

Media Business and Innovation

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Digital Transformation in Journalism and News Media

Media Management, Media
Convergence and Globalization

 Springer

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Europe's Future Is Digital

We are living in a world in which communication is increasingly digital.

Our day-to-day activities are being remodelled by digital communications. The way people look for a job, for a hotel or for a car to rent is now already largely digital.

And the way we access news and entertainment is also more and more digital, personalised and interactive.

Content is accessed through a multitude of websites and applications: from Facebook to video-on-demand platforms and from Twitter to the websites of our high-quality European newspapers and magazines. Names such as le Monde, Die Zeit, El Pais, The Guardian and the FT are valuable brands, both offline and online.

Both Europe's public broadcasters, like ARD, BBC and Rai, and the private players are more and more active online.

The future is paved with digital opportunities.

How to make sure that Europe is on the lead when it comes to embracing those opportunities?

The Commission is already very active in encouraging this process. Today, I will present you what the Commission is doing to strengthen Europe's connected digital single market: one of the key priorities of the Juncker Commission.

I will focus on the rules at European level for audiovisual media services and copyright, as well as digital education.

I will then mention our research actions in the field of media convergence.

I will conclude with a few words on an important aspect such as media freedom and pluralism.

The Digital Single Market

Let's start with the Digital Single Market.

The Single Market that we created in 1992 remains one of Europe's greatest assets, and it holds an even greater potential in the digital area.

However, at the moment blockages and barriers exist in the digital world. An example of this is geo-blocking, which frustrates millions of consumers across Europe every day.

As the digital transformation accelerates, it brings immense opportunities for innovation, growth and jobs. ICT has already made a major contribution to economic growth. Between 2001 and 2011, digitalisation accounted for 30 % of GDP growth in the EU. And European early success stories abound, like Skype, Snapchat and Spotify.

The question we need to ask is whether we provide the right environment in Europe today for our promising start-ups and web entrepreneurs to grow and prosper? Do they have sufficient access to finance? Do they have the human resources available to them to innovate? Do we give them space to focus on their core businesses or are they tied down with the regulatory burden of having to adapt to 28 different legal regimes for consumer protection and data protection and for copyright and VAT?

We have to realise that the key variable for the digital economy is scale. The larger the market in which companies operate, the stronger the growth impulse.

The digital economy is also crucially about speed and first mover advantages; markets punish those who arrive too late.

There are some signs that European companies are currently falling behind their global competitors. In certain segments of the market—like for Internet search, communications/social media or e-Commerce platforms—non-European players are driving innovation. Among the global top ten ICT firms, only 1 is European.

In particular, there is a sense in which Europe's creative industry and rich media landscape are hampered in the current fragmented market situation.

The work to complete the Digital Single Market is all about positioning Europe for the future, to enable European companies to exploit a home market of more than 500 million consumers, to innovate and experiment and to scale up and grow globally.

It is about creating hundreds of thousands of jobs in thriving new areas like data analytics, content and service applications and maximising the growth potential of the sharing economy.

We will achieve this aim by focusing on a small number of key interdependent actions that can only be taken at EU level. The 16 actions in our new strategy have been chosen to have maximum impact—to reduce regulatory fragmentation and substantially improve the cross-border flow of goods and services in the digital age.

If we get the work done and establish a truly integrated Digital Single Market, we can create up to €340 billion in additional growth, hundreds of thousands of new jobs and a vibrant knowledge-based society in the EU.

The AVMSD REFIT and Review

An important aspect of the digital single market strategy is the review of the Audiovisual Media services Directive, better known as the AVMSD.

Why are we reviewing the legislative framework?

Because things have changed!

The rise of digital and media convergence is indeed reshaping the economic, cultural, social and political life. Media convergence comes with new business models and opportunities for democratic interaction and cultural expression.

We no longer need to head to our living room to watch a movie or the latest news. This is a terrific opportunity for us all.

Our TV is still there, but we now have the option to use Connected TV, set-top boxes and not least our PCs, laptops, tablets and smartphones to watch Video-On-Demand (VOD) and audiovisual content online.

The Internet has become the main news source for young audiences.

We are witnessing a revolution and content is at the centre of it: whether professionally created or user generated, live or on demand.

Europe must remain a leading player in the audiovisual media sector, all along the value chain.

This is why the DSM strategy announces that the Commission will look back and assess the impact of the AVMSD and whether it is still sound in the digital age.

The DSM also looks ahead and announces a review of the Directive in 2016.

In these months, we are going through an intense process that combines evaluating the existing Directive and looking into policy options for the future of the Directive.

I strongly encourage you all to participate in the Public consultation that the Commission launched on 6 July and that will run until 30 September.

What benefits has it brought?

This is your opportunity to let us know what is the impact of the Directive—i.e. what costs has it caused? As well as to indicate what you believe are the most suitable options for the future.

What is the public consultation about?

The AVMSD has shown us the benefits of the internal market by fostering the transmission of audiovisual media services within Europe. At the end of 2013, about 23 % of TV channels established in the EU targeted foreign markets (either EU or extra EU).

But we need to make sure that we are up to speed in the digital revolution. Just consider that in 2019 video traffic will be 80 % of all the Internet traffic globally.

The current framework applies to television broadcasts and audiovisual media services offered on demand when the provider has control over the programmes. Services like Netflix or iTunes are hence already regulated by AVMSD while Internet services hosting user-generated content (like YouTube, Vimeo, etc.) are not. Is the current system working or should new services be further regulated, either by the Directive or via self/co-regulation?

A basic set of rules in the AVMSD (for example, that it is prohibited to incite hatred) apply to all services. In specific areas, rules are more stringent for broadcast services than for on-demand services, as in the latter the users play a more active role and can decide on the content and the time of viewing.

Media convergence has now in some cases blurred the boundaries between broadcast and on-demand services, constantly redefining how consumers interact with content.

In the light of this, we will look closely at whether the existing system is still working well and if not what are the right tools to address any shortcomings, particularly in the following fields:

- 1) Commercial communications;
- 2) Protection of minors;
- 3) Promotion of European works.

Protecting the public interest is also one of the AVMSD main goals. The public consultation addresses, amongst other things, the issue of the findability of public interest content.

All in all, it is important to clarify that all the options are open at this stage.

I once again invite you all to actively contribute to this public consultation and give us your views on the review of the AVMSD.

Copyright

Another key element of the DSM is the modernisation of the copyright framework.

Digital technologies are changing the ways creative content (e.g. films, music, books or games) is produced, distributed and accessed. They create opportunities as well as new challenges for all players in the value chain. New online services based on innovative business models are offered in all sectors of the creative industry, opening the door to new types of uses of content.

Both our businesses and citizens increasingly exploit the possibilities provided by digital technologies. For instance, consumer spending in the creative sector is up 25 % from 2001, with all growth driven by digital media. Digital uses equally facilitate access to knowledge: today, over 90 % of scientific, technical and medical journals are accessible electronically and 87 % of cultural heritage institutions have a digital collection.

In a market where the online distribution and access to cultural content are widespread, copyright rules must be adapted to, and back the potential of, the Digital Single Market. The modernisation of the EU copyright framework is therefore an essential part of the Digital Single Market strategy.

The “Digital Single Market Strategy for Europe”, set out in the Commission Communication of 6 May 2015, outlined the Commission’s objectives in the area of copyright:

- Take action in the area of portability and cross-border access to online content services for consumers while considering the specificities of different creative sectors;
- Have more harmonised copyright exceptions for people with disabilities, cultural institutions, research—including text and data mining—and education;
- Clarify the role of intermediaries as distributors of copyright-protected content.
- In the long run, we are also looking at how to improve copyright enforcement and we will launch a review of the cable and satellite directive.

The Commission's ambition is to achieve the right balance between the different interests.

On the one hand, citizens and businesses should be able to provide services and have better access to content across borders. European citizens, libraries, universities and researchers should have more legal certainty when they adapt their activities to the digital environment.

Also, copyright must remain a key driver for creativity, innovation and investment in the digital economy, and the whole creative content value chain should ensure adequate reward for those who create and invest in creativity.

I am confident we will achieve those objectives, starting by the legislative copyright initiative which the Commission intends to propose by the end of 2015.

Digital Education

Let me now come to digital education.

Digital technologies are a key catalyst for change in digital society, as they provide access to learning worldwide: having access to a connected digital device means access to learning from anywhere, by anyone, anytime.

However, digital technologies do not only provide access and change the way we learn: they also challenge what we learn and why we learn in the digital society and what kind of jobs and future is the educational system preparing us for.

Even though we can't predict the future, we know that most of the jobs in the future will require digital skills and competence. This also applies to those numerous future jobs that do not exist yet: according to predictions, 80–90 % of the future jobs are yet to be created.

The opportunity of pervasive learning through digital technologies and the conundrum of how to teach for jobs that are yet to be created pose a policy challenge that we need to take seriously regarding the growth and jobs of our economies for future generations.

We believe that in order to prosper in the ever more connected global community, everyone in Europe should benefit from the transformational power of digital learning. This applies for all contexts of learning, from kindergarten until all forms of lifelong learning, be it for work, at work or after work.

The Commission has put forward a digital learning agenda for Europe: in the Opening Up Education initiative, it highlights that making learning fit for purpose in the digital economy and society is a challenge affecting us all—learners, teachers, industry, employers and policymakers. It calls for more innovation in learning and teaching with technology, valorising open educational resources, improved access to digital devices and connectivity.

The agenda is challenging, and we know we can't achieve it alone but only through joint action involving the entire stakeholder chain. The Commission funds policies, research and innovation for boosting the use of digital technologies in learning to make learning more engaging, motivating and fun. The Member States and all other stakeholders are invited to join in.

More creative and engaging use of technology in learning fosters innovation capacity in Europe, so it is an investment in both education and for our economy, jobs and growth.

This is why we think that every school and every classroom across Europe should be connected to high-speed broadband and have access to suitable set of digital technology that will help them in achieving their learning goals, making them digitally competent and motivating them to learn and discover more of the world they live in.

Teachers are and also remain central in learning at digital age. We need to find ways to upskill and reskill our teachers so that they can continue to empower learners and provide engaging and motivating learning paths that foster creativity, discovery and entrepreneurship and are relevant in the digital age. For us, this is the best way to ensure that Europe's future is digital.

Research and Media Convergence

A modern regulatory framework and digital education are crucial to enhance Europe's position in the global digital economy.

What is also important, I believe, is research and development.

You might be interested in knowing what the Commission is doing specifically when it comes to research in the field of media convergence.

Indeed, the Commission supports media through research and innovation actions. These actions are focused on content creation innovation, technological innovation and business model innovation.

For example, in the area of technology innovation, the EU provides the media industry with funds for innovative technologies. These technologies enable new ways of experiencing media content that are more personal, participative and interactive.

Some of the current active projects funded by the European Commission look into opportunities for media (broadcast) companies to develop new services and business models by looking into the potentialities of portable devices to expand user experience based on users' feedback. Other projects look at innovation in the production process flow. Specifically, they try to include new technologies like mobile user-generated broadcasting and immersive experiences.

Our research portfolio looks into new technologies for the media industry that can provide disruptive changes for the media sector.

For instance, some of the Commission-funded projects look into the analysis and verification of social media content.

Furthermore, European players have more and more intensified their cooperation and support to open systems with open standards. A flagship result in the media convergence is HbbTV, an open standard that allows broadcasters to deliver their both broadcasted content and broadband-based applications. HbbTV is now becoming the reference standard for Europe. Its adoption is also spreading across the globe (e.g. Australia and Brazil).

Commission-financed projects are contributing to extend the current HbbTV features. One particular case, where Europe is ahead, is the extension and use of HbbTV for accessibility solutions. Here, projects are exploring low-cost and universal solutions for people with disabilities and for an ageing population.

Another important area of action is multi-device media and content management.

As a matter of fact, the pervasive broadband connectivity enables broadcasters, TV and set-top box manufacturers, online journals and online media services to manage content through multi-device solutions (e.g. mobile phones and tablets).

While users can enjoy media content wherever they are, media companies can collect huge amounts of data reflecting users' behaviours. Such data can then be used for content recommendation personalisation and dynamic advertising.

Media-generated data can also be used in other domains (for example, in fashion tendencies and energy). These are all very promising fields of innovation that need to be embraced by European media companies in order to face overseas competition.

Media Freedom and Pluralism

I would like to conclude mentioning a crucial value for the EU: media freedom and pluralism.

Unfortunately, Europe is not immune to problems concerning media freedom and pluralism.

Political pressure, economic hardship, physical attacks against journalists, restrictive legislation and a general financial crisis in the sector all influence the media's ability to operate freely.

The Commission is aware of these challenges and takes action within the limits of its competences.

For example, two new EU-financed independent projects in the field of media freedom and pluralism have been recently launched. They are part of the European Centre for Press and Media Freedom and have the support of the European Parliament.

The projects—one coordinated by the Leipzig media foundation and the other one by Index on censorship—will address media freedom violations in the EU and neighbouring countries. Violations of press freedom will be observed, researched, registered and reported to both the public and the relevant authorities. Actions to support threatened journalists will also be organised. The existing monitoring tools will be enhanced and complemented by digital training and campaigning actions.

The Media Pluralism Monitor tool is another EU-financed action. It is run independently by the European University Institute in Florence (Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom—CMPF) to identify potential risks to media pluralism in Member States. The first phase of the project—based on a sample of nine Member States—has showed that risks to media pluralism are spread all over the EU. The tool is currently being applied to the remaining Member States, including Germany.

Conclusions

Yes, Europe's future is digital, especially when it comes to communication.

The Commission is doing its part to make Europe more competitive in this digital environment:

- Through the Digital Single Market and the modernisation of the AVMSD and the copyright framework;
- Through our digital learning agenda;
- Through our support to research in the field of media convergence; and
- Through our actions in the field of media freedom and pluralism.

I am confident that, together, we can succeed.

Günther Oettinger

Digital Sovereignty

Digital sovereignty—A look-back and an outlook—a few comments by one of the editors of the book “Digital Sovereignty”.

When in 2013 the first information about SNOWDEN became public, many actors of the German economy responded with an irritated, sometimes incredulous expression. In the political establishment itself, some groups very quickly called for harsh reactions to the US government, and most civil society organisations initiated a storm of indignation, combined with a broad list of, what they called, “mandatory demands”.

My first reaction was a letter sent to several MPs in Germany, asking that security policy now should be treated no longer solely as an issue of home and defence policy but also as an issue for economic policy. This was picked up very quickly but also fell rapidly in the old discussions of the left of pro- or contra-USA.

Especially in the German ICT sector, this discussion relatively quickly led to the question: Does Germany or Europe even have a chance to protect our business, our society, our region digitally. Securing against whomever! NSA? KGB? . . . Because know-how to computer espionage and cyber attacks is available worldwide. There is no domain of state intelligence services, regardless of the country. And no serious observer will question the need for this kind of activity in general. But the knowledge of these options is inevitably used in criminal circles, either.

Germany plays no leading role: neither in hardware nor in software components in the field of IT and telecommunication. This is the battleground for US or Chinese companies, regarding the value chain. However, a common understanding was that security itself is essential in everyone’s opinion.

But how to ensure security and how to achieve this in practice, if the necessary core competences are no longer available?

Security is for one thing a basic human need. Security, however, serves simply as the general pattern for economic success of any business: customer data, manufacturing know-how, financial information, etc. They all form the fundament for a thriving company. And for all political considerations, it should be the pattern for long-term perspectives, for the future of a country, its society and its economy and for the future of a region, like Europe.

The rapid ongoing digital transformation requires necessarily a new quality of discussion and of analysis: how to realise all those different facets on security at all,

if you don't have full competences in the needed areas. In other words: is Germany still sovereign in the sense of independence, since digital self-determination cannot be practised any more? What to do in order to preserve the autonomy and independence of the society, the business world, despite of globalisation, or even because of globalisation? Does it make sense in our interconnected world, with all its economic ties?

The list of questions goes on and on!

The result of numerous rounds of talks led finally to the term of "digital sovereignty". And it became evident that there were different aspects: what does this mean in the context of business, engineering, education, law, politics, personal responsibility of the individual, etc.

And who in our society will play what part, if necessary? How can this concept be classified in an international context, as leading industrial nations indeed have very divergent interpretations; they have quite different ideas about industrial and economic politics. Can a political demand for digital sovereignty be understood as a relapse into a new nationalism, which was the case on several occasions in discussions?

We ended up with the plan to publish a book. We wanted to collect all the different views, positions and perspectives. Thus, we contacted a broad range of potential authors.

The purpose of our collection of articles and essays is to provide the reader with a comprehensive spectrum on the different topics of digital sovereignty. We leave readers in their sovereignty to decide for or against any concepts described.

Some remarks, concerning our book:

It is structured into several chapters:

- Definitions of digital sovereignty.
- Political aspects.
- Economic positions.
- Social aspects.
- Legal considerations.
- Cultural positions.

We are very happy that we found a wide base of people, willing to support our idea: politicians from all parties in the German parliament (except the left), MPs with a real knowledge of the digital transformation, top scientists, experts from the business world, Europe or the USA.

Nevertheless, I consider the following aspects indispensable for Germany, for Europe and for our economy, politics and civil society.

A new feeling of or for responsibility is the core issue. But who does what?

Politicians in most cases claim this to be a general task of the government. Protection of mankind is very popular, especially in Europe. Politicians like it.

In an increasingly digitised world, the state has the same responsibilities than before; the means should be adjusted to the new challenges: by adapting the legal frame, by changing the security concept, through new forms of risk assessment and

through a new education policy, which includes that people are able to actively deal with this new situation.

But in my opinion, there is no need for an enlargement of governmental functions. Because otherwise we run the risk of destroying the approach of a free and self-responsible citizen and his or her self-determination. On the contrary, every government should see it as a task to avoid narrowing the diversity of opinions and freedom of expression. Enabling people to look “backstage, behind the scenes”, to learn to understand: Who supplies what? And why? What’s the reason?

These questions will take a completely new quality dimension!

The same is valid for the business world. The task of the economy is to look for a new combination of freedom and responsibility, even if digital platform has the tendency of monopolising their business. The role of free enterprise is based upon independence, of diversity. Yet we know, when looking into our history, that without frame boundaries power leads to the formation of monopolies.

It will be a matter of survival for our economy, for our economic system, whether the business world supports this approach of responsibility or not. Thus, the safeguarding of our own sovereignty is the pattern even in today’s increasing globalisation.

The discussion about the preservation, recovery or a reinvention of digital sovereignty should be seen as a general overall political task, when we see the discussion on BIG DATA, industry 4.0 and regarding the US reaction to the IIC!

It serves Germany; it serves Europe to ensure its future. To provide for a digital expertise, whether in the area of education, economy, security policy and so on, this does not mean a relapse into old national state paradigm. It is for us in Germany and for all in Europe the pattern for our future.

Freedom and responsibility are interdependent; they mutually require each other.

Peter Bisa

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Introduction: Digital Transformation in a Global World

1

Yahya R. Kamalipour and Mike Friedrichsen

In Globalization 1.0, which began around 1492, the world went from size large to size medium. In Globalization 2.0, the era that introduced us to multinational companies, it went from size medium to size small. And then around 2000 came Globalization 3.0, in which the world went from being small to tiny.

—Thomas Friedman, *The New York Times* columnist and author of *The World is Flat*

Yes, our world has become tiny, mainly due to rapid advances in information and communication technologies, but it has also become more complex and conflicted than ever before.

We are delighted to present this highly eclectic, contemporary, multidimensional, authoritative, and truly thought-provoking collection of 46 papers presented at the 10th Conference of the Global Communication Association in the historic city of Berlin, Germany, July 16–18, 2015.

Thematically focused on “Digital Transformation—Media Management, Digital Education, Media Convergence, and Globalization” the 2015 Berlin GCA conference brought together nearly 200 participants representing 26 countries. This content-rich book is the culmination of those highly engaging and informative keynote speeches, paper presentations, and panel discussions, which includes multinational and multicultural perspectives about our increasingly interconnected and complex digital world amidst the prevailing doom and gloom, division and

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hatred, war and human displacement, pollution and erosion of environment, terrorism and destruction, devolution of freedom and evolution of surveillance, ideological clashes and cultural misunderstanding, divisive media narratives and sweeping generalizations; capitalist domination and erosion of sovereignty; and perpetual conflicts and human sufferings around the globe.

We have organized the conference papers into the following seven parts:

Part one delineates **change drivers** and sets the stage by anticipating Europe's digital future, disruptive innovations, digital sovereignty, political communication, and media management.

Part two covers **media innovation and convergence** to focus on diverse perspectives by exploring news production dynamics in Turkey; the need for monitoring digital information; adolescents sexual and reproductive health in Nigeria, evaluation distribution and website classification; media convergence challenges in East Africa; media management and employees' perceptions; communicative platforms; and convergence of print and video in Germany.

Part three addresses **digital transformation in media** to explore some of the emerging challenges of media management in Africa; excessive broadcast regulations in South Asia; citizen journalism in Turkey; service delivery and government administration; exclusion or inclusion in democracy; social media in Egypt; impact of media transformation; and communication and leadership.

Part four depicts **digital media and social networks** to examine paid media presidential campaigns; digital illusion of friendship among Kenyans; new media and new opportunities in Kenya; cyber-political behavior of Iranians; information warfare in Ukraine; social media interaction in Turkey; social media as knowledge catalyst; and longitudinal analysis of Facebook in workplace.

Part five describes **new journalism and challenges for media freedom** and offers analysis of citizen journalism; new media and journalism in Nigeria; media coverage of the attack on Charlie Hebdo in Kenya; digital storytelling; digital safety training for journalists; control of local news in Mexican provinces; psychological impact of traumatizing events on journalists; violence against journalists; and cartoonists framing in selected Kenyan newspapers.

Part six incorporates education and learning to examines the role of new media in education and communication; perceptions of and reactions to emergency alert on college campuses; distance learning for global understanding; globalization and popular culture; challenges in the pedagogy of global communication; traditional education and digital education in the Middle East; academic discourses and practical necessities; and problems in Tajikistan's educational environment.

The digital age—ushered in by the information technology and the Wide World Web—has provided numerous opportunities to individuals, groups, and organizations to freely and openly express their viewpoints via email, blogs, chat

rooms, My Space, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other innovative, interactive and spontaneous social media venues. Consequently, it has become increasingly difficult for governments to control the flow of information within and outside the geographical boundaries of nation states.

As the United States prepares to relinquish its oversight of the Internet through the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) to an international body, whose makeup is not yet determined, we will see more challenges and opportunities across the globe. On the positive side, unlike the traditional media, the Internet is not owned by a corporation; hence, it provides an open and largely uncensored platform for free expression by anyone from anywhere in the world. On the negative side, the Internet offers a devious opportunity to terrorist groups, psychologically troubled individuals, human traffickers, illegal drug dealers, and gangs to exploit and expand their networks and recruit globally.

The British novelist and philosopher, Aldous Huxley (1894–1953) once said, “Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe.” But it appears that today we favor catastrophe over education, conflict over dialogue, war over peace, and death over life. Consequently, terrorism has become the weapon of choice by the weaker states and groups and, in fact, Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and other organized groups have gained strength and support throughout the world by utilizing the Internet—particularly social media—to propagandize their cause, recruit the vulnerable, traumatize the innocent, destroy the infrastructures, and rule by the power of fear and intimidation.

Paved with the intention of bridging the cultural gaps by providing an inclusive multinational platform for sustained dialogue about contemporary issues, the Global Communication Association (GCA) was established in 2007. Since its inaugural conference in China, GCA has held conferences in Canada, Germany, India, Malaysia, Oman, Poland, Russia, Zambia, and continues to travel the world. The key objectives of GCA are to promote academic research in global communication, mass media, and related disciplines; facilitate joint projects and research opportunities among scholars and students; and promote collaboration and global cooperation. GCA provides an eclectic international platform for corporate executives, communication specialists, policy makers, academicians, graduate students, bureaucrats, politicians, public relations practitioners and related industry professionals to meet, discuss contemporary issues, interact, and generate new ideas and approaches for development in an intimate and collegial setting.

Drawing upon the “Digital Transformation—Media Management, Digital Education, Media Convergence, and Globalization” theme of the 2015 Berlin GCA conference, this book is the culmination of highly engaging and informative keynote speeches, paper presentations, and panel discussions that engaged nearly 200 participants representing 26 countries.

One of the key advantages of an edited volume, like this, is that it offers readers broad and multidimensional perspectives by diverse global researchers, scholars, and media professionals. On the other hand, one of the disadvantages of such a volume is that the tone, approach, and writing styles of the papers vary and, unlike a singularly authored or co-authored book, are inherently different.

We hope you will enjoy reading the highly diverse and informative contents of this conference proceedings and consider joining our collective efforts, through GCA, toward contributing to a more just, equitable, and humane global village. And, finally, we would like to express our appreciation to the UNESCO team for their valuable partnership and support of the Berlin conference.

Part I

Change Drivers

Hans Köchler

2.1 Idea and Reality of Communication

At the beginning of the twenty-first century it has become fashionable to describe, and propagate, the new interactive tools of communication as a kind of recipe for the advancement of democracy and human rights, the furthering of dialogue among social groups, and, ultimately, for the achievement of peace at the global level. The electronic media that enable users to be consumers and producers of information at the same time are portrayed almost as a magic wand that could change the very nature of human society. Marshall McLuhan's prophetic slogan of the 1960s—"The medium is the message"¹—resonates in today's many proclamations of a paradigm change supposedly brought about in terms of the construction of social life, or the "reinvention" of man as ζῶον πολιτικόν in this era of global connectivity.

The tendency to overestimate the social—and political—empowerment in connection with the use of internet technology is also evident in many commentaries on the events that triggered the "Arab Spring." It is said that due to the *egalitarian* nature of the worldwide web an individual person is, almost instantaneously, in a position to use an infrastructure that is available *to all* at the same time.² In this analysis, the internet crowd has become a power *sui generis*, independent also from the mainstream media, a kind of "Fifth Estate," able to challenge the established powers at any moment, and making democracy more "pluralistic."³ Similarly,

¹Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The extensions of man*. London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2001, title of Part I, Chapter 1.

²"Macht der tausend Augen." *Spiegel-Gespräch* with William Dutton, *Der Spiegel* 31/2011, p. 101.

³Loc. cit., p. 102.

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Google's Jared Cohen,⁴ in remarks to the New York Times, described the "impact" of the "unstoppable connectivity" of the internet as "completely disruptive to every polity."⁵ However, "connectivity" may equally be linked to a state of chaos, the very opposite of "organization," and "technology" may as well equal dependency, the opposite of "empowerment." Both—connectivity as well as technology—will have to be seen in their *instrumental*, thus ambiguous, dimension, not out of context and with only a desired *ideal* result in mind.

In view of the apotheosis of the new forms of communication as harbinger of genuine democracy and a just and peaceful world, a reality check will be appropriate:

It is an established historical fact that the arrival of new tools of information, beginning with the invention of scripture and later typography, has not necessarily favored, or brought about, a climate of tolerance or peaceful interaction. The politics of communication, i.e., the political implications of new communication technologies, are much more complex. With the onset of globalization, neither satellite TV nor the internet phenomenon, with the "new social media" as its most salient feature, have brought us any nearer to a "new world order" of peace and justice. In actual fact, during the last decades, social rifts appear to have become even deeper and prejudice and hatred along civilizational and cultural lines seem to be more profound at the beginning of the twenty-first century than they were in the preceding postcolonial—and pre-internet—era.

It is an anthropological truth that the human being is not quasi-automatically "prepared" for the effects of every new technology. It has often proven to be resilient to technologically induced forms of social engineering or "reinventing" man. As regards the effects of an ever more complex information technology on the *construction of social identity*, people are simply overwhelmed by the simultaneous presence of a multitude of diverse world-perceptions (and at different stages of their development),⁶ which they often feel to be incompatible with their own. Not surprisingly, in today's global information village,⁷ citizens may feel their (cultural, social, national) identity constantly being challenged and their "communal security" threatened. In a prescient and far-reaching analysis of the anthropological

⁴Jared Cohen is the Director of *Google Ideas*. Previously he served as a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. Secretary of State.

⁵Roger Cohen, "The Death of Diplomacy." *The New York Times/Der Standard* (Vienna), Monday, June 27, 2011, p. 2.—This effect is not only evident in the dramatic events of the "Arab Spring;" with the seemingly unstoppable expansion of web-based communication tools, it is increasingly felt in the Western industrialized countries too. The English summer riots of 2011 are a case in point.

⁶To describe this dilemma of multiculturalism in today's globalized environment, the author has used the term "non-simultaneous simultaneity." Cf. Hans Köchler, "The Philosophy and Politics of Dialogue." *Centre for Dialogue Working Paper Series*, No. 2010/1, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 2010, chapter II, point a.

⁷Marshall McLuhan coined the phrase "global village." Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 5: "As electrically contracted, the globe is no more than a village."

implications of the electronic media, written almost half a century ago, at the dawn of the modern information age, Marshall McLuhan explained that, wherever they may be located, social groups of all types “can no longer be *contained*, in the political sense of limited association. They are now *involved* in our lives, as we in theirs, thanks to the electric media.”⁸ This has given *multiculturalism* an entirely new dimension at the global level.

In the decades that have passed since this diagnosis, we have learned more about the socio-cultural effects of this new form of **interdependence**, **simultaneity** and **interaction** among a multitude of “life-worlds.” In a pointed critique of the dominant trend among commentators of web-related social developments, Evgeny Morozov has drawn our attention to “the mostly untested cyber-utopian assumption that more connections and more networks necessarily lead to more freedom or more democracy.”⁹ What is required, in the context of the contemporary discourse on internet technology and its anthropological implications and effects on social order, domestically as well as globally, is a fresh look at *how* use of the interactive technologies impacts on our social identity, and *what kinds* of community, or forms of political organization, result from the “new social media” in particular. In view of the political developments that are said to having been triggered by the use of the new technology, considerations of *mass psychology* may again become relevant.

2.2 The Virtual Crowd as Political Factor

In his seminal work *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1895), Gustave Le Bon analyzes the characteristics of social behavior under conditions of mass action.¹⁰ He explains that, under certain given circumstances, “an agglomeration of men presents new characteristics very different from those of the individuals composing it,”¹¹ eventually reaching a state of interaction that “puts them in possession of a sort of collective mind.”¹² He defines the kind of social grouping where this “uniformity” (or mental unity) is achieved as an “organized crowd” or a “psychological crowd.”¹³ He describes in detail how, in the collective mind, “the intellectual aptitudes of the individuals, and in consequence their individuality, are weakened.”¹⁴ As causes of this phenomenon he identifies (a) a “sentiment of

⁸Marshall McLuhan, op. cit., p. 5.

⁹Evgeny Morozov, *The Net Delusion: How Not to Liberate The World*. London: Allen Lane, 2011, p. 253.

¹⁰Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001. (Original French edition: *La psychologie des foules*, 1895.)

¹¹Op. cit., p. 13.

¹²Op. cit., p. 15.

¹³Op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁴Op. cit., p. 17.

invincible power,” owed to numerical considerations, which allows the individual “to yield to instincts which, had he been alone, he would perforce have kept under restraint;” (b) “**contagion**” in terms of sentiments and impulses to act; and, most importantly, (c) “**suggestibility**.”¹⁵ Le Bon further enumerates as some of the “special characteristics” of crowds their “impulsiveness,” “irritability,” “incapacity to reason,” and the “exaggeration of the sentiments.”¹⁶

Le Bon’s *mass psychology* had a decisive influence on the nascent discipline of “public relations” in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century, especially on the ideas of Edward Bernays, a nephew of Sigmund Freud.¹⁷ It has acquired an entirely new relevance, however, under the conditions of today’s global information society. The devices of virtually unrestricted communication that may, intentionally or accidentally, trigger processes that lead to the formation of crowds (in the *real* as well as the *virtual* world) have never been more diverse and at the same time powerful, and the logistical means, or organizational tools, for the manipulation of crowds have never been more sophisticated. Le Bon was well aware that a “crowd” in the *psychological* sense¹⁸ does “not always involve the simultaneous presence of a number of individuals on one spot. Thousands of isolated individuals may acquire at certain moments, and under the influence of certain violent emotions—such as, for example, a great national event—the characteristics of a psychological crowd.”¹⁹ Today, this will be the case with the many different internet communities, whether they are formed around specific catalytic events at the local or, with the aim to promote wider political causes, at the national level or worldwide level. (The reaction to the terrorist acts in Paris earlier this year under the slogan *Je suis Charlie* is a case in point.²⁰)

With the arrival of the internet has indeed dawned a new era of communication in a *mass society* where the *virtual crowd* (or “digital crowd”) has become a *decisive political factor*. Lest it will become irrelevant, mass psychology in the digital age cannot ignore the *pervasive impact* of the new social media on virtually all aspects of life. This involves a recreation, if not reinvention, of civil society along criteria defined by digital technology, and the “empowerment” of the individual, whether real or perceived, through the many features of interactive electronic communication. Apart from the issue of authenticity, this kind of “digital transformation” of society gives rise to new questions about the meaning of

¹⁵Op. cit., p. 17f. Emphases added.

¹⁶Op. cit., p. 20.

¹⁷Edward L. Bernays, *Propaganda*. New York: Horace Liveright, 1928.

¹⁸“The psychological crowd is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly.” (Op. cit., p. 15.)

¹⁹Op. cit., p. 13f.

²⁰For details see Elias Groll, “Meet the Man Who Put the ‘Je Suis’ in the ‘Je Suis Charlie’.” *Foreign Policy*, January 19, 2015, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/19/meet-the-man-who-put-the-je-suis-in-the-je-suis-charlie/>.

“freedom” of information and the autonomous status of the individual as *subject* or *object* in this process, as master or slave of information technology.

Information techniques such as SMS or email, communication interfaces such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, or the many chat programs, web logs and video sharing sites such as YouTube have become powerful tools of *individual* and *collective* action at the same time. The distinction between the *private* and *public* spheres, between individual and collective action, has increasingly become blurred, and the new devices and programs have dramatically changed the scope and reach of communication. Those technologies have had the effect of a *magnifying glass* for societal trends; they also have had an amplifying effect on the forces that trigger the formation of crowds, whether digitally or locally assembled, and on their means of expression and action, i.e., their eventual political impact. The aspects of “digital empowerment” are varied and numerous. They all illustrate the renewed relevance of mass psychology for the understanding of politics and society under the conditions of globalized information technology.

Here we can only mention a few of the most salient features of today’s “virtual public”:

- (1) In the “virtual crowd,” information is transmitted almost “**in real time**” (a catchphrase of the industry), and without any geographical limitations (except in cases of governmental interference).
- (2) The **transmission of information in visual or audio-visual form** has become one of the basic features of the new social media. Unlike the more abstract written word (the interpretation of which requires a certain amount of analysis and intellectual rigor), the image appeals to the *emotions* and, thus, to the *suggestibility* of individuals in a crowd. Neil Postman’s earlier concerns about the predominance of television, with the “unintended consequence of a dramatic change in our modes of public conversation,”²¹ are even more relevant in the context of today’s interactive media.
- (3) As compared to the dissemination of information via (satellite) TV or radio, the **interactivity** of the social media has brought a qualitatively new dimension, which goes beyond the more conventional viewers’/listeners’ participation through telephony (whether visual or not) where the input is moderated by an editor/presenter.
- (4) Because of the multiplying effect of computer technology, the numbers of people involved, and affected, are much larger than in conventional crowds. Due to the interactivity of the new media, a virtual ἀγορά is a **collective mental reality** that may at any moment result in concerted action in the real world, but in a manner that is unpredictable for the general public and for state authorities

²¹Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*. (New Introduction by Andrew Postman.) Penguin Books: London, 2006, p. 157. (First published 1985.)

as well. The phenomenon of the so-called “flash mob” drastically illustrates this effect.

- (5) The trend towards anonymity in the virtual crowd raises the question as to the “**invisible hands**,” or vested interests, that may hide behind the amorphous masses, staging (or “moderating”) civil society campaigns and launching information according to a strategy that is neither publicly declared nor democratically validated.²² Edward Bernays’ “invisible government” that “molds” our minds, “forms” our tastes and “suggests” our ideas,²³ and which he considered compatible with, even indispensable for, a modern democratic society, would find the circumstances of the new social media much more conducive to the advancement of this purpose.²⁴ The anonymous editing, by national intelligence services, of certain Wikipedia pages testifies, for instance, to this tendency and highlights the risks of the new technology in terms of democracy and the rule of law.²⁵
- (6) **Volatility of trends** is much higher in the virtual crowd. Unpredictable and erratic behavior, a general characteristic of crowds, tends to be more extreme under the anonymous conditions of the worldwide web. (This has also become evident in the use of BBM, Blackberry’s coded messaging service, by individuals who took part in the London riots of August 2011.)
- (7) The **simultaneity** and **ubiquity** of interactive communication may make of any trend a megatrend, and almost instantaneously. There are no checks and balances in the virtual world that could ensure a “reality check.” To the contrary, the new media provide such leverage for their users, even if they are few in number, that they may feel enabled to *create* new social realities. This may also lead to an *artificial sense of empowerment* and to a false

²²In this regard, Evgeny Morozov has alerted us about the “mostly invisible revolving door between Silicon Valley and Washington.” As a case in point he mentions Jared Cohen’s transition from the U.S. State Department to Google. “The twentieth century roots of twenty-first century statecraft.” *Foreign Policy* (FP), 7 September 2010, neteffect.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/09/07/the_20th_century_roots_of_the_21st_century_statecraft.

²³Edward Bernays, *Propaganda*, Chapter I: “Organizing Chaos,” p. 37.—Bernays, nephew of Sigmund Freud and considered the “father of public relations,” served with the United States “Committee on Public Information” during World War I and was subsequently invited by President Woodrow Wilson to attend the Peace Conference in Paris.

²⁴In his analysis of organized crowds, Gustave Le Bon proved—more than a century ago—that he was well aware of those “invisible hands.” In Book II (“The Opinions and Beliefs of Crowds”) of his work *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, he wrote: “The outburst and putting in practice of certain ideas among crowds present at times a startling suddenness. This is only a superficial effect, behind which must be sought a preliminary and preparatory action of long duration.” (P. 47.)

²⁵For a case study (relating to the coverage of the Lockerbie case) see Ludwig De Braeckeleer, “Wikipedia and the Intelligence Services—Is the Net’s popular encyclopedia marred by disinformation?,” in: *OhmyNews International*, Seoul, Korea, 26 July 2007, english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?at_code=424653, accessed on 23 August 2011.

interpretation of one's own "life-world" or of one's position in the community.²⁶

- (8) The social mobilizing power of media such as Facebook or Twitter rests on a "**snowball effect**" of information distribution, which is similar, in structure, to the traditional "chain letters," but with the speed of the information age. This may do serious harm in a political context and completely undermine the process of *democratic consultation* that is indispensable in a functioning civil society. A case in point is the so-called "Islamic State's" use of social media for propaganda purposes.
- (9) Although the outbreak of social revolts is a complex process that will be preceded by the buildup of pervasive dissatisfaction or disillusionment among large sectors of society, and for a sustained period of time, questions remain as to the **sustainability** of "revolutions" or "uprisings" the course of which has been decisively determined by the use of social media. Their "real time effect" is proven to have often favored erratic, constantly fluctuating trends whose long-term impact is in doubt because of the "emotions of the moment." The widely celebrated "color revolutions" in post-Soviet countries and the more recent events of the so-called "Arab Spring" testify to this problem of sustainability and to the **volatility** of a "digitally enhanced" civil society.

The at times destabilizing and "**subversive**" effect on an existing political order cannot be denied; it is an aspect of the intrinsically "**anarchic**" character of the interactive processes in the virtual world.

What does the new quality or dimension of social organization mean in terms of *democratic maturity* of a polity? Can the blurring of the distinction between the private and public spheres²⁷ be reconciled with democratic empowerment? What are the implications of the ambiguity between *anonymous* and *public* action—that is typical for the virtual space—for civic responsibility and democratic accountability? These are some of the issues that more or less directly relate to the potential impact of the new methods and tools of communication on how politics will be conducted in the twenty-first century.

²⁶On the impact of this essentially unreflected use of information technology on the mentality of youth see, *inter alia*, Larry D. Rosen, *Rewired: Understanding the iGeneration and the Way They Learn*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, ch. 5: "Real Life or Screen Life? The Educational Opportunities of Immersive Social Networking and Virtual Worlds," p. 97ff.

²⁷For an analysis of the paradigm change in terms of the public sphere see David Barney, "Invasions of Publicity: Digital Networks and the Privatization of the Public Sphere," in: The Law Commission of Canada (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Public-Private Divide* (Legal Dimensions Series.) Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2003, pp. 94–122.

2.3 Conclusion: A Communication Order for the Twenty-First Century?

It is one of the positive aspects of modern information technology that different worldviews have become accessible to a wider public. The question, however, will be what impact the presence of an ever larger variety of different cultures and civilizations—the “simultaneity of the lifeworlds”²⁸—will have on the mental disposition of the participants in the social networks, i.e., on how they will make use of this opportunity of interaction with “the other,” or whether they will eventually retreat into their own ethnic or cultural domain.

One of the central issues of “internet freedom,” exercised by the users of interactive media, will be in what sense and up to what extent the technology can be made consistent with the original nature of *communication*, which is dialogical. This would, first and foremost, require *genuine interdependence*, namely a balanced flow of information, including an advanced system of checks and balances (not only at the domestic, but at the regional and global levels) that can prevent deliberate campaigns of disinformation and defamation, and a general commitment to authenticity and truth.²⁹ If one celebrates the new social networks as something like the Fifth Estate (in addition to the establishment media as the Fourth Estate),³⁰ i.e., as integral part of the checks and balances in a democratic polity, one will have to agree on ethical guidelines and on clearly defined rules of “fair use” of the new technological devices. Internet literacy will have to be more than the ability to manage the technical and logistical features of an ever more sophisticated software. Freedom of information can only be defended, and a global system—“worldwide web”—of interactive media will only be sustainable, if abuses of that freedom can be curtailed and anarchy of self-expression, with the risk of entrenchment of enemy stereotypes,³¹ can be prevented.

It remains to be seen how these lofty goals can be realized without the adoption of measures that in turn undermine individual freedom. The United Nations Organization and competent specialized organizations such as UNESCO should assume the task of drafting rules for an internet-age version of a “New International

²⁸Hans Köchler, *Philosophy and Politics of Dialogue*, p. 8.

²⁹For an earlier vision of such a system at the international level, before the arrival of the internet, see Hans Köchler (ed.), *The New International Information and Communication Order: Basis for Cultural Dialogue and Peaceful Coexistence among Nations*. Studies in International Relations, Vol. X. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 1985.

³⁰See also William Dutton’s optimistic assessment, fn. 2 above.—In view of the Fourth Estate’s dismal record (especially when it comes to covering controversial issues such as the “global war on terror”), it is understandable that expectations concerning the potential of the Fifth Estate are very high.

³¹The rise of Islamophobia in Europe and the United States is a case in point. See Emily Kianka, “Islamophobia and the Social Consequences of Social Media.” *Islamophobia Today*, Editorial, 28 July 2011, www.islamophobiatoday.com/2011/07/28/islamophobia-and-the-social-consequences-of-social-media/.

Information and Communication Order,”³² a global *ethical* code of conduct for all users of information technology, including the interactive networks.

Undoubtedly, today’s social media have opened up new avenues for civil society and created an alternative public space. In many instances, determined users have been able to circumvent censorship and outwit the gatekeepers of the established order. It is no wonder that the potentially subversive effect of alternative structures of public opinion is so intensely feared in the circles of power, and in particular by authoritarian régimes. If responsibly used, the new forms of communication may indeed provide the citizens with means for a *more comprehensive* evaluation of what they are told by the establishment, and especially for a comparison between different positions (which is indispensable for a mature judgment and, thus, for *meaningful* participation in public affairs). As Aldous Huxley observed half a century ago, “The survival of democracy depends on the ability of large numbers of people to make realistic choices in the light of adequate information.”³³

³²For details of the initial project, which Unesco had to abandon, see: *Address by Amadou Mahtar M’Bow, Director-General of Unesco, to the University of Bujumbura on the theme “Unesco and communication in the modern world.”* Bujumbura, 5 February 1980. Unesco Doc. DG/80/2.—For an overview of the wide-ranging debates see: *A New World Information and Communication Order: Towards a Wider and Better Balanced Flow of Information. A Bibliography of UNESCO Holdings, Supplement 1980–1981.* COM/82/WS/12, Paris: UNESCO, 1982.

³³*Brave New World Revisited*, chapter VI: “The Arts of Selling,” p. 47.

Paul Clemens Murschetz and Mike Friedrichsen

Media management is a young academic field that has yet to establish a universally accepted set of theoretical foundations (Küng, 2007; Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006). Albeit its strong growth in academic teaching and scholarly output, it remains a confused field. The field is neither clearly defined nor a cohesively organized. It remains rather a loose agglomeration of work by researchers from various scientific fields.

Some of this confusion comes from lack of scholarly agreement as to its scope, purpose, and methods (Küng, 2007). Why? First, multi-paradigmatic research communities shape its scope of research (Doyle, 2013; Küng, 2007). Media economics, studies in political economy, media studies, mass communication and journalism studies, to name but the most influential, make any universal agreement on a common phenomenon of interest difficult (Ballon, 2014; Cunningham & Flew, 2015; Hardy, 2014; Havens, Lotz, & Tinic, 2009; Küng, 2007; Winseck, 2011). This is a problem, it is alleged, for this fragmentation into many, often unconnected, perspectives and paradigms makes the field less influential and of limited value for prescriptive applications (Mierzejewska, 2011; Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006). In contrast to media economics, which since its emergence in the 1970s has acquired an established set of theoretical approaches and an extensive body of literature, media management is still embryonic. Küng (2007) commented on this situation rather wryly: “The net result is that while the field displays deep specialist knowledge of the sector, and a rich and broad spectrum of theoretical knowledge, application of management theory is surprisingly weak. Media firms are in the main

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addressed as businesses rather than organizations, at a macro rather than micro level, and the majority of attention is focused on exogenous changes (technology, regulation and consumption for example), and relatively little on internal firm dynamics and how these impinge on performance outcomes.” (p. 23). Media management as a separate field is also a relatively late arrival in terms of institutional growth. Key journals such as *The International Journal of Media Management* was established only in 1998, and the *Journal of Media Business* in 2004. EMMA, the *European Media Management Association*, an international not-for-profit organization was founded in 2003 in response to the—paradoxically—dramatic growth in media management courses and programs at higher education institutions throughout Europe. Likewise, IMMAA (the *International Media Management Academic Association*), a collaborative professional group of academic researchers on the subject of media management, planned to develop research and teaching of media management to students and professionals, was founded only in 2004.

3.1 Industry Change

Second, media management is facing a variety of profound and disruptive challenges that come to greatly challenge various media industry’s rationale. By offering interactive e-commerce and Web 2.0 applications and services, and thereby actively engaging consumers in communication and transaction processes, media publishers increasingly need to emphasize solid and sustainable relationships that may help them achieve improved economic viability and sustainable competitive advantage in the digital marketplace.

Now, even commercial mass media are struggling to find new revenue streams that can reshape their broken business models. Many scholars posit that the mass media industry’s future is defined by experiments in monetization. New publishing business models are indeed evolving, and companies are looking for new revenue streams, while also using cost-cutting strategies as a tool to drive their business toward innovation. But the advertising and subscription business models that supported traditional media companies in the past appear to do *not* so in the digital age. Addressing the capitalization gap raises the fundamental questions of how commercial media will manage to survive as traditional sources of revenue (paid display ads, subscriptions and direct sales) shrink. Solving this issue is vital as the legacy revenue model through paid and owned media is failing. Paid advertising has found many outlets, atomized into thousands of blogs, Facebook pages, and specialized television and radio stations, so that return on investment is becoming difficult, notably for print-only media. Social media, on their side, has become another platform available to engage consumers. For example, digitization and convergence lead to what industry research suggests should be considered the future of television toward Connected TV, that is a new media ecosystem whereby TV changes in several levels concurrently: from analogue to digital, from scheduled broadcasts to on-demand TV on the internet, from a lean-back (passive) to a lean-

forward (active) media, from straight watching to the consumption of content connected to additional services, from the sole TV viewer to the viewer being part in social networks and communities regarding to the TV content, from single-screening to multi-screening etc. (Murschetz, 2016). But do these changes in the media really need a new research perspective, such as is promulgated and advanced in media industry studies (Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Holt & Perren, 2009). How does industry change affect research into media management?

3.2 Defining Media Management

Given its strong output growth over the last decade, one might expect a rich theoretical literature and ample empirical insights into the important issue of media management in the way media markets are organized and media organizations manage scarce resources for competitive advantage. However, our own review of the literature concludes that theory is rarely applied systematically to study the many phenomena within the media management research domain. Sadly, industry practitioners seem rarely interested in scientific output (Küng, 2010). Thus, we consider intensified research and possible clarifications into the opaqueness and multi-formity of the media management phenomenon as paramount at least for its future as an academic research field. Hence, this chapter critically reviews this situation and wishes to present ideas in how the academic discipline of media management be strengthened more agreeably across its scientific community. Essentially, it shall address some key management issues of this emerging field in order to solidify its principle paradigmatic direction.

But, let us first present a definition of media management: According to Wirtz (2013), renowned German scholar in media management research, the field is defined as follows: “*Media and internet management covers all the goal-oriented activities of planning, organization and control within the framework of the creation and distribution processes for information or entertainment content in media enterprises.*” (p. 15) This definition signifies that the core task of media management is to build a bridge between the general theoretical disciplines of management as covering the entire value creation, innovation and marketing processes in the media and the organizational specificities of media enterprises. Certainly, media management is a business administration discipline that analyzes operational and strategic phenomena and problems in the leadership of media enterprises. The business of media is the distribution of news, entertainment and advertisement. A media manager is an influential actor and has the power to conceptualize, communicate and control the institutional order of media organizations and its business.

Media management thus includes all functional areas of management, from supply chain management, licensing, rights and royalties’ management, workflow and asset management, HRM, product life cycle management, to customer relationship management, finance, and sales and marketing management. Seen this way, research is dedicated to assess the degree to which management of media firms requires a unique set of skills, highlighting similarities and differences of media

firms compared with other industries in terms of management practices, HR development, strategic planning and operational aspects.

The main problem with this *functionalist* approach is that it is both too general and narrow at the same time (Albarran, 2006). It is too general because managing the media, conceptually and practically, means managing a very broad range of media: big or small, global or local, public or private, profit (commercial) or non-for profit (citizen), print (newspapers, magazines, books) or digital media (broadcasting, radio, video, internet platforms, on line services, portals, websites, search engines, social networks). Further, entertainment industries (restaurants, tourism attractions, sports, thematic parks, circuses, gambling, stage shows), communication companies (advertisers, public relations, exhibitions, clubs), cultural and arts organizations (opera, galleries, symphonic orchestras, antiques, architectural design, dance, theaters, sculpture, photography, ballet) or other institutions (music hall, museums, libraries) are principally all addressed. And further, a functionalist approach is too narrow as well. Managing the media is something very special. Why? Because it is unique and entails particular competences and skills not addressed by other industries and their management requirements. Hence, managing the media is different. This makes it the more difficult.

3.3 Why Is Media Management so Difficult?

Besides the problems in properly and successfully managing industry change (e.g., of digitalization and globalization), all above-mentioned organizations produce contents that are not ordinary commercial goods but goods with a social impact. For example, when media companies provide information about public health, it can affect the way people think or behave; therefore media managers must take into consideration their social power of shaping people's opinions and beliefs.

However today, quality newspapers, for example, do not only feel the squeeze of increasing competition for revenues and readers but also see their role as facilitators of social and political expression diminishing. This means that the public service function of the quality press, namely to ensure every citizens easy access to diversified information and to stimulate their participation in public debate in order to strengthen democracy, is critically endangered.

Second, media goods have special product characteristics. Some mass media are offered for-free (free downloads), others are paid-for. Some are tangible (books), others are intangible (digital music files). Some are commercial (TV shows), others are not-for-profit (citizen media). Some show traits of public goods (which are non-excludable and non-rivalrous in that individuals cannot be effectively excluded from use and where use by one individual does not reduce availability to others, e.g., watching a movie with a friend does not exclude him from doing so) and are thus difficult to market and refinance, while others are purely private and marketable (Pay-TV program). Some are meritoric to society (TV documentaries create societal benefits and increase public knowledge), others are not (violent video games). Some are analogue-only (Vinyl music records), other are digital-only

(The *New York Times*) And there are more specificities than these. Most importantly, media are cultural and economic goods at the same time. Economical they are in that they have a price-tag. However, Lacy and Bauer (2006) have noticed a decisive difference for media economics as the twin-discipline of media management: “Most importantly, however, media are self-reflexive: More than other industries, they simultaneously produce economic goods and cultural goods, such as meaning and shared perceptions. Given this important role for society at large, it is not surprising that they are entrenched in intense policy debates and subject to various forms of oversight and control (. . .) The specific institutional framework of media is contingent upon the broader political and cultural traditions and arrangements of nations” (p. 663).

Third, media production involves high start-up costs and high production, distribution and marketing costs. This urges media companies to become big-sized. Then, economies of scale are realized that is cost advantages that media enterprises obtain due to size, output, or scale of operation, with cost per unit of output generally decreasing with increasing scale as fixed costs are spread out over more units of output.

Fourth, media companies mostly operate in markets that operate under conditions of imperfect competition. In these markets, high market power is exerted by a few big companies which dominate it (e.g., the ‘big 3’ TV chains in Germany), low to moderate elasticity of consumer demand (newspaper readers are lackluster to change for another brand), constraints embedded in the organizational structures of markets (e.g., high entry barriers, low levels of direct competition, high social externality value, etc.), and media customer-side specifics (e.g., irrational behavior by consumers; Simon, 1959) may give rise to imperfections where efficiency results do not hold. Additionally, dominant firms may raise market entry barriers or try to control successive value stages under their single roofs through means of ownership concentration and vertical integration. This gives rise to costs to the economy and society at large. This all affords to specific market and industry knowledge and expertise.

Fifth, the people that produce media contents (journalists, artists, administrators, technicians, volunteers, composers, writers) are not ordinary employees. They are creative people. Most media organizations are labor-intensive and therefore a manager should manage people having the knowledge of their specific motivation mechanisms. Only by adopting the right ‘Human Resources’ (or much better: *People* factor) policies and infrastructures (including training) will the potential of employees developed to the full. Sylvie, LeBlanc, Hollifield, Lacy, and Sohn (2008) have stressed this essential point as follows: “The next generation of media leaders will captain the industry into a new era, making their mark of the future of the industry no less than did the pioneers who led the development of early television. However, succeeding in today’s uncertain industry conditions will require strong leadership traits, exceptional leadership skills, and the ability to manage change, foster creativity, and lead ethically” (p. 46).

Sixth, many media productions are live events that offer simultaneity and real-life experience, which today, in the digital age, has led to audience’s wanting to

participate in the creative process. For instance, as regards the music industry, fans can buy music productions directly from singers or composers. Here, the integration of social media with customer relationship management (CRM) strategies is the next frontier for media organizations that want to optimize the power of social interactions to get closer to customers.

Seventh, media productions are characterized by uncertainty as consumers' tastes are heterogeneous and demand is erratic. This means that very few of them meet *sustainable* commercial success. Additionally, there is a different and contradictory interest among different stakeholders as to which product is to be created and marketed: Artists, managers, owners, customers, regulators, advertisers, sponsors and others. All of them evaluate differently which contents meet the consumers' preferences the best. Formulating a comprehensive corporate plan which includes risk-assessment and management is therefore essential.

And, finally, it is very important to make the right managerial decisions in order to be economically successful. One may easily be 'stuck in the middle' and offer products to the mass market while missing out high margins in the niche segments. Usually, there is a linear relationship between profitability and quality. However, albeit being attractive, quality is difficult to be achieved while 'hit-and-run' policies into mass market success seem more profitable in the short-run.

Methodically, media managers may follow a cycle of seven steps when strategizing creative work: The first step is the planning: they draw up long-run and short run scenarios after having scanned the internal structures and the value chains, the culture, the values and beliefs, and the resources, such as assets, skills, competences, knowledge. The scanning of the external business environment is a must-have too. The second step is the strategy formulation: media managers make choices about the mission, vision, goals, objectives, policy and the general strategy to achieve the planned targets. A set of *generic* strategies may guide media managers: growth strategies, strategies for achieving competitive advantage (cost leadership, differentiation, focus) or corporate strategies (vertical and horizontal integration, market penetration, development, product development partnerships, globalization, mergers and acquisitions) are at stake. The third step is to implement the chosen strategy, all accorded with the financial planning, the budgeting and, eventually, the marketing. Marketing strategies refer to the content, price, placement, promotion, advertising, and more. It is clear that planning human resources is key too. In fact, it is how managers organize departments, job, division of labor, span of control levels and management hierarchy, recruitment methods and industrial relations. Moreover it is how managers direct 'human resources', with which leadership style, motivation and incentive practices, communication methods, collaborative team management, conflict resolution style, as well as change and knowledge management style, all embedded in a people-friendly organizational culture. Then comes the implementation of the media productions plans that is how to select, produce and distribute contents, how to organize live-events, etc. The sixth step is the implementation of accounting and financial plans and refers to how managers make budgets, analyze income statements, cash flows, equity assets and implement plans for fundraising and investment spending. Controlling the

economic and social performance is the final step in the media management cycle. Performance management is tricky and complicated as, for example, social media success is difficult to measure. Therefore, benchmarking tools, vision and mission statement evaluations, input/output analyses, balanced scorecard techniques, cost-benefit analyses and corporate social responsibility techniques are applied.

3.4 Is Social Media the Game Changer?

Social media support the creation, upload, sharing and collaborative creation of user generated content. However, outcomes of participatory and collaborative ICTs and ‘prosumer’ activities via social media networks are often seen as standing in opposition to commercial interests. Along with this, business leaders are figuring out how to harness social media for marketing, sales, customer service and other business objectives without alienating the online user. Professor of economics at Harvard University, Martin Weitzman masterminded the idea that the “share economy” might deliver even higher levels of total economic welfare for all.

As a result of above considerations, one might expect a rich literature and ample empirical insights into the plethora of issues involved in social media’s potential to speed up collaborative consumption, peer-to-peer marketplaces, and private non-commercial transactions among like-minded, on the one side, and the rich array of electronic markets and networked business issues on the other side. However, our own review of the literature concludes that a clear picture of the relationship between social media as a marketing tool and the managerial economics in gaining sustainable competitive advantage through open marketplace transactions is only emerging (Picot, Reichwald, & Wigand, 2008; Wigand, Benjamin, & Birkland, 2008).

This entry will address this void and pursue some crucial issues of this wide theoretical canvas. Essentially, it shall ask whether social media may come to be seen as alternatives to commercial media outlets when it comes to generating economic value or welfare as such.

Arguably, the blogosphere has opened up the paradigms of mainstream media economics towards not yet commercialized spaces of mediated interaction between humans.

3.5 Social Media, Alternatives to Commercial?

Commercial mass media are struggling to find new revenue streams that can reshape their broken business model. Many scholars posit that the mass media industry’s future will be defined by experiments in monetization. New publishing business models are indeed evolving, and companies are looking for new revenue streams, while also using cost-cutting strategies as a tool to drive their business toward innovation.

But the advertising and subscription business models that supported traditional media companies in the past appear to do *not* so in the digital age. Addressing the capitalization gap raises the fundamental questions of how commercial media will manage to survive as traditional sources of revenue (paid display ads, subscriptions and direct sales) shrink. Solving this issue is vital as the legacy revenue model through paid and owned media is failing. Paid advertising has found many outlets, atomized into thousands of blogs, Facebook pages, and specialized television and radio stations, so that return on investment is becoming difficult, notably for print-only media.

Social media, on their side, has become another platform available to engage consumers. For example, digitization and convergence lead to what industry research suggests should be considered the future of television, that is a new media ecosystem whereby TV changes in several levels concurrently: from analogue to digital, from scheduled broadcasts to on-demand TV on the internet, from a lean-back (passive) to a lean-forward (active) media, from straight watching to the consumption of content connected to additional services, from the sole TV viewer to the viewer being part in social networks and communities regarding to the TV content, from single-screening to multi-screening etc. (Quiggin, 2013).

Consequently, broadcasters are developing sophisticated Social TV integration tools. They aim to drive viewer tune-in, engagement and loyalty to boost ratings, live viewing and ad revenue. In addition, social TV apps and multi-screen solutions open new avenues for usage. These apps let users:

- See what their friends are watching and invite them to watch it simultaneously.
- Chat, share and tweet around TV programs.
- Register through Facebook or Twitter.
- Get additional information on anything they see on screen—topics, people—through direct links in the app to Wikipedia, IMDb and others.
- Instantly purchase products and download content (songs, series, books).
- Download apps to their mobile phones.
- Will be able to interact with the enabled adverts to enter competitions, votings, polls, etc.

Finally, and perhaps most important for companies seeking to protect and enhance business value, social media provide a point of entry into transforming the notion of business value from Porter's (1985) traditional model of the sequential value chain into a model of "value constellation", a concept first coined by Norman and Ramirez in 1993. There, consumers and other partners, suppliers, etc., actively co-produce relationships along with the enterprise. In their model, the business model is meant to be actively co-created between the various actors involved. To support this, interactive network technologies would potentially open organizations towards customers' involvement for value generation. Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004), another two comprehensive business thinkers, have further elaborated on changes in the traditional logic of governance in electronic commerce and analytically depicted by the concept of the linear and horizontal value chain. Briefly, they

claim the need for producers to establish interaction platforms for “co-creating unique value with customers”. Only this would achieve sustainable competitive advantage for the business firm. Likewise, German and Scandinavian researchers in business and management have focused on “customer integration” (Lampel & Mintzberg, 1996), “value webs” (Reichwald, Seifert, & Walcher, 2004), and “interactive value creation” (Reichwald & Piller, 2009).

Certainly, businesses are trying to make the most of social media in order to achieve competitive advantage through product differentiation and customer integration techniques, thereby reducing the pressure of direct competition from identical products or close substitutes (Bakos, 1991). So far, however, the non-commercial nature of social media artefacts and platforms and their underlying communicative social practices helps to insulate them from full commercial exploitation. To put it in a nutshell: social media is about community, not commerce. They offer unparalleled opportunities for people to *network* and collaborate. On the side of social media service providers, they currently offer intangible value at best such as enhanced coverage and improved brand loyalty. However, this is, as yet, not tangible cash value.

But the present examination of the relationship between social media and their potential as alternative to commercial media becomes particularly meaningful when considered in the light of calling into question that business models will have to change should commercial media want to succeed in the future.

As for commercial television broadcasting and its transition into connected TV of the future, managers are faced with the need to satisfy users’ expectations and also undertake convergence as an industrial strategy to achieve economies of scope and scale. Social media enhance are best drivers of opportunity to complement paid and owned media revenue models. Paid media (i.e., all forms of advertising for which a media buy is necessary), and owned media (i.e., all content assets a brand either owns or wholly controls) are today complemented by earned media revenue-generation activities through user-generated content created and/or shared by users. Still, earned media are the most elusive of the three marketing channels.

Second, with social media consuming information becomes a collective process of sharing it with other users *per se*. Hence, public good attributes come in when information is freely shared among users and users and social platform or providers respectively.

Additionally, social media are said to confer properties of merit goods in the sense that their provision and use may benefit society at large such that objective information, high culture and education are promoted. For example, interactive social media applications and services may then be used as tools for strengthening citizen integration in the democratic marketplace. Overall, non-commercial social networking activities among end-users have the potential to build-up commercial value and thus business opportunities for providers offering valuable online goods and services.

3.6 Finally, Does It Need a New Paradigm?

This chapter should have explained why media management research matters. However, we believe that scholarly efforts are yet not fulfilling their promise. Hence, we suggest a new paradigm for understanding—and leveraging—media management research. Now, how is research in media management scientifically more useful to explaining current practices in the industry? How can media management become a “good theory” which is “practical precisely because it advances knowledge in a scientific discipline, guides research toward crucial questions, and enlightens the profession of management” (Van de Ven, 1989, p. 486). In gist, do we need a new research paradigm in media management? Well, we think that two things need to change. First, in order to solidify the media management discipline it needed to be opened toward new research orientations. What may sound contradictory in the first place is, however, necessary in the long run. As we have seen, media management remains heterodox in nature. But, in order to become stronger and more acclaimed, it has to open towards new topical challenges (e.g., the digital media future) and that means its epistemic core needs to broaden and its disciplinary gates opened (toward technology studies, critical management studies, stakeholder management perspective and the like; Karmasin, 2003; Karmasin, Diehl, & Koinig, 2014; Karmasin & Kraus, 2014).

Second, given the changing nature of environmental challenges on the discipline, notably through digitization, convergence, and consumer empowerment, we believe that the traditional functionalist theory variant is principally outmoded and flawed. This critique is far-reaching but mainly refers to the deterministic view of media management, namely that media management is optimally efficient and effective when it adjusts its structure to material forces such as regulation, technology and the consumer. As a corollary, many approaches to media management practice are inadequate to capture the complex reality in favouring deterministic approaches over complexity. Instead, we believe that the digital era has resulted in a paradigm shift in how organizations must now manage the media (Kuhn, 1970). Media management research should open itself up to change and engage in a long-term transformation process (Levin, 2009). We remain convinced, however, that media management can refresh its paradigmatic framework in order to avoid cognitive blind spots and managerial misdiagnosis.

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Part II

Media Innovation and Convergence

Is There a Need for a Convention to Supervising Digital Information?

4

Ali Akbar Abdolrashidi

I do not agree with what you have to say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it.

—Voltaire

Freedom of speech, comment and expression as well as the free flow of information are all necessities of our time, more essential than any other time in history. This necessity is more highlighted when, thanks to digital technology, all people around the world have both the means to easily communicate and the contents to simply share with other people around the world.

Dictionaries define freedom of speech as: the right of people to express their opinions publicly without governmental interference, *subject to the laws against libel, incitement to violence or rebellion, etc.*

According to this definition there is apparently a grey boundary between speech and libel or incitement to violence or rebellion, *etc.*

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights,¹ provides,² that: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

In adopting the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Monaco, Australia and the Netherlands insisted on reservations

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¹Adopted in 1948.

²Article 19.

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to Article 19 insofar as *it might be held to affect their systems of regulating and licensing broadcasting.*

In the United States of America, Freedom of speech is protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution which says “freedom of speech is the right to speak without censorship or restraint by the government.”

In the light of above explanations and reservations, the aim of this paper is not questioning and reasoning the “Freedom of Speech”. But its aim is to explore ways to guarantee the real speech, to verify the authenticity of its freedom framework and to avoid the expression of what might wrongly pose as speech. How can we recognize an expression to be a real speech within the framework that allows its freedom from any other expression that cannot fit in this framework?

In this context a question needs to be answered. Is the freedom of speech absolute? Or is it rather subject to restrictions? If we take this freedom absolute, there is a danger of abuse of this right. If we believe in restriction, there may be the danger of censorship. If it is subject to any verification, any recognition or any judgment, who is authorized and supposed to do it?

Thomas Jefferson and other Founders of The First Amendment to the United States Constitution believed that minimizing the limits on what people were free to say was essential for a “liberal democracy” to thrive.

Minimizing, in Thomas Jefferson’s expression, does not mean non-existence. It may mean the existence of a minimum level of restrictions.

None the less, there seems exceptions to the free speech. Speech that promotes an unlawful end, such as a speech urging people to riot, “fighting words”, “terrorist threats”, “defamation”, “obscenity”, and “false advertising” are not protected.

- Using our freedom do we need to respect the other’s freedom as well?
- Can we allow one ought to appeals to lies, hate and slander?
- Are we allowed to conclude that hate speech, lies, and slander are not protected by any free, open and democratic society?
- With the laws behind verbal threats in different countries, can we use freedom of speech for any purpose?

Speech is a word which carries emotions, anger, happiness, joy and so on. Free Speech fits in the framework of freedom of speech to the extent that the language used does not incite or encourage violence or violation of the law.

Some people will say and do “anything” to have people agree with them on an issue, and we simply shouldn’t allow them to lie and distort facts for their ends. One has said that “misinformation is one of the worst crimes.”

If one defends absolute freedom of speech, this hopefully does not mean defending the freedom to commit perjury or telling someone to kill someone else. The right to free speech means the right to say, publish or otherwise disseminate any matter except in a manner that violates others’ rights.

Today countries have domestic laws and regulations that regulate media and supervise media contents to make sure that those contents fall in the true framework of freedom of speech.

While freedom of speech in the United States is a constitutional right, exceptions make that right a limited one. The Supreme Court has held that “*advocacy of the use of force*” is unprotected when it is “*directed to inciting or producing and is likely to incite or produce such action*”.

The Supreme Court decided that *there is “no constitutional value in false statements of fact”*. Speech is unprotected if it constitutes “fighting words” and if it either intentionally, knowingly, or recklessly inflicts severe emotional distress.

To enforce such limitations almost 250 regulatory bodies emerged in most of the countries in the world. Although these bodies are legal regulatory bodies that govern telecommunication systems in different countries, they apparently supervise and control the contents that may be different from true and legal speech.

In the United Kingdom, The Office of Communications commonly known as OFCOM,³ is the government-approved regulatory and competition authority for the broadcasting, telecommunications and postal industries.

OFCOM has wide-ranging powers across the television, radio, telecoms and postal sectors. It has a statutory duty to represent the interests of citizens and consumers by promoting competition and *protecting the public from harmful or offensive material*. Some of the main areas OFCOM presides over are licensing, research, codes and policies, complaints, competition and protecting the radio spectrum from abuse.

In Germany the Federal Network Agency for Electricity, Gas, Telecommunications, Posts and Railway, *Bundesnetzagentur*, is doing almost the same as UK OFCOM. It is a federal government agency of the German Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology and headquartered in Bonn.

In radio communications, among other responsibilities, the Agency manages the radio frequency spectrum, licenses broadcasting transmitters and detects radio interferences. Licensing radio and TV stations (that is, content providers), however, is the task of State authorities.

³OFCOM launched on 29 December 2003, formally inheriting the duties that had previously been the responsibility of five different regulators:

the Broadcasting Standards Commission,
the Independent Television Commission,

- the Office of Telecommunications (OFTEL),
- the Radio Authority, and
- the Radiocommunications Agency.

OFCOM licences all UK commercial television and radio services in the UK. Broadcasters must comply by the terms of their licence, or risk having it revoked. As the regulatory body for media broadcasts, part of OFCOM’s duties are to examine specific complaints by viewers or listeners about programmes broadcast on channels that it has licenced. When OFCOM receives a complaint, it asks the broadcaster for a copy of the programme, it then examines the programme content to see if it is in breach of the broadcasting code. OFCOM requests response from the broadcaster to the complaint. On the basis of this response, OFCOM will mark the complaint as either “upheld” or “not upheld”, or alternatively simply “resolved”.

It seems that countries domestically are seriously concerned and are in thoughtful control of regulating and defending the right of people to rectify their freedom of speech.

But what about trans-border broadcasting in the field of radio, TV, Internet and any other type of dissemination of digital information?

It seems that people feel free to use their freedom of speech as they interpret without having any international regulator around to tune digital information. There seems to be no international tribunal around where people can complain and appeal for protection and respect of their rights.

The issue is not confined just to an insult or a personal accusation. It is much more important than a simple personal matter.

The important argument is that any idea and comment expressed by any single person somewhere in this world, without being known and recognized, may crudely be a source of serious influence and grave impact that may smoothly spread all over the world and may change the course of our life and history and make a new culture and a new world civilization. This is how globalization is working and how the new civilization is being shaped.

The civilization we conventionally knew is no more existing as what it was in not too distant decades ago. We are living in a new era when a fresh civilization is being born.⁴ The current globalization is thus shaking all aspects of our life.

We may accept that in this very crucial moment in history, any digit is weighty as it may have a crucial influence and impact. Subsequently any idea, comment, news and speech may work as a cause for disinformation that may distract the trend of new civilization.

This is exactly how domestic media are supervised in any country even in most democratic and free countries. The communications regulators monitor, if not control, the way media work and the courts decide the extent of possible damage of any news and comment.

What if wrong ideas, fake information, targeted campaigns, distorted pictures, fabricated accusations and biased judgments may intentionally create false impression as a result of the arranged transfer of trans-border digital information?

Who should verify the authenticity of information within the respected framework of Freedom of Speech? Who should manage and supervise this huge amount of digital information that are transferred, copied and re-transferred, believed, denied, censored, saved, re-phrased, re-produced and archived at any moment? Is anyone or body needed for such a job at all?

Powerful institutions may like the way information are twitted as it is. Because they may be able to manipulate this information system for the success of their domestic and international projects. But what about the new civilization that is being shaped?

⁴Birth of a civilization: The shock of globalization, Yves Brunsvick, Andre Danzin, UNESCO Publishing, 1999.

- Is it necessary, at all, to have an internationally accepted convention, set of principles and code of behavior that apply to the way we are producing and twitting our words, pictures and even smileys?
- Can we have an international OFCOM or a universal *Bundesnetzagentur* to help us diffentiating the true speech from lies and disinformation?
- Can we have an international body where to appeal and complain if we are insulted and unjustifiably affronted?
- Do we really need an internationally recognized and universally signed convention, within the UN, ITU or UNESCO framework, to regulate information disseminated in the virtual environment?

Let me remind you two important quotes from two distinguished personality:

1. Martin Luther King: Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter.
2. Nelson Mandela: For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others.
3. END.

Enlarging Participatory Communicative Spaces on Adolescents Sexual and Reproductive Health in Nigeria: A Look at New Media Technologies

5

Nicholas S. Iwokwagh

5.1 Introduction

Studies and reports have indicated that adolescents, particularly those in sub-Saharan Africa face significant barriers in obtaining appropriate reproductive health information and services (Abiodun, 1984; NARHS, 2003; Odey, 2004; Orhewere, 2005; Pathfinder International African Regional Office, 1999). One of the reasons advanced for this trend is the prevailing culture of silence that pervades sexual and reproductive health issues in the region. Implications of this practice for adolescents have been researched and documented. Abekhale (2005, p. 68) for instance has observed that adolescents “grow up with little or no knowledge or worse still, misinformation on issues regarding human sexuality.” This situation, he argues creates curiosity and propels adolescents to “experimentation of what they did not know.”

This infers that adolescents’ curiosity about human sexuality leads to experimentation with sexual intercourse. However, as literature suggests, a significant proportion of these adolescents engage in high risk, and unsafe sexual activities including having multiple partners, engaging in unprotected sex, having sexual intercourse with commercial sex workers, coerced sex, and rape among others (Iwokwagh, 2008; Laha, 2005; Odiagbe, 2007; Odu & Akande, 2006). In other words, most adolescents “continue to lack basic sexual and reproductive health knowledge and skills to negotiate safe sexual practices” (WHO, 2015, p. 1).

The foregoing suggests that adolescents have problems in understanding their sexual development; consequently, they find it difficult to respond appropriately to the demands of this stage of life. This implies the need for timely provision of adequate sexual and reproductive health information to adolescents for proper

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adjustment and balanced sexual development. According to Iorvaa (2004, p. 90), “. . . the more a person knows about sexual matters, the more responsible he or she is in his or her sexual behaviour. The individual is likely to be less sexually active.” In other words, adolescents need improved access to information on sexual and reproductive health to be able to take informed sexual decisions and make responsible sexual choices. In fact, (WHO, 2015) observes that both research and consultations over the last decades have identified sexuality-related communication as an issue that requires urgent attention. Regrettably however, research findings have indicated that existing channels of communication that are best suited for providing sexual and reproductive health information for unmarried adolescents have remained controversial (WHO, 2015).

