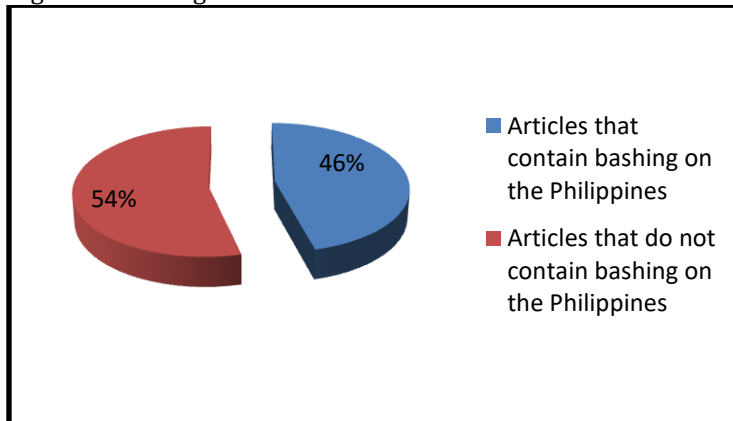


Figure 4 shows that 46 percent of the sample articles contained bashing on the Philippines, while 54 percent has no presence of bashing.

Figure 5: The Causes

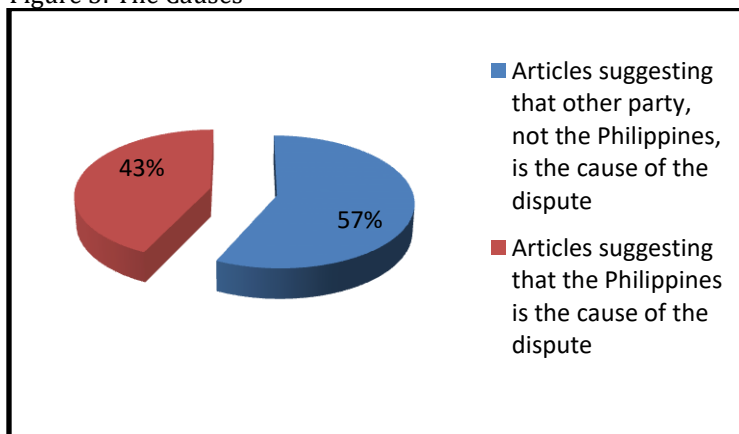


Figure 5 illustrates that 57 percent of the sample articles suggested that other party, not the Philippines, was the cause of the dispute, with the U.S. and Japan being the top countries. Meanwhile, 43 percent suggested that the Philippines was the cause of the dispute.

Figure 6: External Factor

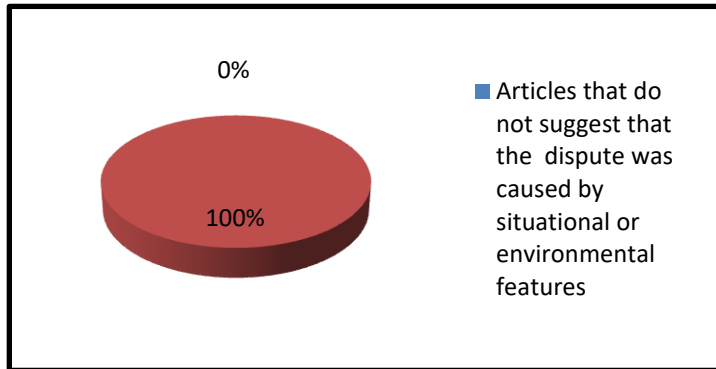
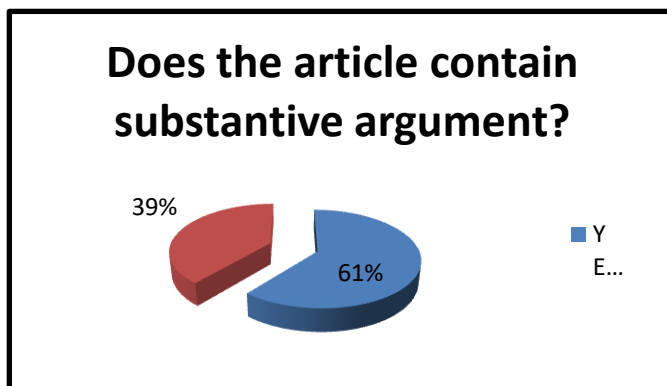


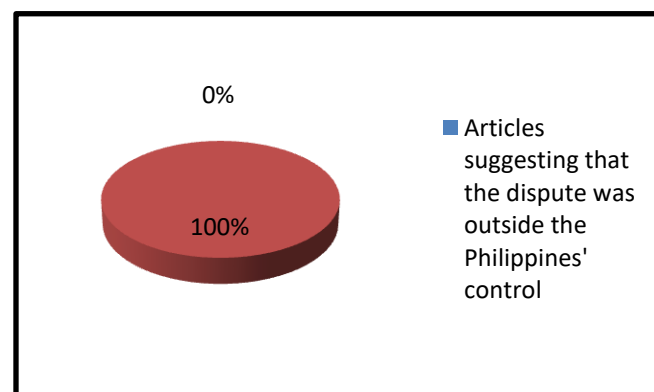
Figure 7: Philippines' control



Figures 6 and 7 show that all sample articles suggested that the dispute was caused by internal characteristics of the Philippines, and that Manila had a say on how to resolve the tensions.

Figure 8 shows that 61 percent of the sample articles contained substantive arguments, while 39 percent had none.

Figure 8 Arguments



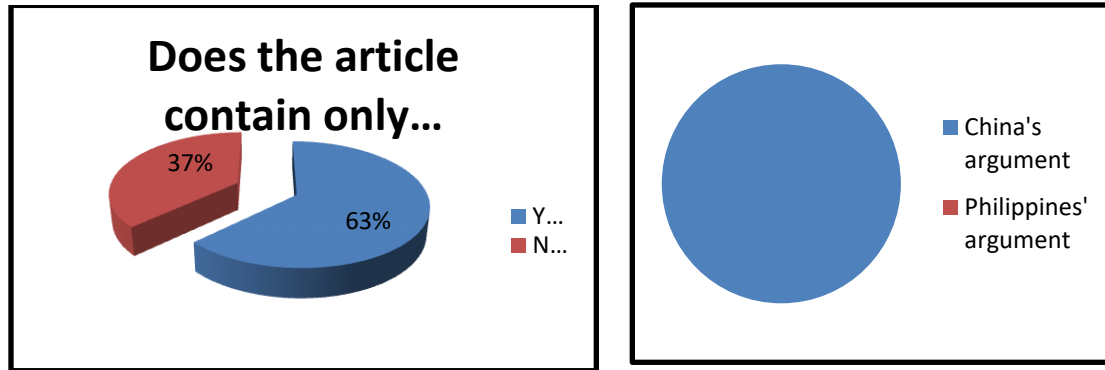


Figure 9 shows that sample articles with arguments only from one side were 63 percent, all from China's side. Meanwhile, 37 percent presented arguments from different parties.

Figure 4: Arguments 3

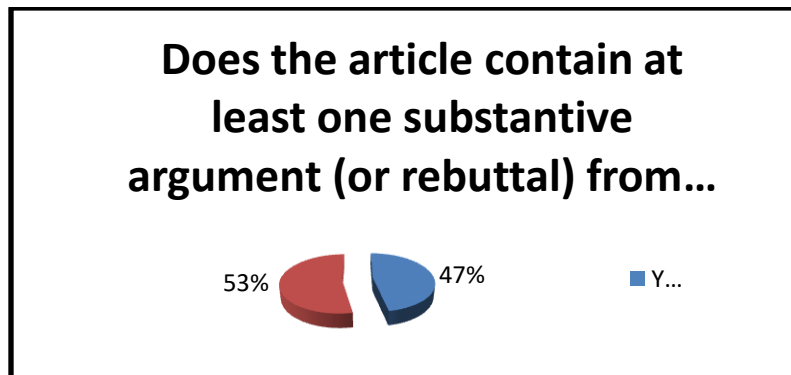


Figure 10 shows that about 47 percent of the sample articles contained at least one substantive argument (or rebuttal) from each side, but with the presentation of the opposing point of view coming only after intervening material; at least 53 percent showed otherwise.

Figure 5: Arguments 4

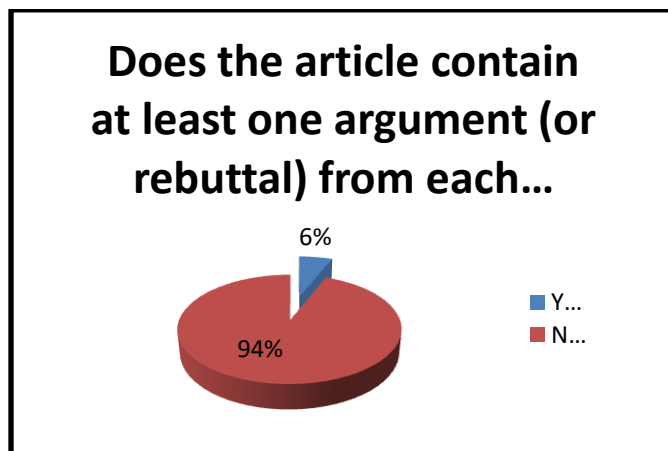


Figure 11 shows that only six percent of the sample articles contained at least one argument (or rebuttal) from the Philippines and China, with the presentation of opposing point of view coming only after intervening

material and not presented conterminously. Overwhelmingly, 94 percent has none. Generally, the articles did not directly blame the Philippines for the disputes but they bashed the country for acting on the basis of deliberate strategy designed to hurt China. The move was said to be incited by outside parties, such as the U.S. and Japan, but the articles lamented that the Philippines could have not followed them.

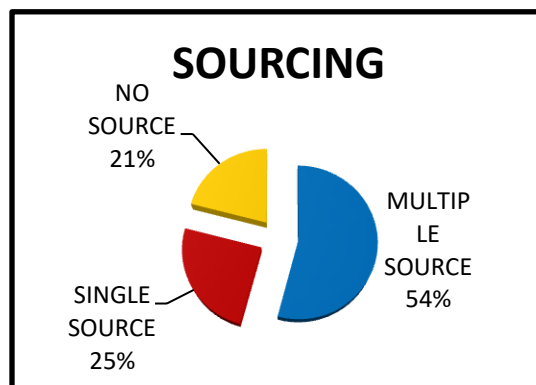
Among prominent arguments that the articles presented were China's defense of the military facilities it built on South China Sea islands and reefs. They insisted that by deploying defense for Chinese's supposed territory, China is exercising the right of self-preservation granted by international law to sovereign states, and were, therefore, legitimate. The articles noted that China has fewer strategic arms and conducted far fewer military exercises in the South China Sea compared to the U.S. China's self-defense measures, the newspapers asserted, did not posed any threat to major sea lanes and air passages in the region.

The articles insisted that the Philippines' unilaterally-initiated arbitration was not in accordance with international law; and it also violated the consensus reached by the Philippines and China, as well as the DOC. The arbitration case was claimed to be nothing more than a "political provocation" under the name of international judiciary. It allegedly went directly against the UNCLOS, and was all about the attempt to realize the geopolitical interests of the Philippines and certain nations behind it. The articles raised that when China signed the Convention, it made the Article 298 declaration hence not to accept mandatory arbitration; a declaration that was also made by some 30 signatory nations, including other powers like Britain, France and Russia.

China was noted to be willing to resolve disputes with its neighbors over territory and maritime rights and interests peacefully through dialogue and negotiation, and to maintain peace and stability in the region with its coastal states. China's stance reflects its sincerity and wisdom to solve the problem, the articles added.

It is not difficult to understand the truth. China is building necessary defensive facilities on its own islands and reefs in accordance with international law. In addition, China has built more civilian facilities, in order to provide public goods to the international community. Freedom of navigation in the South China Sea will not be threatened, but will be better maintained thanks to these facilities. In the case raised by the Philippine Government, China already released an official statement in accordance with relevant provisions of international law, excluding compulsory arbitration. The continuing illegal, untrustworthy and unreasonable behavior of the Philippines will not change the objective and fair views of the international community, revealing the plot and political purposes behind this farce.

China will continue to maintain the integrity of its national sovereignty and territories with determination. We only want to defend our inherited territories and will not seek any new claims that do not belong to China. China's policy on territory is clear, anyone who dares to challenge China on territory issues is doomed to fail (People's Daily, Commentary: Muddling the waters in South China Sea doomed to fail, March 10, 2016).



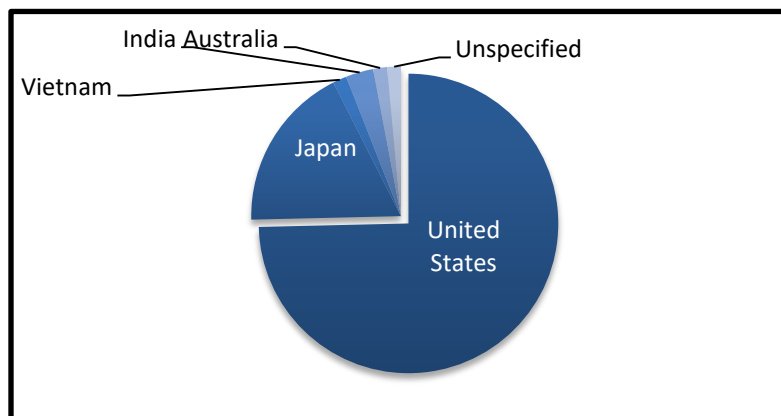
In terms of citing sources, 54 percent of the sample articles cited multiple sources, 25 percent cited a single source, and 21 percent never cited any source at all, as shown in Figure 12.

Table 1: Hierarchy of sources (multiple)

MULTIPLE SOURCES (54%)					
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL	ANALYST/ EXPERT	MEDIA	CITIZEN	RESEARCH STUDY	UNSPECIFIED COUNTRY ORIGIN
China 42%	China 29%	United States 13%	China 2%	China 2%	"Western media" 2%
United States 24%	United States 6%	China 7%	Philippines 1%	United States 3%	"International media" 1%
Philippines 6%	Cambodia 1%	Philippines 4%			"Media report" 1%
Australia 6%	Japan 1%	Japan 3%			"Analyst" 1%
Japan 5%		Australia 1%			"Insider" 1%
Taiwan 2%		Singapore 1%			"Anonymous" 1%
Indonesia 2%		India 1%			
Malaysia 1%					
Thailand 1%					
Singapore 1%					
Cambodia 1%					
North Korea 1%					

SINGLE SOURCE (25%)				
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL	ANALYST/ EXPERT	MEDIA	CITIZEN	RESEARCH STUDY
China 7%	China 2%	United States 2%	China 1%	United States 1%
United States 7%	Philippines 1%			
Philippines 3%				
Japan 2%				

Table 1 and 2 show the hierarchy of the origin of sources. The pattern of which the articles cited multiple sources were almost about getting information or comments from Chinese government officials and experts as the top sources only to defend China's position from criticisms often coming from government officials, experts and media institutions from the U.S., the Philippines, Japan and Australia. Those write-ups that had a single source or no source at all were all op-eds of Chinese analysts. They usually cited Chinese government officials to support their argument and information. They also cited the U.S. government officials, as a reference for counter-arguments.



1. Stereotypes

The Philippines was described to be acting in an illegal, untrustworthy and unreasonable behavior for filing an arbitration case, refusing to dialogue, and complicating the dispute. Manila was highly considered as weak, not only economically but also in terms of defense. Moreover, it was said to have the most ill-equipped militaries in the Asian region. A supposed die-hard follower, the Philippines' alleged provocative moves were mentioned to be a result of instigation and manipulation of the U.S. and Japan. No matter what it does and what its excuse is, the Philippines can't hide the fact it is the cause of the frictions between it and China. For example, despite its knowledge that the territorial dispute does not come under the jurisdiction of the arbitration tribunal in The Hague, Manila has still submitted its territorial dispute with China in the South China Sea to the tribunal for arbitration in an attempt to bring shame on Beijing and solicit the support of international opinion. It is the Philippines' breach of its promises and the normal code of conduct for countries that have prompted China to take reasonable and moderate countermeasures in the South China Sea (Global Times, Accusations can't distort peaceful truth, January 7, 2016).

Still, the Philippines was considered as a friend and a promising trading partner of China. Despite its pro-U.S. attitude, the articles explained that Manila's domestic politics was not completely in favor of taking hard-line policies toward Beijing. "The Philippines is an ancient friend and good trading partner with China," Lee said. "Let us not forget that the two countries have never had any history of conflict or war. In fact, both countries were allies during World War II in jointly resisting the Japanese military invasion of Asia (China Daily, Mutual benefits seen in links with Philippines, March 8, 2016).

2. Propaganda

The articles insisted that China has sovereign rights and jurisdiction to the maritime areas of the South China Sea that is encompassed by the demarcation "nine-dash line." From a jurisprudential, substantive and procedural point of view, the "nine-dash line" has a firm basis in international law, the write-ups said. China, according to the articles, was actually maintaining peace and stability contrary to wide criticisms of international observers. China was cited to be a staunch advocate of regional stability peaceful development in the South China Sea. The write-ups argued that China was not militarizing the South China Sea. They explained that China was exercising its right to self-preservation and self-defense to deploy the necessary national defense facilities on its supposed own territory; and that they will not hinder freedom of navigation or over-flight. The construction was said to be mainly for providing public goods to the international community to facilitate maritime search and rescue, protect fishing activities, as well as to deliver emergency medical treatment. [T]here is no need for any explanation, the facts will speak for themselves. Relevant constructions fall completely within China's legal rights, and we should not take this accusation seriously, given the ulterior motives behind the remarks. Those countries and media are trying to complicate the issue of the South China Sea to meet their own interests in the name of maintaining freedom of navigation. But at the bottom of their heart, they know that there has been no problem at all with freedom of navigation.

The outside world ought to realize that as a major power in the South China Sea, and given the sovereign state of the Nansha Islands, providing public products and service is a way for China to fulfill its regional and global responsibility. Infrastructure construction in the area is the carrier of those products and services, such as emergency rescue, anti-piracy operation, preventing marine environment pollution, maritime disaster preparedness and response (Global Times, Accusations can't distort peaceful truth, January 7, 2016). The articles underscored that China had the legitimate right not to participate and accept the tribunal ruling, as the Philippines' unilateral act did not meet international laws and the DOC. Moreover, the articles explained that disputes over territorial sovereignty and maritime delimitation do not fall under the UNCLOS dispute settlement mechanisms; and therefore the arbitration tribunal in The Hague had no jurisdiction and is powerless to settle territorial disputes. The articles claimed that China had the backing of ASEAN on the issue and it was not the interest of the bloc to publicly go against China. They highlighted China's strong relationship with ASEAN, considering that China consistently appeared among the top five trade partners for ASEAN members; and some ASEAN countries are heavily dependent on China. The U.S. and Japan were accused of interfering in the South China Sea to impose strategic pressure and contain the rise of China. The articles noted that China is now globally engaged; it was said to have constructed a world class economy (and the second largest in the world), and was rapidly becoming a world power. China was described for having economic influence, being largest trading partner for most countries in the Asia Pacific region.

As an emerging nation, China will not be brought to its knees by external forces. Given Chinese diplomatic

logic, which goes “We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack,” Beijing is likely to be forced to resort to militarization while confronting US actions in the South China Sea (Global Times, Obama raises S.China Sea tensions to consolidate diplomatic legacy, March 9, 2016).

Discussion

The process of this study started when tensions in the West Philippine Sea were still at peak. It was under the term of Benigno Aquino III, whose administration in the Philippines initiated an arbitration case against China and protested Beijing’s provocative actions in the disputed waters. When Rodrigo Duterte rose to power in 2016, he made a seismic shift of foreign policy: one that is less dependent on the U.S. while being friendlier to China, who illegally claimed, occupied and exploited the Philippine resources in the West Philippine Sea, as per the July 12, 2016 ruling of a United Nations arbitral tribunal (Delizo&Rauhala, 2016). The decision stated that China’s excessive claims over almost the whole of the South China Sea through the demarcation nine-dash line did not have any legal basis (Republic of the Philippines v. People’s Republic of China, 2016) – a major political victory that the firebrand leader is willing to set aside in a bid to establish better political and economic ties with Beijing (Delizo, 2016). As of writing time, the two countries have agreed to put the dispute on the backburner and mend the once tainted relationship for more mutually-beneficial gains (Delizo, 2017). The easing of tensions, however, does not make this study obsolete.

A number of articles (Benett, 2011; Esarey, 2006; Kalathil, 2002) agreed that the Chinese media have been heavily controlled by the government. In fact, in the 2018 World Press Freedom Index ranking, China remains in the 176th place, close behind the bottom three – Turkmenistan, North Korea and Eritrea – where freedom of information was non-existent (Reporters Without Border, 2018).

However, Chang (2002) said the Chinese media can no longer be viewed as merely presenting “propaganda designed to manipulate or indoctrinate the Chinese public mind” (:p.9) due to the implementation of economic reforms in the 1970s that have brought new news-making incentives. De Burg (2003) corroborated to this claim, stating that Chinese journalists enjoy much freedom now, compared to more than two decades ago. The control in media companies has been more relaxed, except for sensitive topics. This present study provided evidence on how the Chinese media operate.

It appeared that the Chinese media considered the Philippines a totally illegitimate claimant in the disputed waters, with the overwhelming articulation of bias to the government’s position – China has undisputable sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the islands and reefs being claimed by the Philippines; and that Beijing’s supposed aggression and militarization in the waters were an exercise of self-preservation and self-defense against countries posing threat to the region. The results supported Hiebert (2003), Lee and Maslog (2005) and Mandelzis (2007) in saying that the country’s media is likely to be biased when reporting conflict with other nations. While this study did not determine the amount of government directives and censorship to the newspapers on the issue, it was evident that they stayed within the lines of the government’s perspective with nationalistic approach.

It can be noted that the sample newspapers are all state-run and, thus, expected to serve the interest of the state, as suggested by Foucault (2009) and Herman and Chomsky (1988) constructs: When the media is being controlled, media owners may direct journalists to churn out articles tainted by spin and prevent the exposure of all aspects of the truth. For Foucault (2009), power is used by the institution and institutions have the ability to structure society; they even have enough control to change people’s values. Media is considered as the most powerful source in the modern age that plays a huge role in society and therefore has much influence on a postmodern age. The Chinese media, according to Lee (2003) is known for portraying their country “as being encircled by an ocean of potential enemies who are out to destroy it” (:p.2). The author concluded that their framing has a mixture of “collective victimhood and historical memories in seemingly contradictory modes of xenophobia and narcissism” (:p.2).

This study showed that the three Chinese newspapers used attribution of responsibility frame in many of its articles. The Philippines, as well as the U.S. and Japan, were said to be the ones responsible for the dispute and accused of counterbalancing the Asia’s giant. Semetko and Velkenburg (2000) defined attribution of

responsibility as “a way of attributing responsibility for [a] cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (:p.96). They further said attribution of responsibility was found to be most commonly used in serious newspapers. It was claimed by Seon-Kyoung and Gower (2009) that attribution of responsibility was often used in crisis situations.

The pattern on which the Philippines was presented as a fellow claimant in the South China Sea, as a bilateral partner of China, as an ally of the U.S. and as a member of ASEAN describe Manila as unreasonable and unfair. Unreasonable, in this case, was defined as an act of being irrational and inappropriate; a move that was not guided by or based on good sense and sound judgment. On the other hand, unfair was defined as an act that was not based on the principles of equality and justice; a move that does not conform to approved standards, as of justice, honesty or ethics.

Although the Philippines was highly criticized for allegedly acting an illegal, untrustworthy and unreasonable behavior after it filed an arbitration case, refused dialogue and complicated the dispute, the newspapers stated that the supposed provocative moves were only a result of behind-the-scenes instigation and political manipulation of the U.S. and Japan, who were accused of wanting to contain China.

A former colony of the Americans and Japanese, the articles described the Filipinos as kind-hearted for forgetting its past sufferings, and even allowing itself to be used by these powers to counter China and contain its rise. The Philippines was generally framed negatively as the articles echoed the government’s sentiment on the issue.

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About the author

Michael Joe Delizo is a multi-awarded reporter of ABS-CBN News' television and radio platforms in the Philippines. He just earned his master's degree in Communication at the University of Santo Tomas Graduate School last year. He was a fellow of Bloomberg Initiative-Global Road Safety Media Fellowship. He finished several short courses at the Journalism Academy of ABS-CBN University and Harvard Business Publishing Corporate Learning. Apart from working in media, he also teaches Communication courses at the Manila Tytana Colleges. His study is related with the South China Sea issue, which he covered for several years as a news reporter.

Rated SPG [Surv-EYING PARENTAL GAP]: An Exploration of the Understanding on MTRCB's TV Classification System and Parents' Mediation of Selected Relocatees in the Adopted Communities

Marc Agon Pacoma

Adamson University, Manila, Philippines

Abstract

Television is one of the most popular media platforms in today's generation. This is evident with the number of TV boxes at home and the frequencies and the durations of television consumptions. It is relatively the number one source of information, allowing individual members of a population to be updated with current affairs, weather, business and international affairs, etc. But unlike with other media platforms, television produced a centralized fusion of images and messages with a comparatively diverse meaning-making. TV experiences exposes one to a whole variety of associations and interpretations, may it be relatively identical with the content producers or opposite with the preferred meaning. Thus, constant consumption of television might lead to a cultivation of completely shared connotations of reality among culturally-diversed populations; though misinterpretations arises in certain situations. This characteristic of television makes it a vehicle of misinformation, misinterpretation and ambiguity in its images and messages. Meanings formed from television may be accurate or inaccurate. Violence, sex, and body images are some of the prevalent messages of TV and most often, are considered to be bearers of negative effects of this medium. Exposure to these themes might have undesirable consequences on media consumers especially to young viewers. Parental mediations and television guidelines are designed to guide parent viewers of the contents and languages in TV, especially those being watched and patronized by their children. The understanding of MTRCB's TV classification system is central to the discussion on the basis that TV violence is connected with the increasing cases of violence in the Metro. A qualitative research design was used in this study; qualitative interviews were employed among selected participants. The results revealed that profiling of the participants like education and employment has a link to TV watching and that parent-child communication influences the type of TV parental mediation one employs to his/her children's television consumption.

Introduction

Television is one of the most popular media platforms in today's generation. This is evident with the number of TV boxes at home and the frequencies and the durations of television consumptions. It is relatively the number one source of information, allowing individual members of a population to be updated with current affairs, weather, business and international affairs, etc. It narrates all possible stories of human life most of the time, constructing a culture of shared knowledge and experiences. Also, television draws in people to connect with each other through discussions and argumentations on its themes, contents and portrayal of various facets of life, strengthening its social obligation. This is in cognizance with Gerbner et al (1995) ideas wherein he stressed that people have high regards and fascinations with TV due to its ability to tell stories which makes it a vital part of our everyday living. It provides audiences with a world full of images and messages which are significantly important to humans' existence and continuous life journeys. With television, the long-existed relationship between human's life and society is highlighted which is commonly central to its storytelling.

But unlike with other media platforms, television produced a centralized fusion of images and messages with a comparatively diverse meaning-making. TV experiences exposes one to a whole variety of associations and interpretations, may it be relatively identical with the content producers or opposite with the preferred meaning. Thus, constant consumption of television might lead to a cultivation of completely shared connotations of reality among culturally-diversed populations; though misinterpretations arises in certain situations. This characteristic of television makes it a vehicle of misinformation, misinterpretation and ambiguity in its images and messages. Meanings formed from television may be accurate or inaccurate. Violence, sex, and body images are some of the prevalent messages of TV (Hammermeister et al., 2005) and most often, are considered to be bearers of negative effects of this medium. Exposure to these themes might have undesirable consequences on media consumers especially to young viewers. Parental mediations and television guidelines are designed to guide parent-viewers of the contents and languages in TV, especially

those being watched and patronized by their children. These interventions are designed to guide and give caution on the appropriateness and suitability of the programs to its consumers. Parents are most often the target of these mediations, equipping them with the right knowledge and understanding of the television contents and themes. Through parental empowerment, young viewers will be guaranteed to consume age-appropriate television shows, fishing them out of possible negative consequences of TV viewing.

In the Philippines, the Movie and Television Review and Classification Board (MTRCB) assumed the responsibility of guiding audiences of their viewing habits. MTRCB are in efforts to provide different parental mediations through its various television guidelines such as: G (General audience), PG (Parental Guidance) and SPG (Strict Parental Guidance). These interventions aim that viewers be guided in their TV consumption, warning them of possible unsuitable contents, themes and languages. But despite the creation of these TV guides, there lies a question if audiences accurately understand and truthfully are knowledgeable of the MTRCB guidelines. The understanding of MTRCB's TV classification system is central to the discussion on the basis that TV violence is connected with the increasing cases of violence in the Metro. News on murder, kidnapping, rape, petty thefts and the like are often in national newspapers' headlines (Philippine Media Factsheets, 2010). Moreover, Philippine TV shows also portrayed or depicted various types of violence through its plots and characters. Residents of relocation sites are in focus in this study since they are part of the marginalized sectors and their situations make them vulnerable to media contents. Thus, their understanding of the MTRCB classification system is of inquisitive to the researcher. Also, certain factors that affect one's understanding of the television advisory system such as familial communication and parental mediation styles are evident, imposing great interest upon the researcher to investigate this field of inquiry.

With this, the researcher aimed to evaluate the awareness of selected ICES communities on MTRCB TV classification system. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What is the profile of the research participants?
- 2) What are the television viewing habits of the community parents?
- 3) What types of familial communication exist between parents and children in ICES communities?
- 4) What parental mediation styles do community parents utilize during TV watching with their kids?
- 5) What link exist between familial communication and TV mediation styles of parent relocatees?
- 6) What knowledge do ICES communities' household members have on the MTRCB's TV classification system?
- 7) What interpretations do parent-relocatees have on the various MTRCB TV advisories?
- 8) What link exist among the demographic profile of the participants, their TV viewing habits and understanding of the TV classification system?

Background of the Study and Review of Related Literature

With the increasing depictions of violence, parents are more concerned as their children are highly exposed to TV. Moreover, young audiences are also exposed to inappropriate themes of obscene sex portrayals and profane languages. This stirred curiosity among communication and media scholars, resulting to the proliferation of investigations centering on the impacts of television to its viewers.

Researches dealing with TV and parental mediations are relatively few in the Philippines. With this, the researcher was left with very few options, among these are: TV-related inquiries such as: the frequency of violence in Philippine TV (Philippine Children's Television Foundation, 2001); Filipino students' media usage (Rodrigo, Grosch & Andres, 2013); effectiveness of MTRCB's TV classification system (Policarpio, 2013); television ownership and viewing in the Philippines (Kenny, 2009); and parents and children perceptions of TV programs and parental mediation (Abanto, 2004). With the scarcity of literature and studies in the Philippine setting, the researcher anchored the current study from the wide-array of available foreign literature and studies. Notably, research inquiries dealt with TV and parental control and mediation are relatively high in progressive countries in the American and European continents. Akin to the current research study are studies and literature on: parental mediation on media use (UK Council for Child Internet Safety, 2012); parental regulation of children's TV viewing (Kytömaki, 1998; Radhamani & Anjana Raju, 2015); age-based ratings and content designations (Signorielli, 2005); understanding families' television viewing habits (Saxbe, Graesch & Alvik, 2011); measurement of mundane TV behaviors (Ferguson, 1994); familial communication and parental mediation (An & Le, 2010); parents and children's usage of media at

homes (Woodard & Gridina, 2000); media ratings for violence and sex (Bushman, 2003); V-chip (The Center for Media Education & The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, nd); influence of gifted children to parental mediation (Abelman, 1987); understanding TV ratings (Sneegas & Plank, 1998); television mediation styles (Austin, 1993; Valkenburg, Krcmar, Peeters & Maseille, 1999; Fortman, Clarke & Austin, 1998); determinants of parental mediation (Warren, 2001; Warren, Gerke & Kelly, 2002) and maternal beliefs TV parental mediation (Domoff, Miller, Khalatbari, Pesch, Harrison, Roseblum & Lumeng, 2017).

Other literature focusing on television and its impacts also anchored this study. Among these are: the potential beneficial impact of TV to children (Kondo & Steemers, 2007); children's television viewing (Australian Communications and Media Authority, 2015); differences between TV consumers and TV-free individuals in terms of psychosocial health characteristics (Hammermeister & Brock, 2005); elements of effective educational TV (Wainwright & Linebarger, 2006). The current study is synonymous with other researches in terms of: focus on parents of children (Fortman, Clarke & Austin, 1998; Domoff, Miller, Khalatbari, Pesch, Harrison, Roseblum & Lumeng, 2017); understanding and knowledge (Domoff, Miller, Khalatbari, Pesch, Harrison, Roseblum & Lumeng, 2017); of TV and parental mediation (Domoff, Miller, Khalatbari, Pesch, Harrison, Roseblum & Lumeng, 2017); through interview method (Domoff, Miller, Khalatbari, Pesch, Harrison, Roseblum & Lumeng, 2017).

On the other hand, this research inquiry is of similar or different to previous studies on various points: 1) it evaluates television ownership and viewing habits [comparable to the study of Kenny (2009) that centered on TV ownership and watching]; 2) it seeks to determine the link between parent-child communication and parental mediation [identical to the research of An and Lee (2010) that investigated the effects of familial communication]; 3) it focuses on the understanding of the MTRCB TV Classification System [unlike with the study of Valkenburg et al (1999) that developed a scale for parental mediation]; 4) by parent-viewer participants [opposite that of Abanto (2014) that dealt with parental mediation as perceived both by parents and children]; and 5) in selected relocation sites in the Philippines [relatedly to Domoff et al (2017) research inquiry situated in low-income areas in the US and Kenny (2009) in a remote province in the Visayan region].

Methodology

A qualitative research design was used in this study. Qualitative design is the method of collecting numerical data from a population through various means. In this research inquiry, qualitative interviews were employed among selected participants. Qualitative interviews as defined by Creswell (2014), is conducted through face-to-face interviews using unstructured questioning style, generally open-ended questions between an interviewer or moderator (who is most often the researcher himself) and the participants. Moreover, the researcher too is in power over the line of questioning and the type of questions to be asked. Simply, this method allowed the participants to provide information that are historical in nature. Furthermore, this research technique was beneficial in instances where observations cannot be done at the researcher's convenience (Creswell, 2014).

With the research objectives in mind, the researcher selected participants who are relocatees or residents of various Integrated Community and Extension Services' communities in Laguna, Bulacan, Malabon, Rizal, Valenzuela, and Manila. These community members are formerly informal settlers inhabiting in various parts of the Metro and through the government support were given housing and livelihood assistance in the aforementioned places. ICES communities are handpicked since it represents diversity as residents are coming from different places in the country and with different backgrounds, making them the best representation of relocatees in the Philippines. Relocatees from Aklan and Romblon will not be part of the study due to financial and time limitations.

Random and purposive sampling techniques were employed in this study. Out of all the participants during the 2017 Summer School of Life program, the researcher randomly selected the groups that took part in the data collection. Then, the second phase of sampling was employed using the created criteria for the study. Particularly, selected participants have met the following criteria: 1) male or female 2) parent; 3) with children; 4) 20-60 years old; 5) residing in one of the many communities under the Integrated Community and Extension Services and; 6) with at least one-year residency.

Community members who did not meet the above requirements were not tapped to be part of the study. A total of 36 participants were selected to be part of the focus group discussions. Four (4) sessions of FGD were employed, with nine (9) participants for each session. The research participants were submitted to questions about profiling, television-related (frequency, viewing habits and TV programming), family communication and parental mediation.

For the data analysis technique, the researcher utilized recurrence and categorization. The former was employed to determine the recurrences of responses especially on questions involving the profiling of the participants. The latter was used on the first part of the data collected as repetition of responses on certain interview-guide questions among research participants occurred and were highly evident. This used on questions centering on TV viewing habits, familial communication and parental mediation; resulting to construction of dominant themes, categories, or patterns. This implied a process of separation and connection among various units of meaning directly derived from responses of the study participants (Creswell, 2014).

Results and Discussion

Profiling of the Participants

Predominant of the participants belonged to the 45-55 years old age bracket which were considered to be matured in terms of age. On the other hand, a portion of the research samples were on their 20s, which were considered to be young to have or start their own families. The results showed a slice of reality in the Philippines, where young adults entered marriage life at an early age, earlier when they are physically, psychologically and economically capable to have one. This trend of early marriage in the country was brought by various factors which the participants determined based on their personal experiences such as socio-economic difficulties and familial structure. Predominant of the participants were female, specifically, two-thirds greater in numbers compared to the representatives from the masculine gender. Taking into consideration that most of the participants who took part in the study were female homemakers since their male counterparts were busy working for a living. The results strengthened the concept of patriarchy, that though women are greater than men in terms of numbers, the Philippines is still a patriarchal society where most of its males are engaged in livelihood in order to provide for his family's needs and wants. However, the presence of males in the study, who opted to stay at home due to unemployment or retirement, presented a current shift in the Philippine society where women who normally performed household chores are now part of the workforce, and the men who were originally home providers are now in a less masculine (domesticated) roles. But the presence of male providers turned into househusband in the study, stressed the idea of paradigm shift, synonymously with the idea of Ty (2004) in her paper on Filipino masculinity that the male gender experienced sexual revolution, as they are depicted transitioning from their male-dominated occupations and roles to feminized work and functions.

All of the participants were married with most of them legally-bound by the doctrine of marriage, while the rest were also married but separated from their partners. The interviews somehow provided reasons of failed marriages based on the personal accounts of the participants. From the responses and experiences of the participants, it could be accounted that poor decision-making (early marriage) and socio-economic difficulties could cause failed marriages. Most of the participants were literate and educated as some predominantly secondary diploma holders and some had the opportunities to enter tertiary academic institutions (but failed to finish their degrees). The results further stressed the idea that poverty impeded one's ability to get education and have a better life. This is evident on the participants' educational attainment of failing to finish a college degree which in turn failed them in securing a better job, a job that offers better compensation.

Table 1. Characteristics of Parent Relocates in Adopted Communities

<i>Age</i>		
56-65	7	19.44%
46-55	13	36.11%
36-45	10	27.78%
26-35	3	8.33%
25 below	3	8.33%
Total (n=36), %		

<i>Sex</i>		
Male	9	25%
Female	27	75%
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Married	29	80.56%
Separated	7	19.44%
<i>Educational</i>		
Attainment	2	5.56%
Elementary	17	47.225
High school	6	16.67%
Vocational	11	30.56%
<i>Employment</i>		
Blue-collar	31	86.11%
Unemployed	5	13.89%
<i>Monthly Income</i>		
above 15, 000	2	5.56%
10, 000 – 15, 000	22	61.11%
5, 000 – 9, 000	8	22.22%
below 5, 000	4	11.11%
<i>Family Size</i>		
above 10	4	11.11%
7-9	13	36.11%
4-6	17	47.22%
below	2	5.56%

Most participants were working with some performing domesticated roles in a family setting. Though predominant of the participants were employed, a big chunk was engaged in performing bluecollar jobs. Some were hired only on a contractual basis, with job performance as a key for re-hiring. Moreover, some participants were on their probationary periods and were waiting for regularization, which takes after 6 months or roughly 2 years depending on the company policies. The participants' responses highlighted the importance of education in securing a better job and a better life. Though, it might not be true in all cases but education provides a way in order for one to have a decent job and a more comfortable life.

In terms of familial revenues, predominant of the research participants were under the P10, 000 – P12, 000 monthly earnings, with an enormous number under the P7, 000 – P9, 000 net income. Surprisingly, there were families that were under the P5, 000 monthly salaries which might not be enough to cover basic needs. Responses of the participants, stressed the significance of education as a key in landing a decent job. This too explained the existing gap between regular wage earners (bluecollar laborers) and those with higher pays (white-collars jobs), where the latter is in great advantage in terms of monthly earnings as they got to receive better pay and benefits and got to enjoy tenure compared to the former with lower pay and on contractual employment. Moreover, with the responses it could easily be drawn that residents living in relocation sites were not provided better opportunities in terms of livelihood and employment. This has been an on-going issue in the Philippines particularly by the government as they tried developing relocation sites for informal settlers without providing livelihood and employment opportunities. The government's failure to provide such assistance, made these individuals from relocation sites to be back to the metropolis in quest for a better living condition and engaging in squatter settlements. Thus, making the issue of poverty and informal resettlements a prevalent and unresolved one in the country just ahead of unemployment, crimes and violence.

On the size of the household, an enormous portion of the participants were relatively from large families with roughly 7-8 members. Evidently, some of the participants are members of a small family with no more than 3 members. The results showed how Filipinos opted to have bigger families despite the hardships and struggles of having a large family. Despite the campaign of the Philippine government and the government's health arm to observe family planning, many have opted to have bigger families, without knowing the consequences that follow with that decision, not until they are in that situation.

Television Viewing Habits

A category under the TV viewing habits, ownership of a television set is further investigated. The results revealed that all of the participants are of reach to television. Most of them have direct access to TV and its content as they own the TV sets, however, some watched television through TV sets that they rented or pawned to them while the rest of the participants shared TV watching from their neighbors with TV boxes. This is in congruence with the results in another ASEAN country, where majority of the Thai respondents have direct access to television and often than not owns more than two (2) TV sets (Abanto, 2004). Moreover, Kenny (2009) suggested that television ownership and the presence of antenna or satellite dish are often considered to be status symbol among Asian countries. Participants' responses presented what TV brings to its audiences and overall stressed the importance of mass media in the life of its consumers. It explained the core concept of Uses and Gratifications Theory, that people seek specific media to satisfy their needs and in the case of this research, the participants were highly dependent to television as the mere medium that satisfy their media needs.

On the type of TV set, participants were predominantly using flat screen television while the rest were on smart or internet TV. The results showed how Filipinos prioritized their spending and somehow presented a larger picture on Filipino reality of spending money on things that are not that important over basic necessities. Additionally, the results particularly the participants with internet TV highlighted close-family ties among Filipinos. Even if miles away, Filipinos make a way to connect and communicate with their distant families or relatives and friends. This showcased Filipino culture and identity. Truly, TV has its addictive qualities allowing viewers to be in constant contact with the medium. Predominant of the research participants directly expressed their fascination with television which makes them daily users of this mass medium, while the rest of the participants were on a weekly TV consumption rate. Television has its hooking qualities which makes its viewers fascinated with its aural and visual characteristics and its ability to satisfy human needs by providing information and entertainment right at their consumers' homes.

Table 2. Television & TV Viewing Characteristics of Parent Relocatees

<i>Television Ownership</i>		
Owned	32	88.89%
Rented/Pawned	2	5.56%
Shared	2	5.56%
Total (n=36), %		
<i>Television Type</i>		
Smart/Internet TV	8	22.22%
Flat Screen TV	26	72.22%
None	2	5.56%
<i>Frequency of TV Viewing</i>		
Weekly	7	19.44%
Daily	29	80.56%
<i>Duration of TV Viewing</i>		
above 6 hours	3	8.33%
4-6 hours	24	66.67%
1-3 hours	9	25%

Schedule of TV Viewing

Combined	3	8.33%
Nighttime	26	72.22%
Noontime	2	5.56%
Daytime	5	13.89%

Type of Television

Program		
Combined	3	8.33%
Soap Operas/TV Series	24	66.67%
Reality Show	2	5.56%
Cartoons	2	5.56%
News & Current Affairs	5	13.89%

Genre of Television

Program		
Combined	3	8.33%
Drama	27	75%
Action	2	5.56%
Public Affairs	3	8.33%
Animation	1	2.78%

Predominant of the participants were considered to be medium level users of television with 4- 6 hours per day. This oppose the parents in Abanto's study (2004) having low TV watching of less than an hour per day, the survey data of LoSciuto (1971) showing that most adults watch TV for roughly two hours daily and parents' TV viewing in the US for a little bit over an hour in a day (Liebeskind, 2015). Remarkably, a portion of the sample where on a heavy TV consumption level, and they are women who have direct access to television sets; with reasons pointing to unemployment and frequenting their homes to perform household chores. Hence, they have more time spent in front of television sets, enjoying various TV contents. The shared responses of the participants described Filipinos as medium to heavy television consumers, as they rely on TV much as a medium for information and entertainment. The absence of the black box may cause emotional stress and boredom among its obsessed viewers. In terms of the time slot that participants frequently stayed in, predominant of the participants were nighttime viewers. They watched TV upon arriving at home from a long day of work while some were either daytime or noontime TV watchers. The results also revealed that several of the research participants (unemployed and housewives) have TV viewing that covers from the daytime till nighttime due to the luxury of time that they have. The Philippines peaked with relatively high consumption throughout the day between 11am to 11pm, reaching more than one-fifth of its population (Media Consumption Forecasts, 2015). Nighttime is the preferred television time of the participants due to absence of work and the fact that almost all members of the family are present during this time.

Likewise, this time slot offered a more family-oriented programming suitable for all kinds of viewers which made it a top choice among older TV audiences. This is in line with TV consumptions peaked during nighttime in various countries [in Hong Kong, New Zealand, Panama, Portugal, Thailand, and United Arab Emirates from 6pm until midnight; in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and United States of America from 9pm to midnight] (Media Consumption Forecasts, 2015). On the type of TV program frequently viewed, dominant of the participants were outspoken in telling the truth that they were soap opera fanatics, as they devote their TV time to TV dramas. Parents tend to skewed towards drama shows as the top choice TV show (Abanto, 2004; Hunt & Ramón, 2015), this is true, as most viewers perceive dramatic television programs generally as realistic portrayals of the world LoSciuto (1971) or offer slices of realities which they deemed beneficial in the development of their children. Parents reportedly thought their children were learning from television: academically (guiding them with school requirements, developing their communicative skills and increasing their vocabularies) and personally (learning about life and existence). The rest of the participants either watched reality, cartoons and news and current affairs. Reasons behind what TV program were heavily watched could be attributed to the availability of time, as most of the participants were working. Moreover, selection of soap operas over cartoons may intensify the idea that TV watching is a personal choice and that a

viewer has the right to select what TV content he will consume in a specific time and place. Furthermore, it strengthened the results of previous studies that parents think cartoons and animation shows are safe to their children. The responses shared by the participants showed why they love certain TV programs over the others. Reasons of such fascination is regarded towards what TV programs could do and offer to its audiences. In terms of the program genre, research participants articulated their obsession of dramatic shows over other genres. This reflected the idea that Filipinos are happy individuals but like other humans, are emotional and they also experience the roller coasters of life. In this sense, they see mass media as a connection to the reality, of their own life experiences. With predominance of the as female participants, dramatic genre remained to be the top choice among the participants. This may be due to fact that women are emotional by nature and are fond of dramatic plots. Moreover, as transpired from the interviews, mothers have the control on what shows to watch and when to watch them, so they tend to regulate TV viewing at homes.

Familial Communication

An important factor in television mediation, familial communication has a direct connection on the type of television mediation a parent implements to his child/ren. In this study, the results revealed that almost all of the research participants employed an open and positive communication among family members.

As stressed by some of the participants, "I am open to my kids. They can talk to me whatever and whenever they want. I realized that if I will be open to my kids, the more they become comfortable to me and we can be closer to each other (P34)." This was supported by a fellow participant, "Closeness is what can best describe my family. My husband and I are so close to our kids. We are open to anything, the same way that we are open to our kids. Me and my husband agreed that we need to be open-minded to our kids because if there are two most important people that they need to trust and be open with, it should be the two of us since we are their parents (P16)." In addition, another interviewee shared how they communicate at home, "It is a must that during dinner (since that's the only meal that we are all present) we share everything that happened during the day. We got to share school stuffs, our daily activities and experiences at work. We got to feel that we are open and supportive to every members (P19)." Open family communication is described having certain characteristics of connectedness and flexibleness (Kantor & Lehr, 1975). As Krcmar (1996) reported that open parents-children communication facilitated a consultative method of TV program selection. Additionally, previous studies reported that when that an open parent-child interaction is characterized having a certain level of cohesion, and encourages parental TV mediation (Lull, 1982; Messaris & Kerr, 1983).

With parent participants, predominantly being open and trustworthy to their children, it highlighted communication as an important ingredient in parenting especially in developing parent-children relationship. Moreover, it further stressed how parents make choices for their children taking into considerations their general welfare.

Parental Mediation Style

In terms of television mediation, most of the parents employed a co-viewing mediation style on their children's TV watching. Though this might sound good, but parents thought that their mere presence with the children during TV time is enough to guide them. Most of the participants watch with their kids but they don't engage in a conversation, not explaining the TV's contents and their suitability to them. As emphasized by several participants, "We would normally assemble in front of our TV set and we shared the same favorite shows, so we got to watch together (P35)". At this point, the researcher saw the opportunity to further elaborate parents' role in TV mediation. The participant further narrated, "I think it's sufficient that we watch with our kids. If they have questions on the programs we are watching I am sure they will ask me or their father since we have an open-door policy at home. Moreover, they are smart children, I know they understand them (TV shows). On our end as parents, since they are not asking anything, that's our cue that they understand everything that TV is showing us (P35)." This idea was supported by other parents who exercise co-viewing TV mediation style, "Kids in this generation are smart and they learn things fast. I know even if we don't tell them, by mere reactions from us (parents), they know if we like they are watching or not (P5)." Additionally, another participant has his own take on this one "I know my presence during the TV viewing of my children sends them a message that in everything that they do I am there to guide and support them. So, when I am with them it means the program that they are watching has my or their mother's approval (P27)."

Most of the parent-relocatees reported co-viewing or screen sharing as the often used mediation strategy. This is incognizance with the idea of An and Lee (2010), that co-viewing mediation becomes an avenue for family members to meet at a common time and place to share TV watching but perceived it to be more on the socialization and family bonding rather than facilitate positive perceptions towards television effects, which several scholars (e.g., Alexander, 1990; Austin, 1993; Bower, 1973; Desmond et al., 1985) suggested.

Overall, the responses of the participants showed how TV classification system assisted them as they perform TV mediation, however, the sad reality was unveiled, revealing the truth that most of the parents have a conflicting idea and knowledge as to the real purpose of this TV system. In the case of co-viewing or screen sharing, parents thought that their mere presence will facilitate understanding on their children's mind as to what are appropriate and inappropriate from TV shows being watched. Moreover, the responses further revealed participants limited awareness on the importance of MTRCB Rating System and their failure to embrace the system and apply it to their children's television viewing and TV mediation. As what Liebes kind (2015) emphasized that the type of mediation style that parents utilize in guidance of the children and their TV watching habits can have greater impacts on how the children perceive, understand and react to what they see. She further stressed that co-viewing has been shown to reinforce negative effects. This echoed similar findings on the study of Abelman and Rogers (1987) that parents with an imprecise mediation style tend to co-view with their children. They are characterized to be passive actors who approve television programs despite their positive or negative effects (Desmond, Singer, & Singer, 1990; Guo & Nathanson, 2011).

The Link between Familial Communication and TV Mediation Styles of Parent-Relocatees

Though the parent-relocatees have open-communication style with their children, most of them employed co-viewing mediation. These families were described to be being democratic, conceptoriented, and person-centered communication patterns with poor interrelationship. Subsequently, this communication set-up empowered parents to use various parental TV mediation types for their children's TV watching and their perceptions towards the medium (An & Le, 2010). Family communication styles showed to have a significant role in parents' TV mediation (Buerkel-Rothfuss & Buerkel, 2001). Owing to the presumption that family relationship directly facilitates interpersonal communication among family members as well as TV parental mediation. Buerkel-Rothfuss and Buerkel (2001) emphasized that an increased on familial communication reinforces an intensified communication about TV through co-viewing. On the other hand, the lack of parent-child communication during TV watching does not solely affect children's better understanding of television contents but more importantly in their development towards being wise and responsible TV audiences (Desmond et al., 1990).

Knowledge of Parent-Relocatees' on MTRCB TV Classification System

Predominantly, research participants in this study were familiar and aware of the existence of the MTRCB TV classification system. Congruently, other related studies reported familiarity with TV warning system (in the survey of Wurtzel & Surlin (1978) 96% of the respondents were familiar with the advisory, noting that they have seen it; But articulated that they don't use the system in guiding their kids' TV watching. Some of them expressed that they directly employ the TV advisories in the television consumption of their children. As highlighted by the participants, "My kids and I have been seeing these warnings every time we watch TV. We know the ratings since we constantly watch them at night. But I don't need to explain that to my children, I am sure they are aware of them. I know they understand the differences of each advisory, their frequent exposure to them made them familiar and even got to differentiate them. So, for me it's obvious they understand them (TV ratings) and I no longer need to tell them again (P29)." Parent participants perceptibly relied too much on their kids own talents and skills, compromising the opportunities to exercise parenthood and perform parental mediation on the TV watching of their children. This is obvious on other participants' responses, "I am familiar with the Rated, G, PG and SPG because every time I watch TV I encountered these warnings. I have constant exposure to them it's like almost every show that I am watching, ...but I don't use them when I co-share or co-watch with my kids. I know that they are smart and they know what are good from bad so I don't think I should still be explaining that to them. Also, my kids are being educated at school so I know that they have been guided by their teachers when it comes to ethics and morality (P5)." This kind of idea was also agreed upon by other parent-participants, "I encountered the TV warnings almost everywhere I go, in cinematic theaters, at home and other people's homes. I got to watch them being aired before a TV show is broadcasted. But sadly, I don't use them, I know my kids better than others do, so I think even with or without

TV warnings I will still allow my kids to watch TV and I know that they will ask me if there are things that they saw on TV that they don't understand. My kids too know the warnings and I think they know what all of these means. So, I don't need to worry about. Everything is under control (P11)."

But even if several employed these advisories, all of the participants deemed the ratings system as something beneficial to audiences specially to parents and children, stressing that their absence during their kids' TV watching can be fulfilled by the TV advisories, somehow it will guide their children as they got to watch and consume various TV contents.

Interpretations of MTRCB TV Classification System

Scrutinizing parents' responses on the major types of MTRCB TV advisories, the results revealed that the participants are aware of the messages that these advisories are conveying but despite familiarity with them the actual application and usage by parent-participants on their children's TV viewing were nowhere possible. Several allowed themselves to be guided by the TV rating system, stressing that they know their children better than anything else.

As stressed by some of the parent-relocatees, "I am aware of the TV warnings but I am giving my children the benefit of the doubt. I trust them and since they are mine (children), I deeply know them and I can say that even if they are watching TV shows that are not that suitable for them, it will not affect their behavior because they are smart kids. Sometimes they know better than me. It's a sad reality but I trust them(p34)." Additionally, a parent-participant shared the same concept, "I thank MTRCB for constantly reminding us on the harmful effects of TV to children, but I think we mothers are the best teacher. I mean even with or without the Rated G, PG and SPG still we will perform what I think is best for my kids. And most of the time, I watch with them so I know how they behave and I would normally teach them the good and bad things. I am aware of the use of the TV rating system but I don't need to apply them to my kids because I know they understand TV programs and they know that these are just man-made, created through one's creativity and imagination (p29)."

Predominant of the participants interpreted the MTRCB TV advisories (PG and SPG) in negotiated reading (partly in agreement with the concepts of the classification system but somehow modify it by performing co-viewing parental mediation without engaging in an instructive communication with their children, failing to explain to them the TV's contents and their suitability. This reflected their social position of perceiving TV as a harmful media platform yet possess a passive towards its possible negative effects to young audiences. On the other hand, parent-relocatees inferred Rated G as synonymously to its actual meaning (dominant reading) of being applicable across various kinds of viewers. These responses reflected the concept of encoding and decoding by Stuart Hall, where audiences make sense of mediated messages by interpreting them through encoded meanings that are polysemous in nature (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). In the case of this study, participants interpreted the MTRCB TV classification system in various ways. Most of the research participants actualized the preferred meaning of the television texts (MTRCB TV advisories) through negotiated reading, as they accept and acknowledge the dominant message (that MTRCB classification system is an important guide for parents in assisting and supervising their children during television watching, empowering them through better understanding of the various criteria that must be considered in order to check TV programs suitability particularly examining its theme, language, nudity, sex, violence, horror and drugs to young viewers) but fails to implement them at home on their kids are TV watching.

Hence, the usage of Encoding and Decoding Theory in this study, anchored the interpretation of the relocatees to the TV guide whether it is dominant reading (having the same connotation with MTRCB), oppositional reading (disputing MTRCB's assigned meaning) or negotiated reading (recognizing the TV guides' importance but differing or contradicting its application). Discourse and Social Change Approach (DSCA), on the other way, explicated the possible social factors that affects an individual's interpretation of media texts. In the study, the DSCA described the various aspects that influence a relocatees interpretation of the MTRCB TV Classification System as either dominant, oppositional or negotiated coding. It stressed the supposition that social condition of an individual directly affects one's creation of meanings and associations. This is further supported by the Structural Approach to Audience Formation (SAAF), stating that educational attainment, economical background and the physical environment may play interesting roles in the formation of meaning

or interpretation.

DSCA and SAAF both put an emphasis on one's social and economic backgrounds as prime interventions affecting one's interpretation of media texts, consequently, a relocatees' physical location/place of residence, education, income and employment may affect his interpretation of MTRCB's TV Classification System.

Influence of the Profiling to TV Viewing Habits and Understanding of TV Classification System

This research inquiry sought to answer another research question dealing with the influence of profiling to the participants' TV viewing habits and their understanding of the MTRCB TV advisories. Age, sex, marital status, educational attainment, monthly income and family size were analyzed to determine its link to the aforementioned variables. There was no direct association between age, educational attainment and marital status to the television viewing habits of the participants, as participants were from various age brackets, educated (high school graduate or college level) and either married or separated. But a link was reported on the employment, monthly income and family size to the TV usage of parent-relocatees in adopted communities. The findings reported that most of the household participants have TV sets that were owned, rented or pawned and these black boxes were either flat-screen or smart/internet TV. This showed the importance of television to the lives of the participants, remarkably stressing that they could possibly prioritize their money for entertainment and relaxation over other basic needs. Surprisingly, this explained the irony, as participants despite their occupational and economic statuses still managed to have their own television sets, suggesting the idea of prioritization and de-prioritization. But earlier on, Waterman and Rogers (1994) in their study uncovered that a noteworthy link existed between a nation's GDP and TV ownership. On the off chance that the monetary development in the locale is maintained as anticipated, the quantity of TV family units ought to develop too. Furthermore, this is what Kenny (2009) highlighted as the future of television is not dependent on one's financial ability rather on the desire to sacrifice other basic commodities in order to purchase a TV set.

Predominantly, the participants were working, taking blue-collar jobs and in part-time positions, allowing them to be in constant contact and exposure with the black box. This stressed that participants who were in part-time jobs have ample time to access the television and enjoy its various programs and contents over those who were employed fulltime. Additionally, monthly income influenced TV viewing habits, as it has been reported that those households who have average monthly earning were inclined into watching television due to luxury of time that they have, pointing to possible reasons of: unemployment, homecare and absence of other activities to do. Furthermore, family size could also be attributed to the increase in television exposure, noting that parent-relocatees tend to watch television more among those with four (4) to nine (9) children. This could be explained by the accumulated time spent in front of TV by all the family members. The more members a family have, the more time they spent in watching may it be individual viewing or co-viewing with other members of the family. Parent relocates have the tendency to co-watch upon the arrival of their family members from work or school.

Accordingly, increasing their television exposure while performing domestic chores or household tasks, indeed, profiling has an influence over participants' TV viewing habits. Also, the findings of the study showed that profiling has a link to television exposure and perceptions on TV, as it appeared that most of the participants perform co-viewing mediation style, signifying that they are aware of the TV classification system but failed to implement it on their children's TV viewing which can be attributed to the lack of higher education, minimal income and place of residence. Contradictory to the idea of Wurtzel and Surlin (1978), that as education increased, the influence of the advisories decreased. In the present study, participants though being familiar with the TV rating system still managed to perform co-viewing instead of instructive mediation especially in times of SPG rated programs, where guidance of parents during TV watching were highly recommended. Education could have played a great role in the implementation of parental mediation to TV usage and the deeper understanding of parent-relocatees on the MTRCB advisories. This showed a direct association of education attainment to perceptions on TV watching, parental mediation style and knowledge on the TV advisories. Correspondingly, the MTRCB's advisories has no link to parent-relocatees' TV usage particularly on their average daily viewing time, timeslot, type and genre of television programs to watch. It could be highlighted that familiarity with the TV classification system did not have an influence over the participants' viewing decisions. Although familiar with the MTRCB advisories, this did not influence them

to perform other TV parental mediation style. This highlighted a gap on the understanding of the parent-relocatees as they thought that their mere presence was enough during TV watching with their family members; conceivably defeating the purpose of these TV warnings to assist them in guiding their children on what to watch and explaining the possible negative effects of TV and its programs to them.

Conclusion

With this study, it can be concluded that Filipinos are heavy TV dependents and consumers. Television is vital to the lives of many Filipinos, seeing the black box as a constant source of entertainment, information and even education. Contrastingly, television must not be perceived as good and friendly company for children, owing to the fact, that most Filipino parents allow their kids to be exposed to TV sets without parental guidance and mediation. This could be retorted through parents' realization and discernment towards TV, signifying a great role to the suspension of this practice. Also, it can be claimed that television in the advent of technology and internet remained to be a popular mass medium, attracting high patronage and usage. But its popularity translated a negative message of viewers being unreceptive, simply becoming passive consumers of television contents. This was proved on the responses of the parent-participants on their familiarity and awareness on the MTRCB TV classification system. Some articulated that they only do co-viewing, allowing harmful media TV messages to pass through to their children under their watches. Likewise, even with the power of will and better understanding or knowledge on the negative effects of the black box still some participants did not practice selective perception (discussing or sharing of TV-related ideas or information to their children). Truthfully, parent-child communication played an important role not only in fostering familial relationship and attachment, but in ensuring responsible television viewing among young viewers. An open and free parent-child communication projected trust and reliance on both parties, making communication easy and positive.

Moreover, parents must be in any way be rigorous when it comes to their children's television exposure and should not rely much on the medium. In this case, parents must be observant on the type of programs and genres their kids are hook into, as a primary filtration for TV watching. Additionally, parents must perceive TV advisories or rating system not just as a warning rather as a guide for them in ensuring their kids are in distant to the possible harmful contents, images and messages of television.

Recommendations

The current study should be replicated by future researchers using a larger and diverse sample coming from various socio-economic backgrounds and different research methods. Researchers could slant or focus their studies on other aspects of parental mediation and TV classification system and could look for emerging issues dealing with television watching. Researchers too could add depth to the research topic by exploring other themes related to MTRCB TV advisories, incorporating young audiences as possible research participants. Additionally, future researchers could employ other research methodologies or fusion of them. MTRCB on the other hand, could do seminar workshops not only to various academic institutions in the country, but also consider extending them to the numerous marginalized sectors in the Philippines. This could lessen the knowledge gap between. For other research beneficiaries, the findings of this study can be used by MTRCB in their campaign of responsible television viewing in the country. This might help them in refocusing the direction of their campaign and where to implement them as the current study dealt with economically deprived communities. Also, with the results, Filipino families could have a better understanding of television as a medium, having taken into considerations its positive and negative effects to its viewers. Moreover, this will facilitate greater understanding of MTRCB TV classification system among parents, seeing them not just as TV plugs or ads rather as television advisories, aiming to assist and guide viewers specifically the younger ones of their television watching and consumption. Hence, empowering all types of audiences on their choices in terms of what to watch and who can watch, basically dealing with TV program suitability.

The Philippine government could consider supporting projects that will not only further Filipino citizens socially and economically but will also make them better and responsible TV viewers. Furthermore, the government could extend political and financial backing to MTRCB in performing its functions, this way the organization could nationalize the implementation of its project, not only in urban areas but most importantly to far-flung communities.

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About the Author

The author is an Assistant Professor 3 for the Department of Communication and as a University Faculty Researcher for the Center for Research and Development in Adamson University. He is a member and a paper reviewer for various media and communication research organizations: ICA, IAMCR and i-COME. He is one of the grant recipients of the Impacts World Conference 2017 in Potsdam, Germany and 2018 Trust in Mediated Communication 4th International Summer School in Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, Germany. He is one of the presenters in the 2019 International Workshop on Hate Speech in Asia and Europe in Paris, France and the 1st Lisbon Winter School in Lisbon, Portugal. He speaks German and wants to learn French and Italian too.

**The South China Sea Disputes and Malaysia-China Bilateral Relations:
A Comparative Analysis Of Malaysian And Chinese Newspapers**

*Nicole Yang Lai Fong, Ramachandran Ponnann and Antoon Gewijde Herwig De Rycker
Taylor's University, Malaysia*

Abstract

The South China Sea disputes involve both island and maritime claims among several sovereign states within the region, namely China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam and Taiwan. Framing analysis of international news and diplomatic relations allows researchers to examine how news organizations provide their audiences with context regarding news stories through content promotion and exclusion. This study examined how the Malaysian and Chinese newspapers reported about the South China Sea disputes and Malaysia-China bilateral relations. The findings indicated that the newspapers reported the topics with different intensity and prominence, while different news sources were employed. It was also found that conflict was a salient frame used by the various newspapers. In addition, this study found that the Malaysian and Chinese newspapers exhibited different valence in reporting the South China Sea disputes. Among the Malaysian newspapers under examination in this study, *Sin Chew Daily* (a Chinese-language daily) employed the most similar frame to that of the Chinese newspapers, where the coverage was pervasive with supportive valence towards China.

Introduction

The seabed of the South China Sea contains oil, gas and minerals, which would bring great benefits to any country that can establish their claims to the region's waters. In addition, the South China Sea is also home to abundant fisheries, and it is teeming with at least one-tenth of the world's fishing stock. More importantly, the sea's key value is strategic – shipping lanes vital to about USD5 trillion worth of world trade pass through it, carrying everything from raw materials to finished products, as well as enormous quantities of oil (*The Star*, 12 July 2016a).

China claims almost the entire South China Sea while Malaysia, the Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam and Taiwan also have claims over it. At the heart of the South China Sea disputes is the “nine-dash line”, Beijing's claim that encircles as much as 90% of the contested waters. The line runs as far as 2,000km from the Chinese mainland to within a few hundred kilometers of Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. Beijing maintains it owns any land or features contained within the line, which confers defined “historical maritime rights” (*The Star*, 13 July 2016a).

Under the then president Benigno Aquino, Manila filed an arbitration case in 2013 before the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA), an arbitral tribunal under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The Philippines brought the case before the tribunal to dispute China's claim of “indisputable sovereignty” over almost the entire South China Sea through its “nine-dash line” claim (*The Star*, 12 July 2016a). The Philippines claimed that it has sought to negotiate with China since the Mischief Reef incident in 1995. It also said that it has had more than 50 bilateral talks with China at various levels since the Scarborough Shoal stand-off in 2012, all to no avail. Consequently, the Philippines proclaimed that after 17 years of negotiations with China, it had exhausted all political and diplomatic avenues to settle the dispute (*The Star*, 22 June 2016).

Spanning three years, two hearings, and nearly 4,000 pages of evidence, the PCA in The Hague, Netherlands finally issued its ruling on July 12, 2016. The tribunal ruled against China and mentioned that China has no “historic title” over the waters of the South China Sea. Specifically, the PCA ruled that the 1982 UNCLOS supersedes China's “nine-dash line”. Therefore, the judgement means that China has interfered with fishing rights of the Philippines, notably at Scarborough Shoal (*The Star*, 12 July 2016b).

China denounced the tribunal ruling as “null and void and has no binding force” (*Global Times*, 12 July 2016a). China also declared that it would neither accept nor recognize the verdict. It even warned its rivals against turning the South China Sea into a “cradle of war” and threatened an air defense zone there (*The Star*, 13 July 2016b). Importantly, both Chinese and Western analysts underscored that the ruling is not just about

the territorial claims in the South China Sea, but speaks to broader Sino-US tensions over China's rise (*The Star*, 5 July 2016).

Background of the Study

Today, China is Malaysia's biggest trading partner. Malaysia, on the other hand, is China's third-biggest trading partner in Asia and the biggest trading partner among all the countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Malaysia's trade ties with China have grown faster than that of countries from the rest of the world, particularly since the financial crisis in 1997-98 (Devadason, 2009). In October 2013, during Chinese President Xi Jinping's visit to Malaysia, the two countries elevated their ties to a "comprehensive strategic partnership". The year 2014 was also designated as "Malaysia-China Friendship Year" to commemorate the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the two countries. In 2014, the total bilateral trade between Malaysia and China reached USD106 billion. The aim now is to achieve a target of USD160 billion in bilateral trade by 2017 (Feng and Huang, 2014).

The role of the media, especially the press in foreign affairs, international issues and practice of diplomacy, has garnered growing attention from scholars. It is generally acknowledged that news media coverage can sometimes influence a foreign policy process, which is particularly the case when countries use the media for communication with parties with whom they do not have effective or viable dialogue channels (Archetti, 2012; Seo, 2011).

Significantly, the press structure in Malaysia is strongly influenced by the multi-lingual nature of the nation's population and portrays its pluralistic nature. Newspapers are published in different languages to cater to the respective major ethnic groups. While championing the interests of their groups, the vernacular newspapers in Malaysia also play a central role in shaping political and social reality because the editors and journalists are usually members of the community elite (Lent, 1990; Mansor, 2005). In addition, online journalism has been much celebrated in Malaysia by those who craved for alternative perspectives. Among the various independent news sites, scholars regarded *Malaysiakini* as the most interesting and successful one (Brown, 2005; George, 2005). It has also won warm praise from around the world as well as a number of international awards for journalism (Steele, 2009).

Research Objective and Research Questions

Considering the significance of Malaysia-China relations, the role of media in diplomacy as well as the different roles of vernacular and alternative newspapers in Malaysia, this study aimed to examine the framing of the South China Sea disputes by Malaysian and Chinese newspapers. Specifically, this study asked the following questions:

- RQ1: What was the intensity of the newspapers coverage?
- RQ2: What were the news sources used by the newspapers?
- RQ3: What were the news frames employed by the newspapers?
- RQ4: What was the valence of the news articles?

Theoretical Framework

This study drew upon framing as the theoretical framework. Scholars (Bosman and d'Haenens, 2008; McCombs, 2005) pointed out that the most frequently cited definition of framing comes from Entman (1993):

Framing is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

Other definitions for framing include "the process of calling attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring others, which might lead to different reactions" (Griffin, 2003); and "the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion in the media agenda when a particular object is discussed" (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Tankard (2008) enumerated several news features that commonly convey frames. They are headlines and kickers, subheads, photographs, photo captions, leads etc. Wong (2004) outlined four major dimensions of framing that could be studied: (1) presentation of news items

(their size and placement); (2) news topic items (or what issues are included in the frame); (3) cognitive attributes (or the specific details of issues included); and (4) affective attributes (tone of the picture).

In addition, Manheim (1994) summarized that news framing analyses usually cover three aspects: visibility, valence and frame genres. Visibility refers to both the amount and the prominence level of an event/issue or a nation receives in news coverage. Prominence is usually demonstrated by some typical elements such as the article's placement in the newspaper or web sites, the headline, the visual tools associating with the text, the mention on the evening television news etc. Valence or slant is the tone of a news story or comment regarding certain frames. It is believed to have the potential to generate behavioral effects. By indicating discourse valuations or carrying positive and/or negative elements, valenced news frames present the extent to which the coverage reflects favorably or unfavorably on the event/issue. Entman (2007) also stressed that agenda setting, priming and framing fit together as tools of power, and he connected them to explicit definitions of news slant and bias.

Methodology

Content analysis was used as the research method for this study. The Malaysian newspapers chosen were *Utusan Malaysia*, a daily in Bahasa Malaysia or the national language; *The Star*, an English-language daily; *Sin Chew Daily*, a Chinese-language daily; and *Malaysiakini*, an alternative newspaper. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations Malaysia, the 2015 average daily circulation of *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* and *Sin Chew Daily* were 15,4767, 24,7661 and 38,4391 respectively (www.abcm.org.my). These three mainstream dailies have a national circulation, although predominantly the circulation is within Peninsular Malaysia (Selva, 2010). *Utusanis* one of the top Malay-language newspapers in Malaysia. It is owned by the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), a dominant Malay-based party in the ruling coalition National Front (*Barisan Nasional*, BN). More importantly, it has always been singled out for evoking racial tension between the Malays and non-Malays (Kua, 2010; Lee, 2010).

The Star enjoys the highest circulation among the English-language newspapers in Malaysia. It is owned by the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), a uni-racial component party in BN that seeks to represent the Malaysian Chinese. According to Brown (2005), *TheStar* has the tendency to emphasize the process of reaching a compromise as well as the spirit of *muafakat* (consensus) within the BN. It is also inclined to present the MCA as taking a moderate and informed stand in many issues.

SinChew also enjoys the highest circulation among the Chinese-language newspapers in Malaysia. It is owned by a business and media tycoon, TiongHiew King. It is circulated throughout Malaysia and in neighboring countries such as southern Thailand, Brunei, Indonesia and northern Kalimantan as well as published and printed in Indonesia and Cambodia under separate mastheads. *Sin Chew* offers extensive coverage on politics, economy, culture and education, and is frequently considered as the most outspoken mainstream newspaper in Malaysia (Ou, 2009; Yang and Md. Sidin, 2015). In addition, McDaniel (2002) found that the Chinese-language newspapers in Malaysia are relatively more independent when compared to their Malay- and English-language counterparts due to the ownership factor.

Since its inception, *Malaysiakini* has gone on to record average daily hits of approximately 200,000, which compares respectably with the circulation of mainstream newspapers such as *The Star* and *New Straits Times* (Brown, 2005). Although *Malaysiakini* offers sections in English, Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese and Tamil, this study focused only on the English section because the other sections contain mainly translations of major English-language stories.

In addition, the Chinese newspapers chosen were the *People's Daily* (RenminRibao) and *Global Times* (HuanqiuShibao). The *People's Daily* is a leading newspaper in China and it enjoys a daily circulation of more than 2.4 million (Lin, 2010). More importantly, it is considered as the mouthpiece of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and has been the primary agenda-setter in China (Huang and Chen, 2009; Wang, 2007). According to Zhou (2007), the *People's Daily* acts as the chief conduit for official interpretations of important political, economic, social and cultural events to party members and ordinary people across the country. Furthermore, the *GlobalTimes* is a daily newspaper under the auspices of the *People's Daily*, focusing on international issues. With its daily circulation of over 2 million, *Global Times* is deemed as the link between

China and the world (*Global Times*, February 23, 2013).

Sampling and Coding Procedures

The sample of this study was drawn from June 15 to July 19, 2016 as these dates represent the peak period leading up to the final award by The Hague tribunal. The unit of analysis was the articles, which included straight news, editorials, columns, opinions and letters. The articles were pulled from the respective newspaper's online database by using "South China Sea disputes", "The Hague tribunal", and "The Hague arbitration" as the keywords. The sample consisted of 242 articles derived from the six newspapers.

The framing of the South China Sea disputes was examined from four different dimensions: 1) intensity of coverage; (2) news sources; (3) news frames; and (4) valence of the articles. Specifically, the intensity of coverage was studied from two angles: (1) number of articles; and (2) type of articles.

The categories for news sources identified in this study were: (1) Chinese officials; (2) U.S. officials; (3) Malaysian officials; (4) Scholars and experts; (5) Other countries' officials; and (6) Others.

This study employed the inductive approach for analyzing the news frames. The coding categories were outlined after a preliminary examination of the data. As a result, four categories of news frames were identified in this study: (1) Conflict; (2) Consequences; (3) Peace resolution; and (4) Others. The following are the operational definitions for the news frames:

1. Conflict – emphasizes disagreement and conflict between countries; a country reproaches another; dichotomizes or labels the good and bad.
2. Consequences – reports an event, issue or problem in terms of the consequences it has on individuals, groups, parties, institutions or the country; reports the outcome of The Hague tribunal.
3. Peace and resolution – focuses on resolving disagreement; offers solution for conflict among or between countries.
4. Others – any other frames that do not fit into the abovementioned categories.

Valence of the articles refers to the attitude expressed towards any individual, group, party or institution by its user (Baumgartner and Wirth, 2012; Entman, 2010). It is also known as slant or tone. The categories of valence for this study were divided into:

1. Supportive towards China – conveys a favorable impression towards China or its government; supports or emphasizes the stance of China in the South China Sea disputes; contains quotes by individuals who approves of China's standpoint.
2. Critical – conveys an unfavorable impression towards China or its government; criticizes or refutes the stance of China in the South China Sea disputes; contains quotes by individuals who disapproves of China's standpoint.
3. Neutral – neither favorably nor unfavorably portrays the issue.

Inter-coder Reliability

To ensure the reliability of this study, a communication graduate was chosen as the second coder. During the training session, the writer (who was also the first coder) and the second coder coded 50 articles that were chosen randomly from the sample of this study. Disagreements were analyzed and some additional explanations were included into the coding instructions in the code book. The inter-coder reliability for this study was established by randomly selecting 10% of the news items, which was equivalent to 24 articles. Using Holsti's formula (cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 2006), it was found that the inter-coder reliability for news frames was 0.96 and for slants, 0.99.

Findings

A total of 242 articles were collected from the six newspapers. The following are some basic information regarding the frequency and percentage of the variables suggesting the importance of conceptual differentiation between the Malaysian and Chinese newspapers.

Extent of Coverage

The Star contributed the most number of news items (124 articles), followed by *Sin Chew* (74 articles), *Global Times* (19 articles), *Malaysiakini* (10 articles), *People Daily* (10 articles) and *Utusan* (5 articles). As indicated in

Table 1, the majority of the articles were straight news. A finding of interest was that only *Malaysiakini* and *Global Times* published background articles, which are deemed as essential when an event's coverage was sustained over time. While *Malaysiakini* had the highest percentage of columns (20.0%), the six newspapers in this study did not publish any reader's letter or opinions in their coverage of the South China Sea disputes.

Table 1: Types of Articles

	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (n=5) %	<i>The Star</i> (n=124) %	<i>Sin Chew Daily</i> (n=74) %	<i>Malaysia-kini</i> (n = 10) %	<i>People's Daily</i> (n=10) %	<i>Global Times</i> (n=19) %
Straight news	100	93.6	100	70.0	90.0	93.9
Column	0	6.5	0	20.0	10.0	5.3
Background article	0	0	0	10.0	0	5.3

News Sources

Table 2 shows that *Utusan* and *The Star* relied on Chinese officials as their most dominant news source, while *Malaysiakini* mainly cited Malaysian officials. The sourcing practice of *Sin Chew* was similar to that of *People's Daily* and *Global Times*, where scholars and experts were given the most opportunities to voice their opinions on the issue.

Table 2: News Sources

	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (n = 5) %	<i>The Star</i> (n = 124) %	<i>Sin Chew Daily</i> (n = 74) %	<i>Malaysia-kini</i> (n = 10) %	<i>People's Daily</i> (n=10) %	<i>Global Times</i> (n = 19) %
Chinese officials	60.0	29.8	20.0	12.0	17.7	39.3
U.S. officials	0	17.6	7.4	20.0	0	0
Malaysian officials	40.0	2.7	5.3	52.0	0	0
Scholars and experts	0	9.6	26.3	4.0	82.4	53.6
Other countries' officials	0	27.1	32.6	8.0	0	7.1
Others	0	13.3	8.4	4.0	0	0

News Frames

Table 3 shows that conflict is the most salient frame found among the newspapers: *The Star* (55.4%), *Sin Chew* (52.5%), *Malaysiakini* (80.0%), and *People's Daily* (50.0%). In addition, *Utusan* was the only newspaper that allocated the strongest emphasis on the consequences frame (60.0%) while peace and resolution (43.5%) was the most frequently employed frame in *Global Times*.

Table 3: News Frames

	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (n = 5) %	<i>The Star</i> (n = 124) %	<i>Sin Chew Daily</i> (n = 74) %	<i>Malaysia-kini</i> (n = 10) %	<i>People's Daily</i> (n=10) %	<i>Global Times</i> (n = 19) %
Conflict	20.0	55.4	52.6	80.0	50.0	34.8

Consequences	60.0	26.6	28.9	20.0	16.7	13.0
Peace and resolution	20.0	18.0	18.4	0	33.3	43.5
Others	0	0	0	0	0	8.7

In its consequences frame, *Utusan* reported that a few countries have tightened up their maritime security as a result of the South China Sea disputes. For example, Indonesia sent its navy warship and F-16 jet fighter to the Natuna islands after the altercation between Indonesian coastguard vessels and the Chinese coastguard as well as fishing boats. It was also reported that the Indonesian President Joko Widodo visited the Natuna Islands aboard a warship in June 2016, making a bold move to assert sovereignty over the area in the southern reaches of the South China Sea. In addition, *Utusan* reported that a Taiwanese warship was also sent to the South China Sea after the PCA ruling, in order to defend Taiwan's maritime territory (*UtusanMalaysia*, 18 July 2016).

Through its conflict frame, *The Star* gave slightly more coverage to those voices that criticized or refuted the stance of China in the South China Sea disputes. *The Star* also tended to portray a domineering image of China. For example, it reported that Chinese President Xi Jinping declared that China will never compromise on sovereignty as he celebrated the Communist Party's 95th anniversary. Xi also mentioned that the ruling party must maintain absolute power in the country, strengthen its military, and enhance its role on the world stage. Xi was quoted as saying: "No foreign country should expect us to swallow the bitter pill of harm to our national sovereignty, security or development interests... We are not afraid of trouble... We will not show up at other people's front door to flex our muscles. That does not show strength or scare anyone." (*The Star*, 2 July 2016).

Unlike *The Star*, the conflict frame in *Sin Chew* was inclined towards emphasizing or supporting the stance of China in the South China Sea disputes. For example, it was reported that China proclaimed that "sovereign territory can in no way be less, even by a little bit". *Sin Chew* also reported that much attention in the Western media coverage was about China's construction on the islands and reefs. However, China claimed that it only started such construction at the end of 2013, the timing of which indicated that China was forced to react, given the changes in regional situation. The Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister, Kong Xuanyou, was quoted by *Sin Chew* as stating that some media reports have been blaming China's construction work on the islands and reefs for the rising tension in the South China Sea. He refuted it and argued that China was actually the last one to carry out such construction work, after the Philippines and other claimants. Therefore, he stressed that it was wrong of the U.S. and Western media to name China the source of rising tension in the South China Sea (*Sin Chew Daily*, 16 July 2016).

The conflict frame was also very prevalent in *Malaysiakini* (80.0%). It is noteworthy that the alternative newspaper reported several news stories that were omitted by its mainstream counterparts. For example, it was reported that Malaysia has downplayed two naval exercises conducted by China in 2013 and 2014 at James Shoal, less than 50 nautical miles off Sarawak. And in 2015, concerns raised by Malaysian fishermen in Miri about alleged bullying by armed men aboard Chinese coastguard vessels were largely ignored too. In March 2016, the Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency (MMEA) was even intimidated by a large Chinese vessel around the South Luconia Shoals, off the oil-rich town of Miri in Sarawak. Spurred by the incident and the appearance of some 100 Chinese fishing vessels in the area around the time, some in Malaysia were hardening the nation's previously muted responses towards their powerful neighbor China (*Malaysiakini*, 15 June 2016a).

It is also significant to note that in its coverage of the South China Sea disputes, *Malaysiakini* also reported that corporations owned by the Chinese government have paid billions of dollars in 2015 to buy assets from debt-riddled state investment firm 1MDB, which has been a major embarrassment to the then Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak (*Malaysiakini*, 15 June 2016b). Through placing the issue within the dominant conflict frame (50.0%), *People'sDaily* published the minutes of a meeting between the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Liu Zhenmin and the U.S. media delegation on the South China Sea issue. The U.S. media

delegation included representatives from *Newsweek*, *Chicago Tribute* and *Los Angeles Times*. Liu told the delegates that China has no intention for frictions with the U.S. military vessels and aircrafts. Nonetheless, he stressed that the U.S. should refrain from making provocations too. He also added that the U.S. should be friendlier towards China as the world is changing and the China-U.S. relations are deepening at the same time (*People's Daily*, 15 June 2016).

The peace and resolution frame made the strongest showing in *Global Times* (43.5%). It was reported that the former Minister of China's State Council Information Office, Zhao Qizheng, stated unequivocally that going back to negotiations is the only way forward for the settlement of disputes in the South China Sea and that an arbitration unilaterally initiated by the Philippines would not impede the progress of China-ASEAN cooperation (*Global Times*, 18 July 2016).

Valence

Table 4 reveals that *Sin Chew* is the most supportive newspaper (40.3%) towards China among its Malaysian counterparts. Not surprisingly, the two newspapers from China were strongly supportive towards their home country. In addition, *Malaysiakini* was the most critical (50.0%) towards China in its coverage of the South China Sea disputes, while *Utusan* was found to be the most neutral in its coverage.

Table 4: Valence

	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (n = 5) %	<i>The Star</i> (n = 124) %	<i>Sin Chew Daily</i> (n = 74) %	<i>Malaysia-kini</i> (n = 10) %	<i>People's Daily</i> (n=10) %	<i>Global Times</i> (n = 19) %
Supportive	20.0	32.0	40.3	20.0	100	94.7
Critical	20.0	36.7	18.2	50.0	0	0
Neutral	60.0	31.3	41.6	30.0	0	5.3

Discussion

The difference in the number of articles published by the four newspapers indicated that they gave unequal weight of attention to the South China Sea disputes. The findings demonstrated that *The Star* was most concern about the issue, followed by *Sin Chew*, *Global Times*, *People's Daily*, *Malaysiakini* and *Utusan*. It is noteworthy that *The Star* carried 124 articles, while *Utusan* had only five articles, and this led to the difference of 115 articles between the two.

It is well understood that the more coverage an issue receives in the news media, the more the public will perceive the issue to be important. While it is fair to assume that the readers of *Utusan* might naturally and consequently perceive the South China Sea disputes as unimportant, the authors are more concern about the effect of such a gatekeeping practice. Significantly, media are expected to bring about a greater understanding of an issue by providing an extensive coverage of it. The South China Sea disputes reflect a complex and long-standing conflict involving several countries as even the tribunal hearings took as long as three years to come to the final ruling. Therefore it is indeed shocking to find that *Utusan* published only five articles to inform its readers about the whole episode. In addition, the obvious gatekeeping and agenda-setting practices by *Utusan* raise two important questions: What are the consequences facing the ill-informed readers for such an important issue that has an impact on their own country? Why did *Utusan* undertake such an approach in its reporting of the South China Sea disputes? Although it is not the objective or scope of the current study to examine these two questions, it is imperative that future studies look into them.