However, the need for improved access and increased utilisation of sexual and reproductive health information by adolescents has been significantly acknowledged and canvassed globally by stakeholders. For instance, the ICPD Programme of Action (1994), Millenium Development Goal 3 (2000), and the Commission on Population and Development (45th session, 2012) among others have called for protection and promotion of the rights of adolescents to reproductive health education, information and care, reduction in the number of adolescent pregnancies, STIs and HIV/AIDS prevention. These conventions and initiatives have also called for gender equality and women empowerment, full recognition of adolescents’ human rights and the highest standards of sexual and reproductive health.

The emergence of the Internet and its related social media platforms as important media of communication and dissemination of knowledge in recent years, especially among adolescents and young people seem to be changing the nature and dynamics of communication, relationships and interactions among this group of people, how they relate with significant others, and the society at large. The pervasive nature of the Internet and social media (New Media Technologies—NMTs) in public communication in the twenty-first Century has prompted studies on the potential of NMTs as means of providing sexual and reproductive health information to adolescents globally. Recent studies (Evers, Albury, Byron, & Crawford, 2013; Iwokwagh, Agbana, & Agbana, 2014; WHO, 2015) have acknowledged, while others are painstakingly investigating the potential and capacity of New Media Technologies (NMTs) in facilitating access to improved knowledge of sexual and reproductive health among adolescents and its application.

This paper therefore explores possibilities for integrating appropriate New Media Technology platforms for engaging adolescents in interactive communication discourses, thereby enlarging virtual communicative spaces for mutually beneficial sexual and reproductive health dialogue among policy makers, development agencies and Nigerian adolescents.

5.2 Conceptual Clarification

As a concept, New Media Technologies (NMTs) have interchangeably been referred to as the new media, information and communication technologies, digital media, etc. Basically, it is an umbrella term that refers to "... communication devices or applications encompassing computers, internet, satellite, email, online interaction, phones, mobile phones, video conferencing, CD, MP3, VCD, DVD, laptops and so on" (Samaila & Njoku, 2005, p. 2).

As used in this study, NMTs refer to all digital technologies ranging from the satellite transponder to the ipad. Within this range of technologies are such innovations as the Internet, individual websites and blogs, computer multimedia, computer games, mobile telephony, and even small or digital media, such as computer discs with read-only memory (CD-ROM), and digital versatile discs (DVDs) (Idiong, 2012).

5.3 Adolescents

Many statistical reports treat individuals within the age range of 10–19 as adolescents. Others see adolescents as those between 15 and 24 years (Orhewere, 2005). Perhaps, it could be argued that age limit may not offer a generally acceptable definition of adolescents. For instance, Cressel (cited in Sperling, 1982) puts it at between 10 and 16 years; Shertzer and Stone (1976) peg it at 12–18 years. Oladele (1989) places it at 10–20 years, while, Lar, Okpede, and Bulus (1992) and Okpede (1994) see it at 11–21 years. Okafor and Ugwuegbulam (2000) arrive at the age bracket of 10 and early 20's from a review of related literature (Abekhalé, 2005).

McCauley and Salter (1995, p. 3) suggest what perhaps, appears to be a universal definition of adolescents in terms of age. According to the authors, "a young person (adolescent) is no longer considered as a child, and at the same time he is not yet an adult." Within the context of the seeming ambivalence about the age bracket of adolescents, it is safe to postulate in this study that adolescents are young people (boys and girls) who are between 12 and 24 years of age.

5.4 Reproductive and Sexual Health

Within the framework of the World Health Organization's (WHO) definition of health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, reproductive health, or sexual health addresses the reproductive processes, functions and system at all stages of life. In other words, reproductive health implies that people are able to have a responsible, satisfying and safer sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. One interpretation of this is that men and women ought to be informed of and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and

acceptable methods of birth control; also access to appropriate health care services of sexual, reproductive medicine and implementation of health education programmes to stress the importance of women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth (Wikipedia, 2014).

5.5 Participatory Communication

This refers to an ongoing, ever-changing, dynamic and interactive communication transaction between two or more parties, with each of the parties actively assuming interchangeable roles as source and receiver respectively.

5.6 A Look at the Reproductive Health Status of Nigerian Adolescents

Adolescent sexual and reproductive health concerns in Nigeria have gained notoriety of a public health problem, and have been a major source of concern to the federal government, policy makers, development agencies, non-governmental and community based organisations among other stakeholders in recent years (Deh, 2005; FMoH, 2001; NARHS, 2003; NDHS, 2008, 2013; Odiagbe, 2007; Omudu, 2003). Efforts by the federal government of Nigeria at addressing the reproductive health status of adolescents' led to formulation of the National Reproductive Health Policy (2001), National HIV/AIDS and Reproductive Health Surveys (2003) and National Demographic Health Survey (2008, 2013). These efforts were purposeful and directed towards implementing interventions that would improve the reproductive health indices of Nigerian youths and adolescents. Findings of the National HIV/AIDS and Reproductive Health Survey (2003) for instance indicate that:

The median age at first sexual intercourse was 18 years in 1999, and contraceptive utilisation among the sexually active is low. With a rate of 112 births per 1,000 females of age 15–19 years, Nigerian adolescents have one of the highest levels of fertility in the world. About 12 % of teenagers have had their first childbirth before the age of 15 years and almost half became mothers before the age of 20 years.

The National Demographic Health Survey (NDHS, 2008, 2013), on the other hand did not produce radically different findings. For instance, the survey indicated early sexual initiation. According to the report, (49 %) of women 18–24 had sex before age 18 and (16 %) of women 15–24 had sex before age 15. The report also notes that (26 %) of men 18–24 had sex before age 18, and that (11 %) women 15–24 and (22 %) of men 15–24 used a condom at first sex. All these go to show that the reproductive health status of Nigerian adolescents is poor.

5.7 Consequences of Unsafe Sexual Activity Among Nigerian Adolescents

Unsafe sexual activity among adolescents has had a deluge of unpleasant consequences that have attracted global attention and action. According to (WHO, 2011) adolescent maternal mortality and morbidity represent a substantial public health problem at the global level. The report says about 16 million adolescent girls between 15 and 19 years of age give birth each year, noting that babies born to adolescent mothers account for roughly (11 %) of all births worldwide, with (95 %) occurring in developing countries, including Nigeria. The report reveals that adolescents who are 15–19 years of age are twice as likely to die during pregnancy or childbirth compared to women over 20 years of age; further, it says adolescents under 15 years of age are five times more likely to die during pregnancy or childbirth. It also holds that an estimated 2.0–4.4 million adolescents in developing countries undergo unsafe abortions each year. Additionally, the report indicated that adolescent mothers are more likely to have low birth weight babies who are at risk of malnourishment and poor development. The report also found that Infant and child mortality is highest among children born to adolescent mothers.

The grim picture painted by WHO's report on the consequences of unsafe sexual activity among adolescents holds true about Nigeria's adolescents, given the status of Nigeria as a developing country. The (NDHS, 2008) survey for instance, found teenage pregnancy and motherhood as some of the outcomes of early sexual activity. According to the report, (18.0 %) of women between the ages of 15–19 were already mothers and another (4.8 %) were already pregnant with their first child. It also reports HIV/AIDS, other sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and unsafe induced abortions, as other sexual and reproductive health problems encountered by Nigerian adolescents. Another survey conducted by (NASCP, 1999) found that (60 %) of the HIV/AIDS cases reported in Nigeria in 1998 were among young people aged 12–24 years. (NFHSP, 1991) also found that (80 %) of unsafe induced abortion-related complications are recorded among adolescent girls. In fact, unsafe induced abortion has been described as a school girls' problem in Nigeria.

The foregoing suggests a looming national catastrophe if meaningful and practical interventions are not worked out urgently against these poor reproductive and sexual health indices. The consequences would be horrendous, multi-dimensional, and multi-sectoral. For instance, the continuous poor reproductive indices of adolescents will multiply health costs, put pressure on available health services, orchestrate untimely deaths, deplete the work force, and ultimately limit the productivity of the nation. The productivity of the nation will be limited because the productive sector of the economy is significantly being lost to HIV/AIDS and other STIs (Iwokwagh et al., 2014).

5.8 Factors Influencing Adolescents Sexual Activity

A number of factors that drive sexual activity among adolescents—endogenous and exogenous have been identified. Some of these include biology, culture, media, peer pressure, changing values, poverty, and child rearing practices among others. However, only two of these factors: culture and media are discussed in this study.

Culture Most African societies have vigorous sexual cultures where sexual intercourse among adolescents is accommodated. Chia and Makar found in a study of 158 societies that 70 % are tolerant of pre-marital coitus. It has also been argued that the culture of secrecy surrounding sex and sexuality issues in African encourages sexual activity among adolescents; this point has been made by Action Health Incorporated (2003).

Media Studies (Akaer, 2002; Laha, 2005; Odey, 2004; Orhewere, 2005) have implicated the media particularly television, films and home video for sexual promiscuity among adolescents. Blumler and Hauser (cited in Hanson & Maxcy, 1996) found from a study that 252 girls between 14 and 18 years of age who regularly watched movies have engaged in sexual relations with men following the arousing sex impulses by a passionate love picture.

These factors (culture and media) have implications for this study. It is the considered opinion of the researcher that findings will furnish a context for NMTs engagement in sexual and reproductive health communication, and in this regard, would break the subsisting culture of silence that has enveloped communication efforts in this direction and eliminate related controversies. It is also envisaged that findings will give impetus to media coverage of sexual and reproductive health communication issues by improving on the quantum of stories, direction of coverage and prominence.

5.9 Nigerian Media, Development Agencies and Reproductive Health Communication

The media have been identified as one of the factors that have impacted negatively on adolescents' sexual behaviour in Nigeria. The heavy indictment on the media, particularly television, films, and movies for providing adolescents with negative energy portends that Nigerian media should embrace and vigorously discharge their social responsibility function of information and education (UNESCO, 1980) to the Nigerian society, particularly as it has to do with adolescent sexuality.

The media can achieve this by presenting factual, adequate and timely information to adolescents with the primary objective of helping them cope with the challenges of adolescence, the most potent being sexual and reproductive health issues. The fact that adolescents and young people constitute (63.1 %) of Nigeria's population (NDP, 2013) places onerous responsibility on the media to address with

utmost urgency, issues of adolescents sexual and reproductive health as these impinge on adolescents collective welfare and security, and by extension national security and development. This is because youths and adolescents are the future leaders of Nigeria, and no responsible media would hesitate to give adequate attention to issues that threaten their very existence as they are issues of considerable national importance. In essence, Nigerian media should as a matter of urgency set national agenda on issues of adolescents' sexual and reproductive health in order to compel social action and influence sexual reforms among Nigerian youths and adolescents.

The foregoing position does not suggest that the Nigerian media have totally neglected coverage of adolescent sexual and reproductive health issues, rather these issues have been under reported and under covered and not accorded the deserved prominence. For instance, Iwokwagh (2008, p. 121) found from a content analysis that sex-related issues are sparingly covered by Nigerian newspapers (1.14 %) compared to a (98.9 %) coverage frequency of non-sex issues. This coverage profile lacks the pungency needed to set national agenda on adolescents' sexual and reproductive health issues. In other words, adolescents' sexual and reproductive health issues have not been adequately catered for by the editorial policy and news values which drive Nigerian media. This coverage pattern drives apathy and passivity about adolescent sexual and reproductive health communication in Nigeria.

Beyond coverage, a more fundamental concern with the prevailing mode of communicating sexual and reproductive health issues with adolescents in Nigeria is the appropriateness of predominant traditional media use in reproductive health communication. In other words, why do the Nigeria media, development agencies and other stakeholders insist on producing sexual and reproductive health messages predominantly in the traditional media? This question is probing and brings to fore, the contradictions and lapses inherent in the mode of reproductive health communication in practice in the country at the moment.

The obvious answer to this question is that *old tools are being deployed for new challenges*. However, to create the desired awareness and disseminate the quantum of knowledge required to influence positive behavioural outcomes among Nigerian adolescents sexually, *new tools must be used for new challenges*. This means Nigeria media, development agencies and other stakeholders should work assiduously towards enlarging public communicative spaces on adolescents' sexual and reproductive health. In other words, there is an urgent need for these entities to consider integrating NMTs to a cocktail of communication channels in communicating sexual and reproductive health to adolescents (Udoakah & Iwokwagh, 2007); this is necessary to cater for the complexity, scope and nuances of the challenge. This position anchors on two arguments:

First, the revolution in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has altered the structure and mode of public communication in the twenty-first Century; this reality must be accepted by concerned entities and appropriately adjusted to. One of the ways to adjust would be to deploy relevant new media technology

tools to compliment traditional media in communicating sexual and reproductive health matters to adolescents.

Second, transformation in communication technologies has changed the very nature and character of adolescents. Prensky (2001) for instance, noted the digital divide between adolescents and older segments of the population based on digital competencies and skills. There is need therefore to understand the nature, media habits and digital competencies of adolescents, who Prensky (2001) christened digital natives in designing and implementing strategic communication on sexual and reproductive health issues, particularly as it has to do with adolescents.

Observation shows however that in the ongoing mode of communication, digital immigrants (Nigeria media, development agencies and other stakeholders) have been engaging old tools and the wrong language in communicating sexual and reproductive health matters to adolescents. Sharing this perspective (Prensky, 2001) observes that our accent from the predigital world often makes it difficult for us to effectively communicate with digital natives. The outcome, experience shows is communication breakdown as digital natives cannot relate to the content and technology because they find the language incomprehensible and the technology obsolete. Arguably, digital natives are “native speakers of technology, fluent in the digital language of computers, video games, and the Internet” (Prensky, 2001, p. 1). Therefore, communication about reproductive health targeted at them must be couched in a language which they will understand—the language of technology.

In other words, to gain the attention of digital natives about reproductive health issues Nigeria media, development agencies and other stakeholders must speak to the natives in the language of the natives—*new tools must be used for new challenges*. Kachur et al. (2013) have canvassed this point arguing that onus is on adults who are involved in programmes to improve the health of adolescents to learn and understand new media technologies as well as to creatively use them to educate, empower, and motivate adolescents to adopt healthier sexual behaviours.

5.10 New Media Technologies and Adolescents Sexual and Reproductive Health Communication

The potential of new media technologies for providing interventions and improving adolescents’ sexual and reproductive health has been acknowledged and canvassed. According to (Kachur et al., 2013, p. 49)

There is great potential for technology to improve the sexual and reproductive health of adolescents while reducing health risks through education, interventions, and provision of resources. It may be in the best interest of public health practitioners to use the most efficacious tools available to improve adolescent sexual health, including emerging technologies and new media.

The position that new media platforms are evolving mechanisms for sexual health communication has also been canvassed by Evers et al. (2013, p. 1) “Social media

and social network sites (SNS) are an evolving area for sexual health communication with young people. They present opportunities and challenges for sexual health professionals and young people alike, such as learning through interactivity and addressing concerns about privacy.”

World Health Organisation (2006) evaluated the potential of the Internet as a means of providing sex and reproductive health education to young people in China. Results showed that knowledge about reproduction increased most significantly after the intervention, followed by knowledge about sexually transmitted infections (STIs), condoms and contraceptives. The study concluded that provision of sex education via the internet was effective in improving awareness of sexual and reproductive matters.

Available literature also shows that adolescents are embracing new media technologies almost as quickly as they are introduced. Adolescents consider these technologies, for instance, the Internet, social networking sites, and mobile phones as integral and essential part of their lives (Consumer Electronics Association, 2008). A vast majority are online regularly (Lenhart, Ling, Campbell, & Purcell, 2010), have mobile phones (Lenhart, Ling, et al., 2010), and play video games (Lenhart et al., 2008). According to (Foehr, 2006), adolescents use technology for many reasons—to communicate with one another, as a form of self-expression, for entertainment, and to look for information.

The foregoing suggests that adolescents are heavy users of technology and shows how adolescents use technology. Among other things, data suggests that adolescents are active seekers of information online, and for this, they deploy every technology at their disposal the internet, social networking sites, mobile phones, and games. Writing on ownership, access and use of technology, Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, and Zickuhr (2010) observe that (93 %) of adolescents ages 12–17 are online (76 %) have broadband internet access at home, (75 %) have a mobile phone (Lenhart, Ling, et al., 2010), and (97 %) play video games (Lenhart et al., 2008) With regards to how adolescents use technology, Lenhart, Purcell, et al. (2010) suggest that adolescents mainly go online for entertainment and information, but (31 %) of online teens report using the internet to search for health information. Seventeen percent (17 %) report using the internet to search for sensitive health topics such as drug use, depression, and sexual health. Girls and low-income adolescents, Lenhart, Purcell, et al. (2010) argues are more likely to seek sensitive health information online; no significant difference occurring by racial, ethnic group or by educational level.

Each of the reasons for which adolescents use technology offers opportunities for outreach, education, and intervention to promote sexual health (Kachur et al., 2013). In fact, acknowledging the horde and potentials of technologies used by adolescents would help the Nigerian media and stakeholders better understand the risks that adolescents face and determine how and what technologies can be used as tools to improve adolescent health. The potentials of these hordes of technologies for health promotion generally and reproductive health specifically have been acknowledged.

It has been argued, for instance, that for the vast majority of public health efforts, a presence on the Internet is necessary (Kachur et al., 2013). The justification for this position as the authors further argue is that the internet has potential to reach possibly the greatest number of adolescents about a diverse range of sexual health topics, because it houses websites full of information, videos clips for skill building, and games for behaviour change, many which can also be accessed via mobile phones. Thus, more and more websites function as repositories for information, including videos, blogs, and social networks, these therefore offer possibilities for full exploitation for reproductive health promotion.

Mobile phones have also been deployed for health information seeking. According to (Fox & Duggan, 2012), Thirty-one percent of all cell phone owners (42 % of those ages 18–29) have used their phones to look up health or medical information. Mobile phones have been used to provide various sexual health resources to youth, such as connecting adolescents to testing locations, answering their questions about sex, and serving as a reminder for birth control (Kachur et al., 2013). Further, growing mobile applications for healthcare provision make cell phones a valuable tool for healthcare providers as well (Kachur et al., 2013; Mir, 2011; Newell & Watson, 2005). The increasing use, reach and potential of mobile phones, should therefore position them for consideration as to how best they can be incorporated into reproductive health communication and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) prevention efforts.

Among adolescents, text messaging is incredibly popular. Seventy-two percent (72 %) of adolescents' or (88 %) of all adolescent cell phone users engage text-messages (Lenhart, Ling, et al., 2010). Mobile phone owners ages 13–17 are the most frequent users of text messaging, sending and receiving an average of 3705 texts per month. Eighteen to 24 year olds have the next highest average of 1707 texts sent and received per month (Nielsen Company, 2010). Texting is the most common form of interaction among adolescents, ranking higher for daily contact among 12–18 year olds than talking face-to-face, by phone, on a social networking site, or by instant messaging (Lenhart, Ling, et al., 2010). In a typical day, (46 %) of 8–18 year olds report sending text messages on a cell phone (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010).

Texting, considering its popularity profile with adolescents can be fully exploited for reproductive health communication with adolescents in Nigeria. Kenya's Mobile for reproductive health (m4RH) example, where the short message service (SMS) function of the mobile phone was used in providing contraception information to adolescents in Kenya suffices. Respondents liked the simple language and confidentiality of receiving health information via mobile phone, and reported increased contraceptive knowledge and use after using m4RH. The study concluded that providing contraception information via mobile phone was an effective strategy for reaching adolescents and young people (Vahdat, L'Engle, Plourde, Magaria, & Olawo, 2013).

Mobile software applications are also reported to be popular among adolescents. According to (Fox & Duggan, 2012), nine percent (9 %) of mobile phone owners (15 % of those ages 18–29) have downloaded apps to help them manage their

health, such as for counting calories, logging fitness workouts, providing health tips and keeping personal health records. Earlier, (Fox, 2010) had found that individuals with a wireless device or mobile internet phone are more likely to use the internet to gather and share information and engage in health-related social media such as posting health-related comments and reviews online.

Research also suggests that games provide an opportunity for users to find health information as well as rehearse health behaviours and other meaningful activities (Edgerton, 2009). Given the popularity of video games and virtual worlds, more public health professionals are turning to these channels as tools for health promotion as well as examining the effects of games on health (Kachur et al., 2013).

The corollary of the foregoing is that adolescents are active seekers of a wide range of information, including reproductive health information, and for this cause are heavy users of New Media Technologies. Considering the potential of media technologies for providing reproductive health information and the confidentiality they offer adolescents seeking reproductive health information, New Media Technologies can be fully exploited by stakeholders creatively as canvassed by (Kachur et al., 2013) to educate, empower, and motivate adolescents to adopt healthier sexual behaviours, make sexual and reproductive health information and services available and accessible to adolescents, as well as serve as *new tools* for sexual and reproductive health promotion in Nigeria.

5.11 Engaging New Media Technologies in Enlarging Participatory Communicative Spaces on Adolescents Sexual and Reproductive Health in Nigeria

According to (Nigeria Data snapshot, 2014), Nigeria has a total population of 174,507,539 with the urban and rural areas each having (50 %) of the figures. Out of the total population figure, Internet users stand at 55,930,391 while Internet penetration stands at (32 %). Active mobile subscriptions stand at 114,000,000, with a mobile penetration of (65 %). Active Facebook users stand at 11,200,000 with a Facebook penetration of (6 %). With a youth and adolescent total population of (61.3 %, NDP, 2013), these figures infer that (35,292,077) of total Internet users are youth and adolescents. It also suggests that, active mobile subscriptions and Facebook patronage among youth and adolescents stands at (71,934,000) and (7,067,200) respectively. These figures show that adolescents are active users of new media technologies in Nigeria.

Fasasi (2015) suggests that on the average, (47 %) of Nigeria's adolescents surf the Internet for 2–4 h daily, from which they derive a range of gratifications including information, entertainment, and education among others. According to the study, mobile phone utilisation stands at (85 %), while an average of 55 min is spent on Facebook per day, with an average of 130 friends per user. While engaging diverse media technologies, adolescents are not passively consuming content, they are also actively producing and sharing content. Lenhart and Madden (2005) observe that such content include blogs, personal webpages, or webpages for a

school, friend, or organisation, artwork, photos, stories, podcasts, or videos. This suggests that adolescents; media organisations and stakeholders could take advantage of this strategic opportunity and actively engage NMTs and related applications in sharing mutually beneficial sexual and reproductive health information. NMTs, as the above indicates, have provided these entities with alternatives or multiple channels through which reproductive health information can be sourced, packaged, transmitted and retrieved.

The point is that NMTs have changed the very nature of twenty-first Century communication experience and have transformed the roles of communication source and audience. Sources' have lost the exclusive preserve of content generation while audiences now play supportive and active roles in information production by generating content—usually referred to as user generated content (UGC). The foregoing position has implications for Nigerian media organisations, adolescents and stakeholders. First, it suggests that media organisations must reposition technologically to the demands of deploying NMTs in communicating reproductive health issues with adolescents to be able to square up with their counterparts in the west who have long imbibed this tradition.

Second, it infers that onus is on stakeholders to acquire the new technologies and infrastructure needed for effective reproductive health communication with adolescents. It also indicates that stakeholders should rise up to the challenges and demands of public communication in the twenty-first Century or be left behind in obsolescence. One way they may accomplish this is to open up the frontiers of their communication machinery to the opinions, input and contributions of adolescents in designing messages meant for adolescents' consumption. In other words, expectations are that adolescents should stand up to the responsibility of making their voices heard about their sexual health needs and expectations.

This practice would entail attainment of New Media Technologies (NMTs) literacy and competencies on the part of stakeholders as the goal of engaging NMTs in participatory communication cannot be realised if stakeholders are NMTs illiterate. In other words, the nature of adolescents' reproductive health communication in the twenty-first Century is *interactive* and *adolescent centred*. This suggests that gone are the days when stakeholders' singlehandedly decided for adolescents and designed reproductive health messages for adolescents based on assumptions and disseminated the messages so designed through the traditional media without first undertaking a needs assessment, and analysing the media habits and preferences of adolescents. Designing effective reproductive health messages for adolescents in the twenty-first Century would entail recognising adolescents' penchant for social networking, and from this standpoint, deciding with adolescents and involving them in designing the content of those messages. Stakeholders must pay adequate attention to how adolescents learn in the digital age, and must value and utilise what adolescents know.

This argument has been made by Prensky (2005, p. 6) when he observed that adolescents generally have a much better idea of what the future is bringing, and are already busy:

... adopting new systems for communicating (instant messaging), sharing (blogs), buying and selling (eBay), exchanging (peer-to-peer technology), creating (flash), meeting (3D worlds), collecting (downloads), coordinating (wikis), evaluating (reputation systems), searching (Google), analyzing (SETI), reporting (camera phones), programming (modding), socializing (chat rooms), and even learning (Web surfing).

The point is that stakeholders must help adolescents take advantage of these new tools and technologies to educate themselves about sexual and reproductive health issues. When this is the case, adolescents will not only have access to the information, knowledge and education they would need about reproductive health, but will also become socialised and empowered to take informed decisions and make better choices about their reproductive health based on the information and knowledge that is made available to them to which they have made significant contributions. In other words, if stakeholders must remain relevant in reproductive health communication in the twenty-first Century Nigeria, particularly to adolescents, it is absolutely important that they find ways to engage adolescents in the communication process. Such engagement must not be on the platform of the old tools—traditional media; adolescents must be engaged in the platform of new twenty-first Century tools. This means, they should be engaged digitally, using New Media Technologies (NMTs).

With the foregoing in mind, it is argued that stakeholders should consider engaging the Internet with its associated platforms: Social Networking Sites (SNS)—*Facebook*, *WhatsApp*, *2go*, *Twitter*, *Viber*, etc.; Video sharing Websites—*YouTube* for instance, Blogs, Instant Messaging; User Generated Content (UGC)—artwork, photos, stories, podcasts and videos among others for reproductive health communication with adolescents. Other technologies to be deployed in the process should include: Mobile devices such as phones and personal digital assistants; with text messaging, voice messaging, and mobile software applications serving as platforms for communication. Further, video games and virtual world platforms should also be exploited.

These enlarged digital channels can then be deployed strategically to communicate the following reproductive health content (Penn & Alford, 2004; Udoakah & Iwokwagh, 2007) to adolescents to raise awareness, improve access, and by so doing encourage compliance and influence behavioural change:

1. Implications of body changes at adolescence.
2. Understanding the demands of adolescents sexuality.
3. Techniques for evaluating relationships.
4. How to handle sexual feelings.
5. How to say no to sexual advances.
6. Data on the sexual and reproductive health status of young people in the chosen community, region, or nation;
7. Information on the availability and use of sexual and reproductive health information and services by young people, including gaps and barriers; and

8. Overview of local, regional, institutional, and national regulations and policies that affect the availability to and use by adolescents of reproductive health information and services.

5.12 Conclusion

This paper explores the possibilities for integrating appropriate NMT platforms for engaging adolescents in interactive communication discourses, thereby enlarging virtual communicative spaces for mutually beneficial sexual and reproductive health dialogue among Nigerian adolescents. It argues that if stakeholders must remain relevant in reproductive health communication in the twenty-first Century, particularly to adolescents, it is absolutely important that they find ways to engage adolescents in the communication process. Such engagement must not be on the platform of the old tools—traditional media; adolescents must be engaged in the platform of new twenty-first Century tools. This means, they should be engaged digitally, using New Media Technologies (NMTs). It therefore recommends that stakeholders should consider engaging the Internet with its associated platforms: Social Networking Sites (SNS)—*Facebook, WhatsApp, 2go, Twitter, Viber*, etc.; Video sharing Websites—*YouTube* for instance, Blogs, Instant Messaging; User Generated Content (UGC)—artwork, photos, stories, podcasts and videos among others for reproductive health communication with adolescents. Other technologies to be deployed in the process should include: Mobile devices such as phones and personal digital assistants; with text messaging, voice messaging, and mobile software applications serving as platforms for communication. Further, the study suggests that video games and virtual world platforms should also be exploited.

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Gunther Heinrich

6.1 Introduction

Since the invention of the World Wide Web several approaches have been proposed that attempt to automatically classify Web pages. Often, these classifications are performed by relying on the textual content of a Web page, thus implementing various methods of text analysis. These can range from bag of words representations based on word frequencies to complex algorithms such as Support Vector Machines. In most cases, the structural information contained in the hypertext markup of Web pages is used as an additional input for the classification processes.

In the context of these classification approaches the question arises, if Web pages can be classified on the basis of purely superficial content features, that is, selected statistical features and their resulting distribution patterns found in textual content or the hypertext markup. This paper discusses and evaluates this decidedly superficial distribution-based classification approach.

The rest paper is organized as follows. Section 6.2 gives a short technical introduction to hypertext documents and their composition which forms the basis for this approach as well as many alternative approaches. Section 6.3 discusses the intuition behind the distribution classification. Section 6.4 surveys the literature on the classification of hypertext documents. Section 6.5 outlines the methodology used for the evaluation. In Sect. 6.6, the main features are selected for the comparative evaluation. Section 6.7 reports the classification results for each feature selected in Sect. 6.6.

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```
<html>
  <head>
    <title>A test page</title>
  </head>
  <body>
    <h1>Section Heading Level 1</h1>
    <div>
      <p>Hello World</p>
      <p>This is another paragraph with a short text.</p>
    </div>
  </body>
</html>
```

Fig. 6.1 Example of HTML markup

6.2 Technical Background

The World Wide Web is a large directed graph consisting of billions of hypertext documents which are interconnected by hyperlinks and are identified/accessible by their uniform resource locator (URL) via the Internet. Based on the factors of ownership and control, the World Wide Web is organized into Web sites, that is, arbitrarily sized clusters of hypertext documents—Web pages—which are governed by a single entity.

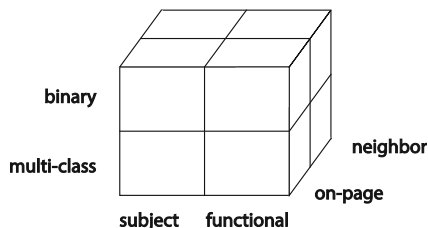
Web pages are text files composed of the Hypertext Markup Language (HTML) (Fig. 6.1) that is used to structure the content by a finite set of defined of HTML elements. These HTML elements can be nested and are, in most cases, indicated by opening and closing tags in the textual document in the shape of the name of the element encircled by an opening and closing angle bracket (e.g., Paragraph element: `<p>`). Valid HTML documents must include the root element `<html>` as well as the `<head>` and the `<body>` element as its direct children, with the body element enclosing all content that is to be displayed in a browser.

Although some HTML elements exist which have a presentational oriented function (e.g., for text formatting), most modern web sites separate structure and presentation: the content is stored in the hypertext document whereas visual design instructions (e.g., position and size of defined elements) are stored in external Cascading Style Sheets (CSS). Therefore, most web sites consist of semi-structured hypertext documents in which at most only few presentational elements are present.

6.3 Related Work

Different approaches have been proposed and evaluated that attempt to automatically assign Web pages to a single or multiple categories. Often, this is performed by comparing feature analysis results of a Web page to a set of pre-classified references. The categories are usually based on different types of classification of which two common types are the topic classification and the functional

Fig. 6.2 Three-dimensional ordering of classification approaches



classification. Classifiers falling into the first category try to determine the subject matter of Web pages (e.g., games, arts) whereas the second group of classifiers tries to detect the role of a Web page (e.g., login page, course page) (Qi & Davison, 2009).

While Web page classifiers can be traced back to information retrieval and text classification, they differ in many aspects as Web pages contain the above-mentioned technical properties innate to hypertext documents. Depending on their goals, classifiers exploit different aspects or features of these properties and can be therefore arranged in various groups as the survey of Qi and Davison (2009) demonstrates. These groups generally fall into one of two alternatives: direct feature based classifiers which classify Web pages based on the content found in them and indirect feature based classifiers which classify Web pages based on the content found in those Web pages that link to them. Often, these two alternatives are called on-page classification and neighbor classification. Overall, three main dimensions can be distinguished by which common classification approaches can be arranged: category quantity (binary versus multi-class), type (topic versus functional) and target (on-page versus neighbor) (see Fig. 6.2).

For on-page classification, textual content and various HTML elements present in the markup are commonly selected features. Golub and Ardö (2005) use textual content found in the title, the headings, the main body and the metadata of a Web page as alternative features for a comparative classification evaluation. Pierre (2001) extracts the textual content as well as the meta-description and meta-keywords to classify Web pages, thus ignoring Web page titles. Riboni (2002) follows a similar approach by classifying Web pages based on the textual content in their main body, their meta-descriptions and titles as well as two combinations of these elements. Kwon and Lee (2003) on the other hand, use a modified k -nearest neighbor approach by assigning HTML elements to weighed groups based on their expressive power like titles, headlines or other markup elements that emphasize textual content. In contrast to these techniques, the URL-based classification does not perform its classification based on the content found in a Web page but by the URL by which it can be accessed and thus is represented by. Baykan et al. (2009), Rajalakshmi and Aravindan (2011) as well as Kan and Thi (2005) are examples of proposals based on this feature.

Indirect or neighbor classification analyzes features on Web pages pointing to the target page via hyperlinks. Usually, they take advantage of the same features found in Web pages as the on-page classification, which can include textual content

of certain HTML elements or meta-information stored in the hypertext documents. Fürnkranz (1999), for example, selects the textual content embedded in the hyperlink, the textual content of the paragraph containing the hyperlink and the textual content of the first heading found before the hyperlink as features for a classification. By limiting the relevant features for the classification, Fürnkranz is able to improve the accuracy rates as the noise contained in neighbor pages (i.e., irrelevant or topically wrong content) is greatly reduced, which Ghani, Slattery, and Yang (2001) observe as being potentially harmful for classifiers. Attardi, Gulli, and Sebastiani (1999) implement a similar approach by analyzing the text surrounding a link, the link text itself, the title of the Web page and headings for the classification of the target Web page.

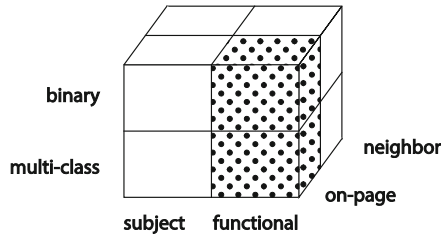
Many proposed approaches have in common that they implement complex algorithms for the analysis of the extracted textual features. Riboni (2002), for example, implements a modified k -nearest neighbor algorithm while Calado et al. (2003) implement various text classifiers for a comparative evaluation which are Naïve Bayes, k -nearest neighbor and Support Vector Machines. Joachims (1998), on the other hand, exclusively explores and analyzes Support Vector Machines on the basis of pre-filtered Web pages where both stop words have been removed and words have been reduced to their stems.

Neighborhood-based approaches can be classified as twofold complex when they are not used to exclusively classify neighboring Web pages from a single Web site or domain. This is due to the fact that a sufficiently large database of Web pages must be constructed in which some or all pages are stored that contain hyperlinks pointing to the target Web pages, thus providing the necessary features for the complex analysis algorithms. Therefore, when only the target page is known, an extensive crawling process of the World Wide Web is required. Such a crawling, though, cannot guarantee that a sufficient number of neighbors are found or that found neighbors are of high quality in terms of textual content, thus adding a high uncertainty factor.

6.4 Discussion

Web sites pursue a broad functional goal or offer an (interactive) service for which it they were created by an administrative entity. Most of today's Web sites fall into a finite number of functional categories with regards to their functional goals. For example, Web sites can be content or media sharing sites, social media sites, shopping sites, community sites or informational sites like news portals and blogs irrespective of their tangible thematic content. From a user's point of view, these exemplary categories can be associated with certain distinctive visual patterns. Internet forums, for example, are generally composed of discussion threads that consist of a chronologically ordered series of separate posts by the members of its community. Similarly, blogs are composed of a reversed chronically order of posts by a one or more authors where each entry usually is followed by discussion section below the published text. In turn, online shops consist of a collection of products

Fig. 6.3 Categorization of the distribution-based classification



sorted into various multi-level categories, where single product pages contain various information about the product itself (manufacturer name, product name, price, technical information etc.) and + links to similar products.

On the basis of these observations and following Amitay et al. (2003) as well as partly Asirvatham and Ravi (2001), this paper bases its functional classification approach on the argument, that Web sites pursuing similar functional goals, thus offering similar functionalities or services, are composed of visually similar patterns and consequently similar patterns in the underlying markup and textual content. Because the approach is evaluated for binary and multi-class classification, it can be categorized as an on-page binary and multi-class functional classification (see Fig. 6.3). In contrast to Qi and Davison (2009), though, the functional classification corresponds to the above-mentioned functional goals of Web sites and Web sites, not the functional goals of single Web pages.

6.5 Methodology

Six functional categories of Web sites commonly found in the World Wide Web were intuitively selected: News, Blogs, Shops, Forums, Corporate Sites and Wikis. Starting from these categories, a list of a total of 90 reference Web sites was manually constructed with each category containing 15 German Web sites respectively. For the selection process, the level of success was used as the main criteria in order to create a reference corpus of relevant and influential Web sites. An individual metric was used for each category which intuitively reflected the success of its corresponding Web sites best. For instance, the number of monthly visits was selected for news sites as the selection criteria whereas for shopping sites the revenue of the administrating company was selected (see Table 6.1).

Instead of utilizing a custom crawler to extract Web pages from a given Web site, Google search was used, thus creating a collection of already pre-filtered and pre-ordered Web pages. Because of the techniques implemented by Google (for example Page rank), these Web pages can be regarded as the most relevant and representative in terms of linkage and content for each Web site. Since Web sites normally contain many different types of Web pages (contact pages, about us pages, index pages etc.), the extraction was limited to those Web pages that most strongly reflected the functional goals of their Web sites. For example, only article pages were from news sites whereas blog sites were limited to blog posts. With 300 Web

Table 6.1 Selection criteria for each category

Category	Success criteria
News	Most successful sites by monthly visits count
Blog	Most successful sites by resonance in social networks
Shop	Most successful sites by revenue
Forum	Largest sites by number of posts
Corporate	Largest companies by revenue
Wiki	Largest sites by article count

pages being extracted for each Web site, the reference collection was comprised of 27,000 Web pages in total.

The classification algorithm was implemented as a cosine similarity analysis in which the calculated content-based feature vectors of a Web page to be classified were compared to the averaged results of the reference feature vectors for each category and type. Therefore, for each reference Web page the relevant vectors were calculated and stored in advance, each vector representing one selected feature of the given page, thus being of a given type.

The classifier was tested and evaluated both in binary as well as in multi-class scenarios. For the binary classification, a small set of news sites and blogs—each one represented by a corpus of 100 pages—was constructed. These pages had to be classified as either news or blog by the classifier. For the multi-class classification another small collection of websites was constructed, containing a set of websites—again each site represented by a corpus of 100 pages—which were manually pre-determined to belong to one of all six selected functional categories. Each individual webpage was classified into one of all six categories by the classifier. For both experiments the identical reference collection was used and all feature vectors were limited to their first 1000 components.

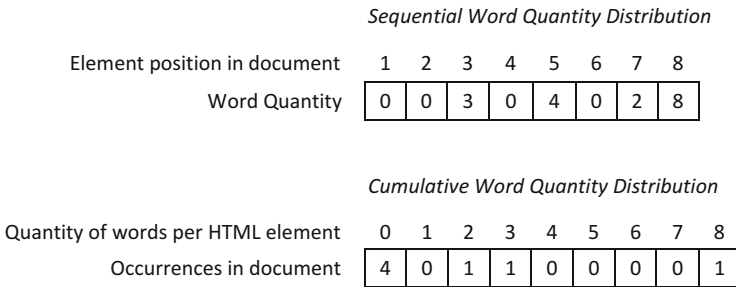
6.6 Feature Selection

Following the main assumption that similar functionalities or services result in similar structural distribution patterns, it is assumed that similar (structural) distribution patterns are reflected in the distribution of the textual content as this can be regarded as one of the most important and defining content-based features in most web sites. Preliminary analyses of 27,000 hypertext documents comprising a corpus of approximately 23,573,191 elements displayed in Table 6.2 partially support this notion as more than 35 % of all HTML elements exclusively contain textual content and 4.4 % embed textual content as well as other HTML elements (Table 6.2).

Instead of extracting textual content from the surrounding markup and therefore losing the markup-based information, the textual content is represented by a statistical analysis based on the structuring of the existent document markup. This is realized by representing each HTML element as a value in a multi-dimensional vector which in its entirety represents the hypertext document. In principle, each

Table 6.2 Most used HTML elements based on embedded content

HTML element containing. . .	Percentage of total tags
elements exclusively (structural element)	44.8
textual content exclusively (content element)	35.3
no textual content and no elements (empty element)	15.5
both elements and textual content (hybrid element)	4.4

**Fig. 6.4** Sequential and cumulative word quantity distribution vectors

value in the data structure can be any arbitrarily value that statistically reflects the content of its matching HTML element. For instance, the value can represent the amount of characters, the amount of punctuation marks or the average length of words. For this evaluation, the quantity of words directly embedded in each HTML element was selected as a statistical feature for classification. Additionally, a cumulative word quantity distribution analysis was implemented. Here, instead of retaining the position as well as actual word count of each HTML element, the total number of occurrences of HTML elements containing a given amount of words was used as the feature for classification. Figure 6.4 illustrates both analysis approaches based on the hypertext markup example from Fig. 6.1.

In terms of a classification approach utilizing hypertext markup features, the type of HTML elements/HTML tags particularly come into consideration. An analysis over the aforementioned corpus showed, though, that from a total of 119 examined HTML elements, four make up almost 70% of the corpus whereas ten HTML elements make up over 87%. From those elements the division-element is the second most discovered element after the anchor. Furthermore, an analysis on the basis of the embedded content inside each HTML element of the same corpus reveals, that despite having distinct differences in the composition of the ten most found element types there are several HTML elements often used in many instances, therefore rendering a type based feature selection most likely inaccurate (Table 6.3). This is, inter alia, evident for the division-element which not only is utilized very often in the markup but also in most cases is used as a container for the structuring of the content of Web sites (see Table 6.4).

On the basis of these results it is argued, that it's unlikely to infer reliably distinguishable patterns for classification as the statistical representations based

Table 6.3 Most used HTML elements based on type

Element	Percentage	Element	Percentage
a	24.65	tr	1.62
div	20.15	link	1.58
li	14.62	input	1.58
span	10.00	table	0.54
img	4.37	tbody	0.54
td	3.77	dd	0.51
p	3.36	h2	0.46
ul	2.68	h3	0.46
option	1.93	hr	0.41
meta	1.63	dt	0.40

Table 6.4 Most used HTML element types for each type of embedded content

Structural		Content		Empty		Hybrid	
Element	%	Element	%	Element	%	Element	%
div	32.0	a	53.1	img	28.2	div	26.5
li	28.7	span	17.4	div	19.7	a	15.1
a	10.0	option	5.4	meta	10.5	li	14.9
ul	5.8	p	5.3	link	10.2	p	14.2
span	4.9	div	4.5	input	10.2	span	11.2
td	4.4	td	3.5	span	7.5	td	8.7
tr	3.6	li	2.7	a	4.8	blockquote	1.9
p	1.6	dt	1.1	hr	2.6	em	1.7
table	1.2	dd	1.0	td	1.3	label	1.5
tbody	1.2	h3	0.7	p	1.1	h2	0.9

Nesting level Distribution

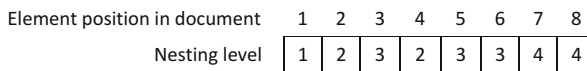


Fig. 6.5 Nesting level distribution

on tag types alone would most likely sufficiently differ only in comparatively small sections. Therefore, a nesting distribution approach was selected as a markup-based classification. Here, each individual HTML element is represented by its nesting level in the hypertext markup. Figure 6.5 illustrates this approach based on the markup example from Fig. 6.1.

Table 6.5 Binary classification accuracy rates in %

	Sequential	Cumulative	Nesting	All
News	51.2	90.9	45.8	62.6
Blog	82.4	54.0	81.5	72.6
All	66.8	72.5	63.7	67.6

6.7 Results

Table 6.5 shows the accuracy rates of the binary classification on a percentage basis. Of all three approaches, the cumulative distribution-based classification performs best among all selected categories by correctly classifying on average slightly more than 72 % of all tested Web pages. The sequential approach among all pages classifies 67 % of all pages, thus performing slightly worse, whereas the nesting distribution-based classification performs worst with a hit rate of about 63 %. This is due to the fact that this approach scored worst of all for news pages with a hit rate lower than 50 %. Generally, the individual results for the selected categories show that blogs were more accurately classified as such than news sites, although the cumulative classification approach classified almost all pages correctly.

A visual comparison of the first 1000 components of the reference vectors for news sites and blogs as seen in Figs. 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8 illustrate, that depending on the approach distinct vector progressions can be identified, thus partly supporting the high accuracy classification results. Yet, it is also discernible that in some approaches substantial vector sections are very close to each other or overlap, thus also partly supporting the reduced classification accuracies observed in certain categories.

A visual representation of the reference vectors of all categories for each classification approach as shown in Figs. 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11 suggest that high accuracy classifications as in the binary test seem unlikely. This is due to the vectors either overlapping in large sections in combination with strong fluctuations of the values or the vectors—when not overlapping—being close to each other in terms of the component values at the same position. The sequential distribution reference vectors in particular illustrate this situation, as they not only overlap in large parts but also show strong fluctuations for certain categories. The cumulative distribution reference vectors display similar fluctuation characteristics.

As the visualizations suggest, accuracy rates in multi-class classifications (Table 6.6) indeed greatly decreased compared to binary classifications. Over all tested categories, the nesting approach performs best with an accuracy rate of 33.1 %, whereas the sequential and cumulative approaches score slightly lower with an accuracy rate of approximately 29 %, respectively. Compared to the results in binary classification, the cumulative based classification exhibits the largest increase of wrongly classified Web pages. On a category basis, the classifications performed worst across all approaches for Web pages from news sites and corporate sites (12.2 and 14.6 %) and best for wikis where it classified more than 62 % of the

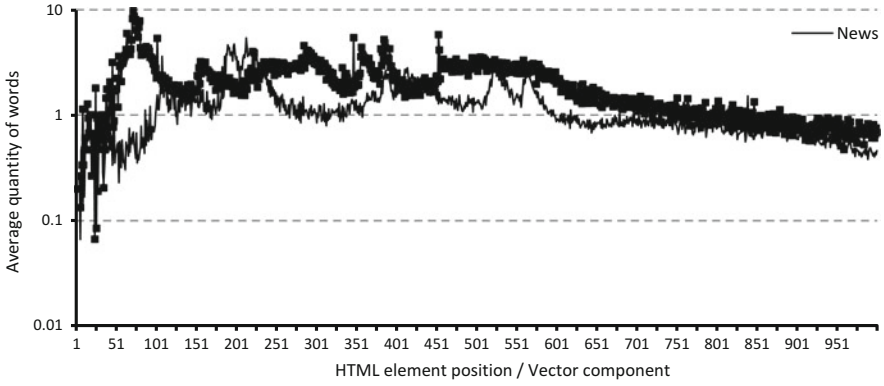


Fig. 6.6 Reference vectors (sequential distribution)

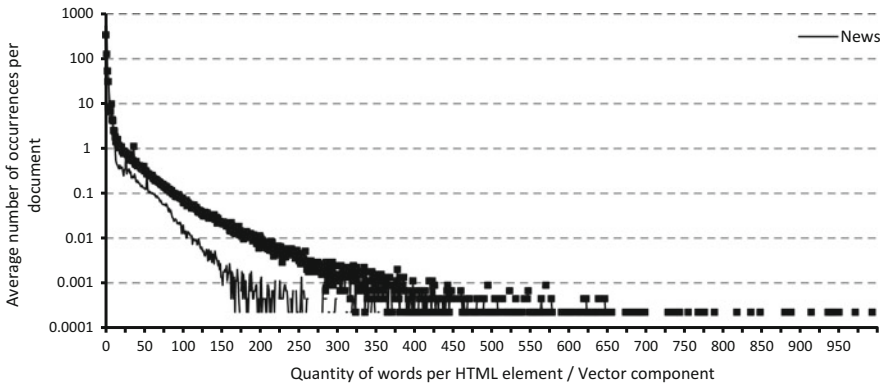


Fig. 6.7 Reference vectors (cumulative distribution)

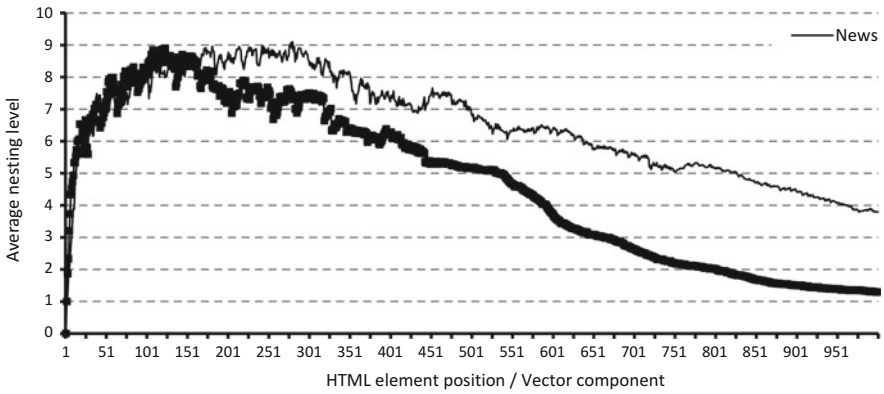


Fig. 6.8 Reference vectors (nesting distribution)

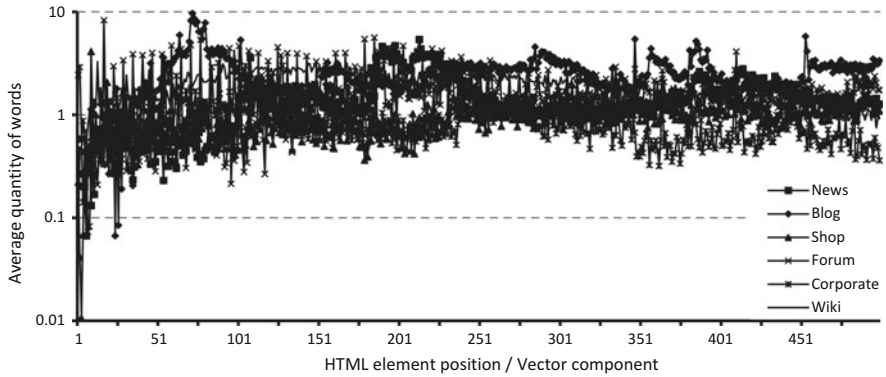


Fig. 6.9 Reference vectors, all categories (sequential distribution)

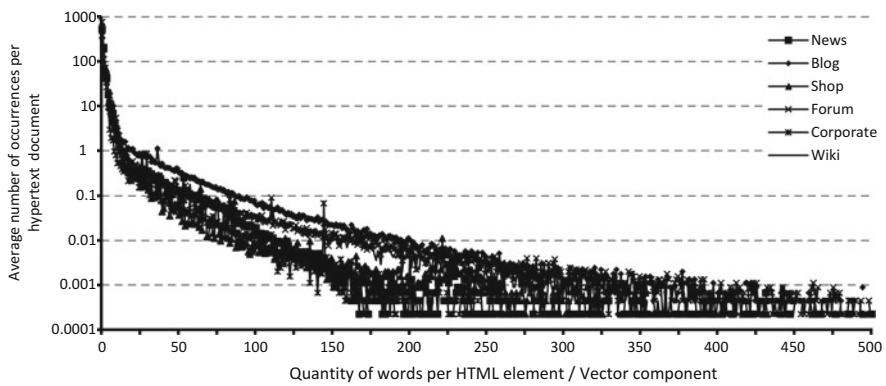


Fig. 6.10 Reference vectors, all categories (cumulative distribution)

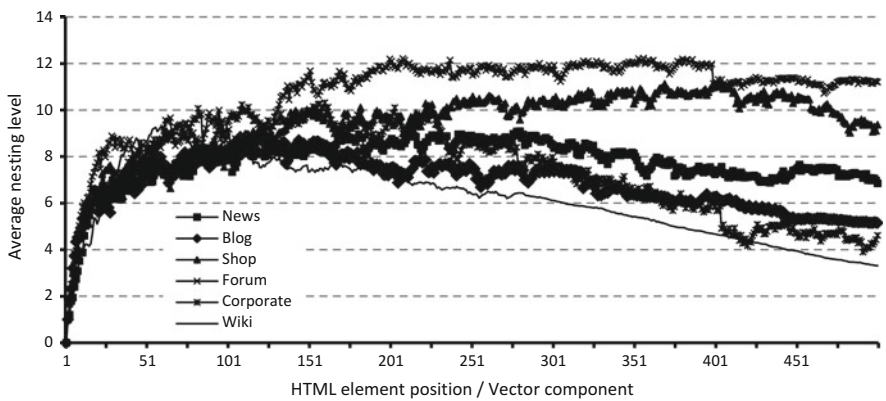


Fig. 6.11 Reference vectors, all categories (nesting distribution)

Table 6.6 Multi-class classification accuracy rates in %

	Sequential	Cumulative	Nesting	All
News	16.3	21.8	5.8	14.6
Blog	18.4	27.1	28.8	24.8
Shop	65.4	25.6	21.5	37.5
Forum	4.8	16.0	73.0	31.3
Corporate	13.0	18.4	5.3	12.2
Wiki	56.3	66.3	63.9	62.2
All	29.0	29.2	33.1	30.4

test collection correctly. Second best classification accuracies are observed for Web pages stemming from shop sites although it can be noted that by having a value of roughly 37 % a sharp drop from the highest accuracy level is evident.

6.8 Conclusions and Future Work

This paper evaluated an approach for the classification of Web pages which exclusively exploits purely superficial content and markup features. The selected features for evaluation were the sequential word quantity distribution, the cumulative word quantity distribution and the HTML element nesting level distribution. All features were tested in binary and multi-class classification scenarios.

The results for the binary classification of Web pages belonging to either the group of news or blog prove to be promising with yielding high precision performances for selected categories and features. On the other hand, the multi-class evaluation results revealed that the distribution-based classification did not perform reliably with high error rates on almost all categories and feature types. Given these mixed results, it is determined that additional research and refinement in future works is necessary, before the distribution-based approach can be conclusively evaluated.

One direction for further research is the refinement and the enhancement in terms of scope. For example, by improving the reference database, that is, enlarging the corpus of reference pages the classifier operates on, the impact of each Web site on the calculated average vectors might be diminished, thus creating reference vectors which contain fewer fluctuations induced by single Web sites. The evaluation scope could also be further expanded by implementing a multilingual classification instead of focusing on German Web sites only. This way, the potential impact of different languages on the precision could be analyzed to possibly increase accuracy rates.

Another direction for further research is the algorithmic improvement with regards to of categories and features. Although the six functional categories selected for this evaluation covered a good amount of Web sites available on the World Wide Web, the selection is far from extensive or complete. For example, tutorial-focused sites and question-and-answer sites, each potentially containing

specific distribution patterns, were not included. Taking a fully automated crawling, extraction and analysis process into consideration, a complete list of possible functional categories is a necessity. Since the multi-class classification covering only six alternatives resulted in an already highly reduced precision, the addition of new categories might result in a definite negative evaluation of this approach.

With regards to content analysis, Web pages contain various alternative statistical features which might be useful to increase precision. For example, the average length of all sentences or the total quantity of sentences inside HTML elements comes into consideration. Future research might additionally try to combine or weight some of the selected features to investigate, whether or not the classification results improve.

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Overcoming Convergence in East Africa's Media Houses: The Case of the Standard Media Group

7

Jennifer Wangeci Kanyeki

7.1 Introduction and Background History

This chapter gives the research background to overcoming convergence challenges in East Africa's media houses: Standard Media Group, Kenya. Although the newsrooms in East Africa are evolving to multimedia, the multi-media journalist is slow in coming. This paper explores the extent to which media houses are driving the process of media convergence and if they are mobilizing multiple media platforms to the point where they become one medium (Chakaveh & Bogen, 2007). Convergence is an ambiguous term used by various disciplines to describe and analyse processes of change towards uniformity or union. When applied to the communication sector, it is often referred to as media convergence. A common feature of media convergence is its inter-disciplinary and multi-purpose character (Schneider, 2012; Schuppert, 2006). An ideal media convergence situation uses the same reporters to produce stories for television, radio, telecommunication and internet mediums. These can be enhanced through advent of new communication technologies such as mobile terminals, digital television or internet. Though total convergence is not yet a reality, an effectively converged media house would synergies resources; human, technological and capital tools and assets to enable efficient flow of content across multiple media platforms (Greyzed theme, 2012). This paper explores the extent to which media houses in East Africa are converging: A case study of Standard Media Group, Nairobi, Kenya. It will also identify positive and negative consequences of convergence of media houses in East Africa and find out how journalists are responding to the challenges of convergence.

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7.2 Historical Background on Standard Media Group

Standard newspaper was started in 1902 by an Asian gentleman, A. M. Jeevanjee who had amassed wealth from the construction of the then 535 mile Mombasa-Kisumu railway after he was awarded the contract to supply some of the materials. So on November 15, 1902 the famous *African Standard* was born in Mombasa, run by Mr. W H Tiller from England who produced the paper singlehandedly from sourcing stories to proof reading, editing as well as advertising. From typewriter to the computer evolution and now to multimedia platforms, the newspaper changed ownership from circulation throughout British East Africa and penetrated into the remotest districts of Congo. In 1918, the East African was made into a public company and changed to *The Standard* and absorbed the rivalry newspaper at the time, *The Leader*. To date the Standard newspaper has grown into a multi-media platform with the acquiring of a television station; Kenya Television Network (KTN) in December 1997. The East African Standard's On-line Edition was introduced in September 1999 which was an electronic version of the newspaper accessible through the internet. The latest addition to the media products is *Radio Maisha* which was started in 2010 (Ngunjiri, 2002).

7.2.1 Standard Newspaper

This is the flagship brand for the Standard Media Group and the cash cow of the organization. As at 2015, newspaper circulations and advertisements were attracting the highest revenue portion for the Group with the latter rating higher than the circulation. However online media has taken over classified advertisements and is threatening to surpass the print revenues in the future. In the financial year 2014, the newspaper suffered a slow decline in readership as readers shifted to free internet journalistic content provided on the Standard digital platform via their mobile devices. An increase in cost of the cover page dented profits further but to counter this the Group introduced county news to strengthen its nationwide content which used the infrastructure of the recently devolved governance in Kenya. The Group has plans to overhaul the content presentation as part of the Group's turn-around strategy not only to drive sales but also to bring out a new look for the newspaper (Standard Group Annual Report, 2014).

7.2.2 Nairobiian

The paper was launched in 2013 and has grown to be one of the leading circulating papers in the Kenyan market today. The strategy represents human interest content and recruits non-traditional readers who are interested in contemporary lifestyle of residents in the capital city Nairobi and other main towns in the country (Standard Group Annual Report, 2014).

7.2.3 Television: KTN

The television station acquired in 1997 reclaimed its second position in share of viewing in Kenya as at 31 December 2014. Performance is driven by creative programming and an innovative news segment which attracts high ratings at prime time news. News time is a big deal in Kenya where households gravitate to the television to catch up with prime time news. The poorly planned switch off of analogue television in early 2015 had significant impact on viewership and revenues dipped by 65 % following the digital migration. The 2014 financial year was characterized by a litigation process that saw the three largest media houses in Kenya namely Standard Media Group, Nation Media Group and Royal Media move from High Court to the Supreme Court in an attempt to have the government extend the digital migration deadline. The media houses were denied request to continue broadcasting on the analogue platform as has happened in many countries around the world and were switched off for 19 days. The vast majority of TV viewers who were used to free to air television were unable to immediately purchase decoders for the digital signal hence a large group of viewers were denied the possibility of watching TV (Standard Group Annual Report, 2014).

7.2.4 Radio Maisha

In Kenya about 99 % of people use radio as a source of information. Market research evidenced that the top radio stations were all using the national language, Kiswahili. As a result, Standard Media Group launched Radio Maisha, a Kiswahili speaking radio station on 24th May, 2010 targeting the low mass income bracket. In 2010, the station was trending in the 26th position. To improve its market share position, *Radio Maisha* was relaunched in 2013 with quality re-programming and has risen to second position as per second quarter 2015 Geopoll ratings. Radio Maisha reaches over five million people in Kenya and is the fastest growing radio in the market reaching about 30 % of the market. The station has increased transmitters nationwide from six frequencies and will have 20 frequencies nationwide as at the end of June 2015. Frequencies are in various towns such as Malindi, Voi, Garissa, Mandela, Webuye, Kiss, Narok and Turkana. News is one of the biggest drivers bringing timely comprehensive news to readers and relevant, high quality programmes (Japanni, 2015).

7.2.5 Standard Digital

The Standard digital maintained its top position in the market as the most visited Kenyan website at 189,623,026 hits as at December of 2014 with 45,705,617 visitors. Each visitor clicks on an average of five pages and stays for 3 min when reading text messages and 7 min if watching a video clip. The website receives high traffic flow and continues to make increased contribution to revenues with clients

preferring above the fold adverts which have guaranteed visibility. According to Mr. Matthew Shahi, the Manager for Online Business, the digital department began in 2001 as an extension of print department, posting newspaper stories and putting them online from 6.00 pm to midnight. No updates would be done from midnight to 4.00 pm the next day. In 2012, the department was revamped as a converged centre to catch all matters digital. Stories began being posted on sms, mobile apps and email as a revenue source database used for marketing products and services. From a revenue base of less than Kshs.3 million in 2011, the revenue increased to 36 million in 2012, and picked to Kenya shillings 86 million in 2013, 140 million in 2014 and 180 million in 2015. By 2016, the department projects a 600 million revenue which would surpass the current Group profit of 350 million as at 2014 financial year. More than one third of the workforce in this department recruits young university graduate interns, with a strong passion for digital media. The department receives direct revenue when business executive sell space and indirectly through tools such as banners on the website and sms news alerts (Shahi, 2015).

7.2.6 Publishers Distribution Services

This product sells imported newspapers and magazine to Kenyans, however the increase in the product prices have put these products out of reach of many Kenyans. In addition audiences have shifted to search for magazine content easily and cheaply from the internet. Standard Group will be soon be re-evaluating and re-strategising this product to map the way forward (Standard Group Annual Report, 2014).

7.2.7 Human Resource

To expand the pool of talent and in recognition of the changing faces of skills requirements for journalist, Standard Media Group launched the *Scribes Inc. Programme* for a special pilot multi-media journalism training. Graduates from this program will be multi-skilled journalists who will be able to produce content on all media platforms (Standard Group Annual Report, 2014).

7.3 Literature Review

This section provides an in depth review of past studies on challenges of media convergence to media houses and journalists and will discuss the theoretical framework to be applied. The review will cover the three research objectives of the study which are; To explore the extent to which media houses are synergizing their activities to enable efficient flow of content across multiple media platforms. To identify positive and negative consequences of media convergence on media

houses. To establish how medium-specific journalists are responding to the challenges of convergence. This section will also discuss the theoretical framework relevant to be applied.

7.3.1 How Media Houses Synergise Activities to Facilitate Convergence

A research study conducted by Saltzis and Dickinson (2008) titled, *Inside the changing newsroom: Journalists responses to media convergence* investigated the impact of journalists working practices due to the new reporting trends from single to multiple platforms. The study was conducted inside British national media organisations to investigate and describe the changes on the working practices of journalists and how they reacted to the process of production convergence in news reporting in multiple media platforms. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 newsroom reporters and editors from *BBC*, *The Sky* and *The Guardian* and *The Financial Times* during 2002 and 2003. The findings of the study showed that while multimedia news is becoming well established, the multimedia journalist has been slow to be actualized because of the pressures that multi-media work adds to the journalist's daily routine and a concern over the impact on the quality of output (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008).

As digitisation seems irreversible and the boundaries between traditional and new media become blurry, newsrooms and journalists are moving from single media to multi-media reporting. The relationship between different media are now characterised by increasing cooperation, compatibility and connectivity as questions are raised as to whether traditional media will adapt to the new digital environment or even whether they will survive at all (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). The four news organisations under study used four strategies in order to achieve economies of multiformity the organisational and technical integration of newsroom; the use of multi-skilled work force, the application of flexible and user friendly technology in all aspects of production and the expansion of the services into new media with output extending to mobile devices such as phones (Doyle, 2002; Albarran & Dimmick, 1996; cited by Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008).

Technological Perspective From a technological perspective network convergence operates at three levels namely network, production, and distribution (Flynn, 2001; Ostergaard, 1998; cited by Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). Also known as "write once, publish anywhere". Technology now allows media content to be authored once and then published and delivered through multiple digital delivery mechanisms without being re-authored (Flynn, 2001).

Convergence at the distribution level refers to the consumption and to the idea that ultimately there will only be one way to access different types of digital network through a single device that will combine the different characteristics of today's media (Flynn, 2001).

In production stage, convergence has been achieved through introduction of digitization equipment in the news production chain and the integration of online with offline newsrooms to encourage sharing of material and treating information as platform neutral. But the key change comes with the arrival of server based newsroom production systems. Both *BBC* and *Financial Times* have adopted this method around a central computer server which allows common access to all the gathered material by all news workers, connects various operations inside the newsroom and automates a number of processes. However, a single multimedia newsroom has not yet been achieved (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008).

7.4 Consequences of Media Convergence on Media Houses

There are positive and negative consequences of convergence on media houses. New communication technology has brought major benefits for journalistic organisations and unsettling changes in working practices and routines (McNair, 1998; Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008).

7.4.1 Convergence Benefits to Media Houses

With the development of technology the cost of products and software has lowered. Instead of having different news crews for every medium, one converged media operation can use the same reporters and staff to produce stories for television, telecommunication and internet mediums fulfilling the promise of a single-person newsgathering based on a multi-skilled crew (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). Multi-skilling in newsrooms is a management led economic decisions aimed at cost reduction efficiency improvements (Cottle, 1999; cited by Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008).

A similar study was done in Finland on *Media Convergence and Business Models:*

Responses of Finnish Daily Twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted in seven daily newspapers between November 2011 and January 2012. Finland has nine national dailies published in the capital regions with *Helsingin Sanomat* being the largest. In a market with a strong reading tradition, publishers are financially solid and have been able to retain and improve good profits despite convergence trends. Though the large media companies in Finland actively developed new forms of web based publications during the second half of 1990s they lacked the revenue that would sustain the new ventures and forced them to cut down these activities. The second wave of innovation has developed new business models using multimedia technologies to increase audience reach in a decentralized form of broad based content creation (OECD, 2010).

Traffic Generator Though media executives admit that the two pillars of journalism business namely circulation and advertising are slowly but steadily declining, there is a general agreement that journalism is a traffic generator that can be used for income generation through advertising. The Finnish market is divided rather peacefully between media companies and their newspapers. Rather than competing with other newspapers, Finnish newspapers have to compete with other leisure activities. In advertising, for instance, national newspapers are facing a tightening competition from Google and Facebook, who can provide the advertiser with targeted marketing. In an internet driven era, the national dailies are competing with anyone who produces contents (Lehtisaari et al., 2012).

7.4.2 Disadvantages of Convergence on Media Houses

An audience used to traditional forms of media may resist change to embrace a new way of receiving information. As a result those with a lack of technological skill will be unable to take full advantage of new media especially old people who may lack the computer literacy and those with visual or physical disabilities.

Fragmented Audience With the development of digital era, media houses are now more in touch with their audiences leading to a greater audience engagement with increased customer satisfaction. Online journalism is being perceived as a better form of journalism as it re-engages an increasingly distrusting and alienated audience. It also provides a multi-media format, interactivity, personalisation, globalisation, hypertextuality, interconnectivity and instantaneous reporting. Gone are the days where an editor had to wait till the next day to publish their feedback or wait for an entire week to publish on a weekly paper. That notwithstanding audiences complain of being overwhelmed with information overload (Pavlik, 2001; Kawamoto, 2003; cited by Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008).

Convergence has also seen the rise of dominant values of journalism. Van Tuyl (2010) argues that the fragmentation of audiences and the post modernization of our lifestyles have brought an end to the one-size-fits-all journalism and disrupted business models. Van Tuyl argues that journalism should embrace the diversity of the current public sphere and make itself relevant to its audiences (Van Tuyl, 2010). This notion is interlocked with the discussion about journalism finding its place in local networks and participatory citizen journalism (Franklin, 2010). Even though the Finnish media companies have been able to retain high profitability they have resorted to cost cutting and redundancies and convergence is seen as a cost cutting strategy. As distribution and printing costs continue to rise, the internet and mobile media devices have to some extent affected people's willingness to pay for journalistic content (Grönlund & Björkroth, 2011).

7.5 Response of Medium-Specific Journalists to Convergence

While the job of a journalist is to get others to get heard, their own voice is rarely heard on how they are adapting to convergence. The new communication technology has brought major benefits but also brought unsettling changes in working practices and routines. Journalists are now multi-tasking and are required to be multiskilled. Just as introduction of computers into newspaper newsrooms in the 1980s created more jobs for editors and journalists they made some roles redundant (Stepp, 1989; Garrison, 1999; cited by Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). It is no wonder that media houses now prefer the multi-skilled journalist and some newsroom roles will have to adapt or become redundant.

7.5.1 Versatile Journalists

According to the study done by Saltzis and Dickinson (2008), the multi-skilled journalist is one with interchangeable skills and is more valuable than one without. However these multi-skilled journalists are a minority at the *BBC*, at the *Financial Times* and at *The Guardian* even though they are trained in both radio and television production. Not all journalists were able to report with equal ease on the various platforms of newspaper, internet, radio and television. Existing journalists are not as versatile for the following reasons;

- (a) *The cost of training*—it is more difficult to train new concepts to experienced workers than to train an apprentice.
- (b) *Resistance to change*—where established journalists are less willing to change what they have been doing over their career years.

Journalists will no longer be identified by a specific medium in the same way that the news companies are no longer identified by a single medium. *The Guardian* is both a newspaper and a web publisher just as *BBC* is a broadcaster and web publisher. Standard media group is a publisher, yet has a television station, radio station and a thriving online division.

The multi-skilled journalism is not the result of “simple technological determinism but is a management led economic cost reduction decision aimed at efficiency improvement (Cottle, 1999). Yet multi-skilling in newsrooms raises significant concerns about declining quality in news output because of increased work loads, increased pressure and the deskilling of journalists (Bromley, 1996; Cottle, 1999). Newly hired journalists are expected to work in more than one area.

7.5.2 Benefits of Convergence on Journalists

It is not all gloom and doom, multiskilling has benefits such as offering journalists location flexibility meaning that a journalist can now post their stories from other

locations other than the newsroom. Media convergence has also speeded up data searching making more information easily accessible to journalists seeking background research information and checking on modern trends (Koch, 1991; Leonard, 1992; Brooks, 1997; as cited by Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008).

A journalist also has increased control over their own output as they choose to post their stories on alternative medium (Wintour, 1989). Online journalism as part of new media provides a multimedia platform, interactivity, personalisation accessibility, hypertextuality, interconnectivity and instantaneous reporting. With its many advantages, online journalism is said to have the ability to re-engage an increasingly distrusting and alienated audience.

In the study by Saltzis and Dickinson (2008), broadcast journalist who have practiced multiskilling expressed positive feelings about it and claimed that it enriched their overall knowledge of the news product making them better journalists.

Challenges of Convergence on Journalists While technology allows journalists to produce news more quickly, multiskilling and multitasking that it makes possible does not. The journalists interviewed said that multi skilling was slower than traditional journalism as the journalist spent more time on a story than if it was done by two highly specialised workers. However this delay due to multi-skilling does not offset the overall gains that result from digital technology.

Increased Workload A major concern expressed by scholars is that the multi skilling required for multi-media reporting has resulted in a journalist who has to cope with an increased workload to get their work done. Cottle (1999) claims that the increased demands create a more pressured working environment which has a negative impact on journalistic standards (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). The time pressure and increased workloads make news analysis and reflection more difficult as journalists become increasingly obsessed with speed (Cottle, 1999; Scott, 2005; cited by Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). New media platforms face less editorial control meaning that more mistakes are likely to be published and the obsession for speed could affect the overall quality of news output. Accuracy, impartiality and truth remain important criteria of journalistic success hence it is more important to get a story right and second than first and wrong. That notwithstanding journalists interviewed rarely complained about the pressure because it is considered an integral part of the job. They enjoy the adrenalish rush that it produces and are not satisfied with quiet newsdays.

Journalist's Safety There have been safety concerns that limit the deployment of sending one journalist to report on a dangerous situation such a war zone or a terrorist attack location. When one reporter is filming and the eye is on the camera, it is difficult to see what is going on around them hence thereby increasing the exposure to risks such as a follow up bomb blast. The other challenge of a single reporter sourcing a story is that a reporter who is fully concentrated on the technical side of the report during interviews may compromise his ability to respond during

the interview and the time that is left to reflect on what is being said (personal interview, 2003).

For some of the reasons stated above the BBC policy encouraged multiskilling but did not make it mandatory and aimed at creating a workforce comprising of two types of journalists:

- (a) The single skilled specialists, valued for their high specialised journalistic standards.
- (b) The multi-skilled valued for their versatility and adaptability.

This research study was based on a theoretical framework as stated below.

7.6 Theoretical Framework

The theory of convergence in the media industry does not seem to be settled. Griffiths & Light (2008) define media convergence as the combining of several different products into one. Others define it as the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries and migratory behavior of media audiences in search of information (Jenkins, 2006). It is also seen as a way to deliver news in a new and different way, to expand a franchise, to protect market positioning and as a means of survival in the media industry (Quinn, 2004).

7.6.1 Kolodzy's Model

The theory of media convergence is also theorized and practiced by Kolodzy who provides a model for describing media convergence and describes it as an ongoing process in which content, technology, audience and industries intersect like a vienn (Kolodzy, 2006, p. 5) Jenkins identified the circles to represent various fields such as audience, industry, content and technology and media convergence to be the point where they intersect (Jenkins, 2001) (Fig. 7.1).

Fig. 7.1 Media convergence as an ongoing process in which content, technology, audience, and industries intersect. Sources: Kolodzy (2006)



7.6.2 Uses and Gratification Theory

The second theory informing this study is the uses and gratification theory. Littlejohn and Foss, and also Severin and Tankard state that audience members seek out mass media to satisfy individual needs. The theorists explain why people choose certain media forms and that media have a limited position that is because their audiences are able to exercise control over their media. With the upsurge of new media, uses and gratification are met by interaction and networking. Further more social networking sites are virtual places that cater for specific audience in which people of similar interest gather to chat and communicate with others. These social media sites offer people an arena where they can practice their freedom of expression and association (Musa & Willis, 2014 citing Lando & Mwangi, 2014).

7.7 Research Approach

This was a quantitative and qualitative study that utilized questionnaires and in-depth interviews to collect data. The study was conducted in the month of May and June 2015. For questionnaire distribution to journalists we used non-probability sampling technique where respondents were selected because of their convenience, availability and willingness to participate in the study. The journalists selected were from the Nairobi office newsroom which has 76 editorial staff from various editorial departments namely television, radio, newspaper and online. With this approach 22 journalists responded to the questionnaires and we conducted two indepth interviews to heads of departments or their assistants.

7.8 Limitations

Due to the fast paced technological world the findings of this study may soon become obsolete as technology evolves. However the findings will offer valuable insight into the challenges that media houses and journalists are facing as they adapt to using a converged media operation. Given reporters, flexible working hours, it was a challenge to finding journalists in the newsroom for questionnaire distribution. Most reporters spend their days in the field and only come to the newsroom when it is crunch time with just enough time to post their stories. Emailing questionnaires to journalists was also a challenge as reporters are sometimes in remote areas where they neither have phone nor internet connectivity. Nailing appointments for department heads who also double up as editors was an even bigger challenge as they constantly try to beat the never ending deadlines. Administrative Editor, Mr. Andrew Kagwa was instrumental in connecting researcher to the Heads of department and we managed to interview two of them namely Mr. Thomas Japanni and Mr. Matthew Shahi who were available and willing to be interviewed. We increased the days for distribution of questionnaires to be able to get as many respondents as possible.

7.9 Findings from Indepth Interviews and Questionnaires

From the 30 questionnaires, 22 questionnaires were returned duly complete. Findings of the study show that 64 % of the respondents (journalists) who work in media houses are male while 36 % are female which explains the gender based challenges facing media houses. Kenya has a 60 % youthful population as per the Kenya Population Census Report, 2010 and most employees of Standard Media Group are in this category with 64 % aged between 21–40 years and only 5 % aged between 41 and 50 years. Findings show that 77 % employees journalists of Standard Media Group are undergraduates, 18 % are post-graduates and 5 % of the respondents have other professional qualifications especially in film and theatre production. Bulk of the staff in the newsroom consist of sub editors at 77.3 %, news anchors constitute, 4.5 % are in the online department and 4.5 % are correspondents. The explanation of why a high percentage of staff in the newsroom are sub editors is that most reporters are rarely in the newsroom unless when they are posting their stories.

7.10 Media Houses Activities That Facilitate Convergence

Standard Media Group has aligned their operations to world class practice and has over the last 2 years commenced a process of investing into the latest technology to automate its key processes and operations. In 2013, the company invested in advertising and editorial Electronic automation system—PPI—a German technology that completely integrates the flow and production of editorial content, advertising workflow and pre-press production processes. PPI provides a turnaround time for output management because it is easy to tell the progress of publications from any central place. From the questionnaires 27.3 % respondents, acknowledged that Standard media Group had developed mobile apps for television, radio, print and additional bandwidth and free wi-fi to accommodate multimedia platforms. This is closely followed by 22.7 % of respondents who said that the provision of mobile phones and laptops to senior reporters enabled reporters to post their stories from outside the office. When airing the radio programmes, presenters are concurrently on social media for instantaneous and participatory audience feedback. According to an interview with Head of Radio, Mr. Thomas Japanni, the industry has cut throat competition and in order for radio presenters to remain relevant, they are now required to be technologically savvy and to comfortably using online platforms (Japanni, 2015).

The online department, the Standard digital which began in 2001 as an extension of print department reported 189,623,026 hits as at December 2014 with 45,705,617 visitors. The website receives high traffic flow and continues to make increased contribution to revenues with clients preferring above the fold adverts as it has guaranteed visibility.

7.11 Consequences of Media Convergence on Media Houses

There are positive and negative consequences of convergence on media houses; With the upsurge of social media some of the strengths of traditional media may be lost as new media offers certain advantages that traditional media cannot fulfill.

7.11.1 Advantages of Convergence on Media Houses

Findings of the study show 68.2 % respondents said that increased news coverage and audience reach is the main advantage of using multiple platforms in media houses. This increases audience reach with good quality relevant stories. Other advantages include: increased audience flexibility in terms of giving them more platforms to access information. The Media house is able to receive instant feedback on stories covered. Media house enjoys an audience perception of credibility and reliability and use of multimedia platforms is regarded as cost effective.

7.11.2 Disadvantages of Convergence on Media Houses

From the study 18.2 % of the respondents established that use of multimedia platforms is slowly but steadily reducing the circulation of the printed newspaper. Another 18.2 % percent said convergence reduces productivity. Other stated disadvantages of convergence included; spread of hate speech, lack of equipment and knowledge, high costs of accessing multimedia platforms devices like mobile phones and laptops, too much workload and time consuming in posting media stories on many platforms as opposed to one.

7.12 Medium-Specific Journalists Response to Convergence

Journalists gave various responses to convergence. From the findings, 59 % of the respondents post their stories on other media platforms other than the editorial departments they work in. Out of those who use other platforms 46 % use online platform, 15 % use television and 4.5 % use print. The drop in television use can be attributed to the specialised skills required for television which specific medium reporters may not be able to use with ease. The rest 41 % are medium specific and do not post their stories on other platforms.

Most respondents appreciated the social interaction with the audience and 51 % liked the participatory audience involvement. Respondents acknowledged the use of internet search engines to facilitate background research to their stories and 18.2 % said that new media provided easy access to information but could spread lies quickly. From the respondents, 18 % said that the fear of hate speech from audiences has made journalists to be more cautious when telling stories. Other respondents constituting 13.6 % lamented that social media now steals the show due

to their immediacy effect. Bloggers and citizen journalists can break news online before traditional media catches up. Social media also helps journalists to source for stories and trends and 18.2% of respondents said that the comments given by interactive audiences help to improve their storytelling skills.

7.13 Ability to Post Stories on Other Media Platforms

From the research findings it was established that journalists are to some extent allowed to post stories on other media platforms apart from their editorial departments with 64% of them acknowledging that they indeed post stories on other media platforms. However, some post on other platform without their supervisor's knowledge. Research findings indicate that (18.2%) editors/journalists from the editorial department post their stories on print, followed by online (13.6%), then on radio (4.5%) and the rest combine the four media platforms when posting on multiple media platforms.

7.13.1 Journalists Challenges with Multimedia Skills

Respondents had several challenges with media convergence such as a lack of access of equipment which rated at 18% when they want to report on other media platforms other their own such as a print reporter wanting to air on television or radio. This can be explained because priority is given to the respective department staff. Respondents also said they had an inadequate knowledge on how to use different medium, distortion of information also ranked at 18.2%, unhealthy competition among various media platforms as well as among media houses, increased workload due to multi-media at 9.1% and a lack of full embracement and exploitation of the web and mobile based tools.

7.13.2 Other Facts and Opinions Established by the Study on Media Convergence

The study asked respondents to give their opinions on various statements in relation to media convergence. The statements were put on a likerd scale of five (5) to enable respondents rate the statements according to their understanding. The respondents were required to either: Strongly disagree, disagree, uncertain, agree or strongly agree with the statements. From the findings the 36.6% said that they obtained latent training and skills to use different media platforms. However though journalists like doing stories on different media platforms, they were rarely asked to do stories on different media platforms even though their editorial departments posted stories on different platforms. Respondents strongly agreed that the multi-skilling and multi-tasking required in convergence has increased work load and

slowed down their work speed. Despite this, they do not get additional pay for posting stories on multiple platforms.

7.13.3 Recommendations to Facilitate Convergence

The most repeated recommendation by respondents which was at 22.7% was that departments should stop working as silos and centralise news collection and production. If news breaks at the television desk then information should be passed on to other departments so that the different media departments can tailor the story to their medium. Training for journalists should be ongoing to develop multi-media skills.

7.14 Conclusion

The finding of this study has revealed that Standard Media Group has indeed made efforts towards media convergence. They have a converged editorial newsroom with editorial staff of television, radio, online and print sitting in one section. In 2013, the company invested in advertising and editorial electronic automation system—PPI—a German technology that completely integrates the flow and production of editorial content, advertising workflow and pre-press production processes. Journalist's training has also been adjusted from medium specific to multi-media skilling so that new reporters have proficient skills to operate on a converged platform. Media convergence has caused a slow but steady decline in print circulation as audiences prefer reading news on free online platforms. Though multi-media equipment and software for mobile apps has an initial high cost, a converged media is cost effective as a media house can reach a larger audience at a lower cost. Fragmented audiences are affecting how business is done as revenue sources shift to new media platforms. Hate speech poses a problem as audiences become more participatory and empowered through social media. New media provides journalists with easy access to research information, post stories and get instant feedback. However there is an increase in workload as posting stories on multi-media is time consuming and there is no extra pay for using other platforms. The editorial departments appear to be working independently when sourcing for news but converging at the point of distribution. Online platform is the shared platform of TV, Print and Radio but more interaction between the departments is needed if total convergence is to become a reality.

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Media Manager's Perceptions of the Characteristics of the Information and the Related Assistance They Need to Provide Employees with to Achieve Their Engagement and Contributions

8

Stavros Georgiades

8.1 Introduction: Problem Statement: Research Objectives

Although there is a great deal of literature about the importance of gaining employee engagement and the necessary sensemaking to implement change successfully, the existing theoretical views have not dealt adequately with the way managers who are actually responsible for the implementation of employee engagement actually think and how they act in order to achieve employee engagement and contributions via the provision of information to employees.

In order to address this gap, this study is organized around the following research question: What are the managers' perceptions of the characteristics of the information and the related assistance they need to provide employees with, to enable and encourage them to get engaged and to contribute?

The evidence of this study suggests that the information provided by management to employees needs to relate to their area, be relevant (essential and specific to a particular operation/decision), adequate (structured to separate all its components and accurate), controllable and timely. The findings also indicate that management needs to assist employees appreciate the information provided by expressing confidence in them, clearly defining their responsibilities, explaining the way information is produced by involving them with its production, providing them with technical training, ensuring all information is received by all employees, and promoting and encouraging feedback and adjustments. The empirical grounding of those ideas is the subject of this paper.

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8.2 Literature Review: Theoretical Background

Several academics have come up with many abstract notions relating to the provision of information to employees, aiming for employee influence in organizational affairs.

One research stream deals with the characteristics of the information provided by management to employees arguing that needs to be (1) related to the employees' area of operations, (2) relevant, essential and specific to a particular operation/decision, (3) adequate, structured to separate all its components and accurate, (4) controllable and not imposed without the employees influence, and (5) timely so that it can be of any use to employees (Jackson-Cox, McQueeney, & Thirkell, 1987; Lewis, Schmisser, Stephens, & Weir, 2006; Morgan & Zeffane, 2003; Purdy, 1993; Wall & Lisher, 1977; Zhang & Bartol, 2010).

Another research stream emphasizes the management assistance that can be provided to employees in order to understand and appreciate the information provided, referring to regular expressions of confidence in employees, formal technical training, assistance provided to ensure employees can understand how the information has been prepared, management control over the amount of information provided, and finally methods of identifying and rectifying related employee problems (Balogun & Johnson, 2004; Bandura, 1986; Block, 1987; Clayton & Gregory, 2000; Conger, 1986; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Detert & Burris, 2007; Gill, 1996; Ketokivi & Castaner, 2004; Klein, 1996; Luscher & Lewis, 2008; Luscher, Lewis, & Ingram, 2006; Maitlis, 2005; McHugh, 1997; Nord, Rosenblatt, & Rogers, 1993; Rusaw, 2000; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2008).

So how do the provision of information and the related assistance lead to employee engagement? This question suggests that extant views need to be linked to employee engagement. This observation coupled with the limited research on employee engagement led to the inductive research described in this paper.

8.3 Research Method

The study used a multiple case design that allowed a replication logic, where a series of cases (interviews) is treated as a series of experiments, each case serving to confirm or disconfirm the inferences drawn from the others (Yin, 2013). Table 8.1 describes the seven managers of the three areas of the radio and music department studied. The study also employed an embedded design, that is multiple levels of

Table 8.1 Managers of the radio and music department

Area	No managers	No informants
Departmental manager	1	1
First radio station-talk area	2	2
First radio station-music area	2	2
Third radio station	2	2

analysis, focusing at three levels: (1) the management team (2) provision of information and (3) related assistance. Although an embedded design is complex, it permits induction of rich and reliable models (Yin, 2013).

8.3.1 Data Collection

To obtain multiple perspectives, 22 in-depth interviews were conducted over a period of 5 months with the departmental manager (DM) of the technical department and the DM, the middle managers (MMS) and the working unit leaders (WULS) of the three departmental areas (Talk Area First Radio, Music Area First Radio, Third Radio) of the radio and music department of an EU media organization.

There were three data sources: (1) initial interview with the manager of the technical department (2) semi-structured interviews with the seven managers of the radio and music department (3) secondary sources.

DM of the Technical Department: An entry interview, using a semi-structured format was conducted with the DM of the technical department who only gave some general information about a Personnel Development Program (PDP) which had recently been introduced, aiming amongst other things to achieve employee engagement in the decision making process by improving employee skills and knowledge.

Seven Managers of the R&M Department Interviews: After the initial interview with the manager of the technical department, semi-structured interviews with all managers of the radio and music department were conducted. Initial interviews involved questions about the operations and structure of the department, as well as the implementation of the PDP. The second and third set of interviews became more structured and questions during these interviews involved the provision of information and the related assistance management provided employees with to achieve their engagement. 13 matters were discussed in total (Appendix). The interviews were all taped.

Immediately after, the interview facts and impressions were cross-checked. Several rules were followed. The "24-h rule" required that detailed interview notes be completed within one day of the interview. A second rule was to include all data, regardless of their apparent importance at the time of the interview.

The combination of multiple informants, "courtroom questioning" that focused on factual accounts of what informants did or observed others doing (Huber & Power, 1985) helped to avoid informant speculation (Schwenk, 1985).

Secondary Source and Other Data: Internal documents were examined as available, including the organization's annual summary and the annual published radio and music departmental review.

8.3.1.1 Description of the Change Effort

The study was conducted in an EU medium-sized media organization that recently implemented a major change—the Personal Development Program. The program

was introduced because due to the convergence of the European Union markets, this EU organization had to operate in a very competitive media environment. The PDP was intended to reduce costs and increase both the quantity and the quality of the programs produced. It was one of several programs the organization had introduced aimed at improving personnel quality.

The program included the introduction of new technologies, accompanied by special personnel educational programs aiming to improve employee skills and knowledge related to the new technologies. It also provided specific organizational arrangements that management hoped would achieve employee engagement.

Gaining employee engagement via the implementation of the program was intended to ensure that the opinions of the employees were taken into account and that they influenced both the organizational decisions and work level operations. However, management did not want to make joint decisions with employees. They only aimed for employees to have an input in the decisions the managers made.

The Board of Directors (Board) decided the implementation of the PDP at the beginning of the year. During the first 3 months the Board organized several meetings with the management staff of all departments to inform them about the PDP and its aims. These were accompanied by special training programs, aiming to contribute towards the improvement of employee skills and knowledge. Part of the PDP program related to the introduction of new technologies, such as online facilities. The Board thus employed external Internet specialists to monitor, in association with all departmental management staff, the implementation of the necessary online facilities in all the organizational departments.

During the same period the Board also held meetings with the employee trade union in order to explain the aims of the PDP, the way it was expected to operate and its effects on the employees. By doing so the Board aimed to achieve the union's agreement and ensure all employees were thoroughly informed about the PDP via their trade union. In addition to the information and explanations received by their union, employees could also communicate with the management staff of their department for any further clarifications or questions focusing on specific departmental matters.

In the second 3 months of the year all organizational staff went through some Internet training with the external specialists in order to ensure they understood and were able to utilize the new facilities at work. By the middle of the year all new facilities were in place and all staff was trained to use them. Table 8.2 summarizes the PDP relevant dates.

8.3.2 Data Analysis

The data were analyzed as follows. The qualitative responses of each member of the radio and music management team were first compared. There was some agreement among respondents around the critical issues of the provision of information and the related assistance necessary for employees to be enabled and encouraged to get

Table 8.2 PDP relevant dates

Dates	Board actions
Start of the year	Board decided PDP Implementation
First 3 months	Board informed management staff Staff special training programs Introduction of new online facilities Board informed employee trade union
Second 3 months	Staff internet training
Middle of the year	New working method commencement

engaged in the decision making process. The few, conflicting responses were preserved in the stories.

The search for propositions was assisted by selecting pairs of managers based on the three different areas they worked and listing similarities and differences between each pair. From these lists and comparisons, tentative propositions were induced. After the development of these tentative propositions, each case (interview) was revisited to improve the understanding of the underlying dynamics. After many iterations between data and propositions existing literature was used to sharpen the insights yielded by the inductive process.

Once preliminary analyses had been performed on the respective data sets, the analyses and induced propositions were combined using methods for building theory from case studies (Eisenhardt, 1989). What emerged were propositions linking information provision and related assistance with employee engagement.

8.4 Results

8.4.1 Managers' Perceptions of the Information Characteristics Necessary to Achieve Employee Engagement

8.4.1.1 Information Characteristics

From Table 8.3 we can see that the managers think that when the information provided to employees relates to their area of operation, is relevant to a particular operation/decision (essential and specific), adequate (structured to separate all its components and accurate), controllable and timely, management enables and encourages employees to get engaged in the decision making process.

Talk Area

The Talk Area Working Unit Leader (WUL) claimed that the information provided to employees had to relate to their area of operations for them to "become interested and able to understand and thus utilize it to get engaged and to contribute". He added that "this way employees can influence matters and decisions of their area and consequently feel that they have the necessary job independence".

According to the Talk Area Middle Manager (MM) employees had a limited amount of time available to appreciate the information provided by management

Table 8.3 Information characteristics

Information characteristics	DM	MM talk area	WUL talk area	MM third radio station	WUL third radio station	MM music area	WUL music area
Relate to the employees' area of operations	"Employees have the knowledge and expertise to get engaged and contribute, and benefit themselves as a result".		"In order for employees to be able to influence matters and decisions of their area"				"When information relates to the operations of the music area, employees become creative at work"
Relevant, essential and specific to a particular operation				" Programs produced are designed for emigrants, thus info has to be relevant, specific and focused towards the production of programs which can satisfy their needs "		"Information is collected and transmitted online, thus management has to chose and transmit only the essential information"	"Has to be relevant to the operations of more advanced organizations of the same industry"
Adequate, structured to separate all its components and Accurate		"The main aim of our area is to produce programs/ activities which will make listeners feel they can trust the accuracy of information they transmit"			"So that employees can identify and request any further info when they consider it necessary"		

<p>Controllable and not imposed without the employees Influence</p>		<p>“When information is imposed upon employees they do not want to use it to contribute”</p>	<p>“Employees are worried about management passing the responsibility and thus possible blame for decisions which were out of their control, on to them”</p>	<p>“Producing programs for groups whose tastes/needs change. Even groups change due to demographic changes around the world”</p>	<p>“So that employees can use it to invent, create, and consider different options”</p>	<p>“After the internet implementation employees have to contribute towards new and more sophisticated operations”</p>
<p>Timely</p>						

because they were very busy working on many different jobs, and also spent a lot of time working out of office. Consequently “management needs to provide them with only the essential information”. According to the Talk Area WUL the information provided needed also to be structured to separate all its components so that management could ensure that employees were not overloaded with unnecessary information.

The two Talk Area managers considered that the information provided should not be imposed without the employees influence, because otherwise “employees feel that they lose their job independence and consequently do not want to use the information to get engaged and to contribute. Job independence is a particularly important matter because employees do not trust management to be completely independent”.

Finally, the Talk Area MM explained that employees aimed to produce programs/activities of high quality, and this could be achieved when the information used in the programs/activities was prompt and continuously updated in order to be accurate. Consequently the issue of information timeliness was major.

Third Radio Station

The Third Radio station case also indicates the linkage between several information characteristics and the achievement of employee engagement.

For example, the Third Radio Station WUL believed that the information provided had to relate to the employees’ area of operations because via their engagement employees believed that they could assist management make decisions that could improve the quality of their area’s operations and as a result benefit themselves via both job promotions and the provision of better working conditions. The two Third Radio Station managers also added that the information had to be relevant and specific towards a particular operation/decision in order for employees not to be overloaded with unnecessary information.

Music Area

Several different issues were also mentioned by the Music Area managers linking the information characteristics to the achievement of employee engagement.

More specifically, the two managers considered necessary that the information provided to employees be relevant, that is essential and specific to a particular decision/operation. They explained that because their area’s operations had either changed or become more sophisticated after the internet implementation, when the information provided by management was not relevant to the particular operation/decision it was difficult for employees to appreciate and use it to get engaged and to contribute.

Also, because most of the information was collected and transmitted online, management was tempted to provide employees with too much information. Management thus had to choose and transmit only the essential information because otherwise employees would not be able to focus on the specific operation/decision and their contributions would be vague as a result. Information according to the two managers needed also to be “relevant to the operations of more advanced

organizations of the same industry so that employees are aware and comprehend the developments that are already taking place in the more advanced organizations, and as a result their contributions take these changes into account”.

The MM also considered necessary the information provided was structured to separate all its components and accurate so that employees could appreciate and use during the decision making process, and that the manager's job was assisted by the fact that a lot of the information relating to the music area operations was produced, collected and stored online. The WUL pointed out that “the information provided to employees has to be under the employees control to also alleviate employee worries that they can be responsible for decisions which are out of their control”. Finally, the WUL considered necessary management provided employees with timely information “because the aim of the music area is to produce programs and activities of a current nature, for different groups of people whose tastes and needs change continuously”.

In Formal Terms

Proposition 1:

The managers' opinion is that when the information provided to employees relates to their area of operations, is relevant to a particular operation/decision, adequate, controllable and timely, employees are enabled and encouraged to get engaged and to contribute.

8.4.2 Managers' Perceptions of the Information Assistance Necessary to Achieve Employee Engagement

8.4.2.1 Empowerment Practices

Expressions of Confidence From Table 8.4 we can see that the managers think that expressions of confidence do not always have a positive effect on the employee appreciation of the information provided.

According to the DM, expressing confidence to employees can assist them appreciate the information provided and that this can be done by “highlighting cases in which employees use the information to argue a particular matter or to draw their own conclusion and contribute”.

The Music Area WUL added that “expressing confidence to employees is necessary because the information provided has been more advanced and technical after the internet implementation and as a result more difficult for employees to understand and appreciate”. In addition, the Music Area MM noted that “expressing confidence is crucial because employees are usually sentimental and easily affected and influenced based on other people's comments”.

In contrast, the Third Radio Station MM considered that there is “no need to regularly express confidence because this will probably make them think that it is very difficult to appreciate the information provided by management. When employees have problems they need the provision of specific management

Table 8.4 Empowerment practices

Empowerment practices	DM	MM talk area	WUL talk area	MM third radio station	WUL third radio station	MM music area	WUL music area
Expressing confidence to employees	“By highlighting cases in which employees used the information to argue a particular matter or to draw their own conclusion and contribute”	“Would probably make employees feel that they are not capable of dealing with the information provided”		“No need because this will probably make them think that it is very difficult to appreciate the information provided by management”		“Crucial because people who work with music are usually sentimental and easily affected and influenced based on the comments they receive from others”	“Necessary because some of the information provided to employees is more advanced and technical than in the past”
Clearly defining their responsibilities			“To ensure employees only have to deal with the specific information assigned to each one”		“So that employees will only need to appreciate a part of the information used during the decision making process”		
Explain and involve employees with the production of the information	“Helps employees attain a good understanding and enables them to get engaged”	“Employees have the necessary assurance about the independence of the information				“Necessary because the continuous changes in the operations result in continuous changes in the information used in the decisions made”	

assistance that can help them overcome their problems without delay and not words of confidence”.

Definition of Employee Responsibilities

The data collected illustrate a linkage between the definition of employee responsibilities in relation to the information provided and employee appreciation of that information. The managers in all three areas think that “management needs to clearly define employee responsibilities in relation to the information provided so that employees only have to deal with the specific information assigned to each one. The definition of responsibilities must be done in cooperation with employees because they are very close and thus familiar with each other’s abilities, knowledge and expertise”. The Talk Area WUL added that “as a result employees feel satisfied and comfortable with the information assigned to each one of them and consequently appreciate and utilize it to contribute”.

Involvement with the Production of the Information

The managers of all areas pointed out that employees were also involved with the production of the assigned information. The DM noted that this “helps employees attain a good understanding and enables them to use the information to comprehend situations, get engaged and contribute”.

For example in the music area, according to the MM, “the continuous changes occurring in relation to its operations and activities mainly caused by the internet implementation, resulted in continuous changes in relation to the information used in the decision making process. Consequently, because employees need a lot of explanations and clarifications in order to reach a satisfactory level of understanding, it is also necessary to involve them with the production of the assigned information in order to obtain the necessary insights which will enable them to appreciate and utilize the information to contribute towards the management decisions”.

Also, according to the MM of the Talk Area “by involving employees with the production of the information they have the necessary assurance about the independence of the information used to make decisions”.

In Formal Terms

Proposition 2:

Management can assist employees understand and appreciate the information provided to them by regularly expressing confidence to them, clearly defining their responsibilities, and involving them with its production.

8.4.3 Organizational Arrangements

According to Table 8.5 the managers think that management can encourage and enable employees to get engaged by providing them with technical training, ensuring each employee receives all assigned information, and utilizing a system of feedback and adjustments.

Table 8.5 Organizational arrangements

Organizational arrangements	DM	MM talk area	WUL talk area	MM third radio station	WUL third radio station	MM music area	WUL music area
Employee Training	“Explanations are also available online for those who can not take up the training sessions”	“Part of the training sessions is a reference to several online sources employees can look up to, in order to improve further their appreciation of the assigned information”	“Employees are given a certain amount of time after the end of the training sessions to raise and discuss with management any matters they either did not manage to comprehend or were unclear”	“Necessary because some of the information has become very technical”			
Ensure each employee receives all assigned information	“Assign each employee to deal with only a part of the information to be used in the decision making process based on their experience, knowledge and expertise”	“This way employees can appreciate all related matters and as a team get engaged and contribute”	“Via regular face to face discussions management ensures the correct information is received by all team members”				“Management uses the internet to provide some of the assigned information and via regular face to face discussions ensures the correct information is received by all employees”

<p>Utilize a system of feedback and adjustments</p>	<p>“Inform employees during the provision of information to communicate any problems immediately”</p>	<p>“WULS are assigned to view employee problems daily, both online and via personal contact and if necessary consider solutions together with the MM and the DM. Solutions are then presented and explained to employees”.</p>	<p>“Set up mechanism to ensure problems in relation to the information provided reach management and are solved without delay”</p>	<p>“Management informs employees during the provision of information that they must communicate all problems instantaneously to the managers of their area in order to be tackled immediately”</p>
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Training

All three areas illustrate a linkage between the provision of training sessions and employee appreciation of the information provided. The Music Area MM noted that “training sessions are necessary for the employees because some of the information has become very technical, and thus difficult for employees to understand and appreciate, due to the fact that some of the activities have become more sophisticated after the internet implementation”.

The Third Radio station WUL pointed out that “the discussions with management after the end of the training sessions are considered very useful by employees because they have the opportunity to clarify all outstanding matters, including simple matters they would be embarrassed to mention in front of their area’s staff”. According to the Talk Area MM “explanations in relation to the information provided are also available online for those employees who cannot take part in some of the training sessions because of their work duties”.

Receipt of All Assigned Information

The managers also noted the importance of ensuring all employees receive all assigned information. According to the DM this should be done based on each employee’s experience, knowledge and expertise.

The managers of the Talk Area pointed out that “it is very important for us to ensure that each employee receives and appreciates all information he/she is assigned to deal with. Employees can then get together, discuss and appreciate all the information and related matters concerning a particular operation or decision in total, then as a team be in a position to get engaged during the discussions with management and contribute towards the final management decisions”. The MM of the Third Area and the Music Area WUL added that “management uses the internet to provide some of the assigned information and via regular face to face discussions ensures the correct information is received by all employees”.

Feedback and Adjustments

Finally, the data illustrate the importance of utilizing a system of feedback and adjustments. For example, the Third Radio station MM noted that “we set up a mechanism to ensure all problems and misunderstandings the employees face, in relation to the information provided, reach management as soon as possible in order to be solved without delay. Otherwise they become an obstacle to employee understanding, because employees are influenced negatively and feel that they cannot deal with the information, and thus get engaged and contribute”.

The WUL of the Talk Area added that “WULS are assigned to view employee problems daily, both online and via personal contact. If problems are not minor they can consider solutions together with the MM, and in case of a difference in opinion discuss also with the DM. Solutions are then presented and explained to employees”. Similarly, the Talk Area managers noted that “we inform employees during the provision of information that they must communicate all problems instantaneously to us in order to be tackled immediately”.

In Formal Terms

Proposition 3:

Management can assist employees appreciate the information provided and encourage them to use it to get engaged and to contribute by providing employees with technical training, ensuring each employee receives all assigned information, and utilizing a system of feedback and adjustments.

8.5 Contribution

This chapter began by describing the extant views of employee engagement and contributions: that is, management can achieve employee engagement and contributions by providing employees with information and related assistance.

8.5.1 Information Characteristics

Consistent with studies dealing with the characteristics of the information provided by management to employees (Jackson-Cox et al., 1987; Lewis et al., 2006; Morgan & Zeffane, 2003; Purdy, 1993; Wall & Lisher, 1977; Zhang & Bartol, 2010) the results suggest that management needs to provide employees with information that relates to their area of operations, is relevant (essential and specific) to a particular operation and decision, structured to separate all its components and accurate, controllable and timely, in order to achieve a thorough understanding of different parts of decisions and operations of their area, comprehend the different situations, attain the necessary sensemaking, and as a result make credible contributions.

This view however, neglects that by providing employees with controllable information management ensures that employees do not feel that they lose their job independence and thus overcomes the problem of employee distrust towards management. As a result employees have no reservations in using the information to get engaged and to contribute.

8.5.2 Assistance with the Information Provided

The results also support the view that in order to improve employee competence and thus comprehension, interpretation and appreciation of the information provided management needs to regularly express confidence in them, clearly define their responsibilities, explain and involve them with the production of the information, provide them with technical training, ensure each one receives all assigned information, and utilize a system of feedback and adjustments. This can help managers work through the change paradox and achieve employee sensemaking, leading towards a successful change.

These results are consistent with studies on management behavior relating to employee empowerment, personal control via formal training methods, and

strategic planning including both commitment to sharing information and identification and solution of the communication process difficulties in an organization change scenario (Balogun & Johnson, 2004; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Detert & Burris, 2007; Gill, 1996; Ketokivi & Castaner, 2004; Klein, 1996; Luscher & Lewis, 2008; Maitlis, 2005; Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2008).

These views however, neglect several issues. Firstly, that management needs to clearly define employee responsibilities in relation to the information provided in cooperation with employees so that they feel satisfied and comfortable with the information and can consequently appreciate and use it to get engaged and contribute. Also, that by involving employees with the production of the information provided employees have the necessary assurance about the independence of the information and thus have no reservations about using it during the discussions with management.

Finally the results are in partial support of the view that words of encouragement are considered by managers to empower employees (Leach, Wall, & Jackson, 2003; Spreitzer, 2008), pointing out that only when employees seem to be sentimental are positively affected based on the comments made by their superior. There are also situations where employees are negatively affected feeling that the reason why management regularly expresses confidence to them is because they do not consider them capable of dealing with the information provided.

8.6 Limitations

It is important to recognize some limitations of this study. In interpreting these results, it must be recognized that the study dealt with one particular type of change in one setting and enclosed included only a few managers. Thus while the finding suggest the need for future research, they must be interpreted cautiously.

8.7 Conclusions

This research explored the way management can work to achieve employee engagement and contributions via the provision of information and related assistance to the employees of a media organization operating in a high-velocity environment. Such environments are particularly challenging due to the continuous changes resulting mainly from new technological advancements. The findings are a set of propositions, organized around three issues relating to the way management can work and achieve employee sensemaking in order to implement change successfully.

8.7.1 Employee Understanding

Several of the propositions focus on how management aiming to achieve employee engagement accelerates employee understanding.

For example, in agreement with Morgan and Zeffane (2003), Lewis et al. (2006), Spreitzer (2008) and Zhang and Bartol (2010) management provides employees with information that relates to their area of operations, is relevant to a particular operation/decision, structured to separate all its components and accurate, controllable and timely (Proposition 1). The result is a thorough employee understanding of the different parts of decisions and operations of their area that allows them to comprehend the different situations and get engaged and make credible contributions.

Management also uses different methods to assist employees appreciate the information provided in relation to a specific decision/operation, encouraging them to use it during the decision making process. More specifically, and in accordance with Conger and Kanungo (1988), Lawler (1992), Klein (1996), Gill (1996), Mills and Ungson (2003), Ketokivi and Castaner (2004), Detert and Burris (2007), Tangirala and Ramanujam (2008) and Seibert, Wang, and Courtright, (2011) management explains and involves employees with the production of the information provided (Proposition 2) provides employees with technical training, ensures each employee receives all assigned information, and utilizes a system of feedback and adjustments (Proposition 3). Doing so, management helps employees make sense of the information provided to them by management, understand interpret and appreciate how to use it to contribute during the discussions with management.

8.7.2 Team Work Spirit

Second, several of the propositions describe how management aiming to achieve employee engagement and contributions achieves a team work spirit.

More specifically, this study is in agreement with the conclusions of Balogun and Johnson (2004), Ketokivi and Castaner (2004), Luscher et al. (2006), Detert and Burris (2007), Tangirala and Ramanujam (2008) and Luscher and Lewis (2008) in that management assists employees appreciate the information provided and encourages them to get engaged and contribute by explaining and involving employees with the production of the information provided (Proposition 2) and providing them with technical training (Proposition 3). The result is a team conditioned to work together successfully and achieving the needed appreciation of the information provided to be used during the decision making process.

Management also ensures each employee receives all assigned information, and utilizes a system of feedback and adjustments (Proposition 3). By ensuring each employee receives all assigned information management can avoid any possible confusion and thus obstruction of the group's effort to discuss, comprehend and use the information provided. Also, by utilizing a system of feedback and adjustments management encourages a team work spirit because employees can disclose problems and consider possible solutions with the managers of their area, thus working as a team.

8.7.3 Employee Sense of Control

Several propositions also converge on the importance of employee sense of control with respect to their engagement and contributions during the decision making process. Management aiming to achieve employee engagement employs a behavior that can build the employees' sense of control.

One tactic which agrees with the ones explained by Maitlis (2005), Luscher et al. (2006), Lewis et al. (2006) and Luscher and Lewis (2008) in their studies is to provide employees with information about a particular operation/decision that is controllable by the employees (Proposition 1). Doing so, management overcomes the problem of employee distrust towards management being completely independent, ensures that employees do not feel that they lose their job independence and as a result have no reservations in using the information during the decision making process.

A second tactic in accordance to Conger and Kanungo (1988), Gill (1996), Mathieu, Gilson, and Ruddy (2006) and Detert and Burris (2007) aims to assist employees understand and appreciate the information provided by regularly expressing confidence to them, clearly defining their responsibilities, and involving them with the production of the information provided (Proposition 2). Doing so, employees are persuaded verbally, mobilize greater effort and this boosts their sense of control and confidence. Also, they are not overloaded with information and thus their emotional arousal state is reduced, leading to an increase in their competence.

Finally, employees have the necessary assurance about the independence of the information used in the decision making process and thus are willing to use it during the discussions with management to get engaged and contribute. Regular expressions of confidence however may also have a negative effect on the employee's effort to understand and appreciate the information provided because employees may feel that management does not consider them capable of dealing with the information.

Appendix

List of Matters discussed during the interviews

Description of the department

- (1) Operations and Structure
- (2) Implementation of the PDP

Characteristics of the information provided

In order to achieve employee appreciation the information provided by management to employees needs to

- (3) relate to the employees' area of operations

- (4) be relevant, essential and specific to a particular operation/decision
- (5) be adequate, structured to separate all its components and accurate
- (6) be controllable and not imposed without the employees influence
- (7) be timely so that it can be of any use to employees

Management assistance in relation to the information provided

In order to assist employees appreciate and use the information to get engaged and contribute management needs to

- (8) provide employees with technical training
- (9) regularly express confidence in employees
- (10) clearly define employee responsibilities in relation to the information provided
- (11) promote and encourage feedback and adjustments
- (12) explain to employees the way the information each one is assigned to deal with is produced
- (13) ensure that each employee receives all the information assigned by management to deal with

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Attention, Crowd: We Need Your Money! Start-Ups' Communicative Appearances on Crowdfunding Platforms

9

Sabine Baumann and Hendrikje Brüning

9.1 Introduction

The increasing number of projects and amounts of money raised (cf. Asghari, Wilgeroth, & Rink (2015), Für-Gründer.de, 2015; Institut für Mittelstandforschung Bonn (2015); WirtschaftsWoche, 2015) as well as the growing number of crowdfunding platforms (cf. GoGetFunding.com, 2013) indicate the developing importance of crowdfunding as an entrepreneurial tool. Crowdfunding developed in a twofold manner: Initially, it evolved within the creative industries, at first mainly enabling musicians to produce their songs, then other creative sectors followed, and soon all kinds of artists and media producers availed themselves of crowdfunding platforms to start, complete or expand their productions (cf. Moritz & Block, 2013, p. 2). Beyond the funding of artistic projects, crowdfunding also emerged to be a financial option for setting up start-ups. This development corroborates the increasing importance of publicly cooperating with a crowd of unknown business partners. Although there is a broad discussion on entrepreneurial strategies in terms of business funding, this paper refers to the funding of single projects. When comparing projects competing for funding on crowdfunding platforms some projects seem to be noticeably more successful than others. With regard to the German crowdfunding platform startnext.com (cf. Bartelt, 2015), the range of options to present a project is limited and the platform itself demands particular content from the project founders. Against this background, this paper addresses a central