While straight news articles give facts or quote references on general information like who, what, when, where, why and how, newspaper opinion pieces offer readers subjective rather than objective news content. This study found that *Malaysiakini* devoted the most space for columns. In its column articles, the alternative newspaper provided a platform for various Malaysian members of parliament, political analysts, military elites and others to articulate their views and analyses regarding the South China Sea disputes, Malaysia-

China relations as well as important political, economic and social topics. The column articles added a diversity of viewpoints and in-depth analyses from multiple perspectives, hence enhancing the marketplace of ideas and educating public understanding of the issues. Importantly, Entman (2004) also asserted that elite discourse of international affairs has great potential in influencing readers' opinions due to their lack of familiarity with the subjects matter. According to Bashir and Fedorova (2015), a key theoretical framework for hundreds of mass communication research articles on media framing investigated the manner in which news organizations provide their audiences with context regarding news stories. They posited that framing was done through the promotion of certain "schemata of interpretation" or "interpretive packages" that are presented through content promotion and exclusion. Bashir and Fedorova (2015) also concluded that the majority of international news coverage reflected the government's official position towards an issue. They argued that a government's position can have a reciprocal influence on the nature of media coverage of various events. However, the findings of the current study are interestingly inconclusive from a few angles. Firstly, the two pro-government Malaysian newspapers – *Utusan* and *The Star* – employed different frames in their coverage of the South China Sea disputes. On one hand, *Utusan* employed the consequences frame, used neutral valence and downplayed (almost omitted) the important international disputes. On the other hand, *The Star* devoted the most coverage to the South China Sea disputes, undertook the conflict approach and slanted rather critically towards China. While the gatekeeping and agenda-setting practices by *Utusan* raise two important questions as mentioned earlier, the framing practice by *The Star* also leads to an imperative question: Since *The Star* is owned by a political party that seeks to represent the Malaysian Chinese, and it has a track record of emphasizing consensus and moderation, why would it take on such vocal and critical approaches in reporting the South China Sea disputes? This question deserves special attention as news stories are not a random representation of the reality but a systematic construction of the social world by journalists and editors.

Although *Malaysiakini* was even more critical in its conflict frame, the finding is, however, unsurprising if one refers to the previous studies on alternative media. For example, many scholars (e.g. Brown, 2005; George, 2005; Steele, 2009) commented that online media in Malaysia are widening the range of available news and commentary. While Tang (2009) found that the *Malaysiakini* website features hard-hitting editorials, columns and letters, Kenyon (2010) recorded that one of the routines in the *Malaysiakini* newsroom is to look out for political stories that other media downplay or ignore. It was also found that the journalists of *Malaysiakini* look at issues from a big picture point of view, such as, identifying what a particular story had to do with the larger political circumstances (Kenyon, 2010).

The framing of the South China Sea disputes by *Sin Chew* was closest to that of *People's Daily* and *Global Times*, where the coverage was pervasive with supportive valence towards China. It is interesting to note that scholars (Lee, 2011; Lim, Azirah and Buttny, 2014; Tan, Thock, Ngah and Goh, 2012) recognized that there are still many Malaysian Chinese that are proud of their links to China, where their forefathers originated. Significantly, Ou (2009) explicated that there exists a symbiosis between the Chinese-language press and the Chinese community in Southeast Asia. The Chinese press, Chinese schools and Chinese associations and guilds form the triangulation supporting the Chinese community. The Chinese-language newspapers have their own unique mission as well as belief system. They represent a cultural expression of the community and serves to articulate and even to help shape the aspirations of the community that they represent. Nonetheless, in this case, it is imperative to note that there are many pro-business Malaysian Chinese that have forged strong business interests in China and would be critical of any potential loss of commercial opportunity resulting from any political deterioration in the Sino-Malaysian relationship.

Interestingly, Finkbeiner (2013) analyzed Malaysian policy towards the South China Sea disputes and made the following conclusion:

Malaysia appears to take a different approach from its neighbors in the South China Sea disputes in order to pursue what it perceives as more important interests...1) Malaysia prefers to base its relationship with China on economic prosperity above other interests, including the two countries' sovereignty dispute; 2) Malaysia will seek continued strong military ties with the U.S., in part to balance against China given the latter's ever increasing presence in Southeast Asia, and finally 3), Malaysia will continue to promote strong bilateral relationships with both the U.S. and China, promote both those countries' ties to ASEAN, and

continue to promote resolution of the South China Sea dispute on a multilateral basis through ASEAN. (Finkbeiner, 2013, p. 15)

Conclusion

Framing analysis of international news and diplomatic relations allows researchers to examine how news organizations provide their audiences with context regarding news stories through content promotion and exclusion. This study examined how the Malaysian and Chinese newspapers reported about the South China Sea disputes and Malaysia-China bilateral relations. The findings indicated that the newspapers reported the topics with different intensity and prominence, while different news sources were employed. It was also found that conflict was a salient frame used by the various newspapers. In addition, the study found that the Malaysian and Chinese newspapers exhibited different valence in reporting the South China Sea disputes. Among the Malaysian newspapers under examination in this study, *Sin Chew* employed the most similar frame to that of the Chinese newspapers, where the coverage was pervasive with supportive valence towards China. Nonetheless, for future research, in order to investigate the impact of news frames on the people's perception of a foreign nation, it would be interesting to juxtapose the findings of this study with public opinion data to measure Malaysians' perceptions towards China and the South China Sea disputes.

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About the primary authors

Yang Lai Fong is currently a senior lecturer at the School of Communication, Taylor's University, Malaysia. She teaches *Communication Theory* to undergraduates, and *Research Methodology* at graduate level. Her areas of research include media and inter-ethnic relations, media and inter-religious conflicts, media and diplomacy, political communication, and media sociology. She is also an associate editor of the *SEARCH Journal*, which is published by Taylor's University, and indexed in SCOPUS since 2012.

Ramachandran Ponnann is also from Taylor's University, Malaysia. Antoon De Rycker is also a co-author from Berjaya Univeristy College of Malaysia.

Investigative Journalism in Jordan: Development and Challenge in post-Arab Spring era

Pei-yu Lin

National Chengchi University

Abstract

This paper aims to demonstrate the investigative journalism in Jordan. As we have noticed that investigative journalism is growing prosperously with the coming of globalization and new technology in the 20th century in both mainstream and alternative media. As the Middle East is filled with autocratic authorities, investigative journalism is essential in exposing the concealed secrets of the stakeholders. Jordan had been doing a great job on the promotion of investigative journalism, as it has nurtured Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ), the first and leading nonprofit investigative reporting organization based in the Middle East. This paper will first introduce the global trend of investigative journalism, and review the investigative journalism in the Middle East. Then, the study will focus on the development and challenges of investigative journalism in Jordan in the post-Arab Spring era.

Introduction

Global investigative journalism has been growing gradually in the late 20th century. Millions of dollars in media development funding from international donors have been attracted to this field due to the field's emphasis on public accountability, targeting of crime and corruption, and demonstration impact. Non-profit investigative journalism organizations are pivotal drivers of the global spreading of investigative journalism. Established in Jordan in 2005, Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ), as the first non-profit investigative journalism organization in the Middle East, now supports investigative reporting in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Bahrain, Palestine, Yemen, and Tunisia.

As the origin of ARIJ, Jordan itself has been facing challenges on the development of investigative journalism after Arab Spring. This paper will review the alteration of political situation after the Arab Spring and media law in Jordan in order to clarify the challenges on the road of the development of investigative journalism in Jordan in post-Arab Spring era. Afterwards, the research will include case studies of investigative reporters in Jordan to further demonstrate the difficulties and challenges they encountered.

Research Method

This research reviews and analyzes influential Jordanian investigative journalists, their news reports, and personal opinions. The selection of the research targets is based on the following conditions. All selected objects fulfill the qualification as follows.

- (1) The research target should be a journalist whose nationality is Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
- (2) At least one of his/ her news reports should fulfill the following conditions:
 - (a) The report fulfills the definition of investigative journalism given by UNESCO as mentioned previously.
 - (b) The research target conducted the investigation for the news report during or after the eruption of Arab Spring in 2011.
 - (c) The research target published or broadcasted the news report after the eruption of Arab Spring in 2011.
 - (d) The news report must gain international news award to guarantee its quality and news value.

Investigative Journalism in the Middle East

Investigative journalism did exist in the Middle East in the late 20th; however, such it appeared individual and required unique factors to accomplish certain investigative reporting cases. For example, Mohammad Hassanain Heikal, an Egyptian journalist who took the position of editor-in-chief the Cairo-based newspaper Al-Ahram, focused on developing investigative reporting at the paper by taking on graduates and training them on investigative journalism. However, the main reason of Heikal's success may be his closed ties with

Gamal Abdel Nasser,¹ president of Egypt at that time, and thus he was able to access information.² Besides the individual cases, we can observe the development of investigative journalism by the establishment of nonprofit investigative reporting organization in certain region. Nonprofit investigative reporting organization refers to report centers, training institutes, professional associations, grant-making group, and online network. These organizations help local journalists to get access to the training, knowing, and the most important—funding of their own investigative reporting programs. They have been proved to be viable to professionalize the local journalism community and produce stories with social and political impact.³

Figure 1: Numbers of Non-profit investigative reporting organizations in 2013



Source: Center for International Media Assistance and Iraqi Reporters for Investigative Journalism

According to the chart, there were 107 nonprofit investigative reporting organizations in 48 countries in 2013. Middle East and North Africa is the least region in the chart with only three organizations in the area: Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ) which based in Jordan, Moroccan Association for Investigative Journalism (AMJI), located in Morocco, and the Network of Iraqi Reporters for Investigative Journalism (NIRIJ) in Iraq. Lacking nonprofit investigative reporting organizations in MENA may be associated with multiple reasons. Observing the investigative journalism organizations will give us more clues.

a. ARIJ

ARIJ was established in 2005 in Amman, Jordan as the first institutionalised investigative journalism training in the Arab World.⁴ With funds and technical support from International Media Support, the Danish Association for Investigative Journalism, Open Society Foundation, International Center for Journalism and other organizations, ARIJ supports independent quality professional journalism through funding in-depth journalism projects and offers training and media coaching.⁵

After 12 years, this organization now provides its service for journalists in print, radio, TV, on-line media in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Bahrain, Palestine, Yemen, Tunisia.⁶ More than 230 cases of ARIJ investigation or ARIJ joint investigation from 2007 to 2017 are showed publicly on its website. Several investigative units as part of various media platforms across the Arab World were set up with the assistance

¹ The editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2018, September 19). Muhammad Hassanein Heikal. *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*. Retrieved September 24, 2018, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muhammad-Hassanein-Heikal>

² Bebawi, Saba. *Investigative Journalism in the Arab World*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016.

³ Kaplan, David E. *Global Investigative Journalism: Strategies for Support*. Washington: Center for International Media Assistance, 2013.

⁴ Bebawi, Saba. *Investigative Journalism in the Arab World*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016.

⁵ Site Message(n.d.). Retrieved September 24, 2018, from <http://en.arij.net/site-message/>

⁶ Site Message(n.d.). Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <http://en.arij.net/site-message/>

of ARIJ: Al- Watan paper in Egypt, Al-Hayat newspaper in Lebanon, Ro'ya TV in Jordan, and Al-Thawra newspaper in Yemen.⁷ The contribution of ARIJ to the region will also be demonstrated in the following section of case studies.

b. AMJI

The success of ARIJ and its contribution on the improvement of investigative reporting in the Middle East is evident. In contrast, AMJI is the failed example compared with ARIJ. Established in 2009 with support from International Media Support and other donors in Morocco, AMJI started to promote the method of investigative journalism in the Maghreb region. In 2011, AMJI even declared to seek cooperation with ARIJ in order to benefit from ARIJ's pioneering and cumulative experience in promoting investigative journalism in the first conference for Maghreb investigative journalists held in Rabat by AMJI.⁸

Unfortunately, AMJI did not continue to contribute on this issue. The direct reasons to the end of AMJI remain unsure due to lack of information, but they might be related to the charge against 7 Moroccan reporters by Moroccan authorities because of their involvement in running a training course that had utilised a secure storytelling phone app "Story Maker" for citizen journalists in Rabat. The app was developed by Free Press Unlimited, the Guardian Project and Small World News and enabled citizen journalists to publish content anonymously.⁹ The trial toward the seven activists was condemned by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International. The case reflected the lack of press freedom in Morocco and Moroccan authorities' high-handed ways and rough actions toward journalists. This freedom-violating event might indirectly or directly led to the stop of AMJI, because Maati Monjib, a professor at the University of Rabat and also the president of AMJI; Maria Moukrim, journalist and former AMJI president; Rachid Tarik, retired journalist and AMJI president; Hicham Mansouri, journalist and former AMJI staffer; Abdessamad Ait Aich, AMJI member, are all among the seven defendants.¹⁰ The establishment and running of non-profit investigative reporting organizations in the Middle East can improve the development of the field in the region. However, the autocratic regimes in the Middle East and their cruel action toward restricting the media are one of the major challenges of this field.

c. Network of Iraqi Reporters for Investigative Journalism

The Network of Iraqi Reporters for Investigative Journalism (NIRIJ) was established in May 9th, 2011 by professional investigative reporters. It is the first network of investigative journalism in the country. NIRIJ provide financial, editorial, and advisory support for the investigative Iraqi journalists to perform detailed investigative reports. In addition, NIRIJ devotes itself to the improvement of skills of the Iraqi investigative journalists and the spreading of investigative culture in the Iraqi journalism.¹¹ The contribution of NIRIJ is mainly inside the country. 27 investigations and 1 publishing video that was accomplished with the support of NIRIJ are shown on its website.¹²

Although the number of these organizations remains low in the Middle east, non-profit organizations have been promoting the development of investigative journalism in the region in recent years. We will then focus on the situation in Jordan in the next section.

⁷Bebawi, Saba. *Investigative Journalism in the Arab World*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016

⁸*Strengthening investigative journalism in Maghreb through cooperation* (2011). Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <https://www.mediasupport.org/strengthening-investigative-journalism-in-maghreb-through-cooperation/>

⁹*Morocco: seven on trial for running phone app journalism training course* (2016). Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/morocco-seven-trial-running-phone-app-journalism-training-course>

¹⁰Hilleary, Cecily. (2016, June 29). Free Speech on Trial in Morocco. *Voice of America*. Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <https://www.voanews.com/a/free-speech-on-trial-in-morocco/3395771.html>

¹¹*Network of Iraqi Reporters for Investigative Journalism Website* (n.d.). Retrieved September 24, 2018, from http://www.nirij.org/?page_id=232

¹²*Network of Iraqi Reporters for Investigative Journalism Website* (n.d.). Retrieved September 24, 2018, from http://www.nirij.org/?page_id=232

Investigative journalism in Jordan in post-Arab Spring era

From the above discussion, we know that governments' attitude toward press freedom can be a pivotal factor in the process of cultivating investigative journalism. If Jordanian regime held on the same attitude toward press freedom as Moroccan, ARIJ would not have survived for more than 12 years and promoting on numerous of investigative reporting in the Middle East. Therefore, in order to view deeper on the development and challenges of this field in the origin of ARIJ, we can lay eye on the political context of Jordanian regime that is related to press freedom. The development of investigative journalism in Jordan is relatively lucky and smooth if we compare it with several Arab countries before and after the Arab Spring. This might be attributed to its political stability under the relatively liberal governance of King Abdullah.

From the late 20th century, the domestic politics of the Kingdom has usually been the competition between liberal, leftists, tribal and Islamic parties in Jordan. The requests and conflicts from and between these groups, and the international factors that influenced the Kingdom economically, socially and politically, gradually pushed the political reforms of Jordan in these times. For instance, the Hashemite monarchy of Jordan lifted martial law, legalized political parties and relaxed restrictions on freedom of expression around 1990 as a response to the contestation related to the economic crisis and subsidy cutbacks of 1989 that triggered riots in the Eastern Banker Jordanian stronghold of Maan.¹³

The National Charter, also one of the political reform that response to the instability situation of 1989, is adopted in a national conference of 2,000 leading Jordanians which included representatives of all political groups in 1991. In the section of "Information and Communication", the Charter stated the importance of freedom of express and access to information:

Freedom of thought and expression and access to information, must be viewed as a right of every citizen, as well as of the press and other mass media. It is a right enshrined in the Constitution and should under no circumstances be abridges or violated.¹⁴

From the perspective of law, the Kingdom did have proof of valuing press freedom and access to information. Another example is Article 15 of the initial 1952 Jordanian Constitution, which stated:

The state shall guarantee freedom of opinion. Every Jordanian shall be free to express his opinion by speech, in writing, or by means of photographic representation and other forms of expression, within the limits of the law.¹⁵ In addition to the Constitution, the Kingdom also expresses its support to freedom of expression in the international society. Jordan had signed several international treaties that related to press freedom, such as The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and The Arab Charter on Human Rights.¹⁶

However, the relevance between the regime's support on laws and international treaties that promote press freedom and the actual encouragement on the development of investigative journalism from the government can be argued in many ways. The actual situation of first-line journalists was different from what the Constitution and the National Charter declared. Some examples and discussion will be clarified below. First, we can divide the discussion into two parts: Jordanian journalists' situation in pre-Arab Spring and post-Arab Spring. By observing the alteration between the two periods, we can witness the challenges of investigative journalism that Jordanian reporters faces in recent years. In pre-Arab Spring era, the political situation was relatively stable in Jordan. The key diplomatic issue—Palestine-Israel problem—are not as activated as once it was in the late 20th. Domestically, journalists tasted the benefits accumulated by the prosperously growing media companies after the terminal of martial law in 1990. ARIJ was established in 2005 and investigative

¹³Massimiliano Ferrara, Roberto Mavilia, Valeria Talbot. "Politics, International Relations and Cooperation in the Mediterranean area", Rubbettino Editore, 2013, 45-52.

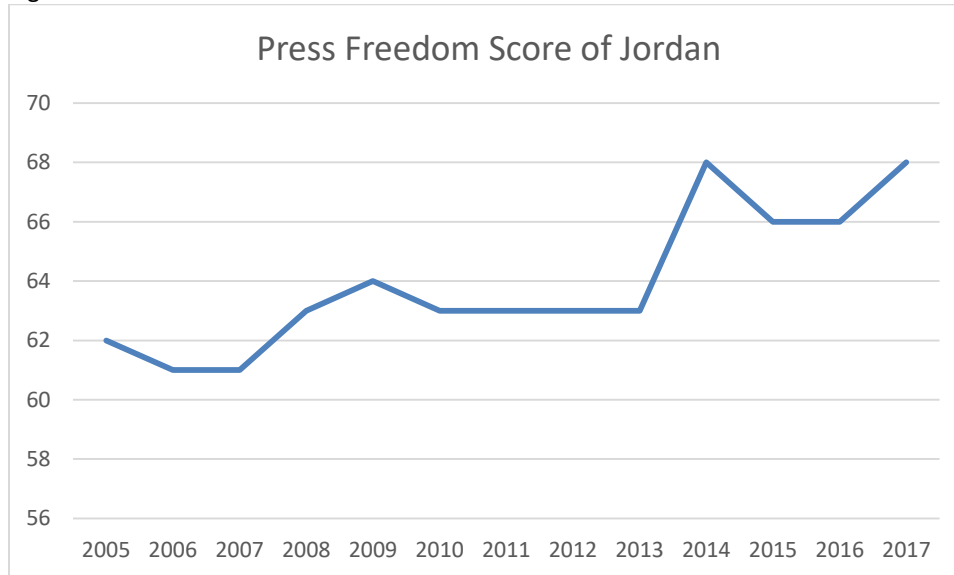
¹⁴Griffin, Douglas & Morgan, Libby. *Introduction to News Media Law and Policy in Jordan*. Jordan Media Strengthening Program, 2009, 19-20.

¹⁵*Constitution of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan 1952*. (n.d.). World Intellectual Property Organization. Retrieved September 24, 2018, from http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file_id=227813

¹⁶Griffin, Douglas & Morgan, Libby. *Introduction to News Media Law and Policy in Jordan*. Jordan Media Strengthening Program, 2009, 21-24.

journalism started to grow in the Middle East in a more institutional way. However, although Arab Spring did not change the regime of Jordan but kept pushing the process of political reforms of the Kingdom, the negative impacts to the development of investigative journalism is gradually conducting. The press freedom scores of Jordan became worse in the post-Arab Spring era.

Figure 2: The Press Freedom Score of Jordan from 2005-2017



Note: 0=Best, 100=Worst for the score

Source: <https://freedomhouse.org/>

Despite governmental assurances during the height of the Arab Spring, promised reforms in freedom of the press have failed to materialize. For example, in 2012, the security forces of Jordan arrested two journalists and charged them as “opposing the ruling system” after they published a report alleging corruption in the royal court. Although the authority eventually dropped the charges, it is still a warning to reporters who wanted to expose corruptions of powerful people.¹⁷

In the same year, the Jordanian National Assembly passed a law in which websites were required to register with the government and received a permit before any launch. A website 7iber was repeatedly blocked by the authority because 7iber refused to register.¹⁸ 7iber is a media organization and online magazine that seeks to promote an open society that upholds values of accountability, rule of law, human rights, and pluralism, through in-depth multimedia journalism, critical analysis and public conversation.¹⁹ The regulation of registering website became a tool of the Jordanian authority to control the media on the Internet.

In 2014, the 2006 anti-terrorism law was amended by the Jordanian parliament. The amendment broadened the definition of terrorism and raised the penalties for terrorist acts. The penalties range from 10 years in prison to the death penalty, and the definition of terrorism has been expanded to include any act meant to create sedition, harm property or jeopardize international relations, or to use the Internet or media outlets to promote “terrorist” thinking.²⁰ The amendment could be a tool of the authority to silence opposition and threaten freedom of expression.

¹⁷Duffy, Matt J. & Maarouf, Hadil. “Journalism in Jordan: A comparative analysis of press freedom in the post-Arab Spring environment.” *Global Media Journal Special Issue* (2015): 1-24.

¹⁸Duffy, Matt J. & Maarouf, Hadil. “Journalism in Jordan: A comparative analysis of press freedom in the post-Arab Spring environment.” *Global Media Journal Special Issue* (2015): 1-24.

¹⁹About 7iber (2012). Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <https://www.7iber.com/about/>

²⁰Abuqudairi, Areej. (2014, April 25). Jordan anti-terrorism law sparks concern. *Al-Jazeera*. Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/04/jordan-anti-terrorism-law-sparks-concern-201442510452221775.html>

Investigative journalism exposes issues that related to public interests and often connects to the government sectors or powerful politicians. Thus, the access of information and freedom of expression is pivotal to its development. Without a safe environment that support investigative journalists doing their research, the public issues cannot be examined by the press. Although the contribution of ARIJ is brilliant before Arab Spring, the unstable political situation in post-Arab Spring era, combined with the influence of the forced registration of media websites and the amendment of anti-terrorism law, remains a stumbling block for the development of investigative journalism in the Kingdom.

A case study of Jordanian Investigative journalists in post-Arab Spring era

In order to further discuss investigative journalism in Jordan after Arab Spring, a case study to excellent Jordanian investigative reporters is necessary. Three cases would be introduced in the next section.

a. A Case Study of Hanan Khandagji

Hanan Khandagji, a Jordanian investigative reporter, who has been trained by ARIJ as a journalist since 2010, is a good example. Her contribution to investigative journalism in Jordan and her observation to the development of and challenges of this field will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Khandagji has been working at Alekhbariyatv in Riyadh, KSA, as an editor and producer since 2015. Before that, she was an investigative reporter in al-Balad Radio and Amman.net in the investigative section from 2010 to 2014. She also works with BBC Jordan bureau and Baghdad International News Agency.²¹ Her most well-known investigative report, *Khalf Judran as-Samt*, that is, *Behind the Walls of Silence*, won the Anti-Corruption Innovation Award, one of the four categories of the inaugural Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani Anti-Corruption Excellence Award, which offers recognition and appreciation to innovative approaches and prominent contributions to the prevention of and fight against corruption by Rule of Law and Anti-corruption Center in 2016.²²

This report also won the German Development Media Awards, which jointly provided by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and Deutsche Welle to honor journalists who retain their independence, take on topics related to human rights and expose problems that usually are hardly covered or not covered at all by the media for this abuse feature in 2013.²³ *Khalf Judran as-Samt* is a feature of the abuse at Jordan's private care homes for mentally disabled kids. She undercover as a volunteer to five Jordanian special education private centres to reveal continued abuses suffered by disabled children. Personnel of these centres slaps, beat, verbal abuse and even sexual abuse the mentally disabled children.²⁴ Her investigation, which covered over 10 centres, lasted for more than a year and was published in 2012.²⁵

Khandagji's second and third investigative reporting are also prevailing and reflect the value of investigative report in Jordan as a juncture to improve the Jordanian society. One is about expired dairy products, harmful preservatives and hydrogenated oils being sold to unsuspecting customers, broadcasted by al-Balad Radio and published al-Ghad newspaper in 2013.²⁶ The other is about 54,000 Syrians smuggled out of Zaatari Camp

²¹ *Linkedin Page of Hanan Khandagji*. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <https://www.linkedin.com/in/hanankhandagji/>

²² *International Anti-Corruption Day: recognizing excellence in combatting corruption* (n.d.). Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2016/December/international-anti-corruption-day-recognizing-excellence-in-combatting-corruption.html>

²³ Schuster, Ellen. (2013, Oct. 14). German Development Media Awards presented by BMZ and DW. *DW Akademie*. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <http://p.dw.com/p/19P8r>

²⁴ Khandagji, Hanan. (2012, June 9). Abuse at Jordan's private care homes for mentally disabled kid. *ARIJ*. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <http://en.arij.net/report/abuse-at-jordans-private-care-homes-for-mentally-disabled-kids/>

²⁵ *German development media awards Hanan Khandagji, Jordan* (n.d.). Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <http://en.arij.net/news/german-development-media-awards-hanan-khandagji-jordan/>

²⁶ Khandagji, Hanan. (2013, May 19). Expired dairy products, harmful preservatives and hydrogenated oils being sold to

through bribery and black market, broadcasted also on al-Balad Radio in 2014.²⁷ From the review of Khandagji's investigative reporting from 2011-2014, all her three investigative reporting are supported by ARIJ. Three investigative features all exposed to the public matters that are concealed behind mass of facts and circumstances that obscure understanding with the requirement of using secret and open sources, which match the definition of investigative journalism by UNESCO. Khandagji received supports and training from ARIJ and she verify the benefit in an interview with the author in 2018.

ARIJ is the best place in the Arab world to support journalists, especially if the journalist started working with them from scratch. When I started working with them, I did not know anything about journalist and they taught me everything.²⁸ Besides, the influence of her awarded report to the Jordanian society is visible. Khandagji's child-abuse story, broadcasted by BBC and al-Balad Radio, and published in al-Ghad newspaper, led to King Abdullah's order to start an inquiry, which must be reported to the King in two weeks, into the allegations of abuse. Also, one of the abused child's parent, Nasar Sharmain, sued his son's care centre for the abuse his son encountered there. Sharmain once made a surprised visit to his son in the centre and saw his son with broken arm, broken finger and blooded chin.²⁹

Two weeks after King Abdullah's order, the investigation committee submitted its final report and found additional evidence of child abuse. Some care centres were announced closed and some others have been given warning notices. Several care workers were referred to court, while some were jailed.³⁰ The positive change to Jordan, made by an investigative reporter after Arab Spring, is demonstrated from the example of Hanan Khandagji.

Khandagji was asked after she won the German Development Media Awards in 2013 about her opinion on Jordan's media developing over the next five years. The following is her answer.

Journalists still face many constraints. Since the press and publication laws regarding website content were amended people have not been expressing their views as freely. Tighter restrictions also means that it's become more difficult to establish a website. This is a bad time for freedom of the press in Jordan and I'm afraid things will get worse.³¹

In 2018, Khandagji still holds her position on the situation in Jordan in an interview with the author. There is more fear after the Arab Spring. Some people are trying to limit your right to get information. We were hoping there would be more openness, but what happened was the opposite. Secrecy became more.³²

In addition, Khandagji described the development of investigative journalism in the Kingdom as follows:

The developments in the field of investigative journalism in Jordan are that there is a state of awareness today. However, the number of investigative journalists remains low.³³

As an experienced and excellent Jordanian investigative journalist, Hanan Khandagji, while mentioning the negative impact of the amendment of the press and publication laws, held a pessimistic view to the circumstances of media development in post-Arab Spring era

unsuspecting customers. *ARIJ*. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <http://en.arij.net/report/expired-dairy-products-harmful-preservatives-and-hydrogenated-oils-being-sold-to-unsuspecting-customers/>

²⁷Khandagji, Hanan. (2014, Jan. 7). 54,000 Syrians smuggled out of Zaatari Camp through bribery and black market. *ARIJ*. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <http://en.arij.net/report/54000-syrians-smuggled-out-of-zaatari-camp-through-bribery-and-black-market/>

²⁸Khandagji, Hanan. Interviewed by Pei-yu Lin. August 25, 2018.

²⁹O'Kane, Maggie. (2012, May 16). King of Jordan orders inquiry into claims of abuse in children's homes. *The Guardian*. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/may/16/king-jordan-inquiry-childrens-homes>

³⁰*POSTPONED Jordan's Secret Shame*(2012). Retrieved April 30, 2018, from https://www.frontlineclub.com/third_party_screening_behind_the_wall_of_silence/

³¹Hauswedell, Charlotte. (2013 Oct. 14). Jordan: Journalist uncovers widespread child abuse. *DW Akademie*. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <http://www.dw.com/en/jordan-journalist-uncovers-widespread-child-abuse/a-17156018>

³²Khandagji, Hanan. Interviewed by Pei-yu Lin. August 25, 2018.

³³Khandagji, Hanan. Interviewed by Pei-yu Lin. August 25, 2018.

A case study of Dana Jibreel

Dana Jibreel, an investigative journalist of 7iber.com, which is a Jordanian online media, won Best prize for multimedia in 2017 ARIJ prize with her investigative report about the journey of Sudanese Refugees in Jordan. Dana majored in department of Media and Journalism in her Bachelor degree in University of Petra and graduated in 2012.³⁴ She worked as a reporter in Radio al-Balad from 2008 to 2010, and a news anchor there from 2010 to 2012. Afterwards, she became a reporter in 7iber from 2004 to present.³⁵

Her award-winning investigative report "After the deportation: How Jordan left Sudanese refugees to death and separation" were follow-up stories of Sudanese refugees, who were deported by Jordanian government from Jordan back to Sudan in December 2015. At that time, hundreds of Sudanese refugees sit in front of UNESCO headquarters in Amman to protest for improved living conditions and accelerated resettlement procedures. However, Jordanian government deported them back to their hometown by lying them that they will be delivered to Canada later.³⁶ Dana's story reveals the negative consequences that innocent Sudanese refugees encountered after Jordanian government force them to leave and go back to their unsafe country.

The Sudanese refugees stories were also reported by The Guardian journalist Bethan Staton with a title of "Sudanese refugees forcibly deported from Jordan fear arrest and torture" in January 2016³⁷ and Al-Jazeera journalist Adam Lucente with a title of "Sudanese refugees nervous after deportation from Jordan" in February 2016.³⁸ However, Dana's multimedia work is the most attractive, thorough, and deep investigative report among all. She raised the attention of the reader to care about Sudanese refugees' tragedy and what Jordanian government have done after one and a half year.

Dana's story was also selected to be in the longlist of One World Media Awards with 12 other excellent stories in the category of Refugee Reporting Award, sponsored by British Red Cross in 2018.³⁹ Her story encourages the others to take care of refugee issues and conduct relevant stories.

Due to research limitation, Dana's personal opinion on the development of investigative journalism or the process of her conducting this investigative story are remain unknown. However, it is reported that she was threatened at the moment that she refused to stop her coverage of the break-up of a sit-in for the National Campaign Against the Gas Agreement with Israel in 2016.⁴⁰

From the case of Dana Jibreel, we can see the excellence of a Jordanian investigative journalist at the same time being aware of the risks of this job in the Kingdom.

A case study of Musab al-Shawabkeh

Musab al-Shawabkeh, head of the investigative unit at Radio Balad, a Jordanian media, since 2013, won ARIJ prize for four times.⁴¹ Due to research limitation, his award-winning investigative news reports will not be discuss in this paper. Instead, his major contribution to the development of investigative journalism in Jordan,

³⁴<http://ar.ammannet.net/news/169687>

³⁵ According to her linkedin page

³⁶ Gibreel, Dana. (2017, Sep. 19). After the deportation: How Jordan left Sudanese Refugees to death and separation. *7iber.com*. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from <https://www.7iber.com/politics-economics/after-deportation-how-jordan-left-sudanese-refugees-to-death-and-separation/>

³⁷ Staton, Bethan. (2016, Jan. 19). Sudanese refugees forcibly deported from Jordan fear arrest and torture. *The Guardian*. Retrieved Jul. 2, 2018, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/19/sudanese-refugees-forcibly-deported-from-jordan-fear-arrest-and-torture>

³⁸ Lucente, Adam. (2016, Feb. 3). Sudanese refugees nervous after deportation from Jordan. *Al Jazeera*. Retrieved Jul. 2, 2018, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/02/sudanese-refugees-nervous-deportation-jordan-160201092327205.html>

³⁹ <https://www.oneworldmedia.org.uk/2announcing-the-2018-one-world-media-awards-longlist/>

⁴⁰ Prohibition on Publication: Media Freedom Status in Jordan 2016 Executive Summary. (n.d.). *Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists*. 2016, p. 40.

⁴¹ Four Arab journalists win 2016 ARIJ Prize for best print and film investigations (n.d.). Retrieved May 10, 2018, from <http://en.arij.net/news/four-arab-journalists-win-2016-arij-prize-for-best-print-and-film-investigations/>

the promotion of the usage of Freedom of Information (FOI) Law in Jordan, will be shown here.

Musab al-Shawabkeh studied information technology and software engineering in al-Balqa Applied University from 2007 to 2010. He started to work as an investigative reporter at Radio al-Balad and Amman.net since 2010.⁴² Actually, he assisted the establishment of the Investigative Journalism Unit in the Community Media Network (Radio Al Balad and Amman.net website), which he led for four years. He also participated in the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ)'s Panama Papers investigation.⁴³ According to previous definition of investigative journalism, investigative reports require both secret and open sources and documents. Some of the documents are sensitive or harmful to the government and thus the government would prefer not to give them to journalists. Therefore, law of freedom of information is important to the development of investigative journalism. Shawabkeh is a specialist in access to information and has been invited to speak on this topic throughout the region.⁴⁴

Musab al-Shawabkeh was aware of the importance of the application of FOI laws after his first try to the Ministry of Education in 2013. He wanted to know the number of cheating students during the final exam according to the ministry statistics. However, his request was denied. After this experience, he submitted requests for information from government institutions in every investigation he worked on in order to test the application of the FOI laws again and again and hoped the laws can be improved.⁴⁵

Musab voiced his opinion to the weakness of Freedom of Information laws in Jordan in an article to criticize the government of United Kingdom for their attempt to restrict FOI laws in 2015. In Jordan we have Freedom of Information (FOI) laws. The only reason they exist is because foreign donors – the United States and the European Union – forced our government to pass one. But to be honest, our FOI law is weak. The implementation is even worse.⁴⁶ Musab then shares his experience of testing the FOI law and points out the realistic situation when trying to realize the right that is guaranteed by the law:

FOI in Jordan is a disaster. I have sued three serving ministers in the past two years for refusing to divulge information in line with our country's 2007 law guaranteeing the right to access public information.⁴⁷

Musab's contribution to the investigative journalism in Jordan does not only consist of his award-winning investigative stories, but also includes his advocacy on the application of FOI law, which is one of the key tools for journalists' to cover influential stories. Simultaneously, this case again points out the challenges of investigative journalism in Jordan due to the difficulties of the adoption of the FOI law.

Research Limitation and Further Discussion

The limitation of this research is mainly due to the geographical factors. It is hard for the researcher of this paper to verify the information without a face-to-face interview with the research targets. Also, with the usage of narrative analysis, the author adopts the research targets' public opinions in some part of this paper. Biases or exaggeration in those opinion, if there are, are hard for the researcher to measure and thus exclude.

⁴² *LinkedIn Page of Musab al-Shawabkeh*. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from

<https://www.linkedin.com/in/musab-shawabkeh-29597546/>

⁴³ *Journalist Introduction: Musab Al-Shawabkeh*. (n.d.). International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. Retrieved Jul. 2, 2018, from <https://www.icij.org/journalists/musab-al-shawabkeh/>

⁴⁴ *Journalist Introduction: Musab Al-Shawabkeh*. (n.d.). International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. Retrieved Jul. 2, 2018, from <https://www.icij.org/journalists/musab-al-shawabkeh/>

⁴⁵ Hasan, Majdoleen. (2018, Jan. 16) FOI's Man in the Middle East. *GIJN*. Retrieved Jul. 2, 2018, from <https://gijn.org/2018/01/16/foi-middle-east/>

⁴⁶ al-Shawabkeh, Musab. (2015, Nov. 18). A Jordanian journalist writes: If UK restricts FOI Act, it'll send a terrible message to rest of the world. *The Bureau of Investigative Journalism*. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/blog/2015-11-18/a-jordanian-journalist-writes-if-uk-restricts-foi-act-itll-send-a-terrible-message-to-rest-of-the-world>

⁴⁷ al-Shawabkeh, Musab. (2015, Nov. 18). A Jordanian journalist writes: If UK restricts FOI Act, it'll send a terrible message to rest of the world. *The Bureau of Investigative Journalism*. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/blog/2015-11-18/a-jordanian-journalist-writes-if-uk-restricts-foi-act-itll-send-a-terrible-message-to-rest-of-the-world>

Furthermore, although the author explains the selecting method in the beginning of the paper, the representative of the three cases can still be judged in many ways. Therefore, readers should be aware of the above research limitation while reading this paper in order to avoid potential non-neutral information. Besides the contribution of experienced Jordanian investigative journalist in the Kingdom to the field of investigative journalism. More can be discussed due to interesting facts that can be observed in the three cases. For example, all three extraordinary investigative reporters who conducted influential news reports in post-Arab Spring era is in his/ her 20s. They all worked as a reporter during their college years. Also, they graduated from their universities in 2010, 2012, and 2013. Is it usual that young journalists have great contribution in journalism in the Kingdom? Or, it is other factors, for example, the eruption of Arab Spring, that drove them to become good journalists and voiced the truth of their country? Has there been any remarkable reform on the education of department of journalism recently that has raised excellent young reporters like the three research targets? All these questions can be discussed in future research.

Conclusion

Investigative journalism, which developed gradually in the late 20th century, is now growing in various regions of the world. Middle East, an area that is fulfilled with autocratic authorities, especially needs professional investigative reporters to expose the hidden secrets of the stakeholders and fight for public interests and the improvement of the society. As the origin of ARIJ, Jordan had been doing a great job on the promotion of investigative journalism. Excellent reporters like Hanan Khandagji has gain the resources and financial support from ARIJ to do her investigative reporting, which then bring positive changes to the Kingdom.

However, with the unstable political situation in Jordan in post-Arab Spring era, restrictions to the press and lack of freedom of express and access to information are still major challenges on the process of developing investigative journalism in the Kingdom.

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About the author

Pei-yu Lin is a student of National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

**It's "Instagrammable":
A content analysis of Instagram hashtags during the 2017 Taipei Universiade**

*KaiLan Hsu and Shih-Hsien Hsu
National Taiwan University*

Abstract

Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram provides not only a place for people to receive/spread information and build up relationships (Kim, Sohn, Choi, 2011), but also many new ways of posting articles and engaging one another in a community such as tagging and hashtag (Small, 2011). This study focuses on the use of hashtag and its role in connecting with a broader community. This study argues that the use of the same or similar hashtags on social media link unknown individuals to a broader community, and explores the impact of this kind of using popular hashtag on individuals' online self-presentation. The study aims to understand the function of social media in promoting civic engagement, linking individuals to a broader community, and city marketing by using hashtags, especially in a sport event run by public sector. Specifically, this study uses the case of 2017 Taipei Universiade, the biggest international sporting event hosted by Taiwan. This event did not generate enough public awareness until the public sector used social media to spread the information, and further adopted new ways of city marketing such as swimming pool 3D pop up display on the metro train (MRT).

Introduction

Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, play a significant role in society. People use social media to connect with known friends and their extended social networks, expanding their friend circles (Jones & Fox, 2009) and linking to a broader community. It provides not only a place for people to receive and spread information and build relationships (Kim, Sohn, & Choi, 2011), but also many new ways of posting articles and engaging with one another in a community, such as by using tags and hashtags (Small, 2011). These new functions on social media have transformed people's ways of writing, expressing ideas (Kwak, Lee, Park, & Moon, 2010), and interacting with their social networks and have created new paradigms of public engagement (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012).

This study focuses on the use of hashtags and their role in connecting with a broader community. The use of hashtags on social media has been increasing, and more studies have examined their impact on generating social issues (Kim et al., 2011), pushing social movements (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015), linking with the greater community (Small, 2011), and marketing (Blaszka, Burch, Frederick, Clavio, & Walsh, 2012). Therefore, this study argues that the use of the same or similar hashtags on social media links unknown individuals to a broader community and explores the impact of this kind of use of popular hashtags on individuals' online self-presentation.

There are many reasons and parties involved in forming a broader online community using hashtags. The individual is not the only party who uses hashtags to generate collective actions; more often, event planners and marketers try to use hashtags to promote their events or productions. This study examines the complex relationship between the public sector and individual users on social media in particular to determine how the use of hashtags on social media connects unknown individuals for engaging with a city event and how these individuals become active users in spreading creative ideas to link with a broader community, not traditionally passive receivers.

Hashtag users' motivation and behavior

The emergence of hashtags has changed the way people express themselves on social media. A hashtag is an online tagging tool that links the same or similar keywords to related topics by adding the # symbol. The same hashtag can connect individuals who do not know each other with a wider group to form an online discussion group (Kwak, Lee, Park, & Moon, 2010). Depending on the situation, people use social media to label their photos or updates based on different motivations (Nov & Ye, 2010; Strohmaier, Körner, & Kern, 2010). In the past, research found that users can promote the dynamic photos and links of others so that they can be seen by more people or easily searched for labels. Users can also use hashtags to express their interest in an

existing topic, the same willingness to become a member of the community, or both (Yang, Sun, & Zhang, 2012). Additionally, with the help of hashtags, organizations can promote their brand to a wider community (Schneider, 2011). Furthermore, the hashtag's functionality is applied more broadly; it is a feature that integrates social issues, promotes social activities, and links to a wider community to strengthen interactions on social media and build connections (Kwak et al., 2010). In the past, many people would use the same hashtag as a user group to discuss their behavior and characteristics. For example, Changhoon et al. (2016) discussed the behavior of users participating in #WHP (#Weekend Hashtag Project) and found that when they used #WHP, the experience of photographers who have the same tastes could be enhanced and they could connect with other users, such as through likes or message responses. Tiggemann and Zaccardo (2018) observed the body image of people who care about body posture with #fitspiration. They found that #fitspiration's main female users' posts only showed skinny body images. Blaszk et al. (2012) used the #WorldSeries survey to discuss during the World Cup #WorldSeries group discovery 2001 #WorldSeries related The posts were mainly used for interactions between fans and events. Zhang, Baghirov, Hashim, and Murphy (2016) used #malaysianfood on Instagram to explore the differences in gender use. They found that the posts containing the hashtag by males were more informational and work-oriented, while women used more positive hashtags and their hashtags were better than men's. Sex is more likely to convey feelings, more emotional. In addition, to explore user characteristics, scholars have pointed out that women use social media more often than men and maintain relationships on them (Lenhart, 2009; Raacke & Bonds-Raacke, 2008). In a 2010 study, it was further discovered that men and women used social media frequently; the difference was that men with higher emotional stability tended to use social media more often (Correa, Hinsley, & Gil de Zuniga, 2010). should also talk about personality (Correa, Hinsley, & Gil de Zuniga, 2010). Therefore, this study attempts to observe the gender differences in the use of hashtags from the characteristics of the user, investigates the characteristics and behavior of the user, and statistically observes the responses to the posts.

Hashtags and civic engagement

Previous studies have proven that hashtags effectively promote citizen participation, and participants can use the same hashtags to form communities, aggregate opinions and actions, and gain support, such as #VoteForObama and #ArabSpring (Starbird & Palen, 2012). Most hashtag studies focus on Twitter as a social platform and they found out hashtags undoubtedly promote the creation of social issues and affect citizen participation.

In the past, many hashtags were used as research objects to explore the effects of network concatenation on serious issues. For example, recent studies of the #MeToo effect worldwide found that #MeToo activity generated a large response. Using the same #MeToo hashtag has encouraged members to face the issue of sexual violence, with #MeToo successfully capturing the attention of the public and the media, reaching 12 million posts in the first 24 hours (CBS, 2017). #MeToo has made women who have been oppressed more willing to resist and challenge the old patriarchal framework, which has increased the public's awareness of gender discrimination and caused scholars to explore online feminist activities and citizen participation through #MeToo expression (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018). Lin, Margolin, Keegan, Baronchelli, & Lazer (2016) used #Bigbirds to discuss the growth and persistence of the same hashtag during the election period. When choosing the topic tags, users tend to use the same topic tag while ignoring other topic tags because of the usage patterns involving these tags, like the topic of #winner. This could better meet their needs to echo the effects of the use of hashtags in the 2012 US presidential election. In addition, the study of the Internet effects on the Egyptian revolution has revealed how Egyptians can use a series of online political communication to ensure that they are satisfied, and hashtags such as #egypt and #jan25 served to represent the true voices of the people and their stories for citizen engagement (Khamis & Vaughn, 2011).

This is in contrast to the study of entertainment or public interest issues, such as the Ice Bucket Challenge, which emerged on social media in August 2014, where participants took pictures of themselves pouring ice cubes on their bodies. In this way, unusual actions attracted attention, and tags were used to invite friends to respond. At first, celebrities were named to accept challenges and cause a social media trend to reach people in the process of following the trend. Understanding the importance of the issue and supporting the videos through network connections and special actions increased citizens' awareness of rare diseases and encouraged the public to use the Internet to participate in an activity to gain social attention and charitable donations (Koohy & Koohy, 2014). The Ice Bucket Challenge case has also attracted attention from various

disciplines (Boko, 2014; Tucker, 2014). #icebucketchallenge and #ALS provided examples of clearly defining tasks in a simple and interesting way, using valuable incentives, promoting a positive feeling among participants, and enhancing the power of social media. This phenomenon confirms that increasing the use of hashtags on social media is one of the key elements of increasing public awareness.

Therefore, this study is also focused on an entertainment issue. The social action of the World Universiade is a case study. Observing citizens also makes a simple and fun behavior different from in the past (such as wearing a swimsuit and entering MRT carriage with a pool background) use the same hashtag to express participation in social media trends. In addition, in response to past research, Instagram, a platform that uses pictures and short videos as its main presentation method with the interaction of pictures and hashtags, is a way to quickly raise popularity and spread many different effective usages of hashtags (Ferrara, Interdonato, & Tagarelli, 2014).

Hashtags and marketing

In the case of civic participation, because people will believe in other people's recommendations, a wave has formed in the social media, which has led to the formation of word-of-mouth marketing (Kozinets, Valck, Wojnicki, & Wilner, 2010). However, with the help of hashtags, communication is easier and faster. Hashtags have become a current marketing strategy (Chang, 2010), such as fan disseminate Universiade (Blaszka, Burch, Frederick, Clavio, & Walsh, 2012) or through Hashtag statistical analysis of local wine brand marketing trends in the UK (Nicholls, 2012).

The literature has demonstrated Hashtags' ability to expand the community through word of mouth via the interactions between user comments and sharing in order to achieve marketing results (Kozinets, et al., 2010). Therefore, this paper explores the effect of urban marketing caused by the use of hashtags. In the past, the public marketing departments of the city were mostly promoted by propaganda, media reports, policies, etc. (Paddison, 1993). However, the public sector is slow to convey the message. This study believes that it is more effective to achieve the effects of urban marketing through the use of social media initiatives.

This study used the 2017 Taipei World University Universiade as a case study to investigate the public sector's use of social media marketing, as well as the personal use of Hashtags, to assess the relationship between larger groups. Past research indicates that 21st century sports organizations use social media to promote sports events as an indispensable marketing strategy to enhance event visibility and enjoyability (appreciation) (Liao & Chiu, 2005). World Universiade is the second largest international sports event after the Olympics. It has always been a good time for host countries to promote the construction and tourism development of the country's cities. To attract more citizens to participate, the Taipei City government's approach is different from the past. In this competition, many social media channels were used to promote the film. Hashtags were used not only to cooperate with Internet celebrities to produce films, but also to match hashtags for the promotion of the event, and to raise people's concern for public affairs. However, trying to use many social media channels to promote the 3D design of the MRT "pool car" caused by the trend of social media is considered to be the most effective. This is considered the most "Instagrammable" display posted on Instagram for visual delivery during the 2017 World Universiade in Taipei by the mainstream media CNN. "Instagrammable" means a picture that is worth uploading to the social media Instagram. During the World Universiade, the Taipei City Government decorated the floor as a real pool surface, making the pool car the most memorable picture of the World Media during the World Universiade (CNN, 2017).

Therefore, this study analyzes the Hashtag that successfully helped the marketing of swimming pool cars during the Three World Universiade on Instagram. It selected a total of 648 photo posts for the 3D MRT pool car. The images and hashtags on Instagram will present support for sports events to convey public awareness and achieve the effect of urban marketing. I investigate these image posts, Hashtags, and user features in this study. A case study of public sector-sponsored sports is used to help understand how Hashtags play a role in social media as a larger community to promote citizen engagement and urban marketing. According to previous studies, mainstream media reports will lead to the phenomenon of citizen engagement in herd behavior (Tian & Liu, 2014). Therefore, this study further compares the mainstream media reports with the popular timeline comparisons in social media. It explores the distribution of the number of posts on social media and the time distribution of users using Hashtags after the mainstream media reports. In this study, we

are trying to observe social media such as Instagram, which mainly publishes images and short videos. It has already shown obvious appeal for sports events. The coverage of mainstream media and the participation of the masses in social media proves that the way citizens participate in using Hashtags also improves the effectiveness of urban marketing. Observing the meaning of Hashtags not only helps further urban marketing and sports communication, but also helps to understand the role of Hashtags in social media. Raise public awareness and generate citizen participation. Therefore, this study uses a social platform that uses visual or short film images as the main presentation: Instagram uses the popular Hashtag of the World Universiade to join the civic movement of the Universiade to form a broader online community. Taking World Universiade as an example, we discuss how to use Hashtags to connect individuals, how to influence the attention of a social issue and then apply it to urban marketing to echo the evidence of the past literature. Finally, we further discuss mainstream media. The report is influenced by the time trend distribution of the public using Hashtag posts.

To select the best case of examining the relationship between public sector, social media marketing, and individual uses of hashtags to link to the broader community, this study uses the case of the 2017 Taipei Universiade. The 2017 Taipei Universiade is the first Universiade held in Taiwan, and it is the biggest international sporting event Taiwan has hosted so far (CNN, 2017). The Taipei city government had used several ways to raise public awareness of this event, and it tried to engage more citizens to participate. This event did not generate enough public awareness until the public sector used social media to spread the information, and further adopted new ways of city marketing such as a swimming pool 3D pop up display on the metro train (MRT). Therefore, this study analyzes the content of 648 images and their 3 hashtags related to the successful MRT swimming pool marketing during 2017 Taipei Universiade on Instagram. The eye-popping 3D swimming pool decoration on Taipei MRT had inspired a few commuters to dive in and even to wear swimming suits on the MRT, becoming the most popular and 'Instagrammable' theme during the 2017 Taipei Universiade event. By examining the content of these images and hashtags, and the characteristics of people who are using the hashtag, this study aims to understand the function of social media in promoting civic engagement, linking individuals to a broader community, and city marketing by using hashtags, especially in a sport event run by the public sector.

In addition, this study also compares the mainstream media's news break out timeline to the heated spread period of related images and hashtags of individual users on Instagram. We demonstrate that social media such as Instagram has rendered visible sporting event sensibilities and civic engagement. The implications of these findings not only contributes to further city marketing and sport communication, but also contributes to the understanding of the role of hashtag on social media in linking individuals to a broader community, raising public awareness, and generating civic engagement.

Therefore, this study proposes the following hypotheses and research questions:

RQ1: This study wants to understand more positive and informative information such as the promotion of World Universiade, and the gender differences in the use of Hashtags in social media. Therefore, this study proposes "#taipeiuniversiade", "#泳池車廂 (pool car)" and "世大運 (World universiade)" Is the user who posts these hashtags mainly male or female? And what is the difference in proportion?

RQ2: This study believes that most people who are actively participating in civic activities will participate in the exhibition by themselves, so the paper will observe whether there are users in the post image, and how they express participation?

H1: People who use the same hashtag will think that they are part of community participation. Therefore, this study assumes that with the use of hashtags "#taipeiuniversiade" and "#泳池車廂" (pool carriage), the words "世大運" ACMC KaiLan Hsu & Shih-Hsien Hsu (World Universiade) appear in the post content.

H2: This study assumes that the time point of the posting of hashtags "#taipeiuniversiade", "#泳池車廂" (pool carriage) and "#世大運車廂" (World Universiade) will be consistent with the time of

the mainstream media.

Methodology

This study collects all the posts and images related to "pool carriage" during the marketing and event period of 2017 World Universiade from July 1, 2017 to September 30, 2017 on Instagram because of its accessibility of information and its leading role among social media users. We use three major hashtags "#taipeiuniversiade", "#泳池車廂" (#pool carriage) and "#世大運車廂" (#World Universidad carriage) to search and collect all the posts and images. There are 657 posts in total and each post with a pool carriage image, including "#taipeiuniversiade (n=72)" The "#泳池車廂 (n=278)" and "#世大運車廂 (n=307)". After cleaning the data, the total number of posts and images is 648.

This paper analyzes the content of each post by the user's gender (female, male, unknown) and affiliation (individual, institution, unknown), the post time (prior the event: July 1, 2017 to August 18, 2017 (n=460); during the event: August 19, 2017 to August 30, 2017 (n=178); after the event: August 31, 2017 to September 30, 2017 (n=10)), content of the image (with or without wearing the swimsuit; with part of the body or with the user's image), content of the post (mentioning "World Universiade" or not), hashtag language (single or multiple languages), and hashtag topic. In addition, we also calculate the number of likes and the number of comments on the Instagram to examine the communication effects. The study first selected 5 percent of the total posts for four coders to do the intercoder reliability. The intercoder reliability of each variable was above 0.9 by Holsti reliability.

Results and discussion

First, in the gender section, a large proportion of female samples were found in the results, which is consistent with the literature on past research in Facebook. In a 2012 study by Hampton et al., the probability of women posting was higher and more frequent than that of men. The study also found that the main gender involved in the pool carriage activity and who were sharing on social media were women, who accounted for 77% of the sample. This was found in the analysis of gender and pictures of other members of the group. For women and post-content language, multiple languages were used, and the hashtags with more than one language were significant and positively related. It is worth mentioning that in this study, related to research question one, gender and the pictures where there were confessions were highly correlated ($p = 0.009$). In this case, the group mainly using hashtags was female and had a high possibility of participating with the invited companion. Depictions of working together to help promote the event can support past research on the use of gender in social media.

In the section assessing sources and user characteristics, the study found that the main activities of the event and sharing on social media were "pictures" instead of "video", of which the proportion of pictures was as high as 97% (630 pictures posted). The user source of 632 posts (98%) was an individual rather than an official organization. It can be seen that in the publicity of the mass media of the Universiade, most of the spontaneous participation of the people is achieved by individuals. Communicating with the individual to convey the effect of publicity is an activity initiated by the public sector. It can be speculated that the public understands the meaning of this activity, so that people who do not know each other take the same actions. Thus, it can be said that this marketing method is effective. In the image content section, there are 596 posted images that are entered by the user themselves - up to 92%, and 309 of them are posted (48%). The user's image contains the user's entire body. Therefore, in response to the second research question in this study, most of the users of the 3D pool floor design of the swimming pool compartment will not only photograph the background, but also express their participation by taking pictures of their whole body and the floor. Furthermore, the results show that there are a total of 65 posts in swimsuits, which together account for 10% of the total proportion. Therefore, we believe that the kind of participation in the activity is a highly active participation phenomenon such as wearing a swimsuit into the carriage. Highly supported behavior, in addition to the swimsuit's postal variables, are highly correlated with the number of messages and the number of likes ($p < 0.05$), while the number of messages and likes are also highly positively related to wearing a full body swimsuit. Therefore, the user can wear a swimsuit to participate in the action and these posts will get more responses and attention. The post and the Hashtags mentioned that there are three variables in the name of the World Universiade, which are highly correlated and positively correlated. It is

enough to understand the meaning of the event promotion on behalf of the user. If we participate in the promotion of public sector activities, we can infer the benefits of the successful promotion of the World Universiade.

With regards to the content of the posts, the study found that a total of 494 posts use the Hashtag or will mention the World Universiade or World Universiade official slang. This 76% of posts supports the first hypothesis of this study, and confirms that the public understands this activity when participating in the event. The public is willing to be in the same Hashtag and to let people who don't know each other form a group that acts in the same way. This way, through the success of pictures and Hashtags, the public sector promotes urban marketing. This inevitably forms a community of online participation.

In terms of the language of the post and topic tags, this study found that more than half of the sample (a total of 348 posts, 54%) using the topic tags tended to use bilingual language, while the others were mostly Chinese (a total of 259 posts, 40%). Whether a post was English or bilingual was positively related to the content of the post and negatively related to the content of the post. In addition, it was found that most of the posts have content. More than 90% of the posts have text content. In the sample of this study, the text content of the posts was 72% Chinese. Therefore, this study considers the post. The topic tags used for Chinese are mostly Chinese or bilingual. This phenomenon is inferred from this study. Since most of the collected samples are Chinese posts based on regional factors, their posts should be posted by the Taiwanese public, but very few of them use the full-text descriptions. This is because the Universiade is still an international sports event, so the public will still hope that non-Chinese users can connect to their posts to achieve the promotion effect of the World Universiade by different languages (mostly English). In the interactive analysis of the communication effect, 43% of the posts will get 1 to 5 messages, while 23% of the posts will get 5 or more messages, which shows that most of the user's posts are It is the response of others, and the support from others. At the same time, we also count the total number of likes received by users.

The average number of likes is 173.7, and there are 47 posts which the number of likes exceeds 300. So, we infer that the 47 users are most likely to be users of social media or Internet celebrities. From the overall proportion analysis, we can see that most of the users are the general public, and we also found that there is a positive correlation between the number of users' likes on posts and the number of messages. We believe that in the relevant posts of the pool car, when the number of likes is used, it is regarded as a kind of strike rate that is noticed by others. When interacting on social media, we also found that this result has a strong positive relationship between the actual post and the use of the "like" button in the literature. That is to say, the identity expressed by "liking" a post is positively correlated with the number of messages (Hampton et al., 2012). The results of this study show support for past research.

In the news time section, we found that 71% of the posts posting about time are in the early stage of the World Universiade, and the mainstream media outlet CNN reported the time of the pool car article for the first half of the World Universiade (2017.07.27). The results of the Universiade analysis showed a relationship between wearing a swimsuit and the time of the event; there were 30 posts in swimsuits before the event, while the number of posts depicting wearing swimsuits during the World Universiade were 32, and after the end of the World Universiade were 3. In other words, posts depicting wearing swimsuit comprised nearly half of the number of posts posted before the event. It can be seen that the citizen participation in the event was actively promoted for the World Universiade. Therefore, answering the second hypothesis of this study, the number of users' posts will be subject to the mainstream media. It can be seen from the results that herd behavior is time-limited, and the public will not engage with the so-called herd phenomenon after the popular ebb.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, this study believes that using hashtags can help the public to promote information and help achieve the community effect of urban marketing. In the future, not only can hashtags be used to promote citizen participation, but they can help the public understand the significance of event promotion while promoting community interaction and marketing.

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About the authors

Kai-lan Hsu is a graduate student and Shih-Hsien Hsu is an assistant professor from National Taiwan University.

PAPERS FROM PARALLEL SESSION E**News Construction on Oil Palm in Indonesia on National Media**

*Tri Hastuti Nur R, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
and Raditia Y. Sujanto, University of Aisyiyah Yogyakarta
Indonesia*

Abstract

Data from Sawit Watch 2017 shows that Indonesia is the world's biggest producer and exporter of crude palm oil (CPO). One of the most responsible factors for continual land widening for more oil palm plantation areas is the economic benefits either for the farmers or for the producing company. The massive opening of palm oil plantations has led to social conflicts over land rights and resources with local communities, but they are often ignored. Similarly, the occurrence of forest degradation that rapidly occurred is an ecological disaster and has placed Indonesia as a third country contributing greenhouse gas emissions and animals' habitat destruction in the forest. As a result of the significant expansion of oil palm plantations by logging, by 2015 President Jokowi issued a moratorium policy on expanding the clearing of forest areas for oil palm plantations. But this policy has not been effective because of the many political interests that play in the management of oil palm that provides economic benefits to various parties. In the case of pro-cons related to the palm oil moratorium policy in Indonesia, the mass media has its own interest to preach it to their point of view. Through media framing it shows how the interests of the media play in this issue. This study aims to analyze how the national media framing by Kompas.com during 2016-2017. The method used in this research is text analysis with the framing method of Robert Entman. The results research showed some interesting findings. Media construction of Kompas.com on oil palm is that the media is for or supports the continual existence of the industry. Kompas.com as a media corporation supports the industry of oil palm in Indonesia despite the idea for moratorium by the government. This can be proven by numerous articles that talk about how the media does not support the plantation moratorium, how it talks about the economic potentials for the people, how it questions the brave step of the president for the moratorium of the whole industry of oil palm and mining, and how it brings up a topic about the negative effects for business owners in the industry from the moratorium of more oil palm plantations. The media talks about how the industry of oil palm contributes greatly to the economy. Even in international context, it brings up a topic about the disagreement with the European Union's attack on the Indonesia's oil palm industry.

Introduction

Tropical forest destruction for the palm oil, pulp and paper industries is an ecological disaster and is a major contributor to greenhouse gas emissions by placing Indonesia as the third largest emitter of greenhouse gases in the world after China and USA (2009:3). Martua T Sirait (2009:86) explained that oil palm plantations have largely caused social conflicts including land rights disputes and their resources are often caused by expansion of plantation land. There are more than 500 cases of social sector conflicts in the Indonesian palm oil plantation sector, especially regarding land rights, labor disputes, incompetence of corporate partnerships with communities, criminalization of villagers and high-level political scandals including the issuance of illegal permits for natural forest conversion to coconut plantations oil palm and plantation areas in protected forest areas and national parks.

Deforestation converted into oil palm plantations is one of the causes of the extinction of various protected animals. The transfer of the land is one of them because of the global demand for palm oil. Global demand for palm oil is soaring, palm oil is rapidly becoming the choice of vegetable oil for use in the manufacture of food, cosmetics and biofuels. In its development, the demand for palm oil is expected to more than double by 2030 and 3 times by 2050 (2007: 7). Data from Sawit Watch 2017 shows that Indonesia is the world's biggest producer and exporter of crude palm oil (CPO). One of the most responsible factors for continual land widening for more oil palm plantation areas is the economic benefits either for the farmers or for the producing company. The massive opening of palm oil plantations has led to social conflicts over land rights and resources with local communities, but they are often ignored. Similarly, the occurrence of forest

degradation that rapidly occurred is an ecological disaster and has placed Indonesia as a third country contributing greenhouse gas emissions and animals' habitat destruction in the forest. As a result of the significant expansion of oil palm plantations by logging, by 2015 President Jokowi issued a moratorium policy on expanding the clearing of forest areas for oil palm plantations. But this policy has not been effective because of the many political interests that play in the management of oil palm that provides economic benefits to various parties.

Oil palm industry in Indonesia in the past year has been related to the issue of the resolution that was proposed by the European Union. The resolution entitled Palm Oil and Deforestation of the Rainforests was based on an accusation that the industrial development of oil palm had become the main cause for the deforestation and change of weather. This issue has brought the attention of the Indonesian government.

Through this paper, the researchers would like to see how one of the biggest media corporations in Indonesia would frame the issue. The researchers chose Kompas.com to become the object of research. Reasons behind the media choice were that the media has been around since 1995 under the grand management of Kompas Gramedia, and that the media has a good reputation for having won many awards since 2010. Framing is generally how a media uses a certain angle or perspective in delivering information as news. How the readers will perceive the information when reading the news is affected much by how the media that produces the news frames the information. The issue of oil palm industry in Indonesia has had two sides since the initiation of the resolution by the European Union: One, being agreed to the reasoning behind the resolution; and two, other side being disagreed to the resolution. The researchers wanted to find out how Kompas.com as one of the top national online news portals would frame this issue of oil palm in Indonesia specially since the resolution came to the air as public knowledge. Following is cited information from a publication on the web site of European Union External Action, published on 30 October 2017.

"The European Commission has taken due note of this resolution and the European Parliament's engagement on the issue of palm oil and deforestation of rainforests. Addressing the environmental and social challenges of deforestation and forest degradation remains an important matter for the EU and in particular as part of the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. The European Commission considers that palm oil production has to be addressed in a balanced manner, as it presents both opportunities and challenges. We are aware of the environmental and social risks associated with palm oil production, such as deforestation and biodiversity loss, greenhouse gas emissions, and human rights, health and welfare issues."

From the cited information above it can be seen how the initiation of the resolution was based on the environmental and social concerns. As seen above the other main concern seems to be a sustainable development, and European Union has not believed that the Indonesian oil palm industry has been going toward such a development. Regarding such accusation, as cited from an article published on 5 December 2017, Kompas.com wrote

"Indonesia supports the paradigm of sustainable development. In line with that, Indonesia has applied such a sustainable development in the oil palm industry that is environment-friendly, through Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) which is mandatory."

The researchers would like to find out how Kompas.com would frame the issue of the oil palm industry in Indonesia. The method of analysis used to answer the research question was content analysis. The analysis was based on the four analysis models offered by Robert Entman which are (a) defining problems, (b) diagnosing causes, (c) making moral judgments, and (d) recommending treatment. As for the articles that were used as object of research the researchers picked up to 10 titles that were published in the time range of October 2017 until March 2018. Reasoning behind the choice of time range was the number of articles about oil palm industry published by Kompas.com.

Theoretical Framework

This theoretical framework is used as a reference and direction for analyzing research data and building framework of this research. This theoretical framework is used to analyze research data on how the media process is framing and why the media is framing on social reality related to the issue of palm oil in Indonesia. Hoffert explained that framing is the word choice, placement of the article, headline, tone and other ways to give an article a slant (2018:1). The sociological foundation of framing relies on Erving Goffman's opinion that in fact humans cannot fully understand the world and interpret various experiences of their lives. Each individual has an interpretation scheme to classify information and interpret it (Goffman, 1974: 24). In this context every human being constructs the social reality (world). A reality that a person observes cannot be generalized to everyone.

This research based on constructive paradigm, using framing analysis research methods. Constructive paradigm views social science as a systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through direct and detailed observations of social actors in the setting of natural daily life in order to be able to interpret how the social actors concerned create and manage their social world (Agus Salim, 2001: 42). The idea of framing was first proposed by Baterson in 1955. Frame was originally interpreted as a conceptual structure that organized political views, policies and discourses and which provided standard categories of appreciation of reality. This concept was later developed by Gamson (1974) which presupposes frames as pieces as strips of behavior to guide people for reading of reality (Sudibyo, 1999:23-24). Referring to Gamson that framing is based on a view that sees the framing process as a social construction process to interpret reality. The framing process occurs at both individual and cultural levels. Robert Entman in *Journal Communication*, 41(4), Autumn (1991), explained that the essence of framing is sizing-magnifying or shrinking elements of the depicted reality to make more or less salient. Further Entman make definition that framing is to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation for the item described (1993:52)

In line of Goffman ideas, Alfred Schutz Dalam Littlejohn (2004: 9) explained that humans are not passive creature and their actions are not determined solely by specified environment/ environmental influences. A man is an active and actor in facing social reality. A human is a free creator in a social world. An expert who viewed human being as an active human. He viewed that people created social reality and was forced by existing social life and cultural structure of their collective ancestral creation In addition he added that in the world, a human being not only had many aspects of collective life, but also a personal aspect. Social life should be focused on the dialectical relationship between individual's way to build social reality and cultural realities they inherited from their predecessors in the social world.

Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann, on their book *The Social Construction of Reality, A Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge*, explained that reality is socially constructed. Social reality was found in everyday life. Due to social phenomenon found in experience of community that continuously proceed attention is focused on the forms of living life of society as a whole with all its aspects, namely cognitive, psychomotor, emotional and intuitive (1990: xv). Society as a group and individuals as members of society always have three processes as like externalization, objectification and internalization, which is a dialectic process ongoing.

Gans (1979) and Gitlin (1980) in Shoemaker and Reese (1996:6-7) explained how media content shaped. There many approaches as like: (1) Content is influenced by media workers' socialization and attitudes. This communicator-centered approach suggests that psychological factors intrinsic to communications personnel their professional, personal and political attitudes, and the professional training communicator receives, lead them to produce a social reality in which agreement among social groups is the norm, and in which new ideas or behaviors are treated as undesirable oddities. (2) Content influenced by media routines. The organizational routines approach argues that media content is influenced by the ways in which communications workers and their companies organize work. (3) Content is influenced by other social institutions and forces. This approach suggest that factors external; to the communicator and the organization-economic and cultural forces and audiences, determine content (4) Content is a function of

ideological positions and maintains the status quo. Hegemony is a broad theoretical approach suggesting that media content is influenced by the ideology of those power in society. Further, Shoemaker and Reese in his book, *Mediating the Messages* (1996:60-61), described that news in the mass media influenced by many factors. Some level influences namely ideological level, extra media level, organizational level, media routines and individual level. Individual level or communicators' characteristics (such as gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation), their personal backgrounds and experiences such as religious upbringing and their parents' socioeconomic status) not only shape the communicators' personal attitudes, values, and beliefs, but also direct the communicators' professional' backgrounds and experiences. These professional experiences (including those from communication jobs) then shape the communicators' professional roles and ethics.

Another factor which affects news in media is routines (1996:32). Routines have an important impact on the production of symbolic content. They form the immediate environment within which individual media workers carry out their jobs. If these highly interconnected routines constrain the individual, they are themselves functions of constraints. The audience has limited time and attention, the media organization has limited resources, and sources limit and structure the material they provide. Yet those routines cannot be completely separated. The event focus of news, for example, is helpful to the organization in scheduling news but also helps the audience in providing a concrete focus for the message. Many of the same bureaucratic routines that are functional for the media organization are also used by external sources for their own advantage. Routines of news work provide levers that power centers on the outside can grasp to influence content.

Media policies factor is another important factor that needs to be considered (1996:165). The primary goal sought by most media organizations is economic profit. News organizations, in particular, have faced growing economic pressures that now play a greater role in dictating journalistic decisions. The way organizations are structured influences content by affecting occupational culture and by determining the degree of independence media organizations have from the larger corporate enterprises, of which so many are now a part. The growing complexity of media conglomerates means that the organizations composing them must now be more mindful of their effect on each other, and news organizations encounter many more potential conflicts of interest. The last factor is ideology (1996:242). Ideology is not static but is continually being renegotiated. The news paradigm contains self-contradictory oppositional values, such as diversity in the newsroom versus valueless reporting. These values must be managed and adapted to the ideological requirements of the society.

Previous research have conducted by scholar of media framing such as by Duif Demeter Kraamwinkel (2016: 23). His research of comparative media framing analysis on palm oil sustainability in the Netherlands and Malaysia. The frame package that occurs most often (in 194 of the 329 articles) in the Malaysian newspaper sample is the 'proud palm oil producer'. As described in the introduction of this thesis, palm oil production significantly contributes to the stability of the Malaysian economy. The revenues derived from palm oil help raising living standards and therefore reduce poverty. In addition, the industry creates nearly 600.000 jobs. Before palm oil became an important cash crop for Malaysia, a major source of income from the agricultural sector was from natural rubber. However, since that industry is overtaken by synthetic rubber the prices for that product went down and the production stagnated (Burger & Smit, 1997). Palm oil gave a new impulse to the Malaysian economy and ensured that it became and remained one of the most prosperous countries of Asia (Yaacob, 2014). This frame package shows a clear sense of pride towards the palm oil sector and the position it has on the international market. Moreover, also the efficiency of the crop compared to other vegetable oils and the steps already made to make palm oil production more sustainable are widely reported. Malaysia as a proud producer, palm oil is more sustainability than other oil. According to the Malaysian media, palm oil is not a major contributor to environmental problems. This and the next sub frame are, with an occurrence in respectively 12 (6,2%) and 5 (2,6%) of the 194 articles that are part of frame package 1, a lot smaller than the ones discussed above. But they are still important attributes to the frame package and give a more complete and nuanced image of the situation. (2016:26)

Other research of Palm Oil by Bryan Rogala. The title is *The Framing of Fossil Fuels and Climate Change: Coverage of Environmental Issues in Three of the Nation's Top Newspapers* (2011:77-78). In terms of coverage

of environmental issues, there are several typical frames that appear frequently. Examples of these frames include “be worried,” “environmental stewardship,” “public health,” “solutions,” “conflict,” “social progress” frames and others (Nisbet 7-22). According to a recent column in The New York Times, journalists’ coverage of environmental issues has changed significantly over the past few years. The “environmental reporting” movement became big in 2006, when energy prices were high and climbing. Coverage of issues concerning fossil fuels, climate change and the environment exploded, with stories about companies going green, adding solar panels, etc.

Methodology

Framing analysis is a qualitative content analysis method which aims to determine how the perspective or pandering way used by journalists to select issues and write news. Further, framing analysis used in this research is Robert Entman analysis model. This model used four elements in analysis (2002 : 45-48)

1. Define problems, how an event is seen (constructed), what or as a problem
2. Diagnose causes, analyze the cause of the problem and who the actor is considered as the cause of the problem
3. Make moral judgments, what moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to legitimize or delimit an action?
4. Treatment recommendation, what solutions are offered to solve the problem? What paths are offered and must be taken to overcome problems

Objects of present research were online news published by Kompas online with topic of oil plantation during October 2017-March 2018.

Findings and Discussion

Based on the analysis of framing on how Kompas.com has covered news about oil palm in Indonesia since 2017, the researchers found that the media used a certain perspective of framing the news or information about palm oil. The framing evidently found in the news titles, metaphor used and pictures embedded in the news body. The analysis was based on the four analysis models offered by Robert Entman which are (a) defining problems, (b) diagnosing causes, (c) making moral judgments, and (d) recommending treatment. In general, Kompas.com has expressed their support for the national palm oil industry through how the news articles have been written or made. For examples, here are several titles whose articles were published in the time frame of October 2017 – March 2018, that have been used to cover information on oil palm in Indonesia.

Findings of Research

Article 1: *Minister of Trade Wants the Negative Campaign on Indonesia’s Oil Palm to Stop* – published on 3 October 2017

In the title of **Article 1** it says that the Minister of Trade strongly dislikes the negative campaign on the national oil palm. The article addresses the issue that European Union assumes that the quality of palm oil from Indonesia could have a bad impact on the human health and on the environment. As cited from the **Article 1**, Kompas.com stated:

According to the Minister of Trade, as primary producer of crude palm oil (CPO), Indonesia has to keep fighting against the negative campaign so that the CPO export market and its descended products would not disappear. According to minister, the fighting against the campaign needs to be done so that the Indonesia’s oil palm gains a positive mark and can compete with other similar products in the European countries.

It can be seen that the article in **Article 1** contains a few statements about the strong disagreement to the negative campaign, and about possible, negative impacts of such campaign. The article also mentions some benefits that can be obtained from the resolution of the negative campaign. Completing the news, Kompas.com put a photo and a video in **Article 1**.



Source: Kompas.com, 3 October 2017

The photo showed a worker putting seeds of oil palm trees onto a truck. The picture may be interpreted that the local people are the ones at risk if the palm oil industry goes down.



Source: Kompas.com, 3 October 2017

In **Article 1** it also includes a video that talks about the benefits of palm oil for health and beauty. The video can be played directly from the article. It clearly shows how Kompas.com wanted to give a supporting data in the form of a video to counter the negative campaign about the danger of palm oil in Indonesia. Not only that Kompas.com presented statements and evidence in **Article 1** to counter the negative campaign, the media also included a solution or means to do so. The paragraph below, as cited from the news article, shows how the media clearly mentioned the solution:

General Director of International Trade Negotiations, Ministry of Trade, Imam Pambagyo stated, one of the efforts against the negative campaign is by improving the credibility of Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil System (ISPO) certification.

The article highlighted the assumption that the European Union might actually do the negative campaign in the attempt of eliminating Indonesian palm oil based products as a competitor in the European market. The Indonesian government, represented by the Ministry of Trade, clearly chooses to defend the national industry of oil palm. And, Kompas.com through **Article 1**, strongly supports the government against the negative campaign by the European Union by highlighting the supportive quotation from the minister and adding the most relevant video that explains how actually palm oil is not bad but beneficial instead. If Kompas.com were not supportive toward the Indonesian oil palm, it would have not added some other supporting information in the article. Besides, the title of the article was chosen to say that the negative campaign needs to stop. Therefore, the readers knew straight away what the article was going to be about just by the title alone.

Article 2: Replanting Program of Palm Oil Plantation of the Society Kicks Off – published on 13 October 2017

The title in **Article 2** highlights the ‘kick off’ of the replanting program of palm oil plantation. A positive vibe can be felt from the use of words in the title construction. In the original title, the term ‘kick off’ was literally used to emphasize a promising beginning of a project. Just like in a football game, ‘kick off’ is used to indicate that the game has just begun –in which there must be a winner at the end of it. The title might have wanted to give the readers a promise of a success from the project of the replantation. **Article 2** talks about how the government willingly supports the replantation of oil palm in some areas in Sumatera, by providing the people in the society free seeds and no additional fee.



Source: Kompas.com, 13 October 2017

Completing the news in **Article 2**, Kompas.com chose a photo, as above, of the President of Indonesia Joko Widodo, while simulating among the farmers a process of replantation in the newly open area of field in Sumatera. The photo shows how the President symbolically supports the replantation. This photo can be meant to deliver a message of a strong symbol of how the government is supportive and serious about its effort to improve the industry of oil palm in the country. In the article, Kompas.com decided to include information about the importance and urgency of doing this replantation. Cited from the **Article 2**, it says

Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Darmin Nasution states, replantation of oil palm is important to be done so that it can improve the CPO productivity from 2,5 tons per acre to 6 tons per acre.

The statement above was chosen to be included in the article as a way of convincing its readers about the significant benefits of the program. And, as in **Article 1** from October 3, Kompas.com included once again the same video of the benefits of palm oil for the health and beauty.



Source: Kompas.com, 13 October 2017

At the end of **Article 2**, Kompas.com leaves a statement that says of its hope for the people in the region of Musi Banyuasin where the pilot program of replantation has begun.

Hopefully, by being provided quality seeds and free-of-fee replantation, the farmers in Musi Banyuasin would have an improved welfare.

It clearly shows how Kompas.com has a positive view on this replantation program by the government. Interestingly, Kompas.com published 2 other similar articles with **Article 2** on 13 October 2017, which highlighted the oil palm replantation programs in several areas in Sumatera.

Article 3: *Replantation of Oil Palm, Farmer Receives Rp25millions per Acre* – published on 14 October 2017

The title in **Article 3** is pretty self-explanatory. It explains that every farmer would receive as much as Rp.25millions for every acre of land that was going to be used for oil palm replantation. In the article it says that the people or farmers in the society where the replantation took place would not only receive such a financial facility but also other facilities.

The government works together with a number of big oil palm companies that will store the CPO produced in 4,460 acres of land by the local farmers in the area of Musi Banyuasin. “Therefore, the farmers will not have to struggle selling out their harvests,” says Darmin.

The statement above from **Article 3** highlights the other benefit of this replantation program by the government such as having a number of definite ‘buyers’ for the harvests. Kompas.com chose to display this information to support that the program would not cause so much difficulties to the local farmers, instead it would only benefit them even more with all the facilities provided by the government. As the government is initially meant for ensuring the improved welfare of the people in the nation, this program of oil palm replantation offered some benefits indicated by how the people working as oil palm farmers would have an improved welfare in terms of security in employment and finance.

Article 4: *Minister of Economy Darmin: Industry of Oil Palm Reduces Poverty* – published on 2 November 2017

The title used in **Article 4** explains how the industry of oil palm could reduce poverty as said by the Minister of Economy of Indonesia. Even in the first paragraph of the article Kompas.com wrote

Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Darmin Nasution states that the industry of oil palm has a role for eliminating poverty in Indonesia. He states that as many as 14 millions of families depend their lives on this industry. “The industry of oil palm has an important role for eliminating poverty and also for developing remote areas. Meaning, areas that had never been reached before are now being an attention,” stated by Darmin at Indonesia Palm Oil Conference (IPOC) in Bali Nusa Dua Conference Center, Bali, Thursday (2/11/2017).

Firstly, Kompas.com chose to use the title that goes straight to the point of highlight of the article by emphasizing the great benefit of the industry of oil palm in Indonesia –which is to reduce poverty for the society. In the article itself Kompas.com highlights the statements from the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Darmin Nasution which explain how 14 millions of people depend their lives on the industry of oil palm. Implicitly Kompas.com wanted to show to the public that if the industry of oil palm in Indonesia was to shut down, there would be millions of people with loss of job. Kompas.com emphasized the importance of the industry.

Article 5: *Jokowi Demands European Union to Stop Discrimination on Oil Palm* – published on 14 November 2017

Another reminder was made. In the previous month (October 2017) Kompas.com published several articles about how the government disliked the negative campaign the European Union had for the oil palm industry in Indonesia. In the midst of November 2017 Kompas.com reminded its reader through another article that mentions the conflicted relationship between Indonesia and European Union. The title used in **Article 5** uses some direct keywords such as ‘European Union’, ‘stop’ ‘discrimination’. The title already indicates how the European Union has been throwing a bad issue about the oil palm industry in Indonesia and that the President demands them to stop the gesture of discrimination. In the article Kompas.com wrote a highlight that says as below:

President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) demanded European Union to stop the discrimination toward the oil palm. According to him, a number of gestures and policies that are considered disadvantageous for the economy and are destructing the image of palm oil producing countries also need to be eliminated.

The statement above indicates that Kompas.com wanted to emphasize the urgency of stopping the discrimination from the European Union. The media put the strong stated statement as the first paragraph.

Currently there are 17 million people in Indonesia whose lives, either directly or indirectly, are involved in oil palm, whereas 42 percent of oil palm fields are owned by crofters.

In the later paragraph, as shown above, Kompas.com highlighted a reminding statement about how the oil palm industry is close to crofters therefore the black campaign on the industry could harm them greatly. By the end of the article Kompas.com placed a same video from the other articles with a similar topic.



Source: Kompas.com, 14 November 2017

The video talks about how palm oil is beneficial for the human health and beauty. Once again, the media clearly seems to want to highlight its support toward the existence of oil palm industry in Indonesia.

Article 6: *Oil Palm Resolution by European Parliament Harms Indonesia* – published on 5 December 2017

Article 6 is somewhat different from other articles discussed previously. Kompas.com took a different approach to talk about the issue on the negative campaign from the European Union for oil palm in Indonesia. The article specifically talks about what actually is the cause behind the negative gesture from the European Union. The statement below is cited from the article which is subpart that explains the readers about the resolution itself:

What is Oil Palm Resolution?

As what has been written in many mass media since early this year, the resolution entitled Palm Oil and Deforestation of the Rainforests was proposed based on an accusation that the industrial development of oil palm has become the main cause for the deforestation and change of weather. Besides, the resolution has a final purpose of not including palm oil –where Indonesia is the biggest producer- as the main raw material of biodiesel program by European Union in 2020. The industry of palm oil is deemed the main trigger for deforestation. In fact, deforestation is not only caused by the oil palm fields management. For Indonesia, the area of oil palm field in total is 11,67 million acres. Considering such vast area of field, Indonesia supplies almost all the palm oil needs in the world.

From the cited statement above, it appears that Kompas.com wanted to educate its readers with a proper background about the so-much-talked-about resolution as written in many articles in the year. The educative statement might have appeared disadvantageous for battling against the discriminative gestures acted by the European Union. However, later in the article Kompas.com offered some counter statements as seen below:

What Indonesia Has Done

In the chance of discussion (with the European Union), apart from asking about the matter of Palm Oil Resolution proposed by the European Parliament, I presented my opinion on the importance of oil palm industry in improving the economy for the crofters. Little has known that 41 percent of oil palm are managed by crofters. Consequently, if the resolution is applied, it will threaten the lives of people in Indonesia... millions of Indonesian people. Indonesia supports the paradigm of sustainable development. In line with that, Indonesia has applied such a sustainable development in the oil palm industry that is environment-friendly, through Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) which is mandatory.

It can be seen from the cited statement above that Kompas.com tried countering the previous statement about the actual resolution by displaying what Indonesia had done. Not only that, Kompas.com also included the information about the existence of Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) in Indonesia. It shows that Kompas.com once again supports the existence of oil palm industry in the country. In the article, Kompas.com included two photos that show a couple of palm oil crofters, as seen below.





Source: Kompas.com, 5 December 2017

Article 7: *Oil Palm and CPO Business Predicted to be Delightful in 2018* – published on 3 January 2018

Just by the title alone, it can be seen that Kompas.com started the newly celebrated year of 2018 with “good” news. The use of words in the title seemed worded in order to give the readers a happy vibe about the industry of oil palm in Indonesia. In the first paragraph, Kompas.com wrote the reasoning behind the good news:

Bank of Indonesia (BI) Representative of Bengkulu predicts that the business of oil palm and crude palm oil (CPO) will be successful in 2018 as the price of palm oil is only getting higher in line with the global demand.

Kompas.com seemed to want to highlight an optimism for the industry of oil palm in Indonesia in 2018. And, at the end of the article Kompas.com included a highly relevant video to the news.



Source: Youtube.com via Kompas.com, 5 January 2018

The included video contains an interview with Endang Kurnia Saputra a representative for Bank of Indonesia in Bengkulu, which highlights the issue on the fate of oil palm farmers and CPO business in 2018.

Article 8: *Farmers Association: Fighting Against European Union by Boycotting and Stopping CPO Exports* – published on 26 January 2018

In this article, Kompas.com wrote about how the Indonesian Association of Oil Palm would prefer the government of Indonesia to stop exporting the crude palm oil to European countries as a gesture of fighting against the resolution proposed by European Union. Kompas.com used strong words in the title of the article such as 'fighting against European Union by boycotting and stopping CPO exports'. The direct quote from the association was used in the title because the statement must have had a strong direct meaning that could be easily understood by the readers.



Source: Kompas.com, 26 January 2018

In the article, Kompas.com included a relevant video about how the European Union could put oil palm industry under pressure. The video focuses on the potential threat toward the industry. This could be meant as a reminder for the readers how seriously the impacts from the resolution would be if applied in 2021.