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question: What and how do the project founders have to communicate to become funded successfully? This research question already hypothesizes that content and communicative methods are crucial factors in the funding process. However, due to the inductive approach, the researchers also considered the possibility that regardless of the communication activities the idea itself may be the only decisive factor for the success of a project in the funding process. The aim of this investigation is to provide an explorative overview of crucial factors in conveying convincing content.

This paper contributes to the field of entrepreneurship and start-up strategies by factoring in crowd communication activities into start-up funding. Furthermore, the results serve as a basis for further investigations, especially in the context of structures and influence routes in communication in enterprise and social networks. Insights into successful communication strategies on crowdfunding platforms thus contribute to developing a new kind of enterprise network as well as business models with a crowdfunding community for businesses in global digital media.

In order to closely examine communicative activities on crowdfunding platforms, the paper applies qualitative content analysis, taking into account different communication elements required on startnext.com. This includes the different sections of the startnext.com profiles where project founders present themselves through text, video and images.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 focuses on recent developments in the growing sector of crowdfunding and develops the conceptual framework of the study. Section 3 presents the method and the categorisation framework derived from the content analysis followed by the results which are presented in section 4. A detailed discussion in section 5 addresses potentials as well as limitations of the investigation and its results and also reveals perspectives for future research in this novel sector of communication research.

9.2 Conceptual Framework

Crowdfunding has significantly increased in both the number of projects and the financial volumes invested (cf. Brandt, 2013; Gierczak, Söllner & Leimeister (2014)). Accordingly, the interest in this field of research has intensified. Crowdfunding is especially prominent in the creative industries which are defined as all activities that refer to culture and media and which include traditional media sectors such as movies, books, music, broadcasting, etc. (cf. Wiesand, 2010). The literature review indicates how broadly the idea of involving the crowd has developed and that a distinct description and differentiation of involvement is necessary to distinguish between such strategies as crowdfunding, crowdsourcing, crowdinvesting, etc. (cf. Ebner & Schön, 2011; Moritz & Block, 2013). This paper applies the following definition as a basis for understanding the concept of crowdfunding: ‘Crowdfunding involves an open call, mostly through the Internet, for the provision of financial resources either in the form of donation or in exchange for the future product or some form of reward to support initiatives for specific purposes’ (Belleflamme et al., 2013). Relying on money provided by a crowd proves to be an alternative to traditional ways of financing projects or

companies (cf. Schenk (2014)). It is based on a general change towards a more involved society due to Web 2.0's participation opportunities. These also create communicative relationships between funding and funded persons and include aspects of donations, different ways of being rewarded and profit-sharing (cf. iwd, 2013; Schramm & Carstens (2014); Sixt, 2014). Because of the manifold potentials underlying the idea of crowdfunding, the dynamics and differences in terms of geographical and personal influences, for instance the founder's existing networks, are part of the discussion (cf. Mollick, 2014). Other studies focus on general factors of successful funding on crowdfunding platforms and indicate the communicative presentation and choice of media as another relevant factor (cf. Will & Brüntje, 2013 p. 66). Coherently, the project founders' direct interaction with such an extensive number of potential funders also opens up new opportunities in terms of market research (cf. Wenzlaff, 2015).

Besides early stage funding the networking effect of creating contacts with the crowd is another factor for start-ups' success later on. The figures concerning crowd investments in start-ups indicate that some companies excel in attracting funds while other lag behind. For instance, whereas the overall amount of money invested by crowdfunders noticeably increased, the number of financed projects remained almost on the same level (cf. Grieb, 2014). Therefore, it is vital to determine which communication elements influence the willingness of the crowd to offer their money on crowdfunding platforms.

9.3 Method and Codebook

This paper takes into account communicative applications as factors of success for attracting crowdfunding. It investigates the communication elements start-ups applied on crowdfunding platforms in order to determine the influence of communication measures in convincing the crowd. Besides listing the different communication media employed, the investigation includes a qualitative analysis of content to explore crucial factors. Additionally it considers further aspects such as incentives, number of supporters and investment amounts.

Due to the media's business model of producing and distributing content, the creative sector is highly suitable to serve as an exemplary case for investigating communicative applications. This paper uses a sample of German film start-ups that employed startnext.com, a crowdfunding platform with a special media focus. The sample contains 28 movie projects which were all in the stage of funding within the two week timeframe of coding. Selecting a restricted time frame and a single sector (movies) ensures similar conditions in which the start-ups created the profiles for their projects.

In order to examine the communication applications through which project founders communicate on the crowdfunding platform, this paper applies a qualitative approach, analysing the content following mainly Mayring's concept (Mayring, 2015). This method generally refers to documented and recorded communication such as texts, pictures, etc. and all related steps of analysis refer to theory-based systematic guidelines. The content analysis systematically

structures content and allows conclusions on the intentions and impacts of communication (cf. Mayring, 2015, p. 12). In order to identify elements that are beneficial in crowd communication, this paper aims at revealing possible factors and their frequency in the communication of successful projects. Due to this quantitative aspect within the study, this paper applies the content analysis' version focusing on frequencies addressing several steps: Phrasing the central question, determining the sample, identifying and defining the categories, defining the material with units of analysis, units of codes (minimum text elements being coded) and units of context (maximum text elements being coded), coding, calculation of frequencies and presentation as well as interpretation of results (cf. Mayring, 2015, pp. 15, 62).

The central question of this paper refers to what and how project founders have to communicate on a crowdfunding platform to reach their goal and become funded. Because of a very inductive approach, a small sample serves as a starting point for research in this novel field. As a first step a review of the sample for its different kinds of content in the communication application revealed an identical structure in all project presentations. The categories (see Table 9.1) were then derived from the different elements in each project presentation demanded on startnext.com. The values for each category originate from the first overview, in many cases already answering the question of what the project presentation encloses. The codebook combines the categories and values and defines the range of possible codes for each variable with a nominal scale. The purpose of the values is to define as precisely as possible what kind of content the different elements deal with. To ensure an exact set of values, the codebook was revised after coding a few

Table 9.1 Overview of codebook

Variable (Category)	Value (Characteristic)
Video	
Content	About producer personal motivation; About story; About event
Style	Teaser video; Making of; Personal interview; Separate movie introducing topic; Topic
Pictures	Picture scene; Picture media reports; Picture behind scenes; Picture persons; Picture merchandise; Picture illustrating topic; Cast
Topic	[Keywords copied]
About Project	About topic; About style; About persons; Request; About story; About vision
Target Group	Special target group; General target group
Target	Entertainment; Social education; Get started in business; Technical special feature; Sample production
Reasons for Support	Social importance; Individual benefit; Advertising; Documentation; General distribution; Support movie sector; Special features; Solely support
Use of Money	Finalization; Extras; Realization; Additional products; Donations
Persons behind Project	Names; CV; Professional experience; Function; Motivation; General group
Overall impression	[Notes regarding language style in general]

projects with values being added and renamed in a more concise manner. For instance, the categories video content and video style show that the project funder employed the video format while the values for video content specify what the video is talking about (about the producers and their personal motivation to start the project? About the story itself and what funders can expect from the movie? Or about a certain event that was the occasion to start the project?). In order to explicitly assign the different content elements, the researchers always referred to the main tendency of each content element in case it could not be coded separately. Due to the small sample and rather short communication and text elements, the differentiation between unit of codes and the unit of context was not always applied. For instance, the codes do not refer to the single elements of pictures, but instead the whole picture is a unit of code. Within the text elements, it was possible to have more than one unit of codes which was defined to comprise at least parts of sentences consisting of more than three words. The unit of context depicts the maximum of the whole text element, depending on a given length.

The same coding process was applied for videos. For videos one occurrence may be that the main part deals with several instances, for example with the persons producing the movie and their motivation, but also a certain event. In this case, only "About producer personal motivation" would appear as code if that was the primary focus. Very few elements referred to two values in equal measure which then were both coded. A guideline combines each value to several quoted exemplary expressions indicating which value to choose.¹ The status quo of funding in each project was noted only once, but all content elements were coded twice and independently from two different researchers. Besides the structured coding, both researchers noted additional overall impressions on the style of language and the communicative appearance.

9.4 Results

In order to identify the crucial factors, the projects were ranked on the basis of the status quo of their funding success. Based on this ranking, the comparison of the categories and occurring values reveals certain tendencies that appear to stimulate the crowd's willingness to be involved. Such values derive from those projects that are (likely to be) successfully funded given their status of funding during the examined timeframe. Eight of the initial 28 videos had already reached a funding status of 75 % or more, these were selected to be examined in more detail.

As far as the videos are concerned, four out of eight videos are about the producers and their personal motivation and the other four focus on the story. This indicates that it is relevant how authentic the project founders are. As for video style, personal interviews and separate movies introducing the topic appear

¹Due to the German platform the quotations taken from the data are German as well and thus not included in this paper.

equally. Not all of the top eight videos employ pictures, but those who do succeed with pictures from scenes, pictures of the persons related to the project or pictures illustrating the topic which conveys the interest in the movie itself and the persons producing it. This is also true for the elements representing the topic: successful projects mostly employ details about the movies' story, two cases add information on the persons.

With regard to the described targets, the results differ. Entertainment occurs three times, social education twice, getting started in business twice and one project aims at adding a special technical feature to an already existing movie. Furthermore, four of the videos define a special target group, three refer to a general target group and one video does not indicate any target group.

The project presentations name different reasons why someone should support them. Most often, in three cases, they inform visitors about the individual benefit they will receive if the project were realized. Two projects do not specify the reasons. Instead, they solely ask for support. Social importance, documentation of a special event and supporting the movie are further reasons requesting for support. However, seven out of eight projects explain they would use the money to realize their project which they could not do in case they were not funded. Only one project intends to use the money to finalize the project.

The description of the people behind the project varies. In most cases (five), the personal experience is part of the description combined with names or a general description of the group. In two cases, the professional rank or function or a short curriculum vitae replace references to personal experience. None of the top eight videos repeat their motivation in this part of their presentation.

As far as the overall impression is concerned, it becomes obvious that the successful projects use concise and clear language as well as specific descriptions in almost all elements. They avoid being too emotional or spiritual, hence avoiding the impression of a mere "begging for money". Instead, they explicitly describe and specify their target on a factual level. In the case of movies, the employment of pictures does not seem to be decisive. Including personal references, however, appears to be convincing so that the personal experience can be assumed to create trust in the project founders. Furthermore, projects seem to succeed when the explanation of the individual benefit for each funder is included instead of just generally addressing all possibilities and persons.

9.5 Discussion

The results reveal an influence of communication on the success on crowdfunding platforms. The findings derived from the analysis of the top eight videos of the sample indicate different factors such as a concise and rather factual presentation appear to be supportive in terms of convincing a crowd. In contrast, rather emotionally addressing, begging or unclear content elements do not provoke a willingness to be involved. However, this is only a basic impression based on the given material and an extended, more detailed analysis of language level, word choice etc.

should be added to validate the impression. Nevertheless, some elements appear to be crucial: For instance, for the movie projects studied, to include videos that focus on the topic and its producers is an essential element that the successful projects included in their profile. Thus, regarding the central question of this paper, it can be concluded that communication elements and the choice of content are relevant for funding success. Still, further research needs to consider more closely to what extent the basic idea is the decisive element and furthermore, to what extent it limits the possibilities of what the project founders can communicate at all. Project founders should avail themselves to the full range of content elements provided by startnext.com which enables them to be convincing. The exceptions are pictures which are the only elements that seem not to be crucial. Furthermore, founders should pay attention to how they differentiate their presentations within these boundaries. Even little differences have an impact on how the crowd reacts to a project.

However, these results can only serve as initial indications because firstly, the communicative application depends to some extent on the project's basic purpose and secondly, the close examination limited the number of projects considered to a relatively small sample. Additional research with an extended sample and timeframe would enhance then findings. Furthermore, future studies would need to enhance the codebook and the guidelines. As for this sample, the differentiation within quotations guiding the codes was difficult because of the available amounts of content. The given structures on startnext.com often are very similar and only differ slightly so that few variations occurred between both coding results. Due to the small sample they only caused uncertainty of tendencies within a single element, that is, whether to code one or two values in a category so that both results always included a common value. Nevertheless, with regard to an extended sample these uncertainties and variations can be eliminated.

Additionally, further research needs to include other (international) crowdfunding platforms to verify if the indications from this paper are transferable to other platforms and with a global audience. A global scale allows for an investigation of cultural differences. Another aspect is the impact on the participating crowd members which could be part of further studies to validate the findings. For both, scientific and practical approaches the communication with a crowd is decisive so that the project's success can rely on the originality of the idea and does not fail because of communication activities being unsuitable or of minor value.

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Does Online Video Save Printed Newspapers? Online Video as Convergence Strategy in Regional Printed News Publishing: The Case of Germany

10

Paul Clemens Murschetz and Mike Friedrichsen

10.1 Introduction

Most of the contemporary challenges faced by news organizations result from changes in the media environment and media markets that have greatly altered the existing business models of traditional printed newspapers (Picard, 2010). That the traditional news media industry is at the epicenter of structural change is not new (Barthelemy, Bethell, Christiansen, Jarsvall, & Koinis, 2011; Currah, 2009; PEW, 2014; Picard, 2010). It is a vicious circle: The more daily newspapers lose circulation, the faster they lose advertising revenues. And since advertising money finances editorial quality to satisfy readers in high numbers, this development is dangerous (Der Spiegel, 2013). Now that competition on the Internet reduces the value of news, newspapers need to come up with multiplatform survival strategies. Making more money, developing new distribution channels, producing at a lower cost, improving quality and reinventing themselves is the industry's current mantra.

Now, can the traditional newspaper industry win the race against the clock for survival? What are the game-winning growth strategies printed newspapers may apply in order to improve their overall economic viability and provide new competitiveness vis-à-vis competing digital online news offers? The main purpose of this work is to explore ways of how printed newspapers may strategically diversify and decide to adopt and service online video as a new technology format as part of extending their news service offerings portfolio (Cecil, 2012).

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Online video (alternatively: WebTV) is an online output format and commonly understood as the streaming and presentation of video, sound and moving images on the Internet. In this paper, we follow the German BLM WebTV monitor's definition and define online video (BLM and Goldmedia, 2012) as:

- Content which must be retrievable through a conventional web browser with a web address whereby videos may be streamed or downloaded via the browser.
- Offering video content as being the main purpose of the website (no tagging).
- Targeting a German audience (German language).
- Offering at least ten videos daily or 6 h of live-streaming (activity minimum).
- Self-produced or licensed content.
- Legally responsible content (violent, racist and pornographic content is prohibited).

Business models for online video are traditionally based on free content models, supported by pay-per-view premium content offerings. Usually the consumer receives online video directly on his computer through external video player software (e.g., Windows Media Player) or a built-in video player in his internet browser (e.g., YouTube). Online video allows users to watch video content from all over the world on fixed or mobile end-user devices. On top, they may select the videos they like and watch them at any time. In fact, news organizations across the globe are trying to increase traffic to news videos, and as identified by the PEW Research Center, a US-based think tank based in Washington, online video production and servicing could take the lead in transforming the newsprint industry (PEW, 2014). News stories are traditionally offered in print, but increasingly also online or on mobile phones and tablets. Some newspaper publishers are also including moving images (slide shows, video) into their online news services.

One might expect a rich literature and ample empirical insights into the plethora of issues involved in the state of online video for print publishing. However, our own review of the academic literature concludes that this transition has not been analyzed fully and appears somewhat black-boxed in media management and economics research. Nonetheless, the adoption and servicing of online video is far from running smoothly and many print news organizations are still struggling to capture its value. Sure, along the way printed news sites have learned important lessons about serving up video.

This paper will address this void and pursue some selected crucial underpinning issues of this transition. Essentially, we explore the importance of financial return on online video as a new product which is embedded in the corporate-level growth strategy of diversification of a printed newspaper company. Following Ansoff (1957), diversification is a corporate strategy to enter into a new market which the company is not currently in, whilst also creating a new product for that new market. It is known that diversification is the most risky of Ansoff's growth strategies, as the business has no experience in the new market and does not know if the product innovation is going to be successful. Hence, companies attempting to diversify may also lead to failure (Achtenhagen & Raviola, 2009; Domingo, Micó, & Masip, 2012). Hence, the paper's objectives are to:

- Present current trends in the online video market for Germany in order show that there is market space to enter for legacy printed newspapers.
- Provide pointers for discussion for integrating the issue of strategic thinking about diversification and the financial risks involved in introducing online video.
- Apply knowledge gained from reviewing the issue in this domain to a real-life case study about the financial performance and overall economic viability of integrating an online video service into a regional newspaper offering in Germany.

Overall, we believe that this study is highly relevant to this special issue theme as it shows the ways that a *multi-format* approach is changing or improving the performance and usage of financial resources by a printed newspaper firm.

With regard to the methods used, the authors applied literature reviewing and tested the study's research question against one empirical multi-platform strategy of a regional newspaper in Germany. On top, the authors could benefit from an in-class student exercise in business planning in the module *Media Finance* at Cologne Business School (summer term 2011). The data used in the case study is proprietary and was then provided by the head of video services, Kim Kriegers, from OMS (Online Marketing Service), the national marketer of the case study newspaper under study.

10.2 Trends in the Online Video Market in Germany

According to the Munich-based media regulator *Bayerische Landeszentrale für neue Medien* (BLM), in Germany in 2012 there were 1424 online video services, with 166 million daily video hits (CAGR: plus 5.5 % from 2010 to 2012). Video access numbers have increased by about 4 % compared to 2011. Short 3- to 5-min clips on video-sharing platforms dominate. But longer formats, increasingly offered online by professional content producers, have also enjoyed greater popularity. The means for accessing online videos continue to diversify. Adding to the ranks of PCs and smart-phones are diverse new devices such as tablets, game consoles, and internet-capable hybrid TVs, leading to increases in both user levels and the variety of services for online TV. Pure WebTV online-only portals are the category with the highest number of services (34 % of total market; e.g., tape.TV). Already the second largest group are sub-brands of traditional print and radio services (e.g., SZ TV or NRJ; 31 %). Third come online TV services of main TV brands (RTL.de, n-TV). The remainder are corporate TV and video-shopping sites (8 %), non-commercial online TV channels (4 %), media stores and video centers (a combined 4 %), and video-sharing platforms (e.g., YouTube; 3 %) (van Eimeren & Frees, 2013).

As the number of services increases, video access figures are also rising strongly. The services included in Goldmedia's survey for "Web TV Monitor 2012" achieved a total of about 194 million video hits per day (CAGR 2010–2012: plus 13 %). The greatest share of use remains concentrated on video-sharing sites like YouTube

(88 %), whose content is becoming more and more popular. But online media and video centers with appealing content and longer formats (complete TV shows, series, and feature films) have also seen increased demand. These providers have now reached over 240 million video hits per month, an increase of 30 % relative to 2010.

Equally, the online coverage of newspapers continues to rise: Nowadays, 30.2 million unique users regularly visit the 660 websites of print publishers in Germany. This was announced by the ZMG newspaper marketing company based on AGOF¹ internet facts 2013–10 at the end of December 2013. Compared to mid-2012, this represents an increase of 2.5 million users.

The portals of the regional subscription newspapers manage to achieve 22.5 million unique users (up 2.3 million). Hence, this sector is ahead of the national newspapers with 16.6 million (up 700,000) and paid-for newspapers with 15.6 million unique users (up 2.2 million). The largest reach was achieved for readers aged 14–29-year-olds (65.3 %). But even with users between 30 and 49 years, the publishers can reach more than half (53.8 %) of this segment compared to 25.5 % among those over 50 years of age.

In all, the rise of the online digital video is currently overturning established notions of how to re-build traditional brands and engage customers. Still, cost considerations have always been a driving force behind the adoption of an innovation (Reagan, 2002). As a result, the question of how legacy newspapers (i.e., those who have yet not diversified into online video formats) should approach online is to be evaluated more deeply.

10.3 Online Video as Convergence Strategy

This study draws on theoretical knowledge from two streams in literature: newspaper innovation as based on the emergent field of media innovation and corporate-level convergence strategies within the field of strategic media management research. The field of media innovation tackles the many triggers, constituent drivers but also major challenges of innovation in the media industry from multiple (disciplinary) perspectives: technological advances, organizational change, competitive pressure, and ever changing user demands and creative ideas come to contribute to explaining the ongoing and ever more intensified dynamic change in the industries (Dogruel, 2013; Storsul & Krumsvik, 2013). Practically speaking, newspaper innovation is thus about e-editions, format changes, flexible subscription models and new print products, and their degree to which they have had a positive impact on circulation or revenue (Küng, 2015).

Further, we conceptualize the moves of printed newspapers into online video from a supply-side point of view of strategic management reasoning. We assume

¹AGOF is the official affiliation of online marketers and advertising media offering transparency and standards in digital advertising media research in Germany.

that online video may deliver benefits to publishers in that they may gain competitive advantage, widen their product range through adding interactive features, offer a new content channels to audiences, and integrate once passive readers into the active content creation processes of media publishing in various ways. This, in return, may leverage consumer trust and loyalty in both print and online brands (Tang, Sridhar, Thorson, & Mantrala, 2011). Consequently, strategic management research approaches the adoption, implementation and servicing of online video formats and services for publishing in a multiplatform era from general and rather dispersed angles. On corporate level, it is concerned with broad decisions about the total organization's scope and direction. Basically, it considers what changes should be made in the growth objective and strategy for achieving it, the lines of business a company is in, and how these lines of business fit together. It is useful to think of three components of corporate level strategy:

- (a) Growth or directional strategy (what should be the growth objective, ranging from retrenchment over stability to varying degrees of growth and how this is accomplished),
- (b) Portfolio strategy (what should be the portfolio of lines of business, which implicitly requires reconsidering how much concentration or diversification it should have), and
- (c) Parenting strategy (how resources are allocated and capabilities and activities managed across the portfolio and where specific emphasis is put, and how much are various lines of business integrated).

When applying these two basic streams of research to the news media industries, investigations into newsroom convergence are the most prominent ones (Avilés, Meier, Kaltenbrunner, Carvajal, & Kraus, 2009; Boczkowski, 2004; Boczkowski & Ferris, 2005; Huang et al., 2006; Robinson, 2011), followed by studies of managing convergence in media innovations (Hacklin, 2008), synoptic research on issues on media management and advances in communication technologies at large (Chan-Olmsted, 2006), moreover, research into the strategic development of business models regarding the implications of the Internet and Web 2.0 (Hacklin, Battistini, & von Krogh, 2013; Hacklin, Klang, & Baschera, 2013; Van Kranenburg, 2007; Wirtz, Schilke, & Ulrich, 2010) seem to be the most appropriate.

In the present study, we focus on issues of financial performance of online video and its relation with diversifying printed news into online video. Following standard strategic management theory, *diversification* is defined as a growth strategy into other lines of business (or industries). When a company's current industries are attractive, have good growth potential, and do not face serious threats, concentrating resources in the existing industries makes good sense. Diversification tends to have greater risks, but is an appropriate option when a company's current industries have little growth potential or are unattractive in other ways. When an industry consolidates and becomes mature, unless there are other markets to seek, a company may have no choice for growth but diversification (Ansoff, 1957; Porter, 1987).

10.4 Case Study Evidence

This section will look at how online video has become an important editorial tool, as well as a potential source for improving the financial performance of a print media company, and which, if any, constraints newsprint publishers have to face when producing and servicing news videos online as well as the profits they generate.

10.4.1 The Company

The press is characterized by a high but decreasing dependency on advertising income and a significant degree of economic concentration. The German market for daily newspapers is dominated by a small number of publishers. The largest market share is held by the *Axel Springer* Group with around 22.1 % of the market (*BILD*, *Welt*, *Hamburger Abendblatt*, *Berliner Morgenpost*, etc.). The second position is taken by *Verlagsgruppe Stuttgarter Zeitung*, which is a more regional publisher with nearly 8.5 % of the market. The third place is occupied by the WAZ Group (*Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—6 %) and DuMont Schauberg in Cologne (4.2 %), publisher of the present case study example, the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* (KSTA). The *Ippen* group takes the fifth place with 4 %. The 10 largest publishers of dailies together control 44.8 % of the market.

The *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* (KSTA) is a daily quality newspaper published in Cologne, Germany, and has the largest circulation in the Cologne/Bonn metropolitan area. The former direct competitor, the *Kölnische Rundschau* was taken over in 1999, but kept its own editorial department. Together, both dailies report a sold circulation of 299,891 copies daily (from Mon-Sat) (IVW, 1st quarter 2014, Mo-Sa; ivw.eu).²

As shown in the following graph, in North-Rhine Westphalia, the most populous state of Germany, as well as the fourth largest by area, daily newspapers overall show a negative trend in circulation of copies sold (subscription and single copy).

The biggest newspaper group in the region, the *Funke-Mediengruppe*, has lost substantially. Together with the editorially independent yet economically cooperating titles, the core paper *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (WAZ), the *Neue Ruhr/Neue Rheinzeitung* (NRZ), the *Westfalenpost* (WP), the *Westfälische Rundschau*, and its minority holding of *Iserlohner Kreis-Anzeiger* (IKZ) lost almost 60,000 readers within a year (minus 8.5 %).

Similarly, in our case study example, the *Zeitungsgruppe Köln*, publisher of the case study company *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, lost 7700 readers within that year. Effectively, this decline is long-term and substantial. The whole group, including

²See, http://ausweisung.ivw-online.de/index.php?i=11&mz_szm=201404&pis=0&filter=11. IVW is a private German research company to measure advertising reach.

Table 10.1 Top ten dailies in North-Rhine Westphalia 2014, change in circulation

	Publisher/Title of newspaper group	Copies sold ^a	+/-	%
			2014/Q I	2013/Q I
1	<i>Funke-Mediengruppe</i> (WAZ + NRZ + WP + WR) + IKZ	634.547	-59.181	-8.5
2	<i>Rheinische Post</i>	325.888	-10.328	-3.1
3	Zeitungsgruppe Köln (<i>Kölner Stadtanzeiger/Kölnische Rundschau</i>)	299.891	-7.700	-2.5
4	mrw Mediaregion Ruhrgebiet/Westfalen	266.826	1.112	0.4
5	Zeitungsgruppe <i>Neue Westfälische</i>	234.374	-5.260	-2.2
6	ZGM Ztg-Gr Münsterland	217.695	-2.978	-1.3
7	Zeitungsgruppe Köln <i>Express</i>	155.171	-9.023	-5.5
8	<i>Westfälischer Anzeiger</i>	135.899	2.359	1.8
9	<i>Westdeutsche Zeitung plus</i>	134.564	-3.492	-2.5
10	<i>Westfalen-Blatt</i>	117.520	-1.533	-1.3

^aSubscription and single-copy

the boulevard daily *Express*, which accumulated the biggest losses within the year under study, came to lose more than 16,700 readers (Table 10.1).

The *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* has a base of over 100 contributing editors and a wide network of correspondents for local and regional news reporting. It first appeared in 1876 as a local equivalent of the national *Kölnische Zeitung* (*Cologne Gazette*). Toward the end of World War II, both newspapers had to cease publication. In October 1949 the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* was published again. Under fierce competition, it developed into the leading newspaper of the Cologne region by the late 1950s. Since 1960, Professor Alfred Neven DuMont of publisher *M. DuMont Schauberg* has been the sole editor of the newspaper. Since 2004, Konstantin Neven DuMont has been its managing director.

10.4.2 Online Video Services

The online version of *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* ksta.de launched its online video offering ksta.tv already in May 2006. There, users can watch videos on current events, politics, culture, entertainment and sports, etc. Out-side content is delivered from various agencies, such as *Agence France Presse*, *dpa Deutsche Presseagentur*, *Preview Networks Ltd.*, *Reuters*, *SID Sport-Informationen-Dienst*, *Lettra*, *UnitedPictures.TV*, *Car-News—Net.3*, and *ADAC*.

In November 2006, it extended its online video service to local self-produced news clips. The case study's news website provides the following services and tools:

- An online video media player, offering play, email, share, link, big screen, and volume functions.

- Various video channel options (i.e., news, cinema, automobile, literature, sports, most often seen, etc.) offering up to ten new video clips of 1–1:30 min. length on average per day.
- A search box function, and
- A video archive.

10.4.3 Online Video Viability

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger belongs to the group *Zeitungsgruppe Köln* and is the local market leader in the urban conglomeration of Cologne (ca. 1 mio. Inhabitants). The group owns various printed newspapers in the area and beyond, notably the subscription papers *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* and *Kölnische Rundschau* as well as the paid-for tabloid EXPRESS. With 98.6 million page impressions and 24.2 million visits the online portals of the newspaper group Cologne presents the leading online dailies in Rhineland. It offers local and regional content from the areas of politics, opinion, business, local news, sports, panorama, culture, travel, education, and health. Ksta.de is indispensable as an advertising medium in the region, with 4.36 m online visits per month (in 04/2014).

Let us now calculate the break-even point for online video offered via the case study's KSTA website. As shown in Table 10.2 below, we assume the following

Table 10.2 Break-even point calculation—online video (in EUR, per month)

	Costs	Total/ Month		Revenues	Total/ Month
Streams per month	150,000		CPM national	30.00€	
Number of video produced/ month	30 à 200€	6000.00	CPM regional	50.00€	
Number of video syndicated/ month	300	0.00€			
Size of video streamed/avg.	7 MB		Usage national	75 %	1687.50
			Usage regional	50 %	3750.00
Traffic costs/1000 streams (Brightcove)	3.00€	450.00			
OMS price per 1000 streams (ad hosting)	2.00€	300.00	Sponsorings (2) (p.a.)	10,000.00€	
Ad server costs per 1000 streams	0.15€	22.50	Add revenue cross media	2500.00€	
			Calculated per month		2083.00
Monthly streaming costs/GB	0.22€	231.00			
OMS licence price/month (fixed)	250.00€	250.00			
Depreciation of initial investment	5000.00€	200.00			
	Total	7453.50	Break-even point	Total	7520.50

performance predictors (OMS, 2009): If some 150,000 videos are streamed per month (on average), the following costs will emerge on the cost side:

- 30 local videos are produced in-house per month, and another 300 videos are syndicated from the OMS network, the newspaper's national marketing company.
- The production costs of these local videos are 200€ per video. Each video has an average size of 7 MB. The total production costs for the 30 in-house videos are thus 6000€.
- Initial investment costs for starting-up the video service are calculated with 5000 €.
- Traffic costs with *Brightcove*, the US-based online video platform, are 3.00€ per 1000 streams, which leads to a monthly total cost for traffic of 450€.
- OMS charges a yearly license price of 3000€ (i.e., 250,—per month).
- The total advertising server costs are 22.50€ (0.15€ per 1000 streams), and
- The monthly streaming costs per Gigabyte streamed is 0.22€; if we have 150,000 videos streams of 7 MB each, the monthly cost for all GB streamed is 231€.

On the revenue side, we assume:

- A national CPM of 30€, and a regional CPM of 50€.
- KSTA.TV is to receive 30€ per 1000 streams. If we calculate 150,000 streams, the total revenues are 4500€; when the usage rate is 75 % as assumed and 50 % stay with OMS, the marketer, ksta.TV will earn 1687.50€. Likewise, we earn 3750€ on a regional level, and
- KSTA has to gather two local sponsorings worth 10,000€ each, and can generate annual revenue from cross-media activities of 2500€ (to be divided by 12).

Advertising revenues are generated through standardized ad formats (pre-rolls) which are considered as unobtrusive. Campaigning costs and impacts are measurable. We see that the break-even point (BEP), that is the point at which cost or expenses and revenue are equal, is achieved at ca. 150,000 video streams per month. However, at this point no profits are made (see Table 10.2).

10.5 Discussion and Conclusion

In recent years, many newspapers have discovered the subject of online video and now try to report using moving images and sound on their websites with. However, for many publishers online video is a new format; nevertheless it is their task to take

up formats and a video strategy in order to develop in-house journalistic online offerings.

This study could show that online video may come as a vital contribution to a regional newspaper's editorial portfolio. Theoretically, online video as digital add-on format has the potential to compensate for losses in the domain of printed newsprint sales (Doyle, 2013). Technological advances affecting the economic viability of convergence continue apace. For print news publishing to migrate into online reporting, the challenges are manifold. The most striking ones are:

- Online video is a new publishing dimension: It is more than a passive delivery format as online audiences wish to be engaged, and hence content needs to be repurposed so that new video services can be utilized to their full potential. Our case study example follows a mix of in-house and syndicated short-cut news, following a long-tail video content strategy of mainly local news.
- For many newspapers, online video is still a new area and to really reap the rewards, legacy players must address some significant challenges. Multi-screen strategies are needed, technological issues must be resolved, standardisation is required, content protection is a necessity, and innovative business models have to be ventured (Bennett & Strange, 2012). Our case study applies the trial and error learning style as all these issues are dynamically interwoven.
- Diversification into online video is a strategy that involves risk. It is an appropriate option when a company's current industry has little growth potential or is unattractive in other ways. When an industry consolidates and becomes mature, a newspaper may have no choice for growth but diversification. This is the case for regional printed newspaper case study.
- Resources, managerial competences and capabilities are critical success factors (editorial skills, convergence management skills, logistics, organization, technology demands; Chatterjee & Wernerfelt, 1991), are all issues that come as big challenges to our case, and
- Creating and selecting popular high-quality content is critical for economic success. In our case, monetizing the long tail is as yet difficult.

In general, there are good market opportunities for running an online video service successfully. The KSTA.TV has got a strong brand name for its print outlet in the region as there are few other daily quality newspapers in this distribution area. Further, KSTA.de owes its market position to a solid regional news content production and online delivery experience. This is a valuable starting point when considering running a sustainably successful online video format.

However, online video offerings are still in the trial and error phase. Barriers to financial delivery and profit cover three important aspects. One is to assess the pre-entry and running cost/benefit-relation of the particular project to see whether the investment can bring in adequate financial returns. Hence, we identify the following financial performance impact factors that are critical to success for funding our case study online video service:

- We assumed that the spots are created by an external video producer which includes approximate costs of 200€ per video. We believe that these costs could be further reduced if editors were trained as video journalists. This would allow for driving down the production costs even further as, by now, 80–90 % of videos streamed are in-house productions.
- Most important other cost items to be considered are: traffic costs, monthly streaming costs per Gigabyte streamed, license costs, statistical tools and advertising server costs. These costs are hard to come by and depend on the contractual relations with the service providers.
- The readiness of the online video application strongly depends on its economic feasibility, and another aspect is to see whether online video can positively affect transaction costs with audiences and hence lead to competitive advantages to the organization in the long run.
- Monetization of the service is (still) difficult because, as it stands now, the big-name national online advertising clients are mainly interested in reach (e.g., *Postbank*, BMW), whereas, on the opposite, end-users are interested in niche long-tail content. This is a gap which is still difficult to fill (Cha & Chan-Olmsted, 2012).

Implications for Scholarship

This paper tried to emphasize that doing research in area of media innovation and strategic media management for online video needs to build a stronger theoretical base for studies researching the adoption of online video as new output format for news publishing. Research in this area should be shaped and strongly be driven by theory-building activity across the fields and disciplines involved (Küng, Picard & Towse, 2008).

Managerial Implications

Online video is an achievable step towards a more diversified online strategy for printed news publishing. It can be an attractive add-on format to the newspaper's core business, while print is still the stronger carrier both in terms of customer acceptance and revenue. Hence, the development and application of online video services for print media has to be evaluated very carefully in order to avoid harm to the established user perception of the printed newspaper brand. The case study brand is strong: the printed version was established in 1876 and was the first regional newspaper to offer web video in Germany in 2006. We find that the case study has succeeded in bridging this gap. To conclude, in order to deliver business value, online video managers may need to set up the following agenda:

- Provide a website design intended to accommodate site usage using different browsers and settings particularly required for high-bandwidth formats to offer users innovations on product promotions such as full motion video and online video formats.
- Provide users with navigational tools to move between different information on a website,

- Provide users with tools for information seeking queries, and
- Manage mobile accessibility of high-bandwidth formats to provide users with online video innovations.

In sum, the case study's online video offerings are an achievable step towards a more diversified online strategy for news publishing in general. It proved that online video can be an attractive add-on format to the newspaper's core business portfolio (Picard, 2005). Still, the application of new technologies such as online video has to be evaluated very carefully in order to avoid harm to the established user perception of the printed newspaper brand. Further, the cost/benefit ratio and the return on innovation investments are still low, if not zero. However, print publishers are well advised to build on competitive new media strategies which may show profit in the long run.

Appendix

In the linear cost-volume-profit analysis model (where marginal costs and marginal revenues are constant, among other assumptions), the break-even point (BEP) [in terms of Unit Sales (X)] can be directly computed in terms of Total Revenue (TR) and Total Costs (TC) as:

$$TR = TC$$

$$P \cdot X = TFC + V \cdot X$$

$$P \cdot X - V \cdot X = TFC$$

$$(P - V) \cdot X = TFC$$

$$X = TFC / (P - V)$$

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Part III

Digital Transformation in Media

Journalists' Frequent Movement from One Media House to Another Expose Emerging Challenges of Media Management in Africa in the Digital Age

11

Agnes Lucy Lando

11.1 Introduction

Job hopping is not a new phenomenon. World over, people have, and continue to move from one employer to another, or from one job to another, based on a myriad reasons. The media industry, therefore, is not an exception. However, it seems that with technological advancement, and with a much more variety of media to work for, Media Practitioners' (MPs) hopping is not only frequent but leaves an indomitable mark on the media house, employer, colleagues and the audiences. That MPs hop is not the essence of this study. But rather because hopping is more rampant in this digital age, due to the many media houses and opportunities available seems to be an indicator of emerging challenges of media management in the Continent. For instance, immediately after the 4th March 2013 General Elections in Kenya, a major media house lost 21 key MPs to a competitor. Such an abrupt occurrence definitely affects the station, colleagues and audiences. Therefore, knowing the reasons why MPs hop could enable media managers (employers) handle the challenge of media hopping and lessen the turnover in their respective media houses.

11.2 Research Background

Many African states have recently celebrated 50 years of independence. And possibly, 50 years of communication research as an element of post colonial education. The last 50 years have witnessed a steady increase of varied media in the African continent. In Kenya, for example, the media industry has experienced

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rapid growth from the 1990s. According to The Media Council of Kenya (2014) website, there are over 10 television stations, more than 50 radio stations, 4 newspapers with national reach and a large number of magazines. This figure excludes cable TV and the international television and radio stations who also have their base in Nairobi. Given this scenario, a city like Nairobi is saturated with media.

This is the same state of affairs in many other African capital cities. According to Agbe (2010), Oyovbaire (2000) and Nnamdi (1994), MPs frequently shift employers in Nigeria in the over 30 national and state newspapers, 20 general interest magazines, a number of TV stations and the over 80 AM and 35 FM stations. Similarly, according to the SA Media Facts Report (as cited in Media Club South Africa, 2010), there are more than 20 daily newspapers, 25 major weeklies, 650 consumer magazines, 730 business-to-business publications, 450 community newspapers and magazines, 90 television stations, 135 radio stations, and over 60 DSTV audio channels. Thus, the MPs tendency to hop from one station to another is also being practiced in South Africa. Uganda and Tanzania are no different (Lugalambi, 2010; Mpangala, 2006; Skjerdal, 2010). Thus, it is a common trend in Africa that MPs—both in the print and electronic media, even though it is more visible in the electronic media—move back and forth from one media employer to another. It so becomes confusing to identify a certain MP with a particular media house because s/he could be there in the morning and in a new one later that same evening. In their movement, little or no explanation and/or short notice are given to the employer or the public. There have been instances when it is known that an MP would move and all persons prepared for it. An example is Isaiya Kabira who moved from Kenya Television Network (KTN) to be the State House Press Officer in 2007. His departure was an open secret.

As discussed by Lando (2013), the very fact that this tendency is rampant is one among the many issues raising questions in the minds of audiences regarding media practice and professionalism. The public holds, from informal talks, that MPs involved in this behavior are money driven, pushing for personal (monetary) gains without much concern for the station, employer or public. Apparently, this is not just a Kenyan problem. In Nigeria and South Africa for example, the trend is the same. The reasons for the MPs behavior are provided without their voice being heard. Also, their employers' voices are yet to be heard on the same. It is this gap of establishing from the MPs why they frequently hop and from the employers how this move affects the media industry that this study is filling. Therefore, this paper is threefold. First, to establish from the MPs who have changed employers at least once; their reasons for moving. Secondly, the paper will obtain data from media employers on how MPs' frequent hop affects the industry. Thirdly, the study seeks to find out how audiences interpret MPs' tendency to frequently change stations. Consequently, this study's findings will help audiences to understand, from the MPs' point of view, why they frequently hop. Also, the findings will aid media employers to come up with creative ways of handling their staff and thus minimize the turnover.

11.2.1 The Purpose of This Study

This study sought to establish, from the MPs who have hopped at least once; their reasons for hopping; find out how such action impacts on their employers and colleagues, and audiences' interpretation of MPs' hopping.

Research Objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

1. Identify reasons why MPs in Kenyan media hop from one employer to another,
2. Find out how audiences' interpret MPs' tendencies to frequently change stations,
3. Establish how MPs' hopping affect media employers,
4. Come up with recommendations that employers could adopt to address the challenge of MPs' tendencies to change stations.

11.3 Research Methodology

This qualitative study utilized in-depth interviews to collect data. Respondents were drawn from Nairobi city. A few MPs who have hopped at least once were identified using the snowball sampling procedure. Precisely, some individuals who have moved media houses were identified, approached and requested to respond orally to a set of interview questions. Then, these respondents were used as referrals to identify other willing MPs who have changed employers, at least once. Audiences and media employers were conveniently and purposively sampled, respectively. Media employers as used in this study are the persons incharge of the media houses in reference, and do not necessarily own the media house. Most of them are referred to as the media managers charged with the responsibility of managing human and material resources.

By use of Maslow's Needs and Motivation theory (Maslow, 1954, 1962), and Frederick Herzberg's two-factor theory (Pringle & Starr, 2006), this study attempts to establish the reasons behind the MPs frequent move. Maslow asserted that human beings have certain basic needs and that each serves as a motivator. He identified five such needs and organized them in a hierarchy, starting with the most basic—though the order is not rigid, especially at the higher levels. These are Physiological, safety, Love, Esteem and Self-actualization. He theorized that when one need is fairly well satisfied, it no longer serves as a motivator. Instead, attention turns to the next level on the hierarchy. For instance, if people are hungry and they are given food, they become satisfied and food no longer is a motivator for them. However, if one's needs remain unmet in a certain context, they may move to find a fulfillment of that need. This is because as long as the need is not met, it generates a state of disequilibrium, yet every human being strives for equilibrium. Since media hopping is not a new phenomenon, this research restricted itself to studying MPs who have hopped within the last 5 years. That is, from 2009 to 2014.

This theory leads to the realization that satisfied needs might have little value in motivating employees and that different techniques might have to be used to motivate different people, according to their particular needs. Similarly, MPs are in a profession and have needs to be met. Thus, it is arguable that if a particular station does not facilitate Maslow's hierarchical movement then one may opt to seek that fulfillment elsewhere.

On the other hand, the two-factor theory of Frederick Herzberg (1923–2000), a psychologist, stipulates that employee attitudes and behaviors are influenced by two different sets of considerations. He called them hygiene factors and motivators. What is considered hygiene factors are those factors associated with conditions that surround the performing of the job and include supervision, interpersonal relations with superiors, peers, and subordinates; physical working conditions; salary, company policies and administrative practices; benefits; and job security. By responding to employee's hygiene needs, concluded Herzberg, will eliminate dissatisfaction and poor job performance but will not lead to positive attitudes and more productive behaviors. These are accomplished by meeting the second set of considerations, motivators. These—motivators—are factors associated with the job content. They include achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility, and advancement.

11.4 Research Findings

One hundred MPs who have changed employers at least once were identified using the snowball approach; and in-depth interviews conducted on them. Of the 100 respondents, 65 were female and 35 male. Their ages ranged between 21 and 25 years (25 MPs), 26–30 years (41 MPs), 31–40 (32 MPs) and those aged 41 and above were only 2 MPs. We were also able to gather data from 40 members of the public (audiences) and 10 media employers (managers). The findings from these three categories are presented here below after being analysed in terms of emerging themes and patterns, repeated phrases, unique opinions and differing responses. The study was conducted from 1st September 2012 to 31st December 2014. The report has been presented in line with the four research objectives.

11.5 Findings and Discussion

11.5.1 Objective 1: Identify Reasons Why MPs in Kenya Media Hop from One Employer to Another

MPs concurred that hoping of MPs is an on-going trend. Findings show that MPs from all media houses hop—religious, secular, community, private or government media houses have (and continue) to hop. Interestingly, some who have hopped because of money, as perceived by audiences, have moved again, and sometimes to

even less paying stations. So, is it just money? And if so, why don't the MPs settle after landing a well paying job? This aspect is discussed later in details.

From the interviews conducting, more than 50 MPs in Kenya have hopped at least once within the study period 2009–2014. Appendix provides the names of some MPs who have moved, at least once, from one media house to another. It is however to be noted that between the period the study was conducted and published, these MPs may have moved again. This list was audience generated. When the audiences interviewed were asked to mention some of the MPs they know who have hopped, they gave the names listed (cf Appendix). This means that the audiences keep abreast of the MPs' professional activities. The list does not, however, mean that these are the MPs interviewed for the study, though a number of them were. It is rather a tabulation to further support the reality of MPs movement from one media house to another, and the public's knowledge of the same.

MPs hop from print to electronic media, within print, from Radio to TV and vice versa, and within Radio and even within TV. The general feeling of MPs who have hopped is that they are harshly misjudged by their audiences. The three quotations below corroborate this.

I have moved six times to the present media house I am working. Some of my reasons include: the desire to embrace greater challenges and opportunity to showcase my talent, the desire to earn greater wage. Job security is often threatened by poor pay, backlog of unpaid salaries, media ownership, and poor motivation. There are numerous security threats and most often no insurance cover. But my audiences felt I moved because of better salary and my interest to improve my standard of living.

I moved because of better remuneration and I was offered an elevated position, as well as the desire to expand my scope/horizon in the industry. But my audience felt that I got more favorable prospects at my new work place.

As a presenter, you build the confidence of your listeners and it matters not where you execute your work from. Don't listeners/viewers/readers also roam on different stations?

A communications specialist at International Livestock Research and Institute (ILRI) said one of the reasons she moved from a local Television Station was the fact that she wanted greener pastures. She further stated that the hygienic conditions at the TV Station were not conducive since, according to her, they were being paid peanuts and were overworked. Additionally, she said that as a journalist they would not have 'a life of their own' because they would be called for an assignment at very late hours in the night regardless of one's marital status and whether they have children or not.

One MP who worked as an investigative TV journalist says he moved because he was not being protected by the station. That is, he felt that there was no job security. He would receive death threats from the people that he investigated and therefore felt that he was risking his life and the life of his family. On the brighter side, he mentioned that he wanted to venture into other activities and also grow as an all-round communication specialist. He also stated that the hygienic conditions

were not conducive as he would not go about his daily activities freely and effectively. For instance, he could not attend his classes when he was a university student because permission to do so was denied. This same MP indicated that investigative TV journalists John Allan Namu and Mohammed Ali moved from KTN to other TV stations and in <4 months they hopped back to KTN because, as it is alleged, their investigative stories were frequently altered to suit ethnic or political interests. Unfortunately, the researcher did not manage to get an interview with either or both these investigative journalists to corroborate this assertion.

One respondent indicated that she needed a place where she could grow professionally and when she moved she was given a higher status. "The check was also better" she says. One interesting finding is that hopping does not only take place between media groups but also in-house; which happens between departments. For example, in a media house such as the Nation Media Group or the Standard Group that has Radio, TV and newspaper, press graphic designers could be approached to hop to the editorial department or the advertising department from the pre-press department. An MP working with Radio said he decided to move to the print department in the same organization in order to improve on his writing and his graphic designing skills.

Generally, the reasons provided for hopping can be classified as follows:

Economic Reasons

Poor salaries was the most commonly cited reasons for moving with more than 90% of the interviewed MPs saying that they moved in search of better pay. They noted that the salaries enable them to meet basic needs but is not enough to provide for more of what they require, such as better education and security, especially medical and risk insurance. For most media personalities, their careers started out at KBC or Citizen Radio in the early 1990s. During this period, salaries were poor and Royal Media Services (Citizen TV and its Radio chains) particularly suffered a lot of interference from the then political regime. RMS was thus very unstable as an employer and most of its employees sought better pay and job stability in other media houses. A station offering better salary and benefits package was, and still is, attractive to anyone in an unstable job. Moreover, the merger salary is often irregular, as explained by some respondents, as indicated below.

The three media houses I worked with are all daily newspapers. I moved from my former employer because the new one offered me a better pay (about four times more) than what I was initially earning. Furthermore, the salary in the former station was irregular and sometimes delayed for months. Where I am is a more prestigious paper with better conditions of service.

Yet, as findings show, it is not just salaries because promotion and social recognition is also an issue. The two quotes below explains more;

I left my first station of work because the latter offered me a higher position though on a smaller salary. Also, the working conditions in my previous station had become suffocating and almost stifled individual creativity. My new stations provides a larger room for me to maneuver and enjoy journalism.

I have changed jobs in four media houses. My current Radio satisfies my needs. In terms of audience outreach, the current radio is a bigger brand and a well respected radio station in the country. I am bigger in terms of media personality status. Working here also gives me the opportunity to meet important people who often seek our services for airtime. As for my audience, who cares what they say. They can say what they want, as long as at the end of the day I pay my house rent, fuel my car, feed well, pay my children's school fees, life goes on. The audience cannot do all these for me. My life comes first, other things follow.

Moving from one FM station gave me the opportunity to be promoted from a news anchor/reader to having my own breakfast show. I saw this as an opportunity to grow and develop my skills as a radio broadcaster.

Work Environment and Company Policies

MPs indicated that some stations have company policies to have a presenter with either a British or American accent. Those who cannot acquire that accent are thus forced—by circumstances—to leave. This was the same case in an earlier interview where a journalist cited her inability to acquire the British accent as her reason for moving to another station. In her former station, she states that only staff with British accent would stand a chance to host a morning show (Odero, 2009). As such, she could never have progressed to do the breakfast show which would have been a boost for her career. Thus, some MPs cannot move up the ladder because of this accent requirement.

Other company policies such as those preventing co-workers from getting married to one another have forced people in such situations to find work elsewhere. Further, some MPs move to build on their personal brand names and therefore go to media houses that avail such opportunities. Findings indicate that other MPs move if their current stations cannot offer them job support. This is in line with an earlier research where one respondent said that he *was longing for a town hall meeting that would host people from all over the country. "I wanted to go to his viewers and since his current station did not have the capacity to make this possible, I moved,"* (Biko, 2009).

Moreover, ethnicity and favouritism at places of work also cause MPs to hop.

There are a lot of tribal/ethnic sentiments in some stations that I moved from. People are promoted or given juicy bits to cover because of their ethnicity. The editors have no regards for professionalism and they favored certain staff based on ethnicity and their affiliation to the directors. But in my current station, employees are regarded for who they are and their contributions to the station. Everything here is based on merit. The working condition is very good for me to grow and develop as a journalist. Many people do not know that one of the main reason that made me leave was tribalism.

Poor Relations Between Media Personalities and Their Bosses

Two MPs mentioned frequent change of tasks by their bosses as reason for moving. That is, the absence of a clear job description. Change of Management was also cited. One female MP cited change of management at her former stations as her reason for moving. The new management came with new policies that she could not withstand. She left the station to pursue higher education in South Africa and while

there, she worked in E-Television which offered her a chance to re-invent herself on the international scene. She later returned to Kenya and worked at a TV station, hosting a travel show before moving into news anchoring.

Closely connected to this point is change of station policy. For example, respondents shared that when Metro FM changed from ordinary pop station to a reggae station it lost a good number of its presenters who either could not identify with the new content and target audience or those who did not want to grow their careers in that direction. But one interviewee cited differences with editors due to her opinionated nature as a reason for her exit from several stations.

Social-Religious Reasons

Another respondent who has moved to three different radio stations cited her desire to work and grow in a Christian media house and the need to specialize in radio as her reasons for changing jobs. Additionally, some media houses do not want to be associated with any religious background and presenters are prohibited from mentioning God or Christ or Allah or any other pronouncements that will connote a religious affiliation. MPs who would like to work in a faith-based organization or those who want to be free with their religious background therefore hop.

Security Reasons

Journalism is a risky profession because the stories told can expose powerful people. This can put the life of journalists at risk and most of them would want to work in an environment that gives them adequate security. For example, findings show that journalists who have reported that their lives are in danger have hopped severally, in search of a media house that can give them and their families maximum security.

Need for Exposure to Better Technology

Interviewees indicated that Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation (KBC) has for many years been the starting point for many MPs. But after learning the skills they move to new stations with the latest technology and expose them to more competitive state of the art equipment.

Employer Pressure and Lack of Flexibility in Programming Ideas

Respondents explained that stations hire and fire MPs because of ratings. If a presenter does not attract and retain audiences and advertisers, he/she will be under pressure to move. In this case, the decision to hop is external. At times a presenter may have ideas they want to work on that are in conflict with the station's policy and editorial direction. This forces them to either shelve their ideas or sell them to another station, thus move. *"I moved because I believed there was no freedom of speech in my former station. We were not allowed to give our own ideas."*

Employment Package

One respondent said the main reason for his hop was the search for better terms of service. In his former work station, there was no comprehensive medical cover for the employee and his dependants except for only employee in-patient cover of one million Kenya shillings. He also cited favouritism and discrimination in his former station. For example, lucrative assignments like foreign trips were a reserve of individuals who were not even in that department hence he felt that he (and others) were being by passed. In BBC, he now receives a comprehensive medical insurance including in-patient cover of five million Kenya shillings for him and his dependants and a better working environment where job descriptions are respected and promotions awarded on merit.

Working with the BBC World Service is more prestigious, and it exposes me more to the international community. Working with different journalists from nearly every part of the continent is very exciting and interesting. Furthermore, BBC pays better, the work conditions are very favorable, and I feel more challenged professionally. Working in some media houses as a journalist can be crazy with challenges such as lack of electricity in the office, harassment, and poor but irregular salaries.

Headhunt and Poaching of Journalists

Headhunt and poaching by competitors is also a common practice and cause of MPs' hopping. The interviewees indicated that international media that have a base in Kenya and local media houses which are more established headhunt and poach the best MPs from struggling media organizations using lucrative salaries offers and other benefits. For instance, John (not his real name), is a case in point. At his former station, he started off as an intern and improved his potential before being offered a place on the business desk at a local TV station. He rose to the position of Deputy Editor before being headhunted to run the business desk for Africa of an international TV station.

Another respondent who worked at KBC for 3 years as a program host on radio went to DeutchWelle Radio in Germany for 5 years, then she returned to a local TV station. She says she went to Germany because she wanted more experience in radio production and broadcasting, but moved to local TV station because she was nostalgic and wanted to return home.

Mutation of a Media House

One respondent explained that he began his broadcast journalism career in one of the local stations in Nairobi as an intern. After 3 months, he was given a job contract at the same station. Within a year, the station wound up and was acquired by another media house and he thus lost his job. He was then hired by another radio station where he started out as a field reporter, and then moved to news reading but hopped again. He moved in search of challenges since his job had become routine and boring. He also wanted to improve his skills and resume. Moreover, he was eager to learn more skills in radio production, such as news translation, news presentation, radio feature productions and online journalism.

11.5.2 Objective 2: How Audiences' Interpret MPs' Tendencies to Frequently Change Stations

According to feedback from 40 audience members interviewed, who were mainly university students and middle-level working class in Nairobi, audiences are aware of MPs who have moved from one media house to another (cf Appendix). But they did not seem to know exactly the number of times the MPs have moved. The reasons they gave can be summarized into better salaries and benefits; career growth; lack of promotion as most of them got placed in senior positions when they moved to other stations; fear of being replaced by younger presenters; poor working relationships with colleagues, editors or seniors, political prestige, poor influence, lack of job security, poor and unstable working conditions.

Audiences further reported that MPs' hop confuses audiences because those who have established a "brand" through specific programs move with their "brands". Hence, audiences tend not to notice which (TV or Radio) stations they are watching or listening to if they hear the same program presenter and signature tune even if in a different stations. Further, hopping pose credibility challenges to the MPs because audiences perceive them as unstable and unreliable in their jobs; a disgruntled people driven with the personal desire to get more money.

The issue of audience loyalties determines whether or not an audience will move to a new station with the MP. Some audiences clearly indicated that they move with their MPs because of the loyalty already established. For example, one said, "*I would follow some of them if I am fond of their programs. If that guy of "Hutia mundu" shifted stations, I would definitely shift too. . .honestly speaking, I don't even know which station he works with, I just flip through the Kikuyu Radio Stations at the time of his show and listen.*" {*Hutia mundu*—meaning to touch someone} is a program aired on one of the vernacular stations, Kameme FM. Another respondent said, "*Bonoko na Mbusi, nitafuata to whichever station they go to!* {*Bonoko and Mbusi I will follow wherever they go*}. This was in reference to Ghetto FM presenters.

However, most audiences said they do not follow the MPs because they are loyal to the station, and not to the individual in the station. Most people feel that if the station retains its music/editorial content, they will stay no matter who the presenter is.

Audiences also attributed MPs' tendency to hop to the Generation Y factor. According to Simon (2012), the individuals currently entering the work place and making their way up the corporate ladder are in this generation Y, also known as millennials. The attitude of these individuals towards work is quite different. Millennials do not "live to work" as their parents did, but rather "work to live". This group has high workplace expectations and a much higher propensity to leave an unsatisfactory job than their parents did. Although this is a phenomenon observed in other sectors, audiences feel that it's also a contributing factor to media hopping. This is because most media personalities, especially those on TV and Radio, tend to pose as celebrities and strive to lead a celebrity lifestyle. They therefore have to get a job that can help them live and sustain that life.

Findings from audiences further indicate that media hopping confuses audiences. Some felt that the movements did not give a good image of some media houses that frequently changed practitioners, that is, media houses with a high turnover. Such, media houses with a high turnover also raise integrity questions in audiences' minds. Moreover, the integrity of media houses that frequently receive hopping MPs are being questioned by audiences. Viewers are losing loyalty to stations due to such occurrences. According to one viewer, he flips from one station to another because he cannot find something substantial to watch as all the 'good' journalists are constantly on the move.

11.5.3 Objective 3: Establish How MPs' Hopping Affect Media Employers (Managers)

Those interviewed in the category of media owners were three directors of radio stations, four directors of TV stations, two directors of a chain of vernacular radio stations and one print media manager. They were six males and four females. Two have been directors for 8 years, one for 10 years, two for 12 years, another two for 15 years and three others for more than 10 years. They all concurred that each of their respective media organizations have experienced movement of MPs from their media house to another. Further, they all admitted to have received an MP from another media house. Thus, they have all received or lost staff through media hopping.

They were unanimous that though the reasons why MPs hop may be sound and valid, hopping causes crises to the employers. This is because MPs at times leave without giving sufficient notice and the losing media house(s) are forced to urgently start looking for a person to fill the vacuum, which is not easy. Sometimes the MPs give notice but if requested to stay on they make demands that their current stations cannot instantly afford, such as triple salary or over-relaxed working hours. Moreover, most practitioners cause crises at their work stations because, more often than not, they hop without issuing enough notice. This is not due to lack of rules and regulations governing their practice but because the new stations appear most appealing with better offers that can help offset any compensation or claims arising from the former stations. Moreover, it seems that media employers are at "peace" with media hopping because almost all media employers perpetuate this business by receiving or losing staff in this way.

Another media manager explained that before an MP decides to leave, it is expected of them to give a 3 months notice. This is to allow the affected media house room to re-organize itself, advertise, interview and train another practitioner fit to work in that department. However, the biggest challenge they face is when the media practitioner who wants to move does it immediately. This gives them no room to train another media practitioner. So the department or media house has to fill it in by a part-timer before they could get another person. This is normally tedious because of the whole process of getting another practitioner: from planning for interviews to conducting the interviews. The process itself is also expensive and

time consuming. From the media managers, another negative effect that comes from media hopping is the leaking of information. Employees who move from one media to another tend to share information on how things are done in his or her previous work station. The media employers shared that media hopping is not just among the journalists but also with all other MPs in the industry such as technical staff, camera persons, sound engineers and graphic designers. Overall, the media employers said that the MPs' hopping is annoying to the employer and confusing to audiences.

These employers noted that it is not easy for media owners to adjust once an MP hops. This is because most MPs move after their respective media houses have immensely invested in training them, both in-house and external training. Further, other MPs move with some fans or listeners especially if they were renowned journalists, thus loss of business of the station they are moving from. This response resonates with findings from audiences where some of them said that they move with their MPs due to the already established loyalty. Hopping makes it very difficult for some particular media houses to maintain a brand. They agreed that they are involved in headhunt poaching. The employers were unanimous that in this digital age of media convergence, they desire multimedia media practitioners who can multi-function in various media platforms hence their headhunt poaching.

The media employers made a reference to a scenario after Kenya's 4th March 2013 General Elections when a major movement of media practitioners was witnessed. Most presenters left their various stations and moved to K24. The reason why this occurred was not clearly known, though it was speculated that it was due to pay rise. However, after the research it was established that the major reason as to why the presenters moved to K24 was political—they wanted to be associated with the TV station that is owned by the ruling president. "Earlier, sometimes in May 2014, 5 radio presenters resigned from a major national Radio station one Friday evening to join a popular (competitor) radio station and reported to the new station the next day." This episode caused a rift between the two stations, as well as harsh comments from audiences for or against either media house.

One media manager confessed that it is hard for a newspaper to keep good writers. However, he insisted that there is the aspect of growth that entices many personalities to move. He also admitted that money is a crucial factor in keeping or losing personnel. But another Media Manager said that other MPs move jobs because of pride or simply because their friends or colleagues moved. So there is influence of wanting to do as the others.

According to one media manager of national TV station, MPs' hop causes audience shift. This means that when the practitioner moves to another station, he/she moves with the audience as well. In this kind of a scenario, if it affects the ratings, the revenue of the media house is generally affected. This media manager further explained that during the recruitment process, it is very difficult to get someone of the same personality and potential as the practitioner who has left the respective media house. The management trains the incoming personalities through a 3 month training which they call probation, so they can top up the current number

of audience i.e., by using new personalities to attract a new mass audience. In this particular TV station, due to the close work relationships among the employees, when one MP leaves the station, the remaining employees in the media house are affected negatively; especially if they challenged each other and if they worked together as a team. After a practitioner leaves a particular media house for another, the media manager faces a huge challenge containing the remaining employees, especially if they too ask for an increase in their current salary.

The movement of MPs affects the stations in that the media manager is left with a gap they need to fill. "The filling of this gap is not easy. We are left with the task of training new staff to fill this gap," said a media manager. "It's even tougher when the media practitioner has a specific audience because he or she tends to move with that audience. Therefore the media house loses an audience every time a media practitioner moves." The manager of a vernacular radio station also stated that MPs' movement can affect the publicity of a show. And this can lead to loss of advertisers.

If a media practitioner moves from a media house, he or she leaves a vacuum which is hard to fill. For instances, when the key graphic designer of a newspaper who had been working for a long time with the paper left the media house, it took 1 month before they could get a replacement. This greatly affected the performance of the newspaper. When a media practitioner leaves the station abruptly, it affects the media production. This has been experienced in the print media where productions come out late or with poorly done graphics.

Demotivation of workers is another effect. When a staff who was fun-loving and inspiring leaves the station it also affects other employees and the audience, who at times also decide to follow them in the specific media station they have gone. This reduces the work force. Hence it is a challenge for the media station to meet deadlines thereby losing its audience. Another media manager explained how costly it is in the process of acquiring and retaining new employees, and also on the in-house training activities, whereby all these warrant utilization of costs that were not budgeted for.

Another media manager gave an example of one of their best presenters who had just quit her job. She said that such movements destabilize the running of their media house and that there are many a times when they are forced to restructure their programming. Acquiring new qualified personnel to replace the migrating ones also gets hectic for the media house as a lot of time is consumed and lost in the in-house training process that these new replacements have to go through. She also noted that some of these MPs after hopping get greener pastures and allowances and this sometimes lures other personnel to think of moving as well. This, therefore, forces the managers to manage and 'massage' the egos of the good personnel remaining so that they do not also move. This exercise is expensive, demanding and exhausting in terms of energy. Regarding what they think could be the best way forward to address MPs' hopping, these media employers said there is no one prescribed solution but probably it would be good for media employers to work together in finding solutions to this challenge that affects them all.

11.5.4 Objective 4: Recommendations That Employers Could Adopt to Address the Challenge of MPs' Tendencies to Change Stations

Asked what they thought ought to be done to address hopping, most of the audience respondents stated that media employers ought to ensure that journalists get satisfactory package and good working environment. However, interviewed MPs revealed that some of them who have frequently moved, due to low pay as perceived by audiences and/or employers, move again, sometimes to lower salaries. *"I left my first station of work because the latter offered me a higher position though on a smaller salary. Also, the working conditions in my previous station had become suffocating and almost stifled individual creativity. My new stations provides a larger room for me to maneuver and enjoy journalism."* This could be linked to Needs and Motivation theory where Abraham Maslow posits that people actively seek to satisfy a hierarchy of needs. Once they have achieved the goals they seek on one level of the hierarchy, they develop new needs and desire to move to the next level (McLeod, 2014). And that money is not the only need or reason for one to meia hop. Thus fulfilled or already met needs no longer serve as a motivation. The findings are in agreement with Maslow because MPs have expressed that if a particular station does not facilitate this hierarchical movement then an MP would hop to another media house to have that need met, even if on a lower pay. Therefore, it is incumbent upon media employers to create a conducive and professional work environment that allows for all dimensional growth.

These findings have also shown that money is a key but not the only reason for MPs' hopping. As is indicated above, It is also evident from findings that particular respondents whose initial reason to move was money (according to audiences) have moved again, severally, and settled for a lower pay. This is because they got a higher position, emphasizing that it is not only money that make them move. Thus employers ought to learn to establish the unmet needs of each MP and address them.

In order to lower the frequent hop of MPs, it is important that terms and conditions, including how to leave a station, be mutually agreed upon by the MPs and employers. Since almost all media houses receive or loss employees in this manner, it would be good for media houses to come together and agree on a module how to acquire employees from another station; even though the media houses are competitors. The journalistic codes of conduct that govern the practice of journalism in Kenya do not have provisions that deter the movement of journalists from one media house to another. These decisions are left to the agreements made between the journalists and the media houses. Thus mutually binding laws could be put down in every media house, and among media employers. Further, the employers could develop a general regulation on remuneration of MPs to ensure that some stations do not overpay their staff and thus encourage hopping.

The audiences also noted that employers ought to invest in building and maintaining good terms of employment, good working conditions, and having all resources needed in a media house as suggested by most of the MPs who have hopped. However, it is also important to appreciate the fact that media is just like

any other career and that there is freedom of movement. It is therefore the duty of every employer to do whatever is legally, morally and humanly possible to not only hire but also retain their employees. They added that media employers should also strive to work hard to retain their employees by giving them the best that cannot be found elsewhere. Also, they need to give the sense of belonging and not make them feel unimportant. An employee ought to feel appreciated and rewarded. However, they cautioned that MPs ought to last in their jobs because people who change jobs too often may be viewed as just hoppers. Consequently, MPs who frequently change media houses may be disrespected by the public or even considered unreliable by potential employers. That is, lose credibility.

11.6 Media Hopping and the Two Theories

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, this study was guided by Maslow's Hierarchy of needs theory and Herzberg's two-factor theory. Maslow stated that human motivation is based on people seeking fulfillment and change through personal growth. He further explains that people strive to satisfy each need in turn, starting with the first, which deals with the most obvious needs for survival itself. Once any of these needs has been reasonably satisfied, one moves to satisfy the next level and may eventually be able to reach the highest level called self-actualization. Only when the lower order needs of physical and emotional well-being have been satisfied will an individual be concerned with the higher order needs of influence and personal development. For Maslow, a person is always "becoming" and never remains static. And thus everyone has the desire and capability to move up the hierarchy to the level of self-actualization.

Thus people will strive to get out of any situation that will hamper the hierarchical advancement. In order to attain the highest level of the hierarchy, MPs may hop from one media station to another in search of upward mobility on the job hierarchy. This study's findings resonate with the motivation theory. The reasons provided by MPs, employers and audiences point towards the need to have unfulfilled needs met. Yet, it is the responsibility of employers to provide a workplace environment that encourages employees to fulfill their own potential. Self-actualization is, today, as ever before, very relevant. As Maslow noted, every person is capable and has the desire to move up the hierarchy toward a level of self-actualization.

Closely related to Maslow's hierarchy of needs is Herzberg's two-factor theory (Pringle & Starr, 2006), which can be used to explain the other findings in this study. While Maslow considered all needs to be motivators, Frederick Herzberg (1923–2000), a psychologist, proposed that employee attitudes and behaviors are influenced by two different sets of considerations. He called them hygiene factors and motivators. What is considered hygiene factors are those factors associated with conditions that surround the performing of the job and include supervision, interpersonal relations with superiors, peers, and subordinates, physical working conditions; salary, company policies and administrative practices; benefits; and job

security. By responding to employee's hygiene needs, concluded Herzberg, will eliminate dissatisfaction and poor job performance but will not lead to positive attitudes and more productive behaviors. Those are accomplished by meeting the second set of considerations, motivators. These—motivators—are factors associated with the job content. They include achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility, and advancement.

There is a close relationship between Herzberg's hygiene factors and the lower-level needs identified by Maslow, and between the motivators and Maslow's self-esteem and self-actualization needs. The implications of this two-factor theory of motivation are clear. Employees have certain expectations about elements in the environment in which they work. When they are satisfactory, workers are reassured that things are as they ought to be, even though those feelings may not encourage them to greater productivity. However, when environmental expectations are not met, dissatisfaction occurs. An employer must provide for both the hygiene needs and the motivators to achieve a motivated work force. The critical task, therefore, lies in satisfying employees' needs for self-actualization by giving them more responsibility, providing opportunities for advancement, and recognizing their achievement.

11.7 Development of Media Hopping Theory

This study's findings are progressively leading to development of *Media Hopping Theory*. This theory explains why MPs hop from one media house to another. The study, as explained by *Media hopping theory*, presents hopping as a practice that is extensive in a context that is saturated with print, electronic and online media practice opportunities. *Media Hopping Theory* exposes hopping as also widespread in a media work environment where implementation of Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Herzberg's hygiene needs are deficient. Primarily, MPs hop if they have unmet needs, be they social, monetary or hygienic needs. It is therefore incumbent upon media managers to come up with creative ways to identify and address these unmet needs so as to address hopping. Sadly, media managers (employers) perpetuate hopping by employing hoppers.

11.8 Conclusion

In summary, media hopping is a common scenario in the contemporary media cycles. From this research, it is observed that people move because of various reasons. Further, the study shows that MPs is broad and includes other people who work in the media industry and not just journalists. Thus everyone in the media industry—such as technicians, camera people, sound engineers, reporters and anchors—hop. Audiences misunderstand (wrongly judge) MPs' tendency to hop because findings have clearly shown that money is not THE NUMBER ONE motivating factor for MPs to hop. This is because some MPs who have moved to

better paying jobs have moved again, sometimes to lower paying stations. Based on this research and findings it is clear that different media personalities have different reasons for hopping. And to address those varied reasons, organizations need to have full-proof systems to measure the performances of individuals. This should be based on merit and each MPs' need(s) but not on ethnicity, nationalism or just money. Much as it is expected that a Media Manager must respond to the interest of the community it is licensed to serve, necessary measures are to be put in place to avoid creation of an unhygienic working environment for any employee or the employer. It is evident that one of the main challenges that Media Managers face in the digital age is acquiring and retaining qualified human resources. One of the factors affecting media management is competition, where media houses compete with one another for advertising revenue and audiences. In a nutshell, the study has established that MPs hop; and most media houses lose or receive MPs who hop. MPs hop in a context that is saturated with print, electronic and online channels. It also emerged that MPs from all media houses—religious, secular, public, private or government owned—hop.

Appendix: List of Some MPs in Kenya Who Have Hopped At Least Once in the Last 5 Years (2009–2014)

1. Anne Kiguta
2. Ben Kitili
3. Bruce Amani
4. Caroline Mutoko
5. Catherine Wambua
6. Charity Waweru
7. Ciku Muiruri
8. Dennis Onsarigo
9. Emmanuel Onyango
10. Eric Oduor
11. Fareed Kimani
12. Ferdinand Omondi
13. Frankline Wambugu
14. Gathoni Wa Muchomba
15. Grace Kiwaye
16. Jalang'o (comedian)
17. Jane Gitau
18. Jane Ngoiri
19. Jane Nyingi
20. Janet Mbugua
21. Jeff Koinange
22. John Allan Namu
23. Julie Gichuru
24. Katherine Kasavuli

25. Larry Madowo
26. Lawrence Nganga
27. Lilian Muli
28. Linda Ogutu
29. Louis Otieno
30. Maina Kageni
31. Mark Kwemoi
32. Martin Mutua
33. Mercy Oburu
34. Mohammed Ali
35. Nyambane (Comedian)
36. Paul Nabiswa
37. Peninah M. Mbugua
38. Peter Wakaba
39. Sheila Mwanyigah
40. Shiku Kaittany
41. Sophia Wanuna
42. Sophie Ikenye
43. Swaleh Mdoe
44. Terry Anne Chebet
45. Thelma Mwadzaya
46. Tina Nzuki
47. Tom Japani
48. Tom Mboya
49. Waweru Njoroge
50. Young Muthomi

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Excessive Regulation Through Bureaucratic Bullying: Evaluating Broadcast Regulation in South Asia

12

Azmat Rasul

This article highlights the intricacies and perplexities involved in policymaking in the area of communication. Policymaking in the field of communication is considered a measured intervention by the government in the structural designs and business plans of companies offering media and communication services (Aufderheide, 2007). The communication industry is capable of influencing social and political systems in all societies, which empowers regulatory authorities and communication policy makers to have a strong and often an indirect effect on the functioning of media through their policy decisions (Napoli, 2003). In all societies, regulation of the media and market has remained a contested area generating heated debates, as mass media and other means of communication have traditionally run counter to the interests of the elites in democratic societies, and are considered a dangerous weapon that needs to be regulated in the name of *public interest* (McChesney, 2008; Napoli, 2003). Therefore, media practitioners and owners of the information and entertainment industries often criticize regulatory practices of democratic and despotic governments.

In developed societies like the United States, policy makers have adopted a *technologically particularistic* approach and produced regulations keeping in view characteristic features of assorted technologies (Napoli, 2003). Thus, telecommunication, broadcast, and Internet regulations in America are intrinsically *different* from one another in spite of the fact that new technologies converge and there are blurred boundary lines that divide these newly emerging means of communication (Werbach, 1997). In developing countries such as India and Pakistan, where privatization of electronic media and its regulation are nascent experiences, communication regulation grows even more complex. With the introduction of new technologies like Satellite TV, Internet, Direct-To-Home (DTH), digital television, Multichannel Multipoint Distribution Services (MMDS), Internet Protocol

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Television (IP TV), new regulatory challenges emerge which require decision making and regulatory policies that could best serve the interest of the consumers.

Broadcasting—television and radio is the most powerful medium of communication in terms of its reach and popularity in South Asia (Kumar, 1995). This paper will focus on the broadcasting industry and the regulations for broadcasting in two large South Asian countries of India and Pakistan. With the recent surge in the number of channels and the growing broadcasting industry in the two countries, it is important to look at the broadcast regulation scenario in both the countries. While Pakistan has a regulatory authority, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA), India does not have a regulatory body for cable television but has an authority to regulate broadcast television. The paper will compare PEMRA in Pakistan to the broadcast regulations in India due to the lack of a regulatory body in the latter. This will help understand why and how the bureaucratic powers have hampered the process of regulation with PEMRA failing to function effectively in Pakistan and the inability to form a regulatory authority in India.

12.1 Questioning Media Regulation in South Asia

The recent surge in the use of modern means of communication and consumption of media content has turned the communication industry into an attractive investment area not only for the domestic entrepreneurs but also for multinational firms, which have invested in telecommunication and broadcasting sectors in India and Pakistan. Despite these developments, South Asia lags behind in terms of ownership of television sets per thousand people. Compared with other developing nations, Pakistan has fewer radio stations; television in Pakistan has remained under state control for more than 50 years. The state-run, Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation controlled three television channels and approximately 50 radio stations without catering to the ethnically and culturally diverse population of Pakistan (Javed, 2002). In 1997, an interim government proclaimed the Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance (EMRA), ordinance, but the ordinance lapsed due to lack of interest of the ensuing democratic government, which did not want the electronic media to open up because of the fear of heavy criticism. Pakistan, satellite broadcasting and cable television had emerged as popular and alternative means of entertainment and information in the middle of the 1990s, and Pakistan Telecommunication Authority began to undertake licensing of the cable television in 1998.

Another important aspect of communication regulation and policy making in South Asia deals with the dynamic nature of communication technology. The world is witnessing an information revolution due to developments in communication technology, and new network societies are emerging in which identities are fluid (Castells, 2004). The developing countries are affected by this phenomenon and in order to address the challenges of new technologies and converging industries, policy makers are looking for adequate principles that could guide them in the process of policy making (Napoli, 2003). Ad hoc, inefficient, and mercurial policy decisions would be the outcome if the policy makers deal with the changing

mediascape in an inconsistent manner. As Anderson (1992) rightly puts it: “In order to make a policy decision, one must invoke some criteria of evaluation” (p. 387). Napoli (2003) is of the view that these evaluation criteria or foundation principles have not been appropriately analyzed by researchers. It is academically significant to find out how regulatory bodies adopted a holistic and coherent approach while dealing with budding media firms and new communication technologies in the country.

12.2 India and Pakistan: The Long Lost Siblings

India and Pakistan share common roots, ancestry, and the colonial inheritance. The Indian subcontinent or the South Asian region was under the British rule for nearly 200 years—from 1756 to 1947. In 1947, the Indian subcontinent was divided into the following sovereign states—Islamic Republic of Pakistan, People’s Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of India. India and Pakistan came legally into existence as two self-governing countries on the 15th August 1947. This division was done on religious lines, and both the countries moved forward to establish their own infrastructure, develop policies and plan future development.

For the mass media, both countries had a common and shared history under the British rule. From the time both the countries separated in 1947 to the present time, the two countries have had quite distinct growth patterns due to different styles of governance after partition. It is interesting to understand how the mass media has transformed and what policies and regulations both the countries have in place to regulate the broadcasting industry. This article critically analyzes and offers a comparison of the broadcast regulation policies of the Indian and Pakistani governments. It also evaluates the performance of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (hereafter PEMRA), which was established in 2002, by focusing on the question whether PEMRA has been used by the government to control the nascent, privately owned electronic media in Pakistan or it has truly played the role of a facilitator for the smooth functioning of diverse media organizations at national, provincial, local and community levels. The article focuses on purely comparing the performance of the regulatory bodies and policies of the broadcast industries of India and Pakistan. Since India does not have a regulatory body like PEMRA, this body will be compared to the existing regulations in India to understand any similarities and differences in the regulation scenario in both the countries.

12.2.1 Literature Review

According to Kemal (2002), various Pakistani governments have adopted socio-economic and administrative mechanisms to create a balance between government and private interests to ensure the existence of a healthy public sphere. Usually,

governments employ market failure and equity considerations as the most important reasons for introducing regulatory regimes (Kemal, 2002). Regulatory decisions have a direct effect on pricing, competition, inclusion or exclusion of market actors, and monopolistic strategies of media firms (McChesney, 2008). Thus, there is a tendency among regulators to apply bureaucratic powers to control media organizations by enacting complicated regulations that are used to tame unruly and adversary communication outlets. Other scholars (Bernstein, 1955; Kemal, 2002; McChesney, 2008; Napoli, 2003; Olson, 1982; Stigler, 1971) are of the view that the regulatory bodies begin their work enthusiastically to reform media firms, but as time passes, they become inefficient by indulging in bureaucratic routines and begin to safeguard interests of political and economic elite who use different tactics to cajole the regulators. Government pressure and private sector bribes are the most common strategies used by interest groups to get business-friendly laws enacted (Laffont & Tirole, 1993).

Various models of communication regulation are operative in other developed and developing societies. Garry (1994), for example, discussed four mutually exclusive communication regulatory models which include: a model related to print media described as no-regulation model; a common carrier model that deals with telegraph and telephone; a public trustee model governing broadcasting; and a hybrid model supervising cable television. These models are particularly relevant to the South Asian situation where a communication revolution has been brewing for the last decade. With the dawn of the new millennium, the Indian and the Pakistani government allowed privately-owned television and radio channels to operate, cable television operators proliferated, multinational telecommunication companies sprang up in urban and rural areas of the countries, and the number of English and vernacular newspapers and magazines multiplied which were enjoying considerable freedom contrary to the previous media history in the countries.

The Indian mass media today comprises over 300 TV channels (reaching 112 million households), 50,000 newspapers and magazines (with a readership of over 250 million), around 300 radio stations, a thousand feature films in 18 languages made every year, and a plethora of print, electronic, digital and telecommunications media. According to the latest FICCI-Price-Waterhouse Cooper Report (2007), the Indian media and entertainment industry is worth over 200 billion dollars and is projected to grow at the rate of 18–20% per annum. India does not have one joint regulatory body like the Office of Communication (OfCom, United Kingdom) or the Federal Communication Commission (FCC, United States). Different media and communication technology have a dedicated regulatory authority (Kumar & Thomas, 2006). For instance, the Press Council of India monitors the press; the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) regulates telecommunications, cinema by the Central Board for Film Certification (CBFC), and advertising by the ASCI Advertising Standards Council of India (ASCI) (Kumar, 1995). Although, broadcast media do not have a similar regulatory or monitoring body, it operates under the AIR Code and the Cable Television Networks Regulation Act (1995). After the liberalization of the media industry,

the proliferation and continuing growth of cable and satellite channels is seems to be a in the television industry in India.

In India, the national policy scenario for broadcasting is different from other media. An autonomous body called the *Prasar Bharti* (Broadcasting Corporation of India), which is a unit of the Ministry of Information, and Broadcasting manages the national news network, Doordarshan, with 21 channels and AIR (Kumar, 1995). Although the federal government funds this independent public service broadcasting agency, the government is not allowed to interfere with the business processes and issues relating this agency.

The Indian broadcast media encompasses today of a broad array of local, national and international channels. The private networks have to follow the Cable TV networks regulation Act in terms of the content and the quality of service they provide the subscribers. The Cable Television Networks Rules (1994) and the Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act (1995) were amended to Cable Television Networks (Amendment) Rules 2000. The new rules also made it mandatory for all cable operators to re-transmit at least two Doordarshan channels (the national and metro channels) and one regional language channel in the prime band. The cable operators were to be held responsible for programs that were offensive as well as for any advertisements of tobacco and alcoholic beverages. There is regulation against broadcasting excessive violence and obscenity on television according to this Act (Kumar, 1995).

Therefore in India, instead of a regulatory body like PEMRA in Pakistan, there is an array of regulations in India to regulate broadcasting in India. Along with regulations, the *Prasar Bharati* regulates the state-owned television in the country. The performance of these regulations and the regulatory bodies needs to be scrutinized to understand their efficiency in broadcast regulation.

12.2.2 Research Questions and Method

In order to critically evaluate performance of regulatory framework in India and Pakistan for the broadcasting industry, this study seeks answer to the following research questions:

- I. Did the governments in India and Pakistan facilitate establishment of broadcasting systems that could ensure plurality of views at local, regional, and national levels?
- II. To what extent regulatory bodies were independent of government control while framing regulatory rules and policies?

In order to answer these questions, the researchers have employed a critical analysis of the politics of regulation approach due to its flexible approach in analyzing evolution, role, and performance of organizations (Napoli, 2002). A combination of controlled media theory and free media theory approach will be used to critically analyze the performance of broadcast regulation in India and

Pakistan. It is important to assess broadcast regulation because television and radio are the most popular media for information and entertainment in both countries (Kumar, 1995).

12.2.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this paper is a combination of two of the four theories of media performance. The two theories that will be employed in this paper are controlled media theory and the free media theory. It is important to use a combination of the two theories as none of these theories can be singularly used in neither the Indian nor the Pakistani scenario. For instance, although India is a democratic country and freedom of press is an essential value, the government tries to control the media and regulate both content and ownership in these media outlets. So, in this case, neither the controlled media theory nor the free media theory can be employed and so a combination of both has to be used to assess the broadcast regulation performance.

12.3 Controlled Media Theory

The controlled media theory also known as authoritarian theory advocates advance censorship and punishment for deviation from externally set guidelines which are especially likely to apply to political subject matter or any with clear ideological implications. This theory offers a wide range of implications legislation to control media; direct involvement of state; strict codes of conduct for media; use of advertising and other kinds of economic sanction; imposition on the import of media content from other countries; and the government's influence in the production of media content. This theory is particularly relevant to the audiovisual media and has been applied to broadcast media in different societies. When applied to the broadcasting, in particular, it often deals with licensing arrangements for direct access or control under conditions of national need (McQuail, 2005). This theory justifies the control of powerful elites on broadcast media and supports the status quo. According to the theory, the government has a right to control media in the name of public interest and national security. McQuail (2005) argues that media, according to this theory, are not supposed to challenge the established authority and media should always follow the established authority by seeking guidance from those controlling power. McChesney (2008) also says that dominant social and political values are not challenged in a controlled media system and government uses different strategies to uphold ruling norms. Censorship is justified order to perpetuate control over independent voices and electronic media because of its pervasiveness attracts more censorship than other media. The controlled media theory justifies legal action against those challenging the government and established authority.

12.4 Free Media Theory

According to this theory, media should be allowed to operate freely without government intervention or regulation (McQuail, 2005). The underlying principles and values in this concept are deeply connected with the liberal democratic state system that guarantees a free flow of information in the society. The electronic media have received least protection in this theory as its pervasiveness and scarcity of spectrum differentiate it from other mass media covered under this theory (Napoli, 2003). An independent and free media has been visualized as an essential component of a democratic society. But when the theory is applied, there are numerous issues that need to be addressed. The questions related to the importance of theory being an end in itself, a means to an end, or an absolute right has been discussed in communication literature for the last three decades (McQuail, 2005). The application of the theory poses serious problems when regulators struggle to translate the lofty goals of the theory into reality. As Napoli (2003) points out that most of the normative principals adopted by regulators are hard to achieve, free media theory is extremely difficult to put into practice in a pragmatic way. The principal justification for a free media perspective, aside from the assumption that freedom implies freedom from the government, has been through the transfer of the analogy of the 'free market of ideas' expressed above to the real free market in which communication is a good to be manufactured and sold (McQuail, 2005). Freedom to broadcast is, therefore, considered an inalienable right of the individual like other rights in an egalitarian society. The theory castigates all kinds of censorship and strict regulation of media industry and supports the right of the media to promote a diversity of ideas through a free flow of communication.

These theories are relevant in this research as media is neither controlled nor free in South Asian countries. Sometimes, government does intervene and impose different sanctions, but often it adheres to the principle of a free media. The governments in India and Pakistan have facilitated the growth of an independent media industry; however, media itself has struggled hard to maintain its independence and freedom. The above-mentioned theories will help explain broadcast media regulation in India and Pakistan and role of government in controlling or liberating media.

12.4.1 Discussion and Analysis

Until 1990s, the electronic media in Pakistan have remained in government control. Pakistan had three radio stations in 1947 when the assets of AIR were divided. The government paid attention to the development of radio stations in different parts of the country, and 22 radio stations controlled by Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation served 100 % population of Pakistan in 2000 (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000; Rasul, 2004). Private sector FM radio stations have been working in Pakistan since middle of 1990s and after its establishment, PEMRA has licensed 129 FM radio stations in private sector (www.pemra.gov.pk). Similarly, Pakistan Television Corporation

(PTV), a public limited company, was set up in 1964 and it broadcasts programs to approximately 70 countries in 15 languages (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000; Hijazi, 1995). Being the only terrestrial television, PTV has five television centers in Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta, and Islamabad and it has six channels: PTV Home; PTV News; PTV Global; PTV National; PTV Bolan; and AJK TV, which cover approximately 90 % area of Pakistan while viewers in the remaining 10 % area can watch its programs through dish antenna. It began to use AsiaSat—cardinal pan-Asia commercial satellite—in 1994 to beam its programs for the Pakistanis living in Europe, Middle East and other parts of the world (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000; Hassan, 2002).

In Pakistan, the development of electronic media in the private sector kicked off in early 1990s when the government of Benazir Bhutto allowed Shalimar Recording Company (in which government had around 50 % shares) to begin a channel called STN with transmitting stations in 22 cities (Tahir, 1996). The channel had its own entertainment programs but news was still controlled by the government (Jabbar & Isa, 1997). The government, in 1996, granted license to the country's first pay TV company—Shaheen Pay TV—having 50 % foreign equity. The company offered 8–10 channels including CNN, BBC, Sony, HBO, National Geographic, and other local channels through MMDS technology (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000; Jabbar & Isa, 1997). However the company co-ventured with private entrepreneurs to bring into being Southern Networks, which was granted license by PEMRA in 2004 to serve urban areas of Pakistan by offering more than 50 channels through MMDS. This is the largest pay TV company in Pakistan with more than five million subscribers (Khan, 2008). There are also a few small pay TV companies working in peripheral towns of Pakistan.

Similarly, satellite television was introduced in Pakistan in the middle of 1990s, but its popularity was eclipsed by the thriving cable industry, which was cheaper and easily accessible in cities and small towns of Pakistan. Popularity of transnational channels made telecommunication companies such as PTCL and Brain Net introduce broadband television in the urban areas of Pakistan (Khan, 2008). The establishment of a regulatory authority was, therefore, needed to facilitate and regulate a growling media market in Pakistan. In fact, the growth of electronic media has leapfrogged after the establishment of PEMRA in 2002. The unprecedented growth of electronic media in Pakistan runs contrary to the thesis of Robison and Crenshaw (2002) who are of the view that only democratic governments help broadcast media proliferate; but in case of Pakistan, a dictatorial regime, led by General Pervez Musharraf, helped develop an independent and considerably free electronic media under the patronage of PEMRA. Discussion in the following paragraphs critically examines the performance of PEMRA in promoting broadcast media in Pakistan.

12.5 PEMRA as an Independent Authority

The concept of PEMRA was envisioned by Javed Jabbar, a Pakistani media wizard, as an independent authority to license, facilitate, and regulate electronic media in Pakistan. PEMRA came into being in March 2002 through an ordinance under the supervision of Jabbar who was Federal Information Minister. Initially, the Information Ministry was in charge of the embryonic organization, but soon it was placed under the Cabinet Division in order to ensure its independence and impartiality. However, its independence was questioned when Jabbar resigned as Information Minister due to his differences with General Pervez Musharraf on issues related to freedom of media (Khan, 2008). The Information Ministry was again handed over control of PEMRA in 2007 through an amendment in PEMRA ordinance to tame the electronic media, which were overwhelmingly opposing government's anti-democratic steps (Dar, 2008). This move was heavily criticized across the country, and various journalistic organizations took out processions with members of the civil society to protest against government's actions. After the imposition of emergency in Pakistan on November 3, 2007, dissident voices on television channels were silenced and a few pro-democracy channels were blacked out. However, General Pervez Musharraf had become a pariah after imposing emergency and removing the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (Rasul, 2009). An alliance of democratic parties won the February 2008 general elections, which led to the establishment of a coalition government with Pakistan Peoples' Party as the major partner. Thus, PEMRA was again placed under the Cabinet Division where it is directly answerable to the prime minister. The move signified resolve of the political parties to make PEMRA independent of government control. Despite repeated promises of political leadership, PEMRA remains a subsidiary organization of the Ministry of Information. Ever since its inception, most of the responsible positions in this organization were occupied by the officials of the so-called "information service" (Khan, 2008). Thus, contrary to the views of its founding father, PEMRA could not emerge as a fully autonomous body, and it had employed inefficient bureaucratic approach to regulate electronic media in Pakistan.

12.6 PEMRA and Free Flow of Ideas

PEMRA had pledged to facilitate transparency, accountability and good governance in the country through promoting a free flow of ideas (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority, n.d.). These goals, incorporated in the mandate of PEMRA, require a free and socially responsible media in order to strengthen democratic institutions (Altschull, 1995; McQuail, 2005). Although, freedom of expression through media has considerably improved in Pakistan since 1985 (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000), successive political governments have not been akin to the idea of an independent media, and various governments have had scuffles with media organizations exposing corruption and inefficiency in government ranks. A caretaker government in 1997 introduced Freedom of Information Ordinance along

with EMRA, which were allowed to lapse by the succeeding government, as these ordinances were not presented in the parliament for debate. Zeitlin (1999) discusses the role of members of civil society who had launched a campaign to convert the ordinance into an act of parliament. However, the political government remained unmoved and a dictatorial regime reintroduced Freedom of Information Ordinance and PEMRA Ordinance in early 2000. It negates the thesis of Robison and Crenshaw (2002) who consider democratic setups as promoters of electronic media. Although the military government of Pervez Musharraf received bitter criticism from media organizations, it tolerated the newly independent media and did not use its authority to influence the growth of electronic media in Pakistan. Excepting an amendment in PEMRA rules in 2007, the military government absorbed criticism and let media organizations grow in the country. The free flow of ideas did encourage accountability as Pakistani audience had an access to diverse political voices and content contrary to the routinized and standardized content available to media consumers when only state-owned channel was operating. Thus, PEMRA was partially successful in meeting its goals of bringing about accountability, transparency and efficient governance as per its mandate.

12.7 PEMRA, Diversity, and Development Communication

Electronic media had remained under government control in Pakistan until the turn of century. The Pakistani government during the 1990s began to liberalize media because of the growing consumer demands for diverse content and independent media organizations as state-run broadcasting had lost credibility (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000). The government endeavored to meet public demand by establishing PEMRA, which was mandated to ensure diversity and promotion of local, and community media in Pakistan. PEMRA had pledged to empower people of Pakistan through access to diverse channels of information, education, and entertainment (Jabbar, 2003). Since minorities do not get adequate representation on the mainstream media in a multicultural society like Pakistan, local and community media controlled and operated by disadvantaged groups filled the gap.

According to Harcup (2003) and Husband (2005), the central point of the concept of multiculturalism lies with the needs, interests and aspirations of the 'receiver' in a multi-ethnic society. It has to do with the right to relevant information, the right to answer back, and the right to use the means of communication for interaction in small-scale settings of community, interest group, and subculture. Thus, concept of local and community media rejects the necessity of uniform, centralized, high cost, highly professionalized, state-controlled media. It favors multiplicity, smallness of scale, locality, deinstitutionalization, and interchange of sender-receiver roles, horizontality of communication links at all levels of society and interaction among various groups (Husband, 2005). However, PEMRA failed to ensure development of community media in Pakistan. Although licenses were granted to various companies for radio and television operations in peripheral areas, a lion's share of the new licenses was bestowed upon large media groups. An

examination of the list of radio and television channels sanctioned by PEMRA indicates that companies headquartered in large cities applied for licenses in remote towns. It indicates the lopsided comparison of media development between urban and rural areas of Pakistan, although 68 % population of Pakistan constitutes what can be called a rural Pakistan.

In development sector, PEMRA has granted licenses to 11 FM radio stations and four television channels. All these licenses have been issued to educational institutions operating in large cities (www.pemra.gov.pk). All television channels belong to the Virtual University, which is imparting education through Internet and broadcast technologies. However, for a large developing country like Pakistan, neglect of communication channels in development sector is a big question mark (Rasul, 2004). The available data does not indicate whether or not development organizations in public and private sectors applied for radio and television licenses. The past trends in PEMRA history indicate that it failed to promote local and community-broadcasting systems that could meet educational, cultural, and developmental needs of two-thirds of Pakistanis living in peripheral areas.

12.8 PEMRA and New Electronic Media

Pakistan has witnessed a tremendous development in the use of Internet, online-media, and telecommunications in the first decade of the twentieth century. According to ITU estimate in 1998 and 1999 respectively, the number of mobile phone users was 202,000 with a density of 0.14 per hundred people and 3102 Internet hosts in Pakistan (Ali & Gunaratne, 2000; ITU, 1998, 1999). However, the number of ICT users has increased manifold during past 10 years, paving the way for an information revolution in the country. Although Pakistan Telecommunication Authority deals with telecommunication companies and Internet service providers, PEMRA has indirectly played a role in facilitating IPTV networks. Due to PEMRA's broadcast regulation and licensing policies, consumers have been attracted towards using Internet and telecommunication facilities, which is fast bridging the rural-urban gap and playing a role in socioeconomic development of the people (Dar, 2008; Khan, 2008). Since people can listen to radio and use Internet to watch TV programs on their cell phones, PEMRA has been indirectly responsible for the popularity and growth of mobile phones in Pakistan. Pakistani government is encouraging the investors and consumers to invest and use Information Communication Technologies (ICTs), as there is a huge potential for growth in this sector. The government formulated the first IT policy in 2000 followed by an IT action plan. This policy was criticized by stakeholders as they considered it too centralized and ambitious (Dar, 2008). Thus, PEMRA, by licensing FM radios and television channels have been indirectly instrumental in popularizing ICTs as the convergence technology makes it possible to not only use mobile phones and internet to listen to radio and watch television programs, but also stay connected with their family, friends and business (Ludes, 2008).

It could be concluded that PEMRA started working enthusiastically to promote the growth of an independent media and it did a commendable job; however, it was extremely difficult for this nascent organization to materialize normative goals it had set for itself. Napoli (2002) argues that defining FCC goals is still a contested area in the U.S. Therefore, political culture, social structure, and economic constraints make it difficult for regulatory bodies to actively pursue their goals. Bureaucracies in transitory societies are another problem that hinders the growth of independent regulatory authorities (Napoli, 2002). In PEMRA's case, the bureaucrats belonging to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting were extremely happy with the establishment of an autonomous organization that could limit their authority over the burgeoning media business. Thus, PEMRA could not continue working enthusiastically as proposed by Napoli (2002) and the bureaucratic interference restricted PEMRA from following its mandate and achieving normative goals it had ardently set for itself. Meanwhile in India, there were a number of bills proposed in the parliament to establish a regulatory authority in India but the regulatory regime or the bureaucratic pressure has hindered the regulation process. The following analysis of different broadcast regulations in India helps understand the scenario better.

12.9 India: From Control to Liberalization

India inherited a free press and a state-controlled broadcasting system from the British when the country achieved independence in 1947. After more than 60 years of independence, the mass media scenario along with the social and the political status of the country has changed significantly. The AIR remained as an instrument of "state persuasion" as it had to be sensitive to ethnic and religious considerations. Broadcasting was a tool to educate, development, reforms and social change for many years. This educational role was gradually taken over by successive leaderships that used radio to promote their political agenda, making AIR little more than propaganda service for the government of the day (Thussu, 1999).

Television was introduced in India in 1959 as the part of experimental telecast to broadcast public information and policies. The main aim for broadcasters—AIR and Doordarshan was to educate, inform and maintain unity in the country. While broadcasting remained in government control, the print media used the investigative journalism approach to focus on issues like famine and food shortage, which contributed in strengthening the democracy). The government invested money in developing satellite technology in the 1980s, as television remained their main focus. Soon after the launch of Indian National Satellite (INSAT) in 1982, Doordarshan was able to cover 70% of the population. As its popularity and reach increased, Doordarshan started becoming commercialized and its earnings increased 20-fold between 1982 and 1992. Along with information and education, entertainment became the major focus of broadcasting and continues to remain so.

The Indian economy along with the media industry was transformed in the early 1990s as a result of liberalization that was introduced in 1991. The markets were opened up as the new economic policy encouraged privatization, dismantling of the control of the government and the liberalization of media regulation to encourage global players. In 1998, foreign companies started to invest and be a part of a once closed broadcasting industry (Thussu, 1999). By 1998, major transnational players like STAR, BBC, Discovery, MTV, CNN, DISNEY and CNBC were operating in India to adapt to suit the Indian context. The STAR network owned by Rupert Murdoch with its number of channels—STAR plus, STAR movies and STAR news started by showing Western programs in English with Hindi subtitles but further moved on to locally producing programs.

12.10 Prasar Bharati or the Broadcasting Corporation of India

In 1989, the *Prasar Bharati* (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Bill was introduced in the house. The Bill was further enacted in 1990 but not implemented until 1997. It granted of autonomy to electronic media, namely, AIR and Doordarshan, which were previously under government control. The *Prasar Bharati Act*, also stated that all the property, assets, debts, liabilities, payments of money due, all suits and legal proceedings involving AIR and Doordarshan will be transferred to *Prasar Bharati*. The *Prasar Bharati Act* recommended that the Corporation will solely focus on developing and maintaining unity in the country by public service broadcasting. The Broadcasting Corporation ensures that all broadcasting on Doordarshan and AIR protects the interests of children, women, poor and rural sections of the population, promotes social justice, reflects diversity and promotes social justice and national integration. While the *Prasar Bharati* is responsible for Doordarshan and AIR, there is no regulatory body in India yet to regulate the private channels and their broadcasting. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting under the Cable Networks Networks Regulation Act, 1995, currently regulates cable and satellite television (www.altlawforum.org).

12.11 Cable Television Networks Regulation Act, 1995

This act was the government's first attempt to regulate the non-governmental broadcast media focused on cable operators and it was framed after the government reached an understanding with the Cable Operators Federation of India at a national level in 1993. This law regulates the burgeoning cable market that had emerged a few years earlier by enabling some control of the cable system that enabled mass distribution of television signals. The law also regulates subscription rates and ensures that the free-to air state owned television is also provided to the subscribers as a part of the package in the basic service tier. The Cable Television Networks Rules includes a *Programme Code* that imposes some restrictions on the content of both programs and advertisements shown on cable television. These rules were

amended in March 2008, and there is talk every now and again of further amendments. Cable operators contend that they are the only segment of broadcasting chain currently subject to regulation and hence they bear a disproportionate burden of responsibility for controlling the content of television channels. At the same time, with networks spread across the country, implementation of the law is not an easy task. (www.infochangeindia.org).

12.12 Bills That Were Never Enacted

The Broadcasting Bill of 1997 was proposed by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and was aimed to facilitate private broadcasting and to ensure “variety and plurality of programs required in different regions and different sections of society in our vast country.” The Bill seeks to set up an “autonomous” Broadcasting Regulatory Authority of India (BRAI) to regulate broadcasting by licensing broadcasters, allocate frequencies on the electromagnetic spectrum, and monitor quality, cost and content of service. The ministry was confident that the Bill would become a “catalyst for social change,” “promotion of values of Indian culture” by curbing monopolistic trends and ensuring competition. BRAI would regulate the content of the broadcasting for ‘public interest’ according to the Act and would also be responsible for allocation and renewal of licenses. The Bill never got past a joint parliamentary committee for the examination of the legislation, which was later tabled, in Parliament.

Soon after, the government tried to regulate by proposing the Communication Convergence Bill in 2000, which aimed at establishing one common regulatory body, *Communication Commission of India* (CCI), to deal with all information and communication technology. This bill proposed to repeal the Indian Telegraph Act 1885, the Indian Wireless Telegraphy Act 1933, the Telegraph Wire Unlawful Possession Act 1950, and the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India Act, 1997. This bill also addressed the continuous convergence of communication technology. This legislation, too, remained a dead letter due to bureaucratic pressure (Joseph, 2009).

In 2006, the government made some changes to the Broadcasting Bill of 1997 and introduced the Broadcasting Service Regulation Bill. All the previous bills were discarded as the committee proposed this new bill in which the government has control and any cable or broadcasting company to stop broadcasting or transmit it in a way the government suggests. The Bill also gives “Authorized officers” the power to inspect, search and seize equipment of offending broadcasters along with BRAI as proposed in the Broadcasting Bill of 1997 (www.broadbandindiamagazine.com). The Bill was strongly criticized as it gave the government the power by giving them the right to pre-censor. The Bill was shelved when media businesses protested against the Bill for the potential to create a negative impact on the media industry and a threat to freedom of expression.

12.13 To Regulate or Not to Regulate

India has tried to pass regulations to regulate the broadcasting industry over a long period of time. As each government finishes the term and moves on, the bill is either shelved or is left at the mercy of the future government. The successive government if from an opposition party, discourages the progress of the bill in the house sometimes purely based on political rivalry. The bills for media regulation in India are either shelved due to political rivalry or due to pressure from the broadcasting industry. The industry leaders try to lobby the political parties or the ruling party to make changes in the Bill as proposed. The broadcast industry voiced their strong opposition to certain provisions in the Bill and several sections of the content code, particularly those referring to television news (Joseph, 2009).

The review and assessment of the existing and proposed regulations in India for broadcast media suggests that the bureaucratic pressure and politics comes in the way of formation of broadcast regulation in India. The analysis suggests that the lawmakers seem to be constantly contemplating if the fourth estate of the Indian democracy should be regulated or not. The Indian government and the broadcasting industry do not seem to have an agreement when it comes to establishing a regulatory authority for the broadcasting industry. Although there is Cable Networks Regulations Act (1995) for cable television and *Prasar Bharati* in place to regulate the state television, radio, there seems to be no consensus on a common regulatory body for the entire broadcasting and the telecommunications industry. While the Indian government attempts to regulate the broadcasting industry with the occasionally proposed bills and ordinances, the media industry revolts against them as an effort to curb the freedom of press. The tussle between the freedom of press and the regulation of the broadcasting industry in India is consistent and broadcast regulation remains a far-fetched dream.

The Indian government emphasizes on principles like diversity and competition and promises to provide a level-playing platform for different broadcasters (Joseph, 2009). With the advancement of mass media, its increasing number of private players and the wide reach in India, there is a need for an autonomous regulatory body that would regulate purely on the basis of the set guidelines. But at the same time, it seems like the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting does not want to let go of the powers it has over the broadcasting industry. Unfortunately, history has it that an independent regulatory authority does not really stay autonomous and the bureaucrats and the Ministry itself has tried to influence it in every way possible. *Prasar Bharati*, which was established to regulate state-owned broadcasting, is now indirectly controlled by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The promised autonomy has been under scrutiny in the real world scenario of broadcasting (Ganguly, 1990).

12.14 Conclusion

As we have seen in both the case of India and Pakistan, bureaucracy seems to overpower the need for regulation over and over. Both India and Pakistan, who have the same colonial inheritance, also have some of the same bureaucratic issues that need to be dealt with. Pakistan has a regulatory body for the broadcasting industry, which is hardly effective in doing its work due to political influence. India is still struggling to establish a regulatory authority. Unlike other developed countries, the two countries are grappling with political issues that hinder the process discourse of public interest. The real issues relating to media remain unattended. The media industry is proliferating but the media policy and regulation is still at a nascent stage. There are ideological clashes between the federal and the state governments to come to consensus with a national policy for broadcasting. Some also question the need for regulation in a country like India, which is world's largest democracy, as it might curb the freedom of the press. At the same time, with multinationals and foreign players entering the market, it is important that there is necessary regulation in place to ensure the broadcasting is for true public interest. It looks impossible to have a proposed independent regulatory authority to exist in these countries as the power-mongers try to ensure that they become a part of the regulatory regime.

Different studies (Bagdikian, 2004; McQuail, 1992; Napoli, 2002) suggest that governments want to maintain their control over electronic media due to their ubiquity and power to influence public opinion. Despotic and democratic regimes indulge in efforts to control the media due to these reasons. Scholars have also argued that democratic regimes are more prone to develop an independent media and regulatory bodies; however, in case of Pakistan, it was interesting to note that PEMRA was established dictatorial regime and electronic media enjoyed an unprecedented growth during military rule of Pervez Musharraf. It is equally interesting to note that India has yet to establish a regulatory body despite being an efficient democracy. The common factor between both societies is the control of bureaucracies that thwart all endeavors, which limit their authority. Thus, as proposed by Napoli (2002) and McQuail (1992), regulatory bodies zealously work to facilitate broadcast media growth; however, lethargic bureaucracies take over as regulatory regimes challenge the status quo. It could be concluded that a lot of political effort is required to ensure existence of independent and autonomous regulatory bodies to facilitate the smooth functioning and development of broadcast media in India and Pakistan.

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A Glimmer of Hope in a Suffocated Media Landscape? Citizen Journalism Practices in Turkey

13

Banu Akdenizli

The introduction of new communication technologies has raised questions about how existing media practices and media work are changing as a result (Lievrouw, 2002). Audio, visual, and digital innovations have contributed to the changing way journalists think and practice their profession (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012). It is now of common consent that emerging possibilities generated through new media are shifting the function of journalism in western democracies. While the contribution of professional journalism to democratic citizenship is thought to be well-established in some countries, whether citizen journalism can play a similar role is yet to be determined (as also argued by Kaufhold, Valenzuela, & de Zuniga, 2010).

Some of the pivotal functions of journalism as marked by many can be summarized as providing information about issues of public concern, serving as watchdog, representing the public in political matters, and providing a platform for political actors through which they can mediate and reach the public (Peters & Witschge, 2015). Yet, with the emergence of digital tools, users (besides journalists that is) are now able to participate in the creation and circulation of media (Lewis, 2012, p. 847), enabling citizens participate in agenda-setting, a practice solely reserved for media professionals in the past. With a range of web based practices (such as blogging, microblogging, photo and video sharing, content creations, content reposting, linking, commenting, etc.) ordinary users can engage in so-called journalistic practices which have become to be labeled as citizen journalism practices. Rosen (2008) in his widely quoted definition of citizen journalism says that “when the people formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another, that’s citizen journalism”.

Digitization has transformed existing journalism practices in Turkey as well. Social media platforms have become one of the most effective tools for journalists since 2010; journalists disseminate formal news on Twitter, and also have the

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opportunity to add personal comment and criticisms to their tweets (Tunç & Görgülü, 2012). Twitter as a journalistic platform is regarded as being more democratic, interactive and transparent in comparison to mainstream media. Many draw attention to the potential social media platforms have to reshape the traditional media structure and bypass partisan editorial decisions in Turkey. Also many are doubtful of this so called potential. The aim of this chapter is to offer a brief synopsis of the state of the Turkish media landscape in Turkey and introduce some of the key players of citizen journalism practitioners in the country.

13.1 A Brief Look into the Media Landscape in Turkey

As noted by many scholars in Turkey, the industrialization phase of Turkey's media industry began in the 1960s. The advent of neoliberal economic principles, the deregulation policies of the 1980s were especially influential in newspapers and magazines morphing into holding companies active in other sectors beside media. It was after the 1990s that Turkey's mass media encountered major changes: the explosion of private commercial media stations and the end of monopoly over TV broadcasting were milestones fueling the trend of holding companies in Turkey.

As noted by Sözeri and Güney (2011), the economic crisis of 2001 forced some of the holdings active both in media and the financial sector to withdraw from the media market. This made groups remaining in the market stronger. Coupled with problematic regulation and laws that failed to prevent the domination of few media groups in Turkey, the sector became more concentrated than ever.

In the last decade, coincidentally with the coming of AKP (Justice and Development Party) into power in 2002, independent media companies have been sold to AKP party supporters resulting in an increasingly divided media landscape in Turkey. As also mentioned in Tunç (2015), in the last decade, media companies have become to be regarded as either opponents or proponents of the government, with companies not critical of the government enjoying the benefit of government contracts. The Ethical Journalism Network (EJN) Report (2014) reveals how the Turkish media system is subject to interference from the government and business. According to the Report, it is the structure of media ownership and "the lack of transparency in the ownership and operations of media and the self serving nature of relations between business and politics" that contribute to self-censorship in journalism in Turkey (p. 1).

Another important challenge in Turkey's media landscape has been the situation of journalists. Due to the increased concentration in the market, journalists are forced to waive their contractual and organizations rights (Sözeri & Güney, 2011). Moreover, Turkey's history is rife with criminal prosecution and jailings of journalists. With its highly repressive laws, authorities have imprisoned journalists on mass scale on terrorism or anti-state charges, launched thousand of other criminal prosecutions on charges denigrating Turkishness or influencing court proceedings, and used pressure tactics to sow self-censorship (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012, p. 6).

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) identified 76 journalist imprisoned as of August 2012, of which 61 of them were journalist directly held for their published work (p. 6). A similar report by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) puts the number of jailed journalists at 95 for the same year (OSCE, 2012). More journalist are imprisoned in Turkey than anywhere else in the world, making the country an “open air prison” for journalists as put forth by many national and international analysts (Akdenizli, 2015). In 2014 the CPJ ranked Turkey among the world’s top ten worst countries for jailing journalists.

Needless to say in such a troubling environment for mainstream journalism practice, many in Turkey have turned to the internet and social media as both a source of information and news and as a platform to share and connect. This was most prominently illustrated in the recent events surrounding the protests at Gezi Park in Istanbul in the summer of 2013. When the media chose to ignore the Gezi Park Protests of June 2013, many turned to social media for news. Social media became a new organizing and information sharing tool. Activists started asking questions and were engaged in public discussion in sometimes bold, and most of the time in inventive ways. When on June 2, 2013 at the height of the protests at Gezi Park, CNN Turk (the Turkish partner of CNN) chose to air a documentary featuring penguins instead of live pictures of the confrontation, the penguin became an iconic image used during the protests to ridicule and spotlight media self-censorship in Turkey (Akdenizli, 2015). Journalism rather than serving democracy was undermining it (Carey, 1992).

Twenty nine Twitter users are on trial for tweeting during the Gezi Park protests for inciting the public to break the law. Columnist Önder Aytaç was sentenced to 10 months in prison for swearing at the Prime Minister of Turkey in a tweet. Similar charges were brought upon the editor of Today’s Zaman, Bülent Keleş. Mahir Zeynalov, a journalist from Azerbaijan working for Today’s Zaman, was deported from Turkey for posting tweets critical of the government. More recent examples include: a 10 month jail sentence for Mehmet Baransu on June 30, 2015 for insulting President Erdoğan on Twitter; legal threats against pro-opposition newspaper Cumhuriyet and editor in chief Can Dündar accused of espionage in June 2015; and the trial of Dutch freelance journalist Frederike Geerdink for terrorism charges over her reporting on Kurdish issues in April 2015.

The internet and social media have become an important part of public life in Turkey. According to the latest numbers by We Are Social (2014), social media penetration in Turkey as a percentage of the total population was at 44 % in 2014. The average time social media users spend on social media each day is 2 h and 32 min. Ninety three percent of all internet users are on Facebook, and 72 % are on Twitter. As the most recent Freedom House Special Report (2014) on Turkey points out,

Turkey is also notable for young people’s use of the internet for news. A recent Gallup/BBG survey showed that among 15-to-24 year olds, the internet had nearly matched television as a source of news (71 % for internet vs. 75 % for TV). . . .Forty-seven percent of the 15-to-24 cohort got their news from social media-despite the fact that fixed

broadband and mobile broadband penetration rates are currently only about half of OECD averages. (p. 4)

It is important to note that what a user has access and why depends on the specific legal, economic, political and social conditions that surround the user (Akdenizli, 2010a). Newspaper archive research, as well as the existing literature on the development of internet in Turkey, suggests that up until 2001, the approach to internet policy in Turkey has been to handle internet related issues as much as possible within the context of existing laws. In terms of internet censorship history, we see that websites were taken down or blocked as early as 2000 (Akdeniz, 2009). Allegation of corruption within the Turkish government and army; anti-Turkish sentiments; terrorist propaganda; defamation; and gambling are some of issues that have triggered court actions and blocking orders (Akdeniz, 2009). On March 2007, Turkey blocked access to YouTube, the popular video-sharing website, when a video clip including defamatory statements and images about Atatürk was published on the site. The video also contained scenes disparaging the Turkish flag. The YouTube ban lasted nearly two and a half years. Since the passing of Law No. 5651, commonly known as the internet law, in 2007, the government in Turkey has continued to block tens of thousands of websites. A voluntary citizen initiative EngelliWeb.com, a website dedicated to compiling an open list of blocked websites in Turkey, estimates the number of blocked websites to be around 84,162 at the time of writing (August, 2015). Most recently Twitter and Youtube were blocked on March 27, 2014 days before the local elections in Turkey. On April 2, 2014 Turkey's Constitutional Court decided that the Twitter block violated freedom of expression. A similar ruling about YouTube came on May 28, 2014, but the government decided to continue a block on 15 specific YouTube links. Both platforms are accessible at the moment. Yet Turkey continues to send content removal request to Twitter. As mentioned in the Freedom House Report (2014), "in 2013, Turkey sent nine official request to Twitter for content removal; Twitter complied with none. In the first half of 2014 alone, Turkey sent 186 removal requests, and Twitter complied with 30 %" (p. 7). The most recent Transparency Report by Twitter covering January–June 2015 states that 718 court orders and other requests from Turkish authorities directing Twitter to remove content based on violations of personal rights and other local laws were received, making Turkey the top country of removal request with 72 % (and Russia second with 7 % and South Korea third with 4 %).

As illustrated briefly here, the media landscape in Turkey is at best described as suffocated and distinctly lacking in freedom and editorial independence. As many scholars point out fierce censorship and self-censorship are practiced on a daily basis in these big media outlets and the internet, just like mainstream media, is under heavy control. But is there a glimmer of hope?

13.2 Alternatives in the Media Landscape?

This section provides some of the examples of citizen journalism practices in Turkey. It is important to note that this list is not an exhaustive list. There are many other organized and unorganized practices and efforts of citizen journalism in Turkey. The ones included here are the more well known, recognized and often cited platforms.

13.2.1 140journos

140journos is probably one of the most known volunteer based counter media initiatives in Turkey. It started live news reporting through Twitter on January 19, 2012. The reference in the name stems from the 140 character limit on Twitter posts and the journos stands for journalists (the preference for the slang term journos put for by the project is due to the fact that nobody part of the project is a professionally trained journalist. They rather define themselves as a group of concerned citizens from different backgrounds). Interviewed many times by foreign scholars and international organizations (such as BBC, Foreign Policy, El Pais, The Guardian, Deutsche Welle, Columbia Journalism Review, Nieman Lab, and the Nieman Reports), the group considers itself a data project rather than a journalism outlet.

The event that kickstarted the project was an airstrike on an Iraqi border town, Roboski, on December 29, 2011 which resulted in the death of 34 civilians. Frustrated by the lack of coverage of this event in mainstream media, Engin Önder a then 21 year old college student decided to found the project. Volunteers use their own mobile devices to provide uncensored and unfiltered news via social media outlets, with Twitter being the predominant one. The project also has a web page, Facebook, Snapchat, and Vine accounts. The project also has a cell phone number reserved for WhatsApp, so individuals can contribute and contact the project in multiple ways. At the time of writing (August 2015) the Facebook page has 5295 likes and the Twitter account 65,194 followers.

13.2.2 Ötekilerin Postası (The Others' Post)

Ötekilerin Postası is a platform that started as a Facebook page. Initially the page was designed to share taboo and often neglected issues by mainstream media, particularly news related to the hunger strikes of Kurdish prisoners and the demand of greater freedom for the Kurdish language in public life. The Facebook page currently (August, 2015) has 206,559 likes and 210,515 followers on Twitter. The platform also has a stand alone website (otekilerinpostasi.org) providing up to date news on various news, from a radical left-wing perspective. The logo of Ötekilerin

Postası is a pomegranate, chosen as a symbol for social peace, a whole with a thousand different seeds inside.

The Gezi protests of 2013 are regarded by many as a benchmark event that led to more organized news sharing practices on social media. As one of veteran citizen journalism platforms, Ötekilerin Postası was already established, but it was with Gezi that it became a citizen journalism hub due to its wide coverage of the protests.

Kurdish or rather pro-Kurdish news have often been labeled as terrorism in Turkey. Authorities have used the anti-terror law against Kurdish journalists multiple times. The CPJ Report of 2012 provides a poignant point: “about 70 % of those jailed in August 2012 were Kurdish journalists charged with aiding terrorism by covering the views and activities of the banned Kurdistan Workers Party, or PKK, and the Union of Communities in Kurdistan, or KCK” (p. 7). Ötekilerin Postası’s Facebook has been closed repeatedly, but each time the authors have reopened it and rebuilt their audience. The Facebook page continues to face problems with community complaints. In early August 2014, the page was closed for the ninth time for unclear reasons.

13.2.3 Dokuz8Haber

Dokuz8Haber is a journalism network that gathers various independent citizen journalism outlets, such as Ayağa Kalk Taksim, Demokrat Haber, Emek Dünyası, Gezi Postası, HaberVesaire, Jiyan, Solfasol, and Ötekilerin Postası, to join forces and create a common newsroom. The network came to life in July 2013 with centers in İstanbul, Ankara and Diyarbakır. Volunteers and citizen journalists send their stories to professional editors, and the news stories are serviced domestically and internationally via this independent news agency. There is live-stream coverage and translation if needed. Their first livestream even was on March 30, 2014 during local elections in Turkey, and then on May 1, 2014 to cover May Day celebrations. The network is dormant for now trying to build up their infrastructure for continues livestream reporting.

Their Facebook page has 8339 likes at the time of writing and their Twitter account 32,875 followers. The network also holds workshops and seminars on alternative media and citizen journalism.

13.2.4 VagusTV

The website VagusTV was a combination of professional and citizen journalism. Founded by journalist Serdar Akinan, VagusTV became especially known due to its coverage of corruption allegations against the government in late 2013–early 2014. At the height of the corruption scandal which included dozens of phone conversations and documents spurring corruption allegations against high level government officials, many media outlets were either silent or tentative. It was during these allegations that the ban on Twitter came in Turkey.

In January 16, 2014, the site was blocked by the government of Turkey for approximately 2 weeks under unclear circumstances. While the site enjoyed about 1.5–2 million viewers each day, the government's decision to block access to the site disrupted its already fragile business model and the site was forced to shut down.

13.2.5 VivaHiba

VivaHiba (www.vivahiba.com) is a relatively newer and open-ended citizen journalism example is a platform that enables freelance photojournalists and amateurs to share user-generated content and images. News stories may be uploaded to the Internet directly or by using a smartphone application. The website was launched in November 2013 by cofounders Hıdır Geviş and Barış Şarer and is based in New York City. VivaHiba is run by a team of volunteers and has roughly 5000 subscribers, among whom 400 are actively producing content for the site from 25 different cities in Turkey (Freedom House, 2014). Their Twitter account at the time of writing had 13,445 followers.

13.3 The Road Ahead?

The list above certainly as mentioned before is not all inclusive and exhaustive. There are many other forms of citizen journalism practices in Turkey. The ones above are examples of more organized efforts. Professional journalists taking to Twitter to break the news, and even launch the news first on social media; professional reporters and journalists using social media actively to comment on ongoing news; internet based news sites founded by professional journalists; forum sites based on entries by subscribers commenting on daily news and events; limited efforts by mainstream media outlets to host blogs on their sites are some of the other efforts that can be included under citizen journalism efforts and practices in Turkey. At the moment one of the key constraints for the road ahead is finding a viable business model that ensures survival. The shutdown of Vagus TV is a clear example of some of the hardships that face independent ventures. Widening the base of citizen journalism practices which seems to be at the moment dominated by the left wing urban educated citizens; monitoring quality, accuracy and objectivity; and trying to increase investigative and in-depth reporting are all important challenges ahead.

What is certainly important to remember here is what a user has access and why depends on the specific legal, economic, political and social conditions within a country. While Turkey's media landscape is described by many as suffocated, how citizen journalism can provide fresh air seems at this point is still debatable. Existing practices of filtering and blocking websites (which for example led to Vagus TV's demise) coupled with recent internet legislature, the legal provisions and practices related to freedom of expression and media pluralism on the internet

seem to pose serious repercussions for journalists as well as ordinary citizens. How citizen journalism practice in Turkey will continue to evolve will be deeply connected to Turkish government's relationship with the internet. But certainly a glimmer of hope exists.

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Ayad Al-Ani

14.1 Introduction

Information and services produced by citizens could be the essence of a public administration that seeks to reinvigorate its capabilities lost during the neo-liberal period. In the current model, the citizen expects services in return for taxes paid. When the services do not meet expectations, the “participation” is often limited to a protest/voice or exit. In the now emerging new view of government, administration in its various forms reaches into the virtual space, capturing the motivation and talents of citizens, which have been so far neglected by the private and public sector, forming a “cognitive surplus”. This surplus of ideas and talents is now integrated into the processes of policy formulation and service delivery using modern social media tools and virtual platforms. This co-option—which in the digital world is often achieved with negligible transaction and marginal costs—can be used to solve collective problems at the community, state, national and international level: The ability to tap the cognitive surplus becomes part of a country’s political and economic competitive advantage and shows a way out of the dilemma of “post-democracy”, which describes the dependency of politics on the private sector. As the desire (or rather need) for utilising the cognitive surplus continues, we can expect the administration system to evolve into a kind of partner state that stimulates, directs and supports activities of its citizens by providing data,

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applications and interaction spaces as they compete and collaborate with the traditional economic and administrative sector by using various forms of the self-governing and self-organising peer-to-peer (P2P) approach that has been successfully implemented in the Open Software community. Therefore, services must not ultimately be delivered by state organisations, but rather, platforms must be provided to allow for the self-organised interaction of citizens to solve their pressing issues. In times of financial hardship, these models seem to make even more sense.

The argument developed here is, that new forms of collaborations between citizen producers could be useful or even at times better in delivering public services and also possibly cover needs not addressed today. The beleaguered and strained state could use these new forces and must open and remodel its institutions and policies to direct, encourage and stimulate the cognitive surplus to fulfil this role. This cooperation and co-option of the cognitive surplus will, however, adversely affect its potential political participatory capabilities, but P2P collaborations could add cohesion to the society, through shared experiences and collective practices on the community level.

14.2 Forces of Disruptive Innovations

The transformations that are occurring in our societies have their root in the globalisation and technisation/digitisation of the economy (Fuhr, 2005). These changes lead to a different understanding of the roles of the state, the citizens, and the fabric and cohesion of society.

14.2.1 The Limited State

The efficient and effective organisation of public administration is restricted for two main reasons: the structural limitations of the classical hierarchical Max Weber model aggravated by neo-liberal conceptions of the role of the state, and the financial meltdown that occurred in 2008/2009.

Hierarchies do not seem to cope with the expectations of a complex world. Breaking down information and work into smaller bits and bytes leads to institutional performance that is lacking in its ability to act efficiently, responsively, flexibly and innovatively. Trying to put the small work packages together again, designing and governing complex programs through a command hierarchy is almost impossible in a complex environment.¹ Even worse: Hierarchies do not make good use of the capabilities of their workforce, let alone the talents and motivations of their customers/citizens. Hierarchies have a tendency to select and

¹For an early but still impressive critique, see: Marglin (1974). On the “limits” of organisation despite his positive views on hierarchy (“nature loves hierarchy”) see Arrow (1974).

use only certain aspects of the talents and motivations of individuals and neglect the rest.² With an awareness of these limitations, or specifically, of the often poor performance of government agencies, the neo-liberal model has argued for the cutting back the role of the state, and allowing market mechanics to take its place. However market processes cannot fully substitute public action and public goods. Thus, over the last 20 years the role of the state has been increasingly diminished, through the systematic cutting back of its capabilities for development and service delivery leading observers to describe the current situation of government as being “post-democratic”. This phenomenon describes a weak government that cannot act on behalf of the citizens but is left to the mercy of market forces, which exert influence and co-opt state activities to serve their interests (Crouch, 2004). The increasingly weakened capabilities of the state reveal themselves even in developed nations, as western governments suddenly appear incapable of effectively implementing complex programs (i.e., “Obamacare”, “Energy Transition” in Germany). The final blow for the state in the Western Hemisphere came with the financial crisis, which required the state to save the market, through the public take-over of market debts, restricting its future capabilities even further.³

14.2.2 Peer-to-Peer Collaboration as a New Force of Production

Given that the talents and motivations of individuals (employees and citizens) have often been excluded by hierarchies, individuals can now use social media to do more for themselves, by themselves or with others (Benkler, 2006: 8). Using digital devices, the individual can act as a free producer, as a peer, to produce, enrich and redistribute information, thus creating a new social (and political) relationship coined “peer-to-peer” production. This P2P process of collaboration uses existing technologies and assets (smart phones, computers, technical infrastructure, cars, rooms. . .) and available time at negligible marginal costs to engage in production processes, creating “non-exclusive” goods, *commons*, that are available to anybody for free.⁴ A new scheme of production is emerging, one that cannot be explained by

²For this problematic selective inclusion process, which rejects “unwanted aspects” of the personality but always gets too little of the wanted traits (commitment, quality . . .), cf. Neuberger (2000: 500).

³For a summary of this discussion, cf. Al-Ani (2013).

⁴Nobel laureate Ostrom (1990) re-introduced the commons into the economic sphere. Writing before the internet era, she came short of describing that the commons in the information technology era are something rather different than the commons used to govern natural resources as described in her ground-breaking work. These new information commons are not affected by the “tragedy of the commons” (Hardin, 1968), for instance. The value of the information commons created through P2P processes is not diminished by use, but on the contrary enhanced by it: it is governed “(. . .) by a *Comedy of the Commons*, or using a similar metaphor, producing a *Cornucopia of the Commons*. This is so because of the network effect, which makes resources more valuable the more they are used.” (Bauwens, 2005). With the advancement of technology, Ostrom later noticed this as well: “(. . .) open access to information is a *horse of a much different*

the current logic of micro- and macroeconomics, as non-profit motivations and inclusive property rights are used. In addition, current systems of resource allocation are obsolete in this sphere. In a hierarchy, our superiors decide; in the market, prices decide; in a democracy, “we” decide. However, “(. . .) *where resources are abundant, as they are with immaterial knowledge, code, and design, which can be copied and shared at a marginal cost, they are truly unnecessary.*” (Bauwens, 2012). Clearly, these P2P relationships have a different collaboration and governance logic. Individuals select, by themselves, work packages they are truly interested in and work when and as much as they like/can. Of course, this is not a non-hierarchical world, but in contrast to traditional organisations, its hierarchies are fluid and tend to be used to ensure participation (rather than exclusion). Furthermore, with individuals governing themselves, less management overhead is necessary. In “*The old model for coordinating group action requires convincing people who care a little to care more.*” (Shirky, 2008: 181). In the P2P model, the experiences of Open Software organisations have been very instructive: The mechanisms of self-selection and self-governance avoid this problem in the sense that the work effort is an individual choice and the great number of participants balance the various levels of input “(. . .) *so that people who cared a little could participate a little, while being effective in aggregate.*” (ibid). There are many impressive examples of P2P production besides the well-known success stories (Linux, Mozilla and Wikipedia) and this mechanism has now entered into the public sphere, creating public goods.⁵ Even more fascinating is that the state, along with private companies, are now scrambling to use these P2P processes: co-opting processes and peers in a myriad of shapes and variations.⁶ In their former role, citizens only had the possibilities of revolting (voice), leaving (exit) or—as public goods are often delivered by a monopoly—accepting the unsatisfying level of services. Now a new strategy is available: “*To resist is to create!*” (Holloway, 2005: 25), or in other words: to utilise available P2P production processes, talents and resources of peers to create or enrich public services: A new way to produce is

color than open access to land or water (. . .). With distributed knowledge and information the resource is usually nonrivalous.” (Hess & Ostrom, 2011: 13).

⁵Bollier (2004) notices “*Librarians, who are trying to protect free access and circulation of knowledge. Scientists, who are trying to preserve their foundational traditions of openness, collaboration and free inquiry. Creative artists in music, film and other fields who realize that culturally compelling creativity depends upon their ability to use prior works and collaborate with others. Media reformers, who are trying to reclaim the public airwaves for public benefit, whether through open spectrum commons or auctions. Indigenous peoples, who are trying to retain some measure of cultural sovereignty by preventing Big Pharma and other commercial predators from appropriating their traditional knowledge and art. Online user communities, who wish to protect their ability to communicate among themselves without the impediments of market transactions.*”

⁶For this co-option movement and resulting hybrids often labelled Netarchies, see Al-Ani (2013: 223) and Bauwens (2012). In Germany, almost 19 % of all companies cooperate with the “crowd” in one way or another, integrating peers into the value creation process of the firm (Al-Ani, Stumpp, & Schildhauer, 2014). From a total population perspective, 55 % of all males and 44 % of females are involved in political or economic participatory activities ranging from petitions, political networks, to product development and configuration (Send & Schildhauer, 2014).

emerging. “*By this I mean: a new way to produce anything and everything, whether it is software, food, or cities. What once required rigid organisations and a society defined by the mentality of hierarchies, we are discovering now (and in many cases re-discovering) how to do through free association of peers.*” (Bauwens, 2012).

14.2.3 The Peer and the Multitude

The vacuum of the retarding state is now filled to some extent by P2P collaborations and processes. The attractive innovative power and problem-solving and product-enrichment capabilities of P2P are the target of a co-option strategy by private and public organisations. This rise of the importance of the individual and corresponding new collaboration schemes also reflects a deeper transformation of the societal constitution. Conventional thinking of a societal fabric consisting of classes, ethnical groups, is being challenged by a more individualistic perception of the “multitude”. “*The multitude is composed of innumerable internal differences that can never be reduced to a unity or a single identity—different cultures, races, ethnicities, genders, and sexual orientations; different forms of labor; different ways of living; different views of the world; and different desires. The multitude is a multiplicity of all these singular differences.*” (Hardt & Negri, 2004: XIV). Unanswered for some time was the question of how this multitude of individuals unites and cooperates. With the understanding of P2P the picture becomes clearer: The individual can now use P2P to unite for a specific purpose, making use of the “general intellect” (Virno, 2008) or the cognitive surplus (Shirky, 2010): The multitude is a multitude of thinkers and producers that can use new relationships and technologies to collaborate. This collaboration however, is by no means comparable to former loyalties defined by ethnic or ideological adherence. It is transient, rather tied to a specific topic and timeline associated with the topic. Thus, examples of citizens’ use of platforms that address certain public issues in Germany show that these technologies allow for a selective and time-specific inclusion of citizens (Der Standard, 2012: 9). Once the specific task of the platform/collaboration is fulfilled, members exit to seek new tasks.⁷

14.3 The New Role of Citizens

Social-media-enabled collaboration and available skills give citizens the option of participating in the production process of government tasks. The citizens in their role as free producers begin to be more interwoven into the process of service delivery. The community evolves into a community of contributors that create

⁷“(...) individuals can do more in loose affiliation with others, rather than requiring stable, long-term relations (...)” (Benkler, 2006: 9). For the specific characteristics of political collaboration platforms (large, small, long-lived and short-lived), cf. Anheier and Nassauer (2012: 17).

commons of knowledge, software or design. Public policies can be influenced—at least to some extent—by citizens. Although this process of adding a discussion level to state services seems to have its limitations, on a local level, at least, the impact is more obvious.

14.3.1 Citizens as Producers of Public Services

With the increased usage of social media tools, citizens who formerly could not cooperate with one another, suddenly have the chance to reach out to likeminded peers in order to do more for themselves and for others. Perhaps for the first time in human history collaboration becomes “de-institutionalised”: Permission from institutions is no longer necessary to seek and establish working relationships with other citizens. The individual turns producer and into a networked “DIY citizen”: “*DIY means taking matters into your own hands, not leaving it for others to do it for you.*” (Ratto & Boler, 2014: 2). Enabled by technology this concept seems to take up pace. Gilding (2011: 251), who evaluated social services performed by peers, came to the conclusion: “*What these examples show is that people have stopped talking and started acting.*” This is due to the fact that the production model of P2P is clearly geared to directly tapping into the intrinsic motivation and talents of the citizens, in other words the cognitive surplus, in a very efficient way. Moreover, ubiquitous collaboration technology seems to compensate for a missing infrastructure in developing countries and might trigger a development process unseen.⁸ Of course, the integration of peers into the process of delivering public services can have many shades and variations. We can observe, that some public institutions begin to use platforms to collect voluntary peer resources and to direct them to areas that have limited access to public services.⁹ Another emerging pattern, seems to be that in return for market or product information provided, citizens contribute information to the service provider, who uses this to further enrich its services and learning content. A very impressive example is the use of Open Agriculture Solutions in Africa. Here (mainly private or NGO) producers of agricultural services provide information and learning content to the citizens/customers, who in turn send feedback adding further value to the services. Furthermore, using the virtual platform, peers interact not only with the provider but also with other peers. A typical mixture of peer-to-peer and company–customer relationships emerges. Other examples, such as the Ushahidi platform, resemble more a classical P2P relationship: an open source platform provided for free, as a

⁸Smart phone coverage in Southern Africa is almost higher than in parts of Europe and these devices are used as computational tools (Fox, 2011).

⁹See the example of Chicago and its online platform www.ChicagoShovels.org, that directs voluntary services to elderly and disabled residents living in areas the municipal services do not reach easily after snowfalls (Mickoleit, 2014: 45). Other examples include the use of peers to reinvigorate public spaces and buildings in Italy (www.comune.bologna.it) or the use of peers to provide social services in the UK (Clarence & Gabriel, 2014).

commons, which allows peers to collaborate to collect and analyse information about security issues (Anheier & Korreck, 2013: 106).

14.3.2 Peers and Policy Formulation

The most obvious impact of social media is its capacity to mobilise voices cheaply and quickly. This has been demonstrated by the use of social media for the purposes of political mobilisation and even political resistance (Shirky, 2011). With the use of smart phones and the like, virtually everybody can become a sender of information and has a propensity to influence opinion in one way or another. In Europe, the development of a new constitution in Iceland, which used the participation of the crowd, and in Germany the opening of some law-making processes to interested contributors, demonstrate limited but successful experiments.¹⁰ These examples show how the traditional system of government has introduced parts of the P2P logic to increase its capacity to find solutions to issues and, ultimately, also enhance the legitimacy of these solutions via crowd participation. The German example demonstrates how the original system of law making has been amended by introducing a further—virtual—member of the law-making body, serving as an interface to the crowd (see Fig. 14.1).¹¹

The early hopes however, that some kind of liquid democracy or electronic democracy would emerge and pave the way for a *deliberative democracy* (Habermas, 1998), or at least for a discussion layer guiding and reflecting capitalist mechanisms (Brown, 2010), have not yet materialised. There may be several reasons for this:

- The deliberative process is seen by many as not being effective enough to influence politics. The arena of deliberation, or the “political periphery” as described by Habermas, is too far away from the real decision making at the “political centre”: “*Deliberative democracy relegates the role of citizens to discussions only indirectly related to decision making and action. The reality of deliberation is that it is toothless.*” (Noveck, 2009: 37) In practice, as it often seems to turn out, civic talk is largely disconnected from power. “*It does not take account of the fact that in a web 2.0 world ordinary people can collaborate with one another to do extraordinary things.*” (ibid);
- Not only is the political influence of deliberation limited, it is often clear what needs to be done. Thus, action to change things is more pressing than discourse, as recent interviews from Occupy movement members revealed: “*One*

¹⁰For a summary of German open policy formulation experienced mainly at the communal level, see, for instance, the platform provided by the Bertelsman Foundation (<http://www.beteiligungskompass.org/>). For the general slow adaptation of digital strategies by OECD governments using social media mainly as tools for communication see Mickoleit (2014).

¹¹For the example of Iceland’s new constitutions and its final failure, see: The Guardian (2011) and Schwarz (2013). For the use of social media in US election campaigns, see Sifry (2004).

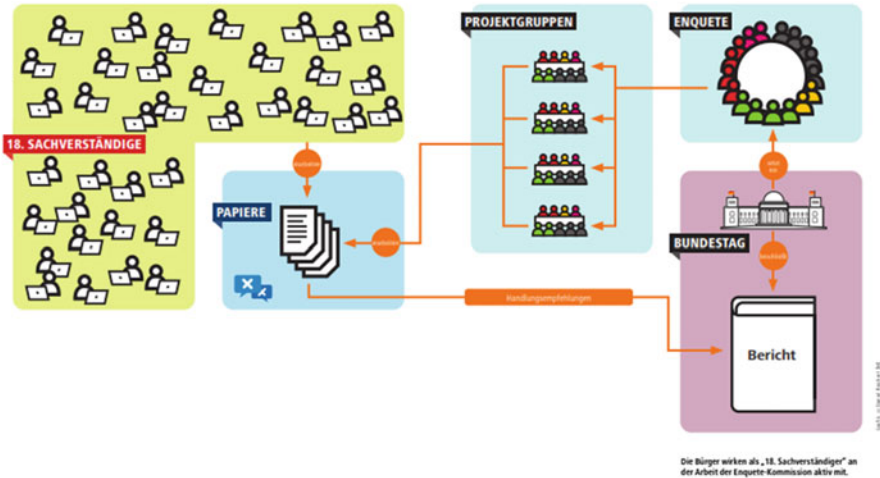


Fig. 14.1 The crowd acting as a virtual 18th member of a law-making special committee of the German parliament (Bundestag). Source: Fischaleck (2012)

interviewee states that it is almost too trivial to formulate global problems Occupy is concerned with, because they [are] the same topics [that have been] moving people [for] decades: environmental destruction, war, lacking possibilities of democratic participation, an unjust world order, putting profits before people, a disrespect of human rights, drastic cuts in education and social services, to name the most prominent ones. There is no need to come up with specific topics, since there are enough pressing issues as it is.” (Anheier & Nassauer, 2012: 26);

- Peer-to-peer collaboration in itself is not democratic, but rather *meritocratic*: The status of its participants is tied to their output performance only. The outputs need not be produced in a democratic, organised manner, but rather by the right producers, as the peer-to-patent project revealed. Here, peers acting as experts were asked to evaluate patents. As it turned out, not masses of peers and talents were needed for that evaluation, but rather point skills: “*The excitement of modern collaborative environments (call it Web 2.0 or what you will) lies in the hope of bringing the masses on board to create something collectively. Hundreds of thousands, it is thought, can be not only consumers but producers. But more often than you’d think, what you need is not hundreds of thousands, but just five or ten people who know best.*” (Oram, 2007);
- There are few examples of the rule of the many. Even in democratic systems, we are more accustomed to the rule of delegates. Thus, the involvement of the multitude the Athenian way has few examples and seems difficult to achieve. Our political culture is ill equipped to deal with a broad understanding of citizen participation. Rather, “*(. . .) the devaluation of citizenship is an integral component of a ‘successful’ modern democracy; not a failure to be corrected by technical means.*” (Varoufakis, 2014) Effectively, “*(. . .) e’ democrats will be*

facing the task not simply of involving more people in deliberations regarding policy making but, more ambitiously, of deploying new technology as a part of a broader political intervention whose purpose is to re-invent the political sphere.” (ibid);

- We do not seem to have tools yet that allow for the deliberation of complex issues. Rather, we seem to use liquid democracy tools to ask ready-formulated questions, which is not stimulating enough. Furthermore, traditional political institutions are lacking the experience to generate attention and resonance for political topics.¹²

In summary, the effects and impact of P2P on political participation seem rather modest or mixed at this stage. This is most obvious at the level of nation state institutions (Mickoleit, 2014). Here the necessity for individuals and P2P to collaborate with existing political institutions (parliaments, parties) in order to obtain political legitimisation, clearly sets limits to the potential of enhanced participation. The complexity of aggregating social preferences and the consequent separation of decision making and deliberation—connecting citizens mainly to the latter—are obvious restrictions.¹³ But if we shift our view from nation states to cities, things suddenly become possible that seemed impossible (P2P Foundation, 2014). Unlike nation states which are often engaged in competitive zero sum games, the prevailing relationships in cities are based on communication, trade, transportation, and culture. Cities are inherently pragmatic rather than ideological. Thus, the institutional frame of cities seems more suited for P2P, as Benjamin Barber argues: *“They collect garbage and collect art rather than collecting votes or collecting allies. They put up buildings and run buses rather than putting up flags and running political parties. They secure the flow of water rather than the flow of arms. They foster education and culture in place of national defense and patriotism. They promote collaboration, not exceptionalism.”* (ibid). It can then be argued, that collaboration by peers to produce public products and services even if mainly focused on the city or community level is by itself fostering new social and ultimately political relationships, giving a more specific meaning to the phrase “to resist is to create”.¹⁴ This does not exclude the possibility for enhanced political

¹²See the examples of Swiss political parties and their restricted use of web tools to connect with the crowd in Kruse (2010).

¹³For the “impossibility” of aggregating social orders and its grave consequences for democracy see Arrow (2012): *“(. . .) the only methods for passing from individual tastes to social preferences which will be satisfactory and which will be defined for a wide range of sets of individual orderings are either imposed or dictatorial.”* The consequences are clear limitations to political participation: *“Voting, from this point of view, is not a device whereby each individual expresses his personal interests, but rather where each individual gives his opinion of the general will.”* (ibid: 85).

¹⁴In this context, P2P is a more collective strategy than individual market action and its underlying values and practices are a political statement in itself: *“Peer to peer has indeed to be seen as an object oriented sociality, where person-fragments cooperate around the creation of common value. What connects individuals who participate in open and shared knowledge, software or*

participation in the traditional system. It rather sets a trajectory for a transitional process that could start with increased self-organisation of peers to deliver public goods and services, leading to more participatory and inclusive political institutions later on, once these collaborations consolidate and claim their share of political power.¹⁵

14.4 The Emerging Partner State

The aforementioned examples of collaboration may now lead to a new role of the state: a state that rather enables and empowers the social creation of value by its citizens. It protects the infrastructure of P2P cooperation and the creation of commons: The state evolves into a manager of a “marketplace”, stimulating, enabling and organising the assets of the country—the abilities and motivations of its citizens—in an efficient manner. The state will use modern devices and digital platforms to do this. By providing the prerequisites of peer production, the strategy of the state changes: Instead of providing the services all by itself, a strategy that encourages and enables peer production becomes relevant. “*Can we imagine a new compact between government and the public, in which government puts in place mechanisms for services that are delivered not by government, but by private citizens? In other words, can government become a platform?*” (O’Reilly, 2009: 65).

design projects is the ability to connect their own ends, with some transcendental collective goal (building a universal operating system, constructing a universal free encyclopedia, constructing an open source car, etc.). In peer projects, individuals aggregate a particular passionate pursuit into a collective project. This is important, because whereas in individualist market visions the invisible hand indirectly creates public benefit (at least in theory and ideology), in peer to peer the intentionality of the collective project is integrated in the effort itself. Contributors to Wikipedia or Linux do not see the end result as an indirect result of individual transactions, but as the result of a particular social design which harmonizes individual effort and the collective goal, with the integration of both seen as non-contradictory. This gives peer to peer relationality a strong collective aspect, which was absent in the previous individualist epoch.” (Bauwens, 2010).

¹⁵This consolidation process may have already commenced according to some observers: “*Look closely and you will see a messy, uncoordinated, bottom-up movement struggling to assert itself. Just below the radar of mainstream media, a teeming constellation of constituencies—internet users, environmentalists, librarians, academics, media reformers, software programmers—is beginning to talk about the commons. This gathering movement is at once an activist phenomenon, a proto-political philosophy and a cultural outlook. It sees the commons as a means to create wealth while honoring social equity and ethical values, an achievement that continues to elude the neoliberal mainstream. (. . .) At the moment, the wildly disparate threads of this movement have not been woven together. That, in part, will be a primary mission of OntheCommons.org—to give these many voices a forum; to showcase noteworthy fronts of activism and analysis; to puzzle through problems; and to bring together a new community united by some core values, a new story, and exciting new initiatives.*” (Bollier, 2004). Of course, traditional political parties could also serve as possible “poles” for consolidating these new forces (Friedrichsen, 2015: 21). For the upcoming conflict between these new horizontal powers and the traditional power elite see Wallerstein (2013).

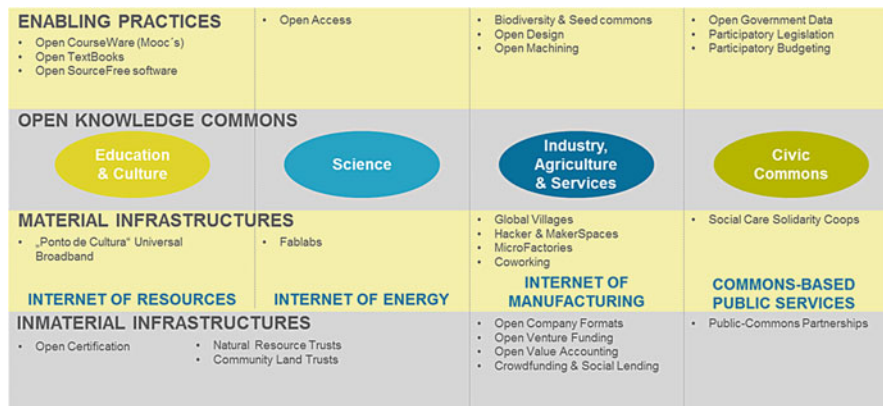


Fig. 14.2 Open Knowledge Society Project Ecuador. Source: Flok Society (Free/Libre Open Knowledge Society) (<http://flocksociety.org/>)

We can already observe that some states and nations are embarking on, or rather, trying out, this kind of role. An interesting project to be cited in this context is the Flok project of Ecuador, which aims at elaborating ways towards an “open economy” (see Fig. 14.2). Clearly, in order to stimulate peer production, a set of enabling practices are needed.

The peer is a typical knowledge worker. This implies that access to learning content is crucial to peer productivity, allowing the knowledge worker to retrieve learning contents for free, on demand, preparing him/her for the next task. The impact of digitalisation on education is already impressive and will have a massive impact on society and the economy. Suddenly, the *Edupunk* way of learning becomes attractive and possible: a strategy of individuals who can have access to online education free of charge in order to create meaningful products in the net.¹⁶ This strategy is already available to anybody who has access to the web and understands the language of the content.¹⁷ Already, major universities—sometimes behaving as commoners—are spreading their content via digital outlets all over the world, as, for example, the edx.-platform of Harvard and MIT (edx.org). On a smaller scale, the above examples of agricultural solutions have demonstrated that peers can also learn from other peers (lateral learning) and will in turn produce learning content while acting as peers.¹⁸ The role of the state should here embark

¹⁶The term was coined by Jim Groom in a blog in 2008, cf. Al-Ani (2014: 12).

¹⁷Even language problems are not the ultimate restriction, as the experiments of Mitra, Angwal, Chatterjee, Jha, and Kapur (2005) with slum children in India have clearly demonstrated. The concept also showed that digital learning needs to be complemented with some sort of moral support und coaching (which can be delivered by P2P online as well, as the example of British “grannies” supporting Indian students online showed: <http://grannycloud.wordpress.com/>).

¹⁸The important effects of lateral learning are described by Rifkin (2011: 244–248).

on a non-elitist learning strategy and open up learning content for anybody for free.¹⁹

Peers not only need personal skills. In order to produce or enrich products, access to designs—often protected by copyrights—is necessary.²⁰ Clearly, copyrights are the most visible battleground between the traditional economy and the P2P sphere.²¹ Here, the state should propose the use of peer property rights that ensure that peer products remain free and accessible. In addition, the means for reproducing infrastructure (tools, hardware and software) must be given.²² Here, for instance, relatively inexpensive 3D printers provided by the public will be helpful in reproducing parts of complex scientific tools (Open Source Lab): “*Working replicas of expensive scientific equipment could be made for a fraction of conventional costs using cheap 3D printers, possibly saving developing world labs thousands of pounds each time.*” (The Guardian, 2014). Peers already provide design plans for almost any agricultural tools (Open Ecology) to be reproduced using simple and available tools.²³ Eventually, the state could provide libraries for all kinds of relevant products to be downloaded by peers: “*This regime of open, shareable knowledge would move away from the idea of privatized knowledge accessible only to those with the money to pay for copyrighted and patented knowledge. The system could be adapted for education, science, medical research and civic life, among other areas.*” (Bollier, 2014). Of course, the data produced by the state must be opened up as well and be accessible to anybody, thereby increasing the availability of relevant data for market transactions, product design and delivery.

All these prerequisites and contents will be delivered through physical infrastructure (IT, Telecommunication), which needs to be open and accessible to the public at minimum possible cost. Also, the state could support and provide virtual platforms that people use to collaborate, as for instance demonstrated by the

¹⁹For the “Edupunk Guide to Education”, a manual supported by the Bill Gates foundation, see Kamenetz (2010) and (2011). For new strategies of universities: Al-Ani (2014). For Sub-Saharan Africa, see the results of the Tessa program of the Open University, which aimed at giving teachers access to teaching content using smart phones (<http://www.open.ac.uk/about/open-educational-resources/oer-projects/tessa>).

²⁰See here, for example, the successful fight of Brazil and Civil society organisations for AIDS drug patents. The Brazilian Administration used P2P mechanisms to mobilise civil support for the cause (Fischer-Lescano & Teubner, 2004: 1027f.).

²¹See here the work of Lessig (2004).

²²See here the example of reproducing hardware using the raspberrypi hardware assembling kit (<http://www.raspberrypi.org/>).

²³Open Source Ecology provides “*Open Source Blueprints for Civilization. Build Yourself. We’re developing open source industrial machines that can be made for a fraction of commercial costs, and sharing our designs online for free. The goal of Open Source Ecology is to create an open source economy—an efficient economy which increases innovation by open collaboration.*” (<http://opensourceecology.org/>).

“meetup” platforms that enable citizens to communicate about relevant events and also to collaborate to solve issues of mutual interest.²⁴

Finally, it must be clear that the peer also needs some kind of social and financial support. The peer production of common value requires civic wealth and strong civic institutions, something that is often overlooked. The partner state that is complementary to P2P production is not a minimal or retarding state concept. On the contrary, it is based on the best of the welfare state, i.e., solidarity mechanisms, education, open access to almost everything (Bauwens, 2012). Thus, if P2P is to be used as a producer of public services, a kind of transfer mechanisms or basic income programmes (like the Brazilian Bolsa Familia program) must be in place to enable this production.

14.5 Public Policy Platforms

This new role for the state as a provider of platforms, which allow for new kinds of collaboration between different actors addressing relevant community issues, can be highlighted by the economic policies developed by the German federal state of Thuringia. The state’s businesses are mostly small and medium-sized companies that have experienced difficulties adapting to the challenges of the digital economy: Skills, as well as funds, at the state and the company level appear to be quite limited, severely inhibiting transformation projects at the workshop floor. In this situation, the Minister of Economy, Education and Digital Society inaugurated a community of spearheading companies, set with the task of developing new economic policies

²⁴“Meetup is a platform for people to do whatever they want with. A lot of them are using it for citizen engagement: cleaning up parks, beaches, and roads; identifying and fixing local problems.” (O’Reilly, 2009: 65). In addition, a number of policies will frame the effective and efficient use of these platforms: “(1.) Issue your own open government directive. (2.). (...) create a simple, reliable and publicly accessible infrastructure that ‘exposes’ the underlying data” from your city, county, state, or agency. Before you can create a site like Data.gov, you must first adopt a data-driven, service-oriented architecture for all your applications (...). (3.) “Build your own websites and applications using the same open systems for accessing the underlying data as they make available to the public at large (4.) Share those open APIs with the public, using Data.gov for federal APIs and creating state and local equivalents. For example, cities such as San Francisco (DataSF.org) and Washington, D.C. (Data.DC.gov and Apps.DC.gov) include not only data catalogs but also repositories of apps that use that data, created by both city developers and the private sector. (5.) Share your work with other cities, counties, states, or agencies. This might mean providing your work as open source software, working with other governmental bodies to standardize web services for common functions, building a common cloud computing platform, or simply sharing best practices. (...). (6.) Don’t reinvent the wheel: support existing open standards and use open source software whenever possible. (...) Figure out who has problems similar to yours, and see if they’ve done some work that you can build on. (7.) Create a list of software applications that can be reused by your government employees without procurement. (8.) Create an “app store” that features applications created by the private sector as well as those created by your own government unit (see Apps.DC.gov). (9.) Create permissive social media guidelines that allow government employees to engage the public without having to get pre-approval from superiors. (10.) Sponsor meetups, code camps, and other activity sessions to actually put citizens to work on civic issues.” (O’Reilly, 2010).

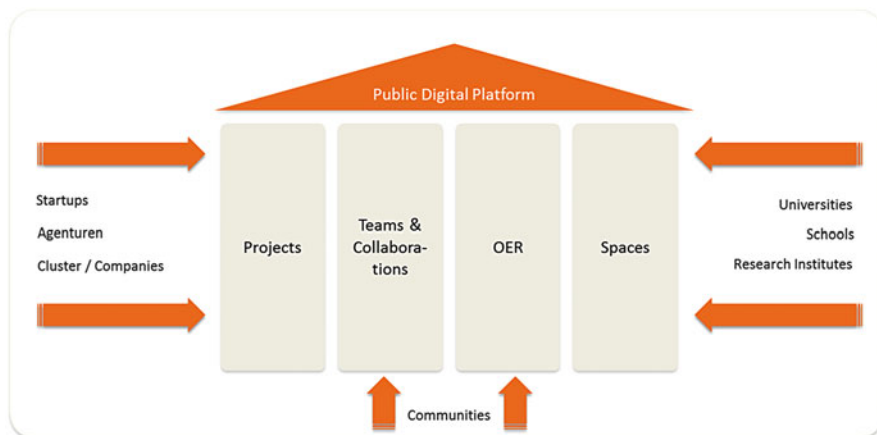


Fig. 14.3 Concept view of the digital transformation platform of the state of Thuringia, Germany. Source: own

and projects to stimulate and support successful transformation strategies. The approach chosen here was that a group of ten companies invited by the ministry, defined a number of areas of focus for these pilot projects (i.e., smart housing, refugee management). The main criteria for these projects was that they should stimulate the participation of a maximum number of companies and other actors, thereby increasing the spread of learning effects and the likelihood of implementation. The ministry—through the use of a specifically designed platform—thereby facilitates connection between different participants, attracting new interested parties and distributing and communicating results (see Fig. 14.3).

Thus, via this platform, collaboration of formerly isolated actors is encouraged and the results of this cooperation are distributed and learning effects stimulated. The change of role for the state is quite apparent: It does not create or even deliver the components of this strategy, but acts as a provider for collaboration.

14.6 Conclusion

As states struggle to finance/deliver meaningful services to their citizens, providing platforms and stimulating self-organisation of citizens as producers seems a prudent strategy. This cooperation strategy is by no means an easy process, as both entities (P2P and hierarchy) use very different governance mechanisms (i.e., self-governance versus top down orders). Furthermore, the danger for P2P is that it could be sooner or later disintegrated or strangled by traditional market und hierarchy mechanisms.²⁵ On the other hand, traditional hierarchies will also seek

²⁵A process that is already observable with large corporations co-opting political NGOs (Dauvergne & Lebaron, 2014).

to incorporate P2P structures and mechanisms in order to capture the benefits of the cognitive surplus and will thus also transform themselves step by step into hybrids making better use of decentralised and self-governing work collaborations, while retaining central hierarchical functions. P2P could, in addition, benefit from this collaboration as the often self-centred motivations of peers are now being coupled with needs of communities. This enhanced customer orientation of P2P will further add to its relevance and political legitimisation.

It will, therefore, make much sense for public institutions to reform their institutions and tools to establish this opening towards P2P networks and to direct and enable them to work on relevant issues of the society. Acting as a platform, public entities could seek cooperation with P2P and encourage further self-organisation of citizens. Open government data, open education, the usage of Open Source systems with standardised interfaces towards the public are policies that are already taking shape and would in totality generate this platform function.

We can at this stage only speculate about the political effects of these new social collaboration schemes that will be interwoven into the public services delivery. As these collaborations reflect new egalitarian, collective and self-governing relationships, it is not altogether absurd to assume that these relationships will alter the political fabric and institutions, even if they initially focus on service delivery at the community level. For the state, two possible scenarios arise: The state could begin to support this transformation process and seek a corporation with P2P making use of these networks by directing and encouraging them to solve relevant tasks. Or else: if the state will not move, it will be moved by myriads of P2P collaborations who will not wait any longer for a cooperation and take the matter into their own hands:²⁶ *“Where governments fail to or are slow to use those platforms to improve and deliver public services, people and organisations step in and pressure for change. The impacts of ‘bottom-up’ processes tend to increase where social media are combined with online petitions, mobile applications, open (government) data analytics, crowd-funding initiatives, and collective ‘offline’ actions such as protests.”* (Mickoleit, 2014: 3). These collaborations could then unite and form political positions leading to larger structures competing with the traditional settings.

²⁶This situation has already been depicted by commentators observing the (possible) reaction of younger people to the ongoing crisis in the West *“The hope is that these young people will eventually leave the house when the economy perks up, and doubtless many will. Others, however, will choose to root themselves in their neighbourhoods and use social media to create relationships that sustain them as they craft alternatives to the rat race. Somewhere in the suburbs there is an unemployed 23-year-old who is plotting a cultural insurrection, one that will resonate with existing demographic, cultural and economic trends so powerfully that it will knock American society off its axis.”* (Salam, 2010).