Article 9: *In 2017, Export of Indonesia's Palm Oil Reaches Highest Record in History* – published on 30 January 2018

In this article Kompas.com delivered good news by highlighting the Indonesia's achievement in having reached the highest record in history. The point of highlight focuses on the country's achievement in palm oil exports which increased from 2016 to 2017. Kompas.com wrote that this achievement has contributed to the national income of Indonesia. Clearly, Kompas.com wanted to highlight the direct impact of the success of exporting palm oil products. In the article Kompas.com mentions the issue of resolution proposed by European Union as an obstacle. In response Kompas.com wrote as below:

Such a trade obstacle is very ironic because the exporting performance is still increasing significantly. This shows that palm oil is still a vital product for the world and will keep on being needed as the population grows.

At the end of the article Kompas.com included a video that brings up the topic of how the European Union could put oil palm industry under pressure. The video focuses on the potential threat toward the industry.



Source: Kompas.com, 30 January 2018

Interestingly, Kompas.com wrote a different article that basically talks about the same issue of how successful the oil palm industry in the export area in 2017. The article was published on the same day as **Article 9**, 30 January 2018. The article was published under the title: *2017, Indonesia's Palm Oil Production Increases by 18 Percent*. This may show how Kompas.com wanted to emphasize the achievement.

Article 10: *Ministry of Agriculture: Industry of Oil Palm Contributes Greatly to the Economy* – published on 6 March 2018

In this article Kompas.com wrote a clear title that highlights how the industry of oil palm has contributed greatly to the national economy. In the first paragraph, Kompas.com wrote:

General Director of Ministry of Agriculture emphasized, sector of the national oil palm industry is a strategic sector which contributes greatly to the national economy.
Income-wise, the export income generated from the palm oil products in 2017 reached 21,25 billion US dollar.

Kompas.com highlights the information in the first paragraph, showing and emphasizing the importance of the existence and continuation of the oil palm industry in Indonesia for the reason of having a contribution to the national economy.

Regarding the area development, it has been proven that the development of oil palm which is commonly done in remote areas, has been able to push the development the areas themselves whose economy are based on oil palm.

This is another way for Kompas.com to emphasize the contribution of oil palm industry to the lives of the people in remote areas in Indonesia where the people work in the industry itself.

Discussion

From the findings above we can see how Kompas.com have framed information on oil palm in Indonesia through their published news from time to time. In general, **Kompas.com supports the industry of oil palm in Indonesia**. Followings are the indicators of such support.

1. Kompas.com is against the European Union's negative campaign toward the oil palm in Indonesia
2. Kompas.com has published positive news about oil palm industry in Indonesia
3. Kompas.com has published similar articles on the same day about oil palm in Indonesia
4. Kompas.com tends to use the same, supporting photos and videos in different articles
5. Kompas.com has added supporting information such as a video about the benefits of palm oil for the human health and beauty
6. Kompas.com has published an in-depth article on the oil palm situation

The elaboration to every point of highlight is as below.

1. Kompas.com is against the European Union's negative campaign toward the oil palm in Indonesia

a) Number of articles

Since October 2017 until March 2018, Kompas.com has published at least one article every month explicitly about the proposed resolution by European Union on oil palm industry in Indonesia. Therefore, there have been six articles in the set time range. The nature of all the articles were all against the resolution. A few of the used words or sentences are as such (cited from different articles):

Published in October 2017 – *"According to minister, the fighting against the campaign needs to be done so that the Indonesia's oil palm gains a positive mark and can compete with other similar products in the European countries."*

Published in November 2017 – *"President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) demanded European Union to stop the discrimination toward the oil palm. According to him, a number of gestures and policies that are considered disadvantageous for the economy and are destructing the image of palm oil producing countries also need to be eliminated."*

Published in December 2017 – *"Oil Palm Resolution by European Parliament Harms Indonesia"*

Published in January 2018 – *"Farmers Association: Fighting Against European Union by Boycotting and Stopping CPO Exports"*

Clearly the cited sentences above prove how Kompas.com as a news media has framed the issue of oil palm in Indonesia in a more supporting way. Meaning, the media is for Indonesia and against any one that tries to bring down the oil palm industry just like what the European Union has tried to do via their campaign or resolution. In March 2018 alone, Kompas.com published three articles specifically mentioning the resolution proposed by the European Union.

b) First impression in first paragraph

Some articles also were written by Kompas.com with a strong statement in the first paragraph emphasizing in its disagreement to the European Union's resolution on oil palm in Indonesia.

KOMPAS.com NEWS EKONOMI BOLA TEKNO SAINS ENTERTAINMENT OTOMOTIF LIFESTYLE PRO

BAGIKAN: f t+ Mendag Tak Ingin Kampanye Negatif Sawit Indonesia Terus Berlanjut

Ilustrasi: Pekerja mengangkat biji tandan buah segar kelapa sawit ke atas truk usai dipanen di Desa Talun Kenas, Deliserdang, Sumut, beberapa waktu lalu. (TRIBUN MEDAN/DEDDY SINUKAJI)

Danamon **ICE BSD**

JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com - Menteri Perdagangan (Mendag) Enggartiasto Lukita menegaskan kampanye negatif yang ditujukan kepada kelapa sawit asal Indonesia harus segera berakhir.

Menurut Mendag sebagai produsen utama crude palm oil (CPO) di dunia, Indonesia harus terus melawan kampanye negatif agar pasar ekspor CPO dan produk turunannya tidak hilang.

"Pemerintah menjamin dan kita meminta kepada negara Eropa, Amerika dan beberapa negara lain untuk tidak menyampaikan atau mengkampanyekan hal negatif. Jadi ekspor kami jaga, kami juga meminta industrinya untuk

Source: Kompas.com, 3 October 2017

The first paragraph from the article above can be translated to *"Minister of Trade Enggartiasto Lukita affirmed that the negative campaign proposed to the Indonesian oil palm must end soon."*

There are other articles whose first paragraph is emphasized in delivering a message of going against the European Union's resolution.

1. Kompas.com has published positive news about oil palm industry in Indonesia

Since October 2017 until March 2018, Kompas.com has published at least 23 articles of good news about oil palm industry in Indonesia. The frame of the news was mostly of the benefits of oil palm industry for the people who depend their lives on working in the field and generally for the national economy too. Kompas.com rarely talks bad about the industry of palm oil in Indonesia. If the media was to not support the industry, they could have taken an angle of how the industry could be disadvantageous for the environment just like what European Union has proposed. However, Kompas.com never took such an angle in their published articles. Here are a few angles as cited in the published articles.

Published in October 2017 – *“Hopefully, by being provided quality seeds and free-of-fee replantation, the farmers in Musi Banyuasin would have an improved welfare.”*

Published in November 2017 – *“Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Darmin Nasution states that the industry of oil palm has a role for eliminating poverty in Indonesia. He states that as many as 14 millions of families depend their lives on this industry.”*

Published in December 2017 – *“Indonesia supports the paradigm of sustainable development. In line with that, Indonesia has applied such a sustainable development in the oil palm industry that is environment-friendly, through Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) which is mandatory.”*

Published in January 2018 – *“Bank of Indonesia (BI) Representative of Bengkulu predicts that the business of oil palm and crude palm oil (CPO) will be successful in 2018 as the price of palm oil is only getting higher in line with the global demand.”*

Published in January 2018 – *“In 2017, Export of Indonesia's Palm Oil Reaches Highest Record in History”*

Published in March 2018 – *“General Director of Ministry of Agriculture emphasized, sector of the national oil palm industry is a strategic sector which contributes greatly to the national economy. Income-wise, the export income generated from the palm oil products in 2017 reached 21,25billion US dollar.”*

2. Kompas.com has published similar articles on the same day about oil palm in Indonesia




Kompas.com tends to publish more than one article in one day about the same or of similar topic on oil palm. This may indicate how the media has a tendency of reminding the readers to focus on the issue. As mentioned in point 2 above, the angle of the news is more on the positive side.

Date of Publication	Topic	Number of Articles
13 October 2017	Replantation of oil palm trees	3
28 December 2017	Increase in CPO produced by Sawit Sumbermas corporation	3
30 January 2018	Increase in palm oil export	2
26 February 2018	Replantation of oil palm trees	2
6 March 2018	European Union's resolution on oil palm in Indonesia, and benefits of oil palm industry to the economy	5

From the table above it can be seen that Kompas.com tends to repeat the topic of oil palm in Indonesia on the same day. This may indicate that its concern on the topic is rather high as it seeks for the attention from the readers.

3. Kompas.com tends to use the same, supporting photos and videos in different articles

In some articles published between October 2017 and March 2018 Kompas.com used the same photos and videos to support the articles themselves. The photos and videos used were more of a positive vibe. Here are a few examples.

Date of Publication	Photo or Video Used	Number of Articles
3 October 2017; 13 October 2017; 14 November 2017; 27 November 2017	 <p>Video about palm oil benefits for the human health and beauty</p>	4
13 October 2017; 14 October 2017	 <p>Photo of President of Indonesia Joko Widodo together with the crofters replanting seeds of oil palm trees</p>	4
26 January 2018; 30 January 2018	 <p>Video about oil palm industry on European Union resolution</p>	2

Kompas.com used the same photos and videos for different articles. This proves how the media frames the issue of oil palm in Indonesia in one direction. The photos and videos used are all of positivity of the oil palm industry. For example, the photo of the President of Indonesia replanting oil palm trees together with other crofters shows symbolically how the government supports the industry, and Kompas.com chose to use the photo in different articles to give such an impression to the readers. Another example is a video of how palm oil is beneficial for the human health and beauty despite the resolution from the European Union that says bad sides of the oil and the oil palm industry itself. The video was repeatedly attached to different articles.

The articles that have the video were mostly about the resolution of the European Union against the oil palm in Indonesia. Therefore, Kompas.com uses the video to show the readers that despite the resolution there are benefits from using the palm oil. In other words, the optimism is rather emphasized through the placement of the video in the articles.

4. **Kompas.com has added supporting information in the form of videos**

a) **Video about the benefits of palm oil for the human health and beauty**

Kompas.com used a video about the benefits of palm oil in different articles. This video talks about the benefit of the oil for the human health and beauty. This is how the framing goes: when the article talks about the European Union resolution of the oil palm in Indonesia, Kompas.com tends to place the video at the end of the article in order to offer the readers an option for being optimistic about the palm oil industry.



Video about palm oil benefits for the human health and beauty

b) **Video about the fate of crofters**

Another video that was used by Kompas.com in an article was about the fate of the crofters of oil palm trees. This video was placed by Kompas.com in an article that talks about the delightful prediction of oil palm and CPO business in 2018.



Video about the fate of crofters in 2018

The video supported the article. Kompas.com may have wanted the readers to have a thought for the crofters if the European Union resolution is to be applied in 2020. This indicates a call for sympathy for not agreeing to the resolution as it may only bring or cause greater disadvantages to a huge group of people as crofters at minimum.

5. Kompas.com has published an in-depth article on the oil palm situation

In December 2017, Kompas.com published an in-depth article specifically about the oil palm resolution by the European Union that harms Indonesia. The flow of article began with the explanation about what the so-much-mentioned oil palm resolution really is about. Kompas.com gives the readers a chance to have the basic background knowledge about the case. Later in the article, Kompas.com wrote a subpart that talks about what Indonesia had done regarding the negative campaign initiated by the European Union. In this part Kompas.com tried countering the issue of the resolution by giving the readers information on how actually Indonesia has gone toward sustainable development, through the mandatory standard of Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO). The article seems to be meant to educate the readers with the background knowledge of the case although towards the end of the article Kompas.com brought up the issue of how the oil palm industry in Indonesia has helped millions of people and also been sustainably environment-friendly.

Conclusion

Those were six indicators that prove how Kompas.com framed the issue of oil palm industry in Indonesia in a positive and supportive ambiance. Thus, summarizing all the framing according to Robert Entman, following is the framing of Kompas.com on the oil palm issue in Indonesia.

	Kompas.com
Define problems	Indonesian oil palm industry is being threatened in the global context
Diagnose causes	Resolution proposed by the European Union contains information about how the oil palm industry is not good for the environment
Make moral judgment	a) Oil palm industry has helped millions of people in Indonesia and contributed to the national income through CPO export; b) Indonesia contributes greatly to the global demand of palm oil so the country should realize that it has a good positioning for "winning" the case
Treatment recommendation	a) The ISPO has to be applied and maintained; b) The Indonesia's CPO export needs to be optimized;

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About the Authors

Dr. Tri Hastuti Nur Rochimah, M.Si, lecturer in communication studies, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta. She graduated her doctoral in Gadjah Mada University and focus in communication sociology. Master degree of communication studies in Indonesia University (2002) and bachelor form Sebelas Maret University of Surakarta in mass communication (1994). Research and publication focus in media, gender, social and political marketing.

Raditia Yudistira Sujanto, S.S., M.A. Lecturer in communication studies at 'Aisyiyah University of Yogyakarta. He finished his Masters in Communication Management at Gadjah Mada University in 2014. His research and publication have mostly been about the topics of Corporate Social Responsibility and Public Relations.

Actor or Agent: The role of international media in defining the status of global security*Cady Lene A. Perez**University of the Philippines***Abstract**

State is no longer the sole major actor in the post-Cold War world politics. One of the most prominent institutions in international relations today is the international media. There have already been multiple studies on the role and effect of international media on international relations and its various sectors most especially global security both by International Relations and Communications scholars. The scholarship on this research agenda has grown throughout the years given that the role and reach of international media have expanded because of globalization. There raises the question as to whether international media plays as an independent actor or a mere agent in international relations more particularly in defining global security. In this paper, we will explore the role, effect, and implications of international media in one of the most significant dimensions of international relations: global security. Through critical reading of written reports by international news agencies on security issues in the 21st century, we will examine the power of international media over defining the geography and status of global security.

Introduction

In April 2018, the international news agency Reuters received two Pulitzer Prizes. First was in the International Reporting category for the series of investigative reports by Clare Baldwin, Andrew R.C. Marshall, Manuel Mogato, and team on the bloody war against illegal drugs perpetuated in the Philippines by its current administration. This ongoing threat and violation to human security have been brought to the attention of the United Nations by local non-governmental organizations urging the UN to probe into the killings, but it was the international media that brought the phenomenon to the knowledge of the civilian international community through reportages like that of Reuters. The other award was in the Feature Photography category in recognition of Reuters's vivid photo documentation of the many faces of struggles of the Rohingya people as they attempt to bridge to survival from their abominable living condition in Myanmar—a long-going human catastrophe that has been widely discussed in the international community since only recently (Trotta 2018).

State is no longer the sole major actor in the post-Cold War world politics. While the predominant neoliberalist ideology has adopted the realist idea of states as the unitary rational actors that seek after their respective interest in the international community, it remains faithful to the liberal tenet that international institutions and organizations play an important role in facilitating cooperation in the different dimensions of international relations most especially in global security thus contradicting then hostile and rigidly individualist notion of the states. International organizations and institutions have been recognized in making significant contributions in reshaping the international political landscape (Axelrod & Keohane 1985).

However, even as the significant role of international institutions and organizations are repeatedly recognized, the question whether they are independent from or instrumental to the state remains an unclosed debate. Given that states remain to be the most powerful and influential actor in international relations, it would only be integral to question whether international institutions and organizations carry the agenda of the states or of their own in delivering to the world the state of international affairs.

One of the most prominent international institutions in the contemporary international system today is the international media. There have already been multiple studies on the role and effect international media has on international relations and its various sectors most especially on global security done by International Relations and Communications scholars alike. The scholarship on this research area has grown throughout the years given that the role and reach of international media have extended and expanded due to globalization, but there is much more work left to do. In this paper, we will explore the role of international media in defining one of the most significant dimensions of international relations: global security.

Statement of the Problem

The economic function of international media in the form of commercial newsletters in the early years of international relations has significantly evolved. However, despite the substantial contribution of international media in the dynamics of international relations, there remains sparse academic literature on this research area and no established theoretical grounding.

The CNN effect, as the only thriving communications theory in international relations, attempts to explain only the impact or influence of international mass media on foreign policy-making (Gilboa 2005). It does not hypothesize on the general role the international media plays and the stake it holds in the affairs of international relations given its frontline privilege and responsibility to present and communicate matters of international relations to the rest of the world. We have yet to develop a communication theory that may exclusively cover the role the international media plays in defining specific dimensions of international relations such as global security.

Dissemination of public information on security threats and conflicts were used to be confined within geographic boundaries despite the extent of its manifestations and consequences that transpire beyond territorial restrictions. But with the rise of international media, stories of nuclear threats, humanitarian crises, natural disasters, and other security threats and humanitarian catastrophe can now travel to the other side of the globe. The international media gets the prerogative not only on news-framing that will affect how the international community will perceive the events but also on the selection of events that will be known to the world. Thus, it is important to study whether this prerogative truly lies on the international media under private institutions or the states that may hold control over it and may advance interests and political agenda through international media, which shall determine how international media will map the condition of global security that it will present to the international community.

Brief History of International Media

There are records of international media dated as early as the fifteenth century. These were commercial newsletters that were disseminated among traders and merchants in European nations (Volkmer 1999). It was then followed by the invention of the telegraph by Samuel Morse in the 17th century (Thussu 2006). These media channels paved the start-up of earliest international news agencies, which are the French Havas Agency founded in 1835, German Agency by Wolffin in 1849, and the British Reuters in 1951 (Zeldin 1977). It was also in the 18th century when radio broadcasting commenced. It first served commercial and corporate purposes until the time of the First and Second World War when the radio became a medium for “domestic public opinion management and international diplomacy propaganda” (Thussu 2006). This partial history of international communication reveals how it sprang from and catered to the needs of the West. Even in the present time, global communication is mainly taught in universities in the United States of America. However, by the end of the Cold War and the defeat of the Soviet Union, the third world asserted for equal access to international communication (Thussu 2006).

By the end of the Second World War, the international media gained renewed prominence and acknowledgement globally. This was because the world, more than ever, had come to recognize that the impact and consequences of events that jeopardize domestic security transpire beyond borders (Gilboa 2005). Today, Communication scholars are on a mission to develop a communication theory with a framework adequate for the complexity of international relations.

The communications theory for international relations still continuously being worked on by scholars is the “CNN effect”. “CNN effect” was coined during the 1991 Gulf War to refer to the “ubiquity of the channel (the CNN) (so that all sides were using the same information source) (Freedman 2000 through Robinson 2013). This meaning and scope has gradually evolved to pertain to the “ability of reel-time communications technology, via the news media, to provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to both global and national events”--or briefly the role and impact of CNN and the (international) news media in general on foreign policy-making and world politics (Robinson 2013). However, the substantial part and complex role the international mass media has taken in shaping the contemporary international system and defining global security cannot be reduced to the scope covered by the CNN effect, thus the vast gap in theorizing the communication dynamics of international relations.

The CNN Effect

While the term “CNN effect” seems to be outright particular to the CNN news channel, which it was in the beginning, it has expanded its definition to refer to the general impact or influence of the international mass media to the decisions and actions of policy-makers in times of security, more specifically humanitarian crises. According to the CNN effect, the coverage and report of international news agencies, or at least the most prominent ones like the CNN, influence foreign policy-making and decisions to intervene during humanitarian crises. The CNN effect is not just a hypothesis of communication scholars, even senior policy-makers recognize how the mass media influence their strategy in times of security crises i.e. the Cold War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, etc. (Robinson 2002; Coban 2016). “Response to impulse and image” was how former US Defense Secretary James Schlesinger described post-Cold War US foreign policies. Even Bill Clinton’s first national security adviser Anthony Lake recognized that the mass media stirs pressure from the public through televised images that consequently influence policy-related decision-making during humanitarian crises (Hoge 1994 through Gilboa 2005).

In fact, it was during the Gulf War in 1990-91 when CNN—the first established global news network—earned its position as a distinguished entity in international relations. This breakthrough for the media industry also inspired other broadcasting networks like the BBC to launch their own global television networks. The question of what role these media bodies play in times of security crises—more particularly during war, intervention, diplomacy, and on foreign policy-making—is what demanded for an explanatory theoretical framework (Gilboa 2005).

International news agencies possess power to put state military forces, international organizations, and governments on a global stage where most of their actions are held open for global viewing and scrutiny. The world has taken both roles of the audience and critic. From this function, Livingston (1997) has identified three types of CNN effects: 1) a policy agenda-setting agent; 2) an impediment to the realization of policy goals; and 3) an accelerant to policy-related decision-making.

Agenda-setter. The international media may sensationalize stories and use emotional appeal to advance a particular message, invoke particular responses from the audience, and influence foreign policies. This manifested in the reports from the humanitarian crises in Somalia, Bosnia, and Haiti (Livingston 1997). Media would often exercise this using emotionally moving photos and narratives of the people in the site of the crisis. While such depiction is pragmatic, they may also be used to forward agenda that serve the interest of a particular group or party. This might create a one-sided portrayal of the situation that could only aggravate, rather than resolve, the conflict.

Impediment. Livingston (1997) identified two types of impediments caused by international media: emotional inhibitor and threat to global security. According to Livingston, the international media played as an emotional inhibitor during the Vietnam War. Pictures of dead American soldiers from the war were publicized and evoked fear among the public that pressured the government to withdraw the U.S. military troops from Somalia and avoid domestic mutiny. International media may also jeopardize global and/or domestic security and operations in times of crises especially when coverage and reportage stimulate panic and/or adverse reactions among the public. Some policies may be put on hold for implementation to avoid commotion that may possibly follow after media exposure. Media could also expose planned or ongoing operations that are crucially confidential (Livingston 1997). In 2013, then American Intelligence Contractor for the US government Edward Snowden exposed firstly through international news agencies The Guardian the global surveillance on states and civilians conducted by the US government through its National Security Agency (See: Greenwald 2013, “NSA collecting phone records of millions of Verizons customers daily”). Aside from stirring the international scandal and upheaval that have been faced by the US until today, this global controversy led to the adoption of Resolution 68/167 re: “The right to privacy in the digital age” by the United General Assembly in 2014 that denounces intrusion to privacy through digital surveillance (United Nations General Assembly 2014).

Accelerant. The community of fear and the pressure that international media coverage and reportage may ensue can also be a powerful driving force to speed up approval and implementation of policies and response

actions during crises. According to Livingston (1997), international media also holds the power to highlight which humanitarian or security crises call for urgent action and/or intervention.

While some scholars opt to contribute to the scholarship of CNN effect, some find gaps and criticize the concept. Many media practitioners, policy-makers, and scholars raise their skepticism on the gravity of mass media in foreign policy-making (Livingston 1997). Strobel (1997) took a stand that the media cannot shape foreign policies on its own but can only take part in or influence the process of policymaking. According to him, this remains to be in the power of the makers of foreign policy. Dangerously, this is not the only contradicting possibility.

Instead of the international media influencing foreign policies of states, it could be the other way around. The international media may be used by the government as an instrument in advancing their interest and agenda (Naveh 2005). The most prominent general communication theories that align with this contradiction to the tenets of the CNN effect are the agenda-setting theory of McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver and the framing theory, while the specific ones are the “indexing hypothesis” theory and the “manufacturing consent” theory (Gilboa 2005).

According to the “indexing hypothesis” theory, news coverage and reportage accord to the parameters of importance and criticalness of political elites. Meaning to say, the attention the media gives to each issue are proportional to the attention the state gives to it (Bennett 1990). The “manufacturing consent” theory or the propaganda model, on the other hand, says that the government uses the media as a tool to subtly exercise its maneuvering power to mobilize public support for its policies (Herman and Chomsky 1988).

This remains highly and even more possible in this digital age of new media. Jessica Wu (2016), for example, has identified two agencies of international security that the new media serves: 1) the government and 2) opposition forces to the government. Wu cited China and Russia as two of the states with restrictive control on media, utilizing and manipulating the platform to align with their agenda and interest. The Arab Uprising, on the other hand, is a good example of a situation where the new media served as platform for extending the conversation about the social uprising beyond the jurisdiction of the opposed state.

Abraham (2012), on the other hand, introduced Indian media as an independent agency from the Indian government. However, media still serves as a tool for national integration and stability in the democratic state of India. Supposed independence has been proven by the freedom of media to question government policies. Nonetheless, it plays a cooperative role with the government in securing national security given that its reporting has bearing on the construction of policies. This makes the media an interesting entity in security studies with both its independence and interdependent relationship with the State.

A Communication Theory for Security Studies

Bredeson's (2011) sees the direct link between the media and the civilian international community. He defines CNN effect as the response of civilians and political officials to the provocation by media. Brederson recognizes the power of the reaction of the civilian international community to impose pressure on policy-makers and authorities. He holds the media accountable for tragic endings of human crisis wherein the media coverage had been slow and inaccurate such as the time of Rwanda and Darfur genocide, where it failed to mobilize the civilians and authorities to act upon dire crises. In such cases, the international media is perceived to hold the power and responsibility in inciting sense of urgency among the international community.

While scholars are already in the process of developing a communications theory for international relations, global security can make use of a communication theory that would be able to explain how it is being defined and conveyed by the media. According to Robinson (2013), with the emergence of new media—including new communication technologies and platforms (social networking sites, digital gadgets, etc.) that complement international broadcasting networks (CNN, Al Jazeera)—the global scene of security conflicts and crisis has become more transparent and “accessible” to a larger audience. The faster delivery of information to a larger number of audience has its “radically pluralizing effect”. However, ironically, the emergence of this technology is both emancipating and restricting. It has become emancipating in terms of easier access and

delivery but restricting due to the compromised quality and accuracy of outputs because of the fast-paced demands and circulation of information.

There is also the notion that media is inhibited by its concept of “war on terror”. This refers to the avoidance of instigating panic among the public. Hence, it is important to investigate whether this compromises the comprehensiveness of the reportage of the reality of international security reality. Moreover, there is also the danger that the fast-paced circulation of international news affects the international community’s perception of the gravity of each event that defines the present-day status of global security (Robinson 2013).

Peace Journalism is a form of journalism that is guided by insights and principles from Peace and Conflict Studies. It proposes that news reports should be patterned to outputs of Peace and Conflict research or studies, meaning Peace Journalism should be peace/conflict-oriented, truth-oriented, people-oriented, and solution-oriented. On the opposite of the spectrum is War/Violence Journalism that is war/violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented, and victory-oriented (Lynch & McGoldrick 2007). According to EngKuan (2014), the New Media has both negative and positive impact to the peace and security of a nation, as well as peace-keeping organizations. The media—encompassing the CNN effect and New Media—can be manipulated by the state and peace-keeping organizations to generate favorable public opinions. The New Media essentially serves as both strategic medium and tactical instrument. EngKuan cited United Nations Peace Keeping Operations as one of the peace-keeping organizations that utilize the media in generating support and building trust. However, these organizations’ measure of success in doing so is yet another area of discussion.

What lacks significant scholarly attention is the role media plays in changing the landscape of international security from being traditional to being inclusive of matters of human security. Literature on media and security discuss agenda-setting, accelerant, and impediment actor functions of media, which directly focus on the actors of international security, but there remains research gap in the contribution of international media in changing the landscape of international security that has evolved to encompass the different areas of security, i.e. military, economic, environmental and human security. Diversified narratives of security crisis are now further heard and discussed beyond territorial borders. It is only significant to examine the process of the media in amplifying these phenomena and creating a ripple effect across the globe, which consequently put these formerly shunned stories in the map of international security consequently translating into policies. Hemmelman and Wegner (N.D.) categorized the German media coverage on the refugee crisis in Europe in five waves: 1) stereotypes; 2) empathy grows; 3) welcoming euphoria; 4) reversal to other extreme; and lastly 5) very few indications of improvement. The two authors basically showed the downward improvement of the way the German media handled the refugee phenomenon in Europe, which can be true even for other media agencies during other refugee crises. Analysis showed how media does not only have the mere power to plot these security issues in the map of global security, but also the power to define the gravity of these phenomena.

The media holds the power to select which security crises and in what degree and angle of these they will convey to the world.

In formulating the theory that may explain the role of international media in mapping out the contemporary reality of global security, the following parameters may be examined.

1. Angle

Since issues and conflicts are usually between two or more parties, there is the tendency for the reportage to express bias towards one party or one side of the issue/conflict, which may influence the perception and opinion of the international community towards the issue.

2. Report duration/Allotted airing time or publication space

Duration of exposure on international news programs and the space provided on online news platforms for particular events are two of the major factors that largely determine the reach of the reports. Availability reports on news platforms shall also take part in encouraging and shaping discourse over the matters of concern.

3. Consistency and frequency of reports

The frequency of exposure and consistency of follow-up reports shall influence the international community's impression of the gravity of the situation. Frequency may also greatly influence the retention of the event on the memory of the audience, which consequently maps their perception of the current status of global security.

4. Language used

Language is arguably the most critical and manipulative element of the reportage that can determine the overall tone of the reportage, which shall convey the facts and gravity of the situation. All the other factors stated here shall be examined through the language used from the vocabulary to the construction and structuring of thoughts, arguments, and ideas.

5. Reservations

Given that media reports may incite panic among the public or compromise the success of peace operations, the media may limit the disclosure of details or tone down the severity of the situation in reports. This is where the privilege of media to use its prudence in weighing the consequence of full disclosure over their responsibility (and gains) to such shall manifest.

In the Philippines, international stories of security and humanitarian crises are also available through new media platforms such as social media, which is more accessible for lower class citizens who do not have access to cable networks that show international news programs. This shows that with the media advancement (now called as new media) international news is even made more accessible. The security situation as presented by international media becomes known to a larger population and translates as their global reality. As an example, more Filipinos has become aware of the story of the Rohingya then including the Filipinos as participants to the discourse and the Rohingya in the consciousness of the Filipinos regarding global security. On the other hand, the present threat to domestic human security in the Philippines due to the current administration's intensified war on drugs These are just few of the many manifestations of the power of international media to frame, define, and map the reality of global security.

Conclusion

Recognizing the tightening relationship between media and politics, International Relations and Communications scholars are on a mission to develop an adequate communication theory for international relations, and the CNN Effect is the most developed one presented yet. There are three identified approaches of the CNN effect: agenda-setting, accelerant response, and impediment actor. Elaborating on these three approaches, it would be evident that: 1) The media has the power to select the issues that would give face to the status of global security; 2) The media holds privilege in defining the degree and choosing the angle of the global security issues and crises it will choose to present; 3) The media influences the public opinion and behaviour towards security issues consequently influencing the responsive action of states. These affirm media as a key international relations actor that decides the face of global security that will show to the international community. This paper does not claim empirical merits but rather imposes the challenge to further develop a communications theory that can elucidate the contribution of international media in reshaping the traditional landscape of global security feasibly by examining the parameters of its reportage of global security issues including but not limited to: 1) angle; 2) duration/airing time/publication space; 3) consistency and frequency of reporting; 4) language used; and 5) reservations.

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A Comparative Study on the Level of Influence of Human Sources on the Opinion of Metro Manila Male and Female Youth about Death Penalty

Via Alexandra C. Advincula, Redge Marie R. Maliksi

and Precious S. Pantoja

University of the Philippines Diliman

Abstract

This study looks into the gender gap in political issues and the influence of human sources (i.e., family, friends, and church leaders) on the opinion-formation of the youth by analyzing the levels of influence of these key human sources on the opinion of male and female youth about Death Penalty in the Philippines. Gender gap in political issues, specifically in death penalty has only been substantially studied in the West and not in the Asian context. Additionally, while opinion-formation on death penalty has also been substantially studied, little has been done to study the influence of human sources when compared to the influence of media and other non-human sources.

In this study, the comparison was done between family, friends, and church leaders across male and female youth. Multi-staged sampling was employed to determine the survey sites and the respondents. The data from the respondents used in this research, which are the Metro Manila youth aged 15 to 30, were acquired from a previous study that focused on the general perception of the youth on death penalty. Respondents were first asked a question that aims to filter who can or can not proceed with the survey. The interviewer-administered questionnaire contained items about what sources do the respondents use to get information about death penalty in the last 12 months, how much influence do these sources have on their opinion about death penalty, and lastly, how much do they favor death penalty in the Philippines. Of the 200 respondents surveyed by the previous researchers, only the data from 92 respondents who have identified family, friends, or church leaders as opinion influencers were used in this study.

The findings of the study support the results of the previous studies (A critical examination of the Gallup Polls, 1991; Bohm, 1986) that males are more in favor of capital punishment or death penalty more than females. While the findings do not show significant differences in the influence of family, church, and friends across genders, it is interesting to note that friends are the most influential among the human sources for male youth, while family holds the most influence on female youth.

Introduction

Public opinion is the collective opinion of individuals about an issue of public interest; these opinions can influence the individual behavior, group behavior, and policy making of the government, as explained in an online encyclopedia about Public Opinion (2008). Opinions and perspectives are shaped through traditional media's helping hand. But due to the rise of accessible technology these days, social media has now become a powerful medium not only for the dissemination of news but also for igniting discussions about hot issues (Romualdez, 2015). The dynamics of political opinion and politics in the Philippines was explained by Hedman (2010) "[...] as a social fact alters political calculations and dynamics associated with voter mobilisation, the politics of public opinion may only have limited transformative potential for democracy in the Philippines(p.97)."

In a society with varied religious perspective and opinion, capital punishment or death penalty always cause debates among its citizen. There are people who are for death penalty as an appropriate punishment but there also people who are against it. The last major process regarding death penalty in the Philippines was from former Pres. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's reign, wherein she abolished death penalty through Republic Act No. 9346, An Act Prohibiting the Imposition of the Death Penalty in the Philippines. Arroyo said death penalty should be abolished because it was never proven that it is an effective way to damper crime (IN THE KNOW: Death penalty, 2016). Then in today's occurrence, Pres. Duterte's second State of the Nation Address, he called on and asked Congress to revive the death penalty especially on matters concerning drug-related offenses stating that criminals who took another man's life should pay with his own, as written by Cayabyab (2017) in his article.

Opinion and perspective of men and women regarding death penalty have variation levels at some point. Applegate, Cullen and Fisher found out that there is much academic evidence that shows there is a significant difference between the support of men and women for death penalty; the difference in attitude as explained by sex is a matter of degree, and men's and women's attitudes are not opposite (as cited in Sato, 2014). Both men and women may consider the law not immensely bad however women then do value the rehabilitation of criminals as the purpose of punishment more than men (Sato, 2014).

Review of Related Literature

Death Penalty

According to the AIUSA DEATH PENALTY ABOLITION CAMPAIGN's (2012, p. 2) findings about countries practicing death penalty, "over two-thirds of the countries in the world (139) have abolished the death penalty in law or practice." However, there are still countries who practice death penalty. The Southeast Asian countries have something in common in terms of their justice system; the prevalence of mandating capital punishment in Southeast Asian country after the post-Cold War era (Tagayuna, 2004).

In the Philippines, "under the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos (1965-1986), the death penalty was widely used, and the number of capital crimes increased substantially to include several nonviolent crimes including drug-related offenses (The Death Penalty For Drug Crimes in Asia, 2015, p. 47)." After the constitutional change in 1987, all capital punishments were reduced to life imprisonment. According to Amnesty International, the committee who drafted the abolishment of the death penalty included these reasons behind the proposal: 1) Capital punishment is inhumane because it is traumatic for the death-row inmate's family; 2) There is no evidence of capital punishment as an effective deterrent against crimes; 3) Life is a divine gift and it should not be decided by a human judge; and 4) Reformatory punishments are preferred over vindictive punishment (as cited in The Death Penalty For Drug Crimes in Asia, 2015).

In 1993, the Philippine government reinstated death penalty under Republic Act (RA) 7659. Tagayunan (2004) wrote that there are some criminals who deserve death as their punishment for the criminal acts they have done; "such crimes are considered so evil that killing the perpetrators is the only just way to deal with it (p. 2)." After it was reinstated, for the first five years, there were 1100 people who were sentenced for death penalty but no was executed until 1999 (The Death Penalty For Drug Crimes in Asia, 2015). In 2000, there was a nine-month moratorium to death penalty in honor of the Christian Jubilee Year (The Death Penalty For Drug Crimes in Asia, 2015). There was a major influence from the Catholic church for this happen. There has always been an opposition for capital punishment and groups who are for death penalty as punishment also exist. Then in 2006, a bill was passed to abolish death penalty for all crimes.

Gender Gap in Opinion about Death Penalty

Respondents' gender has one of the strongest correlations and persistent predictor of supporting death penalty (Bohm, American death penalty opinion, 1936-1986: A critical examination of the Gallup Polls, 1991). In Bohm's study men are significantly more supportive of capital punishment than women. This has been a significant factor for the support in capital punishment compared to race (Cochran & Sanders, 2009). Also, the gap in support between males and females have been increasing and decreasing respectively over time (Bohm, American death penalty opinion, 1936-1986: A critical examination of the Gallup Polls, 1991). Moreover, men and women who support death penalty have nearly the same characteristics and backgrounds (Stack, Support for the death penalty: A gender-specific model, 2000). The proponents tend to be white, married, political conservatives, had high incomes, from middle-class to upper-class social class, and perceived that the courts are too lenient with criminal cases (Bohm, Deathquest: An introduction to the theory and practice of capital punishment in the United States, 1999).

According to Whitehead and Blankenship (2000) men are more in favor of death penalty because they want to uphold rights and accountability. In Whitehead and Blankenship's study, 80% of men and 65% of women favor death penalty. Women preferred life-long sentences in prison as capital punishment rather than death penalty. Furthermore, males are still likely to endorse death penalty even if it has been proven in the past that

an innocent person was given this capital punishment. Females were more supportive of the option life without parole compared to men that still will support death penalty.

Despite the abundance of studies about death penalty in Western countries, these findings are limited to the United States (Lambert, et al., 2016). Lambert, et al. (2016) studied about the difference of Indian and United States males and females in their support of death penalty. The study also explored whether culture plays a role in the gender gap of both nations. In India (one of the countries in the study), has a long history of using death penalty as a form of punishment from the ancient to modern days. In the 2000s, the use of death penalty in India has declined but is still widely used for in 2010; 400 people were on death row. The results of the study show that both United States of America and India favor death penalty. Similar to the United States, there is also a gender gap in India in support of death penalty. Men tend to favor death penalty more than women.

Still comparing the favorability of death penalty in other countries outside of the United States, Lambert, et al. (2014) studied the gender difference in opinion of college students from Bangladesh, Nigeria, China, and the United States. All four of these nations use death penalty as a form of punishment. The research hypothesized that gender gap might only be limited in the United States as there are some studies saying that in other nations, gender gap does not exist. For example, in a previous study examining the gender gap in fifteen European countries, Israel, and the Philippines, gender was not a significant predictor of death penalty support (Stack, Public Opinion on Death Penalty: Analysis of Individual-level Data from 17 Nations, 2004). Similar to the small body of studies outside of the United States about the support in death penalty. No gender gap was found in the study of Lambert, et al. (2014) in other nations aside from the United States. The results of the study indicate that gender gap in support of death penalty might be limited only to the United States.

Because these studies are mostly Western in context and less in Asian, and Southeast Asian countries, it still cannot be said true for the women and men of the Philippines. Though there has been one study where the Philippines was involved, it did not involve the opinion of youth about death penalty. This study would utilize this data in order to test whether there is an existing gender gap among the youth in the Philippines in support of capital punishment.

Framework

In further understanding the opinions of the youth about death penalty, the present study views the human information sources that influence opinions across groups.

The first concept, opinions across groups, pertain to the differences of two or more groups in the formation of their opinions which is influenced by several factors. One of which is the source of information, which in this study is the human sources. Human sources act as influencers on the opinion formation of individuals or social groups through social interactions. They are people whose opinions are adapted or valued by other people. Price and Feick (1984) have found that human sources or interpersonal sources of information are also more likely to be used as compare to other types of sources, therefore increasing their influence.

Opinion was found to be linearly related to the characteristic of source (e.g. credibility) (Bochmer & Insko, 1966). In a study, opinions of other people have been the greatest determinants in the opinion formation of individuals (Friedkin & Johnsen, 2013). Additionally, research has shown that opinion change may occur after interaction with people with different experiences and opinions on a topic (Bohm, 1989). Further, two or more groups with different sources will tend to have different opinions and take on an issue.

In further understanding the opinions of the youth about death penalty, conceptual inferences are made from existing documents and definitions used in this context. According to the literature, among the several correlates of death penalty support, one of the strongest and most persistent determinant has been the respondent's gender (Bohm, 1991). Additionally, results show that the innate emotional dispositions and reactions, more specifically, the gender differences in emotion play an important role in shaping political attitudes and opinions—thus, there are many accounted gender differences in policy preferences (Courtenay, 2000). Moreover, interest and activeness in the issue also contribute to the formation of attitudes between

genders (Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986). Differences between genders also stem largely from the 'formal' status inequalities, more specifically, one tends to have higher-status roles than the other. This creates differences because the experience with hierarchical social structures creates expectancies about genders that affect social interaction that fosters behavior and opinion making (Eagly, 1983).

Human sources or interpersonal communication sources, most commonly cited as primary sources of information, are classified into three, namely: 1) Church leaders, 2) family members, and 3) friends. These three classifications of human sources are drawn from existing literatures on sources, and are the most mentioned human sources that influence opinion formation.

Combined, human sources such as church leaders, family, and friends, influence the opinion formation of the youth, and differences between the opinions of the youth about death penalty are also determined by gender. The present study will look into the differences of level of influence between the male and the female youth members of Metro Manila on their opinions about death penalty.