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John F. Humphrey

In his November 11, 1947 speech before the House of Commons, Winston S. Churchill said:

Many forms of government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time (Churchill, 1974, 7566).

Plato (1968) expresses a similar point in the *Republic* where Socrates argues for a perfect ruler, a philosopher king, who is wise beyond measure. Unfortunately, the philosopher king would require a long, rigorous education, a polis with strict censorship, the loss of privacy, and a communal society in which one would know neither one's own biological parents nor one's siblings. Since rule by a philosopher king seems unlikely if not impossible, what choice could there be for the polis? The difficulty is that Plato does not distinguish between mob rule and democracy; hence, he is afraid of democracy. On the other hand, the only other real alternative to the philosopher king, the perfect ruler, would seem to be democracy, for democracy would be the only regime in which Socratic philosophy, proceeding discursively by question and answer, could flourish. The choice, for Plato, is simply either a perfect ruler or democracy plagued by Socrates, the gadfly, or someone very much like him.

The central political question for contract theorist Thomas Hobbes is: How can a government be formed that ensures both maximum security and maximum freedom? Colored by his experience of living through the English Civil War (1642–1651), Hobbes admits that he prefers monarchy guided by the principles of reason, i.e., the laws of nature, to any other form of government; however,

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according to Hobbes, a strong central government able to ensure the two minimal obligations of government, i.e., to protect citizens from one another and to protect the state's borders, is absolutely necessary. Whether a monarchy or a democracy, given our natural human passions, there can be no safety "without the terrour of some Power," that forces us to observe the rational principles prescribed by the laws of nature, for, Hobbes writes, "covenants without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all" (Hobbes 1909/1962, 128). Safety and freedom, then, can only be had if citizens are willing to limit their natural right to everything, to recognize the rights of others, to give up their right to govern themselves, to authorize the government to act in their behalf, and to submit their wills collectively to that powerful monster, that Leviathan, the state. Without this, Hobbes insists, we will be in a constant state of war and each individual will be an enemy of every other. There will be, Hobbes continues:

... no place for Industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious Building; no Instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short (Hobbes, 1909/1962, 96–97).

Unfortunately, Hobbes does not seem to have recognized the problem faced by the Civil Rights Movement in the US (1955–1968); namely, if citizens must absolutely submit to the state to prevent chaos, anarchy, and civil war, how do citizens, especially those in a democracy, petition, appeal to, and seek redress for grievances from a government, which, if not given to corruption, then certainly guilty of hypocrisy? A democracy supposedly founded on the principle that all men are created equal, but meant that all wealthy white males are created equal and others will have to fend for themselves. A democracy so committed to the status quo that for over 100 years it refused to enforce laws to protect some of its citizens, failed to protect some of the people living within its borders from others, and even contrived to limit, to restrict, to disenfranchise, and to terrorize minority citizens with the threat of lynching, jail, unemployment, and substandard housing. As Martin Luther King writes in *Why We Can't Wait*, "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. . . . 'justice too long delayed is justice denied'" (King, 1963/1964, 80 and 81).¹ By skillfully employing many available democratic mechanisms, including the concept of the social contract, freedom of assembly, boycotts, demonstrations, courts of law, legislation, and the US Constitution, King and other leaders of the Civil Rights Movement fought for rights for African-American citizens, other minorities, workers, and the poor in the US. Some have

¹King, Martin Luther (1963/1964). *Why We Can't Wait*. New York, NY: New American Library, 80 and 81. King attributes the phrase, "justice too long delayed is justice denied" (81), to "one of our distinguished jurists." It is not clear to whom he is referring.

argued that his actions and his growing awareness of the systemic violence against minorities, workers and the poor, and the so-called police actions that US government carried out against the Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese peoples eventually led to his murder. Nonetheless, more than 50 years after the Civil Rights Movement and the eventual signing of the *1964 Civil Rights Act*,² we still see minority citizens in the US experiencing violence at the hands of overly militarized local police forces and suffering from systemic inequalities that put them at the bottom in every social, economic, and political category. Is it surprising that, while many Whites in my country believe that racism is a thing of the past and that we enjoy a post-racial society, so many of my African American students believe that the Civil Rights Movement produced few if any real positive gains in human rights?

If democracy is imperfect, the best of the worst regimes, the lesser of all the evil regimes, and the struggle for justice slow and tedious, and the results of such struggle tenuous, is it surprising that Iris Marion Young begins her book, *Inclusion and Democracy*, with the statement: “Democracy is hard to love”? (Young, 2000/2010, 16). Indeed, Young maintains that participants in democratic political movements experience joys, but these political campaigns, actions also have problems. Among the pleasures of democratic politics she numbers the singing and chanting, the excitement and comradery of participating with others in public protests, the solidarity that one enjoys in joining with like-minded individuals to work on political campaigns, and the elation one feels at the end of a successful political struggle (Young, 2000/2010, 15). Still, most of us return home after a long day at work tired and unwilling to sacrifice our evenings and weekends to political discussions, soliciting signatures for petitions, writing articles for local newspapers supporting particular political positions, or making telephone calls seeking the support of unknown fellow citizens. Who among us would have traveled to Birmingham, Alabama, ignoring family, employment, and other obligations to devote ourselves to a struggle for civil rights? How many of us have the skills to see civil rights cases through the courts and civil rights legislation through congress?

There are, however, other more serious problems with democratic politics, among which, Young lists, “defeat,” “co-optation” and the fact that “ambiguous results are more common experiences than political victory. . . . Because in a democracy nearly everything is revisable, and because unpredictable public opinion often counts for something, uncertainty shadows democracy” (Young, 2000/2010, 16). The question for Young, however, is: why do so many place such a high value on democracy if it is plagued by so many difficulties? The common view of democracy is truly paradoxical, for most people affirm the need for democracy, while at the same time believing that democratic processes are inefficient because public discussions and demanding accountability of public officials takes time and slows the process of hammering out policy (Young, 2000/2010, 4). Moreover, most

²Public Law 88–352, 78, *Statute 241*. Enacted July 2, 1964. Retrieved from on June 13, 2015: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg241.pdf>

citizens are generally cynical about government and our political institutions. The government is an alien power that only serves to hinder or prevent workable solutions to problems that affect them as individuals. Rather than affirming the goodwill of and the possibility of benevolent citizens working together through grassroots movements and established political institutions to address social, economic, and political injustices, individuals who embrace the possibility of social change are dismissed by many as naïve.

In response to her own question, Young identifies two important reasons that democracy is valued. First, democracy, according to some political philosophers, has “intrinsic values,” such as “the way it enlarges the lives of active citizens, develops capacities for thought, judgement, and co-operation, and gives people opportunities for glory” (Young, 2000/2010, 16). Still, one wonders whether these values offset “the angers, frustrations, fears, uncertainties, drudgery, disappointments, and defeats that are democratic daily fare” (Young, 2000/2010, 16). Second, the most important reason that democracy is prized is principally for “instrumental reasons” (Young, 2000/2010, 17). Democracy allows citizens to restrain politicians and political leaders “from the abuses of power that are their inevitable temptations” (Young, 2000/2010, 17). Additionally, in democratic forms of government, citizens have the possibility, at least in principle, to influence public policy in light of their individual interests or the interests of groups to which they belong. Furthermore, democratic forms of government allow citizens to work for social change; “democratic process, Young insists, “is the best means for changing conditions of injustice and promoting justice” (2000/2010, 17).

Nonetheless, as Crick (2002, 1) notes, “many meanings attach to the word democracy”; indeed, the word has been abused and misused. Not only does “democracy” have a number of different meanings, there are also different sorts of democracy each emphasizing one or another characteristic of this political system. Still, Young differentiates two models or ideal types of democracy that are currently the most frequently thematized, namely, aggregative democracy and deliberative democracy. To be sure, these two models have a number of common features that one might expect from any conception of democracy. Both, for example, assume “that democracy requires a rule of law, that voting is the means of making decisions when consensus is not possible or too costly to achieve, that democratic process requires freedoms of speech, assembly, association, and so on” (Young, 2000/2010, 18).

The aggregative model or “what some have called pluralist or interest group pluralist,” is distinguished “as a process of aggregating the preferences of citizens in choosing public officials and policies”; it assumes that democratic deliberation is “a competitive process in which political parties and candidates offer their platforms and attempt to satisfy the largest number of people’s preferences” (Young 2000/2010, 19). Citizens organized around various interests lobby “to influence the actions of parties and policy-makers once they are elected” (Young 2000/2010, 19). Responding to the strategies of other competing interest groups, these interest groups jockey to realize their particular interests.

Assuming the process of competition, strategizing, coalition-building, and responding to pressure is open and fair, the outcome of both elections and legislative decisions reflects the aggregation of the strongest or most widely held preferences in the population (Young 2000/2010, 19).

The aggregative model of democracy, thus, presupposes a marketplace of competing ideas, interests, and values; decision-making is relegated to voting whereby citizens' preferences for particular public officials and specific policies are sorted out or aggregated. The one with the most votes is victorious!

While the aggregative model does include certain features of democracy, Young identifies four problems with this conception of democratic politics. First, individual preference is understood "as given" (Young, 2000/2010, 20). There is little or no concern with how and why the various participants in democratic processes have come to hold the particular cluster of preferences to which they are committed. "They may have been arrived at by whim, reasoning, faith, or fear that others will carry out a threat" (Young, 2000/2010, 20). More importantly, some citizens may hold their preferences based on distorted views appearing in the media or timely and repetitive advertisements placed by corporations and wealthy individuals who often promote their special interests at the expense of minorities, working people, and the poor. Additionally, there is no criteria according to which preferences may be ranked; there is no way to assert that one preference is better or "more valuable" than any other because their value is determined "extrinsically," i.e., by the amount of support mustered for one preference over another or by the number of people voting for a particular preference (Young, 2000/2010, 20). Hence, in so far as preferences are merely preferences, one preference is neither better nor worse than another.

Second, the aggregative model of democracy "lacks any distinct idea of a *public* formed from the interaction of democratic citizens and their motivation to reach some decision" (Young, 2000/2010, 20). Since citizens hold their private political opinions and remain in their own private space, they are not required to enter into the public sphere; thus, the aggregative model does not explain the necessity for or "the possibility of political co-ordination and co-operation" (Young, 2000/2010, 20).

Third, the aggregative model of democracy "carries a thin and individualistic form of rationality" (Young, 2000/2010, 20). Citizens do not join together to debate and solve social, political, and economic problems. Each individual and every group strategizes to realize their preferences, but in so far as there is no conception of a public space in which citizens address one another and work together to solve problems, the outcomes are the result of people voting for their preferences. Voting on individual preferences or the preferences of various interest groups will sort out the preferences held by the majority of the population, but this process will not necessarily yield results arrived at by reason; hence, Young argues "the aggregate outcome can just as easily be irrational as rational" (Young, 2000/2010, 21).

The fourth and final problem with the aggregative model of democracy is skepticism "about the possibility of normative and evaluative objectivity"

(Young, 2000/2010, 21). In other words, aggregative democracy assumes that ethical and moral claims are merely subjective and cannot be supported by objective reasons. According to the aggregative model, “if people use moral language, they are simply conveying a particular kind of preference or interest which is no more rational or objective than any other” (Young, 2000/2010, 21). Even if citizens promote particular policies because ‘it is the right thing to do,’ aggregative democracy lacks mechanisms for evaluating moral claims. Since the model is unable to appraise the ethical implications of the process for choosing one preference over another, it also lacks the conceptual resources to evaluate ethical outcomes. Given these four problems, and since the aggregative model assumes that democracy is merely a means of sorting out preferences, the model provides little reason “for accepting the outcomes of a democratic process as legitimate” (Young, 2000/2010, 21). Additionally, if policies are made by one party, and if there is no buy-in by a significant majority, the policies are apt to shift back and forth as a different party takes power. Those holding minority positions who do not embrace the dominant preference may acquiesce momentarily because they can do little else. Perhaps this explains, at least in part, the reason that thinkers like Burke (1790/1955), de Tocqueville (2000), and Mill (1975) were so concerned about “the tyranny of the majority.”

Although the aggregative model does include certain features of democracy and describes the way in which some political philosophers think about democracy, Young argues instead for deliberative democracy, specifically, a form of deliberative democracy that she calls the communicative model. In general, deliberative democracy emphasizes “open discussion and the exchange of views leading to agreed-upon policies”; indeed, this model is itself “a form of practical reason” (Young, 2000/2010, 22). “Democratic process,” Young writes,

is primarily a discussion of problems, conflicts, and claims of need or interest. Through dialogue others test and challenge these proposals and arguments. Because they have not stood up to dialogic examination, the deliberating public rejects or refines some proposals. Participants arrive at a decision not by determining what preferences have greatest numerical support, but by determining which proposals the collective agrees are supported by the best reasons. (2000/2010, 22–23)

The practices of this model of democracy include four normative ideals for the relationships and dispositions of deliberating parties, namely, “inclusion, equality, reasonableness, and publicity” (Young, 2000/2010, 22).

Inclusion refers to the view that decisions made must include all those affected by the decision as participants in democratic process for the decision to be legitimate. An individual is affected if “decisions or policies significantly condition a person’s options for action” (Young, 2000/2010, 23). Since it involves recognition of the autonomy of the other, inclusion requires participants to adopt an ethical stance towards all participants. Political equality is coextensive with democracy; to include all who are affected by a decision or a policy is to include them equally in democratic processes. All participants must have the possibility of freely expressing themselves in the decision making processes free from coercion and threats to adopt

policies against their will. Together these two norms, inclusion and political equality, allow participants to communicate their interests and their commitments, to address their concerns, and to consider the problems for which a solution is sought.

The third normative ideal is reasonableness. “While actually reaching consensus is...not a requirement of deliberative reason,” Young asserts, “participants in discussion must be *aiming* to reach agreement to enter the discussion at all” (2000/2010, 24). If participants do not act in good faith, intending to solve problems, reasonable democratic discourse is impossible. Still, even reasonable people can have strange, even harebrained, ideas, but the mark of reasonable individuals is the willingness to listen to others, to consider critical comments, and to change or modify their positions to achieve some sort of agreement. The fourth and final normative ideal is publicity. “The conditions of inclusion, equality, and reasonableness, finally entail that the interaction among participants in a democratic decision-making process forms a public in which people hold one another accountable” (Young, 2000/2010, 25). In such contexts, since participants are accountable to one another, they must communicate with an awareness of the presence of the others involved. “They must try,” Young writes, “to explain their particular background experience, interest, or proposals in ways that others can understand, and they must express reasons for their claims in ways that others recognize could be accepted, even if in fact they disagree with the claims and reasons” (Young, 2000/2010, 25). Since it is not likely that everyone will understand all of the various opinions, claims, and reasons presented, democratic deliberation must include clarification of the various views expressed and will have to allow participants to raise questions and to provide answers to these questions.

While these four norms are important, perhaps inclusion is the most important and yet most misunderstood. Still, democracy requires “inclusion as a criterion of the political legitimacy of outcomes” (Young, 2000/2010, 52). Inclusion provides participants with the possibility of contributing and arguing for their own interests; it also allows for dialogue, the possibility of the participants co-operating with one another and coordinating their efforts to address their concerns and to solve problems. This process is valuable since it increases the possibility of individuals moving from a “self-regarding stance to a more objective appeal to justice, because they must listen to others with differing positions to whom they are also answerable”; hence, the process, if inclusive, can be transformative (Young, 2000/2010, 52). Additionally, “the norm of inclusion is...also a powerful means for criticizing the legitimacy of nominally democratic processes and decisions” (Young, 2000/2010, 52). In other words, if a decision is not reached or a policy is not determined through an inclusive process, the decision or policy is not truly democratic.

The difficulty is that of the four normative ideals inclusion is most often violated. Young approaches this problem by distinguishing external exclusion and internal exclusion. External exclusion occurs when those with power influence and distort the political process and exclude others’ full participation in “the process... decision-making” (Young, 2000/2010, 55). Although existing democracies do not do enough to address this type of exclusion, most at least provide some level of

protection to address the most extreme abuses of power, such as “campaign finance regulation, lobbying regulations, corruption investigation, mandates for hearings, procedures for public comment, commission membership, voting procedures, and so on”; hence, they endeavor “to promote the presence of potentially marginalized constituencies” by regulating “decision-making processes” (Young, 2000/2010, 55). External exclusion involves preventing debate, limiting or preventing certain individuals or groups from participation in elections and other ways of expressing their views, and preventing participation in making decisions. External exclusion appears when powerful people and groups influence and distort the political process and exclude others from full participation, but it also includes allowing some more powerful groups or individuals to dominate the political processes.

While Young recognizes the importance of addressing external exclusions, she is more concerned with internal exclusions because they are often unnoticed. Furthermore, internal exclusions hinder “political equality” (Young, 2000/2010, 56). Internal exclusion, Young notes, involves “ways that people lack effective opportunity to influence the thinking of others even when they have access to fora and procedures of decision-making” (2000/2010, 55). This is particularly problematic because, Young notes, democracy “is . . . a process in which a large collective discusses problems . . . that they face together, and try to arrive peaceably at solutions in whose implementation everyone will co-operate” (2000/2010, 28). Democracy in this sense, then, necessitates political equality; it requires that participants have access to the various mechanisms whereby decisions are made and solutions are achieved. If citizens are to work peacefully together to execute solutions to problems, they must understand themselves as collectively responsible for the solutions to be effected. Still, Young says, one common problem with theories of deliberative democracy is the single-minded attention to and privileging of dispassionate argument in which premises and conclusions are linked to form tight, orderly chains of reason. Certainly, Young does not deny the importance of rational argument in political communication; when various solutions to a problem are proposed, citizens must have some way to consider, examine, and determine which of the proposed solutions merit their attention and resources. The difficulty is that “arguments require shared premises” that are not always to be had “in a situation of political conflict”; consequently, reduction of discourse to its rational elements tends to “enact internal exclusions of style and idiom” (Young, 2000/2010, 56). For Young, this means that

A theory of democratic inclusion requires an expanded conception of political communication, both in order to identify modes of internal inclusion and to provide an account of more inclusive possibilities of attending to one another in order to reach understanding. (2000/2010, 56)

Young thus argues for “a more open context of political communication,” which she calls “communicative democracy” (2000/2010, 40). To achieve this end, Young advocates three practices: “greeting, rhetoric, and narrative as enriching both a

descriptive and normative account of public discussion and deliberation” (2000/2010, 57).

Recognizing the inherent worth and dignity of every person is central to democratic practice. The greeting, Young explains, is communicated both verbally and nonverbally. We recognize the greeting in salutations of “Hello!,” or “Guten Tag!”; it operates, nonverbally, in handshakes. The greeting is that and more, says Young, who, draws from Emmanuel Levinas’ ethics, to acknowledge the self’s unmitigated, asymmetrical responsibility to the other:

Communication would never happen if someone did not make the ‘first move’, out of responsibility for the other to expose herself without promise of answer or acceptance. Greeting (which is my term, not Levinas’s) is this communicative moment of taking the risk of trusting in order to establish and maintain the bond of trust necessary to sustain a discussion about issues that face us together. (2000/2010, 58)

Greetings are thus at times simple expressions of recognition and at other times commanding gestures signaling the desire by one to be with, and even more importantly, *for* the other.

Traditionally, logical discourse has been distinguished from rhetoric. Certainly, Plato makes this distinction, as have a number of theorists; even some of those who embrace deliberative democracy maintain that democracy and democratic problem solving must be free of rhetoric because rhetorical speech does not strive to achieve an “understanding with others, but only to manipulate their thought and feeling in directions that serve the speaker’s own ends” (Young, 2000/2010, 63). To acknowledge the affirmative uses of rhetoric, however, demands a departure from “a Platonic distinction between rational speech and mere rhetoric” (Young, 2000/2010, 63). Indeed, the distinction between logical argument guided by pure reason and rhetoric must be rejected; “[t]he ideal of disembodied and disembedded reason that it presupposes is a fiction” (Young, 2000/2010, 63). Furthermore, while those employing logical argument, such as politicians and academicians, may hold that their arguments are objective, unemotional, and free of rhetoric, this can only be achieved by ignoring the fact that their own discourse assumes a standpoint based on social class, communication style, and a host of other factors (Young, 2000/2010). Rather than vilifying and rejecting rhetorical speech, recognizing the importance of the “affirmative uses of rhetoric” allows us to appreciate the importance of “emotion, figurative language, or unusual or playful forms of expression” in political communication by allowing individuals and groups to express themselves, their diverse backgrounds, and their diverse opinions and positions in their own voices and their own special way (Young, 2000/2010, 64). In short, understanding rhetoric requires us to recognize the difference between “*what*” is said, and “*how*” something is said (Young, 2000/2010, 64). In contradistinction to the Western intellectual tradition that embraces reasoned, logical speech and attempts to purify communicative language by completely eliminating rhetoric, or at least by limiting the perceived negative effects of rhetoric, Young advocates the “uniquely positive functions” that rhetoric, in all its emotional impurity, plays (2000/2010, 66). She

highlights three such positive features of rhetorical strategies: (1) “*Rhetorical moves often help to get an issue on the agenda for deliberation*” (2) “*Rhetoric fashions claims and arguments in ways appropriate to a particular public in a particular situation*”; and, (3) “*Rhetoric motivates the move from reason to judgment*” (Young, 2000/2010, 66–69).

The third practice to expand democratic communication and to address internal exclusion is the use of narrative, which Young also terms “situated knowledge” (Young, 2000/2010, 70). “Some external exclusions,” Young notes,

occur because participants in a political public do not have sufficiently shared understandings to fashion a set of arguments with shared premises, or appeals to shared experiences and values. Too often in such situations the assumptions, experiences, and values of some members of the polity dominate the discourse and that of others is misunderstood, devalued, or reconstructed to fit the dominant paradigms. In such situations arguments alone will do little to allow public voice for those excluded from the discourse (Young, 2000/2010, 70).

Thus, narrative may play an important role in discourse that transpires within a democratic polity constituted by diverse populations by encouraging participants, if not to sympathize with, then at least to become aware of and consider the situations in which others find themselves.

However, Young distinguishes “political narrative” from other forms of narrative because it is storytelling “not primarily to entertain or reveal myself, but to make a point—to demonstrate, describe, explain, or justify something to others in an ongoing political discussion” (2000/2010, 72). Narrative, according to Young, serves democratic communication in five ways:

1. “*Respond to the ‘differend’*” (2000/2010, 72). Drawing on Jean-Francois Lyotard’s conception of the “differend”³—a situation in which two parties are so different from one another that they share no common ground—Young suggests “storytelling” as “an important bridge” that allows those who have suffered injustices but have no way of expressing the wrong suffered to communicate their experience (2000/2010, 72). By telling stories of their experiences, those experiencing injustice are able to name the injustice and communicate it to a wider public. Systemic racism and sexual harassment are two examples of Young’s point.
2. “*Understanding the experience of others and countering pre-understandings*” (2000/2010, 73). In our modern societies, “political communication” cannot take place in one place; how could all of the citizens of a country come together in one place to discuss and debate a political problem (2000/2010, 73)? Hence, storytelling may allow people who share “particular interests, opinions, and/or social positions” to recognize one another, to understand “the basis of their

³Young refers to Lyotard, Jean-Francois, *The Differend: Phrases in Dispute* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

- affinity,” and to form what Young calls “a local public,” i.e., “a collective of persons allied within the wider polity” (2000/2010, 73). When a local public has formed, participants can politicize the interests that concern them through consciousness-raising and teach-ins to sharpen and delineate injustices suffered.
3. “*Understanding the experience of others and countering pre-understandings*” (2000/2010, 73). Storytelling allows the members of a local public who are very different from the larger polity to communicate their experiences and counter pre-understandings, including prejudice, stereotypes, etc.; however, storytelling alone is not enough. While “narratives often help target and correct such pre-understandings,” political discussion and debate still requires argument. Nonetheless, storytelling can prepare the way for arguments by allowing a local public to communicate its concerns to the polity.
 4. “*Revealing the source of values, priorities, or cultural meanings*” (2000/2010, 75). “Values,” Young insists, “unlike norms, often cannot be justified through argument” (2000/2010, 75). Storytelling can allow a local public to communicate values, priorities, and important cultural meanings to the larger polity.
 5. “*Aid in constituting social knowledge that enlarges thought*” (2000/2010, 76). Storytelling not only communicates the experience of a local public to the polity, but it also allows the polity to see itself through the eyes of a particular local public. “Thus listeners can learn about how their own position, actions, and values appear to others from the stories they tell. Narrative thus exhibits the situated knowledge available from various social locations, and the combination of narratives from different perspectives produces a collective social wisdom not available from any one position” (2000/2010, 76).

Today, in the US, our democracy is threatened, not externally as most believe, but internally by the willingness of the state and the people to allow large corporations and wealthy elites to purchase elected officials and to determine political policy. Currently, individual states are gerrymandering and attempting to limit voting rights to exclude many citizens, particularly minorities, from the political process. Indeed, Gilens and Page (2014) conclude their study, “Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens,” by writing:

Despite the seemingly strong empirical support in previous studies for theories of majoritarian democracy, our analyses suggest that majorities of the American public actually have little influence over the policies our government adopts. Americans do enjoy many features central to democratic governance, such as regular elections, freedom of speech and association, and a wide-spread (if still contested) franchise. But we believe that if policymaking is dominated by powerful business organizations and a small number of affluent Americans, then America’s claims to being a democratic society are seriously threatened (Gilens & Page, 2014, 576–577).

To reclaim our democracy, we must stop thinking of politics as a job to be done and once we have achieved justice, we can then live in a perfect world. As Hannah Arendt once said to us in class, “One does not eat breakfast once and for all; one

eats breakfast every morning.” To protect democracy, we must be vigilant, and we must think of ourselves as being involved in an on-going process; we must always attend to the tension between justice and liberty. As Arnold cautions, “the difficulty for democracy is, how to find and keep high ideals” (1993/2010, 14). Clearly, Young provides us with some important tools for achieving those high ideals so that we might tackle the task before us.

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Transformation or Just More Information: Social Media Use and Perceived Opportunities for Mobilizing Change in Post-Uprising Egypt

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Nermeen Kassem

A tool implies an object or technique used to directly leverage an outcome, and thought of in this way Twitter's impact can be judged on some kind of scale to be argued over—and from here skepticism can easily spring. Yet the 'virtual' and the 'real' are no more separable than 'mind' and 'body'. Twitter, social media or the Internet as a whole, can't be isolated as the cause, or not, of anything, because they are part of the fabric of social life and the terrain of struggle (Hands, 2011).

In a society like Egypt, online political practice is not normatively integrated due to structural and/or technological inefficiencies. By the time this research began in late 2010, less than a quarter (21.1 %) of the Egyptian constituency was online (Egypt: Internet Usage and Telecommunications Report, n.d.). As the Internet's new communicative affordances have benefitted "those who have crossed the digital divide," (Bennett, 2003, p. 20) it is expected that the limitations of digital inequalities would reduce the numbers of potential online recipients and possible contributors. This, in turn, excludes the poorer and less-educated, and influences the contributors' capabilities to support a viable form of influential 'Internet-based' activism. So, while the Internet and social media have expanded the toolkit for activists and enabled large numbers to assemble in loose networks with minimal resources, a hybrid 'repertoire of collective action' (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001) that fuses the virtual with the real is crucial should they aspire to acquire significant change and yield feasible outcomes for the collective. Social media, Hands (2011) writes, should be articulated as "a new element into the revolutionary process, in which new dynamics and new capacities need to be absorbed and understood." This was evident in the configuration of the massive uprising of January 2011, which was arguably enabled by the creation of "a complex socio-technical

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system not only between social media and the more traditional media, but also between mediated and face-to-face networks” (Lim, 2012, p. 244).

Organization, or mobilizing, structures combined with favoring opportunities, or pro-participation dispositions, might offer groups certain structural affordances for action, yet they alone are insufficient to account for collective action. Most important are the “shared meanings and definitions that people bring to their situation [which mediate] between opportunity, organization and action” (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996, p. 5). Klandermans and Oegema (1987) distinguishes between the formation of ‘mobilization potentials’ or recruitment networks, and consensus mobilization. The mobilization process starts with the formation of mobilization potentials, in the heart of which lies the process of ‘framing.’ This framing process is a crucial initial step that the social movement takes in order to address the wider audiences with meanings they can comprehend and thus can comply with the movement’s demands (Tarrow, 1998).

Social media may have the capacity to change the space of politics by affording actors new opportunities for being seen and heard. In fact, “political actors who want to accomplish things requiring public visibility will always turn to the media” as they “have become the major sites, the privileged space of politics in late modern society” (Dahlgren, 2001, p. 84).

Various repertoires of mobilization have been implemented during the time that led to the eruption of the massive uprising of January 2011 in order to achieve social and political transformation in Egypt. This research investigates the way in which social media might have contributed to mobilizing collective action practice prior to the Egyptian revolt. A focus on off-line actions illuminates how social media could (or could not) contribute to achieving political change in Egypt, as perceived by a sample of young activists. The research first started with quantitative data from questionnaires. Qualitative data from focus group discussions were then analyzed to gain deeper understanding of youth’s perceptions and practices. It has been found that social media have mainly contributed to framing youth movements, recruiting prospective participants in collective action, and instigating collective action off-line. However, basing activism on social media was perceived to erode actual practices off-line and to delude online debaters into believing that they were actively taking part in the political process. Participant activists’ perceptions were finally explained and discussed against a backdrop of the uprising of 25th January 2011.

In the following pages, literature on the potential role of the Internet and social media in mobilizing collective action is reviewed. I first start with reviewing literature on framing collective action. I then discuss how collective action is mobilized and what drives people (or demotivates them) to engage in off-line collective action. In doing so, special consideration is paid to the role that social media play with regard to both parameters of collective action.

16.1 Social Media and Mobilizing Frames

Social movement framing denotes “an active, process-derived phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction” (Snow & Benford, 1992, p. 136). Normally, political activities that fall outside the spectrum of conventional politics or are perceived as a threat to the status quo are neglected, or misrepresented by mainstream media. Transformations in new communication technology have nevertheless allowed activists new affordances. Social media have allowed activists alternative platforms for representation and action that “challenge, at least implicitly, actual concentrations of media power, whatever form those concentrations may take in different locations” (Couldry & Curran, 2003, p. 7). They have indeed introduced “changes in the technological and cultural opportunities for protest [causing] the blurring of borders between the senders and receivers, producers and users” (della Porta, 2012, p. 46), to the extent that will make “the distinct[ion] between information producers and consumers increasingly difficult to draw” (Bennett, 2003, p. 34). Specific changes in the media field have increased both activists’ and non-activists’ capacity to produce information. These changes include: “(1) new ways of consuming media, which explicitly contest the social legitimacy of media power; (2) new infrastructures of production, which have an effect on who can produce news and in what circumstances; (3) new infrastructures of distribution, which change the scale and terms in which symbolic production in one place can reach other places”. Moreover, they can provide evidence for their anecdotes and raise “the evidential basis for a master frame’s diagnostic claims,” (p. 140) or what Snow and Benford (1992) call the “empirical capability,” in the face of meaning constructions propagated by mainstream media.

The non-centralized organization of digital networks allows for a relatively open public sphere in which newly constructed frames and ideas (or the so called memes) of protest can travel with relative ease, speed and global scope, affording social movements wider spread and sizable expansion. Memes themselves travel autonomously in the time and space created by the Internet. This fluidity resolves the limitations of ideological communication which bound the flow of ideas to particular places, groups, times, and spaces. Within this space, communication formats, or memes, have the advantage of travelling virally, defying the old two-step model of communication transmission (Bennett, 2003).

In addition to their instrumental use for the exposure of a regime’s misconduct, and for altering the biased agenda and distorted frames of mainstream media, social media have also been used to construct realities that resonate with social movements’ vision of certain issues and causes at the normative level. New avenues for democratic representation have been opened and it has become possible to “grassroot the networks and to network the grassroots” (Castells, 2011, p. 413). Developments in new media have reconfigured and reinforced politics on individuals’ everyday life; allowing for the construction of new situations through the use of technology and media to increase the realm of freedom, community, and empowerment, and to promote “a revolution of everyday life” (Kahn & Kellner,

2004, p. 93). New communicative affordances have expanded the cultural opportunities for movement activity by making the creation of the “innovative “master frame” within which subsequent challengers can map their own grievances and demands” (McAdam, 1996, p. 25) possible and more commensurate with their resources.

However, constructing meanings and reaching a level of cultural consensus is a controversial issue in some theoretical lines of social movements. For example, the resource mobilization perspective imparts more significance to material incentives at the cost of cognitive and ideational dimensions of collective action. Although the Internet redefines traditional information gatekeepers and authoritative elites, yet, this contribution also invites certain limitations. The absence, or the bypassing, of gatekeepers could also be a source of problems for activists (Castells, 1997). Such problems relate to the quality and quantity of created, distributed and acquired information. Social media help to promote ‘counter public spheres’ for democratic activists as well as for racists and other unsavory types of radicals (Dahlgren, 2004, p. xiii). Conspiracy theories may be confused with well-substantiated claims (Wright, 2004, p. 85). Publication unconstrained by gatekeepers also introduces the risk of ‘information overload’ (Garrett, 2006, p. 215). Additionally, activist websites can sometimes contribute to ‘frame clouding’ (Snow, Burke Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986, p. 478) distorting the thematic construction of the movement and belying its visibility (cited in le Grignou & Patou, 2004, p. 172).

Movement framing is not a straightforward process. Activists cannot simply construct and impose their own view of reality on their potential supporters. Rather, they always have to face the challenges of counter framing by movement opponents, bystanders, and the media (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 625). It has been argued that increasing dependence on social media in contentious activity is a source of threat to social movements because it creates new opportunities for demobilization efforts. In many cases, elites and their allies own and/or control the infrastructure on which new media depend. If a particular use becomes too threatening, challengers may be denied access to resources, or a system’s architecture may be modified to prevent undesirable uses. For example, if activists depend on cellphones to coordinate action, disrupting the cellphone service may have a demobilizing effect (Garrett, 2006, p. 210). One recent, striking example is the Internet being shut down for 5 days after the massive uprising of January 2011 broke out in Egypt. The country’s four main Internet service providers (ISPs) abruptly stopped shuttling Internet traffic into and out of the country (DailyRecord.co.uk, 2011) to curb the mass turnout of anti-government demonstrators. Mobile phone data service was also cut off across Egypt for a shorter time, but text messaging services (SMS) remained disrupted during the continuing protests (Arthur, 2011). Such a move of suppression was aimed at limiting the crucial role of mobile phones as they “enhance the autonomy of individuals, enabling them to set up their own connections, bypassing the mass media and the channels of communication” (Castells, Fernández-Ardévol, Linchuan, & Sey, 2007) usually controlled by the state.

Concerns have also been raised about the capacity of alternative media to reach beyond those who are already politically interested and active, and to form a bridge between mobilization, the grassroots and the general constituency. Scholars have discussed the issues of the digital divide and the limited influence of virtual collective action (see e.g., della Porta & Mosca, 2005; Gennaro & Dutton, 2006; Rucht, 2004; van Laer & van Aelst, 2010).

16.2 Social Media and the Significance of Collective Performance

In his view on when individuals can act collectively, Olson (1971) identifies a critical null hypothesis:

If the members of some group have a common interest or objective, and if they would all be better off if that objective was achieved, [then] the individuals in that group would, if they were rational and self-interested, act to achieve that objective (p. 1).

He then bonds the hypothesis with certain conditions that might nullify the logic of collective action, concluding that:

Unless the number of individuals in a group is quite small, or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest, *rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests* (p. 2) (emphasis in original).

Lupia and Sin (2003) have engaged with the logic of collective action in respect of the role of the communication technologies that were not originally integrated into Olson's argument. They argue that the emergence of new communication technologies has altered the basic assumptions of interpersonal communication upon which Olson built his view of group work. They conclude that:

Technologies that reduce the cost of sending information long distances (or to many people) can reduce organizational costs, increase noticeability, and make ineffective communicative networks effective. If group members' interests are sufficiently common, or if they interact in contexts that induce them to share information, these technologies can also make selective incentives a more viable recruitment strategy In particular, evolving technologies can erase the disadvantages of being large—which should change the rule of thumb that many people use to distinguish latent groups from other kinds (p. 329).

Oliver and Marwell's (1988) have earlier argued that the group's size is a paradoxical element in collective action. For them, what matters is the relationship between potential contributors in the critical mass. They argue that the problem of collective action lies in "whether there is *some social mechanism* that connects *enough* people who have the appropriate interests and resources so that they can act" (p. 8) (emphasis added). This might be a valid argument for communication

technologies and social media. These technologies have made, and are still making, this connection between sizable, interested and resourced groups possible.

However, this is not to suggest that social media and new communication technologies are, or could be, *the* viable solution to collective action problems. One may agree that social media have enabled members of larger groups to cross physical and time barriers and learn more about each other at a lower cost, which may negate Olson's argument about small group size as a precondition for the configuration of collective action. Yet, with new communication technologies added to the picture, careful consideration should be given to the space/place where certain actions and their consequent implications take place. Technology-enabled large groups might not cross the borders of the virtual communicative sphere afforded by these technologies. Technology might thus not be sufficient in themselves to enable sizable, significant collective action on the ground. Rather, social movements may run the danger of limiting political action in the communication network (Earl & Kimport, 2011).

The hybridity of online (inter)activism and off-line activism has been recommended by a number of political communication and sociology scholars. As Tilly (2004) contends: "Neither in communications nor in transportation, did the technological timetable dominate alterations in social movement organization, strategy and practice. Shifts in the political and organizational context impinged far more directly and immediately on how social movements worked than did technological transformations" (p. 104). van Laer (2010) has recently flagged the risk of over reliance on the Internet by social movement organizations, and has stressed the importance of crossing the online border to reach for their own off-line constituency. In the former case, van Laer argues, organizations may face the danger of diluting the movement and so suffer serious consequences for their own maintenance as well as the movement(s) they represent and support. This sphere-bridging is crucial for broader practice and the sustainability of influential collective action, and to create a "favorable breeding ground for future action and mobilization" (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2009, p. 1378).

In their research for the action repertoires of social movements, van Laer and van Aelst (2009, 2010) have identified circumstances where the Internet creates new problems for collective action. In some cases, they argue, the Internet has still not made collective action easy enough, while in others it has made it too easy, thus reducing the final political impact of a certain action. It may be true that the Internet has expanded the toolkit of social movements by hosting modified tactics and "creative functions." Yet, these tactics are nothing but traditional tools of social movements that have become easier to organize and coordinate by the affordances of the Internet, thus "the shift towards new Internet-based actions and tactics relying on the Internet [still] has not resulted in the replacement of the old action forms, but rather complemented them" (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010, p. 1150). Lupia and Sin (2003) have earlier mentioned similar problems in "mak[ing] communication more difficult (by allowing key individuals to better mask their activities), increas[ing] the relative benefits of free riding, or increase[ing] the utility people can achieve without collective goods" (p. 329).

Free-riding can happen online as well (i.e., lurking). Some forms of online communicative interactions do not rise to the level of influential participation that entails individuals benefitting from collective goods. Jesover distinguishes between online 'serious practices' and 'entertaining practices', as he tries to encourage infrequent users (or passers-by) to take online communication more seriously, rather than perceiving 'interactivity as gimmick' (cited in le Grignou & Patou, 2004). This online 'passer-by' is seen as a new version of Olson's free-rider "in so far as his/her activity can consist of paying a subscription, collecting information more or less related to [social movement organization's] targets, and 'chatting' or holding conversational discussions on the discussion list" (le Grignou & Patou, 2004, p. 174).

A combination between on- and off-line communicative organization and mobilization might be more influential in terms of achieving a social movement's goals. Exerting efforts in the virtual sphere does not seem to be echoed influentially in reality. An experimental study that tests the influence of exposure to mobilizing information, either by face-to-face interaction or on websites, indicates that Web-based mobilization only has a significant effect on online participation, whereas face-to-face mobilization has a significant impact on off-line behavior, suggesting that mobilization effects are "medium-specific" (Vissers, Hooghe, Stolle, & Mahéo, 2012). Breindl's (2010) research illustrates that while activists organize themselves online, they keep an eye on influencing policy-making, which entails a degree of integration between the on- and off-line arenas, or what Breindl termed "Internet-based communities." These communities "aim at intervening in "traditional" politics by focusing on power demonstrations in the off-line realm" (p. 69). Similarly, Bennett (2005) defines the political capacity of transnational activist networks through two dimensions: being able to shape public debate about the issues in contention, and developing effective political relations with protest targets to influence political change on those issues (p. 208). As he writes, "social technologies generally combine online and off-line relationship-building aimed at achieving trust, credibility and commitment as defined at the individual rather than the collective level" (p. 205). della Porta and Mosca (2005) describe cyberspace as "a new resource to increase [activists'] chances of success," confirming that "there is no sign that off-line and online environments [are seen] as alternative to each other [but rather] they are more and more integrated and overlapping" (p. 186). Other scholars strongly assert that a sharp distinction between the on- and off-line spheres should be completely rejected, since both realms are profoundly intertwined (Bimber, 2000).

A possible approach to researching the media and collective action repertoires, then, is to think of collective action and the media as holistic environments of interwoven layers. The conceptualization of collective action as a toolkit (similar to Bourdieu's habitus), and media as an environment (similar to Bourdieu's field) (Bourdieu, 1990) allows us to look at different forms of media and communication modes that are expected to shape different opportunities for activists, defining their roles, and influencing their capacity to reach out to a wider group of potential participants with their informative, mobilizing messages. This process of media

convergence creates a “media ecology” for activists, which is characterized by being multifaceted and rich in communication channels (Mattoni, Berdnikovs, Ardizzoni, & Cox, 2010, p. 2). In Mattoni et al.’s words:

Always, today’s media ecology revolves around the intertwining of multiple platforms, applications, supports and outlets. Different levels of communication flows overlap: from the mass broadcasting of global television to the information provided by national print press; from local community street televisions to widespread user-generated content spread in social networking sites (p. 2).

Such an environment brings together forms of face-to-face interaction, many-to-many, and mass communication allowing for a continuous flow of communication between micro, meso and macro media (Bennett, 2005). This convergent media ecology, in turn, allows for a hybrid repertoire of collective action (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010) where media-based and media-supported actions collide to achieve a desirable collective outcome.

In light of the above, the research seeks to answer the following questions:

RQ1: Does using social media for instrumental purposes relate to young activists’ tendency to practice politics online? And if so, in what ways?

RQ2: Does using social media for instrumental purposes relate to young activists’ tendency to practice politics off-line? And if so, in what ways?

16.3 Methodology

As the research is guided by the theoretical approach of political opportunity and uses and gratifications (U&G). It falls into the ‘transformative mixed methods’ category (Creswell, 2009). According to this general strategy, the theoretical framework leads the research design, which contains both quantitative and qualitative data. I choose the participants through a process of snowball sampling combined with selective sampling to ensure the inclusion of individuals from diverse social and political backgrounds. I first examined 367 responses from a self-administered survey that assessed activists’ perceptions of social media use for political communication. Participants who expressed their willingness to take a further step in the research represented the sampling frame for the subsequent qualitative part of the research. Three focus group discussions (a total of 21 young Egyptian activists) were held in November and December 2011. Under this lens, both sets of data were merged together to provide an inclusive analysis of the research subject.

In the survey study, respondents indicate their *reasons for using social media* for political purposes on an index of 19 items split into six use categories (see Table 16.1) on a five-point semantic differential scale, where 1 meant ‘strongly disagree’ and 5 meant ‘strongly agree.’

Table 16.1 Linear regression analysis of predictors of online activism

Social media use constructs	Standardised coefficients Beta (β)	Significance
Guidance	0.020	0.771
Surveillance	0.227	0.002**
Convenience	-0.046	0.452
Networking	0.291	0.000**
Social utility	-0.207	0.001**
Entertainment	-0.125	0.035*

Significance * (0.05), ** (0.01)

Dispositions were assessed by looking at young activists' perceived feelings of political efficacy and fear of repression. Political efficacy (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.64$) is defined as an individual's belief that performing a particular behavior will be associated with positive outcomes (Neuwirth & Frederick, 2004). Fear of repression (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.68$) is operationally defined as the general perceived feeling of being unsafe due to one's public expression of political views and confrontation with authorities, either in reality or online. *Online political participation* was measured with an aggregate scale of seven items (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.87$). Eight items were used to gauge participants' stated *off-line political participation* (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.89$). For each form of participation, respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point scale (where 1 meant 'never', and 5 meant 'very often') whether, in the past year, they had engaged in political activities.

Certain attributes were selected to build the profile of the respondents. According to the U&G approach, the needs that individuals seek to satisfy are determined by their social environment, which includes their age, gender and group affiliation (Morris & Ogan, 1996). Accordingly, the selected demographic variables correspond to certain issues in the Egyptian polity that are relevant to young Egyptians' geographical availability and related tendency to practice politics. The gender ratio is 39.8 % male and 60.2 % female ($n = 362$, missing = 5). 64.9 % are university students, 24.3 % are university graduates, and only 8.2 % hold higher degrees ($n = 357$, missing = 10). Consistently, more than half of the participants fall into the age cohort between 18 and 22, while only 4.4 % are between 30 and 35 years of age ($n = 362$, missing = 5). 38.1 % of participants reported a monthly income range between 1000 and <3000 EGP. Equal proportions of respondents (21 %) reported that they earned between 3000 and <5000 EGP, and 5000–7000 EGP, and the smallest proportion of respondents fell into the higher income category of more than 7000 EGP ($n = 346$, missing = 21). Facebook was by far the most visited site (90.9 %), followed by YouTube (50.6 %). Respondents who reported that they used the interactive comment section in electronic newspapers (15 %) were slightly greater in number than those who used Twitter (12.3 %), and weblogs were the least popular amongst respondents (7.3 %).

A problem with snowball sampling is that it is usually unrepresentative of the population and thus cannot provide the basis for generalization. Integrating qualitative discussions into the analysis, on the one hand, addresses one of the shortfalls

of U&G research as being over reliant on quantitative methods to address media uses. It also helps to reach well-validated results and a deeper understanding through putting the participants' responses into the wider social and political perspective. The general findings begin by demonstrating what participants said in the questionnaires. These findings are subsequently considered in the context of the respondents' biographical stories. Due to the wealth of data and given space limitations, I use the biographical details of a small group of research participants to guide the reader through the findings. I choose their responses because they complement one another and contain typical patterns in the overall sample. In the analysis, I made a decision not to reveal the participants' identities and to use initials instead of their names in order to preserve their safety.

16.4 Findings

16.4.1 Uses of Social Media and Online Political Participation

In order to answer the research questions I first started by running linear regression analysis in order to find out what media uses relate to young activists' online activism. As shown from Table 16.1 the more young activists use social media to debate about politics (*social utility*) and to pass the time and relax (*entertainment*), the less they practice politics online. It has been argued that such ritualistic or habitual use is a mild stimulation of audience activity that is considered one of the limiting factors of media effects (Ruggiero, 2000) due to little intentionality or selectivity being involved (Blumler, 1979). More recent research similarly showed that reliance on social networking sites (SNSs), such as YouTube, Facebook, and MySpace, was positively related to civic participation, but not to political participation or confidence in government. Researchers ascribed this finding to the main purpose for which social media were created. They explained that these media are mainly geared toward maintaining relationships with friends and can, hence, have the potential for stimulating community involvement, rather than political participation (Zhang, Johnson, Seltzer, & Bichard, 2010, p. 86). Figure 16.1 represents the correlations between the uses of social media and young activists' reported online activism. This finding was corroborated during the group interviews. Participants typically believe that debating politics on social media portals does not necessarily encourage political activism. In A.A.'s words:

We should not turn information into debate and lock political activism in Facebook pages.
What we should do is to aggregate people and take to the streets.

Conversely, Informational and networking uses were the only social media use constructs that positively connected to online political practice. *Surveillance* significantly related to practicing politics online. That is, the more young activists were driven by acquiring and disseminating information, the more they practiced political activities on the Internet ($\beta = 0.227, p < 0.01$). The more young activists

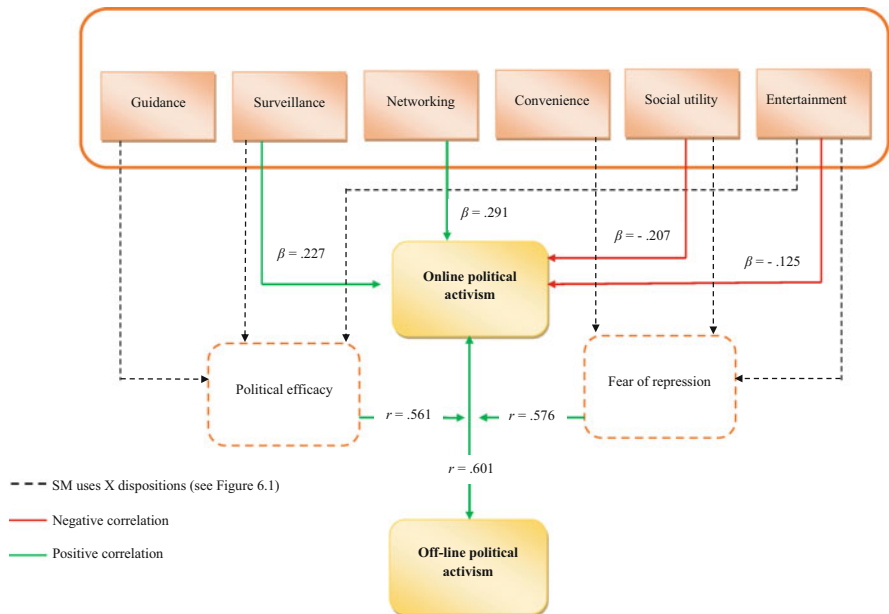


Fig. 16.1 Uses of social media and online-off-line political participation mediated by political dispositions

sought to gratify their needs to form and join political groups online and to reach out to large numbers of potential supporters (*networking*), the more they used the Web for political activism ($\beta = 0.291, p < 0.01$).

This finding is typically consistent with the nature of social media as a platform for maintaining already established relationships and, less broadly, for fostering new ones (boyd & Ellison, 2007). It also reflects young activists’ desire to enlarge the size of their network of acquaintances as a prerequisite for mobilizing others, as suggested in recent research (Shen, Wang, Guo, & Guo, 2009).

Consistently, during the interviews, young activists mainly raised issues relevant to these media functions. Young activists’ views about mobilizing other citizens to participate in political activities that aim to achieve political, social and economic changes in Egyptian society particularly evolved around two main themes: (1) promoting a common threat frame, (2) recruiting potential supporters.

16.4.1.1 Social Media Surveillance and Promoting a Common Threat Frame

Young activists mainly used social media to disseminate informative and technical information relevant to their activism. Participants, however, perceive social media as an inefficient platform for gaining news, due to structural fluidity of the Internet. During the interviews, participants discussed how the social media could help them frame and disseminate mobilizing messages that appeal to the public. In social

media terms, participants believe that they can create a *public status* that people can endorse and then act accordingly. **MH.** typically remarked:

I mean that, after all, this is actually a crisis of a community that is not able...¹ if we are able to produce a *true and healthy status for people to interact with* then the number [of participants] will increase. So what matters is, in fact, the constructed status itself (emphasis added).

Social media have enabled the young activists to scrutinize politicians and elites and to make the few visible to the many. For example, **M.M.** believes that:

Twitter is all about status, which you could deliver to many people, very fast.

Participants mainly discussed their role as media “*producers*” (Fuchs, 2010, p. 178) who, in addition to consuming and circulating media content, compose and convey their own messages. As revealed in the group interviews, participants all agreed that social media are beneficial tools for framing their movement, or for “highlighting symbols that will be familiar enough to mobilize people around [in order to] maintain the movements’ integrity against the claims of inherited culture” (Tarrow, 1998, p. 119). Through their informational uses of social media, they sought to frame certain issues by creating what Gamson (1992) dubbed the ‘signature matrix’ which includes several condensing symbols (catchphrases, taglines, exemplars, metaphors, depictions, visual images) and reasoning devices (causes and consequences, appeals to principles, or moral claims). They utilize social media to transfer the salience of issues, their attributes and the salience of politics to a wider circle of publics. Participants discussed how their social media activism had been successful in enunciating a *public status* or a “master frame” that could mobilize an entire social movement sector (Tarrow, 1998, p.131).

Social media have allowed participants to inform the public agenda, especially on the unconventional level of political practices. An explicit example on the “process through which agendas are built or through which an object that has caught public attention by being big news, gives rise to a political issue” (Lang & Lang, 1981, p. 448) is the well-known case of Khaled Said, or ‘the spark of the revolution’, as he came to be known. **SO.** Summarized:

When [Kaled Said’s] photo was leaked on the Internet, it caused a reverse impact. People humanely sympathized with the case and the shocking morgue photo went viral on the Internet. *The public had a rallying point.* (emphasis added).

M.M. emphasized:

¹The participant was discussing the case of El-Baradei and how he has not been able to gather millions or hundreds of thousands in demonstrations due to the strategies and tactics he uses to work on the ground and interact with people. He believes that El-Baradei was not able to create the appropriate tactics to increase the numbers of people who gathered around him in Fayoum in thousands to tens of thousands.

The Khaled Said page is one of the largest Arabic political pages on Facebook. This is an indication that the case has become very popular in society, at least for the Facebook community.

The young activists, as social media *users*, are skeptical about the content social media provide. Yet they, as *producers/users*, or producers, tend to rely on social media to address less politically interested citizens. This dichotomous stance, combining elements of both the limited and strong effects of social media, links to the argument that media effects are limited by an interaction between media and recipients (Scheufele, 1999).

Activists, as citizen journalists, attempt to frame images of reality using the available, less costly apparatuses of social media, while realizing their limitations with regard to allowing for a constructive discourse to develop among the social media audience. On the one hand, the agenda-setting effect of social media is not enacted at the '*users*' level. The participants tend not to rely on social media as their primary source of news and comprehension. Young activists believe that social media lack a sufficient level of credibility as primary source of news. On the other hand, the participants expressed the importance of social media as available platforms for opinion expression and information dissemination. They, as *producers*, use the utilities of social media to circumvent the barrage of information that circulates through the normally biased state-run mass media by framing political issues that do not receive sufficient, impartial, or any, attention from the so-called 'national' media.

It can be said that young activists have been *counter-framing* political issues through providing a different perspective on current events and disseminating unconventional political information to the increasing social media audiences. This process of social media counter-framing could "enhance the autonomy of individuals, enabling them to set up their own connections, bypassing the mass media and the channels of communication" (Castells et al., 2007) controlled by the state. The young activists believe that they can interrupt the state hegemony in shaping the public's awareness through its national media representations of important issues and events. For example, **SO.** asserts that:

Social networks have benefitted us in so many ways, such as the speed of transferring information. We can instantly show youth what we have seen and experienced that they might not usually read in newspapers. We are members of the April 6th Youth Movement. We were beaten and mistreated and we all suffered from injuries. All newspapers, including opposition newspapers, merely reported that there were fights. This is something we actually lived through.

One of the most successful frames employed by the youth movement was the *prospective common threat* that was presented through the case of Khaled Said's murder. Although participants have been active in mobilizing the public behind the cause of change and the confronting of corruption and police brutality, it was not until the cause was dubbed as an imminent common danger that the public, especially youth, started to join. Diffusing the frame 'We are all Khaled Said' on

a Facebook Page has been successful in establishing the link between police brutality and the regime's corruption, as symbolised in Said's murder, and Egyptian youth as the prospective victims who might be in the same position if they remained passive. **M.S.** explained:

The status [We are all Kaled Said] and the mind set it has created played a very important role the idea is not just chanting 'Down with Mubarak', or demanding bread, or condemning the emergency law. The idea is that there must be a common cause that can mobilize all youth to participate.

It is argued that actors in certain issue areas are more prone to use information communication technologies (ICTs) than actors in other issue areas (Donk, Loader, Nixon, & Rucht, 2004). The nature of the issue, the aims activists seek to achieve, and the context within which they operate, drive their selection and use of media to serve their goals. In the case of Said's murder, visibility was significantly important to expose the regime's misconducts, raise the public's awareness and trigger off a wave of protests against the regime's violations. The iconic image of Kaled Said's mangled face represents a *meme* that travels autonomously and virally in the fluid sphere of the Internet, breaching the ideological limitation of communication (Bennett, 2003).

16.4.1.2 Social Media Networking and Recruiting Potential Supporters

As shown through the regression analysis, seeking to gratify young activists' need for networking via social media was positively related to engagement in political activities online ($\beta = 0.291, p < 0.01$). In the interviews, participants discussed how they perceive social media's potential for reaching out for supporters and enlarging the size of their network as a prerequisite for mobilizing collective action, which has been suggested in previous research (Shen et al., 2009).

Activists need not only to choose mobilizing structures and appealingly frame them as usable and appropriate to the social change tasks to which they will be put, but they also need to target supporters with these frames on both the internal—adherents and activists of the movement itself—as well as the external levels, including bystanders (or lurkers in the case of online users), opponents and authorities (McCarthy, 1996, p. 149).

A.Y. explained the mechanism of recruiting participants via social media for the National Movement for Change to support El-Baradei's nomination for presidency:

M.A.E. created the Facebook group 'El-Baradei for presidency of Egypt_ 2011' and invited me to join. I joined the group as one of the administrators. After El-Baradei announced his intention to join the presidential race in 2011, I started, through my personal website and the database I built, to promote the Facebook group. Consequently, the number of group members rose within two weeks to reach 20,000. Dr. El-Baradei was referring to the members of the Facebook group as the number of his supporters, stressing the link between the Facebook group and the mobilizing campaign (emphasis added).

MH., explained how social media have benefitted young activists in addressing the less-politicized public and recruiting potential participants into their movement in order to exceed the activists' limit of participation:

In authoritarian regimes, aggregating efforts, by their nature, do not exceed the margin of activists and politicized youth, thus social networking sites could be considered the only pathway we, the activists, can take to reach sizable numbers of non-politicized youth. Discussing political issues through these websites may help incentivize youth to support [certain] issues.

It has been argued that structural factors take on more importance than psychological ones as determinants of individuals' tendencies to engage in collective action, especially when it comes to taking part in low-risk forms of activism (McAdam, 1986). Participation in high risk/high cost activities, however, is argued to be more dependent on higher levels of ideological commitment (McAdam, 1986). However, this level of commitment may be developed through engagement in low-risk/low cost activities where individuals can build up their competences and acquire the identity of an activist (Crossley, 2002). McAdam notes that an agent's acquired disposition towards politics may be adapted by means of participation in political activities:

First, through his friends, he will almost surely meet activists whom he did not know previously, thus broadening his range of movement contacts and increasing his vulnerability to future recruiting appeals. Second, in talking with others at the rally and listening to the scheduled speakers, our budding activist may well develop a better and more sympathetic understanding of the movement. Finally, the behavioural norms of the rally may encourage the recruit to 'play at' being an activist for the duration of the event (McAdam, 1986, p. 70).

The young activists think that social media could be a well-trodden, structural path to activism. They are valuable platforms for meeting non-politicized individuals, discussing politics, conveying views and raising possibilities for future recruitment. Social media has benefitted them in constructing communities of supporters and prospective participants. As the less-politicized become more acquainted with the participatory process, they may acquire the behavioral norms necessary for the process of 'activist identity' development. **M.S.** mentioned how he and his colleagues have been working on the case of Khaled Said and recruiting people for 3 years, but it was not until individuals identified with the group and formed a shared status (ideological commitment) that significant forms of activities started to materialize on the ground:

The point is not that we spent 3 years working on Khaled Said and did not achieve the same accumulation of youth who participated actually, from online to off-line. But from my point of view there was no stimulating and real case to make these youths participate. There was no real status to embrace them all.

Social media has been efficient in generating a structural basis for the youth movement. Through social media, the young activists have been able to recruit networks of non-politicized individuals who may, in due course, develop the ideological commitment that is essential for becoming involved in high-risk activities. **MA.** stressed the importance of the networks for mobilizing sizable effective actions:

I believe that large numbers of activists, their strength and the impact they can have on the Egyptian polity relies on their relationships to a large number of youth via social networks. Without these networks, the number would not be as large or have the same strength or impact.

Young activists believe that social media give them an opportunity to circumvent the tight control imposed by the regime, to link to non-politicized citizens and to mobilize support for their cause. Although they believe that streets and confrontation with authorities are where, and what, breaks their reported feelings of fear of repression at the practice level of collective action social media has benefitted them at the organizational level. **M.S.** typically remarked:

Social networks in Egypt are almost the most important tool for mobilizing the Egyptian public. In authoritarian societies, normal methods for mobilizing people are limited to groups of activists and politically-interested youth, thus social networking sites may be considered the only pathway those activists can take to reach large numbers of non-politicized youth. Discussing political issues through these websites can help to incentivize youth to support certain political causes.

I.B. stressed the importance of realizing the role of social media as platforms for discussion. He explained how minimizing the levels of sacrifice and risk for the less-politicized citizens may be the pathway to mobilizing people from outside the activists' zone:

I think that social networking sites, like Facebook, are tools for disseminating information and means for discussion among group members who actually know each other off-line. In order to use it to mobilize a mass group that exceeds the activists and people who already know each other, then we have to lower the ceiling for our expectations. This is required at some point and may be useful.

It can be said, then, that the young Egyptian activists have composed closely-knit networks whose members have basically met off-line. Through active practice, they developed skills and a better understanding of the movement and eventually developed an 'activist' form of identity. Their relatively greater readiness to become involved in off-line and, indeed, high-cost activities, stems from and depends upon greater levels of ideological commitment than merely upon structural factors. The less- or non-politicized, on the other hand, are unorganized and loose-knit networks. These atomized individuals are targeted by the young activists, who normally aim to mobilize low-cost activities. Such activities are expected to appeal to the non-politicized more than activities that might draw bad consequences and

pose threats. Similarly to M.S.'s views, Opp and Gern (1993) have suggested that network formation is possible in authoritarian regimes through communicative exchanges:

Even in societies ruled by authoritarian regimes, politically homogeneous personal networks may develop. In everyday communication, subtle signals indicating a partner's political views may be exchanged. Reactions to such signals provide an impression of the partner's political attitudes. If the initial interactions convey similar political views, step-by-step communication may begin that results in the recognition of the partner's critical views and may result in the establishment of a personal relationship (p. 662).

16.5 Social Media's Perceived Contribution to Mobilising Off-line Collective Action

Data from the questionnaire show that practicing politics on social media was constantly related to engaging in political activities off-line ($r = 0.601, p < 0.01$). Young activists who practice political activities on social media are more inclined to practice politics off-line. The same correlation was then examined after introducing political dispositions (fear and efficacy) as mediating variables. Results from partial correlation show that the association between on- and off-line activism was persistent, even when mediated by fear of repression ($r = 0.576, p < 0.01$), which was expected to detach social media users from bridging their online activism to the off-line arena, where they may face several forms of repression and harassment. The correlation also held true when mediated by political efficacy ($r = 0.561, p < 0.01$). Young activists who practice politics online tend to utilize their competences in off-line activism, even if they have security concerns. Similarly, it has been argued that opinion expression in one scenario is positively related to expression in other scenarios, and expressing opinion online will increase the possibilities of expressing it in reality (Liu & Fahmy, 2011). Figure 16.1 delineates how introducing fear and efficacy dispositions does not break the connection between on- and off-line activism.

The young activists also use social media to shape repertoires of contention. Through utilising social media apparatuses, they manage to identify "a limited set of routines that are learned, shared and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice" (Tilly, 1995, p. 26). Participants discussed how they had used social media to convey practical repertoires of protest and to share technical information about the know-how to become involved in specific events that they instigate. Mostly, the events that the young activists had been mobilizing for were of a less threatening and low-risk nature. This, as mentioned above, is crucial in making such events more appealing to non-politicized individuals, who have not yet developed an activist identity, and who might not have the skills needed to practice more costly repertoires of activism. A.Y. explained how political activism transfers from Facebook pages to reality through online tools of mobilization:

We realized that the Internet presence is virtual and that *we should identify and approach those who are willing to participate on the ground*. So we provided an e-mail address to interact with those who wanted to volunteer for the campaign and participate in organizing the welcoming of El-Baradei upon his arrival at the airport on February 19, 2010. We aggregated the first 300 volunteers in the national campaign (emphasis added).

Young activists use the mailing lists' repertoire to network for the political event mentioned. However, it should be stressed that, first, the aforementioned correlation mainly tests activists' perceptions of their attitudes and practices, rather than the non-politicized individuals.' Second, the event **A.Y.** mentioned is a low-risk event that might have appealed to non-politicized citizens due to the low levels of sacrifice that participation involved, which explains the high levels of participation.

Fast-spread information and enhanced organizational capabilities would not alone make a revolution. Bringing the on- and off-line together is what gathers people en masse to press for change. **M.Da.** explained:

Social media are not sufficient in and of themselves. People should not use Facebook as an alternative to off-line participation. It should rather be used as a means to mobilize as many people as possible to go off-line. I think that collective actions that have succeeded recently, like the April 6th strike, started on Facebook, but the problem is to limit participation to the Internet arena.

As discussed earlier, opening an information gateway does not necessarily entitle the Internet to serve as a source of mobilization that incentivizes the performance of collective action. Active participation in a private sphere 'shelter' alone will not bring about political and social change. On the one hand, Gladwell (2010) argues that using social media for political participation will result in a 'floppy' form of engagement that has been termed "slacktivism", whereby social change is pursued through low-cost practices, such as the mere activity of joining Facebook groups and 'liking' other people's Posts, which, although might be effective in showing and sharing feelings and dispositions, does not entitle any significant action. This 'monitorial tendency of media use' may tune individuals to what I call the 'safe mode' of political practice, as they feel threatened in a stagnant political environment that has been ruled for decades by emergency laws, tightly controlled media platforms, and high rates of corruption and inflation, and they are burdened by cultural hurdles that render them alienated in their own societies (Sayed, 2012). Although they might thus have "the potential for activity, they spend most of the time in the suspended inactivity of monitoring, typically practiced from a private sphere" (Papacharissi, 2010, p. 103).

On the other hand, Shirky (2011), while agrees with this critique, states that social media's effectiveness relates to actors' level of commitment and their readiness to take their activism outside the 'safe zone.' **A.A.** explains:

The street is the real arena for taking action and making change feasible. We can utilize technological sources to acquire political news, but we should not turn that information into controversy and limit political activism to Facebook pages. What we should do is to aggregate people and take to the streets.

Additionally, the potential of social media as mobilizing tools is defined by their ability to empower, which could be marred by notions related to the digital gap (Papacharissi, 2010). Low access levels, high illiteracy, and male domination may render audience members unequally privileged in benefitting from the opportunities allowed by new media. **H.B.** and **SO.** discussed two different viewpoints on how social media could help reaching out to such unprivileged publics through practicing what could be termed a '*multi-step flow of mobilization:*'

H.B.: I think the role [of social media] is limited when compared to the aspired change. I believe that the critical mass we need resides in labour blocks and trade unions and those are unreachable through Facebook, which is limited to youth. For example, I do not expect a labour leader to have a Facebook account. Hence, the role that Facebook can play is secondary in relation to the 'size' of the aspired change. *To 'change' means to reach ordinary people not only young citizens through their Facebook accounts* (emphasis added).

SO.: I slightly disagree with that point of view. The categories that H.B. mentioned are not all above 40. Labours and peasants also include youth and they use Facebook. They can spread the word to their fellow colleagues, who might not have access to the Internet. Even if Facebook and other networks are limited or more heavily used by youth, this means that we need more users than the number we currently have in order to reach all peasants and labourers in syndicates. *Facebook and the like could be the first ring in the mobilization chain* (emphasis added).

H.B. commented: but the rate of Internet access is low in Egypt, which adds to the problem and limits the potential of social media for mass mobilization.

Bennett (2003) has come to a similar explanation of the suggested 'multi-step flow of mobilization.' He argues that "the co-ordination of activities over networks with many nodes and numerous connecting points, or hubs, enables network organization to be maintained even if particular nodes and hubs die, change their mission, or move out of the network" (Bennett, 2003, p. 20). In their discussion of *the logic of connective action*, Bennett and Segerberg imply that the technology-enabled networks of personalized communication may play an important role in originating large-scale action. It could be inferred from the following extract that social networking media constitute a first stage in a multi-step process of communication flow that will eventually lead to the off-line sphere if people wish to achieve feasible change on the ground. As Bennett and Segerberg (2012) continue:

In place of the initial collective action problem of getting the individual to contribute, *the starting point of connective action* is the self-motivated (though not necessarily self-centered) sharing of already internalized or personalized ideas, plans, images, and resources with networks of others. This 'sharing' may take place in networking sites such as Facebook, or via more public media such as Twitter and YouTube through, for example, comments and re-tweets. Action networks characterized by this logic may scale up rapidly through the combination of easily spreadable personal action frames and digital technology enabling such communication (p. 753) (emphasis added).

16.6 Conclusion: Social Media Mobilization Against a Backdrop of the 25th January 2011 Revolt

During the events that commenced on 25th January 2011 in Egypt, manifestations of a convergent modular model of communicative mobilization were evident. For example, Zhuo, Wellman, and Yu (2011) discussed the important role that social media played in enlarging the spiral of activism by ‘expanding the traditional word of mouth to inform a range of people broader than kinship and friendship networks’ (p. 7). This modality of multi-step/space of communication could have helped the young activists circumvent the hindrances of high illiteracy rates and low levels of access to technology, as well as the technology self-efficacy that could limit social media’s ability to afford the people the power needed for change. They discuss how mixing new and traditional communication forms (online to off-line interactions) could further expand their mobilizing efforts and invite new cohorts of citizens to real world participation. These convergent mechanisms might suggest that practicing mobilizing efforts online, has become fruitful in aggregating a critical mass only when supported by a hybrid of communication modalities and mobilizing tactics that correspond to the cultural and social milieu in Egypt, or as M.M. put it:

Facebook and these tools can be the first episode in a cyclical process to reach out to [a large] number [of participants].

Firstly, the time: Activists chose to take to streets on 25th January 2011 (The Police Day) to link their protests with the well-known cause of Kaled Said, and the frame they had been constructing for several years. They used police brutality as a rallying point. Mass demonstrations also reached the peak of accumulated grievances that were marked by the critical date of the fraudulent parliamentary elections of November 2010; as young Egyptian activists hoped that the rigged ballot would incentivize a mass movement around Iran’s post-election protests (Ishani, 2011). *Secondly*, the significance of the place: Tahrir Square, which activists chose as a public sphere, inspired “a re-interpretation of how people socially relate to space, time, and each other” (Papacharissi, 2010, p. 4). Dawoud (2011) explains how space can be significant to practice. He argues that the incidents that the Delta city of Mahalla witnessed on the 6th of April 2008 could have turned into a 25th January had they happened in Cairo,

I believe that if it was meant for the 2008 incidents to spread outside Mahalla all over Egypt, we would have witnessed the revolution in April 2008, rather than in January 2011. Nevertheless, these demonstrations were a precursor to the January revolution. I believe that this ground swelling level of demonstrations did not happen in Mahalla because it stood alone and, hence, it was much easier for security forces in Mahalla and other neighbouring governorates to circumvent the demonstrations and arrest the demonstrators I think what made the difference on 25th January relates to the significance of the place. Cairo is a compelling center (Dawoud, 2011).

Thirdly, bonding the private with the public sphere: In the off-line public realm, and more evident in Tahrir Square, activists expanded their political action outside the electronic private sphere and connected to their fellow citizens. They gained what Arendt called the ‘in-between’ bond (cited in Dahlgren & Olsson, 2009). Modes of culture-based social connectivity were enacted in the Square, which, on the one hand, accumulated a sense of unity, and sent, on the other, a strong message to the authorities by frustrating their malicious attempts to implant ideology-based discrimination among the public (i.e., attempts to instigate sectarian cleavages between Muslim and Christian Egyptians). Interestingly, they cut off the Internet only 3 days after the mass took to the streets (DailyRecord.co.uk, 2011) and this may have allowed room for trust-based networking mechanisms to flourish through face-to-face communication, which the Internet was blamed for undermining, since it joined the mainstream more than a decade ago (Kraut et al., 1998; Zhang et al., 2010). This bond has also expanded across borders, but thanks to social media and ICTs this time. Social media and ICTs were a panacea for connectivity problems caused by the Internet shut down. The regime’s attempt to curb the mass turnout of anti-government demonstrators was counteracted by launching the “speak-to-tweet” initiative for protesters, to enable them to send ‘tweets’ using a voice connection. Anyone could tweet by leaving a voicemail on certain phone numbers and no Internet connection was required. Users could also dial the same numbers to listen to the recorded tweets. This hybrid technological solution enabled what Castells called “flash mobilization” (Castells et al., 2007, p. 200) to give voice to Egyptians’ discontent with the regime.

Protesters have also managed to create and promote a frame that might be termed the ‘Friday theme.’ They staged a series of massive protests, the largest of which were held on Fridays. Each Friday was flagged by a certain demand to clarify people’s reaction to the regime, and/or to announce the next step in the uprisings (i.e., Friday of rage, Friday of departure, and Friday of cleanliness, etc.). Building on Ottaway and Hamzawy’s (2011) protest movement assessment in the Arab region, it can be said that this theme helped protesters to conduct a number of connected episodes, which built on each other to provide a form of organization for a cohesive movement. Moreover, performing the *Jom’aa* prayer together in Tahrir Square on Fridays constructively helped to bridge the stratifying gaps of class and ideology and to convey a solidifying image of toleration and civilization across the globe. This collective prayer is normally preceded by a public speech (*khotba*), which played a significant role in addressing the people and gave a regular momentum to the demonstrations. In the same light, Sreberny (2001) discussed how cassette tapes comprised a ‘suitable’ form of communication distribution among Iranians in the context of the Iranian revolution of 1979. She argues that in a cultural environment that favors oral communication, and with an illiteracy rate of 65 % of the population, this form of “small media” was an appropriate channel for public agitation. Borrowing Putnam’s (2000) metaphor, it could be said that the young activists are *bowling online and snowballing off-line* (Sayed, 2012) as their movement gains momentum and enlarges in size and scale.

In the light of the above, and given the specifications of the cultural milieu and political context in Egypt, it could be argued that social media have been enabling

the young activists to urge citizens to take their first steps on the participatory ladder, but “it is probably unwise to say that the Internet and mobile phones have caused a single democratic revolution. Nevertheless, having an active online civil society [could be] a key ingredient of the causal recipe for democratization” (Howard, 2010, p. 155).

To summarize, when looking at the potential of social media for supporting collective action one needs to avoid technological determinism by integrating media into their context and dealing with them as a ‘capacity’ rather than as an ‘overhead tool’ (Hands, 2011). It is crucial to evaluate social media’s attributes and contributions with respect to the wider spectrum of the social specificities of a given society rather than dealing with them as stand-alone tools of transformation. These views also intersect with and corroborate suggestions made by U&G scholars about the significance of embedding the study of media characteristics into the broader communication contexts of their selection and use (Flanagan & Metzger, 2001).

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17.1 Introduction

The conversation about the digital divide has developed over the last decade from a focus on connectivity and access to information and communication technologies, to a conversation that encompasses the ability to use them and to the utility that usage provides (Wei, Teo, Chan, & Tan, 2011). However, the understanding of the divide has not developed in policy circles to describe disparity in access to information, in the ability to communicate, or in the capacity to make information and communication serve full participation in the information society.

In fact, much of the literature focusing on the “digital divide,” developed either from viewing the “divide” as an access issue or from attributing it to “online skills” (e.g., Hargittai, 2002). Policies that have emanated from this limited view focused on either providing physical access to ICTs, through subsidies or through the enactment of community computer centers, or on providing the less connected

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with “online skills,” mostly uniform skills tied to basic uses of computer and Internet applications: mail and Microsoft’s “Office” applications.

In this chapter we describe how policies aimed at tackling the digital divide emerged originally on the margins of the universal service debate focusing on the “divide” instead of on the exclusion that is its outcome; how digital exclusion emerges and is enhanced; and why this policy discourse, which is rooted in utilitarianism should be replaced by a redistributive justice philosophy.

17.2 Universal Access as a Focus of Communication Policy

Universal access to telecommunications is a policy associated with network services, such as the telephone, and the services that emanated from it (Internet access), or resemble it (mobile telephony). It is a term developed in the United States, however, while many would prefer to believe that universal service has always been a goal of telecommunications policy in the United States it was in fact a ploy to maintain AT&T’s monopoly at the beginning of the twentieth century (Mueller, 1997), and instead of meaning universal access for consumers, it meant a universal network controlled by AT&T. Universal service became law only in the Telecommunications Act of 1996, incorporating the mechanisms created originally for the purpose of subsidizing the local access of consumers through higher prices on long distance calls. The law only describes the level of service as ‘evolving,’ leaving it to regulators to determine the specifics, except for the unique provision of subsidizing Internet access to schools, libraries and health care providers (known as the ‘E-rate’) (Schejter, 2009). In 2011, the Federal Communications Commission modernized universal access and included in it also broadband communications and to 3G and 4G mobile networks.¹

In Europe, however, universal service was not historically a central element of information and communication policy, which were designed to guarantee continuity of service and not universality of supply (Garnham, 2001). Still, with the liberalization of market policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s universal service was mentioned as a pan-European goal (Schejter, 2009). It became part of the European Directives in 1997, when it was defined as a minimum “set of services of specified quality which is available to all users independent of their geographical location and, in the light of specific national conditions, at an affordable price.”² In 2002, a further Directive called for periodical reviews of the scope of universal service “in the light of social, economic and technological developments.”³ The Directive further stipulated that the European Commission must consider “public intervention [when] specific services are not provided to the public under normal commercial circumstances.”⁴

¹<http://www.fcc.gov/encyclopedia/universal-service>

²<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:31997L0033>

³<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:32002L0022>

⁴Ibid (at Annex V).

One can identify therefore two differing universal access philosophies developing in the United States and the European Union. The U.S. guiding principle is identification through regulatory means of the technological minimum all citizens should be guaranteed and proactive government subsidy to ensure it. The European system, on the other hand, identifies the desired technological minimum by analyzing consumer behavior and adoption of services, and aims to resolve it through corrective market mechanisms. Still, in both cases, the driver of the policy is technology, the desired norm is access to the technology, and the means to reach it are through commercial providers driving the process.

A parallel policy to universal access relating to content services was set to ensure that unidirectional “broadcast” signals reach the whole citizenry. In the United States obligations to provide a television signal that can be received by the whole population were set since the 1930s. In Europe, due to the national nature of traditional broadcasting services, national coverage requirements were part of the obligation of national broadcasters. Indeed, in both systems, additional policies were developed to ensure access *to* the media of diverse voices, each system within the confines of the limited number of service providers. Those requirements really could—if used with integrity—provide some access to a variety of ideas, but not to a significant number of people and not to opinions and beliefs enjoying little support.

17.3 The Correlation Between Universal Access and Digital Divide Policies

The precursor to the discussion of the digital divide, as a policy issue in the United States, is often seen as the National Telecommunication and Information Administration’s (NTIA) report on “Falling Through the Net,” which describes itself as focusing on “the digital divide, the concept that the society should not be separated into information haves and information have-nots” (NTIA, 2000, p. xiii). By the year 2000, it evolved to “make certain that everyone is included in the digital economy” (Ibid). It was not until 2011, as noted above, that broadband access became the goal of universal service policy, yet even then, the policy was designed with ensuring access *to* the technology in mind. Prior to that, only a small portion of the funds generated for “universal access” was devoted to providing Internet access, and even that was limited to schools and libraries. The majority of the funding went to building infrastructure in rural and low-income areas, however not infrastructure that was to carry broadband services.

The beginnings of the European policy effort, aimed at bridging the “digital divide,” were even more modest (Van Dijk, 2009). They can probably be traced to the 2000 European Council meeting held in Lisbon, of which the goal was to agree on a new strategic goal for the European Union in order “to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as part of a knowledge-based economy.”⁵

⁵http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm

The eventual effort that ensued led to the development of the eEurope “action plans.” However, these were mostly non-binding documents, which each member state could adopt at will. The binding policies were those emanating from the universal service directives described above. At the same time, in countries such as Estonia (Woodward, 2003), Finland (Riesinger, 2009), France (London Times, 2009), Greece (Constitution of Greece, 2009), and Spain (Reuters, 2009), access to broadband had started making its way into constitutional documents.

Proactive policies aimed at tackling the “digital divide” focus on connectivity and access. In fact, they are descendants of universal service policies, even if they were not described as such. They were formed in a policy world still bifurcated into “telecommunications” and “broadcasting,” and identified with the former. However, it is technologically not in question that contemporary media defy these traditional boundaries. In order to understand why universal dissemination of contemporary media should be policy, one needs to both understand how contemporary media are different from their predecessors and what social goals they can help achieve.

17.4 What Contemporary Media’s Characteristics Means to Communications

Communication is the transfer of information (Wiley, 2013) and some even add that it is the transfer of meaning (Fabun, 1968). The qualities of both the process (communication) and the matter that it carries (information) are what differentiate among media of communications. Recently the term “new media” is used in order to differentiate between “old” and contemporary media.

In previous work, we identified four characteristics whose combination differentiates contemporary media from their predecessors: abundance (of content and channels), mobility, interactivity and multi-mediality (Schejter & Tirosh, 2014, 2015, 2016). These characteristics make these media different from the user perspective. They are not technological per se, but rather they highlight what these media provide users which their predecessors did not. Indeed, contemporary media changed what we define as “the sociability of media”—a combination of the quality of both the information that is communicated and of the communication that is mediated. Thus, contemporary media contribute to a more effective communication process.

Yet, while understanding what contemporary media actually allow their users, we still need to evaluate what those who don’t have access to contemporary media are deprived from.

17.5 Universal Service of the New Media Era Is Tackling Digital Exclusion

While economic and technological justifications have traditionally played a role in regulatory design, Napoli (1999) identified three fundamental differences between communications regulation and the regulation of other industries: the unique

potential for social and political impact; the ambiguity of classification of decisions along economic or social regulatory lines; and the potential overlap and interaction between economic and social concerns within individual decisions.

Napoli's observation points to the challenge of traditional policymaking when facing contemporary media: because communication technologies serve a social goal, and because their potential for positive social impact is high, focusing on their technological characteristics (as the United States' law delineates), or on economic measures of adoption (as the European principles dictate), is just not enough in order to design successful policy. The meaning of contemporary media and their role in and contribution to society need to be rethought.

One successful attempt in conceptualizing the social impact of the differences in access to and utilization of digital communication technologies, was developed by Van Dijk (2005) whose sequential model for analyzing the divide states that:

- “1. Categorical inequalities in society produce an unequal distribution of resources; 2. An unequal distribution of resources causes unequal access to digital technologies; 3. Unequal access to digital technologies also depends on the characteristics of these technologies; 4. Unequal access to digital technologies brings about unequal participation in society; 5. Unequal participation in society reinforces categorical inequalities and unequal distributions of resources.” (p. 15)

Indeed, as van Dijk's model demonstrates (see Fig. 17.1), the impact of inequality is the exclusion of individuals from participation, and not merely a measure of

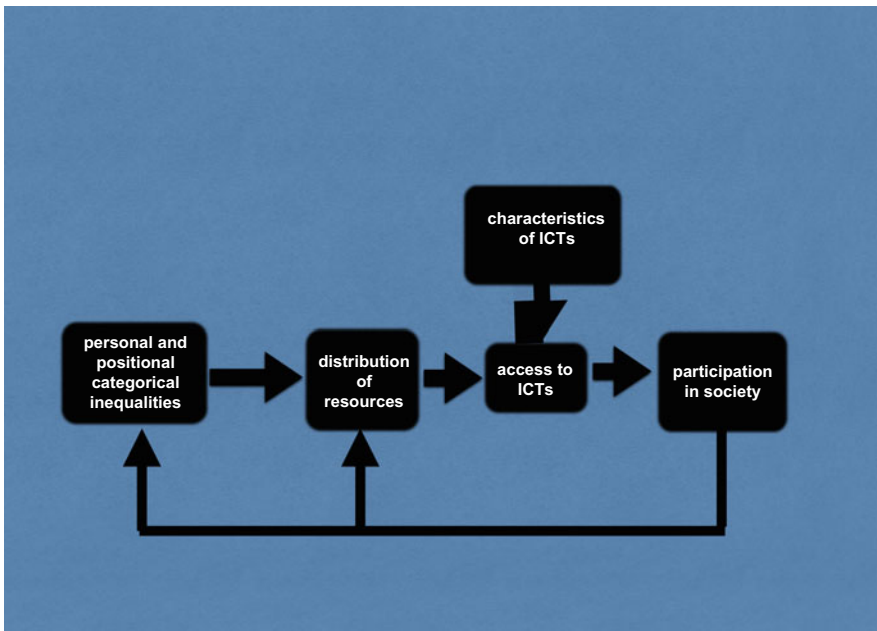


Fig. 17.1 Van Dijk's (2005) model

“connectivity” (as counted in the old “telecommunications” paradigm), or “reception” (as measures in the old “broadcasting” paradigm). As such, a transition in terminology is needed. The problem is not a divide between haves and have-nots of things “digital,” but rather the exclusion from participating in the social processes that the digital experience creates the opportunity for. It is therefore a conversation about overcoming “digital exclusion.”

The goal of bridging digital exclusion is ensuring participation. It makes policy challenges very different from those facing the “telecommunications” and “broadcasting” paradigms. In addition, it ties the goal of the policy with the opportunity the new user-experience offers. It requires ensuring that bridging the divide applies to all four characteristics of the media, as it is their amalgamation that promises the potential of meaningful participation for all users.

However, contemporary policy debates regarding digital exclusion do not take into account the development of new media technologies and their unique characteristics, and the impact these characteristics have on the information needs of the populace at large, and on the unique needs of distinct groups within it, in particular those weakened by social, cultural, political and economic marginalization. Srinuan and Bohlin’s (2011) comprehensive survey of literature on the digital divide identified three clusters of policy recommendations: leaving the divide to be remedied by market forces; calling for differentiated levels of government intervention; and addressing social, political and cultural aspects that are related to the divide. “Very few studies,” they conclude, “reported on how government intervention can encourage disadvantaged people to adopt more ICTs and their contents” (p. 19).

We try to overcome this literature’s weaknesses by adopting Van Dijk’s (2005) model as a tool for identifying the causes for the gap and the dynamics that maintain it, as well as principles of redistributive justice, to guide the policy that closes it. However, we first need to distinguish between the justifications for contemporary policy and the principles we suggest.

17.6 Utilitarian and Redistributive Principles for Reducing Digital Exclusion

Utilitarianism is the most prominent philosophy guiding Western public policy since its emergence as a planned tool that serves to achieve social goals. Utilitarian policies conform to the principles of utility developed by the eighteenth century philosopher Jeremy Bentham and later explicated by his follower John Stuart Mill and others.

Utilitarian solutions are solutions that are to “augment the happiness of the community” in a way that is “greater than any which it has to diminish it” (Bentham, 1789/1995, p. 13) and the “utilitarian standard” is formed by happiness that “is not the agent’s own happiness, but that of all concerned.” (Mill, 1863, p. 15) Utilitarian solutions conform to three main principles: First, they are goal-oriented rather than rights-based. Second, they are focused on maximizing the size of the

economic cake rather than on the way the cake is distributed. Third, they may justify, perhaps even require, favoring the few at the expense of the many in the name of the “common good” (Schejter & Yemini, 2007).

The focus on the well being of the aggregate rather than on that of the individual has had a profound effect on the way social policies were designed in order to reflect justice. The wealth of nations, for example, has been determined by measures such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), whose growth is seen as the goal of policy. Indeed, evidence is provided that when average incomes of society rise, the average income of the poorest fifth rises proportionately (Dollar & Kraay, 2000)—a policy outcome commonly known as “trickle down economics” (Hopwood, Mellor, & O’Brien, 2005). However, GDP, while reflecting growth in the total wealth (and therefore the rise in the cumulative happiness), is oblivious to the concerns raised by unfair distribution of the growing wealth (Sunstein, 1997), and the mere fact that the bottom fifth’s income has gone up still doesn’t mean it provides them with all (or any) of their basic needs.

The distributional concerns are at the core of the challenge to the utilitarian understanding of justice, that has been brought up in the latter part of the twentieth century by the complementary theories of justice developed by John Rawls and Amartya Sen. Rawls asserts that social institutions need to be arranged in a “scheme of cooperation” (Rawls, 1971, pp. 54–55) in which there are two principles: (1) that the basic liberties of each person, including freedom of speech, which falls under the basic liberty of freedom, should be guaranteed (Ibid, p. 60); and (2) that existing social and economic inequalities should be arranged so that they benefit all, particularly providing the greatest advantage to the least advantaged members of society (Rawls, 1999, p. 392).

The idea is that the fortunes of the better off should not be established and secured unless it also advantages the least fortunate (Schejter & Yemini, 2007). The least fortunate are defined through the identification of the things that free and equal citizens need in order to cooperate fully as members of society, which Rawls coins “primary goods” (Rawls, 2001). First on this list are the basic rights and liberties, which are those rights that allow citizens to make use of their basic moral powers, primarily the capacity for a sense of justice.

Sen (1989/2003), while describing Rawls’s work as “the most important contribution to moral philosophy in recent decades” (p. 7), critiques its focus on the “primary goods” as the goal for equal distribution in a just society. His “capability approach” to justice describes a system that is at odds with the goals of both utilitarianism and Rawlsian justice. The goal of “happiness” at the root of utilitarianism is a very minimalistic goal in Sen’s eyes. It can be achieved by a very small incremental betterment of an individual’s position, one that may still leave him at a disadvantaged position and may not even provide him with his basic needs (Schejter & Tirosch, 2016).

At the same time Rawls’s concentration on the “primary goods” is also concerned with the means to achieving the individual’s goals and not with the way they are used or in the actual capability to realize the end result. “The problem with the Rawlsian accounting,” states Sen:

lies in the fact that, even for the same ends, people's ability to convert primary goods into achievements differs, so that an interpersonal comparison based on the holdings of primary goods cannot, in general, also reflect the ranking of their respective real freedoms to pursue any given—or variable—ends. (Ibid)

Sen's "capability approach" focuses therefore on the ends, not on the means; on the freedoms, and not on the ability to gain them; on a person's actual capability to make use of the goods, services and opportunities available to them, rather than on the mere access to or ownership of those goods (Sen, 1980).

17.7 Applying Distributional Justice Principles to Digital Exclusion Policies

In order to make Van Dijk's (2005) model useful for policy development purposes we propose "beefing up" its components. Indeed, as seen in van Dijk's model, digital exclusion is a reflection of other social differences and an ongoing process fed by those differences. It is most common to agree that socio-economic differences drive the digital divide and the technological exclusion it creates (i.e., Cruz-Jesus, Oliveira, & Bacao, 2012; Jansen, 2010; Talukdar & Gauri, 2011). However, socio-economic differences in themselves do not emerge out of thin air, but rather they are the consequence of deep-rooted patterns of marginalization based on social exclusion. This leads to economic inequality and maintains it. To understand digital inclusion and its origins, we need to identify the social circumstances leading to it, the pattern of inequality that emerges from those circumstances, the elements of ICTs that those excluded are excluded from, and the arena of participation they are excluded from.

The digital exclusion model we propose, therefore (Fig. 17.2), breaks down Van Dijk's (2005) model to its building blocks in each element of the process. First, in identifying the "personal and positional categorical inequalities," which are relational and drive differences in resources. Then we suggest to use Selwyn's (2004) theoretical examination of digital exclusion and identification of the different types of capital that are distributed unevenly and the types of access they affect in order to pinpoint the different types of resources of which there is unequal distribution and the types of access to ICT's that are affected by them. The specific characteristics of contemporary media we have identified in previous publications—abundance, mobility, interactivity and multi mediality (Schejter & Tirosh, 2014, 2015, 2016)—will serve to assess the quality of ICT usage provided to individuals, and to help understand the contribution of imbalanced access to each of these characteristics (which could be expressed in either lack of, or over-dependence on one or more characteristic), to participation levels in society, and to the maintenance of socio-economic inequality and technological exclusion.

The environments that drive socio-demographic differences to affect socio-economic disparities are circumstance-specific to economic and social units with distinct historical backgrounds and other geo-political peculiarities. However,

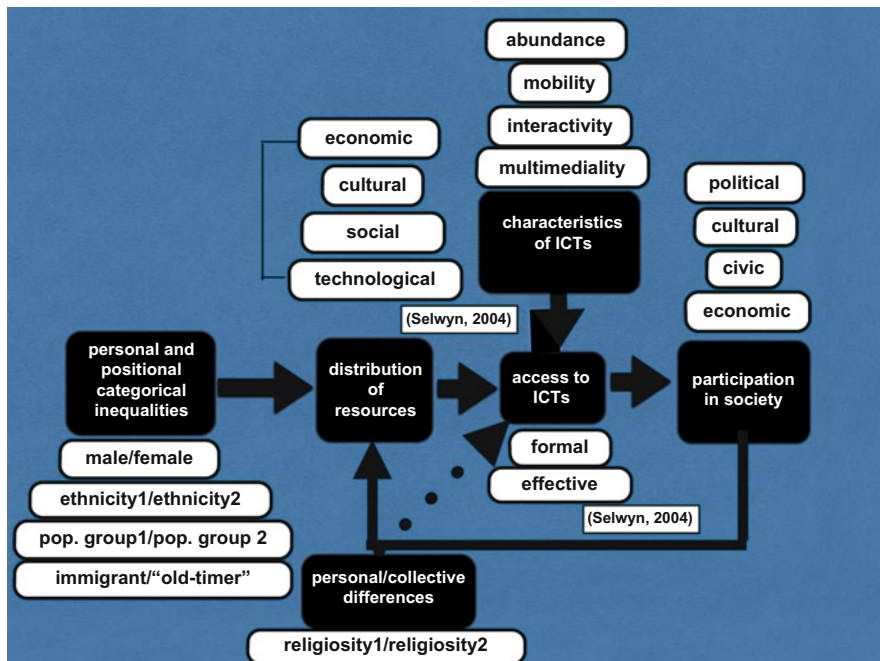


Fig. 17.2 Expanded “digital exclusion” model

whatever the social distinctions are, they lead to socio-economic inequality. This commonality allows observations of technological exclusion to be conceptualized to a level of theorizing. Socio-economic inequality affects patterns of ownership of media technology and the ability to connect it to the Internet; creates differences in the capabilities to utilize these technologies, even when they are available; and highlights dissimilarities in the capacity to apply the fruits of such utilization to social and economic mobility.

We propose as far as positional inequalities go, to search for gender, ethnicity, and social status inequalities. We want to add that some excluded groups reach that position voluntarily (for example for religious reasons), however we must include them in the model as they are digitally excluded and even if they prefer not to be included, their exclusion needs to be accounted for. This group is associated with gaps in access to ICTs in Fig. 17.2 with a dotted line. We then want to determine what kind of capital is being distributed unfairly and which characteristics of new media are allocated unevenly. In the last stage of providing empirical content to the model, we suggest identifying what participation exclusion is the result of these differences, and what type of capital difference does it feed back into.

Our refined model proposal (as presented in Fig. 17.2), also limits the circular motion to movement between the reduced level of participation and the socio-economic status, since the categorical inequalities that feed it, while constructed, are deeply rooted, and remedying them needs to start with the betterment of socio-

economic stratification first, a goal that is achievable through separate public policies that are not necessarily connected to media or ICTs.

The policy scheme arising from the empirical analysis we propose to conduct will identify, we believe, those most disadvantaged. Applying a Rawlsian philosophy to replace the current utilitarian framework, we suggest to focus remedial policies on the least advantaged members of society, those whose positional categorization led to the lowest level of digital participation. Most digital divide studies focus on the gap as it is demonstrated at a given point in time, however, “to make statements and to test hypotheses about trends in computer or Internet penetration, it is necessary to have longitudinal or time-series data” (Van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). In a recent effort to use the model in the Israeli case we found out that those at the bottom of digital capital, stay at the bottom and do not close the gap (Schejter, Ben Harush, & Tirosch, 2015).

However, policy cannot stop at providing physical access alone, access needs to be effective as well. Effectiveness should not be driven by the needs of the market or of the information industries, but rather by the needs of the excluded users themselves as they define them; and by the ability to fully utilize media’s qualities and be able to participate in society. That is where the Senian approach steps in, identifying the needs of the disadvantaged and remedying them. The introduction of Senian inspired policies will add a new dimension to the communication policy conversation, a dimension befitting the personalized age of contemporary media and contemporary understandings of the justice considerations that should drive policy.

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Part IV

Digital Media and Social Networks

Tomasz Płudowski

18.1 Introduction and Method

American presidential discourse in audiovisual media mostly revolves around domestic affairs. Admittedly, typically one of the three televised debates is devoted to foreign policy. However, since Dwight D. Eisenhower introduced the television spot in 1952 at the presidential level, this new form of public address has been the main type of political allocution in presidential elections (Jamieson, 1996). A review of literature shows that most academic research on this topic revolves around domestic contexts (Diamond & Bates, 1993). This study, in contrast, explores what, if anything, television and online advertisements from all the presidential elections have said about Europe, and what function both Europe as a whole and individual countries that make part of it, have played in the most pervasive form of US electoral discourse.

In order to meet that research objective, a mostly qualitative textual analysis of 300 and 69 prominent spots from all the major candidates in all the presidential general elections in the years 1952–2012 was carried out. This study uses the key words in context approach to textual analysis, where the key words are those associated with Europe, namely nouns and adjectives related to the Continent and to the individual countries that make part of it, including Russia (and naturally all its institutional incarnations during the years under study, such as the Soviet Union, U. S.S.R., etc.). Then the study analyzes the changing frequency, context, and meaning American presidential candidates, both incumbent and challengers, winners and losers, as well as Republicans, Democrats and independents, convey to their voters when they talk about Europe and what function that rhetoric plays. Naturally, what is discussed is as important as what is left out. However, the study gives most attention to the first category.

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Table 18.1 Number of mentions and number of spots (in parenthesis) that include references to Europe^a

	Europe	Germany	France	Spain	Russia/Soviet Union	Any European country	Communism/Communist	Any European country or communism/communist
1952–1988	6 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	27 (14)	33 (18)	26 (13)	59 (28)
1992–2012	1 (1)	0 (0)	2 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	5 (3)	0 (0)	5 (3)
Total	7 (6)	0 (0)	2 (1)	1 (1)	28 (15)	38 (21)	26 (13)	64 (31)
%	2	0	0	0	4	6	4	8

Source: Copyright by T. Płodowski

^a“Europe” includes only verbatim references to the Continent while “any European country” includes references to any country including Russia or Soviet Union and/or the Continent itself

18.2 Quantitative Analysis

The results of the study confirm the hypothesis that presidential advertising rarely makes references to Europe (see Table 18.1). Out of the 369 prominent television and online adverts analyzed in this study, only 20 (or <6% of the total) mention Europe as a whole or a specific European country. Moreover, the ads' focus on Europe is highly concentrated on Russia and the Soviet Union which are mentioned in two-thirds (15 of the 20 or 76%) of all Europe-related spots. Needless to say, virtually all these references are limited to the Cold War period (1952–1988).

During that time, the American government was very active in widespread communication and propaganda efforts, stemming from a growing threat associated with Communism (Parry-Giles, 2002). Thus, if we broaden the scope of research to include the words Communism or communist which in European discourse were mostly, but not exclusively, associated with the Soviet Union, the number rises from 20 to 30 spots (8% of the total). It is worth noting though that the American perspective on Communism was much broader than Europe's and included other communist countries that were geographically and culturally closer to the US than the Soviet Union but were not part of Europe, mostly Cuba and China.

In the post-Cold War era both Europe and Russia have clearly become peripheral to US presidential campaign discourse since they were mentioned in only 3 and 1 spots respectively (sic!).

18.3 Qualitative Analysis

18.3.1 The Cold War Era

At first, Europe appears in US presidential electoral television discourse as a source of legitimation for candidates aspiring to the highest office who are introduced to national audiences in biographical spots aimed at succinctly presenting their background and achievements during the first stages of the campaign. In “The Man from Abilene”, a 1952 Eisenhower bio ad, the general's victories in WWII battles (“Through the crucial hour of historic D-Day, he brought us to the triumph and peace of VE Day”) are offered as his main accomplishment. In turn, Eisenhower's encounters and cooperation with European leaders (“He has met Europe leaders, has got them working with us”) give him credibility in foreign policy and legitimation as a prospective president (see below).

“The Man from Abilene”, Eisenhower, Republican, 1952

[TEXT: A Political Announcement paid for by Citizens for Eisenhower]

MALE NARRATOR #1 (voice echoing): The man from Abilene

[TEXT: The MAN FROM ABILENE]

MALE NARRATOR #1: Out of the heartland of America, out of this small frame house in Abilene, Kansas, came a man, Dwight D. Eisenhower. **Through the crucial hour of historic**

(continued)

D-Day, he brought us to the triumph and peace of VE Day. Now, another crucial hour in our history—the big question

MAN: General, if war comes, is this country really ready?

EISENHOWER: It is not. The Administration has spent many billions of dollars for national defense. Yet today, we haven't enough tanks for the fighting in Korea. It is time for a change

MALE NARRATOR #1: The nation, haunted by the stalemate in Korea, looks to Eisenhower. **Eisenhower knows how to deal with the Russians. He has met Europe leaders, has got them working with us.** Elect the number one man for the number one job of our time (Voice echoing) November 4th vote for peace. Vote for Eisenhower

MALE NARRATOR #2: A paid film

[TEXT: A PAID POLITICAL FILM]

During the same election, the Democratic candidate Stevenson also airs a spot in which Europe is included among the main three international problems that the Republican party is supposedly “confused about” and practices “double talk”. In this case, however, Europe is presented in the context of the US dilemma over whether to send “aid to Europe” or not. The attitudes of the two camps in GOP foreign policy are phrased as a choice between “tearing down the Iron Curtain” or “letting the Commies have it”. The other two main foreign policy dilemmas involve the war in Korea and supporting the United Nations.

Simultaneously, in “the Man from Abilene” Europe is juxtaposed with Russia, setting and reflecting the tone for US discourse in most of the post-World War II era. In this particular example, Europe is contrasted with Russia as a tricky country that needs to be handled with care (“Eisenhower knows how to deal with the Russians.”). Korea, in contrast, serves as a contemporary challenge, where the before-mentioned experience with “Europe leaders” and difficult-to-deal with Russians becomes useful, maybe even a source of legitimation during the election.

The framing of the Russians changes over time. In 1952 the Russians, the before-mentioned Eisenhower spot implies, take some experience dealing with. Twelve years later, the Russian language is used to convey cultural otherness and imminent danger to contrast the brutal words and lethal intentions of Krushchev with the innocence of American children whose future is at risk.

“We Will Bury You,” Goldwater, 1964

FEMALE TEACHER: Hand over your heart. Ready? Begin

CLASS: I Pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America. . .
(**Krushchev speaking in Russian.**)

[SUBTITLE: WE WILL BURY YOU]

CLASS: . . .and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible. . .
(**Krushchev speaking in Russian.**)

[SUBTITLE: YOUR CHILDREN WILL BE COMMUNISTS]

CLASS: . . .with liberty and justice for all

GOLDWATER: I want American kids to grow up as Americans. And they will, if we have the guts to make our intentions clear. So clear they don't need translation or interpretation, just respect for a country prepared, as no country in all history ever was

MALE NARRATOR: In your heart, you know he's right. Vote for Barry Goldwater

But the shift of Russia's role from that of a difficult partner to that of a lethal threat is gradual. In the 1956 election the Soviet Union appears as the opponent of the United States in the context of the relations with the newly emergent democratic countries of the world which Russia seems to "turn against us". Specifically, in Adlai E. Stevenson's ad "Peace is Non-Partisan" the candidate talks with Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts. Stevenson says: [...] "I think obviously that the major issue in this campaign and the major concern of the whole world is the subject of war and peace. And clearly everyone, whatever his politics, agrees that peace is, must be the goal of America and of our generation. So the point, Jack, is not ends—we're all in favor of the same ends, which are peace. The real point is the means of getting there." For most of the rather long and detailed advertisement they talk about how to "protect the security of the country without war," while referring multiple times to the United States opponents as "the Communists" whose "advance" must be "checked." They single out the world's two great phenomena as "the growth, the spread of Communism all over the face of the earth. And the other is the revolution of the newly independent people." Kennedy says: "the three severe crises, which the United States was involved in: Cyprus, Suez, and North Africa do not directly involve Communism but involve the desire of these people to be independent. And unfortunately they regard the United States as the enemy of that effort and not its friend." Stevenson: "Yes, and of course Communism always exploits these discontents and makes the most of it and **turns them against us**. What emerges in my mind perhaps more significantly than anything else is that these underdeveloped countries are going to develop. They're going to industrialize, they're going to have more of the good things in life, they're going to improve their standard of living one way or another. **They're either going to do it our way, the free way, by consent of their people, or they're going to do it the Soviet way, the Communist way, by involuntary methods, by forced labor, forced savings, and so on**. The important thing, it seems to me, Jack, is to persuade these people that they may preserve their independence, that they can keep free too, the way we have been. But to do that we're going to have to help them." Kennedy responds by suggesting three main factors related to US security. One involves Western Europe, one is related to the Soviet Union, and one concerns the so-called Third World. The first and the third are contrasted with the second: "This basic problem of maintaining the peace and holding our security seems to me has three elements—first, to **maintain our traditional allies, the friendship of our traditional allies in Western Europe**; secondly, to **weaken the hold that the Soviet Union has on its satellite countries**; and thirdly, to win as we've already discussed the friendship of these people now emerging." Stevenson sums up the challenge to US foreign policy by saying: "And that is the basic issue—the reassertion of American leadership. The announcement of the pursuit of a coherent policy which commands the confidence of all of our friends in the world, and there are many. I think that is the first concern of any President of the United States, that it must be. **If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty**, it is also the price of peace, until that happy day that we can all

look forward and pray for, when we can live in peace and security, when our sons will not have to fight again to preserve the independence of the United States.”

In Kennedy's 1960 ad "Debate (2)," in which a passage from the historic encounter with Richard Nixon is included at length and interpreted for the American audience as an example of making "an impression by being direct, by being specific, by facing the issues squarely [...] meeting the challenge of the '60s; [...] offering new American leadership for the country, for the world." Here, somewhat unexpectedly, the Soviet Union is utilized by the Democrat as a country to look up to and imitate or at least compare oneself against. The sole area of difference discussed, however, is science and education. Kennedy says: "I'm not satisfied when the Soviet Union is turning out twice as many scientists and engineers as we are. I'm not satisfied when many of our teachers are inadequately paid, and many of our students go in part-time shifts. I think we should have an educational system second to none." Kennedy goes on to focus on the inferior social status and opportunity of African Americans in the United States of the 1960s, saying: "I'm not satisfied until every American enjoys his full constitutional rights." When a Negro baby is born, he has about one half as much chance. The situation of American blacks is used to illustrate the relative lagging of the US behind "the Communists." To which he returns towards the end of the spot: "If you feel that everything that is being done now is satisfactory, that **the relative power and prestige and strength of the United States is increasing in relation to that of the Communists**, that we are gaining more security, that we are achieving everything as a nation that we should achieve, that we are achieving a better life for our citizens and greater strength", then I agree. I think you should vote for Mr. Nixon. But if you feel that we have to move again in the '60s, that the function of the president is to set before the people the unfinished business of our society, as Franklin Roosevelt did in the '30s, the agenda of our people, what we must do as a society.

Through the ideology of Communism Russia is linked in American electoral discourse with other countries, mostly China, sometimes Vietnam, as is the case with McGovern's 1972 challenge message to Nixon, called "This Time." In it McGovern talks to a disillusioned man who voted for Nixon, because he promised to end the Vietnam war but never delivered on his promise. In contrast, McGovern promises he will. He declares: "Personally I think it was a good thing the president went to Peking. I think it's a good thing we're trying to improve our relations with Russia. But why do we say that 15 million people in North Vietnam are a greater threat to the United States because they are Communists, than 800 million people in China, or 300 million in Russia. This is the thing that doesn't make sense."

More importantly, during the Nixon presidency a radical change in tone occurs to reflect a new more open policy towards the Soviet Union. In another spot from the same campaign, "Russia Response," McGovern juxtaposes thousands of nameless children who died in Vietnam with Nixon's touching and sentimental words about Russian children presented by the latter through the story of a young girl named Tanya, whom he talked about at the Republican convention with the

intention of humanizing the Russians. A narrator: “All are dead. Only Tanya is left.” “Let us think of Tanya,” said Mr. Nixon, “and all the other Tanyas everywhere as we proudly meet our responsibility for leadership. Since Mr. Nixon became President, 165,000 South Vietnamese civilians—men, women, and children—our allies—people we have been fighting to save—have been killed by American bombs. In a recent month, a quarter of the wounded civilians in South Vietnam were children under 12. As we vote November 7th, let us think of Tanya and all the other defenseless children of this world.”

In Nixon’s 1972 spot “Passport”, which is aimed at securing the President’s reelection, the Soviet Union is mentioned next to the world’s four other countries which the President visited during his first term in office (out of the 47 in total on 6 continents). The list is supposed to impress the voter and make them realize that “President Nixon’s travels represent a new foreign policy for the United States, a policy that calls for the self-reliance of our allies and peaceful negotiations with our enemies, all for a single purpose, world peace. But there are still places to go and friends to be won. That’s why we need President Nixon. Now more than ever.” “In the Soviet Union, the nuclear arms agreement became a reality,” says the narrator and the voter is left to make his own decision whether the Soviet Union falls into the category of “ally” or “enemy” with which “peaceful negotiations” are held. Undoubtedly, it is one of the world’s most important regions where Nixon claims to have accomplishments and the only one mentioned to be even partially in Europe.

In “Youth”, a spot from the same election, Nixon addresses young people of the US, talking about a number of domestic issues where change was made during his term in office only to move on to relations with other countries, where the Soviet Union is mentioned next to China. The spot signals a major change of US foreign policy. Namely, a narrator says: “Today, we are changing our world priorities, too. Opening the door to China. **Creating a new policy with the Soviet Union: negotiation, not confrontation.** Change is hard, President Nixon once said. But without change, there can be no progress. Our environment, our cities, our economy, our dealings with other nations. There is much to be done, to be changed. That is why we need President Nixon, now more than ever.”

Another Nixon’s spot from the 1972 campaign is all devoted to Russia (see below).

“Russia,” Nixon, Republican, 1972

MALE NARRATOR: Moscow. May, 1972. Richard Nixon becomes the first American president ever to visit the Russian capitol. The historic 5-day trip proves to be a working visit, where firm agreements are formed between the two great powers. Late in the week, the Russian government provides President Nixon with a unique opportunity: a chance to report on this progress directly to the Russian people on live television

NIXON: We have agreed on joint ventures in space. We have agreed on ways of working together to protect the environment, to advance health, to cooperate in science and technology. We have agreed on means of preventing incidents at sea. We have established a commission to expand trade between our two nations. Most important, we have taken an historic first step in the limitation of nuclear strategic arms

(continued)

MALE NARRATOR: The agreements do not come easily. President Nixon, Secretary Rodgers, and Doctor Kissinger spend long hours hammering out terms that are equal for both countries and beneficial to all countries

In his TV address, the President speaks to the Russians about the American people

NIXON: In many ways, the people of our two countries are very much alike. Like the Soviet Union, ours is a large and diverse nation. Our people, like yours, are hardworking. Like you, we Americans have a strong spirit of competition. But we also have a great love of music and poetry and sports. Above all, we, like you, are an open, natural, and friendly people. We love our country. We love our children. And we want for you, and your children, the same peace and abundance that we want for ourselves and our children

MALE NARRATOR: Earlier in the week, President and Mrs. Nixon traveled to Leningrad, where they walked through Pavloft, the ancient residence of the tsars. In Kiev, they visited the Cathedral of St. Sofia. And in Moscow, Mrs. Nixon is entertained by the famous Russian circus. In Leningrad, President Nixon visits the Piskalov cemetery, and he recalls that experience in his TV address

NIXON: Yesterday I lay a wreath at the cemetery which commemorates the brave people who died at the siege of Leningrad in World War II. At the cemetery I saw a picture of a 12-year-old girl. She was a beautiful child. Her name was Tanya. The pages of her diary tell the terrible story of war. In the simple words of a child, she wrote about the deaths of her family. Zenya in December. Granny in January. Leka, then uncle Vasya, then Uncle Lyosha, then mama. And then, finally, these words, the last words in her diary: "All are dead. Only Tanya is left." As we work hard on our peaceful world, let us think of Tanya, and all of the other Tanyas, and their brothers and sisters everywhere. Let us do all we can to ensure that no other children will have to endure what Tanya did, and that your children and ours, all the children of the world, can live their full lives together in friendship and in peace. Spasibo, and dosvidanya

TRANSLATOR: Thank you, and goodbye

MALE NARRATOR: President Nixon offers a lasting message to the people of Russia. A pledge to continue the pledge for peace among all nations. This is why we need President Nixon, now more than ever

[TEXT: President Nixon. Now more than ever.]

The Reagan-era arms race opens a new stage of bilateral relations, as reflected in electoral discourse. Here Russia is presented as a challenging competitor that requires a strong, decisive leader. In his 1980 spot "Peace" Ronald Reagan accuses Jimmy Carter of "weak, indecisive leadership" in times when "the hope for world peace erodes" only to contrast his opponent's supposed weakness with his very own "strength" and "confidence." Reagan says: "Peace is made by the fact of strength—economic, military, and strategic. Peace is lost when such strength disappears, or—just as bad—is seen by an adversary as disappearing. [. . .] I have repeatedly said in this campaign that **I will sit down with the Soviet Union for as long as it takes to negotiate a balanced and equitable arms limitation agreement**, designed to improve the prospects for peace."

Reagan's own promise comes back 4 years later to haunt him through Mondale's message "Table". A narrator claims: "It's been 4 years, and President Reagan still hasn't met even once with the leaders of the Soviet Union. The tough talk, the political rhetoric—that's one thing. But no talk—that's dangerous. No conference,

no meeting, and the nuclear arms race goes on and on. More nuclear warheads, more threats, but no meeting. Male narrator [and text]: If you're thinking of voting for Ronald Reagan in 1984, think of what could happen because of that silence in 1985."

That same year Walter Mondale mentions the Russians also in the context of star wars proposed by Ronald Reagan ("Orbiting"). In his message the Russians are not a threat, just a country that will be forced to compete with the US, possibly taking the competition in a dangerous direction. Quite importantly, the blame is on Reagan, not the Russians: "[. . .] President Reagan, if re-elected, is determined to orbit killer weapons. He'll spend a trillion dollars. **The Russians will have to match us, and the arms race will rage out of control.** Layer on layer—orbiting, aiming, waiting. Walter Mondale will draw the line at the heavens. No weapons in space, from either side. On November 6, draw that line with him."

The nuclear arms race is the subject of yet another Mondale ad, "Arms Control 5", in which Russia or Russians are mentioned three times during the 4 min and 20 s. The ad blames Reagan for wanting to continue the nuclear race with Russia and for abandoning the disarmaments treaties signed with the Soviets by all former presidents since Kennedy. The threat of nuclear weapons is juxtaposed with the innocence of little children to the music of the Crosby, Still, Nash and Young song "Teach Your Children Well". A narrator says: "John F. Kennedy knew that it took strength and vision to control nuclear weapons. He turned this important idea into action in 1963 by signing the Atmospheric Test Ban Treaty with the Soviets. **Four later presidents signed 15 arms agreements with the Russians but Ronald Reagan opposed them, proposing always to build more.** With 7000 new nuclear weapons in 4 years, Reagan now plans to take the arms race into space, an irretrievable step—preparing for Star Wars—not knowing where it will lead. [. . .] The cost, a trillion dollars". And Reagan plans Narrator (on Mondale): "[. . .] "He also knows, like Jack Kennedy, that we must deal with the Russians from strength."

The subject of disarmament is continued through the next election cycle. In his 1988 spot "Gorbachev" George H. Bush presents the Russians in general and Gorbachev in particular as a challenge awaiting the next president, a challenge that requires "strength and experience" he himself has. In the spot a male narrator says: "In the next 4 years, somebody is going to have to continue the arms limitation talks with Gorbachev. **Somebody is going to have to find out if Gorbachev is for real. Somebody is going to have to deal with him, and look him in the eye, and not blink.** This is no time for uncertainty. No time to train somebody in how to meet with the Russians. This is the time for strength and experience. This is the time for somebody who is ready on day one to be a great president." Then a text appears: George Bush: Experienced Leadership For America's Future.

Throughout the 1980s American presidential candidates' World War II-era European experience is still a strong credential. An independent candidate, John Anderson, popular enough to be included in one of the television debates that year, was presented through the words of Republican Gerard Ford: "He's the smartest guy in Congress, but he insists on voting his conscience instead of party." However,

his first accomplishment in the “John Anderson” bio ad from 1980 was the fact that: “After serving in Europe during WWII, he spent two and a half years in the foreign service in Berlin.” This line was accompanied by the on-screen text “STAFF SERGEANT: 4 BATTLE STARS”. Thus, for the Cold-war era candidates Europe was an important reference point, a place where they gained international diplomatic experience, exhibited bravery and heroism and dealt with a challenging competition stemming from Communism.

18.4 The Post-Cold War Era

The tone of Europe-related discourse changes dramatically in the post-Cold War period. Not only does the number of ads drop in volume but the references are also much fewer and far-in-between. More importantly, Europe becomes culturally remote and politically suspicious, even economically dangerous to the American way of life. That, however, is only limited to Republican electoral propaganda. In it Europe becomes used as a synonym for government-run programs, in short for *socialism*. It is hard not to think of the connection between this shift in discourse and the collapse of Communism and, thus, the disappearance of the main ideological enemy of the United States. Namely, it seems that in the American presidential electoral discourse Cold War fear appeals that utilized references to communist Soviet Union were replaced in the post-Cold War period by references to “socialized Europe”. One of the best examples is George H. Bush’s criticism of the Clinton Health Plan, designed by his wife, Hillary, herself a presidential candidate in 2008 and 2016. The 1992 spot, called “Health Care,” warns that “Bill Clinton’s health plan puts the government in control and that will ration health care. [...] And limit a doctor’s ability to save your life. His plan would require \$218 billion in . . . Medicare and Medicaid cuts in the next 5 years. His plan could cost 700,000 Americans their jobs. **Government-run plans have been tried in Europe, only there. . . It’s known as socialized medicine. [...] You can’t trust Bill Clinton’s health plan. It’s wrong for you. It’s wrong for America.**” The lines related to “government-run plans tried in Europe, only there. . .” are delivered in a sinister tone. The framing of Europe is very negative and dangerous, akin to socialism. Also, policies tried in Europe no longer seem valid or tried enough. In other words, Europe is no longer an example worth following across the Atlantic.

Two decades later the Republicans’ anti-European sentiment is taken to a yet higher level in a web spot against Kerry, called “Only Thinner.” The Republicans go after one of Kerry’s strong points, that is his Swiss education, knowledge of the French language and his Massachusetts origin, which voters have come to associate with liberalism. The French people and the French language utilized extensively in the spot epitomize cultural strangeness and superiority of the French juxtaposed with the American people. The people presented, who all speak French in the spot, praise Kerry for raising taxes, being liberal, and wanting to end the war in Iraq. The spot goes round the new law that requires that candidates appear in their ads introducing themselves and saying they endorse the message by having the spot

sponsored by an independent group and having it air online only. These factors explain the spot's dubious claims that "a vote for Kerry is a vote for France". Thus, Europe, particularly France, has come to virtually equal anti-Americanism and an attitude short of treason (see below).

"Only Thinner," Stevens Reed Curico and Potholm, 2004

[TEXT: Despite what you may have heard, not everyone thinks John Kerry is unfit to be President]

FRENCH WOMAN: Jean Kerry a le courage de lever les impots. Ca c'est bon!

[TEXT (subtitle): **John Kerry is brave enough to raise taxes. That's good!**]

FRENCH MAN: J'aime bien Jean Kerry. Il va a tirer les Etats-Unis a la Guerre contre le terrorisme

[TEXT (subtitle): I like John Kerry. He will pull America out of the war on terrorism]

FRENCH MAN #2: Nous aimons bien Kerry! Nous aimons tous les liberaux!

[TEXT (subtitle): **We love John Kerry! We love liberals!**]

FRENCH WOMAN #2: Il est comme un Ted Kennedy

[TEXT (subtitle): He is like Ted Kennedy...]

FRENCH MAN #2: Mais... plus mince!

[TEXT (subtitle): Only thinner!]

FRENCH WOMAN #3: Voter pour Kerry est comme voter pour la France

[TEXT (subtitle): **A vote for Kerry is a vote for France.**]

FRENCH MAN #2: Si je pouvais voter pour Kerry, ca je le ferais!

[TEXT (subtitle): If I could vote for Kerry, I would do it!]

In the meantime, since the fall of Communism Russia is no longer considered a major threat and thus becomes of less interest in presidential campaign discourse. Instead, it appears along a host of other countries troubled by "these people [who] want to kills us" and "fanatic killers". In "Finish It," an anti-Kerry spot sponsored by Progress for America Voter Fund in 2004, people who "killed hundreds of innocent children in Russia, 200 innocent commuters in Spain, and 3000 innocent Americans" are put together somewhat arbitrarily to say the world is a dangerous place that needs a strong leader, whereas "John Kerry has a 30 year record of supporting cuts in defense and intelligence [...and] endlessly changing positions on Iraq" so he cannot be trusted, whereas "President Bush didn't start this war, but he will finish it." This way Russia's role changes from that of the arch enemy of the US to that of a fellow victim, which is in tune with the shift in US policy towards Russia referred to as a reset.

Phonetically, the sound of a foreign European language is introduced rarely. The main exception is Spanish, but its use is purely practical and pragmatic and has nothing to do with its country of origin. Namely, Spanish is used to communicate political content to Latino, mostly Mexican, voters who do not speak English well. It also shows an effort on the part of American presidential candidates, regardless of political party, to include the most significant linguistic and cultural minority in the United States. The first to address American voters in Spanish was Jacqueline Kennedy in the 1960 campaign. Since then other candidates such as George

Dukakis and George W. Bush have followed in her footsteps. The only other two languages used in presidential spots were Russian and French. The first one conveyed threat during the Cold War. The second one signified the above-mentioned cultural otherness and superiority short of anti-Americanism: political liberalism, high taxes, pacifism, and thinness (sic!).

Other big countries, such as Germany, Italy or Poland, let alone the smaller nations of Europe, are not part of candidate-controlled messages in the years under study.

18.5 Conclusions

The main conclusion of the above discussion seems to be that the highpoint of American attention to Europe, as demonstrated by the electoral presidential discourse in the paid media, where candidates have complete control over content and handpick political issues and their treatment, took place during the Cold War period and was focused on the Soviet Union. The main function of that discourse is propagandistic but the take on Russia changes over time from that of a difficult challenge to a lethal threat, US main competitor, follower, fellow nation and finally a country like any other.

In contrast, the treatment of Europe, particularly its Western part, seems to have changed in the opposite direction, albeit with less variation and intensity, mostly from the main international partner of the US shortly after WWII, where contacts with European leaders were offered by prospective aspirants to America's highest office as a source of legitimation to, gradually, less and less attention to a virtual non-presence in the post-Cold War era. In that last period the French, opposed to the war in Iraq, are limited in pro-Republican electoral propaganda to the role of high-tax loving liberals who support Democrats and represent cultural otherness to the American way of life.

Thus, while in the aftermath of the collapse of Communism Russia becomes just another country, its propagandistic role in US campaign discourse is in some cases and to a much lesser extent replaced by Europe. Not in the sense of a major military threat but in the sense of economic otherness, virtually a soft, yet looming danger, signified by Europe's "government-run programs" akin to socialism ("socialized medicine"). For the most part, however, Europe and Russia, disappear from the radar of American voters and candidates. The attention of US politics in that period shifts from Europe to other parts of the world, notably Asia. The main international issue, threat and security concern of American politics also changes from Communism to terrorism, which I discuss elsewhere.

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WhatsApp: The New Age Illusion of Friendships Among Kenyan Young Adults

19

Stella Mwangi

19.1 Introduction

Since WhatsApp was introduced in 2009, the mobile instant messaging application, now has about 500 million users worldwide, who share 700 million photos and 100 million videos daily (Acton & Koum, 2014). The application was built as an alternative to the SMS service and offers real-time texting and one can easily share information such as contacts, media files such as videos files, images, audio etc. via Wi-Fi or data bundles using a smart phone. In Kenya, according to a report by IPSOS prepared in 2013, smartphones made up 67 % of devices sold by leading Kenyan operator Safaricom, with 100,000 new devices being purchased every month and the number is growing. According to a worldwide poll results released in 21 February 2014, by Jana Mobile a social marketing and global research company 49 % of Kenya's mobile users use WhatsApp as their key messaging tool.

A number of studies have been conducted and they reveal that the major reason why WhatsApp is so popular is because of its accessibility and ease of communication via real time messaging. For instance, Church and Oliveira (2013), conducted a study involving 140 individuals aged between 20 and 60 years in Spain and found that WhatsApp was commonly adopted for convenience in communication and cost benefits. Similar findings were seen in a study that investigated WhatsApp use and its motivational factors, among 450 college students between 18 and 55 years in Riyadh (Soliman & Salem, 2014). The study further revealed that WhatsApp use was also popular for entertainment purposes through sharing jokes or funny messages. In another study by O'Hara, Massimi, Harper, Rubens, and Morris (2014), involving 20 individuals aged between 17 and 49 years in the UK, the results revealed that the effects of WhatsApp use on social relationships included a sense of belongingness, as well as a secured and committed bond.

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These studies can be supported by the Uses and Gratification theory, which according to Charney and Greenberg (2001), states that there are eight gratification factors that make people use the Internet, these are: to stay informed, diversion and entertainment, peer identity, good feelings, communication, sights and sounds, career, and coolness. Some important aspects of social media are presence, sharing, conversations, groups, reputation, relationships, and most importantly, identity (Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, & Silvestre, 2011).

19.2 A New Way of Communication

Many studies have revealed that more and more people are becoming more social. However, the style of that communication has changed so that we're not meeting face-to-face as often as we used to. This can be connected to the fact that using apps such as WhatsApp is relatively way cheaper and faster than having to meet physically. Since WhatsApp delivers content across the Internet via Wi-Fi or mobile data existing any messaging costs will be considered quite negligible or even perceived to be free by the user.

Numerous studies have been done to examine the formation of relationships using media, as well as the media's influence on these relationships. These studies show that even though technology can be helpful in beginning relationships, it also can be used as an aid in ending relationships. Because of the natural and virtual distance social media creates, it becomes seemingly easier to accomplish unpleasant interpersonal tasks (Brown, 2011). These studies bring out the fact that people get so amused by the ease of communication using the internet and they begin to believe that their relationships are more intense, more committed and more complete than they really are. This creates a risk of alienating the people who populate our daily lives in pursuit of intimacy with our online friends. This study sought to find out if this was the same case among people who use WhatsApp.

19.3 Interpersonal Relationship Satisfaction

Interactions in interpersonal relationships can be conducted verbally, nonverbally and now virtually due to the advent of social media. Relational satisfaction can be defined as "the degree to which an individual is content and satisfied with his or her relationship" (Anderson & Emmers-Sommer, 2006, p. 155). The two argue that interpersonal relationship satisfaction determines the usefulness of the communication, its content, and future interactions. The two researchers found communication satisfaction, intimacy, and trust to be indicators of relationship satisfaction in online-only relationships. They further found out that feeling satisfied in a close relationship invites further communication and a sense of comfort with the interaction. In addition, feeling satisfied in a communicative setting leads to immediacy, closeness, and an increased level of self-disclosure with a relational partner.

19.4 Theoretical Framework

19.4.1 Media System Dependency Theory

Internet dependency is the degree to which an individual uses the Internet and the degree to which a user can develop a dependent relationship consistent with “compulsive overuse of the Internet that causes irritable or moody behaviour when deprived of it” (Mitchell, 2000, p. 632). Media System Dependency theory explains that the Internet and media hold the power to keep users reliant, Sun, Rubin, and Haridakis (2008). While users depend on the Internet to fulfil various needs as explained by Uses and Gratification theory, the Internet has no dependency upon particular users (Sun et al., 2008). According to the authors, the level of dependency ranges due to difference in user motivation and involvement. In their research, the three found that involvement drives motivation to use the media and Internet, which to varying degrees can lead to a dependent relationship.

19.4.2 Relational Dialectics Theory

To examine how people maintain relationships online, this study will borrow from Baxter and Montgomery’s relational dialectics theory. The main principle of this theory is that every relationship experiences tension, and that this tension is “produced and reproduced through the parties’ joint communicative activity”. Baxter and Montgomery state that the openness and closedness of a relationship also ebbs and flows, which they discuss in detail:

The self boundary is closed and open depending on the person’s perception of the various costs and benefits associated with candor and discretion. On the one hand, the self boundary must be protected from the vulnerability and risk inherent in disclosure. At the same time, however, there is pressure for a person to grant others access to his or her private territory; as discussed earlier, self-disclosure potentially benefits both the individual and the relationship between persons (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996, pp. 139–140).

19.4.3 Strong and Weak Ties Theory

As we grow up and engage with different people, we continue to form different relationships. Relationships do not just happen, different factors determine the kinds of relationships we form. People tend to establish strong ties with people who support their points of view. On the other hand, relationships with other people whom you don’t share, such in-depth connections, the ties tend to be weaker ties.

In his essay, *The Strength of Weak Ties*, (Granovetter, 1973) defines a tie (and its strength) as, “a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie.” The essay suggests that if A and B are connected, and A and C are connected, B and C will

also be connected. This is particularly the case if the ties are strong between two people. Most social connections are not strengthened as much through social media as they are face-to-face, because people normally won't deepen their relationships. They somehow tend to exist in a status quo. Self-disclosure is a sign of a strong bond.

19.4.4 The Research Problem, Objectives and Research Questions

A lot has been written about Facebook, Myspace and Twitter and how they are affecting socialization but little has been offered on WhatsApp. Thus, the objectives of this study were to:—(i) establish whether WhatsApp as a social platform augments personal relationships or it isolates people from the real world; (ii) find out whether use of WhatsApp as a socialization tool causes more connectivity or isolation; (iii) find out if there are any strategies other than social media for nurturing relationships. The research questions were:

1. Does use of WhatsApp affect the way young adults in Kenya relate with each other?
2. Do young Kenyan adults using WhatsApp feel more connected or isolated in real life?
3. Are there better strategies that do not involve social media that young Kenyan adults can use to strengthen relationships?

19.5 Research Methodology

The study was a quantitative and qualitative study making use of questionnaires to collect data. The study involved young adults aged 20 years and above. This age group was selected because these are people more likely to have interacted with traditional methods of communication such as, face to face, letters etc. before the advent of social media. The researcher used convenience sampling, a non-probability sampling technique where respondents were selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher (Colin, 2002) as well as their willingness to participate in the study. 200 online questionnaires were sent out to Kenyans who used WhatsApp and were between 20 and 50 years and 167 people participated in the survey.

19.6 Findings

19.6.1 Participants

Out of the 167 people who participated in the study, 103 were women while 64 were men. 104 of the participants were between 20 and 30 years, 51 of them between 31 and 40 years old, 9 between 41 and 50 years and only two were 50 years and above. 12 of the participants had high school qualification, 80 were undergraduates, and 61 post-graduates while 14 had a professional qualification. 95 of the participants believed that they are outgoing, 22 believed that they are shy and 50 believed that they are neither shy nor outgoing.

76 % of the respondents use WhatsApp to communicate with friends, 6.6 % use it to send photos and videos, another 6.6 % use it to stay updated with what is new/happening, and 1.8 % use it for business while 9 % of the respondents use it for all these purposes. When asked what they would use to stay in touch with family and friends if they didn't have any form of Social Media such as WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram, the largest number (57 %) said they would use phone calls, 26.3 % would use text messages, while 24.6 % would prefer face to face meetings. An interesting 4.2 % would prefer sending letters.

19.6.2 Popularity and Dependency on WhatsApp

To find out the level of popularity of WhatsApp among the Kenyan youths, respondents were asked the number of times per day, they usually use WhatsApp. The majority, 59 of them use it all the time, another 11 use it more than 40 times a day. Interestingly another 58 said that they don't use WhatsApp as often and will only use it about 2–10 times a day. Six admitted that WhatsApp was indeed addictive. 146 respondents said that most of their friends are on WhatsApp. This is an indicator of how popular WhatsApp is in Kenya. When asked how important WhatsApp is to them, 93 said that it was important, 54 said it is very important while only 16 said it wasn't important to them. This further shows how popular the app is among Kenyan youths.

A total of 142 respondents said that they find WhatsApp to be a convenient way to talk to their friends. 73 respondents said that they prefer talking to their friends on WhatsApp instead of talking to them face to face or on the phone while 70 did not agree with this. This shows that even though WhatsApp is quite popular among Kenyan youths, a good number still believe that face to face communication is still very important. When asked if whether they did not feel the need to meet their friends face to face because they always communicate on WhatsApp, 49 said yes while 100 said no. 18 were not sure. The convenience of the app, explains the popularity of the app even though the youths still admit that face to face interactions are important for their friendships.

To gauge the respondents' dependency on the app, I sought to find out how important engagement with others was to them. The respondents were asked if it

bothered them when their friends don't respond to their WhatsApp messages, whether it would bother their friends if they didn't respond to their WhatsApp messages and how fast they respond to messages. 127 respondents said it bother them if their messages are not responded to, while 28 said it would not bother them. 75 respondents felt that their friends would be bothered if they did not reply to their messages, while another 75 felt that it would not bother them. But interestingly, 116 respondents said that they responded quickly to messages from their friends while only 34 said that they don't respond to messages quickly.

Respondents were also asked if they felt out of touch if they did not log on to WhatsApp for a while. 119 respondents said that they did, while 36 said that they did not. When asked if they would be sad if WhatsApp was to be shut down, 106 said yes, 37 said no 24 were not sure how they would feel. These staggering numbers are a clear indication that Kenyan youths are indeed highly dependent on WhatsApp as a form of interaction. Convenience and peer to peer interaction seem to be the main drivers of this dependency.

19.6.3 Relationship Satisfaction

To find out if Kenyan youths are satisfied with their relationships as they continue to use WhatsApp, the respondents were asked if they use WhatsApp to talk to their friends freely about personal issues that they wouldn't want to talk about in person. 77 respondents said that they don't while 65 said that they do. 25 were uncertain. When asked further if they were uncomfortable with their conversations being online especially on WhatsApp groups, 114 said that they were, 27 said they were not while 16 were uncertain. Going by Baxter and Montgomery's relational dialectics theory, these numbers indicate a lack of trust and intimacy which could be an indicator of lack of interpersonal relationship satisfaction.

19.6.4 Strong or Weak Bond?

The data from the Kenyan youths sampled, show that WhatsApp enhances socialization among Kenyan youths as 83 of the respondents believe that WhatsApp enhances their friendships, while 63 believe it doesn't. But how strong are these friendships? To answer this question, the respondents were asked if they felt the need to meet their friends face to face because they always communicate on WhatsApp, 115 said that they do not while 43 said that they do. This, data, according to the Strong and Weak Ties theory, shows that the ties are weak because the Kenyan youths do not seem to deepen their relationships through continued self-disclosure or by moving their conversations offline, which is one way that is believed to strengthen bond.

However, when asked whether they preferred talking to their friends on WhatsApp instead of talking to them face to face or on the phone, 73 said yes, while 70 said no. To find out whether indeed, the youths hold face to face

interactions, I took a look at the most preferred mode of communication in the event that WhatsApp and other forms of social media seized to exist. Only 41 respondents said they would meet with their friends compared to 101 who said they would rely on the phone to call or text their friends. This further shows that not as many conversations end up offline through face to face interaction.

19.6.5 Recommendations for Further Areas for Research

Findings indicate that even though people are aware that face to face interaction is important for enhancing the quality of friendships, why is it then that they prefer to keep communication on WhatsApp instead of talking to each other offline? Another area of study would be to find out whether different geographical, sociological, and economic factors affect the way people use WhatsApp. I would also recommend that a study is done to find out if WhatsApp has similar effects on married couples where the relationship is more defined.

19.7 Conclusion

From the data collected, first it is clear that Kenyan youths highly depend on WhatsApp for socialization and to interact with their friends and family. More interaction is taking place since the introduction of WhatsApp due to its convenience and affordability. This study revealed that Kenyan youths are indeed amused by the ease of communication using WhatsApp and now believe that their relationships are more intense and more committed than they really are, creating an illusion of friendship. This has in turn resulted in the youths alienating the people whom they already have strong bonds with in pursuit of closeness with online friends leaving them isolated in real life because there is lack of trust among these 'friends' as seen by the little self-disclosure expressed via WhatsApp.

While the idea of friendship seems to exist among Kenyan youths who use WhatsApp, this friendship is nothing but an illusion because the youths do not seem to feel the need to strengthen the bonds existing on WhatsApp by moving the conversation to face to face interaction even though they are aware that face to face interaction is important for interpersonal relationships. Finally, Kenyan youths should use WhatsApp in moderation and incorporate other communication methods such as phone calls and face to face meetings in order to strengthen their relationships.

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20.1 Introduction

20.1.1 Background of the Study

Over the years, the media has been evolving from stage to stage. According to Chen, Wu, and Wang (2011), the term ‘new media’ broadly refers to computer and communication technologies. New media, internet and cell phones are growing rapidly in terms of consumers and service providers. Consumers use new media to contribute in social networks, which enable them to create and share content, converse with one another, and build relationships with other clients (Gordon, 2010).

According to Montero (2009), the success in online and wireless digital media has improved traditional media, namely radio, newspapers, television, and magazines. Gholami, Emrouznejas, and Schmidt (2008) stated that the internet part of the new media has revolutionised the world turning it into a universal village. According to Wang (2009), the Internet has provided a new paradigm for communication and empowered millions of people to network socially beyond the confines of geographical proximity. Wolotira (2012) added that we all use Google to find information about a topic that we know nothing about.

Hennig-Thurau et al. (2010) defined new media as websites and other digital communication and information channels in which active consumers engage in behaviours that can be consumed by others both in real time and long afterwards regardless of their spatial location. New media technology generally refers to web based and mobile applications that allow individuals and organisations to create engage and share new user generated or existing content in digital environment through multi way communication (Lii, Dell-Amen, Rios-Angullar & Canche,

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2010). Fill (2009) argued that while traditional media communicates on a one-to-many basis which leads to mass marketing, the new media achieves one-to-one and many-to-many communication which is more successful due to an individualized approach.

The new media has changed various aspects of human activities globally and even locally. This is in regards to political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life. According to Hennig-Thurau et al. (2010), the rise of new media has created extensive opportunities for new business models. Nyaga, Njoroge, and Nyambuga (2015) also noted that businesses have been boosted a lot in advertising as a result of new media invention. New digital technologies allow new forms of education innovation and creativity. Montero (2009) drew attention on how the media has been a valuable tool in mobilizing and involving citizens to focus on important political issues and processes of governance and democratization in Africa. If political arena is not stable business is affected. Owing to the flexibility of new media networking tools, businesses can realize different benefits. These are greater access to different audiences, improved customer service, improved products and services and adoption of favourable pricing practices.

20.1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is a great concern for the new media to be developed so as to propel the opening of new opportunities for the SMEs in the business through various business transactions. Buying and payment of goods has been made easy and very convenient for the business people. This study focuses on how the new media and all its application has helped the SMEs to improve in their business transactions and how it is a stepping stone for them to propel their business to greater heights.

20.2 Research Objectives

20.2.1 General Objective

The study sought to investigate how new media has enhanced the opening of new avenues in Kenya with an analysis of the SMEs in Nairobi.

20.2.2 Specific Objective

The main objectives of the study are:

- i. To ascertain the enhancement of New Media in opening new business opportunities for the SMEs in Nairobi.
- ii. To investigate the effects of new media on the use of social platforms to open new avenues.

iii. To find out the effects of new media in the operations of the SMEs in Nairobi.

Research Questions

- i. How has the New Media enhanced the opening of new business opportunities for the SMEs in Nairobi?
- ii. How has the new media and the use of social platforms paved way to the opening of new avenues for SMEs in Nairobi?
- iii. To find out the effects of new media in the operations of the SMEs in Nairobi.

20.3 Literature Review

The term new media according to Mizuko et al. (2008), was described as ecology where more traditional media, such as books, television, and radio, are “congregating” with digital media, specifically collaborative media and media for social communication which is done using social media. According to Jantsch (2011) Social media entails the use of technology combined with social interaction to create or co-create value. There are many social sites that have eased communication at large in our world today such as Facebook, YouTube, slide Share, twitter, Flickr and other social media communities (Jantsch, 2011). Fischer and Reuber described Facebook as a social networking site that has allowed for more efficient communication between friends, families, colleagues, and coworkers.

The introduction of social media has also made it easier for some people to work online and to earn a living. According to Kraut, Brynin, and Kliesler (2006), more highly educated people use the internet for various purposes and more so for social connections. Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe (2011) found that while social network sites support both existing ties and the formation of new connections, there is evidence individuals tend to use the online space for supporting offline connections. User-generated content has become a mass phenomenon, with Facebook, Myspace, YouTube, Wikipedia, and Twitter all being listed among the Top 15 websites, accounting for more than 11 % of global internet traffic, as of April 2010 (Alexa, 2010).

A study Wellman and Gulia’s (1999) reported that current college students feel closer to their families than older siblings as a result of this interaction. It can also aid the development of a firm’s worthiness, increase the customer and supplier contacts, and bring to light where resources and funding are available, promote innovation and help in the cultivation of strategic partnerships.

According to Jantsch (2011) business can be done easily and faster on the internet. Jantsch added that the web and digital interactivity now represents the centre of the marketing universe. Scoble and Israel (2006) stated that blogs are shifting the way organizations interconnect with key publics, especially customers. The emergence of Web 2.0 has conveyed about competitive advantages to networked organizations: the companies that efficiently use social tools for enhancing communication flows, collaboration, and business processes (Bradbury, 2010).

Globally SMEs are known as engines of growth and development and they are the backbone of the economy in many successful developed nations all over the world. The SME's have emerged as a dynamic and energetic component of the economy by virtue of their important contribution to GDP, industrial production and exports (Dunne & Hughes, 2003).

Even though close to one million small enterprises are established each year, at least 40 % of them fail within 1 year, 80 % of those that survive the first year fall out of business within 5 years while 96 % close by their 10th (Amurle, Gakure, & Waititu, 2013). Awino (2013) reported that SMEs in Kenya are faced with various challenges and constraints that include among others, unfavorable policy environment, inadequate access to skills and technology, inadequate business skills, with the effect being high failure rate. SMEs need to have access to sufficient information to enhance productivity and to facilitate market access locally and globally. According to Corps (2005) he stated that the establishment of an active SMEs segment and the effective utilization of quality business information has been identified as key in attaining long-term and viable economic growth for developed and developing countries.

20.3.1 Conceptual Framework

Figure 20.1.

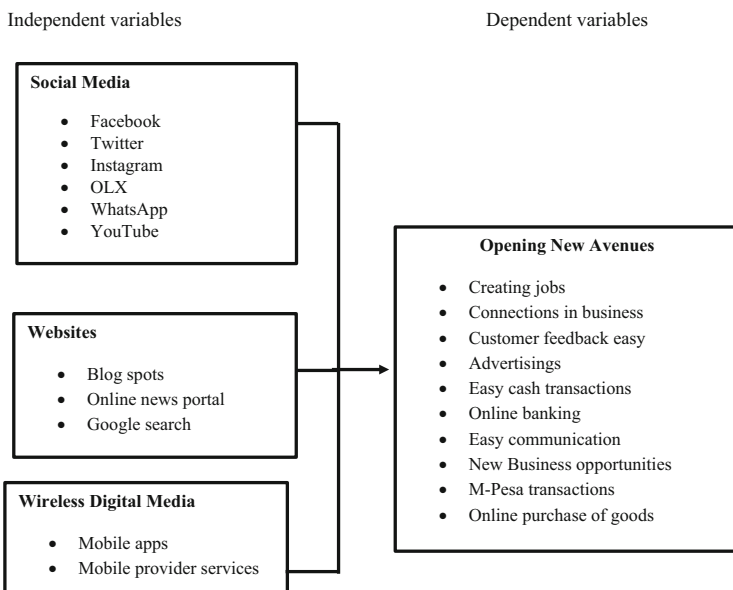


Fig. 20.1 Conceptual framework

20.4 Research Design and Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodology that was adopted to carry out this study. It comprises of the design, population, sampling techniques, and instruments used to collect the data. The study adopted a descriptive research design. A research design is a plan and structure of investigating in order to obtain answers to research questions (Kothari, 2009).

20.4.1 Population

Population refers to the entire group of objects or individuals having common characteristics (Mugenda, 2008). Nairobi County was targeted because it is a commercial core, it's a cosmopolitan and it's very competitive. Data available from the Ministry of Industrialization and Enterprise Development reveal that there are about 4560 registered SMEs in the manufacturing, trading and service sector in Nairobi County. A list of 4560 enterprises sourced from the Ministry of industrialization and Enterprise Development was used as the total population and there after a sampling frame of 456 was taken up as 10 % of the total population.

20.4.2 Sample and Sampling Technique

This is the list of ultimate sampling entries which may be people households, organizations or other units (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). It is the physical representation of the target population and comprises all the units that are potential members of a sample (Kothari, 2004). The big size of the population made it not possible to study all elements of the population. Thus sampling was done in stages and the population was stratified into sectors as follows:

	No. of SMEs	Percentage size (%)	Sample size
Starehe	550	10	55
Dagoretti	600	10	60
Lang'ata	200	10	20
Kamukunji	900	10	90
Makadara	270	10	27
Kasarani	300	10	30
Embakasi	550	10	55
Kawangware	240	10	24
Westlands	500	10	50
Karen	450	10	45
Total	4560	10	456

The convenient and random sampling techniques were employed. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), convenient sampling is a technique that involves

selecting cases or units of observation as they become available to the researcher. It is also referred to as accidental or volunteer sampling. It was used because subjects are easily and conveniently available and are accessible. Random sampling was used to choose subjects from each stratum to compliment the convenient sampling.

20.4.3 Data Collection Instruments

Data collection is the means by which statistics is obtained from the selected subjects of an investigation (Kothari, 2009). Both primary and secondary data were used for this study. The research study used questionnaires as a key instrument for data collection, of both closed and open ended questions. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), questionnaires are commonly used to obtain important information about a population under study.

Data collected was analysed with the help of computer statistical package for social science (SPSS) version 21 and Microsoft excel to generate quantitative reports. Analysis included descriptive statistics and the findings presented using bar charts, pie charts and frequency tables.

20.5 Findings

The study sought to investigate how the new media has enhanced the opening of new avenues in Kenya while looking at how the small and medium enterprises in Nairobi a representative of the business class has ventured into tapping the benefits of the emergence of new media. Specifically, the study focused on business avenues and the opportunities the new media has brought to the small and medium enterprises (Fig. 20.2).

From the figure above the study sought to find out the gender of respondents. From the findings revealed that 56 % were male while 44 % were female. Men form the greater proportion of this sample, despite women outnumbering men by the number of males being 7,458,665 while the females are 7,302,534, of those aged 25–54 years; this is according to the Kenya demographic index profile of 2015, in the national census statistics. This may reflect the fact that men, as the traditional breadwinners, are dominant in number in the business sector, and therefore the statistical proportions in the sample. Nonetheless there was no bias in the data collection and there was a good representation of both genders during data collection (Fig. 20.3).

Fig. 20.2 Gender of respondents



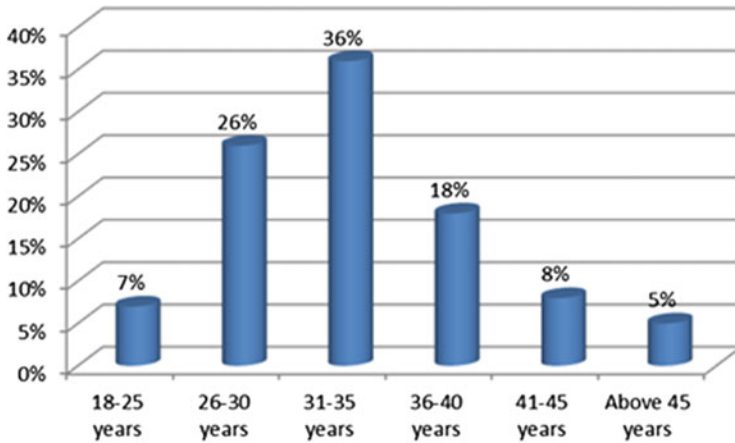


Fig. 20.3 Age of respondents

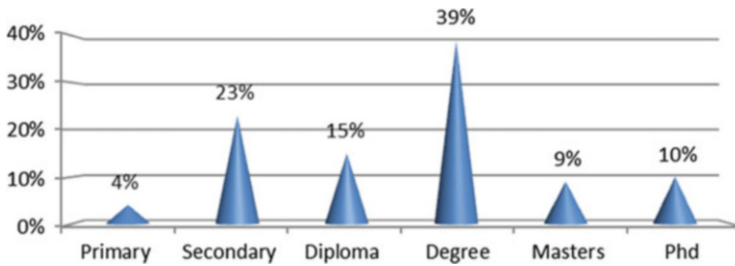


Fig. 20.4 Level of education of respondents

The study sought to find out the age of the respondents. The findings revealed that 36% of the respondents were 31–35 years of age; 26% were between 26 and 30 years; 18% were between 36 and 40 years; 7% were between 18 and 25 years; 8% were between 41 and 45 years and 5% above 45 years. This shows that a big number of those who are involved in business in are youthful and energetic to contribute to the development of Kenya (Fig. 20.4).

The study sought to find out the level of education for the respondents. The graph above showed that most of the respondents (30%) had first degrees in various fields followed by those with secondary education (23%), diploma (15%), Ph.D. (10%), Masters at 9% and primary at 4%. This data show that at least everyone who has a stable enterprise in Nairobi has some level of education to help them run their business and that they are not illiterate (Fig. 20.5).

From the data collected it graph showed that most of the respondents engage use the new media in their businesses and transactions. A good number used almost social media, the website and digital mobile for the various business transactions that they need. Social media use had a percentage of 54% for social media, 26% for

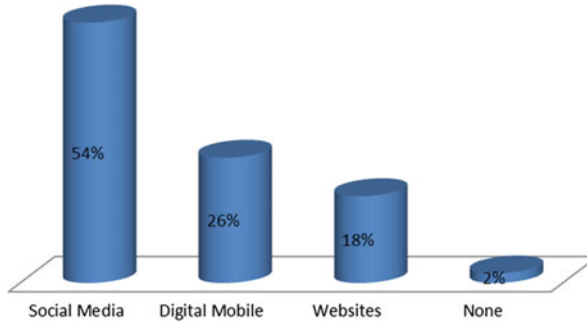


Fig. 20.5 New media frequently used

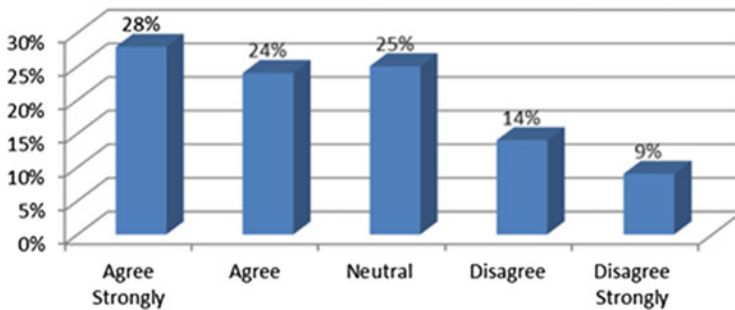


Fig. 20.6 Social network influence in opening of new avenues

digital mobiles, 18 % for websites and 2 % were the only ones who did not engage themselves on the use of social media in their businesses. This showed that a good number of business people have maximized the use of the new media for the development of their businesses (Fig. 20.6).

The figure above shows 28 % strongly agreed that social networks influence the growth of SMEs. The likes of Facebook, Twitter, and blogging have really influenced the growth of business. Those who agreed were 24 % of the respondents who indicated that social networks influence the growths of SME. Twenty five percent of the respondents indicated that social networks influence on the growth of SMEs was neutral, while 14 % of the respondents disagreed, and 9 % strongly disagreed. The findings relate with the findings of that social networking allows businesses to gain access to resources that might otherwise not be available to them. Fischer and Reuber describe Facebook as “a social networking site” that has allowed for more efficient communication between friends, families, colleagues, and coworkers. Facebook has become the fastest growing and most popular social media website since it was founded in 2004 (Fig. 20.7).

Fig. 20.7 New media platforms in business dealings and transactions

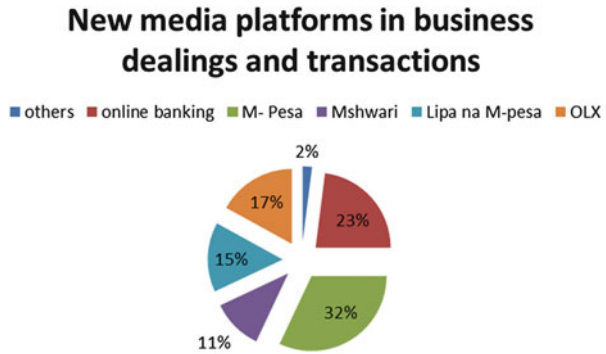
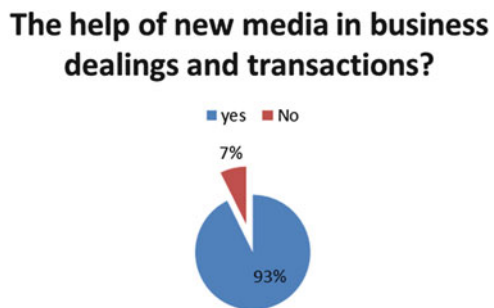


Fig. 20.8 The help of new media in business transactions



The graph above indicates that 32 % of the respondents use M-Pesa in their business transactions, 23 % use online banking, 19 % use OLX, 15 % use Mshwari as a mobile banking application, while others 2 % used other modes of transactions like paying cash. This shows that m-pesa is the strongest means for transaction and efficient because anytime one can transact any business and you can travel with big amounts of cash without the fear of being robbed thus safe and convenient. This is in line with Gupta (2011) who stated that in Secure Electronic Transaction (SET), merchant’s website, secured web server and financial bank’s server for the verification of customer’s database makes an important role for successful transaction (Fig. 20.8).

From the research, 93 % of the SMEs sampled use the new media in business transactions while only 7 % do not use the new media. This suggests that MacMillan (1993) was accurate in finding that building contacts through online networks is fundamental in determining the success of a business (Fig. 20.9).

Data collected from the respondents showed that new media has been beneficial to the SMEs. Those who strongly agreed were 41 %, that online business transactions had been of benefit to them, while 40 % agreed, 12 % were neutral, 4 % disagreed, and 3 % strongly disagreed. The findings also showed that it is considered easier and convenient for SMEs to make transactions and to order goods and services online without going to various places physically. This has helped

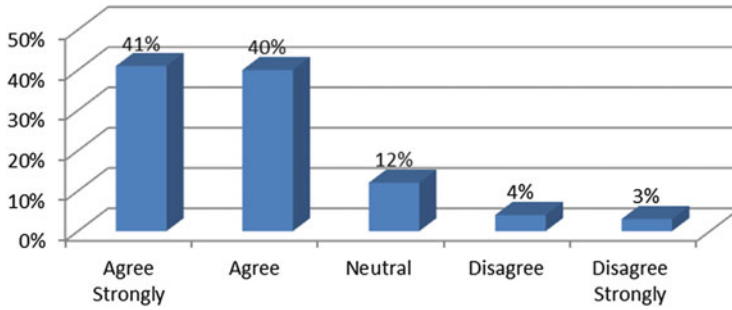


Fig. 20.9 How new media has been beneficial to respondents—online business transactions

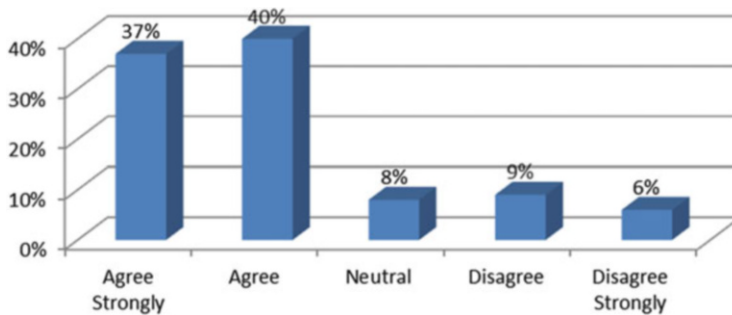


Fig. 20.10 Creating new markets

them expand their businesses and secure greater marketing opportunities for their products and services (Fig. 20.10).

As shown in the graph, there is a dominant agreement that new media is effective in creating new markets: 37% strongly agreed and 40% agreed that new media has opened opportunities for them. SME operators can transact business from their desks, without travelling to meet face-to-face with contacts. They purchase and sell goods to their customers and distributors and this makes work for them easy and very efficient. The respondents also commented that the emergence of new media has helped to save time. It has enabled partnerships with people from other towns outside Nairobi like Eldoret, Nakuru and Mombasa. The SME operators were positive about the ease of communication and expansion of business as a result of the emergence of new media (Fig. 20.11).

From the graph above 36% indicated that they agree that new media and wireless digital media helps business people to know customer feedback, while 32% of the respondents indicated that they strongly agree. Fourteen percent disagreed, 10% were neutral, while 8% strongly disagreed. As recorded by Olshavsky and Miller (1972) customer satisfaction or dissatisfaction is considered to be a function of the disconfirmation arising from discrepancies between prior expectations and actual performance. This eventually can affect the performance of

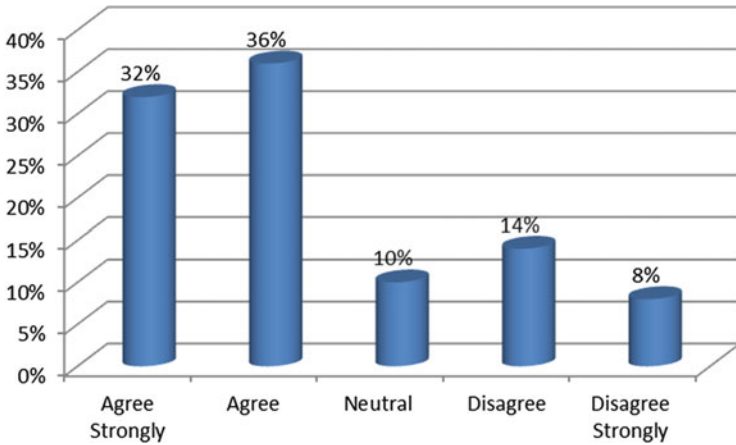


Fig. 20.11 New media helps business people to know customers feedback

Influence of new media on businesses

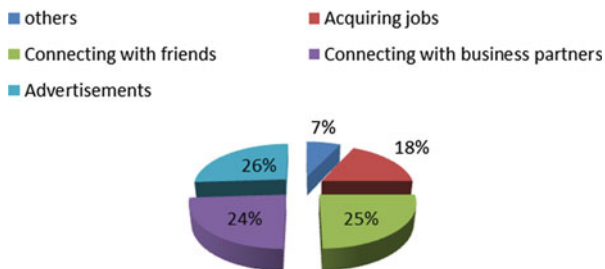


Fig. 20.12 The influence of new media on businesses

a business and thus it is important for the SMEs to know their customers’ needs so that they can be able to serve them effectively (Fig. 20.12).

The chart above shows the influence of the new media on the SME’s of whom 26 % business have been enhanced through advertising and they have been able to reach many new markets and consumers by the use of the new media, 25 % have connected with friends and thus able to share with them about the products they have enabling them to expand their markets. 24 % developed themselves through connections with business partners’ making it easy for the ordering and transportation of goods needed. 18 % have enriched themselves by acquiring online jobs in tourism and through blogs. The other 7 % have benefited with the new media by getting to know of the trending items and what is needed in the markets very easily and more sufficiently (Fig. 20.13).

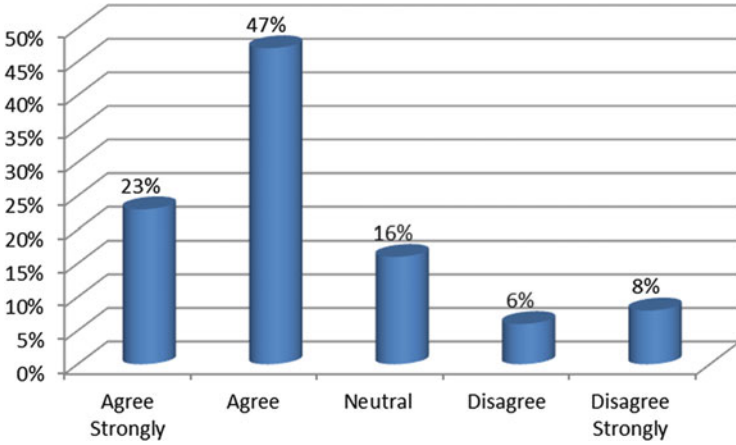


Fig. 20.13 Social media popularize products and services

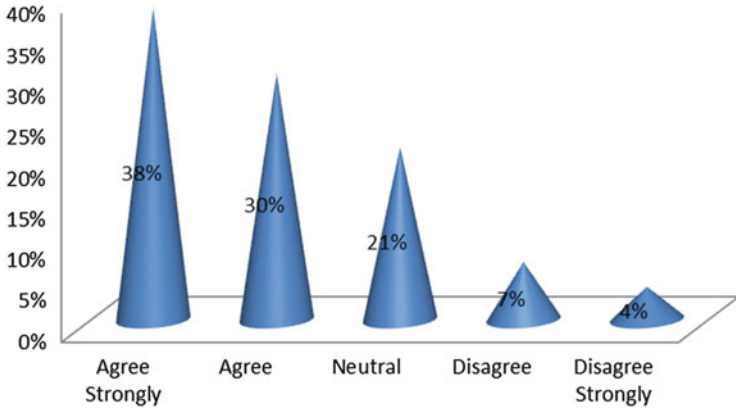


Fig. 20.14 Websites provide platform for engaging with clients

The graph above indicates how social media popularize products and services and 47 % of the respondents agreed, 23 % strongly agreed, 16 % were neutral, 8 % strongly disagreed a few with 6 % disagreed. The high rate of agreement was because of the fact that many people nowadays engage themselves on social media and they post their goods on Facebook and other social site, and they get popular very fast by people sharing and liking the goods. The customers get to see all these very fast and can communicate to whoever had the commodity for selling (Fig. 20.14).

From the figure above 38 % strongly agreed that they use the websites to engage with their clients, 30 % agreed, 21 % were neutral, 7 % disagreed while only 4 % disagreed. This is to show that a bigger number of SME's are taking the advantage

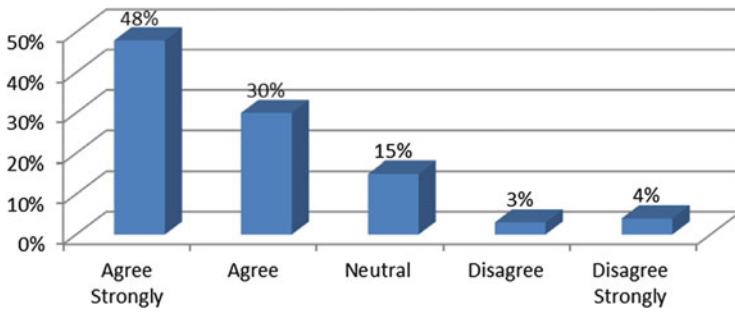


Fig. 20.15 Websites provide a platform for sharing ideas and content of services and goods provided

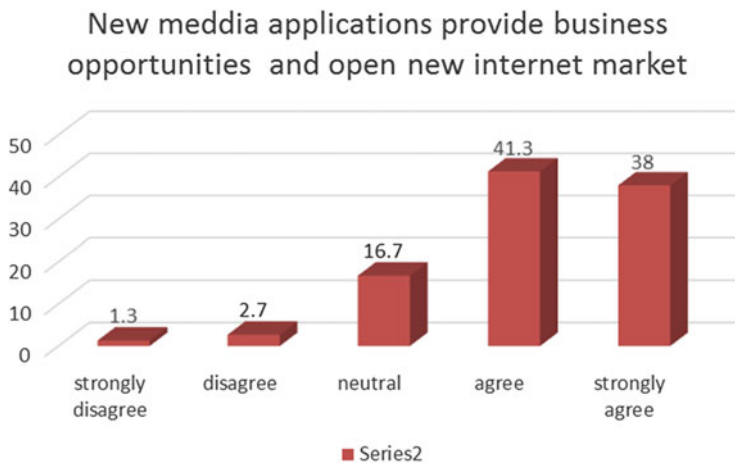


Fig. 20.16 Wireless application open up business opportunities and new internet markets

of the new media to engage with customers and also the customers themselves have a good opportunity to interact with their goods providers (Fig. 20.15).

The figure above indicates that 48 % of respondents strongly agreed that websites provide a platform for sharing ideas and content of services and goods provided, while 30 % agreed, 15 % were neutral, 4 % strongly disagreed and 3 % disagreed. The biggest percentage of the respondents said that they do log in to the various websites to read and check on the content of the goods that they need and compare prices too before they purchases them. This also helps them to compare prices and seek better deals that can earn them a profit at the end of the day (Fig. 20.16).

From the graph above it showed that 41.3 % agree that wireless application open up business opportunities and new internet markets, while 38 % strongly agreed, 16.7 % were neutral, 2.7 % disagreed and 1.3 % strongly disagreed. The SME’s responded that they use the digital mobile applications to search for new markets

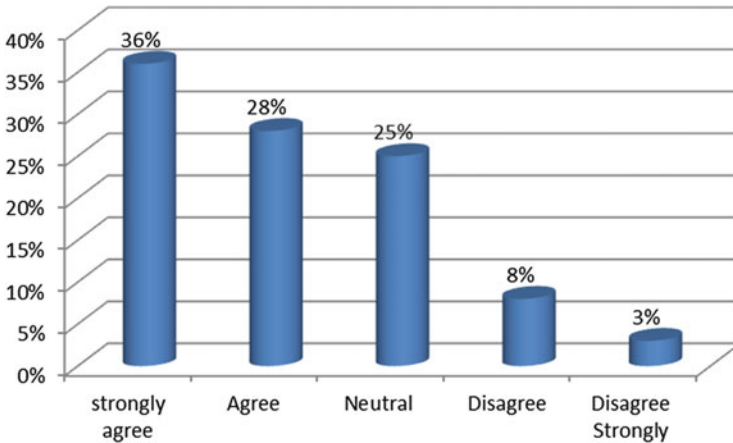


Fig. 20.17 Wireless digital media provides an economical and quick way of communication

and also to display their goods like on OLX and Rupu and thereafter be able to meet potential buyers and business people (Fig. 20.17).

The above figure represents the respondents' views on how wireless digital media provides an economical and quick way of communication. Those who strongly agreed with these view were 36 %, 28 % agreed, 25 % were neutral, 8 % disagreed and 3 % strongly disagreed. They presented this response on the basis that a big percentage of people in Kenya can afford a cell phone and to communicate using it and so it is very easy to communicate and pass whichever information is needed. They were positive for the emergence of the cell phones and credited it to having contributed to the growth of their business.

20.6 Conclusion

The finding of the study revealed that there is a great need for many take advantage and use new media to propel in starting up new opportunities. New media opens accesses to many opportunities to those who use it have benefited a lot from it. With the use of new media there is access to information, opportunities to innovations and availability of networking with people globally and within. The new media is thus a significant contribution to the growth of SMEs in Kenya. The study recommends that entrepreneurs should establish strong business connections with the emergence of new media which are an important element of social investment that entails establishing opportunities of connections, interactions, relationships, closeness, helpfulness, and loyalty between business persons and their customers. This has a positive and significant influence on the growth of SMEs in Kenya. Entrepreneurs should realize that in the access to information and to innovativeness are components that are influencing social networking with the use of the new

media for the growth of SMEs. New media networking should thus enhance the accessibility of these resources and should therefore be embraced.

The study recommends that policy makers such as the government and other stakeholders should be keen on the current new media trends of technological adoption by business people, so as to come up with policies that encourage good practices for the growth of the business sector. Training of social media and provision of business solutions should be emphasized which would bridge the gap and encourage more SMEs to adopt the use of new media tools which would lead to their growth and the growth of the country.

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Mohsen Goudarzi

The emergence of social media roots in Tim O'Reilly states when he introduced the term 'Web 2.0' in 2005. He claimed that 'Web 2.0' denotes actual changes whereby users' collective intelligence co-create the value of platforms like Google, Amazon, Wikipedia or Craigslist in a "community of connected users" (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009). In these days, Importance of virtual social networks in different fields including information diffusion, business, social activities, political campaign, cultural heritage, etc. is clear in as much as we cannot imagine the world without such these tools.

Anyway, using the term "virtual social network" related to sociological theories. There are different concepts of the social, such as Emile Durkheim's social facts, Max Weber's social action, Karl Marx's notion of collaborative work or Ferdinand Tonnies' notion of community (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). Community aspects of the web have certainly not started with new social media such as Facebook or Google Plus, but it was already described as characteristic of 1980s bulletin board systems that characterizes as virtual communities (Rheingold, 2000). All computing systems, and therefore all web applications and all forms of media can be considered social because they store and transmit human knowledge that originates in social relations in society. They are objectifications of society, sociality and human relations (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014).

As Trottier and Fuchs (2014) stated whenever a human uses a computing system or a medium, even if he is alone in a room, then he knows based on objectified knowledge that is the outcome of social relations (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). However, not all computing systems and web applications support direct communication between humans, in which at least two people mutually exchange meanings. Amazon provides information about books and other goods; it is not primarily for communication, but rather spreading information. Whereas Facebook and Google Plus has specific communication potentials including mail system, posting texts,

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videos or pictures, wall for comments, forums, and communities which have been frequently used.

Therefore, virtual social network has been constructed through computing system, and this sort of network is different from real social networks, which people communicate face to face. In virtual social networks, computing system or a medium has been involved. Based on the Internet medium, virtual social network that is called Social Networking Sites (SNS) or social media, make relation among different people all around the world. SNSs have been defined as internet based services that allow people to construct a public or semi public profiles in a specific platform, making connection to other users of the platform, view and traverse the list of connections, and content exchange within the platform (Boyd & Ellison, 2008). Mandiberg (2012) argued that the notion of 'social media' has been associated with multiple concepts: "the corporate media favorite 'user-generated content,' Henry Jenkins' media-industries-focused 'convergence culture,' Jay Rosen's 'the people formerly known as the audience,' Yochai Benkler's process-oriented 'peer-production,' Tim O'Reilly's computer-programming-oriented 'Web 2.0' and the politically infused 'participatory media'" (Mandiberg, 2012, p. 2).

Activities might carry out on social networking sites are various and related to different materials. The simplest one is communicating to friends and family. Afterthen, looking at comments, photos and information shared by friends/connections, reconnecting with people who lost contact, and uploading pictures are the common activities in SNSs. Also, connecting to people who have similar interests and hobbies, sharing information on what is happening in local areas, spreading information about national and global events, looking at campaign and petitions, networking with business or professionals and advertising are the other practices of virtual social networks' users (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007).

Moreover, virtual social networks might be categorized differently based on their specificity such as economic, political, cultural, scientific, and professional. They have multiple functions in general and different purposes such as political goals. Although social networking sites were not originally conceived of as political tools, people and politicians have quickly adapted to use them as such (Bode, Vraga, Borah, & Shah, 2013).

21.1 Cyber Political Behavior

Studies that examine political side of social networking sites have focused on politicians' use of SNSs, their potential to serve as an indicator for electoral enthusiasm or on how social networking sites are being used, rather than their implications and users' political behaviors. Anyway, cyber political behavior refers to Internet users' political expression including sharing political attitudes, supporting politicians, or announcing specific ideology, etc.

Political expression is considered a key component of political behavior. Looking specifically at the Internet as a source of political information and public expression, online media use complements traditional media in influencing political

discussion and expression (Shah, Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005). Virtual social networks allow individuals to expose their political thoughts and biases to like-minded commentary (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009) and embedding oneself in homogeneous commentary encouraging further participation (Mutz, 2006).

Furthermore, virtual social network as a political platform has been addressed researchers finding positive correlation between elected candidate in election and its reputation in the social media such as Facebook or Twitter (e.g., DiGrazia, McKelvey, Bollen, & Rojas, 2013). Obviously, cyber political behaviors are different based on socio cultural contexts. Internet influence, freedom of speech, activity of parties, demographical and socio psychological indicators are some factors determine quality and quantity of these behaviors. Social media uses for social interaction also does not have direct influence in people's political engagement, but rather an indirect effect by means of citizens expressing themselves politically (Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux, & Zheng, 2014).

Therefore, political expression through SNSs is a usual function of these media. People all around the world might use SNSs for specific political purposes. Cyber political behaviors are sharing political attitudes, supporting politicians, and helping political movements or parties. Spreading specific ideology and participating in political campaign are categorized also as such these behaviors.

21.2 Facebook and Google+; Case of Iran

Facebook and Google Plus (Google+) are two famous online social networks. The first launched in 2004 and the second started its work in 2011. Although the Facebook is much famous that Google+, but Google Plus has its followings especially in Iran because of bans on Facebook. In other words, in Iran Facebook is blocked and Google+ is free, then many people prefer using free Google+ to using Facebook via proxy.

Facebook is an online social networking service headquartered in Menlo Park, California. Its website was launched on February 4, 2004. After registering to use the site, users can create profile, add users as friends, exchange messages, post status updates and photos, share videos, comment on other posts, and receive notifications when others update their profiles. Facebook has a good position among different SNSs. It reached a market capitalization of \$212 Billion at February 2015 (finance.yahoo.com) and has over 1.18 billion monthly active users at June 2015 (Facebook Investor Relations, 2015). Therefore, Facebook is the most important and famous virtual social network all around the world.

Furthermore, Google+ is a social network site and social layer for Google services that is owned and operated by Google Inc. It has launched in June 2011 and described as a social layer across all of Google's services, allowing users to share identities and interests. In March 2015, 4 years after its launching, active users of Google+ have been calculated 300 million (statista.com). There are many critics about the low number of Google+ users (e.g., Miller, 2014). Therefore, Google+ in comparison to other online social networks has less active users who share posts

every day, but this virtual platform is popular in some countries such as Iran, which Facebook and Twitter are not accessible normally.

Internet penetration in Iran is 57.2%. In other words, amount 47 million of Iran population use the Internet in December 2014 (internetworldstats.com). Some informal researches have talked about the number of Iranian user who uses Facebook. Most of these researches have counted more than 50% of Iranian Internet users are in the Facebook (Knowles, 2013). Anyway, the number of Iranian Facebook users is not clear. The number of Iranians registered in Google + is not clear, too. However, Google Plus is not blocked and Internet users easily have access to it, thus it seems Google+ is much popular. Author's observations also insist that Iranian Internet users have Google+ account even more than Facebook, but it seems active users are much in Facebook than Google+. Anyway, these two online social networks are popular and important among Iranian Internet users.

21.3 Method

21.3.1 Procedure