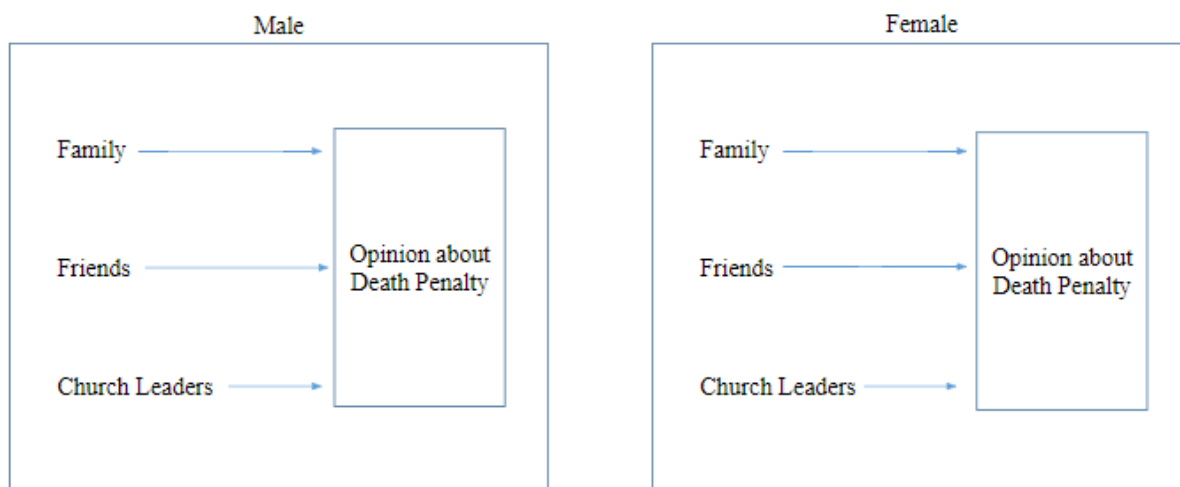


Figure 1. Study Framework

List of Research Hypotheses

- H1: The opinion of male youth about death penalty is significantly higher than the opinion of female youth about death penalty.*
- H2: The level of influence of church on the opinions of male youth about death penalty is significantly different with the level of influence of church on the opinions of female youth about death penalty.*
- H3: The level of influence of family on the opinions of male youth about death penalty is significantly different with the level of influence of family on the opinions of female youth about death penalty.*
- H4: The level of influence of friends on the opinions of male youth about death penalty is significantly different with the level of influence of friends on the opinions of female youth about death penalty.*
- H5: The level of influence friends has the strongest association in the opinion of male youth about death penalty among all human sources.*
- H6: The level of influence family has the strongest influence in the opinion of female youth about death penalty among all human sources.*
- H7: Together, the level of influence of family and friends has the strongest association in the opinion of male youth about death penalty.*
- H8: Together, the level of influence of family and friends has the strongest association in the opinion of female youth about death penalty.*
- H9: Together, the influence of family and friends has the strongest correlation to the opinions of the youth about death penalty.*

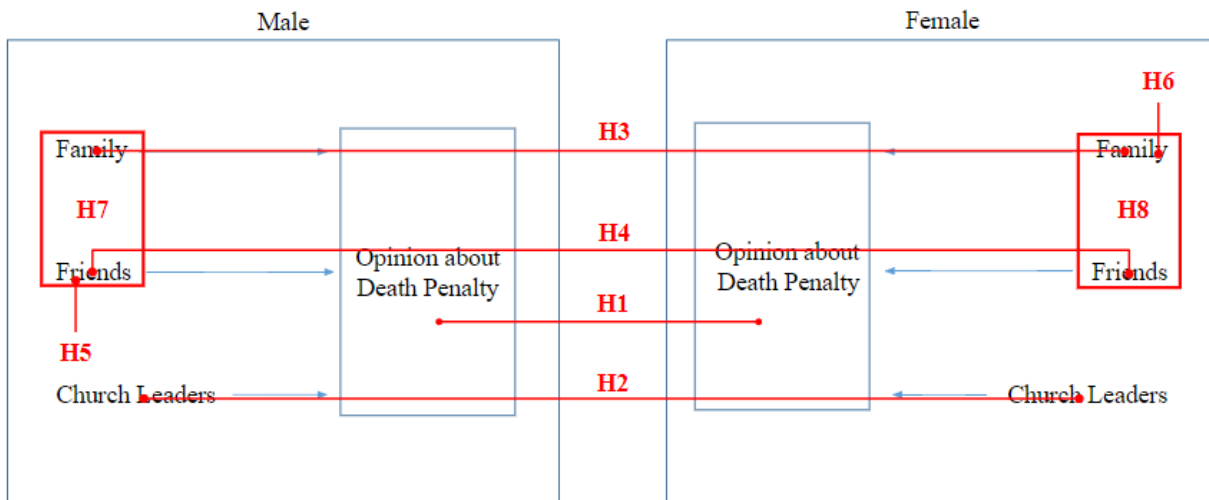


Figure 2. Analytical Framework

Methodology

Research Methods

To discover which human source have a greater influence on opinion making for youths. This study is grounded on the quantitative paradigm and the researchers conducted a survey to gather the data. A quantitative method, with the use of a SPSS, is used to analyze the data from the previous study. The researchers selected this research method to be able achieve the most efficient association between variables.

Variables and Measures

Table 1. Variables and Measures

Variables	Measures
Gender	Male and Female
Human Sources of Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Family ● Friends ● Church ● Peers
Influence of Human Sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Level of helpfulness of the human source in opinion formation ● Usefulness of the human source in opinion formation
Opinion about Death Penalty	Degree of favorability on Death Penalty

Research Instruments

The current study is based of on a previous study (“A Study on Metro Manila Youth’s Opinion About the Death Penalty”, 2017) thus the use of the same research instrument from the said previous study. The researchers separated the needed variable from the pool from the original research instrument for the current study to analyze. The revised research instrument has 3-page questionnaire which is divided into five parts. The first part is a filter question whose purpose is to ask whether the respondent has knowledge about the Death Penalty. The next part is the respondents’ demographics, which included the following: gender, age, religion, monthly income, and highest educational attainment. On the third part, questions that measure the influence of the sources were asked. The respondents’ opinions are measured on the last part using a 5-point Likert scale.

Unit of Analysis and Sampling

As mentioned before, the current study is based from a previous study. The researchers will be employing the same unit of analysis for the current study. The unit of analysis for the study is the youth, aged 15 to 30, residing in selected cities in Metro Manila. The definition of youth by the National Youth Commission was used for this study. The youth is selected as the unit of analysis for the reason that they are the age group that is most exposed to different information sources such as television, radio, Internet, and others.

Multi-staged sampling was employed in the study to determine the survey sites and respondents. In the first stage, the researchers utilized a simple random sampling from the purposive selection of cities in Metro Manila. Initially, the cities of Quezon, Manila, Caloocan, Taguig, Pasig, Paranaque, Valenzuela, and Las Pinas were selected for the reason that they are the top eight cities with the largest population in Metro Manila as of the latest census by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA). Using an online randomizer, Quezon City, Caloocan City, Paranaque City, and Las Pinas city were drawn. In order to attain the target number of respondents, 50 respondents from each of the aforementioned cities were surveyed, summing up to a total of 200 respondents.

The next two stages that will determine the barangays and streets as study survey sites also employed simple random sampling. To standardize, five barangays were randomly selected in each city, and one street was chosen in each selected barangay. These barangays and streets were determined through an online randomizer.

The streets that were determined are considered as clusters where in ten respondents were surveyed to constitute ten respondents per barangay which sum up to 50 respondents per city. In case of the quota of respondents in the particular street is not met, the survey continued in another street (still randomly selected through an online randomizer) in the same barangay.

The sampling frame that will be used in the study is the list of all the streets in the barangays selected in all cities in Metro Manila. From the sampling frame, the following sites were chosen through multistage sampling.

However, for this study, only those who answered or have identified human sources were part of the study. Therefore, out of 200 respondents only 92 of the respondents were eligible for this study. Forty-one are male and fifty-one are female. These 92 respondents are the only ones who have identified human sources as sources of their information about death penalty.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data, three datasets were used for this study. The original dataset from the original study was used to compare the opinions of male and female Metro Manila youth about death penalty which is H1.. The overall mean of items that measure their favorability of death penalty were compared using independent samples t-test. The overall dataset was also used to see whether family and friends have a stronger influence on the general opinion of the youth about death penalty (H9). This was analyzed using descriptive statistics, multiple regression. This dataset was also used to analyze H2, H3, and H4. These hypotheses compares the influence of human sources on both genders. All these hypotheses were analyzed using independent samples t-test.

The second dataset was the dataset containing all the information of female respondents such as the human sources identified, the influence of the human sources on female, and the overall mean of the opinion on death penalty of female. This dataset was used to analyze H6, and H8. To test which among the human sources identified had the strongest influence on the opinion of female youth (H6), multiple regression was used. Multiple regression was still used to analyze the combined influence of family and friends on the opinion of female youth (H8).

The third dataset was the dataset containing all the information of male respondents such as the human sources identified, the influence of the human sources on male, and the overall mean of the opinion on death penalty of male respondents. This dataset was used to analyze H5, and H7. To test which among the human sources identified had the strongest influence on the opinion of male youth (H5), multiple regression was used. To analyze the combined influence of family and friends on the opinion of male youth (H9), multiple regression was used.

Results and Findings

Respondents' Information

Among the 92 qualified respondents for this study interviewed by the previous researchers across Metro Manila, specifically Quezon City, Caloocan City, Las Pinas City, and Paranaque City, majority 51 or 55% of the respondents were female and 41 or 45% were male.

Table 2. Respondents' Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	41	45

Female	51	55
Total	92	100

Influence of Human Sources and the Youth's Opinion about Death Penalty

Findings show that the opinions of the male and female youth are not significantly different as influenced by all human sources, which rejects our second, third, and fourth hypothesis that posits that the level of influence of church, family, and friends on the opinions of the male youth about death penalty are significantly different with the level of influence of family on the opinions of youth about death penalty with t-test scores $t_1 (10.96) = -1.00, p_1 = 0.34, t_2 (40) = 0.95, p_1 = 0.35, t_3 (25.0) = -1.26, p_3 = 0.16$, respectively.

The study's findings show support for the fifth hypothesis that says the level of influence of friends has the strongest association in the opinion of male youth about death penalty as compared to the other human sources. The association of the level of influence of friends on the opinion of male youth is weak, positive, and insignificant, such as when the level of influence of friends increases, the opinion of the male youth also increases ($r = 0.145, p = 0.71$). The level of influence of friends explains 2.1% of the opinion of the male youth.

The findings also support the sixth hypothesis which suggests that the level of influence of family has the strongest influence in the opinion of female youth about death penalty among all human sources. The association between the level of influence of family and the opinion of female youth is very weak, positive, and insignificant such as when the level of influence increases, the opinion also increases ($r = 0.06, p = 0.55$). The level of influence of family explains 0.3% of the opinions of female youth.

Results also show that together, the level of influence of family and friends has the strongest correlation in the opinion of female youth about death penalty. The combined level of influence of family and friends has a very weak, positive, and insignificant association with the opinion of female youth ($R = 0.080, p = 0.72$). The combined level of influence of family and friends explain 0.6% of the opinion of female youth. Additionally, the influence of family and friends also has the strongest correlation to the opinions of the male youth. The combined level of influence has a weak, positive, and insignificant association to the opinion of male youth about death penalty ($R = 0.151, p = 0.35$). The combined level of influence of family and friends explain 2.3% of the opinion of male youth.

Lastly, the influence of family and friends has the strongest correlation to the opinion of the youth about death penalty. The combined influence of family and friends has a moderate and positive correlation to the opinion of youth about death penalty ($R = 0.575, p = 0.20$). The combined influence of family and friends explain 33.1% of the opinion of the youth.

Metro Manila Youth's Opinion about Death Penalty and as Influenced by Human Sources

Findings show that the human sources generally had positive influences to the respondents, which is defined. Almost all (96%) of the respondents answered that family has a positive influence in the formation of their opinion. Also, most (82%) of the respondents answered that church has a positive influence to their opinion-formation, and this is followed by friends with 74%.

Further statistical analysis on the data show rejected the that the opinion of the male youth is significantly higher than the opinion of the female youth about death penalty $t (198) = 1.77, p = 0.034$. This supports our first hypothesis which is based on our related literature review on gender gap in the opinion about death penalty that says that men tend to favor death penalty or capital punishment more than women.

Conclusion

The findings of the study show that, similar to the results of previous studies such as Bohm (American death penalty opinion, 1936-1986: A critical examination of the Gallup Polls, 1991), males tend to support capital punishment more than females. It suggests that similar to the Western studies about the support of capital punishment, men are more supportive of death penalty because they are more supportive of security and justice concerns, and accountability (Whitehead and Blankenship, 2000) compared to women who are more

leaning to support social welfare programs (Sapiro, 1983). The results suggest that the similar to the context of Western countries, there is an existing gender gap in terms of the agreement of genders to capital punishment.

However, there was no difference in the influence of family, church, and friends across genders. Meaning regardless of gender, all three are still influential. Although, for the males, friends is the most influential among the three in aiding the youth form their opinion about death penalty. However this association is weak. For the females, among the human sources identified, the family holds the most influence on the opinion about death penalty. Similar to the association of males and friends, the association of females and the influence of family is also weak. These results show that similar to previous studies, both friends and family are the most influential in changing or affecting the attitudes and opinions of the youth. When family and friends are grouped together, they hold the strongest influence on the opinion of both males and females (Palan, 1998; Potard, Courtois, & Rusch, 2008). Both are stronger influencers compared to church leaders.

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About the Authors

The authors are students of the University of the Philippines under the Communication Research Program.

A Comparative Study on PSB between Southeast Asia and Taiwan
Revisiting state broadcasting policy by the political economy remaking

Hamilton Cheng
FuJen Catholic University, Taiwan

Abstract

The public service broadcasting is a sustainable development for the various clusters of people lived in Southeast Asia countries by specifying the differentiations as the class, region, gender, ideology categories within its own territory. And the progress of PSB with its convergence into internet age is also enhancing in here guided by the administration economic plan. Comparing with the fact we sorted out, the PSB in Taiwan, as the state affirming the ranking first on freedom of press credit in Asia, is slightly slow and inactive now behind this process. This research is collected data based on several ASEAN countries visits, including Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia, for doing a comparative inquiry into questioning the lacking enough state support for PSB in Taiwan. These supporting data are breakdown into factors by finance, service, technology, and future prospect into internet age. The second part of this article is reflecting from the theme of the study of political economy (Mosco & Reddick, 1997) onto the insight of this problematic from which the comparison between Taiwan and ASEAN countries generated. The theme of it is referred to "the study of control and survival in social life." Control is meant under the sea change of convergence era how media companied adapted to. And the survival is meant how media industry produce what is needed for their resource redistributed into social commitment and earn their legitimacy of receiving state aid. This research will indicated the recent change found in four countries within ASEAN region showing a meaningful reengineering turn. Either for strengthening the cultural autonomy or stabilizing the value of domestic labour in audiovisual industry, Taiwan PSB policy is vulnerable respectively according into its poor finance and mandate compared with those strong ones of south neighbors stipulated by legislation and politics.

Introduction

After the publication of AMIC in 1999 (AMIC Compilation, 1999), the "public broadcasting in Asia" had been documented scholarly. The worldwide academic community on communication research is reluctantly to confirm the very concept of public service broadcasting is now applied to the Asia-Pacific region. The concise picturizing this new system is depicted as follows (Raboy, 1996),

These systems included the 'residual' system of countries which have not yet broken with the tradition of a single, monolithic national broadcaster, as well as 'emergent' systems which, although built around a state-owned and controlled broadcaster, are opening up to alternative....., such as one fins in parts of Asia and Africa where democratization is on the agenda.

The above implication is also supported by the regional professional broadcasting association as "Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union". On this issue, David Astley (2002), the Secretary-General of ABU, talked frankly in a global professional meeting,

But in many of those countries where the state still directly controls public broadcasting – and I am equating state broadcasting with public broadcasting here only because that is the way in which it is interpreted in those countries – the transformation towards a system that is independent of government is neither seen as a challenge nor a high priority.

When the Bangkok Declaration is announced by the South Asian states of ministers on broadcasting and information in 2003, the discussion on the future of public broadcasting in Asia is also redirected from the cases of Northeast Asia (NHK and KBS) to the ones of Southeast Asia. The World Electronic Media Forum, as the side event of World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), were held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in 2007. This occasion brought collective decisive efforts into one transformation which is "to transform state broadcasting into editorially independent public service broadcasting". (WEMF, 2004) After the Forum, an "Asia-Pacific approach to Public Service Broadcasting" is sustained by the consensus of participants. This argument is making an alternative road to reaching the state-of-the-art of PSB in the final goal.

The document of AIBD created the liberty for state acting into the functioning of PSB in transformation. Those imposing objectives are including (AIBD, 2008),

- a. Reinforce social cohesion and inclusiveness in a diverse society and strengthen the bond within the community
- b. Discourage hate-preaching, distortion of national characters.....
- c. Focus on primary education, literacy, basic health measures.
- d. Contribute to the economy through their own investments in such things as content production and the promotion of knowledge and creativity
- e. Amplify Asian voices in the global information networks.
- f. Not simply be an onlooker of events and issues but a vital force in promoting social progress, living up to its “responsibility..... upholding justice, maintaining peace and stability,prosperity..., protecting the environment, safeguarding against financial crisis and fighting terrorism”
- g. Become a trendsetter in articulating critical socio-economic and political issues,.....
- h. Serve as a counterweight to media globalization, concentration of media market, and monopoly of media ownership and as a platform to help develop forms of international cooperation.

For the goals mentioned above, it is a richness discourse of PSB functions compared with the general discourse by Western scholar at only arm’s length from the state aiming at “to inform, to educate, to entertain”. (Blumler, 1992: 7) This approach addressed a legitimacy road before many state-administrated broadcasters in Southeast Asia handling with the transformation to independent public service broadcasters as the United Nations endorsed (Rahman and Lowe, 2016).

Those above arguments were also re-strengthened by the ASEAN community when it is formally established for economic integration in 2015. Referring back to WSIS organized by U.N. in 2003, ASEAN addressed its opinion into a Joint Statement (Kanharith, 2005),

“The primary aim of the Information Society must be to facilitate full utilization of ICT at all levels in society and hence enable the sharing of social economic benefits by all, by means of ubiquitous access to information networks, while preserving diversity and cultural heritage”.

The extended goal of “access to information” is reaching consensus with the functioning of PSB in cultural preservation and diversity enriched by means of communication. After the Indian Ocean Tsunami happened in 2004, the Asian broadcaster is organized by ABU to introducing the Emergency Warning Broadcasting System into their domestic installations. This coordination action brought the attention from ASEAN in a joint-meeting at Jakarta, November 2007. ASEAN officials also presented a vision for realizing a disaster resilient region by 2015 to reply solidarity of ABU (ABU News, 2007).

The above research findings demonstrated a convergent action between Asia PSB and Southeast Asia Nations. It conclusively directed this research to articulate the vigorous developing movement of ASEAN and its public service broadcasting with those of Taiwan counterpart after the transformation from state broadcasting to public service broadcasting is strengthened in 2006. Referring to this action adoption, one report is interpreted as follows (Press Release by PTS),

Taiwan brought this good news just in the eve of WEMF Opening Ceremony. Sound like as a greeting to WEMF, Taiwan parliament voted Yes for an amendment of Broadcasting Acts (see following news) on GMT 10:00 December 9, 2003.

According to the new law, the two State-owned TV Companies and other governmental radio services will be transferred to the civic sector. Currently, at least some of them will be a new PSB in the future. It expanded the scope and channels of PSB. If the project gets progress smoothly, it will bring much more balance reporting and programming, much accurate, professional, diversified broadcasting culture, and also great quality management of broadcasting. Taiwan now is going to join the Public Broadcasting Campaign worldwide with New Zealand, South Korea, South Africa, Indonesia and Balkan Countries.

The revised Act stipulated the reform must be finalized within two-year period following being effective. The new PSB is under an umbrella structure called Taiwan Broadcasting System. This is a critical moment after

10-year more till now when this research aims to review the period above regarding how Taiwan and Southeast Asia countries reflected to the Declarations related with WSIS, WEMF and making a comparison.

Theoretical Framework for Review

This research adopted the founders of political economy perspective, which recollected and re-interpretation by Mosco (1994) into a political economist thinking on communication and information technology. Built under this conception framework, this research wanted to systematically review the dynamic process of Taiwan and Southeast Asia for leading the national broadcasting building and its transformation.

The long-term developing research, from a political economy perspective on communication (Mosco and Reddick, 1997), is divided regionally by North American, European, and Third World approaches. European approach, as one of three major schools, is connecting the research with the movements for social change, particularly the defense of public service media systems. Utilizing this historical juncture with the nation-building of Asia-Pacific region since the end of Second World War, the Southeast Asia approach is basically reframed into a post-colonialism and strong state nationalism discourse. On the contrary, Taiwan broadcast media is evolved into a commercial-driven only apparatus during the same period. Even emerged from the post-martial law period, the democratization of media, is realized the liberal political economy assertion (Lee, 2000). The reform is not aim to restore the lacking process of mass media modernization. The political parties (either ruling or opposition) is not followed the line of state-broadcasters balancing the commercial market failure in very beginning of industry. They relied mostly on the American liberal approach to open up more channels serving cultural diversity and consumer sovereignty (Chin, 1997; Lee, 2000). It is reasonably linked Taiwan political ideology with one school of western hegemony by her postwar historical foundation laid down through American Cold War containment policy (Cheng and Lee, 2012). Not until the public television institutionally established in 1997, the American system and ideology of broadcasting industry is pervaded.

According to Mosco, a three-argument is defined as, a) Economic Restructuring; b) The Media Commodity; c) Restructuring Government. For capture the enduring progress of the agenda in this research, we will located the major Southeast Asia countries in this region by using the visiting materials from Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. Kept the three perspectives above in mind, this research will launch the study based on the recent development in Taiwan. The methodology we employ by adopting a participatory approach of workers' unions within the PSB in this region.

Being the recipients of critical impact and significant role-playing within above three arguments, the research decides to use labour movement approach. In the Economic Restructuring, the author proposed the globalization process is the major driver for launching this economic restructuring. During the transition to new enterprise and value-chains, the changing structure will erode the national border on the regulation of labour process. The foreign investors will easily adapt to the fluctuating marketplace by using common digital technology and platform. The media at large will be deployed its workforce into different site around globe. The new challenge to the media worker is alarming by retraining with digital skill and facing different decision-making process in making content.

In the Media Commodity, the content of media is highly saturated with the marketing when the digital technology is reaching its best use of interactivity and connectivity. The consumers of media content are giving up their privacy and turning out to be a great fortune to media business. Confronting with this trend, it is illuminating the value of public service media system by obliging to the privacy protection principle. Also, the workers in PSB will manage the data of users on streaming video only for content production and serving better for the future. The data it obtained is processed by the property of citizenship rather than that of capitalists. The ethics and profession of workers in PSB, and the leadership complying with foundation of PSB should be moved against the commoditization of media content.

Regarding Restructuring Government, the governing power of state acted upon the flow of social change and transformation. The original instrumentalism argued that the state is the agent of capitalism. On behalf of those affluent, state oppressed those without property and ownership (labour class) in exchanging for vote

and contribution. However, the structuration theory provided alternative thinking on this move. One thing requested for state action is control and the other is survival. Control referred to the government's internal reform and policing the change to tackle and solve. Survival means "how they produce what is needed for social reproduction and continuity." (Mosco & Reddick, 1997: 12-13)

The change on public service broadcasters in recent years by transforming state to public ownership is a common reform. The gradual withdraw of government force within PSB is an adaptation to efficient and autonomy. During the process, the journalists and employees union are the witness forces to let the change happen. The other force to change is the social reproduction based on fundamentally economic reasoning. This financial arrangement directed the management board introducing the outsourcing option when the annually revenue of each PSB facing the limit or cap. By controlling the expense and expanding the service requested democratically, the temporary solution and atypical employment are adopted. Taiwan Public Television Service is a typical case for this political economy study.

Conclusively, based on the above mentioning consideration, it is tentatively proposed to review the political economy of public service broadcasting system developing in recent year by a labour movement approach. Globalization impact on the local media service is the Asia-Pacific cultural autonomy concern upholding by media workers and nationalists in public sectors. Connected media service brings the foreign cultural invasion into the Asia state. To nurture the local culture by encountering with diversity, in the meantime, without eroding the culture heritage and indigeneity by culture import, a knowledge labour is needed and polished against reality. (Mosco and McKercher, 2008) Finally, how the public TV sector survived within government restructuring is a complex issue. The workers and employee unions of public service broadcasting are either participated on the daily basis or resisted in the long term of reform. The represented image and vision of PSB union is an inside look at the value of change for tackling the international benchmark and financial crisis.

The PSB Workers' Union Movement between Taiwan and Southeast Asia

The worldwide Labour Union has been structured globally since 1990. Facing the multinational enterprise expansion, local unions requested a new solidarity beyond the national border. A new convergence and internationalization strategy is reasonably adopted within the movement of labour union. There is an umbrella structure for being representative of all unions and all sectors in the collective bargaining with corporate world. ITUC, stands for International Trade Union Confederation, is functioning as above purpose in 2006. However, for serving more specific sectors request, a four-sector labour movement united together in 2000 to establish Union Network International (UNI).

UNI emerged from the four sectors, including Communications, Graphical workers, white-collar service group, and Media/Entertainment Industry International (UNI MEI). This organizing effort resulted from a new coalition for aiming at the revolution of digital technology and common platform to bring several different industries into one service group. Also, the four industries enhanced by technology are equipped with a completely new skill on the work floor. This trend reformed the skill into a knowledge-based work. Under this framework, the new generation of workers in those industries organized a different road to promote the labour issues and rights. UNI is a symbol for this new movement. (Mosco and McKercher, 2009: 209-210)

Taiwan Public Television Service (PTS) is undergoing a three-year publicizing project to transform Chinese Television System into a new public TV group in 2009. It is the time to call for an interim review of this ongoing reform based on the conclusion of WSIS. The rising of Taiwan Public Television Service Enterprise Union in the debate on reform process is forced by the internal reactionary group led by CEO of same enterprise to change the core of transformation.

Union of PTS Enterprise attended the UNI Congress 2010 held in Nagasaki, Japan. Workers of Taiwan PSB decided to go internationally based on the capacity-building requested for a public media system in different sectors. Moreover, Union asked for a global support for its effort to hold a public enterprise accountable without being interference with ideological contestations from certain civil society organizations.

The very beginning of Congress is also attended by NIPPORO (NHK, Japan Broadcasting Labor Union) and TV3 Union (Malaysia) after the first decade of 21st Century. Taiwan PTS Enterprise Union started to associate with the “brothers & sisters” of worldwide workers association of PSB in general and Asia-Pacific in particular. PTS Union delegate also, through “Request to Speak”, presented the local issue of digitalization and public service choice-making and resistance in front of Congress. To show highly involved into profession and governance of one public service media system by professional workers’ association, Union recognized the current endeavor in Taiwan which is recalled one of the themes finalized by UNI MEI in the past by saying,

Finally, I would like to reiterate the points of statement of Public Service Broadcasting in a New Millennium adopted by Euro-MEI General Assembly in 2001:

- a. Should working condition co-exist in competition with digital strategy
- b. Strongly united us to intervene into a new information society as a new trade union movement

A pro-action and co-governance standing on managing PSB enterprise is endorsed by Union speech. PTS workers wanted to build the alliance with international society by allying with representative PSB unions in the world. In the long run, making a sounding project to increasing scale of Taiwan PSB, upholding by many capacities, is including joining the global media union.

The exchange and understanding between Taiwan PTS Union and the rest of Asia-Pacific colleague is growing through annually meeting as follows,

Table 1. UNI MEI—Attendance of Public Broadcasting Union

Date	International Meeting	Exchange with....
Nov. 2010	UNI World Congress Nagasaki, Japan	Nipporo, TV 3 Union, UNI MEI
Nov. 2011	UNI MEI General Assembly Mexico	Join the group of UNI MEI Asia (Japan, Korea), side meeting for deciding the draft of MOU with ABU
Sept., 2012	IFJ and UNI Asia Pacific Regional Seminar, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	Enlarged coalition of PSB Unions with colleague in Nepal, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam
August, 2013	UNI Apro MEI Founding Conference, Bangkok	Official visit MCOT Union, Thailand, Interactive Forum with ABU
Oct. 2013	The 2nd UNI Apro East Asia Trade Unions Forum, Seoul	Official visit KBS, MBC Union
March, 2014	UNI Apro MEI First Executive Committee Meeting & ABU Seminar, KL	Meeting Malaysia Formally jointed ABU Seminar
Oct., 2014	UNI MEI World PSB Conference, Vienna	Signing UNI MEI Manifesto on Independent and High Quality Public Service Broadcasting
Oct., 2015	UNI MEI General Assembly, Lisbon, Portugal	Meet with Netherlands, Brazil, Greek and Belgium Public Media Unions
Dec., 2015	UNI Apro MEI Committee Meeting, KL	Meet Pakistan Colleague, and Bernama TV Union, Malaysia. UNI Apro’s Labour Chapter made dialogue with Human Right Regulation, ASEAN Economic Community
Sept., 2016	UNI Apro MEI Forum Bangkok	Meet Doordorshan, ARTEE Union, India Collecting Background Report on Broadcasting Unions in UNI Apro

		MEI
Sept., 2017	2 nd UNI Apro MEI Conference "Determined and Prepared", Fukushima, Japan	Special Report on Taiwan Public Service Media future Joins Executive Committee ABU Dialogue
Oct., 2017	6 th . UNI Apro East Asia Affiliates Forum, Taipei	NHK Broadcasting Union visits PTS Union
August, 2018	UNI APRO MEI SECTOR COMMITTEE, Philippines Davao,	Meeting with Philippines Broadcasters, including ABS-CBN, committing ABU Climate Change Media Summit's collaboration

(Source: collecting from UNI MEI and UNI Apro MEI Documents)

The tide of movement by Taiwan PTS workers is self-developed from its decade long journey of internationalization. The capacity-building is also delivered by its internal fight against Director-General's ideological bias and code-breach. However, the Asia-Pacific region of Media Unions is also overhauled in the same time.

In 2010, UNI Congress awarded the TV3 Union, Malaysia for promoted signing the first global agreement with Media Prima Group. This global agreement applied to every sectors of media workers established regionally by the Group. TV3, rating as biggest of audience viewership in Malaysia TV market, is enhanced its de-facto status of public service broadcasting by respecting the fair and negotiable condition with employees. Second to Radio Television Malaysia (Government Sector without unionized), TV3 represented the ideal of PSB and Media Union in the reformed future.

This move is welcomed by UNI MEI for changing the one of key countries in ASEAN (UNI MEI, 2011). This action toward ASEAN is also listed as Priority No.1 for breakthrough strategy. During the Congress and follow-up in Dec., 2010, the Head of UNI MEI also visited Vice-President of NHK, Yoshinori Imai, to bridge a dialogue between Union and Industry Group. The goal is to establish a social dialogue with Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, the biggest alliance for public service broadcasting in Asia based on Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the hub of ASEAN.

UNI, on behalf of MEI and Asia-Pacific Regional Office (UNI Apro), talked with ABU in agreement to work towards a memorandum of understanding (MoU) that would be the basis for launching structural cooperation and social dialogue between the ABU and UNI Apro. This is a critical initiative for setting the first-ever regional solidarity between PSB unions in Asia.

The General Assembly of UNI MEI held in Mexico City is the first formal step to realize the goal to connecting ABU in 2011. A side meeting to finalize MOU draft is successfully called the delegates from Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Nepal working together. Those gatherings worked greatly to coordinate different Asia PSB Unions with the vision for future progress in service and technology. In the meantime, a preparation for establishing UNI Apro MEI is on the way.

The following year in Kuala Lumpur was held a joint-meeting for Unions and Journalist Associations in Asia-Pacific. This meeting concluded the Unions' contributions to the public broadcasting funding reform and its legislation revision. For interpretation on Statement "Building Stronger Unions for Stronger Media", the conference is reaching a consensus that without the strong public broadcasting there is no way to find the strong media (IFJ Asia-Pacific and UNI MEI, 2012). The statement also cleared the road for marching regional networks of unions in public service broadcasters to promote solidarity in support PSB values.

Taiwan was invited by UNI Apro MEI again in 2003 for attending the Founding Conference of its establishment. Taiwan PTS Union is inferior to the existing member of UNI due to the small scale and lack of internationalization understanding within its members. Comparing with the founding members of NHK, KBS/MBC/SBS, TV3, NZ Radio, Nepal Public broadcasting, NABU (Philippines), MediaCorp, MCOT, Taiwan is

kept observers status at best. The knowledge and preparation of Taiwan workers' Union could be benchmarking by international standard. However, the capability and nationality of Taiwan union is under-representative below those of established Unions in developing Southeast countries.

This founding conference revised implementing strategy at the scope of focus on cultural and audiovisual policy. The document raised the issue of ASEAN importance in future economy transformation (UNI Apro MEI, 2013). The new-enabled ABU MOU will be the chief project to lead the Unions movement interact with the economy of designated region. A social dialogue between state, unions, and industry association is finally and formally organized. It is the second initiative globally since the European Broadcasting Union and Euro MEI built the paradigm ten-year ago.

The host of this founding conference is MCOT (Mass Communications Organization of Thailand) Union. MCOT emerged as the leading PSB (TV9) in here by jointly attending of Union President and Enterprise Chief Executive Officer for showing a cooperative labour-management relation. State Enterprise Workers Union of MCOT made a presentation by acclaiming its participation into media policy and digital transformation beyond the scope of general employee perspective (UNI Apro MEI, 2013).

Started from 2014, UNI Apro MEI called a First Executive Committee Meeting in Kuala Lumpur for exchange information, reporting on issue, intervention on strategy per year. The first training cooperation is administrated by UNI and ABU in the title of Health and Safety (Journalist) and Digital Broadcasting (technician) workshop. This is a formal exchange the profession ideal and practice between employee and managerial perspectives. And Taiwan PTS Union is recruited into this official contact by informal way. Another new initiative by the help of Malaysia Liaison Committee is established a group of Malaysia Media Unions. It comprised 8 unions with a combined membership of 2,053 workers. One of them is Bernama Employee Union (a digital TV operator based on the past official news agency expertise). This successful transformation project is illuminating to Taiwan media unions.

In the next half of 2014, UNI MEI asked for a rally to gather worldwide members in supporting *World Conference on Public Service Broadcasting* in Oct. This conference is working for a platform to connect the sister organization and affiliate. Moreover, a statement is signed by participants for promoting quality employment, independent public service broadcasting and successful digital transformation to let Unions talk with regulators and broadcasting operators. This global level of statement are uphold by NHK, TV3, Philippines NABU, and Taiwan PTS Unions in Asia. The conference set the theme at "attack PSB" equal to "attack on Union and democracy". This move is asking the global PSB Union to work with the management staffs to preserve the ethical and economical basis of public broadcasting.

For labour movement in 2015, UNI Apro MEI joined the leading force to tackle the issue of ASEAN Economic Community in "Scale itself New Heights". It is envisioned that Asia-Pacific Region will be shaped rigorously by ASEAN Economic Pact and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). UNI Apro invited the MEI sector to think positively and proactively regarding the flexibility, security, prosperity. (UNI Apro, 2015) This positioning is assisted each PSB media union to build itself with Enterprise upon the continental economic transformation. Without only protecting our gains, PSB media union could actively participated into public funding, independence and transparency, and sustainable development (UNI Apro MEI, 2015).

UNI Apro announced the goal of facing great economy restructuring in ASEAN by putting social dimensional aspect from trade to climate change. UNI Apro introduced ASEAN Service Employees Trade Union Council (ASETUC) to here for witness its existence to enhancing the social and labour dimensions of the ASEAN 2025 program. ASETUC is also comprised of the employees in government broadcasting sectors. It treated the trade policy regime as the partnership to rise the living standard and better decent work opportunities (ASETUC, 2016). It also contributed to the founding of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights.

Under "the scale new heights to" levelling, a Background Report for UNI-Apro MEI Forum based on national survey is tabling to the UNI Apro MEI 2016 Committee Meeting. These report is generated by a research-

based profession within Media Unions to response to NHK labour Union. The compilation are supported by Indonesia (Antara News Agency), Japan (NHK), Nepal (public radio and TV), Korea (KBS, MBC) and Taiwan (PTS) colleague in Unions. There is a new outlook produced by knowledge-based workers.

In 2017 and 2018, more exchanges between media workers (UNI Apro MEI) and media profession (ABU). The General Assembly, Digital Broadcasting Symposium, Climate Change Media Summit, and Regional Workshop on OTT and IBBTechnologies, Standards & Services for Media of ABU etc., are systematically welcomed UNI Apro MEI to send delegates worked for media unions. The workers are not only interested in what rights should be protected but also what profession should be re-skilled.

Regarding the theme of Conference, UNI Apro MEI reflected the agenda of World Economic Forum in Fourth Industrial Revolution and Future of Work. This request is backgrounded by the 2016 questionnaire to broadcasting unions. After the information provided by six media affiliates, the survey partially concluded the media union is working under condition of digitalization. The six unions are also passed through the difficulties, if not totally resolved, in obtaining statistical data.

UNI Apro MEI commented on the results of survey. The most positive findings is that the “public” and “state funded broadcasters” are well aware of digitalization impact on employment and preparation (UNI Apro MEI, 2017). The other encounter is created through twice addressed by ABU delegate to the committee for asking the participation to program production of climate change and disaster risk reduction, and their related training.

The long-term development of PSB workers’ unions in Southeast Asia is heavily promoted by regional union office and industry association. A initiative of Taiwan PTS Union is guided economically by the movement of ASEAN community and structurally by the social dialogue of European model. The solidarity of PSB Unions in Southeast Asia is formally confirmed. However, the domestically interacted between Unions and Enterprise is diverse. The capacity and scale of their development are still much expansive than those of the one in Taiwan.

The Comparison between three ASEAN Member States and Taiwan

This section will demonstrate the certain progress of Southeast Asia PSB in the whole, including employees, industry, and digitalization. The gradual expansion of Taiwan counterpart is also reflected upon by this Asia-Pacific approach to public broadcasting. This research selected three countries in ASEAN for setting the formal exemplar to reflect on Taiwan dilemma in particular and liberal democracy course in general. Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand are chosen by researching on-site and a reference to Asia literature is collected through three factors (economic restructuring, media production, restructuring government) simultaneously. There are followed up by cases of Indonesia and Philippines for an internal variance study.

A. Singapore

The national broadcasting and serving public are two key mandates of broadcasting act endowing PSB in Singapore. Singapore historically monopolized this service by one operator, currently is MediaCorp (Muppidi, 2012). The national union of broadcasting workers, SUBE (Singapore Union of Broadcasting Employees), is also represented by employee of MediaCorp. This systematically arrangement is ruled by a planned media economy administration.

The monopoly of PSB is a concession by government to assign public trusteeship serving the industry as a whole. Around 2007, the regulatory body, Media Development Administration, reallocated the funding of PSB by established a Public Fund (supplementary contest fund) to support the finance of local independent producers through the MediaCorp commissioning. The other sea-change of PSB policy is relocated the site of MediaCorp from Caldecott Hill to the westbound at Fusion 101. This is a new strategic site to regrouping the future industry together including PSB.

Under this new era, MediaCorp has been requested to outsource 40% of production to independent sector (Seneviratne, 2013). The new site is rebranding as the hub of One-North equipped with drone estate lift-off service (Kaur, 2018) announced at Singapore Airshow. The new headquarter of MediaCorp is also titled with

Campus and Academy of media institute. It is serving the young talent for sandbox and startup purpose. The new MediaCorp is reflected the vision of Singapore national policy for uncharted digital sea.

MediaCorp is raging into the digital sea by a determined solution. It is a over-the-top (OTT) television service for traditional broadcasting called "Toggle". It is a Hybrid Broadband Broadcasting System (HBBTV) firstly implemented in Southeast Asia (Kanerva, 2017). The new media served the people by internet streaming non-linear TV and the likes. The person who connected this very service by providing personal data to typical public sector.

Finally, a new campus of MediaCorp is boosting the moral of employees in broadcasting sector. The certain property of real estate is also leased to SUBE for exchanging the positive and cooperative labour-managerial relationship. This internal reform is continuously extended the state welfare system to the new industrial force challenge by globalization and free trade. The reproduction of economy in Singapore is gradually expanded by strengthening the Union and collecting bargain and being ready to collaborate with foreign companies and local production house.

B. Malaysia

The hub of ASEAN Member States and truly home office of Asia public broadcasters in ABU is Malaysia. The country of this key function is behaved as a leading example of transforming state to public service broadcasting. The government sector of broadcasting is RTM and top public service broadcasters is TV3. According to various market reports (Ding and Lay, 2013; Seneviratne, 2013; Latif and Hassan, 2016), the TV3 is owned by business group built on a patron-client relationship. The distinctiveness of two broadcasters in digital age is defined by Ministers. In response to digital revolution, state assigned the R&D mandate to RTM in leading digital terrestrial TV deployment. The Ministry assigned the franchise to MYTV broadcasting consortium operating the DTT platform. MYTV boosted the introduction of digital TV led by RTM TV1-2, TVi, audio-channel, and HBBTV service. This platform also assisted Bernama TV go digital in transforming from state news agency to public TV operator (shared by 70% government, 30% private capital).

On the contrary, TV3 with its backing group, Media Prima, without investing terrestrial TV platform and technology, but contributed to the internet streaming video platform. This cooperation is a domestic distribution by using different digital penetration and protecting invasion from foreign multinational media capitals.

The TV3 Union, assisted by UNI Global Union, defined the first global agreement on term and condition of group employees. Based on this corporate-labour exchange positively, TV3 led a coalition to recruit Astro, Primework, Al Hijrah, Bernama Unions, and Writer Association into one Malaysia Media Unions. A combined membership of 2,053 workers will be the basis to invite the outsourcing force unite together in facing ASEAN Community employment policy. The Global Agreement also set the deal for multinational corporations expanding to Southeast Asia with respecting the collective bargaining standpoint.

The media product is upgrading to internet TV and mobile application respectively by Media Prima and RTM. Those media streaming are based on the free-to-air basis. In the meantime, analogue radio service is undergoing digitalization also. The broadcast media is retained the statue of mass media in serving people all over regions. The media in general is directly owned by UMNO and indirectly managed by its allies of ruling Barisan National Coalition (Seneviratne, 2013). Media Prima, as the leading group in private broadcasters, is also owned by Employees Provident Fund (18.46 percent), GabunganKesturi (11.49 percent), and Altima (8.25 percent). Both GabunganKesturi and Altima have been linked with UMNO. The media content is de facto regulated by a national culturalism. (Ding and Lay, 2013)

Restructuring Government is currently transformed in Malaysia. After the general election is finalized, a handover process is ongoing. Most major leadership of terrestrial broadcasters is akin to the new constituency of ruling party by switching their shareholders. For revamping government broadcasters, RTM presented a physical overhaul by building a future of Wisma 2020 in Angkasapuri Media City Hub (Ahmad, 2018). It is evidential to recall the government promise to increase spending on RTM after digitalization.

Other than the current digital, education and religious broadcasting, this re-establishment introduced the entertainment and recreation vision of RTM. The new city hub is comprising of new complex, buildings, and HD facilities into one strategic site of Greater KL. Except the broadcasting compound, new landscape is including, Main Tower, Auditorium, Archive Centre and Music Studio, and a Recreational Centre. Malaysia broadcasting policy shared one thing with Singapore by revamping it into a new century visionary mediascape.

The nationwide of OTT platform launched TonTon by Media Prima in 2017. Currently, the same group is proposed to switch streaming video service to uploading on “Palyer for Publishers” service of YouTube (Billy Toh, 2018). According to TV3 Union, this rearrangement is leveraged on its top-rating branding and content by generated the great value of data analytics. However, whether this reproduction of digital work is really contributed to survival of traditional media or not questioned by public service broadcasting supporters.

After the victory of previous Prime Minister Mahathir in general election, the newly-passed Fake News Act is another critical event (Martin Carvalho, 2018). Either it was treated as the oppressive organ to freedom of Press, or as safeguard of good character and moral values with which the internal reform is waiting to react.

C. Thailand

Thailand democracy is gone through the difficulty and interwoven races between authoritarian regime, political party and civil society organization. After 1992 revolution, the broadcasting regulation is changing on the road to set up independent commission. The convergence independent organization was approved finally by 2008 Bill. The NBTC (National Broadcasting and Telecommunications Commission) was set up. The second big event is Yr. 2006 coup for overthrow the then Prime Minister Thaksin Shinwarta. The confiscated ITV station is planned to transform into a new public service broadcasters in 2008 (Rodloytuk, 2011).

The Thai PBS is finally set the scene of PSB in Thailand observed from the Western perspective. It is funded by taxation on alcohol and tobacco (1.5%) in around USD 65 million annually (Thepchai, 2009). This initiative is forcing the rest broadcasters of government, army, and public enterprise to positioning themselves in the digital age. Other than the civil society group participation approached by Thai PBS, the PSB function left to the other broadcasting based on free-to-air model.

Before the UNI Apro MEI Founding Conference held in Bangkok, 2013, a digital transformation is impending upon the domestic mass media market. This transformation adopted new digital TV standard by DVB-T2. The switchover process of terrestrial TV promoted the economy of new value-chain of production flow. NTBC decided the new frequencies of digital TV divided by public, commercial, and community. The latest one, community sectors, is protected by 20% of total spectrum assignment. The technology transfer is powered by a national economy policy to enable a new industrial production and consumption. Moreover, to create certain new public service option, for example, community service, multi-linguistic broadcast service, and children channels. The new development also supports the local cultural production challenging by liberalized foreign capitals and products (Tangkitvanich and Wongkitrungruang, 2010).

The workers' Union is rising from this process. In 2013, the MCOT (Mass Communications Organization of Thailand) Union hosted the UNI Apro MEI conference with the support of parent enterprise. Before this year, MCOT is already corporatized by Thai government into a new entity to serve the population all over the country (by USD 186 million annually). In the meeting, MCOT Union is subjectively interpreted itself as the state-of-the-art of PSB in Asia Pacific region. Based on the highest rating and popular taste, Channel 9, operated by MCTO to serve the people basic need, is historically confirmed. For example, after the second coup happened in May 2014, military junta quickly ordered NBTC to purchase the broadcasting right of WorldCup from right holder. Then all free-to-air broadcasting obtained the franchise to broadcast to the people in various clusters.

Inside the Conference, UNI Global Union (2013) issued a statement to support MCOT State Enterprise Union. In the protest, Union requested to put a hold on all bidding scenario for 24 digital commercial channels.

Beyond the content quality, this process will force the digital TV industry into totally profits-driven one. Union also criticized the NTBC decision on the status of MCOT by only choosing aired slots of commercials as the proof of private interest orientation. Union seeks the possibility of regulator body being captured by business interest.

The start date for licensing digital TV is scheduled to 2014. The assignment for public and community broadcasting licenses is adopted by beauty contest. MCOT finally acquired 5 HD channels, but two of MCOT HD and MCOT Family categorized for commercial service are under question. This result is a compromise confronted by NTBC and MCOT, civil society organizations (Sukonrat, 2014). In 2016, MCOT Union reported the fall of digital TV industry caused other two channels closure and 500 workers went unemployed. This media content is facing the slowdown of economy and unresolved transition of military ruling.

Government restructuring is undergoing and even delay. The Thai PBS is survived already ten-year long now. This achievement is positioning the rest of public TV channels, NBT, MCOT, Army in a better functioning as public-security, public-government understanding, public-commercial purposes (Udomslip, 2014; Bunaramrueang, 2015). According to the recent market report (NANAT SUCHIVA, 2018), their financial status are the most strong. Although, the politics of Thailand is struggling with its internal reform and depressive economy, the industry of PSB is efficiently structured by a three-pillar functioning for national security, public relation campaign, popular culture, education and people participation. With current sounding finance arrangement, the PSB media provide quality content serving local need. In the name of above contributions, the legitimacy of scale and employment is secured under the threat of international capital investment in audiovisual contents.

D. Taiwan

Taiwan PTS is the late coming operator of PSB in Asia-Pacific region. The model of Taiwanese is squeezed by its American PBS model in serving as a complementary role in TV business. The economy of Taiwan is under great transformation by the trade relation with China. Moreover, the audiovisual content market is bombarded by Korean Wave or K-pop in the first decade of 21st Century in particular and kept sharing with same language and distribution with China TV industry in general. Under this circumstance, Taiwan PSB is strengthened by a political control mission. A publicizing for TV industry policy is undergoing in 2006 for a new media landscape aimed at fostering enough local production and quality newscast.

Taiwan PTS workers' Union is grew by a dispute between Chief-Executive Officer and its anti-publicizing policy of Chinese TV System (CTS). This event is also brought closer these two Unions (PTS and CTS) together. The reason for publicizing of state-owned TV enterprise is to comply with the goal of media democratization worldwide. With parliament legislation support, the growth of public service broadcasting is favour to do newscast fairly and independently on political issues between different parties. Only a small effort to increase the efficiency and resource of public broadcasting by exchanging the advantage of both broadcasters' asset. However, the promise of special government grant legalized by Act is never delivered. PTS is kept USD 26 million annually without fine-tuning mechanism and CTS being self-financed by airing commercials without change long before publicizing (market share only 15%). It is a less economical solution to be a better public broadcasting group. The bad shape of audiovisual content industry forced scale down the employment and create more freelancer or temporary jobs in production.

Except this publicizing project, government went nothing to reengineering the industry as a whole. Taiwan public broadcasting policy is way behind the growth of those colleague in Southeast Asia for economic restructuring.

The media content production is partially benefited to PTS by granting several special funds for transforming service to digital multichannel, HDTV, UHD TV, and new media followed (see Table 2.).

Table 2. The Government's Special Funds from 2003 to 2018

Year	The Projects	Budget(USD)
2003-2009 (2008 was excluded)	The Project of Constructing Common Transmission Platform (including DTT network, MHP testing, mobile TV system)	40 million
2006	The Project of Public Broadcasting, Cultural Creation and Digital Television Development	83 million
2011	The Project of Building HDTV Network in Eastern Taiwan	1.5 million
2011	The Project of Upgrading 21 Gap Fillers from SD to HD System	2.5 million
2012	The Project of Producing HDTV Programs	6 million
2013-17	Following HDTV Production	roughly 6 million(annual)
2018	Public Broadcasting Content and Application	8 million
	Flagship Program for the Application of Cultural Content in Technology and Innovation	6.4 million

Source: compiled by authors and publications of PTS, Ministry of Culture

Currently, the infrastructure of OTT or internet streaming is financed by its own Board of PTS with the funding of 2016 at USD. 2,038,781 (from 1,545,313 in previous year). It included launch of PTS VOD service (via six thematic YouTube Channels), PTS+7 and one experimentation YouTube niche channel. Before the fine-tuning with inflation mechanism is set, the new media churned out by PTS is rather like a trial than a significant network player.

Regarding restructuring government in Taiwan, there is a sea change of administration on public broadcasting policy. In 2012, Ministry of Culture (MOC) is established to charge the jurisdiction on public broadcasting service. In the meantime, regulator body of PTS, the Commissioner-In-Chief of National Communications Commission is nominated by Central Government. To policing the audiovisual investment and incubation, PTS is commissioned directly by this new cultural and public diplomacy regime. The new-elected Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) government is revamping public broadcasting for a political goal again (MOC, 2016; 2017b). Based on the cultural nationalism of DPP (MOC, 2017a), the overseas international communication is desperately needed to combat Mainland China cultural invasion.

However, lacking of cultural economy and industry concern, the new finance of PSB is basically relied on enlarging state subsidy. Seeking the possibility of state broadcasting, Ministry of Culture proposed that a merger plan is ready to incorporate public TV, overseas government radio, national news agency together. Reasonably, a new public media group is tenable and only possible to get fund increase. This vision is work at best on having a dream for PSB future.

Under this diminishing economy, Taiwan TV industry is produced what is needed for social reproduction. As a result, the atypical employees and outsourcing freelancers are the norm of TV sector. Occasionally, Taiwan PTS is leading the normalizing employment by transferred atypical employees into permanent jobs in 2014 but without leveling the structure of payee. Under this pressure, a Taiwan Media Workers Union (TMWU) is established to organize the individual employees in media sector. In cooperation, PTS Union and TMWU are facilitating the talks to form a confederation of media unions in Taiwan.

Finally, the research found that the liberalization of media market is circumscribed the scale of public service broadcasting. Taiwan, an example, is historically imprinted the version of Americanization on TV industry. The resemblance of situation is replicated in Philippines and Indonesia after post-Suharto era. The former one is inherited the American three-broadcasting network to local (Tuazon, 2015) and the latter is paving the way to being dominated by TV media conglomerate in marketplace (Masduki, 2018). The disadvantage of PSB is found similar within People Television Network, TVRI, and Taiwan PTS, particularly on performing daily news report.

Conclusion

The comparative study on PSB of Taiwan and three-Southeast Asia country is reflected the advantage vs-a-vis disadvantage within the territories under three perspectives review. This research extended the concern of political economy studies from Europe to Asia on the theme of public service broadcasting and democracy. Although Taiwan media in general is achieved the freedom, independent of news profession in Asia-Pacific region and PSB in particular, the scale and policy of operating PSB is untenable in comparison with Southeast Asia region.

The research adopted the labour movement approach. It is the workers who built the reform on the bottom up. Being the professional workers, PSB media personnel also extended the visionary future including the policy, regulation, operation, facilities. A stronger media union in PSB sector will operate the strongest public service broadcaster. Combined three key elements to interpret the political economy of changing communication technology, there is a critical moment it could capture the very development of transforming digital broadcasting to internet streaming upon the developing world beneath the booming economic regional integration.

The following table demonstrated the findings came through the comparison between Taiwan PSB and the counterparts of Southeast Asia states.

Table 3. Three-key Element Divided the Condition of PSB in Selected Asia States

Country/PSB	Economic Restructuring	Media Commodity and Its Alternative	Restructuring Government
Singapore/MediaCorp	Public Fund for outsourcing local production Innovation and share economy	Toggle as the guarantee on public interest-oriented OTT platform	New Compound Public real estate management Cooperative labour-managerial relation
TV3, RTM, Bernama TV /Malaysia	Government broadcasting R&D Private interest spin-off business Multinational mediacorporate –labour settlement	Multiplatform by digitalization Serving people all over the regions National culturalism dominated	Management and shareholders switching power to new regime Angkasapuri Media City Hub start Fake News Act pending
MCOT, Thai PBS/Thailand	Roll-out DVB-T2 new digital value chains Nurturing local production Union of SOE TV is strengthening for	Digitalization for new service Public-security Public-government Public-commercial Public-education	Maintaining the sounding finance for three-PSB institute Securing the employment in exchange for Junta regime stability

	economy reform		
PTS/Taiwan	Transforming State to public broadcasting Political reform Lacking economic regulation	PTS received Special Fund for digital TV service; Self-funded for new media Limited service to public	Ministry of Culture initiative New Public Media Group for cultural protection and public diplomacy Limited finance support

This research concluded the weakness of Taiwan PSB model by this comparison. First and foremost, Taiwan PTS is barely accountable to a long-term financial arrangement. Comparing with Singapore (public property and sharing profits), Malaysia (public and private partnership) and Thailand (three-pillar structure and sound funding), the fixed amount of appropriation and the short-term of government special fund in Taiwan, contributed into a very small size of enterprise without enough staff to take care of ever-growing digital new demands for public service.

Taiwan is success only at maintaining the one arm length's distance of away from state influence and welcomed by only political party for its independent and trustworthiness journalism. The public broadcasting is concerned by strongly political interest rather than an economic interest in scale and scope.

On the contrary, the three-Southeast Asia member states funded the public broadcasting as one of national building blocks. They are performed as not only the political campaigners but also the leading role in creating a new media economy. The only weakness of them is too close to be accountable to political resistance and check-and-balance. These striking examples of different Asia-Pacific public broadcasting models, again reflected on the major themes of this regional approach into a sounding PSB future by contesting as follows (selectively), how to..... (AIBD, 2018)

- a. soften the impact of any sudden shift to PSB in a particular country with State Broadcasting
- b. reflect democratic legitimacy also ridding the perception as the mouthpiece of the government
- c. bring about more productive use of public money
- d. pave the way for more meaningful social dialogues
- e. relieving broadcasters from the constraint of state bureaucracy
- f. help the government establish good governance
- g. improve the morale of the employees of state broadcasting

Thinking on the recommendation for Southeast Asia PSB to do transformation, is it found the Taiwan PTS an example for learning? If not, this research posed a critical review on the transition goal by regional inside look, particularly based on labour perspective. Restarted the journey of PSB development, if desirable, it is time to sourcing the morale of the employee at the beginning of enquiry in a participatory approach to the core of political economy of PSB reform.

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About the Author

Hamilton Cheng is a research fellow at Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation and assistant professor at Fugen Catholic University.

Unbalanced Network Management Policy in Cyberspace*Jan-Wen Peng**Chunghwa Telecommunication Laboratories, Taipei, 100, Taiwan.***Abstract**

The prosperous digital technologies have developed the mass Internet activities, the tension between service providers and customer protection is increasing. The debate of free expression and traffic management to keep Internet workable are inevitable, thus involved in different ISP regulation in each country. Some countries welcomes the Internet development, but some countries seem treat it as a threat and make a serious control. The major Internet traffic management policy would be the net neutrality between users and service providers, which is a basic dilemma conflict for govern to regulate. This paper would like to address the different regulatory operation of net neutrality rule on Asia, Europe and US. Those state regulations for ISPs are different because of geographic market competition. As shown in Figure 1, the competition model of incumbent telecommunication (mostly are broadband ISPs) and Internet content providers (ICP, CDN and OTT) presents complicated situation by competition. How to regulatory the operation between different service providers but not intervene too deep to choke up the market is a state-of-the-art. A more detailed insight will locate in the three major customer's protection rights in net neutrality – Transparency, No blocking and Non-discrimination. Also the only commercial issue for ISP, which is paid prioritization (fast lane) may fall in debate in US. The FCC's Internet policy changed in recent years. As summary in Figure 2, the broadband Internet Access Service is defined as Information service before 2015. Once the broadband access completion market is out of control, the President Obama asks no gatekeeper and the FCC makes rigorous regulation decision by Title II under 1996 Acts authority. The President Trump and FCC chairman released the regulation again on 2018. However, the public opinion seems not accepted the Restoring Internet Freedom Order, and many states are chained together legislate its net neutrality Laws.

Introduction

THE prosperous digital technologies have developed the mass Internet activities, the tension between service providers and customer protection is increasing. The debate of free expression and traffic management to keep Internet workable are inevitable, thus involved in different ISP regulation in each country. Some countries welcome the Internet development, but some countries seem to treat it as a threat and make a serious control. The major Internet traffic management policy would be the net neutrality between users and service providers, which is a basic dilemma conflict for government to regulate.

A more detailed insight will locate in the three major customer's protection rights in net neutrality – Transparency, No blocking and Non-discrimination. Also the only commercial issue for ISP, which is paid prioritization (fast lane) may fall in debate in US. The FCC's Internet policy changed in recent years. As summary in Figure 2, the broadband Internet Access Service is defined as Information service before 2015. Once the broadband access completion market is out of control, the President Obama asks no gatekeeper and the FCC makes rigorous regulation decision by Title II under 1996 Acts authority. The President Trump and FCC chairman released the regulation again in 2018. However, the public opinion seems to have not accepted the Restoring Internet Freedom Order, and many states are chained together legislate its net neutrality Laws. The public is worrying about Tier Giant plays new gatekeeper role and asks the government to protect their basic human rights. The Washington State is then passing the regulation on Feb. 28, 2018.

In this paper, we found the net neutrality policy of Europe, Japan and Korea are different with US. The zero-rating services are majorly permitted in Europe, only forbidden in Norway, Netherland, Finland and Iceland. The MIC, Japan announced the "Packet Shaping Guideline" in 2008, and KCC of Korea even agreed the throttling P2P traffic management for broadband operators. A suggestion covers the interaction between regulator and service providers is given by our research, which comment how the market affects the regulated policy and commercial operation between government, service providers and customers. We recommend that the traffic management, equal access and net neutrality must distinguish in definition. The better way is to make sure that the operator's traffic control practices is effective and reasonable. Finally, we

summarize our major findings of net neutrality policy in the conference paper for USA, Europe, Japan and Korea.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section II describes the debate of supporting net neutrality and opposite viewpoints in recent years. Section III introduces the net neutrality rules adapted by developed country, and an interesting traffic management policy comparison between these countries. Some telecommunication services that touched the edge of the rules such as zero-rating services to see if judged violation by the government are presented in section IV. Finally, concluding remarks are given in section V.

Net Neutrality Debate

network neutrality definition

The definitions of network neutrality policy are evolved in areas and periods. The 1934 Communications Act of USA defines a phone company can't check who's on the line and selectively block or degrade the service of callers. In the 1996 Telecommunication Act, it requires an ISP shouldn't slow down services, block legal content, or let company pay for their data to get to customers faster than a competitor's. The 2010 FCC OIO quotes: "Absence of unreasonable discrimination on the part of network operators in transmitting Internet traffic." [1] The President Obama remarks of 'openness, fairness, and freedom' and of the absence of gatekeepers who can decide which sites users are permitted to access in 2014. [2] In Europe, the Framework Directive defined the ability of all Internet end-users '... to access and distribute information or run applications and services of their choice'. [3] More recently, the Telecoms Single Market Regulation as passed by the Parliament in April 2014 defines the principle of net neutrality in the open Internet as signifying 'that traffic should be treated equally, without discrimination, restriction or interference, independent of the sender, receiver, type, content, device, service or application.' [4] And the BEREC: "Assurance that all traffic on the Internet is treated equally, whatever its source, content or destination."

Fig. 1 shows the business competition structure between ICP and ISP. There is a debate to redistribute the 'Internet cake' between Internet companies who provide content and get most of the income, and telecommunication companies who provide the dump-pipe through which content flows, but get a much smaller piece of the cake. Another viewpoint argues that basic Internet access should be provided as a basic human right or public service, as are gas, water distribution, electrical power distribution, etc. It would result to strong regulation of last mile such as Title II Common Carrier regulation.

The most controversial issue in the dispute of net neutrality is "Should ISP play gate keeper role in traffic management?" Some arguments about Internet traffic management for delivering packets equally on Internet. One argument relates to the differentiated treatment or service of Internet traffic. On one hand, differentiation or paid priority may be charged for unequal Internet speeds. There might well be a 'VIP Internet' allowed with faster speeds if someone would like to pay. Some sponsored-data and zero-rating-like services may benefit over those who cannot get higher package rate.

Others argue that net neutrality is the content delivery. All the democratic countries that have the legal content should have equal access or be not blocked by any ISPs requirement. However, many illegal contents are also flooded in Internet. The content providers with intellectual property rights (IPR) want ISPs to block those unlawful traffic or websites. Then it is back to the "ISP as gate keeper?" issue again.

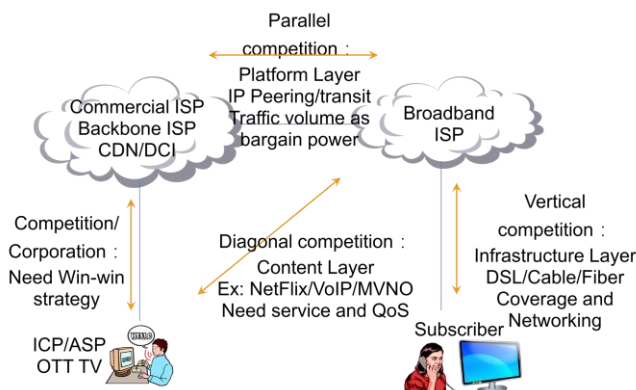


Fig. 1. Business competition between Internet companies

Global Net Neutrality Rules

The countries in the world have diversify net neutrality management policy because of the different telecommunications environments and competitive markets. It cannot decide which policy is good or bad to customers. Most of the NN rules are describing in Customer Protection Law, some are not. This study reveals the important development in major countries.

USA

It is a long story for USA since half century ago. Back to 1980's, the *Second Computer Inquires* defined the pure transmission capability as *Basic* service category, which must be regulated by Title II of the Communications Act, and the *Enhanced* services are no limits. The Modification of Final Judgment (MFJ) of 1982 and Telecommunications Act of 1996's distinguished between heavily regulated "telecommunications services," and light-touched "information services". The definition of information services includes computer processing, interactive and internet access services. During 2002~2006, The FCC released *Cable Modem Order*, *Wireline Broadband Classification Order*, *BPL-Enabled Broadband Order* and *Wireless Broadband Internet Access Order* to classify BIAS as information services (Title I), which buried subsequent serious disputes and arguments.

Since 2005, FCC noticed the BIAS certain actions are not suitable, and endorsed the four Internet freedoms in the *Internet Policy Statement* 2005 [5]. The FCC judged Comcast's behavior meets process discriminatory, thus released *Comcast P2P blocking rule*. [6] But, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeal overturned the FCC rule on 2010 because of the BIAS is the information services and FCC has no jurisdiction on it. The D.C. Circuit Court admits FCC's regulatory authority under section 706 of the Telecommunications Act to establish no-blocking and no-unreasonable-discrimination rules, then FCC adopted and codified NPRM into the 2010 *Open Internet Order*. It discloses transparency, no blocking, no unreasonable discrimination but permits "Pay for Priority" at this moment.

The key turning point is 2014, the D.C. Circuit Court adopted the same reason (BIAS is information services) to reject FCC' Open Internet Order (vs Verizon) again, and admit FCC only has the *Transparency Rule* under Sec. 706 jurisdiction authority. After the Verizon case, the President Obama supports FCC to propose *Bright Line* for net neutrality in 2014, and asked to reclassify BIAS as Title II Common Carrier regulation. It is not argued until FCC published *Restoring Internet Freedom Order* on 2018, it reinstate the information service classification of broadband Internet access service and mobile broadband Internet access service is not a commercial mobile service.

The FCC's 2010 *OIO* net neutrality rules locate in the three major customer's protection rights – Transparency, No blocking and No Unreasonable Discrimination. Also the only commercial issue for ISP, which is paid prioritization (fast lane) may fall in debate in US. The FCC's Internet policy changed in recent years. As summary in Figure 2, the broadband Internet Access Service is defined as Information service before 2014. Once the broadband access completion market is out of control, the President Obama asks no gatekeeper for Internet and the FCC makes rigorous regulation decision by Title II under 1996 Acts authority on 2015. Obama's Net neutrality—the principle that Internet service providers must treat all data on the Internet equally and not block, throttle, or charge extra or access to Internet.

The President Trump and FCC chairman released the Title II regulation again on 2018. However, the public opinion seems not accepted the FCC <Restoring Internet Freedom Order>, and many states are chained together legislate its net neutrality Laws. The public is worrying about Tier Giant play new gatekeeper role and ask the government to protect their basic human rights. The Washington State is then passing the regulation on Feb. 28, 2018. [7] The Senate has voted (52:47) to overturn the FCC's decision to repeal net neutrality [8], but it needs to wait the House of Representatives to step up like the Senate did. The FCC's announcement goes into effect on June 11, 2018. However, under the Congressional Review Act, Congressman can overrule any regulation issued by a government agency with a **simple majority**. [9] Up to

now, the Internet policy contention is still fermenting.

European Union

Net Neutrality	2009	2013~2015	2016~2018
EU/EC regulate policy	BEREC classify ISP (IAS) as information service of ECS, and ICP / ASP as content service	EU IMCO committee proposes "Net Neutrality guidelines"	BEREC's "Guidelines on the Implementation by National Regulators of European Net Neutrality Rules", consulting now
BISP status	Registered		
Transparency Rule	No special NN regulation for ECN/ECS, ISP disclose traffic management policy	Transparency for customer's contract	Technology neutral, NRA monitoring "Equal and non-discriminatory treatment of traffic", Reasonable network management practices, Permit zero-rating services
No Blocking Rule		Free selection of access and content	
No Unreasonable Discrimination		Specialised services with special QoS	
Traffic Management		Permit network management (95/46)	

Fig. 3. Net Neutrality Policy Changes in EU

The continent of Europe didn't discuss net neutrality aspects until 2006. Three bodies involved in the process of NN lawmaking, the European Union (EU), the European Commission (EC), and BEREC. BEREC has developed many regulatory rules and consultant in order to help NRAs in the monitoring and supervision of the net neutrality provisions of the Regulation. On 2015/11/26, the BEREC proposed network neutrality drafts and got Europe Parliament(EP) supports. It became the NN guideline on 2016/07, and finals on 2016/08/30. [10]

As shown in Fig. 3, the principles of NN policy in Europe is technology neutral, which do not imposed on transmission technology for any communications services providers. The EP met some NN consensus on 2015/07, which are:

- (1)ISP will not allowed to block or degrade to specified services for any business reasons.
- (2)ISP's specific service (such as health device, M2M communication services), can be freely provided by non-Internet access services and special QoS demands for specified services.
- (3)Amend a traffic management Guideline: those Internet traffic management must have "temporary or exceptional congestion" condition, the ISP may authorize to manage to deal with traffic. The ISPs may keep Internet smoothly only under "reasonable traffic management measures". The Final Guidelines amends the content monitoring and the equal access to Internet traffic, by way of non-discriminatory treatment. The Guidelines require NRA to assess/evaluate if the network measures meeting transparent, non-discriminatory and proportional requirements by ISPs, and it must be non-business, not monitoring specific packets. BEREC also asks NRA to define what is the reasonable traffic management measures. For the QoS requirements in the fixed IAS services, the NRA could ask ISPs to display the services minimum speed, maximum speed, normally available speed, advertised speed. For the mobile IAS, it asks to provide the estimated maximum speed, and the advertised speed.

For the zero-rating services and other innovative or IoT services, EU/EC permits zero-rating and not in the regulatory by BEREC guideline TE0007-001031 (June 2016). However, BEREC authorizes NRA could decides by themselves if anti-competition happened in their domestic markets. On 2018/03/18, BEREC invites stakeholders to participate in a public consultation on an evaluation of the application of the BEREC Net Neutrality Guidelines (the "Guidelines") in the context of the Net Neutrality Regulation (the "Regulation"). The objective of this consultation is to gather information on how stakeholders have experienced the application of the Regulation, as provided for in the Guidelines, since April 30th 2016. [11]

Japan

There is no NN issues for the POTS/ADSL services or before 2000. The MIC adopts strong SMP regulations to NTT and open interconnection policy (「Telecommunications Business Act」 and 「NTT Law」). It emerges in 2007 since the optic fibers covering all Japan and the NTT Fiber Wholesales. The strong competitions between MNO/MVNO operators trigger the NN issues. The zero-rating service competition let MIC adopt some NN policy. [12]

In 2007/09/20, the MIC organized "Working Group on Network Neutrality", and declared three NN principles:

- (1)The customers could flexible use IP network, and freely access contents and applications software.
- (2)The customer could freely connect their communication devices which qualified the technical requirements to IP networks.

(3)The customers could equally use the network layer and platform layer with reasonable prices.

Net Neutrality	Before 2007	2007	2010~
MIC regulate policy	No NN issues under SMP LLU	MIC released three NN principles	Bandwidth control principle (2010)
BISP status	Register for Type II service providers		
Transparency Rule	Confront MIC by industry self-discipline, no special NN regulation	ISP must disclose traffic management practices, Consumer Protection Guideline (2009)	
No Blocking Rule		Customers free access legal content and websites, and free select devices access networks	
No Unreasonable Discrimination		Reasonable price and fair use platform	Allow ISP limit bandwidth to P2P and heavy users
Traffic Management		Packet Shaping Guideline (2008)	

Fig. 4. Net Neutrality Policy Changes in Japan

The Packet Shaping Method could be : (i)Traffic restriction of specific applications (e.g. P2P file sharing software); and (ii) Traffic restriction or cancelling the contract of heavy users whose traffic exceed a certain threshold. The packet shaping may be allowed in emergency measures only as an “Averting present Danger (Penal Code Article 37)” if burst traffic of some heavy users degrade communication speed on other users.

In 2009, the MIC amended the “Consumer Protection Guideline”, which imposed ISPs promulgate their packet-shaping practices. [13] On 2010/06, the MIC amended “guideline for bandwidth-control operating standards”, which establishes minimum-requirement rules for operating standards, so avoiding arbitrary bandwidth controls. However, it permits two categories of bandwidth control :

(a)Category 1: Control of communications bandwidth by heavy users exceeding a set traffic volume

(b)Category 2: Control of communications bandwidth targeting specific applications (e.g., P2P)

In 2013, The MIC followed the EU and proposed “mobile QoS measurement project” to monitoring the wireless communication transmission quality.

South Korea

South Korea has no NN issue until 2010, the VoIP and Internet Television (video streaming) services triggered a series argument events because of the ICP applications traffic volume exceeds the tolerance of ISPs bandwidth. Since 2010, Korea government guarantees the customer’s right, but permits an upper-limit policy for blocking mVoIP services. [14]

The general net neutrality rules has been legislated in Telecommunications Business Act (TBA), and the ISP must apply license from Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning (MSIP). The ISPs are regulated by MSIP until merged to KCC at 2008. The basic NN rules in TBA are as following :

-Article 3(1) No telecommunications business operator may refuse to provide any telecommunications service, without justifiable grounds.

-Article 28 (Reporting, etc. on Terms and Conditions of Use) shall not unfairly restrict the use of telecommunications line facilities by other telecommunications business operators or users;

-Article 50 (Prohibited Acts) (1) No telecommunications business operator may commit any of the following acts which undermine or are feared to undermine fair competition or user's interests, or allow other telecommunications business operators or third parties to commit such acts.

The KCC established “network neutrality forum” in 2011, and announced “Net Neutrality and Internet Traffic Management Guidelines” on 2012/07. The major principles

Due to the universality of broadband at 2008, the traffic increases abruptly resulted congestion. The ISPs must expand the fiber networking and manage the traffic. The Working Group of NN proposed a “Packet Shaping Guideline (2008)” to government.

The MIC accepted and indicated :

(1)ISPs should increase network capacity when network traffic increases.

(2)Packet shaping should only be allowed in exceptional situations.

(3)Packet shaping should be justified by objective criteria.

Net Neutrality	Before 2010	2011	2013~
MIC regulate policy	Telecommunications Business Act	2011 NN Forum, 2012 release NN and TM Guidelines	MISP release “Reasonable Traffic Management Standards”
BISP status	Register and licensed for service providers		
Transparency Rule	Disclose traffic management policy		Sufficiently disclose traffic management policy
No Blocking Rule	Customers free select device to access networks	Forbidden	Forbidden
No Unreasonable Discrimination	Equal access to all information traffic	Forbidden	No discrimination to similar content/services
Traffic Management	Not regulated	KCC permits paid to ISP for mVoIP traffic, and blocking P2P	Traffic blocking must have incentives and proportionality

Fig. 5. Net Neutrality Policy Changes in South Korea

are:

- (1) An Internet access service provider means a Telecommunications carrier which provides a fixed and wireless Internet access service pursuant to the Telecommunications Business Act.
- (2) ISP should treat all data equally, not discriminating user, type of content, and type of attached device
- (3) Users should be able to access to any content, application and services of their choice, using suitable devices of their choice
- (4) An Internet access service provider shall disclose the traffic management policy which clarifies objectives, scopes, conditions, processes, and ways, etc. of Internet traffic management.
- (5) No blocking : An Internet access service provider shall not block lawful content, applications, services, or not harmful devices or equipment.
- (6) No Unreasonable Discrimination : An Internet access service provider shall not unreasonably discriminate against any lawful contents according to the types or providers of these contents, applications, and services.

However, this Korea NN Guideline is not adapted to mVoIP service case (means it could be throttling). On 2012/06, KCC permits telecommunication providers charges the VoIP traffic of mobile customers, and telecommunication providers could make discrimination of P2P and heavy-user traffic, which is so-called "Internet Censorship". This policy changed to only cap-limited traffic to low-price-package of mVoIP services in 2014. It seems violate Korea TBA but KCC made a wield agree. The KCC's reasons are: (i) the mVoIP services has the service-substitute capability to traditional PSTN voice service, it will reduce the ISP's profit and networking investment. (ii) ISP recognizes that the OTT (free riding) traffic occupied network bandwidth, the mVoIP providers shall share the network construction cost.

On 2013/12/05, MSIP found the ISP's traffic management was out of control, thus amended the NN Guidelines and proposed "the standard on reasonable management and usage of communications network and transparency of traffic management", which reveal 4 criteria to traffic management :

- 1) transparency – whether traffic management policy is disclosed enough,
- 2) proportionality – whether traffic management is proportionate to its aim and motive,
- 3) non-discrimination – whether there is unfair discrimination between similar type of contents, and
- 4) technical characteristics of network.

The newest movement is that a Network Neutrality User Forum (NNUF, established by 11 groups on 2012/05) proposed advisement to KCC on TBA on 2016/04. It proposes:

1) Create provisions on the definition of Internet user and users' right : To define the term "end user" in the Internet technology field with a conventional term "Internet user" and establish grounds for Internet users' right with regard to net neutrality,

2) Create provisions on managed service : To define managed service and establish grounds upon which such services are prevented from influencing the internet network,

3) Create provisions on limited reasonable traffic management : To establish grounds upon which the scope of traffic management can be limited for human rights reasons, and,

4) Create provisions to mandate monitoring of traffic management technologies : To establish grounds for mandating the monitoring of traffic management technologies by considering their impacts on the privacy of Internet users and making the results public.

However, the KICA and KTOA** against the NNUF proposal, and the KCC revised it and re-propose to Regulatory Reform Committee on 2016/08. We summarized the Korea NN policy in Figure. 5.

Forbidden Country	Chile, Norway, Dutch, Finland, Iceland, Japan, India
	Reason: The Regulator announces the services are a discriminatory practice which threatens access to an open, neutral Internet.
Admit Country	US, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, EU, South Korea, England, France, Belgium
	1. A innovative service, needs monitoring market development and maintain fair competition 2. US FCC against at&t and Verizon, but stop investigation since new Chairman 3. EU/EC permits, but leave NRA decides in their domestic telecom markets

Fig. 6. Global zero-rating services regulations

** KICA: Korea Information Certificate Authority, KTOA: Korea Telecommunications Operators Association. Zero-Rating Service

The zero-rating or sponsored data services are permitted in Europe. However, it might be a dispute edge ball in US. During FCC's NN rules on 2015, the telecommunication service providers promoted many new packages without counting traffic volume such as T-Mobile Binge-On, tried to challenge the real bottom line of the NN rules. There is a scholar argues that the Binge-On services violates 2015 NN Rules. [15] The FCC use the 7 factors to check the ISP's sponsored data services : (1)end user control; (2)competitive effects; (3)consumer protection; (4)effect on innovation, investment and deployment; (5)free expression; (6)application agnostic; (7)industry standard practices. After the investigation, FCC Wireless Telecommunications Bureau released a document on 2017/01/13 [16], confirms that at&t and Verizon's mobile zero-rating package (Go90) violate 2015 Open Internet Order (NN Principles), but T-Mobile Binge-On services didn't. But the investigation has been terminated since the new Chairman announced. We summarized the regulation of zero-rating services in Figure 6.

Conclusion

In this paper, a discussion of advanced country's net neutrality policy and rules are shown. The diversify opinions depend on the telecommunication marketing and competitiveness in each country. Specifically, the future Internet governance has many issues and the net neutrality is the majority part to keep Internet open. The changing digital policy development like US could be happened again when one side option over the other side. It would be the state-of-the-art in traffic management policy by regulators.

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About the author

Jan-Wen Peng received the BSEE from Tamkang University, Taiwan, ROC, and MSEE degrees from University of Florida, USA, in 1986 and 1991, respectively. Since 1992, he joined the Chunghwa Telecommunication Laboratories, Taiwan, as an Research Engineer in Broadband Transport and Access Technology Laboratory, Chunghwa Telecom Laboratories. His specialty is in the area of digital convergence, network neutrality, broadband and optical access networks. He is also a member of the IEEE Communications.

Interstitial: A Story In-Between Short-form video segments in Philippine Television

Dean Airo Salvador E. Dancel
University of the Philippines -Diliman

Abstract

Television projects images and sounds that contain stories people know as shows. In most countries, they go on air 24/7. For some nations, they have limited programs to present to the viewers because of many reasons and one of them is lack of programming content. So, broadcasting companies fill up those time slots or known as airtime gaps to suffice the need for programming unless they want to show blacks or statics. They do it by producing series of segments and inserting them in between programs either before or after them or even during breaks as well. A popular term for many individuals regarding those fillers is commercials. For those persons who have knowledge when they see them on TV, they identify them as promos and teasers. But for experts who produce these materials, they call them “interstitials”.

Interstitial programs are those, which occur in between programs, usually shorter forms of segments compared to the normal duration of TV shows. In international practices, interstitials are considered to be an umbrella concept that includes subdivisions of commercials and trailers. Here in the Philippines, TV stations consider interstitials as a separate entity because they have different departments who produce such outputs and they are made differently from other short form video segments. The channels involved in the research are: ABS-CBN and TV5 for free-to-air channels; Cinemo and Yey for test broadcast channels; and Cable channels of ABS-CBN. Genres where interstitials go on air with are from sports and entertainment shows of these networks. Such produced materials are for promoting TV programs and the channels and others are used commercially.

How do interstitials defined in the TV industry? What are the implications of these segments? How are they beneficial to the viewers and to the creators as well? These questions are formulated to identify the purpose of interstitials in the television industry especially that this term is a new discourse and there is no local literature available to further understand these short form segments. The researcher used personal interviews, produced interstitials and one's experience to study the phenomenon, “Interstitial: A Story In-Between (An Original Research)”.

Introduction

The four-cornered optical, electrical and mechanical set of equipment or simply called television transmits and receives moving images and sound. As of today, TV projects what the eyes can see and the ears could hear that contain stories which in turn is what people know as shows^[1]. In most countries, they go on air 24/7. For some nations, they have limited programs to present to the viewers or audience because of many reasons and one of them is lack of actual duration of the produced content contained in their programming. So, broadcasting companies fill up those duration or known as time slots to suffice the need for programming unless they want to show blacks or statics^[2]. They do it by producing series of audio-video materials and inserting them in between programs either before or after them or even during breaks of the programs as well. A popular term for many individuals regarding those fillers is commercials. For those persons who have knowledge when they see them on TV, they identify them as promos and teasers. But for experts and practitioners in the TV world who are involved in making these materials, they are also called “interstitials”^[3].

Interstitials are those, which occur in between programs, usually shorter forms of segments compared to the normal duration of TV shows^[4]. In international practices, interstitials are considered to be a main idea that includes subdivisions of commercials and trailers. Here in the Philippines, TV stations consider interstitials as a separate entity.

Since there are not enough written documents as regards interstitials, experiences from TV experts working from different companies are the main sources of this paper coupled with books, thesis and online sources to support the said topic. In addition, the author of this research, Dean Airo Salvador E. Dancel, will be one of the

bases of information because he has his years of knowledge and skill in producing these audio-video materials.

This paper will discuss interstitials in the Philippines particularly the business and management of creating interstitials. The process of producing these segments will be talked about coupled with its pros and cons. And its significance to the broadcast medium of television especially to the producers and consumers is going to be the point of argument of this research.

With the background provided above, this study aims to know the definition of “interstitial” in the Philippine TV industry and the process of producing such audio-video materials. It also intends to show the effects of interstitial to the overall programming and program content of TV networks and the worth of having these short-form segments in the station. And most especially, the research seeks to show the benefits it provides to the people whether the producers or the viewers of interstitial.

To help achieve the goals of this research, the researcher planned to answer the following questions: How do interstitials defined in the TV industry?; What are the implications of these segments?; and How are they beneficial to the viewers and to the creators as well?

This study is significant because it serves as a foundation research about the word “interstitial” and it contributes to the absence of research materials about the so-called “fillers” in television for this is the first attempt in providing information on this topic. It also gives a classification of interstitial from promos and commercials and it presents different forms of interstitial produced by TV networks that will give added knowledge to those who already seeing these types of segments but not knowing their real label. The research was done in two months. The entire first month which was on October 13 to November 14, 2014 was dedicated to interviews of resource person for primary data. The next two weeks was allotted for gathering of secondary sources that support the study, from November 17 to 28. And from December 1 to 10, it was the time the paper was written.

Review of Related Literature

The discussion of this paper will be related to one main journal by John Ellis, “Interstitials: How the ‘Bits in Between’ Define the Programmes”. This reference was used because it answers the questions that the researcher wants to solve. How does interstitials define TV programs? How do they invade them? And how do they provide guidance in watching TV?

His paper denotes the basics of an interstitial to the international scenario. These audio-video materials existed because of the time duration of the TV programs. There are shows which end up to 43 to 44 minutes but programming of channels need minutes like 45 minutes or 50 minutes or to the extremes of certain shows lack seconds such as 4 minutes and 25 seconds of other segments. To fill in the missing content is the initial purpose of interstitials^[5]. It also serves as the mother ship of all invasions of TV programs in which he classifies them into three categories: spot commercials; the various kinds of trails, announcements, promos and idents^[6]; and third, within programmes that might be better considered as interstitials. These categories are divided according to their purpose to the broadcast company and the viewers as well.

Spot commercials are driven to create lifestyles of people through persuading people to purchase products and services. The second classification focuses on segments that contain the identity of the program coupled with advertisements. And the third one, it embodies the character of the TV channel or the network^[7]. It also tells on the evolution of its duration from shorts, to longer versions and to the mix time elements. They will keep on appearing in a repetitive manner not for the goal of annoyance but for the objective of retention. From BBC to US series, from factual events to cartoon representations, these interstitials provide a certain body to a hole, not just as a filler, but a purpose of making their shared audience stay to the current program or to the channel resulting to money through paid advertisements or to ratings game of the TV tyrants^[8].

Ellis explained that interstitials cause viewing patterns among individuals. Interstitials have effects on what and what not to watch by them. They have this characteristic of containing the audience through their content

such as: predicting or reviewing the stories of programs and promoting the celebrities they idolize. If they hit the sweet spot of those people who watch during breaks, they will successfully get their target^[9].

This journal argued the status of interstitials to other countries. Its definition of these materials to abroad, its purpose and significance to the owners and the recipients of the messages conveyed. The mentioned literature can be a basis of defining the meaning and importance of interstitials to the Philippines and giving solution in becoming a reference as regards business and management of broadcast media. The journal pertains to a foreign industry and the form of interstitials themselves. But to describe what is an interstitials' structure and content, it gives an idea how do Philippines' interstitials looks like.

There are two articles that give similar foundation to the contribution of molding the said research paper. One is John Strike's "Short Stops: Animated Interstitials". It shares a perspective of these interstitials utilized as source of entertainment to Americans and Canadians through cartoons. The kinds of produced short-form segments intended to continue the felt happiness and joy to the regular programs they watched. Moreover, it provides an idea of the production requirements in order to come up with an interstitials. 8 to 10 people are enough compared to a full blast TV program crew. A small studio is a minimum requirement to create such materials. And it also shares a small part of the budget allocated for the main programming. The important aspect is that they provide education to children by employing simple math, science and literature stories that promote good values.

And second is "Interstitials: 'A Big Word for Short Spots': The Un-Commercial Works for Broadcast and Online" by Dan Daley. It imparts the involvement of interstitials to Disney and the Web counterpart of short audiovisual shows called *in-stream advertising*. Here, the production houses are making those interstitials for Disney and to those online companies. For Disney, they outsource creators of these 10-second to 2-minute segments to load the programming. They wanted to hire those creators to create stories that are not related to what Disney offers to the children but still promoting the identity of the company. The main distinction of it is that it is not commercialized. Disney does not earn from them in terms of advertisements but earning the trust or the viewership of the children. As for the web outsource, they make those advertisements with "X" button or the ticker to close them but with the same purpose like Disney to keep their audience.

These two write-ups gave the aspects of non-commercial interstitials and the idea of creating the art of maintaining the share of the channel's viewership through techniques that are out of the box. As the paper progresses, different forms of interstitials will arise basing from their total running time or duration and its type of genre, whether news, sports and entertainment. These samples further enhance the building blocks of the papers' research.

There are also articles that talks about interstitial but it is called differently as "vignettes". The first one discusses non-commercial vignettes. Albert Ohayon wrote "Canada Vignettes: Essential Canadiana, eh!" posted on National Film Board (NFB) website. It discusses how CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) asked NFB to produce vignettes of 5-minuters to be fillers of their programming for a kid's channel.

The interstitial produced were promoting the history of Canada that made into animated films to appeal to the children. Materials from their vignettes were from full-length documentaries that were utilized to squeeze in the 2 to 5 minute filler for the programming. They went on air during the primetime slots and children programs of CBC. Such histories were about: famous personalities in Canada but just showing their faces; a famous song "Log Driver's Waltz"; and portrayal of News Canada together with the use of a soap commercial appearing in between the vignette.

The use of the vignettes or interstitial here are: to fill up the gaps in the programming of a kid's channel; promote the network through advocating kid's entertainment through the material; and to give information to the children and to the viewers about Canadian history. These characteristics can also be found in the forms of interstitials in the Philippines.

The second article focuses on sponsored vignettes. "TV's Sponsored Vignettes: When Marketing Messages Breed Expectations" by Wayne Friedman explains how a commercial vignette is being presented. It explains that these vignettes were not associated with the show but promotes the identity of the network and the brand of a client.

The write-up explains further how a Taco Bell product was told indirectly by utilizing famous characters or artists of the network then discussing the process on how to make a burrito and a taco. They mentioned burrito and taco but not expressing the word "Taco Bell". It advertised the product at the end. It is like an infomercial telling information about the process of making a product, promoting the network but not directly saying that it's "Taco Bell".

So, the two articles about vignettes most likely explained and differentiated commercial and non-commercial interstitial which is beneficial to the study. Because in the Philippine TV industry, there are same segments that promote the channel or the program and the brand or just the channel alone that is put into the programming and program content of TV stations.

The literatures above just explain that interstitials are already existing in the world. But there were only few people who have a knowledge about these short-form segments. The reviewed literatures are connected to the path that the paper is taking into consideration. From the background information, the use of the materials, to its implications, the cited references are helpful to the completion of this paper.

Methodology

The methodology that I will use for this research is an in-depth interview. Since there are limited published journals, articles nor stories of interstitials in relation to Philippine television, personal interviews of experts working in the TV industry of producing interstitials will be the source of gathering the data needed. These interviews will be supported by secondary data from articles, books and published journals written by foreign authors discussing international concerns on fillers of gaps.

TV professionals from two different networks will be the focus of the study. These are ABS-CBN and TV5. ABS-CBN has this division called Digital Terrestrial Television. The department which has a pool of writers and producers that creates interstitials for the programming of their entertainment channel that deals with the situation of test broadcast channels. And also, they have this Creative Team of the Sales and Marketing department that produces interstitial for clients wanted to promote their brands. Whereas for TV5, the network has Sports5, the team that has an interstitials team dedicated in producing and promoting sports short-form segments. Two sets of interviews were conducted. One is for the producers of the interstitials, which key points on how to create interstitials, will be presented. And the other is for the managers of the production team wherein strategic topics of the management side will be laid. The interviews will be inclined to the objective of the paper that is tackling the business and management of creating interstitials. As for the researcher, his experience with TV5, ABS-CBN TV Plus (Cinemo and YEY) and now with Cignal HD will help in giving added information for the paper and angle of analysis in studying the research.

Results and Discussions

INTERSTITIAL: A STORY IN BETWEEN

An interstitial program or interstitials are short-form programming content that acts as fillers in between long-form television programming to even up the airtime of a channel^[10]. Interstitial was based from interstice meaning space between things or events which originated from the late Middle English "*intersistere*" 'stand between', from *inter-* 'between' + *sistere* 'to stand'^[11]. Internationally, this short-form segment is the primary classification of three subdivisions: spot commercials; the various kinds of trails, announcements, promos and idents; and third, within programmes that might be better considered as interstitials^[12]. In the Philippines, the third subdivision from abroad is the most used audio-video material which is interstitial.

Classification

Philippine interstitial programs are categorized into two types: non-commercial and commercial segments. These categories occur in three TV programming: *free-to-air* (channels that are available for free to viewers via satellite such as ABS-CBN, GMA, TV5 and others; *cable* (channels that are paid per viewing of the TV subscribers created by the likes of Sky Cable, Signal and other local and provincial companies) and *test broadcast* (channels available to some parts of the country especially in the provinces that are experimented whether the channel will push through or not depending on the viewer's response).

Non-commercial interstitials are those short-form content materials that do not utilize advertisements rather promote the branding of a certain channel. This kind of interstitial is usually present in test broadcast and free-to-air channels that are presented as: Music videos; POS – Person on street interviews (different persons are interviewed randomly to get their answer from a certain question); Repurpose (using the past or present TV shows, re-write a script and produce shorter versions of segments from full-length materials) and Tips and Trivia with full video graphics or with a host^[13].

Commercial interstitials are those segments which employ advertisements of brands that offer products and services. This type of interstitial is often created for cable and free-to-air channels that are shown through: Event coverage of brand launch or a new offered product or service of a company; Infomercial (giving tips and trivia at first, connecting the information with the brand of the channel or network and then creating a bridge to the client's brand at the end)^[14]; Following the daily life of a certain person whether an athlete, a TV personality or a famous person; and presenting their biographies into an interstitial^[15].

INTERSTITIAL VERSUS PROMOS AND COMMERCIALS

Before going to the discussion of interstitial, let us differentiate the term to promos and commercials. According to Eric Go – Head of Concept Team, Creative Department of the Sales and Marketing Division in ABS-CBN, commercials are very in your face. What the brand offers, what are the benefits people can get from their product and service are mentioned straightforward. Whereas in interstitial, the reveal of the client's brand is least prioritize and the most important parts are the tips or the information relayed to the audience connecting with the brand identity of the network or the channel. For promos, it involves prizes that people are encourage to join like text promos and purchase promos that require one to collect sachets or containers of a certain brand and drop in boxes located in different parts of the country. As for interstitial, they are just stand alone.

Duration is the difference of these short-form segments basing from the experience of Red Lasam-Escueta – Channel Head of YEY, Digital Terrestrial Television in ABS-CBN. For promos and commercials, one content must explain everything in 10, 15, 30 seconds or 1 minute. But for interstitials, it could go to 2, 3, or even 10 minutes depending on the gaps of the long-term programs that need to be filled up. She also mentioned about their difference on the elements within those short contents. For commercials, a producer is bound by the order of the client on what will appear in the material or one is relegated in creating a commercial through the footage, text or graphics of the show. Contrary to interstitial, the content can be flexible depending on the creative attack of the writers and producers. It can be POS, with hosts, repurpose, or tips and trivia.

INTERSTITIAL FOR CABLE, FREE-TO-AIR AND TEST BROADCAST CHANNELS

Interstitials are usually used as gap fillers for TV programming here in the Philippines. But for cable, free-to-air and test broadcast channels, they have various purposes.

In general, interstitials, whether it is commercial or non-commercial, promos, trailers and other forms of advertisements are gearing towards the 3-point thing: Get noticed by the public; Get their interest; and that audio-video material might get laid or to be used and be part of the consumers' lives^[16]. It is inevitable to say that every form of segment, short or long duration, that producers or TV networks create are not just gap fillers per se but they wanted to get the attention of the viewers through those audio-video materials appearing in between TV programs. After attracting that awareness, channels have this next objective of acquiring what the audience love, need and want. And from there, they will have a high possibility of making

the consumers of those segments to be positioned to the shows, to the products and services shown and to be part of their everyday lives.

For cable, Alto Broadcasting System Chronicle Broadcasting Network or ABSCBN has a Sales and Marketing Division that has a Creative team that produces interstitials as commercials in which they promote a brand, either a product or service, and the network as well that is connected to the tips or trivia incorporated within the interstitial.

Rowena Vergara, Senior Promo Producer, explained that creating interstitial started way back 1996 in ABS-CBN when they were in need of a new flavor of promoting the channel and at the same time getting advertisers to help the network increase the earnings. The style that they use is what is present with infomercials. However, they do not practice exactly what is being done by creators of infomercials like presenting a detailed story of the product. But they execute to make an emotional connection to the consumers and to drive sales of the advertisers and increase ratings of the channel or the programs through interstitials^[17].

As for the experience of Vergara, they create an interstitial by sharing information tips depending on the channel where the interstitial will be shown. The tips or trivia are connected to what the channel promotes. For *ANC*, information is drawn out from how news is presented in the channel. For *Balls*, trivia are based from sports. For *E!*, it is more of an entertainment and show business type of materials. For *CinemaOne*, it is dedicated to movies. For *MYX*, the tips are connected to music. For *Lifestyle*, the tips are in line with household or leisure activities. So, she mentioned that making interstitial depends on the language of the channel. After the tips, the channel's name will be shown or told. Then, 5 up to 10 seconds of exposure will be dedicated for the brand. Their produced materials range from a minimum of 15 seconds or 30 seconds max. Unlike the regular infomercials, they are all about the brand. But for interstitials produced by the team of Vergara, it is speaking of the tips and trivia for the viewers and then must be connected to the channel and especially to what the brand promotes.

Besides infomercial-like interstitials, they also make *tie-ins*. These are something that, relates, or connects with a book, movie or TV show^[18]. In cable channels of ABS-CBN, these materials are composed of a tagline based from the brand connecting it with the channel. "Open the possibilities of great movies in CinemaOne as you Open Happiness with Coke." is one example of their tie-ins^[19].

For a free-to-air channel as TV5, they have this Interstitial team of Sports5 Production that caters these short-form segments of giving information on different sporting events and also launching of products and services of brands. Julius Melo (Executive Producer – Interstitial Team, Sports5 Production, TV5) shared the notion of interstitial started in 2004 with sports of TV5 (ABC5 before) when they were promoting the Philippine National Team for Southeast Asian Games in 2004. Before, they were producing 10 to 15 minute segments that will just go on air during the half time of Philippine Basketball Association (PBA). Then, they thought of trimming the duration of the segments into 2 to 3 minutes so that it can be shown and be witnessed by the viewers more frequently. So, the birth of interstitial was caused by the need of programming content by having short-form segments to be placed in many time slots rather than having long-duration materials to be played only once.

Now, their interstitial has commercial and non-commercial types. For their profit-driven interstitials, they have two kinds. One is events promoting only the brand and a launch of a team sponsored by a brand and the other is sporting events or segments about daily lives of athletes sponsored by brands. The first type is usually a launch coverage of products and services by brands which are connected to sports (Personal hygiene products used by famous Sports personalities, Clothes wear by athletes); new members of leagues (PBA, UFL – United Football league, V-League - Volleyball League, PXC - Pacific Extreme Combat and others); new names of teams and new Philippine team to be send off to International sporting events. The second type is usually a sports match between celebrities and athletes (*Clear Dream Match* – football game highlights) or viewers got to know a life of their favorite player (*Master Day in A Life* – a basketball players life in one day). These interstitials run between 1 to 3 minute materials depending on the demand of the client.

The non-commercial category is about giving tips and trivia to sports fans and rundown of past sports happenings according to Ryan Audencial (Senior Producer/Editor). For tips and trivia, they have *TIUtorials* (basketball tutorials, teaching new basic skills every week hosted by Chris Tiu - Famous athlete and celebrity) and *FYI* (Football YounghusbandsInstructionals, a weekly football instructional hosted by Phil and James Younghusband – Members of Philippine Azkals). For rundown of past sports games, they have *PBA Pasada* that presents the past PBA basketball games happened for a week including highlights and the final score and *UFL Pasada* showing weekly highlights and scores of football games. These interstitials are mostly 1 minute.

For test-broadcast channels, ABS-CBN introduces new channels which are first tested to various places in the provinces and Metro Manila before going nationwide. These are Cinemo and Yey: Cinemo is a Filipino movie channel catering the masses of CDE market especially the male audience for most of the films shown are action, comedy and sexy genres. Yey, on the other hand, is a Filipino kids channel presenting movies and TV programs that is focused on kids of all ages. Why Filipino? Because both channels are promoting themselves using the Filipino language from beginning to end including breaks, time slots and even interstitials.

The conception of interstitials started for both channels in 2012. Channel heads, Mark Awiten (Cinemo) and Red Lasam-Escueta (Yey) thought of showing something new out from their programming and program content and not just TV shows or movies alone. Ratings were decreasing even in the test broadcast stage. That is why the short-form segments came to the scene. To add new technique of promoting the brand of the channel and at the same time giving out new information and entertainment to those who already have digital boxes from the Digital Terrestrial Television department of ABS-CBN.

For Cinemo based from my experience, our team devised four types of interstitials namely: Cinesabi, Cinesya, LCK and Music Videos.

Cinesabi is a compilation of lines from Filipino movies, generic or famous, written into one script to produce a story. The title is based from the word “sinasabi” in which the main theme of the interstitial, what do famous actors say in their films are being utilized to formulate one narrative. It has a different theme every week and usually lasts from 1 to 2 minutes.

Cinesya is a short biography of Filipino and International movie icons that have great contributions to the industry. Instead of showing personal interviews of the actors or their families and friends, their story is told through their films accompanied by a voice over and well-known lines of those celebrities. Jackie Chan, Bruce Lee, Stephen Chow, Fernando Poe Jr., Dolphy and Robin Padilla are among the list of stars. This usually goes not less than 5 minutes.

LCK or Lights Camera Kwestyun is a Person On Street (POS) interview of different people answering a question relating to what is happening in the movies. There are correct answers I every question but wrong response are also included to the interstitial to add humor to the segment. The POS usually of 8 to 10 people are alternating with famous lines and scenes from Filipino movies. One interstitial is equivalent to one question with duration of 1 minute to 1 minute and 30 seconds.

Music videos are done with an Original Pinoy Music as a musical score of the interstitial accompanied with famous scenes from various movies in relation to the message of the featured song. The time of the segment depends on the length of the music.

For Yey, Matt Austria – Segment Producer told the list of interstitials already available in the channel specifically: Dugtungan Na!, Kaalaman Express, KKK, Hularawan, Toonology and WhatChuThink?

Dugtungan Na! is a 1 minute to 1 minute and 30 seconds interstitial starting with a Filipino children story and then the next succeeding parts of the story will be followed by stories from different responses of kids. Kaalaman Express is a 15 to 30 second interstitial about fun trivia of anything and everything that kids will enjoy. Hularawan is a two-part interstitial with 30 second each. First part is a question on anything asking the

kids presented through a picture puzzle and there will be a cliffhanger at the end of it to retain the kids until the next part which is the reveal of the object behind the puzzle.

KKK or Katampok-tampok, Kamangha-mangha, Kaalaman is a 2 to 5 minutes interstitial about stating facts of histories and some trivia about anything that kids can easily understand from the things that they use and play to the information they already know or the experiences they had.

WhatChuThink? is a 30 second to 1 minute interstitial of a voice over asking two sets of questions anything under the sun and then POS of different kids will answer it. The first part is a Who and What type questions and the second part is a WHY question. Toonology is a 2 to 3 minute interstitial about trivia behind the famous cartoon characters shown on the channel to help the branding of Yey.

As for Signal Cable, they have a channel called HYPER which features different sports and athletes in the Philippines. It has its interstitial segment called Hyper Headlines, a 3-minute interstitial which shows events, games and other connected activities about sports all around in the Philippines.

INTERSTITIAL, NOT JUST A FILLER: ANALYSIS

The totality of interstitial was discussed from the previous chapter. The related literature already supported the topic at hand together with the reference materials from the journals, articles and books. And also, the methodology incorporated was stated.

Now, the mentioned interstitials of the two TV networks function as fillers of gaps of their programming but they have critical use for the channels. According to Albert Ohayon's "Canada Vignettes: Essential Canadiana, eh!" posted on National Film Board (NFB) website, the use of the vignettes or interstitial here are: to fill up the gaps in the programming of a channel; promote the network through advocating entertainment through the interstitials; and to give information to the viewers about history through facts and trivia. And for Stacy Hall written in page 4 of the book of Jim Aitchison on *"Cutting Edge Commercials: How to create the world's best TV ads for brands in the 21st century"*, "At the very least, if we have something to sell, we might as well make it enjoyable for people, and not shout at them or speak down to them." Hall shared. For creators of interstitial in teams of ABS-CBN and TV5, the short-form segments that they produce serve the same as the interstitial or vignettes abroad.

For commercialized interstitials, they promote the brand of products and services of clients and the TV network's brand through the audio-video material while giving information and entertainment to the people. For non-profit interstitials, the network's brand is promoted through facts, trivia and tips contained in the interstitials which give information, entertainment and values to the public.

But are these interstitials worth it for the stations? Red Lasam-Escueta explained the value of an interstitial for a new channel like Yey. "For a new channel, it is worth it. It is important to have that department dedicated to create such materials. Because first, there's a lot of airtime to fill. That's a reality since there are no advertisements yet. Second, it addresses the need to reinforce the brand since the channel is fresh." To add, Matt Austria shared that "It is worth it because we needed something more than just programs, because the buying cartoon program titles are expensive and they have a shelf life. But one good thing about interstitials, they are yours. You produce them for the channel so they do not have an expiry date."

For a veteran and earning channel perspective of ABS-CBN, Rowena Vergara expound that "It is a creative buy, another way of getting clients' attention to advertise in the network. It generates added revenues for the station and new flavor in promoting the station. Of course, interstitials are really worth producing for because we get our salary from them." As to the perspective of Julius Melo from TV5 Sports5 Production, "We cater to the sponsors. The interstitials we produce are for the profit of the company. Obviously the content, the network does not only need live sports coverage and the sporting events alone. We need an interstitial to add spice for the channel. That is why we need interstitial." He justified.

From my experience, it is worth it to have interstitials for a TV network because it is an innovation of promoting the programs, the channel to the viewers. Instead of showing bulk of TV shows, movies, cartoons, sporting events and the usual commercials, these interstitials break the clutter. A new way of connecting to the audience is contained by these audio-video materials. The story angles which are not discussed in the TV programs can be put in the interstitials or other information that is helpful for the viewers whether trivia, tips, history and entertainment. The worth of interstitials for the network is discussed. Now, the next question is "who benefits more from these interstitials? Eric Go tells the side of profit-driven interstitial produced for ABS-CBN. "I would like to think that everybody benefits, the viewers, the network, and the brand. However, since the brand gives the money, we have to please them. It is prevalent in this kind of industry. We cannot do anything if they want to revise something from the produced interstitial before airing. I think it benefits them more because they call the shots. But it is also valuable for the network because we are earning income from it. And it also beneficial for the viewers because they can learn something new from the materials." Julius Melo reiterated the benefits that their audience will get from their interstitials. "In our PBA and UFL Pasada, our treatment there is showing the highlights of the games within the week and the results which is for the fans who were not able to watch the aired live coverages. For Tiutorials and FYI, we give an orientation and tips to the audience of what is the basics and advance skills and techniques in basketball and football through these segments." He mentioned.

For the test channels of ABS-CBN since there are no sponsors yet, it is a 50-50 situation regarding who benefits the interstitials. Red Lasam-Escueta supported my claim that it is not only for the station but the audience will benefit from it. "I would say 50 50. 50 percent goes to the station and programs because interstitial fill the holes or the lacking minutes and seconds in the programming content. Second, you can get money out of these things. There's a business side to it. It's a reality. At the end of the day, we are a business. When you create, you think about the audience, and you also think of how to monetize. It cannot reflect as all expense. Maybe now, there is no use. But later on, there will be sponsors. You can ask a Non-Government Organization to co-produce this intersitital, like the children's foundation because you share the same trust. You can also tie-up with Department of Health because they also care about kid's health. So it is not only a loss, because the imaging of the network is already reinforced by the short-form segments. Audience, definitely they will benefit. There are some children who cannot afford to go to school like middle class families. If you can impart knowledge like eating properly, or what is celebrated during these dates, you already have given benefits to the children and to the audience. It might not like be as comprehensive as a book or a teacher. But they will learn. Come to think of it when you go on air, there is one, two or more children that can acquire lessons or new learnings from our interstitials. I believe that these materials are not one-sided.

So, whether it is a commercial or non-commercial based interstitial, it benefits the station, the client (if there is any) and especially the viewers. But how to clearly explain as to who benefits from these interstitials? I would like to use Adorno and Horkheimer as cited in ElysseConde's paper "The Culture Industry and its indictment of the media responsible for commodification, standardization, and massification of culture in society". She explained through the lenses of Adorno and Horkheimer that commodification was produced by capitalism which in this paper regard are the TV company owners; standardization was made by mass production of culture products where interstitials are one of its outputs in the media industry together with TV shows, commercials and the like; and massification was created by the mass distribution of these media products in which the people or the audiences consume and consider as commodities.

Culture industry words of commodification, standardization and massification make interstitials revolve too. Yes, they are just fillers of gaps for some. Yes, it is a new segment in television wherein few people know its purpose or the term perse. But as we all know, these short form video segments are parts of a TV company which are run by capitalist who mass produces products to be received and to be treated by the public as their commodities. In the easiest way to explain things, this is business. Interstitials are part of a business of creating another ways for TV audiences to consume so that these media tycoons can have new forms of evolving their businesses.

TV industry is already at its finest in giving out news and entertainment to people and these viewers benefit

from those media outputs like series, commercials and of course interstitials. But the biggest receivers of the benefits would be the owners of these TV companies because the public caters their products as their commodities which favors the culture industry of these media magnates. Today, interstitials are not yet in the zone of standardizing and massifying the people. However, it is in the verge of commodifying the masses through its test broadcast channels, commercial and non-commercial outputs, and promotions of new TV series which the audience do not know yet. As the saying goes, it is silent but deadly.

Conclusion

Interstitials are short-form segments that can go as short as 5 seconds and as long as 3 minutes occurring in-between programs, before and after programs or during gaps of the programs. For non-commercial segments produced by Yey, Cinemo and Sports5 of TV5, they create cartoon, movies and sports materials that is connected to their programs or the channel itself. For commercial segments produced by ABS-CBN and also Sports5 of TV5, they make segments that is not only connected to the network but with the advertisers as well. And all interstitials, whether commercial or non-commercial, are gearing towards the goal of getting the audience, making them watch the interstitial and eventually involving the channel or the brand to their daily living of not just watching the shows but composing the people to be patronizers of the channel through these interstitials.

Interstitial occurs not only for the purpose of being fillers for gaps of TV programs whether commercial or non-commercial, movies, cartoons, sports coverage and events and all other TV shows, but each and every produced short-form segments have deeper in-between stories in them. First, they promote the brand of the channel through the content of the interstitial by using the programs aired on the channel or the theme presented by them or the information that is related to the shown programs. Despite all the current forms contained in the channels, these materials are new ways of supporting the network. Second, it is shelling out information to the public from trivia, tips, history to all other facts that is connected to the channel which in turn can be helpful for the audience to indulge themselves to what the programs of ABS-CBN and TV5 has to offer in terms of interstitial. And third, if there is a client wanted to endorse their product and service, interstitials are new avenues of presenting a brand that will interest advertisers. Instead of hard or soft sell techniques, the way commercial interstitial are produced are gearing towards infomercials with a twist of the networks' brand.

As for the benefits gained from interstitials, it goes to the network, the client if it is commercial and especially the audience. Of course, there are certain considerations if it is commercialized because the client of the product and service call the shots for the interstitial. But as a whole, the value acquired from interstitial are for the network, client and the public.

Interstitials are new for many Filipinos in terms of seeing them on TV, knowing what these materials contain, producing matters by the networks and serving the viewing public through information given. Through these short-form segments, the network will be helped in their programming and program content, the advertisers will have new options in promoting their products and service and especially the audience will be informed, educated and entertained.

Notes:

- [1] Television is a device shaped like a box with a screen that receives electrical signals and changes them into moving images and sound, or the method or business of sending images and sound by electrical signals. Cambridge Universities Dictionaries website. 2014. <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/television>. Accessed on October 16, 2014.
- [2] Programme duration of channels and inclusive programs are specified. BBC website. 2014. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/production/delivery/programme-duration.shtml>.

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Accessed on October 16, 2014.

- [3] Interstitial is defined as relating to or situated in the interstices. Merriam-Webster website. 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/interstitial>. Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[4] Interstitial programs are short form segments serving as a bridge between full-length programming. Strike, John. July 30, 2007. "Short Stops: Animated Interstitials". Animation World Network website. <http://www.awn.com/>

animationworld/short-stops-animated-interstitials. Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[5] Ellis, John. November 2011."Interstitials: How the 'Bits in Between' Define the Programmes".Pages 89-90.Ephemeral Media, Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube. Edited by Paul Grainge Palgrave Macmillan. Uploaded in Academia website. https://www.academia.edu/1114913/Interstitials_How_the_Bits_in_Between_Define_the_Programmes.Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[6] An ident is a visual image employed between television programs that works as a logo to locate the viewer to the channel. Collins Dictionary website, 2014 <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ident>. Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[7] Ellis, John. November 2011."Interstitials: How the 'Bits in Between' Define the Programmes".Pages 91-95.Ephemeral Media, Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube. Edited by Paul Grainge Palgrave Macmillan.Uploaded in Academia website. https://www.academia.edu/1114913/Interstitials_How_the_Bits_in_Between_Define_the_Programmes. Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[8] Ellis, John. November 2011."Interstitials: How the 'Bits in Between' Define the Programmes".Pages 96-99.Ephemeral Media, Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube. Edited by Paul Grainge Palgrave Macmillan. Uploaded in Academia website. https://www.academia.edu/1114913/Interstitials_How_the_Bits_in_Between_Define_the_Programmes. Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[9] Ellis, John. November 2011."Interstitials: How the 'Bits in Between' Define the Programmes".Pages 100-103.Ephemeral Media, Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube. Edited by Paul Grainge Palgrave Macmillan. Uploaded in Academia website. https://www.academia.edu/1114913/Interstitials_How_the_Bits_in_Between_Define_the_Programmes. Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[10] The Global Learning Series website. <http://www.thegloballearningseries.tv/faq/>. Accessed on November 27, 2014.

[11] Meaning of interstice. Cambridge Dictionary website.

<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/british/interstice>.Accessed on November 27, 2014.

[12] Origin of interstice. Oxford Dictionaries website. <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/interstice>. Accessed on November 27, 2014.

[13] Ellis, John. November 2011."Interstitials: How the 'Bits in Between' Define the Programmes".Pages 89-90.Ephemeral Media, Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube. Edited by Paul Grainge Palgrave Macmillan.Uploaded in Academia website. https://www.academia.edu/1114913/Interstitials_How_the_Bits_in_Between_Define_the_Programmes.Accessed on October 16, 2014.

[14] Eric Go, Head of Concept Team, Creative Department, Sales and Marketing Division,explained infomercial. Personal Interview in 10th Floor, ELJ Bulding, ABS-CBN, Quezon City. November 7, 2014.

[15] Ryan Audencial, Senior Producer/Editor – Sports5 Production, TV5, explained one type of interstitial. 4th Floor, TV5, Pioneer, Mandaluyong City.

[16] Aitchison, Jim. 2001. *"Cutting Edge Commercials: How to create the world's best TV ads for brands in the 21st century"* pp. 6. Prentice Hall: Singapore.

[17] Agee, Tom, Bhimy, Andrew C., and Martin, Brett A.S. 2002. "Infomercials and advertising effectiveness: an empirical study".pp. 471.Academia.edu website. https://www.academia.edu/3881176/Infomercials_and_advertising_effectiveness_an_empirical_study.Accessed on November 30, 2014.

[18]Meaning of Tie-ins. International Association of Media Tie-In Writers website. <http://iamtw.org/>. Accessed on November 30, 2014.

[19] Discussion of Eric Go – Head of Concept Team, Creative Department of the Sales and Marketing Division in ABS-CBN. Personal Interview at 10th Floor ELJ Building, ABS-CBN, Quezon City.November 6, 2014.

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About the Author

The author is currently a graduate student at the University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication. He is also a Director/Producer/Writer of Cignal TV as well as a Photography and Videography Production Owner, A FILMS

Resonance by both society and media toward haze disaster in Indonesia*Arifudin, Hermin Indah Wahyuni and F. Trisakti Haryadi**Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia***Abstract**

Haze disaster is the most interesting environmental issue in Indonesia, recently. This disaster has many entangled aspects, mainly in the economy and health, not only in Indonesia but also in Southeast Asian countries, such as Singapore and Malaysia. In this essay, resonance has been borrowed, that was initially used by Niklas Luhmann in his book, *Ecological Communication*, to define the echoes produced by each sub-system to the social system for ecological problems. How people and the media react to this problem is a question to help answer the question of the remain unsolved?. This study has collected discourses on society and the media in Riau and West Kalimantan Province. In-depth interviews, focus group discussion, participatory observation have been used to explore data in the community, including Local Governments, NGOs, and Corporations. Data from the media covers local newspapers comprises of the Riau Pos, Pontianak Post. The results show that economics, politics, and law are dominating the subsystem to react the issue of haze disasters in the society

Introduction

The negative impact of 2015's haze disaster (July to October) was counted by World Bank, while the economics losses on various aspects such as agriculture, environment, forestry, education, tourism, and particularly on health, achieved \$ 16.164.000.000. It was also decreasing Indonesian economic growth 0,5%. It means this disaster is very jeopardizing, not only for Indonesian society but also Malaysian and Singaporean's netizen, when the haze also were blanketing their air. How South Asian countries react to this problem, has also investigated by Varkkey (2014), she found that Asean Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution (AATHP) failed to be ratified because of the economics and politics power, especially in oil palm plantation interest. By last 2015, Indonesian Government has agreed to ratify the regulation after the haze disaster happened. However, this problem can not be totally addressed. In spite in 2016 and 2017 were the number of hotspot were decreasing, but in 2018, its increase significantly, especially in West Kalimantan, where the schools were closed a couple of weeks in last of August.

The question is how Indonesian society react to this severe disaster?. It could be seen from discourse on both society and media as resonance. Resonance, is natural science concept of the echoes that result from music instrument can be caught by tuning fork, make the vibrate. This term was borrowed by Niklas Luhman, while the reaction will produce echoes to make vibrate on sub system in social system. Therefore this article is aims to describe the resonance of both society and media toward haze disaster as ecological problem.

Methodology**2.1. Technique to collect data**

Generally, the data are the discourse of this phenomena on society and media in Riau Province and West Kalimantan Province (Picture 1). Data on society have been collected by in-depth interview, focus group discussion and also participatory observation. The researcher has been interviewing the key informants from various stake holders that representative of Government, Non Government Organization, Corporation, and also community in the grass roots. In term of collecting data on media, local newspaper, Pontianak Post and Riau Post were utilized



Picture 1. Research Site

Table 1. Key Informants and technique of collecting data

	In-depth Interview		FGD		Observation	
	Riau	West Kalimantan	Riau	West Kalimantan	Riau	West Kalimantan
A. Government 1. Environment and Forestry Services 2. Provinces Disaster Management Agency 3. Fires Fighter (DAOPS Manggala Agni) 4. Education Services 5. Religion Services 6. Police	✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓		✓
B. Corporation 1. Ivomas (Sinar Mas Group) 2. Asian Agri(RGM Group) 3. First Resource 4. Patiware (Gama Group) 5. Jatim Jaya Perkasa (Gama Group) 6. Sinar Mas 7. PT. RAPP	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓		
C. Non Government Organization 1. Wahana Lingkungan Hidup 2. Seruni 3. Scale-Up 4. Peat Society Networking-Riau 5. Jikalahari 6. Scale-Up 7. Yayasan Pancur kasih	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓			

D. Community						
1. Bengkalis	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Siak	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Meranti	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4. Bengkayang	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5. Kubu Raya	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6. Pontianak	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

2.2. Analysing data

In term of analysing data, qualitatif methode was used, while as Miles and Huberman (2014) state to get data the proccess are data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. Data reduction is an electoral process, focusing attention on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming rough data that arises from written records in the field.

Result and Discussion

How people react to Haze disaster that is caused of peatland fires, can be seen from discourse on society and media. It is more important what people communicate each other than who say it, because social system consist of communication whic are differensiated into each sub-system (Luhmann, 1985). At least, there are six subsystem in social system: economics; politics; law; science; education, and religion.

Economics

The economic interest, obviously has big portion, because this is as anthropogenic. It means the activities of human on economy trigger haze disaster, particulary plantation who utilize peatland to cultivate agricultural commodities, like oil palm and Industrial Forestry. Therefore the discourse on economy are dominiating both on society and media. Corporations react by conducting several activities, like improving their readiness for firefighting, assisting villager by building the community cares fire, assisting government to combat fire by providing helicopter. The efforts, that they have conducted to show that they have responsibility for this problem. As can we see from this statement and also from the news as follows:

"Initially, we formed the name DesaSiagaApi. In the area, villages around our location permits, we form MSA, the community is aware of fire, which we do the training with Manggala Agni..... Indeed, corporation, in addition to doing, fostering the fire-alert community, we also equip the infrastructure, including equiepmnt, infrastructure, if without it, the term might be that Manggala Agni's friends say "without weapons", like that, bro? (Male, FGD_Pontianak, 13-9-18)

That is what we think should be the right solution, then from above 30 percent, for example, there is a cooking peat fire that has to be allowed to stand, but after that, the restoration must be done, of all thousands, for example hectares, 50 percent more can not be attempted but told the company restoration, where the money goes from guarding it. Then he does not think about the surrounding community anymore if it is determined that nothing is done, or if it is open, it means that the company is delayed and has no rights, then the government oversees" (Male, Interview 09-1-2017)

Politics

Politics, definetly, is reacting to this problems, particularly politician and government. For example, the member of house representative asked the responsbility of Government to handle this problems seriously.

Government also answer the responsibility by providing status of disaster from readiness to emergency status, but not nasional disaster. Because it has many impacts. The regulation has manage that as long as local goverment still run their activitiies normally, the status of disaster still disaster only. However, government totally support addressing the problem by delivering troops and open the center of disaster.

"The House of Representatives Accuses the Central Government Not Seriously: The Air Is Still Harmful,

Forest and land fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan have not yet been resolved. The smoke haze still faithfully covered the two biggest islands in Indonesia. As a result the air quality on the two islands is mostly dangerous. This condition made Deputy Speaker of the House of

Representatives, Agus Hermanto speak up. He accused the government of President Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla of not seriously tackling the haze caused by forest fires. The reason is, the smoke emergency has not yet been determined as a national disaster"..... (Riau Pos, 30-09-15)

"Immediately Set West Kalimantan Air Quality Status"

"A thick fog with a short visibility is sweeping through parts of Pontianak City, Kubu Raya and several other districts in West Kalimantan. Only up to now the index of air pollution standards (ISPU) in West Kalimantan has not been determined by the relevant technical services" (Pontianak Pos, 05-09-15)

Law

Even though there are some unclear definition of allowed or not to burn the land, because some argue it is local wisdom, the land clearing by burning is criminal officially. Several Act and regulation has manage this problem, such as Act of Environmental Protection No. 32 year of 2009. The Act has been utilized by Police and to arrest both corporation and farmers who open the land by burning. Therefore law react the problem by enforcing the law to criminals.

"Land Burner Strict Sanctions"

Companies and residents are asked not to burn sporadically in the current dry season. If proven burning land, both companies and citizens must be given strict sanctions. This was conveyed by Syarif Amin Assegaf, member of the West Kalimantan Local House of Representative, Commission IV in charge of the environment. He asked the West Kalimantan Provincial Government to act decisively (Pontianak Pos, 08-09-15)

"if the company wants to get permit, there are some requirements. That includes resources, infrastructure and fire control. So maybe as said by Mr. Pratama, it was indeed according to Ministry of Agriculture Regulation number 5 of 2018, there are listed facilities and infrastructure for fire control so many times, sir. For example, one team must be so, it is in Permentan. So all companies for the permit must have fire facilities and infrastructure. And we have already socialized it, in Law No. 39 of 2018, every company that clears the land must not be burned. (Female, FGD, 13-09-18)

Science

The main function of science is to reveal the phenomena by scientific fact. Therefore science will be free of any interest. In term of ecological disaster, the reaction of science to show that which part the regulation or implementation has not been followed the recommendation from research's result. In addition, science always be used to judge that corporation has allowed some recommendation from experts.

The science not only natural science but also social science to reveal the behavioral farmers to burn the land not only because of cost. Research finding indicates that rich farmers and poor farmers have similar attitude to burn the land. In addition, science also react when disaster happened by conducting research deeply, particularly about degradation of peatland and how to address the problem. As the result, by the recommendation of scientists, President release the President's Regulation about the Peatland Restriction Agency.

"I had a concept, first it was from the scientific aspect, at the end the community had to be fostered, because at that time, a few days ago, this Sinarmas already knew, installed a SESAME tool if Sinarmas, a large company I knew, obeyed the point, which was zero point four meters. Because Mr. X also met me. That was continued by Mr. Z. That's 0, 4 can be transmitted with the SESAME tool. Two hundred of these tools will be installed again in West Kalimantan this year, BPPT, maybe later the collaboration will also be with me. SESAME but what BPPT has. That's technical in the field, until we measure. If we study, this is sorry, Mr. B is my student first, Soil Science, together. This is if we talk about oil palm, it is wrong on peat soil. Wrong. Why is it wrong? Oil palm is a dry land plant, forced on wetlands. Yes, it's not Mr. Bi's fault, isn't it. This is the fault that the government opened it without being monitored, initially there. Oil palm is clear, if we look at palm, it does not mean that other plants are not wrong, this is the palm. It's dry land, we force it on wetlands, the oil palm land

has to be forced to have ground water level, 60 or 80, or an average of 70 cm below the surface of the soil so that the growth is good" (Male, 13-08-18)

Education

Most of society hope the improvement education, not only formal education but also non formal education. There is something wrong with our mind set, that destroying the nature become common behave. The reaction of education along the haze is closing the school without any choices. Therefore they think to make the awareness from the early in the kindergarten, elementary school, till university in curriculum. In addition the education for farmers who run their activities on the peat land is also important. The program like incentive to whom not burning the peat.

"Schools in Pontianak are closed again. The cause is the same, smog. Students are asked to study at home. "After seeing smoke haze so thick and dangerous we let students go," said Mulyadi, Head of the Pontianak City Education Office, Monday (Pontianak Pos, 28-09-15)

"The increasingly foggy smoke caused two regencies in Riau to take a policy of closing schools. Namely Indragiri Hulu (Inhu) and Siak. In Inhu, the Education Agency has been starting since Tuesday (1/9), starting to leave kindergarten and elementary school students in grades 1, 2 and 3. The reason is that there is no sign that the thickness of smoke haze will diminish. The implementation of teaching and learning continues to be carried out for students in grades 4, 5 and 6. Likewise students at the junior and senior high school level (Riau Pos, 02-09-15)

"sanctions must be enforced, but they are educational. If the company is doing it, then the company is given obligations to prosper the surrounding community, if asked what the form is? For example by being given training to the community, certain individuals, with training, entrepreneurship training" (Male, 13-09-18)

Now we are making a program called Disaster Preparedness School. Disaster Preparedness Schools that we really expect for each education unit to integrate matters related to threats, fire hazards. Then another danger, related to disaster and our focus is land fires. So that later on, in the long run we hope that there is a kind of growing and developing behaviors that are not as exemplary as currently being done (Male, 13-09-18)

Religion

As the religious society, Indonesian people try to finish the problem by asking God to help them. After a series effort no result, they will pray to God. For example, in Pontianak, after the money has allocated for fire fighting, law enforcement to land burner by arresting them to the jail, are not successful to stop haze disaster, they ask Ulema Council to release a fatwa that burning the land is banned.. Religion Services provides Speech for Ied-Adha praying. The other effort that very famous is Sholat Istisqa , which is special praying to ask God giving rain.

"Then during the Eid al-Adha, we also made a concept of Eid al-Adha sermons to our colleagues who as their khatib officers to convey the prohibition or here is a concept of this sermon prohibiting the burning of forests and land..

The Indonesian Ulema Council, especially in West Kalimantan, has also issued a MUI fatwa many times, even though the MUI fatwa from 2016 was even Pak, in 2016 number 30 concerning the Law on Forest and Land Burning and its Control"(Male, 13-08-15)

"Hundreds of worshipers of the Islamic Center Mosque of Sultan Syarif Hasyim Siak, raised their hands. They want to pray for God to bring rain. The rain was applied for this, considering the smoke haze that hit Siak in particular and Riau in general was already alarming. The Istisqa prayer is done after performing the Eid Prayers which have been planned by the Regency Government. Inviting all Siak residents to perform Salat Istisqa (08-09-15)

Art

Art is desired media to attract people and to get new awareness of ecological problem. Art is reacted by resulting artwork, like, paint, photograph, poetry, or art performance. As heritage of Malay culture, some artists, academicians, activists, and students are writing several poetry books. An art activist also holds the photograph exhibition to attract people that haze disaster is a severe disaster.

"Do people" still want to continue to get haze disasters like this. Through photos we want to show how the conditions of land and forest fires and the struggle of the fire fighting teams are always working. Through photos, he also hopes to be the eye of millions of Riau people. One example is the photo of the GiamSiak Kecil Biosphere Reserve, where we know that the location is a conservation area. But there have been many damages such as fires, illegal logging and other damage. (12-09-15)

Table. 2. Reaction every subsystem on society and media

No	Subsystem Code	Society		Media	
		(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)
1	Economy Profit/ Non Profit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Land Clearing by burning is cheaper - Incentive to Village who can keep their village free of fire 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expense for fire fighting - Expense for assisting Government - Decreasing of oil palm harvesting 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delaying and Canceling flight - Closing of Air Port and Port
2	Politics Power/ No Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oil palm is important product - Government Built Peatland Restoration Agency to address peatland degradation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU Parliament plan to ban Indonesian Palm Oil Product - Oil Palm Moratorium in Peatland 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Asking Government to Install Air Pollution Index - Asking Central Government to more seriously addressing haze disaster
3	Law Legal/ Illegal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Several regulation has been released and implemented to prevent peatland fire - The Act of 32 year of 2009, has managed that land clearing by burning is banned 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Revoking Corporation Permit - Land fair distribution to the peasant 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arresting farmers who burn the land
4	Science Scientific/ not scientific	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conducting the research about negative impact peatland fire - Boosting researcher to find the new way addressing the peatland fire and also best practice agriculture on peatland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some scientists be suspected defending corporations who are accused burning peatland 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Forecasting when rain is coming - Providing weather modification to create artificial rain - Providing Air Pollutan Index (API) to
5	Education civilized/ not civilized	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Environmental Education for student - Assisting the farmers by several program like land 		-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Closing school along the haze disaster

		clearing			
6	Religion Sin/ Innocent	- Asking Ulema Council to release fatwa of banning of land clearing by burning	-	-	- Asking God for giving the rain to clean haze from in the air -
7	Art Beatiful/ Not beatiful	- Writing and performing poetry book to make new awareness of the severe ecological disaster	-	- Holding the art exhibiton to show that dangerous of haze disaster	-

Conclusion

The reaction of each sub-system in social system, namely resonance work by reference to their code. The intensity of reaction it depend on their interest. Economics is the most sub-system who vibrate which are everyone thinks that haze disaster happened becuase the economic activitys. Fortunately, economics reacts soonly by assisting government for fire fighting, making a program for villager, giving insentive, in spite politics are accusing some corporations and farmers behave burning the peatland. Law is providing the act, that everyone who burned the land will be processed by police. Science, education, and religion try to answer and help to address this problem by their way. Interestingly, art that did not mention by Luhmann, has its role to boost new awareness of ecological problem.

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About the authors

Arifudin is a lecturer in University of Riau Indonesia, on subject of agricultural communication and extension. Now, he is pursuing his doctoral degree in GadjahMada University. He experience short term study in Enviromental Education Laboratory, Graduate School Global Environmental Studies of Kyoto University . He has lasi long experience to address Indonesian forestand peatland fires problem, where since 2009, he has been pointed as an expert in forest and peatland fires prevention by Indonesian ministry of forestry joining with Japan International Corporate Agency (JICA). Several article has been published by arifudin on international conference as well as on mass media related with community empowerment, communication on haze problems.

Hermin Indah Wahyuni is an Associate Proffessor in Department of Communication Studies, Faculty of Social and Politic Science, GadjahMada University

F. Tri Sakti Haryadi is an Associate Proffesor in Department Animal Science and Industry, Faculty of veterinary GadjahMada University

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