In this paper, focus group method had been used; it is a qualitative method in which groups of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes towards a product, service, concept, advertisement, idea, or packaging (Henderson, 2009). Gathering ideas, opinion, and attitudes toward different issues, testing assumptions, proving a situation to understand better about one specific subject, and invoking debates in different subjects are miscellaneous reasons in using this method. Focus group can be used in different fields such as marketing, usability engineering, and society. In the social sciences, focus group allows interviewers to study people in a more natural setting than a one-to-one interview. This method has a high apparent validity since the idea is easy to understand, the results are believable. Moreover, they are low in cost, one can get results relatively quickly, and they can increase the sample size of a report by talking with several people at once (Leshan, 2012).

The focus group method has some steps that must be followed accurately. The first is clarification of the purpose. By setting appropriate purpose, establishing the right questions and eliciting information could be accomplished. After that, conducting a focus group needs a suitable timeline, which orders different parts of the research and saves the researcher time. Then, participations should be identified; the number of participants depends on the purpose. However, it should be consisted of 6–12 participants; fewer than six people tend to limit the conversation because there is not enough diversity to stimulate conversation and, if the group has more than 12 people, the voices might get lost. After that, an appropriate list of questions should be prepared based on factors such as the time of the session, numbers of participants, the purposes of the research, and other necessary information. Selecting a facilitator is the subsequent step; this facilitator will guide sessions

the right way for gathering information and data. Further, the facilitator must pay attention not to become involve in debates and discussions (Simon, 1999).

21.3.2 Participants

In this research, three groups including Internet users who are familiar with SNSs, interested in political issues, and active in Facebook and Google+ have been chosen. All three groups included eight participants with equal number of male and female. Having neutral view towards questions and being unprejudiced during the session were announced as necessities of the research.

21.3.3 Results

1. Iranian political behavior in the cyberspace is not clear as in the real world. In other words, lines of real political borders are vanished in Facebook and Google+. Moreover, Iranians get used to hear political voices from reformist or conservative, but in the virtual social networks these two main political movements have changed to more than two. Some characteristics of reformists with others from conservatives have been created more than two main specific political movements. For example, some users talk about freedom of speech (characteristic of reformists) and support politicians from conservative. Such these positioning may not apparently exist in real political circumstance.
2. Most of the Iranian cyber political choices are arbitrary and disordered. For example, somebody who seems to be from conservative party supports reformist candidates and this person will directly support independent politicians. So, Iranian political choice in virtual social networks does not come from specific patterns and then it is not predictable.
3. It seems the tolerance in cyber political behavior of Iranians is much than political activities in the real world. In other words, it is based on mutual respect. For example, users comment on oppositional posts and get involved in debates without getting upset or angry.
4. Moreover, Iranian users of Facebook and Google+ use directed and linear model of persuasion instead of mutual rhetorical approaches. The users just try to say their words about politicians and political beliefs than hearing from others. It seems cyber political behavior of Iranians in Facebook and Google+ is not based on mutual understanding.
5. Cyber political negotiations and debates of Iranians in Facebook and Google+ have not been well constructed in general. Always they are not deep and have not clear specific outcomes. In comparison with face-to-face communication, virtual political talking has not clear result.
6. Other cyber political behavior of Iranians in Facebook and Google+ is posting and resharing manners. In these SNSs, resharing news and others' texts are more than posting self-created texts. Moreover, news about politicians and political

thoughts and beliefs are the first political content in Facebook and Google+. Users also prefer focusing on negative points than affirmative. In other words, they choose posting and resharing news and texts about oppositions' wrongs instead of focusing on supporting politicians and confirmatory thoughts.

21.3.4 Discussion and Recommendation

This paper has been tried to clarify political behavior of Iranians in two popular SNSs in Iran. The results show that such these activities cannot be detailed clearly. Actually Iranian behavior in virtual social networks especially political activities do not follow distinctive patterns. This is because of socio cultural context and characteristics of the cyber world. Moreover, such these results might be common in many countries specially developing communities. "Disordered cyber political behavior" should be considered neutral, not positive or negative, which has not specific impact on society, but doing such this research can help better understanding of cyberspace activities.

This paper has been done by using a qualitative method. Despite its merits in gathering information and knowledge of experts, some problems are associated with qualitative methods. So, its better mixed methodology including using qualitative and quantitative methods will be used in future studies. Mixed methodology helps solving weaknesses of low reliability of qualitative methodology and low validity of quantitative methodology.

Moreover, extending such this research to other virtual social networks such as twitter and extracting information of users who are active in these networks should help better understanding of Iranian cyber political behavior. Furthermore, because of fast growth of using mobile based social networks such as Viber, WhatsApp, and Telegram and their popularity among Iranians, these platforms should be analyzed in future studies.

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In information society that the society of the present time is called, the main activity is creation and distribution of information. Not without reason the so-called the “fourth power” claims to play the leading role. Such a situation is reflected in the term “mediacrity” (“mass media power”). The term should not be confused with the term “mediocrity” that means power of negotiators and mediators. In mediacrity process mass media don not reflect reality, but they create it.

In the opinion of modern researchers (R. Wimmer, J. Dominick, D. Hallin, P. Mancini) in most democratic countries mediacrity comes as a change from democracy. In democratic societies mass media are not limited at all, except liberal laws of media ethics.

The state and mass media together play a key role in modern society. Their relations can be determined as interdependence of the two subjects of the society striving for certain aims that cannot be achieved in isolation of each other. The fact demonstrates that state power and mass media directly determine all the processes taking place in the country.

The problems of interaction of the state power and mass media are multidimensional. Considering the things from the ideal point of view Russian state power as a guarantee of the Constitution and the main ideologist of social transformations creates the conditions for full functioning of the mass media limiting their activities by law. From that point of view mass media as components of society mass communication unite and consolidate the society. Analyzing the real things with the state and mass media in Russia it should be noted that there are cases when the entities play disintegrating and separating roles.

Global and local information and communication spaces of modern time is characterized by power relationships complexity in the social field. To have discourse means to have power.

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In 1979 Fowler and his colleagues proved that the key theoretical notion showing correlation between power and dominance is control. In relation to discourse that means the one who has access to the fundamental power resource as a public discourse has control over public discourse production and public consciousness (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979).

Media empire made recently by the state shows its stability to political transformations and intentions to expand by means of private mass media gradually finding itself under financial dependence from the state power. Such a tendency is true for the whole Russia. That situation does not always meet the interests of the state power that makes barriers in the course of interaction with the society.

Comparative media system research is very productive in the attempt to solve such a problem. This kind of framework turns out to be an important contribution to real practice as it provides a systematic and applicable approach to analyze differences and similarities of the relationships between media and state. In general, comparative media system research has a long tradition reaching back to the study *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm from 1956. This book was the origin of the academic debate on comparing and classifying media systems.

One has to state objectively that the very notion of freedom of speech is vague. As a matter of fact, there are no independent mass media in the world. There are only different variants of dependence (on the groups interested, private capital, public organizations).

Law and practice interpret independence as freedom from the state management. If the state has <25 % of shares in the stock company share capital, mass media are considered to be independent.

The comparative research is some sort of bridge between traditional, nation-centered studies of media systems and new media. Jakubowicz (2010) points out that contemporarily comparative media system analysis is considered as the key approach to understand globalization processes of the media.

Communication is a relevant aspect of propagandistic, informative and analytical activity parameters on the intrastate and interstate levels.

The aim of the research covered in the paper deals with distinguishing certain horizontal memes reflecting (directly or indirectly) the notion of Ukraine.

The research tasks that have led to the aim achievement are based on the methodology complex covering a combination of method types (experiment, survey, content-analysis). One of the efficient methods is meta-analysis procedure that is targeted at generalization of a number of empirical data collected and at the same time there is a possibility to observe the process of mass media influence on the society on the new qualitative level. One needs to admit the development of the method use in the research sphere. Starting with the classical stage empirical methods were mostly applied in order to prove the theories of mass media influence over public consciousness. In the course time the methodology base has been developed and improved.

Meme should be defined as a cultural information unit that is any idea, symbol, manner of action consciously or unconsciously transmitted between people by means of any form of communication.

Memes can be spread through mass media. Eventually the most adapted culture units spread widely, and the worst adapted ones—disappear. In order to replicate successfully these cultural information units strive for the aims: maximum accuracy of its transmission, the widest spread, and the longest in time reproduction. Those one that achieve the aims best are considered to be the triumphers in cultural evolution process.

Vertical meme transmission is a meme type when a person receives memes from preceding generation (venerable predecessors, parents). Horizontal meme transmission is a meme type when meme transmission takes place between people of the same generation.

As a result of the research we have managed to distinguish the main features of memes:

- The ability to evoke emotional reaction, with any emotions on the grounds. This can be even of negative or provocative type such as arrogant laughter, rejection, sarcasm, explicit or implicit fear. Emotionally colored information attracts more attention. And emotions (regardless of their specificity) are an important factor for initial meme memorizing and a stimulus for its further spread and reflection.
- The ability to get involved in communication process as meme often contains provocative fake information. Memes are characterized by their interactionism that is the base for their successful memorizing process and spread.
- The ability to carry meaning only in cultural context and be meaningless out of the cultural context. Memes are concise enough and do not contain directly meaningful information (i.e., the information that is explicitly reflected in memes should be called information trash that is a certain folding screen, some sort of camouflage). Memes are like an information iceberg with one part that is seen and absurd, but the other part that cannot be seen and relevant. That could be a provocative question or an aphorism of doubtful character or reference to unknown (non-existing) authors. Typical memes do not carry any valuable information directly, but evoke certain associations. At first sight it is interesting enough that meme often comes to conclusions opposite to the information that it contains formally.
- The ability to spread a sign, but not information. The meme spread only looks as “person-to-person” transmission of information directly contained in it. Long-lasing memes do not transmit information itself, but a sign indicating something except the meme and that is not caught in public awareness zone. The reasons for ha could be censorship, stereotypes existing in the society, conservative opposition of the age groups representatives.
- The ability to reveal real meme contents on individual basis. To avoid barriers in the society and on people’s minds memes do not transmit any senses directly, but allegorically hint at important problems in a provocative and half-joking way easy to memorize. Communication participants using different association tactics and reasoning come to the information indirectly transmitted by memes themselves. So they do not feel ready-made conclusions were imposed upon them. Memes only initiate reflection process, but the thinking work is done by a

certain person individually, without forcing and imposing the only one correct result that should be achieved by the end of reasoning. Memes are easy to acquire and penetrate into consciousness for the reason of the fact that all necessary information has been done, and memes only help rethink it.

- The ability to carry popularity without being understood. It is not necessary to grasp memes, all their aspects and associations evoking completely for the memes to spread successfully. Not even meme authors themselves can do that. Some popular memes appeared from occasional slips. Every meme can evoke different associations that depend upon the background of the communication participant. Some people can comprehend memes deeply, other people would understand memes on superficial level, restricting to emotional criticism of provocative information that memes contain. Every meme attracts attention due its amusing character and is kept in memory for a long time. Any good meme influences the subconscious level partly when the person cannot understand absolutely what is funny or irritating in it. The meme will be kept in the memory until the person realizes individually the message transmitted or replaces the memes contents from the consciousness. Emotionally colored memes are reflected in a better way. First memes catch the person's memory, and then the person individually comes to a certain extent of their understanding.
- The ability to be a social "virus". Memes can evoke emotions and then provoke people to transmit the information about them to the others. So memes start manipulating the consciousness and modifying outlook of the communication process participants. That is the mechanism for memes to attract people's attention to new facts or existed stereotypes that need to be re-considered and re-interpreted. The first spontaneous response is to prohibit and censor memes. But in fact the latter assist in mass awareness of new information and play a catalytic role in the process. Popular memes not only address relevant information to a large number of people, but also are the base of wide public response. Constant critical thinking and re-thinking are the part and parcel of social life. In that connection memes are not viruses, but advance vaccination against forthcoming real social problems.
- The ability to represent the collective unconscious at verbal form expression moment. The base of any successful meme is some part of the collective subconscious, the subject that was censored and considered to be unacceptable. Meme is an efficient way to overcome the barrier in the conscious of many people. This cannot be done by information. The real meme contents is camouflaged to distract attention from conservative and rational thinking at least for some time and penetrate into the communication process participant's subconscious by means of indirect associations. Successful meme should reveal the society's implicit tension, concentrate attention to disproportion of fact perception and give verbal designation. Its reward is in its eternal life becoming part of the language, literary norm, set word-combination. Popular successful meme is a prototype of a new word reflecting a new fact realized by the society. The new fact designates a new phenomenon gradually becoming well-known.

Memes are prototypes of new notions, the result of their innovative comprehension, point of growth and development of the public self-awareness.

- The ability to be an information melting pot. Being a convenient means making the spread and exchange processes easy and quick within the course of social thinking of a problem, the Internet is a key link in the processes of meme spread and mutation. Mass access to the Internet channel of information exchange serves as the source and generator of the Internet memes. All successful memes are created by people in the communication process. In the process of meme creation more and more people are involved as full participants. The growth of average speed of provider connection is a start-up for new Internet memes.
- The ability to be created by new technologies. Memes that are generated by new technologies are called T-memes. The technical possibilities to disseminate qualitative multi-media contents (films, music) are of more importance than teaching meme creation scientific principles. Earlier memes were spread through folklore, anecdotes and tape-recorders, later memes were generated through new communication means and new media (the Internet and mobile connections). The growth of modern technologies has come to the fact there is no need to create anything from scratch. Due to advanced equipment one can find a forgotten piece of art and enter it into a new cultural context. Anyone can distribute the individual idea or art work in the Internet and get a community quick response in the interactive format almost immediately.
- In the information epoch it is important to analyze the information warfare efficiency as a strategic effect achievement technology in the political aspect.
- It is useful to present differential parameters of the “information warfare” notion in the conceptual context that is determined by me as targeted and conscious actions aimed at mass and individual consciousness to achieve informative and pragmatic dominance by means of objective aspect misrepresentation information imposing, damaging information policy of the opposite party.
- In information warfare format emotional influence is a dominant aspect and it counters rational and analytical perception.
- Basing on the fact that emotions precede and accompany cognitive processes it is experimentally proved (Brown, 1998) that a communication process participant including an information consumer realizes message emotional component at the stage preceding subject and logical information comprehension that is contained in any communication piece (transmitted orally or in the written way). Some researchers experimentally proved that emotional information is memorized better in the qualitative (i.e., quicker and more lasting) way comparing with generalized information distracting from “emotionally supported” information.
- Emotional reflection of situational realities of modern Ukraine in the language comes through emotional cognition kind. It is the one when the subject reflects the world in the form of emotional images in their connection to the subject’s interests, i.e., the interested language personality.

- As a result perception realities reflection field of emotionally colored and incentive force nature is created.
- Analyzing motivation of information emotional representation introduction it is relevant to point out that emotions accompanying and painting the cognition process transform the reflection mechanism into reproduction and domination in emotional word aspect comprehension through evaluation stage. Thus, subjective attitudes of information producers, but not objective events are reflected depending upon the aim setting of their speech activities that correspond with the information warfare demands.
- The above-mentioned results are methodological base of information warfare realization against the background of person's emotional memory and emotional anticipation phenomenon.
- Hence, information warfare is one of virtual war kinds. Despite the above-mentioned fact, civilization “invented” the information warfare phenomenon a long time ago—in ancient times. These rules were used during the World War II, the Vietnam War, the Angolan Civil War, the Georgian-Ossetian conflict, and the war in the South-East Ukraine at present stage.
- Alongside with information warfare type there are conceptual, cyber, psychological, economic and sanctions war kinds.

The substantial prolegomena of information and conceptual wars are different. The information war base there is a struggle for facts; the conceptual war basis is knowledge.

Conceptual wars were more efficient in the 1990-s comparing with information ones as the changed facts are the base for changing decisions. At present stage information wars are most efficient as there is no demand for facts on the base of the knowledge changed and the communication process participant makes necessary decisions.

Information warfare can be based on memes as cultural information units in the idea form, i.e., consciously and unconsciously transmitted from person to person by means of verbal and nonverbal communication means.

One of the instances of such kind of practice is information warfare dealing with Ukraine at modern stage: the state coup took place on February 21, 2014, and a part of Ukrainian citizens refused to obey illegitimate power—all those things are interpreted by the Ukrainian mass media as a conflict with Russia.

One of the memes is “the West is better than Russia”. It is cultivated by ideas of freedom, order, quality, and welfare. It follows that Ukraine should move to Europe joining the European Union and follow all the European Union structures recommendations.

The instance of another meme is the following: “Russia does not develop, but degrades”. It also follows that Ukraine and Russia have different ways and no common future. And the Ukrainian people should fight with those leaders who make an attempt to develop historic connections with Russia.

The next meme consists in the following: “The Kremlin can zombie the retarded”. The aims of this wording are reflected in creation of the totalitarian image of the Kremlin.

Not of less importance at modern stage of the Ukrainian crisis is the meme: “Russia cannot have enemies”. This meme is necessary to boost confidence to the information coming from the West and discredit the attempts to reveal anti-Russian lie.

Memes are disseminated through mass media and influence people’s consciousness. The phenomenon was thoroughly studied by Rushkoff (1995).

The method of information warfare in the form of throw false information that is called hoax or fake should be taken into consideration. There is some sort of difference between hoax and fake that is the presence of visual object (photo or video) in the first case done for another reason. For instance, the statement of Ukrainian mass media about the separatists’ involvement (in the terminology of the Ukrainian authorities) in rocket attack of Lugansk on June 2, 2014, constant success of the Ukrainian army and unconditional support of new authorities in the South-East of Ukraine.

Another speech example of throwing false information involves the President of Ukraine Petr Poroshenko who stated the intervention of the Russian combat materiel to the territory of Ukraine and its partly destroy by the Ukrainian troops on August 15, 2014. This message was published on the official site of the President of Ukraine. (<http://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/30998.html>).

It is remarkable to get to know argumentation of the President of Ukraine Petr Poroshenko dealing with authenticity of information, “the information is authentic . . . as the considerable part of the combat materiel was destroyed by the Ukrainian artillery at night” (<http://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/30998.html>). In reply the official representative of the Russian military office major general Igor Konashenkov stated the possible development of the scenario, “the Ukrainian party will demonstrate its burnt combat materiel” (<http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/32197771/poroshenkl#ixzz3AagZBTyh>).

The bias, lie and falsifications are the most spread forms of information warfare manifestation.

According to Russian and Ukrainian politologists’ versions different media figures are called to ensure information throw—Dmitriy Tymchuk and Dmitriy Kiselev correspondingly.

It is purposeful to note that information warfare cannot change person’s convictions. This function is performed by the conceptual warfare. In the first case we change information, in the second case we change knowledge. The latter is more lasting thing than information.

The fact can be unchanged, but transformation of its comprehension leads to new consequences. The situation is typical of the south-east Ukraine, too, when the supporters of sweep operations representing the Ukrainian government are called liberators, and the ones from the south-east Ukraine are called terrorists. This designation is not of verbal character, but is based on the conceptual matrix trigger.

The choice of a certain variant automatically triggers the rest of the matrix elements.

The next typical example is “Google Translate” that translates the word “rebels” from English into Russian as “insurgents” and “gunmen” depending on the context:

Pro-Russian rebels—pro-Russian gunmen;

Pro-Ukrainian rebels—pro-Ukrainian insurgents.

In this case Google reflects built-in information picture, but does not create it.

The conceptual warfare deals with the deep structures. Some of them are called frames. Lakoff considers them to be mental structures that are the base of mental processes (Lakoff, 2009; Lakoff & Wehling, 2012).

There are functioning pathways in cyberspace in the cyberwar format: attack, defense, and dependence, according to Clarke (2014).

Libicki differentiated two kinds of structures for alien messages entrance (not values)—“markets” and “castles” (Libicki, 2007). The “market” can allow any alien messages and the “castle” tries to defend from them. The researcher states that there was no real cyberwar in the world yet. Estonia and Georgia are given as cases of irritation.

From the point of view of Clarke (2014) Ukraine takes the fourth place in the world in cyberattacks number at modern stage. The cyber correlation pathway reflects the dependence of the country on information and conceptual dimensions.

Information and conceptual attacks try to occupy a higher level to make the defense impossible. In his connection information (false, casual, unverified) is transmitted and interpreted as knowledge, some facts—as a rule.

Conceptual attacks are revealed in the sphere of arts that make them to be a powerful charge of influencing mass and individual consciousness. The message in the form of a book, film, performance is made by means of synchronic transmission of several texts. The information consumer tracks only one of them, the rest penetrate into the subcortex of the brain at random.

The information warfare is manifested on verbal level, too. For instance, the attitudes to the events and people is revealed in addressing of Mayor of Kiev Vitaliy Klichko who called the participants of Kiev independence square before and after the elections of the President of Ukraine differently—first with respect (“regime fighters”), and then with disrespect (“idlers”, “bandits”, “provocateurs”, “garbage”).

The same situation can be seen in relation with verbal game of information warfare on the side of the south-east Ukraine. For instance, the Ukrainian government’s indignation is directed to naming the Ukrainian army—“punishers”, the Ukrainian government—“Kiev junta”.

Modern situation in Ukraine can be characterized as polytypical warfare when some features of information, cyber, sanction, psychological and economic war types are revealed.

In the format of the latest Ukrainian events the notion often used is sanction warfare that is determined by us (there are no accurate definitions) as a conflict

between political formations taking place when influencing measures introduction form of one or both parties with possible unfavorable consequences.

Some researchers point to a certain subtype of information warfare between Ukraine and Russia at present—the one determined by differentiation of the characters, well-known historic events get new interpretations. Fursov as a trend representative states that the aim of such warfare kind is designated in the form of destruction of the opponent's psychosphere organization achieved by introduction of false information flow, own concepts of his (her) selfness in space and time and depriving him (her) of one's own senses and values imposing alien ones—of destructing character (Fursov, 2014). In this connection it is important to distinguish relevant psychoattacks—historic memory covering sign events and figures.

The appearance of public figures on Russian TV channels is also an indicator of information warfare in the opinion of some mass communication researchers. For instance, the appearance of A. Prokhanov and A. Dugin in V. Soloviev's TV programs can be considered as the demand for "hawks" by the Russian authorities. Such information practice is a part of information warfare—the spread of militant peace model.

It is necessary to deal with the problems of prevention and counteraction to information warfare. As system measures one can consider the organization of system counter-propaganda directed at public opinion formation.

All the policy of information warfare counteraction is formulated on the base of country sovereignty protection in the information sphere.

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23.1 Introduction

This paper sheds light on how the digital transformation changes traditional communication networks and how emerging social media tools provide benefits to workers in production environments. The fast development in information technology challenges the way of how firms operate (Mickeleit, Müller, & Atchison, 2012, p. 342). The skill requirements for job tasks and activities change, while conceptual work, interdisciplinary thinking and creativity become more important (Münchener Kreis e.V., 2015, p. 18). The importance of knowledge sharing and worker flexibility increases as well (Pfisterer, Streim, & Hampe, 2013, p. 5). The definition of knowledge by Probst et al. embraces this statement. Probst et al. define knowledge as the whole set of “skills and information, which individuals use to solve problems. This definition includes theoretical insights as well as every day and practical recommendations. (...) Knowledge therefore is personal.” (Probst, Raub, & Romhardt, 2012, p. 23, translated).

According to an IAO study, 80 % of German manufacturing firms expect to qualify their staff in order to meet the requirements for flexibility and working with often changing tasks and assignments (Spath et al., 2014, pp. 86–87). The transformation also causes faster (consumer) demand changes. To adapt, firms have to establish processes for coordinating production and engineering. 75.9 % of the manufacturing firms in the study (Spath, Weisbecker, Peissner, & Hipp, 2013, p. 111) state that there should be a faster feedback loop for knowledge gained from daily operations (Spath et al., 2014, pp. 107–112). To address the growing demand for knowledge transfer social media tools can facilitate the sharing of knowledge among workers on the shop floor level. Social media are web-based

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platforms on which humans share ideas, thoughts and content (Scott, Engel, & Welter, 2014, p. 90). Researchers have been discussing the application of social media tools within firms for knowledge management purposes (see for example Levy, 2009, p. 128; McAfee, 2006, p. 23; Razmerita, Kirchner, & Sudzina, 2009, p. 1022; Schneckenberg, 2009, pp. 517–518) or their implementation in recent studies (Gretsch, 2015, pp. 29–38; Levy, 2013, pp. 752 f.). However, these studies focus on a general application of social media tools within worker-centric environments, lacking the needed specifications and requirements for production environments. As companies already released several tools in the last years providing knowledge management or social media functionalities, it is difficult to differentiate between the concepts implemented, the benefit they provide and their applicability in production environments. Even worse, the boundaries of social media tools on the one hand and information visualization tools for production on the other hand vanish as well. A classification for social media concepts therefore helps to provide insight about the benefits and limitations of their application. This leads to the following questions:

1. What are the key concepts of social media tools in production and what are the differences compared to traditional social media solutions?
2. How can firms identify use cases in which social media facilitates knowledge management?

To answer these questions, the authors propose a classification framework, based on previous work by Levy, McAfee and O'Reilly. The framework integrates different concepts of social media tools. Companies and researchers can use the framework as a navigator, in order to classify different tools, depending on their functionalities and features, to identify use cases and estimate the benefit of such implementations in production. This paper expands and simultaneously specifies the current approaches to worker-centric environments in production. For a basic understanding of the implications of knowledge management in production, the next section provides a summarized view of relevant literature. The following section then outlines the foundations of the framework. In the final section two use cases demonstrate the applicability of the framework.

23.2 Knowledge Management in Production Environments

Knowledge improves the competitive position: aggregating knowledge in times of high competition and environmental uncertainty and integrating it into an innovation process can lead to a sustainable competitive advantage (Nonaka, Takeuchi, & Mader, 1997, pp. 14–16). Drucker established the term “knowledge worker” (Drucker, 2010) to designate the key employee in today’s firms. Traditional knowledge workers are employees working in marketing, in social media sectors, the creative industry and media. They require problem solving skills as well as a creative mindset. Consequently, engineers and software developers are also

knowledge workers, because they need problem solving skills as an important part in their everyday work. Likewise, mechanics working on the shop floor or in warehouses need a well-developed set of problem solving skills to tackle the new production tasks (e.g., monitoring production processes) to adapt to changing demand patterns and to make decisions in a highly uncertain environment (Spath et al., 2013, pp. 107–112). The workers require task specific information and personalized visualizations of data (Spath et al., 2013, p. 17). Berawi and Woodhead (2005) elaborate that “Knowledge management in production systems produces a synergy between technology, behaviors, and human innovation that is necessary to compete and survive in the challenging global manufacturing marketplace” (Berawi & Woodhead, 2005, p. 256). More explicitly, they explain that “Knowledge management is now being recognized as a core skill of any successful manufacturing organization” (Berawi & Woodhead, 2005, p. 250).

Companies can only create value from knowledge of employees, if this knowledge is integrated in or related to the products of this company (Teece, 2000, p. 37). Furthermore, products must meet customer demands regarding quality, functionality, on-time delivery, and budget. Thus, the production process itself has to be flexible and yet stable enough to meet these requirements. If this is not the case, the competitive advantage of a firm possibly deteriorates. Indicators of this decline are, in terms of knowledge management activities,

- a) “unspecific work descriptions,
- b) noncompliance to standards,
- c) low quality services and products, and
- d) ethical issues” (Berawi & Woodhead, 2005, p. 251).

Managing relevant factors of knowledge management in production systems is highly important for the firms’ success (Berawi & Woodhead, 2005, p. 253). These factors include performance and ability topics, such as innovation, information management and organization on the one hand, and changes in the environment, the stakeholder expectations as well as the company progress and the skill and experience of the firm on the other hand (Berawi & Woodhead, 2005, p. 253). Researchers in production management, especially lean manufacturing experts, recognize workers’ knowledge and the organization of information as an important factor for an efficient production flow (see for example Takeda, 2013, pp. 5–6; Töpfer, 2009, p. 3). Stocker draws the same conclusion concerning the importance of knowledge management in production. He also states that there is a significant lack in production-centric knowledge management literature, even though these settings require different approaches than standard working environments. He also suggests using web 2.0 technologies (Stocker, Brandl, Michalczyk, & Rosenberger, 2014, p. 209). However, it yet has to be described, how social media concepts can connect and enable knowledge sharing to fit the role of a knowledge catalyst in worker-centric environments. The next section introduces this approach.

23.3 Social Media for Knowledge Management Purposes

23.3.1 Social Media

O'Reilly introduced the concept of social media in 2005. He presents a set of necessary prerequisites and competencies for social media or Web 2.0 tools, summarized as follows:

1. "Lightweight user interfaces and development models
2. Services, not packaged software, with cost-effective scalability
3. Users Add Value
4. Trusting users as co-developers
5. Network Effects by Default
6. Harnessing collective intelligence
7. Control over unique, hard-to-create data sources which get richer the more people use them
8. Software above the level of a single device" (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 5).

To understand the key concepts behind social media tools, the definition provided by Scott et al. (2014) emphasizes the sharing and social aspect of the tools more strongly than the competencies introduced by O'Reilly. Their focus lies on enabling people to share ideas and thus, knowledge. Levy's Knowledge Management 2.0 approach (Levy, 2009, p. 128) and McAfee's Enterprise 2.0 concept (McAfee, 2006, p. 23) provide key concepts and frameworks, which can also work for a general understanding of how companies can use social media tools in production environments.

23.3.2 Levy's Knowledge Management 2.0

Levy identifies key principles, which match knowledge management tools and Web 2.0 concepts. Further, she states that these tools have to co-evolve within a company to facilitate knowledge sharing functionalities (Levy, 2009, p. 129). Her concepts of web 2.0 technologies in the realm of knowledge management are:

- a. "WEB as a platform
- b. Service development
- c. Active participation of users
- d. The perpetual beta
- e. The service improves automatically, the more it is used
- f. Collective intelligence (the long tail)
- g. Content as the core
- h. (Rich user experience development via small modules)" (Levy, 2009, p. 130).

Levy mentions that the user experience of the tool is not an important factor for knowledge management activities. Nevertheless, both Levy and O'Reilly consider enriched user experiences for social media tools to help establish the tool. Levy further elaborates that social media tools generally fit into knowledge management activities, though their success is highly dependent on a trust and partnership culture within firms. Tools also often lack the user base to harness the collective intelligence (Levy, 2009, p. 132). She points out some key aspects and similarities of social media and knowledge management, namely the information sharing and self-structuring aspects for knowledge workers. These concepts are highly focused on traditional knowledge management activities and therefore on traditional working environments. It has yet to be proven, whether they fit into production environments.

23.3.3 McAfee's SLATES

McAfee (2006) employs a more technical approach. He introduces a technology concept, called SLATES, which stands for

- i. Search,
- ii. Links,
- iii. Authorship,
- iv. Tags,
- v. Extensions and
- vi. Signals (McAfee, 2006, pp. 23–25).

The first two terms emphasize the value of links for searching through content. Links provide, for example, a measure for the relevance of the search result. McAfee describes Authorship as a way to enable users to create content by themselves. Additionally, users can apply tags to structure information. This aspect embraces the collective intelligence of the user network. Extensions in this case refer to tools and algorithms, which can help to search for information more precisely or to share relevant content. RSS feeds implement the feed signals to the reader that there is new content available.

For a classification framework in production, there are still too many fuzzy boundaries. For example, Levy does not specify the platform character of her framework and it does not become clear how to implement her framework for social media tools. The study also lacks specifications of the necessary design elements for these tools. Conversely, McAfee's SLATES incorporates the technological components to build an application, but does not specify the benefits of social media concepts for knowledge workers in production environments. Thus, there is a need to define more clearly what a social media application for production workers is. Which functionalities should a social media tool provide on a minimum level? What technological concepts should developers and companies use? The next section will describe the methodology to find answers to these questions.

23.4 Methodology

The methodology of this paper consists of two steps. One of the key aspects is to provide a general understanding of how companies can use social media concepts in worker-centric environments for knowledge management applications, especially on shop floors. Accordingly, the authors develop a framework based on Levy's conceptual approach, O'Reilly's Web 2.0 definition and McAfee's technology SLATES. The framework combines organizational and technological perspectives and integrates these perspectives into one coherent framework. O'Reilly's study embraces the key concepts of today's Web 2.0 and social media applications. It works as a foundation for the concepts of other authors. McAfee's focus on technological concepts demonstrates the value and impact of technology applications regarding the purposes of the tool. He approaches the technology not as an end by itself, but on a conceptual, general level, which means that the framework can integrate SLATES as well. Levy emphasizes social media and knowledge management aspects and therefore provides a well-founded view of the organizational perspective. Levy and McAfee already consider social media tools for knowledge management activities, so the authors expect a general fit of the researchers' concepts.

The second step is the application of this framework as a proof-of-concept. The authors of this paper analyze and categorize two case studies that describe tools for production environments. Based on their classification, they deduce a general interpretation of how manufacturers can apply social media concepts in production environments.

23.5 Integrating the Classification Framework for Social Media in Production

To integrate the various concepts of the three studies¹ mentioned above, the authors reorganize the core functionalities of the concepts and assign them to generic categories. The method allows to compare the different aspects and to detect functional similarities. The next paragraph introduces the categories, the assignments and the integrated key ideas.

All three studies recognize the *platform character* (Table 23.1, 1) of social media tools, even though there are some specifics, varying in terms of implementation. Besides the technical focus from O'Reilly and McAfee (bullet ii, see chapter before), Levy regards the application platform as a central location (bullet a.), where everyone connects to and shares ideas or content. Her idea is about the way of enabling users, about the benefits the tool provides in terms of knowledge management functionalities.

¹See chapter *Social media for knowledge management purposes*.

Table 23.1 Generic categories

ID	Category	Integrated
1	Platform character	2, 7, H, a), ii
2	Services (specific, lightweight)	1, 2, 7, H, b), g), i, ii, iv
3	User participation	3, 4, c), h), iii, iv
4	Perpetual beta	1, 4, d), vi, v
5	Network effects	4, 5, 7, e), ii, vi
6	Collective intelligence	6, f), v, iv, ii

O'Reilly's scalable services (bullet 2) are assigned to several categories. Scalable services are important for the platform character of a tool, because they allow accessing the functionality of the platform on-demand.² This allows the orchestration of services for lightweight, flexible programs and thus, social media tools. Developers can also reuse these old services for platform-independent implementations of new tools and applications.

O'Reilly, Levy and McAfee all focus on *user participation*. Users not only create knowledge or content, they also share the content. Additionally, social media tools enable new ways of direct communicating between two persons, like the expert finding tools described by Gretsch (2015, pp. 68–74). These integrate the community building functions of social media tools (Razmerita et al., 2009, p. 1033). O'Reilly extends user participation to the actual development of the tool itself.³ This works hand in hand with the *perpetual beta* (Table 23.1, 4), which means that the developers can update the tool much more often and that there is no or nearly no stable release.

Network Effects (Tables 23.1, 5) describe the effects that the amount and quality of the information the tool provides increases, the more users are actively involved. As a result the service improves and the content grows with increasing user numbers (Levy's bullet e., McAfee's bullet iv, above.). More users can also help to develop the tool by adding their expertise. Users in need of support in their work process can access a large base of potential experts. It is obvious that network effects require a minimum of user participation, because without user-generated content, there is no knowledge to share and to provide. This means, the users have to cooperate and communicate on an organizational level. Additionally, developers have to implement the technical features for information sharing, for example through links. This is even more important for the harnessing of *collective intelligence* (Table 23.1, 6), for example the self-structuring of user knowledge and linking this knowledge with tags (McAfee, 2006, pp. 23–25). Through harnessing collective intelligence, more users add knowledge and extensive insights into a large number of topics (Levy, 2009, p. 130; Razmerita et al., 2009, p. 1026).

²This is similar to the cloud computing paradigm, where supposedly every functionality of software or information systems can be provided as a service (XaaS).

³This refers to bullet 3 and 4 of O'Reilly in the chapter *Social media for knowledge management purposes*.

Table 23.2 Social media classification framework

Layer	Aspects		
Technological layer	Service architecture	Data driven	Lightweight interfaces
Integration layer	Network effects	Collective intelligence	Platform character
Organizational layer	User participation	Content sharing	Collaboration

Harnessing collective intelligence is not exclusively about using user knowledge for specific activities. Harnessing collective intelligence also emphasizes on the metadata, which is part of the participation process of the users. The social media tool automatically collects and analyzes data on locations, routes or skill profiles to optimize certain job tasks on shop floor level (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 5).

Table 23.1 shows the integrated concepts.

Not only do these concepts lead to the use of social media tools. It is also essential how these concepts interact. Therefore, the framework (Table 23.2) provides three layers, which help companies and researchers to understand the interplay and the focal point of the concepts. Focusing on each layer, the authors can analyze tools, whether they fit the requirements for a social media tool and whether companies can use them in production environments. The first layer focusses on the technological concepts and stacks used. The integration layer describes the Web 2.0 concepts of the analyzed tool, while the organizational layer targets the knowledge management aspect and differentiates between different use cases.

23.5.1 Technological Layer

In the technological layer, service development is a distinctive factor of a social media tool. On shop floor level, this offers the opportunity to exactly implement the functions needed. Services provide these functionalities if requested “on-demand”. Through the client–server principle, the device for the worker can be very small, because the computation executes on the server. Other applications can reuse these services, thus allowing for lightweight interfaces. However, lightweight interfaces also represent a well-defined user interface through which the user calls the information s/he needs without having to navigate through several tables. The application should be heavily data driven and provide information about the production process as well as about certain activities, products and machines. This is what Levy called “content driven” (see above and Levy, 2009, p. 130). It is also necessary to provide a database for metadata and user-generated content in order to analyze these data-rich environments for hidden patterns or optimization possibilities, thus, for harnessing collective intelligence. Storing user data and a service-architecture satisfy the technical requirements for the categories collective intelligence, user participation and the service employment. However, there are

downsides regarding the perpetual beta (Table 23.1, 4) and the reuse of services (Table 23.1, 2) as well. Based on Berawi's analysis for production systems (Berawi & Woodhead, 2005, p. 251), one of the main goals of a social media tool in production is to comply with standards and quality assurance, thus supporting the stability of the process. This implies that the data has to be accessible at all times, so the perpetual beta is feasible, or at least, there is more management overhead expected for using this concept.

23.5.2 Organizational Layer

There are several similar concepts involved in *the organizational layer* when addressing user benefits. The focus lies on user participation and collaboration, which corresponds to the traditional goals of knowledge management. The common concept of user participation is that the users of the tools create content, structure content through tags (McAfee, 2006, pp. 23–25) or are even engaged in the development process of the tool (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 5). For distinction purposes, the authors divide participation into content creation, content sharing functionalities and direct collaboration. Content creation includes, for example, designing a product or writing a text. Content sharing includes posting text such as comments on websites or sending pictures. Collaboration captures that worker actively help each other in a peer-to-peer fashion.

23.5.3 Integration Layer

Some concepts emphasize organizational as well as technological aspects. The technological foundation of the platform character for example includes the light-weight interfaces and the service architecture of the tool. Additionally, the platform character defines the single access-point for users to work with this tool, similar to *facebook's* main page, where information from different sources is aggregated and visualized. Therefore, the authors compose an integration layer, which works as a bridge between the bare technology and the user-based, i.e., organizational concepts. Due to the network effect, users benefit from the larger amount of information while larger amounts of metadata help to improve the optimization algorithms. To utilize the effect, developers should integrate it with user participation or content sharing in order to enlarge the network. A one to one relation for content sharing, like direct messaging of pictures, does not provide any network-related benefits. Nevertheless, companies can realize network effects through tracking many users to derive profiles in working environments. Additionally, the integration of metadata and data from user participation leads to new opportunities for harnessing collective intelligence through algorithms. As mentioned above, harnessing collective intelligence is heavily data-focused and can provide huge benefits to workers, for example, through providing the best help description for a specific task. The centrality of an application characterizes the platform character of

a tool. Users access the platform through a central point on a web-server. Users connect to the application via a device with a suitable user interface, e.g., mobile phones or tablets.

Using their framework the authors evaluate two case studies whether the provided tools can be applied as social media tools for knowledge management purposes.

23.6 Social Media Concepts in Production: Case Studies

The authors use two case studies to test and explicate the functionality of the developed framework. The cases introduce two tools developed by Fraunhofer Institute for Industrial Engineering (IAO) in Stuttgart. They focus on enabling workers on shop floor level to participate in the decision making process in production and help to provide and to distribute additional task information. The tools are

1. EPIK and
2. KapaflexCy.

The authors of this paper describe the main functionalities of these tools, the ideas behind the tools and their main use cases. Afterwards the authors use the developed framework from Table 23.2 to categorize them.

23.6.1 Functionalities of Case 1: EPIK

The IAO describes EPIK on their web page and in articles (Fraunhofer-Institut für Arbeitswirtschaft und Organisation IAO, 2012a; Spath et al., 2013, pp. 69–71). The tool is a mobile task manager for production environments. Workers can organize their tasks through a task list, which provides information about how and where to carry out the work.

Based on the skill profile of a worker, the tool shows only relevant information of this task to the worker (e.g., a highly experienced worker only receives condensed instructions). EPIK matches the worker's abilities and expertise with the skills the machine requires. Afterwards EPIK sends the tasks to the worker, who in turn can confirm the task through a human-machine interface. Additionally, the tool provides communication functionalities, e.g., a comment function for tasks. Furthermore, workers can share comments among each other and send help requests to co-workers if they need support for specific tasks. These, in turn, can accept or decline the request. The IAO optimized the tool in terms of user experience and usability (Spath et al., 2013, pp. 69–71). It also includes a location and routing functionality for workers (Fraunhofer-Institut für Arbeitswirtschaft und

Organisation IAO, 2012c) to navigate through the plant or warehouse to find certain products or facilities. Implementation in Java offers platform-independence (Fraunhofer-Institut für Arbeitswirtschaft und Organisation IAO, 2012b).

23.6.2 Categorizing Case 1: EPIK

EPIK uses a database for the task information and is therefore data driven. It also provides a light-weighted web-interface for the user. It encourages user participation through comments on tasks which the worker can share. The tool provides functionalities similar to expert finding tools with a call button for help requests. It lacks collective intelligence features; however, it clearly embraces the network effect. Summarizing it can be stated that EPIK provides most of the functionalities and concepts of social media tools on a smaller scale and can be applied for more specific use cases.

23.6.3 Functionalities of Case 2: KapaflexCy

KapaflexCy stands for “capacity flexibility within cyber-physical systems” (Gerlach, 2012, p. 1). It is a mobile solution for the planning of worker capacities on shop floor level (Spath et al., 2013, pp. 72–73). Spath describes that it works as a platform, to which everyone can connect through an app on a mobile device. Associated with the worker is his or her personal skill profile, or competence profile. Actual order demands set the operation time of the machines in every production shift. To operate the machines, a worker needs a specific skill profile. Additionally, the capacity of a specific worker with the required skill profile should be available to finish the production order in time. The machine communicates the actual demand of skills directly to the platform. A network connects every machine and integrates them into the cyber-physical system. The machine uses this network to transfer the demand to KapaflexCy (Gerlach & Rosenbusch, 2013, pp. 4–6) and requests specific skills for particular timeslots. Using the app workers enter their personal capacity and availability. Based on machine and worker constraints (capacity, availability, skill profiles, and time accounts) a scheduling algorithm selects and assigns the workers to the tasks. The algorithm balances the employment of the workers, so that no one feels ignored or omitted. In any case workers have the final say by accepting task assignments or initiating coordination processes among themselves. The IAO implemented the application platform with Java, so companies can use the tool on most devices (Gerlach & Rosenbusch, 2013, pp. 1–4).

23.6.4 Categorizing Case 2: KapaflexCy

KapaflexCy provides a lightweight interface on the technological level which workers can access through various devices as well as web services. It is data driven and combines worker profiles and machine data. On a personal level, it encourages participation and collaboration. The scheduling and capacity planning algorithm makes use of a huge dataset, provided by users. Increasing utilization through workers highly improves the results of the calculation in the integration layer. Therefore, it strongly uses the network effect. The scheduling algorithm works as an extension introduced by McAfee (see above). It also harnesses collective intelligence. KapaflexCy provides a platform for discussing demands and facilitates self-organization on the shop floor level. The tool has a comparable specific use case in production environments, whereas its key concept, enabling worker flexibility, can be adapted to various other situations.

23.7 Discussion and Conclusion

Social media tools for production environments provide knowledge management functionalities (Stocker et al., 2014, p. 209), especially for collaboration and ad-hoc help, as the EPIK case demonstrates. Frameworks for social media implementations for common knowledge workers, e.g., employees working in offices, use a more general approach in connecting workers' needs and knowledge management functionalities, similar to newsfeeds, wikis, blogs or instant messaging. The traditional knowledge worker paradigm (Gretsch, 2015, pp. 68–74; Levy, 2013, pp. 742–743) where workers can use notebooks or wide screen solutions is often the foundation of such tools. Expanding this paradigm to workers in production environments, the authors sought to find the key concepts of social media tools in production and their differences to traditional social media tools. They propose a framework for the classification of social media implementations in professional environments. Organizations can use the developed framework to analyze the concepts of social media solutions as a key enabler to knowledge management. The framework was evaluated through applying it to two case studies from production settings.

This study shows that social media tools in production also apply concepts of traditional social media tools. Especially social media concepts such as creating and sharing knowledge can improve the quality of production processes (Berawi & Woodhead, 2005, pp. 249–256). They help to harness workers' knowledge and provide functionalities for self-organization within production settings. These environments often lack the possibility of accessing websites or programs through notebooks and desktop computers. Instead, mobile devices dominate the shop floor. Therefore, knowledge management solutions focus on platform independent service solutions, as demonstrated by EPIK and KapaflexCy. Their platform character enables a wide range of data driven services. Consequently, the integration of machine-data into these platforms enhances the utility of the tools. In contrast to

traditional social media platforms, which strongly emphasize human communication, manufacturers design and implement these tools for specific use cases. Their features will be more distinct than the known B2C platforms. Comparing the user bases of open social networking sites to the examined platforms, the user base in closed environments is much smaller, thus they lack metadata and large-scale collective intelligence functionalities. It has yet to be evaluated, whether generic platform solutions similar to Facebook and Sharepoint can be used in production environments.

Identifying use cases for social media tools to help facilitate knowledge sharing is another important issue for companies. In order to help manufacturers understand the benefits of social media concepts, the developed framework provides a solid foundation for examining complex worker-centric production processes. The actual implementation and the utilization of such tools highly depend on their usability. Both evaluated tools use touch screens and mobile apps for accessing their functionalities. However, in environments where hands and fingers are gloved or dirty, companies have to consider other ways of interacting with the device. Firms need a deep understanding of their production environment, its specifications and requirements, before considering social media tools as knowledge catalysts.

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Facebook Interruptions in the Workplace from a Media Uses Perspective: A Longitudinal Analysis

24

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24.1 Introduction

The development and uses of new communication technology in organizational settings has always been a challenge to communication within an organization (Fulk, Schmitz, & Steinfield, 1990; Rogers, 1988). This challenge is exacerbated when new communication technologies “become embedded, pervasive, and interconnected; they ARE wherever we are” (Rice, 2009, p. 718). Advances in information technology have increased the number of ways that people or groups can interrupt one another, which might impede or delay organizational members’ progress on tasks (Jett & George, 2003). Among all the types of new communication technology, social network sites (SNSs), which publicly display users’ social networks online, have generated worldwide concern over their potential effects on the workplace (e.g., Rooksby et al., 2009). One major concern is that the use of SNSs interrupts work—the technical characteristics of SNSs, which support instant messaging (IM), are interruptive by nature (Cameron & Webster, 2005; Renneker & Godwin, 2003).

As interruptions are a major concern in today’s workplaces and they are ubiquitous in organizational life (Fonner & Roloff, 2010; Garrett & Danziger, 2008; Hall, Pedersen, & Fairley, 2010; Jett & George, 2003), the present study attempts to explore whether the pervasive use of SNSs leads to a higher level of interruption in the workplace. As past research has suggested that the way communication technologies are used determines their effects (Fulk et al., 1990), the goal of this paper is to investigate the relationship between SNSs use and its related interruptions in organizational settings from a media uses perspective, particularly as to why and how SNSs are used in the workplace. Since the technology affordance of SNSs themselves have upgraded (changed) gradually and the uses of SNSs in the

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workplace may be contingent on the technology changes, the present study will examine SNSs uses in the workplace over two time points over a 4-year span. As Facebook is the most popular SNSs in Taiwan (CheckFacebook.com, 2014), it is used as the representative SNSs in this study.

This paper will employ media characteristics and social influence theories to understand why organizational members use Facebook, and will employ six purposes for using SNSs to understand how Facebook is used. The six purposes are: (a) organization of work; (b) knowledge-work activities; (c) socializing; (d) caring; (e) climbing; and (f) campaigning. These are integrated from previous IM and SNSs studies (Cho, Treir, & Kim, 2005; DiMicco et al., 2008).

24.2 Literature Review

24.2.1 Theories of Media Uses and SNSs

The two dominant theoretical perspectives regarding media uses are the media characteristics and the social information processing models (Chang & Johnson, 2001). The media characteristics model assumes that communication media and organizational tasks are optimally matched and will lead to better organizational performance (Daft & Lengel, 1986; Fulk et al., 1990; Short, William, & Christie, 1976). That is, communication media that are high in “social presence” and “media richness” should be matched with highly equivocal and uncertain tasks. Media that are high in social presence can not only increase the awareness of the physical presence, but also the psychological involvement between interacting partners (Biocca, Harms, & Burgoon, 2003). Highly rich media can provide instant feedback, allow for multiple cues, use natural language, and convey emotion. Face-to-face interaction is rated the richest medium, followed by telephone, electronic mail, letter and flier (Trevino, Daft, & Lengel, 1990).

Few studies have examined the uses of SNSs from the media characteristics perspective, yet in general, new communication media are high in social presence and media richness. For example, compared to traditional e-mail, avatar emails provide more cues, faster feedback, higher personal focus, and higher social presence (Lee, Kozar, & Larsen, 2009). Also, Kang, Watt, and Ala (2008) showed that users feel a higher sense of social co-presence when mobile video telephones are equipped with dynamic avatars. In addition, it has been suggested that IM is a combination of face-to-face interaction and email (Cho et al., 2005; Jacobson, 2008; Segerstad & Ljungstrand, 2002), and would therefore fall somewhere between the two on the media richness scale (Cameron & Webster, 2005). Thus, considering that the communication capacity of SNSs is much more powerful than that of IM, it would fall somewhere much closer to face-to-face interaction than IM on the media richness scale.

The richness of SNS enables its use for more equivocal and uncertain tasks in the workplace. Waldeck, Seibold, and Flanagin (2004) examined organizational members' media use during the socialization process using the media richness

and social influence theories. They found that organizational members consider richer media, such as SNSs, better than traditional media (such as memos or telephones) to obtain assimilation-related information. In other words, the characteristics of media can be used to predict its uses for socialization within an organization.

The social influence model, however, posits that media uses are jointly constructed by co-workers in the workplace, including how media characteristics are perceived (Fulk et al., 1990). The basic premise of the social influence model is that “the social context, through informational social influence processes, can affect beliefs about the nature of jobs and work, about what attitudes are appropriate. . .” (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978, p. 233). Thus, even the richness of a medium is determined by its users (Markus, 1994), mostly through the attitudes, statements and behaviors of co-workers (including supervisors) (Fulk, Steinfield, Schmitz, & Power, 1987, p. 537).

Although few studies have examined the uses of SNSs in the workplace from a social influence perspective, some have explored the importance of the social context of adopting a new communication medium in organizational settings. For example, Quan-Haase, Cothrel, and Wellman (2005) examined how employees of a high-tech firm used IM to collaborate with one another. They found that the first thing the employees did when they arrived at their workstations in the morning was log on to the IM system to indicate their availability to other employees. It is implicit in the culture norm that workers are expected to be logged on whenever they are physically present at the firm. This practice of collaborating with others using IM creates “a culture where most problems are solved by a network of people drawn into the problem-solving process whenever necessary” (p. 9).

In addition, Stephens and Davis (2009) demonstrated that social influence did account for media use in the workplace, especially the use of new communication technologies during face-to-face meetings. They observed that people tended to use multiple information technologies such as blackberries and web-enabled mobile phones during organizational meetings, and explored what it is that influences people to engage in such electronic multitasking behavior. The results indicated that co-workers’ use of electronic media plays an important role. When employees observed that their colleagues were multitasking electronically and perceived that electronic multitasking was acceptable in the organization, they increased their own electronic multitasking.

24.2.2 Purposes of Using SNSs

In addition to the above two dominant media-use approaches which explain why people use SNSs in organizational settings, a few empirical studies have directly examined how SNSs are used in the workplace. DiMicco et al. (2008) identified three major motivations for using SNSs through extensive interviews of SNS users: “caring”, “climbing” and “campaigning”. Caring refers to the personal satisfaction of connecting socially at work. Employees enjoy interacting even with co-workers

they don't know personally, getting to know one another online, which consequently encourages them to work together face to face. Climbing refers to the benefit of promoting oneself and making strategic connections for career advancement. Some organizational members deliberately communicate around topics of professional interest to a chosen community in order to demonstrate their expertise on a topic; others particularly focus on communicating with more senior staff so that they are known to upper management. Campaigning refers to people using SNSs to gather support for their projects, seeing SNSs "as a unique platform for promoting and campaigning for [a] project" (p. 717).

In order to fully understand how people use Facebook for different communication purposes, the present study incorporates results from Cho et al.'s (2005) study on IM uses in the workplace, as it is one of the few extant studies that systematically explores the purposes of media use, particularly concerning new communication technology in the workplace. The present study employs their frameworks to study how people use Facebook at work. Cho et al. (2005) identified three main purposes for using IM in the workplace: organizing work (preparing and announcing meetings, checking availability, etc.), knowledge-work activities (information sharing, problem solving, document transfers, etc.), and socializing (conversations not related to work).

24.2.3 Interruption and SNS Use

Interruptions are conceptualized as disruptions in organizational settings due to the use of new communication technology (Garrett & Danziger, 2008). The most cited definition is from O'Conail and Frohlich's study: "a synchronous interaction which is not initiated by the recipient, is unscheduled, and results in the recipient discontinuing their current activity" (1995, p. 262; see also Garrett & Danziger, 2008; Renneker & Godwin, 2003). O'Conail and Frohlich found that for 41 % of the interruptions, workers could not resume their work they were doing prior to the interruption. Following these findings, work interruptions were often negatively associated with productivity (Perlow, 1999) and positively associated with stress (Fonner & Roloff, 2010). Carton and Aiello (2009) even defined social interruptions as "frequent occurrences that often have distressing consequences for employees" (p. 169).

Based on such findings, Renneker and Godwin (2003) have stated that IM is interruptive by definition. They argued that the technical characteristics of IM, such as presence awareness, pop-up recipient notification, and polychronic communication, might increase the level of work interruption. If this is the case, Facebook, which integrates all these communication functions, as well as IM, message boards, video and online games, might be a greater source of interruption in the workplace than IM alone.

When people use Facebook, they could be forced to decide whether or not to switch from their current activity to answer a message, which would cause a break in concentration. According to Jett and George (2003), a communication medium

possessing these characteristics greatly intrudes on “the flow and continuity of an individual’s work and brings that work to a temporary halt” (p. 495), and distracts from “focused concentration on a primary task” (p. 500). Thus it seems that the technical characteristics of Facebook contribute to an increased level of interruption in organizational settings.

Previous research on workplace interruptions has only considered unexpected intrusions initiated by another person (Garrett & Danziger, 2008; Renneker & Godwin, 2003). However, workers may also voluntarily use Facebook to socialize with friends and family, or just to play games. Therefore, for a more complete understanding of the interruptions caused by Facebook, this study employs Jett and George’s (2003) classifications of interruptions. In addition to intrusive interruptions, they have identified three other types of interruption: breaks, distractions and discrepancies.

According to Jett and George (2003), breaks refer to an anticipated or self-initiated time away from performing work. It can be determined by natural work flow, prescheduled work time, or spontaneously by organizational members. Distractions refer to the “psychological reactions triggered by external stimuli or secondary activities that interrupt focused concentration on a primary work” (p. 500), and often affect a person’s cognitive processes so that he or she cannot focus on primary work. Discrepancies occur when an individual perceives inconsistencies between his or her knowledge and expectations and what is happening in the external environment, interrupting one’s primary work by redirecting attention to the source of the inconsistency (p. 502).

Past research has not directly examined the associations between Facebook use and work interruption, but a few empirical studies have pointed out the negative consequences resulting from using SNSs in the workplace. These include wasting time, sharing inappropriate content, slandering co-workers or customers, self-disclosure for different audiences (different hierarchical levels of co-workers), crossing boundaries between private and working life, SNS addiction, and lowering overall employee productivity (Ferreira & du Plessis, 2009; Skeels & Grudin, 2009; TUC, 2007). Most of these issues are related to work interruption. For example, inappropriate content that concerns oneself would certainly intrude on one’s cognitive process and distract from one’s primary work. Also, the boundary between private and working life might be spontaneously crossed to maintain an individual’s social or professional life, causing a break in the work process to accommodate personal needs. In addition, being slandered on an SNS by a co-worker might generate inconsistency between an individual’s perception of him- or herself and other people’s perceptions of that person. Moreover, wasting time and SNS addiction are related to the distribution of limited time, which relate directly to employee productivity.

24.2.4 Research Questions

The present study attempts to understand the associations between Facebook use and the perceived level of Facebook interruption in the workplace. Two aspects of media uses are examined: why organizational members use Facebook and how Facebook is used. Why people use Facebook will be assessed by determining whether it is the technical characteristics of Facebook or the social context of Facebook use that leads to a higher level of interruption. The technical characteristics of Facebook—such as the public display of one’s social networks, IM, wall posters, photos and videos—increase the chances of interaction between and among Facebook users, which in turn leads to the possibility of a higher level of Facebook interruption.

Alternatively, the social context of Facebook use, especially the positive attitudes, statements and behaviors of co-workers concerning the use of Facebook, could create a working environment that connects colleagues through the Facebook network. Thus, employees would be expected to demonstrate an “always on” mode by logging onto Facebook as long as they are in the workplace. As Rice (2009) stated, new communication technologies “ARE wherever we are”; the use of Facebook among co-workers creates a social environment in which Facebook *is* wherever the employees are. These so-called “local virtualities” created by employees using computer-mediated media to communicate with each other in a physically bounded place could increase the density of the connected network (Quan-Haase et al., 2005). This increased level of density, the heightened level of interaction between and among co-workers, could in turn lead to a higher level of Facebook interruption.

Research Question 1 Are the three media use theories (social presence, media richness, and social influence) related to the perceived level of Facebook interruptions in the workplace? Does the relations between media use theories and the perceived level of Facebook interruptions in the workplace change between Time 1 and Time 2?

Past research has indicated that, for newer media, social explanations are more important because organizational members need to construct their standard or routine ways of using the media jointly (Trevino, Webster, & Stein, 2000; Webster & Trevino, 1995). If organizational members use Facebook because of the influence of their co-workers and supervisors, will social influence finally lead to a higher level of perceived Facebook interruption than the media characteristics models?

Research Question 2 Which theory of media use is most strongly related to the perceived level of FB interruption? Does the theory of media use which is most strongly related to the perceived level of Facebook interruption in the workplace change between Time 1 and Time 2?

To determine how Facebook is used, the present study assesses the associations among six categories of purposes for using Facebook and work interruption. Do

these purposes vary in the degree to which they interrupt workflow? Using the concept of “the invocation of scripts” stated in Sætre, Sørnes, Browning, and Stephens (2007) study of media use in the workplace, “a script can be viewed as a causal map that is used as a recipe for behavior” (p. 137). Thus, for simple routine work such as scheduling, organizational members can just enact the scripts by calling upon a rule which has been previously created and stored to process work mindlessly. As “repetition and familiar situations move us toward mindlessness” (Sætre et al., 2007, p. 138), this state of mindlessness might in turn reduce the level of perceived interruption. Accordingly, work that enacts scripts, such as the scheduling of work activities, might produce a lower level of perceived interruption than work that does not enact scripts, such as socializing.

Research Question 3 Are the different purposes for using FB (organization of work, knowledge exchange, socialization, caring, climbing, and campaigning) associated with levels of FB interruption in the workplace? Do the relations between different purposes for using Facebook and the perceived level of Facebook interruptions in the workplace change between Time 1 and Time 2?

Finally, the present study employs the two media-use theories and six Facebook-use purposes to examine the associations between Facebook use and interruption in the workplace. A corollary question is: which variable is the best predictor of Facebook interruption?

Research Question 4 Between the two media-use theories for why people use FB and the six purposes for using FB, which variable is most strongly related to the perceived level of FB interruption? Does the variable which is most strongly related to the perceived level of Facebook interruption in the workplace change between Time 1 and Time 2?

24.3 Method

24.3.1 Design and Sample

The data for this study was gathered via convenience sampling and snowball sampling of employees in the workplace in Taiwan between December 2010 and February 2011 at first time point and between mid August and early October at second time point. At both time points, questionnaires were set up on the online survey platform maintained by the Chunghwa Telecommunication Laboratories (<https://www.qqq.com.tw>) and surveymonkey (<https://www.surveymonkey.net>) respectively (the online platform has been changed because the Chunghwa Telecommunication Laboratories is no longer operated). The URL address of the questionnaire was emailed to people who were employed full-time and who had to use computers for daily work-related activities.

Table 24.1 Demographic of FB users

Time	T1		T2	
	N	%	N	%
Sex				
Male	60	51.7	128	42.7
Female	56	48.3	172	57.3
Occupations				
Managers	7	6.0	17	5.7
Professionals	68	58.6	144	48.0
Technicians and associate professionals	24	20.7	57	19.0
Clerical support works	17	14.7	82	27.3
Interacting partners using FB				
Colleagues within the same department	4	3.4	10	3.3
Colleagues across different departments	4	3.4	5	1.7
Work-related contacts across different organizations	14	12.1	4	1.3
Friends and family	94	81.0	281	93.6

At both time points, they were first emailed to graduate students who had taken or were taking organizational communication classes taught by the author of the study. Questionnaires were subsequently distributed via these students to their acquaintances who met the criteria for the study. This way of collecting data via convenience sampling and snowball sampling was employed by other scholars who have also studied media uses in organizations (Stephens & Davis, 2009; Timmerman, 2002).

After data cleaning, the final sample comprised 116 and 300 respondents. At time 1, 60 (51.4 %) of them were male and 56 (48.3 %) were female, while at time 2, 128 (42.7 %) of them were male and 172 (57.3 %) were female. Most FB users in the present study were professionals (58.6 %, 48.0 % respectively), and over 80 % of the respondents interact with friends and families most using FB (81.0 %, 93.6 % respectively). Table 24.1 contains the demographic information of the respondents.

In addition, respondents were asked with whom they interact most via Facebook. The results indicated that over than 80 % of the respondents interact with friends and families most using Facebook (81.0, 93.6 %) at both time points, followed by work-related contacts outside of the respondents' organizations (12.1 %) at time 1 and colleagues within the same department (3.3 %) at time 2, and colleagues across different departments (3.4 and 1.7 %) at both time points (Table 24.1).

24.3.2 Measurement

Facebook Use The Facebook intensity scale (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007) was used to assess Taiwanese workers' Facebook use. The results indicated that, on average, the respondents had 241 and 226 FB friends respectively at two time points. Most of the respondents at both two points spent <1 h per day on FB. For the rest of the items on the FB intensity scale, the average scores were lower at the second time (Table 24.2).

Table 24.2 FB intensity

Time	T1		T2	
	Mean	SD ^a	Mean	SD ^a
Total FB friends	241.57	225.76	366.03	267.813
Time per day on FB	(Frequency, %)		(Frequency, %)	
< 1 h	(69, 59.5 %)		(138, 46 %)	
Within 1–2 h	(26, 22.4 %)		(76, 25.3 %)	
Within 2–3 h	(11, 9.5 %)		(46, 15.3 %)	
Within 3–5 h	(6, 5.2 %)		(27, 9 %)	
> 5 h	(4, 3.4 %)		(13, 4.3 %)	
			Mean	SD ^a
FB is part of my everyday activity			3.64	1.03
I am proud to tell people I'm on FB			3.11	1.09
I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto FB for a while			2.66	1.08
I feel I am part of the FB community			3.07	0.96
I would be sorry if FB shut down			2.93	1.11
			Mean	SD ^a
			4.06	0.888
			3.37	1.041
			3.33	1.064
			3.33	0.881
			3.02	1.069

^aSD stands for standard deviation

Social Presence Social presence was measured by the two dimensions suggested in Biocca et al.'s (2003) study: physical presence and psychological involvement. Among the two dimensions, copresence was used to measure the physical awareness of others created by Facebook. It was measured using two items adapted from Ho, Basdogan, Salter, Durlach, and Srinivasan (1998) (alpha = 0.92, 0.94 respectively). To measure psychological involvement using Facebook, three scales were used: social richness, involvement, and social attraction. Social richness (Short et al., 1976) measured whether the experience of using Facebook is sociable, warm, sensitive, or personal (4 items, alpha = 0.84, 0.83 respectively). The involvement, immediacy, or intimacy of Facebook was measured in two ways, adapted from Nowak, Watt and Walther's (2005) model: self-reporting (3 items, alpha = 0.79, 0.89 respectively) and perceived partner involvement (3 items, alpha = 0.89, 0.90 respectively). In addition, to further explore the mutual understandings of Facebook users, a homophily, or social attraction scale, was used (6 items, alpha = 0.92, 0.91 respectively adapted from Nowak, Watt, & Walther, 2005).

The results indicated that the overall mean of the social presence scale is 3.17 at both time points. Among the four scales, social richness was rated the highest (mean = 3.59, 3.61 respectively) and co-presence the lowest (mean = 2.85, 2.68 respectively). Actual question wordings and descriptive results are reported in Table 24.3.

Media Richness Five items were used to measure the four criteria for assessing the richness of a communication medium (Liu & Ku, 1997) (alpha = 0.72, 0.81 respectively). The four criteria are: the availability of instant feedback, the capacity of the

Table 24.3 Scale items and descriptive statistics for social presence

Time	T1		T2	
	M ^a	SD ^b	M ^a	SD ^b
Scale items				
Copresence ($\alpha = 0.92$ and 0.94)	2.85	0.91	2.68	0.55
I feel a partner sitting next to me in each FB interaction	2.91	0.91	2.71	1.02
I feel a partner talking to me face-to-face in each FB interaction	2.80	0.91	2.64	1.02
Social richness ($\alpha = 0.84$ and 0.83)	3.59	.75	3.61	0.19
FB is a warm medium	3.70	0.86	3.67	0.78
FB is a personal medium	3.41	0.96	3.62	0.83
FB is a sensitive medium	3.29	0.97	3.36	0.86
FB is a sociable medium	3.97	0.85	3.81	0.80
Self-reported involvement ($\alpha = 0.79$ and 0.89)	3.05	0.64	3.01	0.15
I was often focused in each FB interaction	2.86	0.76	3.01	0.87
I was often intensely involved in each FB interaction	2.81	0.76	3.00	0.86
I found the FB interaction stimulating	3.49	0.76	3.26	0.86
Perceived partner involvement ($\alpha = 0.89$ and 0.90)	3.16	0.63	3.01	0.1
I feel my partner is willing to listen to me in each FB interaction	3.09	0.73	3.03	0.82
I feel my partner is intensely involved in each FB interaction	3.09	0.72	3.00	0.82
I feel my partner wants a deeper relationship in each FB interaction	3.12	0.77	3.20	0.86
I feel my partner finds our FB interaction stimulating	3.34	0.69	3.17	0.78
Social attraction ($\alpha = 0.92$ and 0.91)	3.20	0.73	3.56	0.05
I can tell whether the partner could be a friend of mine			3.63	0.81
I can tell whether the partner would be pleasant to be with	3.27	0.86	3.58	0.81
I feel I know them personally	3.13	0.86	3.49	0.82
I can tell whether we could establish a friendly relationship with one another	2.97	0.92	3.55	0.82
I can tell whether they care if I ever interact with them again	3.22	0.81	3.60	0.75
I can tell whether they plan to keep in touch afterwards	3.34	0.83	3.50	0.80

^aStands for mean

^bStands for standard deviation

medium to transmit multiple cues, the use of natural language, and the personal focus of the medium.

The results indicated that the overall mean of the media richness scale is 3.40 and 3.42 respectively. All questions items were rated above 3.1 at both time points. Actual question wordings and descriptive results are reported in Table 24.4.

Social Influence Both co-workers' and supervisors' behaviors and attitudes toward Facebook were measured (a total of eight items, 4 for co-workers and 4 for supervisors, $\alpha = 0.84, 0.86$ respectively) (Schmitz & Fulk, 1991). Compared to the media characteristic scale, the overall mean of the social influence scale is smaller (mean = 3.04, 2.92 respectively). For the two sources of social influence,

Table 24.4 Scale items and descriptive statistics for media richness and social influence

Time	T1		T2	
	M ^a	SD ^b	M ^a	SD ^b
Scale items				
Meida richness ($\alpha = 0.72$ and 0.81)	3.40	0.59	3.42	0.28
I can often get instant feedback using FB	3.53	0.92	3.50	0.91
FB can provide rich language cues to convey my thought	3.30	0.89	3.40	0.89
FB can provide a variety of communication cues	3.68	0.80	3.85	0.76
I can feel the interacting partners' emotions using FB	3.29	0.86	3.28	0.88
I can fully express my emotions using FB	3.21	0.83	3.11	0.91
Social influence ($\alpha = 0.84$ and 0.86)	3.04	0.68	2.92	0.72
Supervisors ($\alpha = 0.89$ and 0.9)	2.47	0.91	2.30	0.29
My supervisors consider FB useful	2.69	1.05	2.45	1.70
My supervisors consider FB convenient	2.78	1.04	2.51	1.74
My supervisors often use FB to interact with me	1.92	0.99	1.88	1.37
My supervisors like to use FB	2.49	1.10	2.34	1.66
Co-workers ($\alpha = 0.89$ and 0.84)	3.61	0.80	3.55	0.28
My co-workers consider FB useful	3.70	0.85	3.72	0.72
My co-workers consider FB convenient	3.76	0.89	3.73	0.72
My co-workers often use FB to interact with me	3.22	1.07	3.13	1.02
My co-workers like to use FB	3.75	0.87	3.62	0.79

^aStands for mean

^bStands for standard deviation

supervisors (mean = 2.47, 2.30 respectively) were rated lower than co-workers (mean = 3.61, 3.55 respectively). Actual question wordings and descriptive results are reported in Table 24.4.

Purposes of Using Facebook Six categories of purposes for using Facebook, based on Cho et al. (2005) and DiMicco et al. (2008) were used. Respondents were instructed to choose only one main purpose from the six categories. The results indicated that over one-third of the respondents use FB for socializing purposes at both time points.

Interruption The perceived level of interruption caused by Facebook was assessed using seven items ($\alpha = 0.82, 0.79$ respectively), which were developed based on the four types of interruption suggested by Jett and George (2003): intrusions, distraction, breaks, and inconsistency. The results indicated that the overall mean of interruption was 2.87 and 2.71 respectively. Actual question wordings and descriptive results are reported in Table 24.5.

All question items concerning social presence, media richness, social influence, and interruption scales used five-point Likert-type items, wherein 1 indicated total disagreement and 5 indicated total agreement.

Table 24.5 Scale items and descriptive statistics for interruption

Time	T1		T2	
Scale items	M ^a	SD ^b	M ^a	SD ^b
Interruption ($\alpha = 0.82$ and 0.29)	2.78	0.68	2.71	0.63
Intrusion				
I often receive messages from FB at work	2.57	.91	2.72	1.10
I am often interrupted by incoming FB messages at work	2.47	1.06	2.27	.88
Distraction				
When I receive messages from FB while working, I leave everything at hand and respond to the FB messages at once	3.50	.97	2.16	.89
Breaks				
When I am exhausted at work, I will FB to relax.	3.41	1.07	3.51	.93
When I get a free moment at work, I will use FB to chat with my family and co-workers.	2.42	.85	3.69	.87
Inconsistency				
Even if I am not using FB, I still think about it and the thought often interrupts my work	2.35	1.01	2.35	.94
The information I get from Facebook are often different from what I expected. I have to stop and think about how to proceed with my work	2.48	.89	2.32	.86

^aStands for mean^bStands for standard deviation

24.4 Results

Research question 1 asked whether the three media-use theories are related to the perceived level of interruption. The results indicated that at both time points, the three media-use theories are significantly related to interruption levels: the higher that organizational members rated social presence ($b = 0.41$, $p < 0.001$, $b = 0.19$, $p < 0.001$ respectively), media richness ($b = 0.38$, $p < 0.05$, $b = 0.51$, $p < 0.001$ respectively), and experienced social influence from co-workers and supervisors ($b = 0.49$, $p < 0.001$, $b = 0.15$, $p < 0.001$ respectively), the higher they perceived the level of FB interruption in the workplace (Table 24.6).

Research question 2 asked which media theory best predicts interruption at both time points. The regression analysis showed that at both time points, supervisor influence ($b = 0.35$, $p < 0.001$, $b = 0.09$, $p < 0.05$ respectively) and perceived partner involvement ($b = 0.28$, $p < 0.05$, $b = 0.30$, $p < 0.05$ respectively) are significantly related to perceived FB interruption. At time 2, there is a third variable, social attraction ($b = 0.2$, $p < 0.001$), which is significantly related to interruption. Judging by the p value, social influence could best predict interruption at time 1 while social present at time 2 (Table 24.7).

Research question 3 asked whether different purposes for using FB are related to different levels of FB interruptions. The regression results indicated that none of the six purposes are significantly related to the perceived level of FB interruptions at

Table 24.6 Regression analysis between media uses theories and interruption at T1 and T2

Media theories	Beta		R ²		Adjusted R ²		Sig.	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Social presence	0.41***	0.19***	0.16	0.483	0.16	0.234	0.000	0.000
Social richness	0.34***	0.56**	0.11	0.346	0.11	0.120	0.000	0.000
Copresence	0.22*	0.76***	0.05	0.349	0.04	0.122	0.016	0.000
Self-involvement	0.38***	0.68***	0.15	0.367	0.14	0.135	0.000	0.000
Partner’s involvement	0.39***	0.62***	0.15	0.411	0.14	0.169	0.000	0.000
Social attraction	0.28	0.42***	0.08	0.392	0.07	0.154	0.002	0.000
Media richness	0.38***	0.51***	0.15	0.393	0.14	0.154	0.000	0.000
Instant feedback	0.34**	1.54***	0.12	0.326	0.11	0.107	0.000	0.000
Natural language	0.29**	1.30***	0.09	0.269	0.08	0.073	0.002	0.000
Cues	0.12	1.30***	0.02	0.230	0.01	0.053	0.195	0.000
Personal focus	0.30***	0.94***	0.09	0.357	0.08	0.127	0.001	0.000
Social influence	0.49***	0.15***	0.24	0.245	0.23	0.060	0.000	0.000
Supervisors	0.43***	0.14**	0.19	0.189	0.18	0.036	0.000	0.001
Co-workers	0.34***	0.38***	0.11	0.237	0.11	0.056	0.000	0.000

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Table 24.7 Hierarchical regression analysis between media use theories and interruption

Time points	First block		Second block		Third block	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Social presence						
Social richness	0.17	0.15	0.09	0.07	0.01	0.04
Copresence	-0.08	0.13	-0.09	0.09	-0.12	0.03
Self-involvement	0.16	0.04	0.13	0.05	0.06	0.07
Partner’s involvement	0.22	0.31**	0.21	0.29*	0.28*	0.30*
Social attraction	0.06	0.25***	0.07	0.25***	0.04	0.25***
Media richness						
Instant feedback			0.13	0.61	0.09	0.55
Natural language			0.10	-0.26	0.09	-0.32
Cues			-0.05	0.05	-0.06	0.01
Personal focus			-0.04	0.10	-0.05	0.13
Social influence						
Supervisors					0.35***	0.09*
Co-workers					0.12	0.05
R ²	0.20	0.239	0.22	0.250	0.35	0.268
Adjusted R ²	0.16	0.227	0.15	0.226	0.28	0.240
R ² change	0.20	0.239	0.02	0.010	0.13	0.018
Sig. of F change	0.000	0.000	0.660	0.414	0.000	0.029

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Table 24.8 Regression analysis between SNS-uses purposes and interruption at T1 and T2

	Beta		R ²		Adjusted R ²		Sig. of F change	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Organization of work	-0.11	1.32	0.10	0.06	0.003	0.003	0.25	0.34
Knowledge transfer	0.18	1.69	0.03	0.093	0.023	0.009	0.057	0.106
Socializing	0.15	2.39*	0.02	0.166	0.031	0.028	0.115	0.004
Caring	0.10	-1.48	0.01	0.172	0.001	0.030	0.304	0.003
Climbing	0.14	0.083	0.02	0.003	0.011	0.000	0.134	0.953
Campaigning	0.14	-1.367	0.02	0.001	0.011	-0.002	0.129	0.586

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

time 1. While at time 2, only socializing is significantly related to the perceived level of FB interruptions (Table 24.8).

Research question 4 asked which of all the variables examined in the present study best predicts the perceived level of FB interruptions. At time 1, the hierarchical regression results indicated that supervisor influence ($b = 0.35$, $p < 0.001$) and perceived partner involvement ($b = 0.28$, $p < 0.05$) are significantly related to the perceived level of FB interruptions, and that organization of work is negatively related to the perceived level of FB interruptions ($b = -0.20$, $p < 0.05$). At time 2, the hierarchical regression results indicated that supervisor influence ($b = 0.09$, $p < 0.05$), perceived partner involvement ($b = 0.26$, $p < 0.05$) and social attraction ($b = 0.24$, $p < 0.001$) are significantly related to the perceived level of FB interruptions, and that caring ($b = -1.489$, $p < 0.01$) is negatively related to the perceived level of Facebook interruptions (Table 24.9).

24.5 Discussion

The goal of this paper is to systematically examine the associations between Facebook use and the perceived level of Facebook interruptions in the workplace. Facebook use was examined from two aspects: why Facebook is used, and how it is used. It is clear from the results that while social presence, media richness and social influence are all positively related to the perceived level of Facebook interruptions, the rating order of the media theories that measure Facebook uses changes from media richness, followed by social presence and social influence at the first time to media richness, followed by social influence and social presence at the second time. It is interesting to note that the social influence of supervisors was the best predictor of perceived Facebook interruption in the workplace at the first time, but social attraction, a dimension of social presence was the best predictor of perceived Facebook interruption in the workplace at the second time.

The results also indicated that among the four types of interruption, breaks were rated the highest (mean = 3.50 and 3.51 respectively) at both time points. Thus, it

Table 24.9 Hierarchical regression analysis between media use theories, SNS-use purposes and interruption at T1 and T2

Time points	First block		Second block	
	T1	T2	T1	T2
Social presence				
Social richness	0.1	0.039	0.06	0.064
Copresence	-0.12	0.028	-0.16	0.037
Self-involvement	0.06	0.065	0.05	0.117
Partner's involvement	0.28*	0.298*	0.30**	0.263*
Social attraction	0.04	0.246***	0.02	0.240***
Media richness				
Instant feedback	0.09	0.552	0.06	0.515
Natural language	0.09	-0.315	0.08	-0.305
Cues	-0.06	0.006	-0.06	-0.052
Personal focus	-0.05	0.134	-0.10	0.16
Social influence				
Supervisors	0.35**	0.092*	0.35***	0.085*
Co-workers	0.12	0.052	0.16	0.068
SNS-use purposes				
Organization of work			0.20*	-0.37
Knowledge transfer			0.12	10.45
Socializing			0.15	0.96
Caring			0.01	-1.49**
Climbing			0.06	-0.68
Campaigning			0.03	-2.69
R ²	0.349	0.268	0.415	0.32
Adjusted R ²	0.280	0.240	0.314	0.28
R ² change	0.000	0.000	0.098	0.001
Sig. of F change				

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

seems that the more one uses Facebook because of supervisors' social influence, the more one tends to use Facebook during breaks at time 1. However, at time 2, the more one uses Facebook because of interacting partner's social attraction, the more one tends to use Facebook during breaks at time 2. It seems that organizational members tried to use Facebook to reduce or hide from management pressure at time 1 to use Facebook for break to engage socially with interacting partners.

Past research has also indicated that media characteristic models cannot fully explain the use of new communication technology, especially computer-mediated technology, in the workplace (Carlson & Zumd, 1999; Dennis, Fuller, & Valacich, 2008; D'Urso & Rains, 2008; Kishi, 2008). It is clear from the results of the present study that although Facebook was rated higher in media richness and social presence than social influence in general, these technical characteristics were not powerful enough to disrupt workflow at time 1, but they disrupt workflow at time 2.

In fact, the results of the present study indicate that the dimension of perceived partner involvement and social attraction were the strongest variables to best predict the perceived level of Facebook interruption at both time points, confirming Biocca et al.'s (2003) observation that the perception of the state of interaction counts. The more one perceives the level of involvement of the interacting party, the higher the perceived level of Facebook interruptions. This perception of mutual involvement in an interaction tends to elicit personal emotions (Otondo, Scotter, Allen, & Palvia, 2008), which in turn increases the perceived level of Facebook interruptions.

Carlson and Zumd (1999) state in their channel expansion theory that the perception of a medium's richness is influenced by the knowledge-building experience (familiarity, trust, involvement) one has with interacting partners. Thus, the more one feels familiarity, trust and involvement with an interacting party, the higher the perceived level of Facebook interruptions. Future studies need to explore the associations between interpersonal variables such as involvement and the perceived level of SNS interruptions.

The present study also confirms previous observations that people use SNSs mainly for leisure purposes (e.g., DiMicco et al., 2008; Rooksby et al., 2009), which was reflected in the ratings of breaks, the highest among the four types of interruption. The results also indicated that more than 80% of the respondents use Facebook to interact with their friends and families. This is a management nightmare come true—workers use Facebook to relax and socialize with their friends and families, breaking from the work schedule, which might eventually lead to lower productivity. However, past research has indicated that self-initiated breaks from work have positive effects on creativity: employees could solve more problems and experience fewer impasses (Beefink, van Eerde, & Rutte, 2008). Yet, if organizational members spend too much time looking for fun, they may get lost in the flow of experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). Indeed, the post hoc analysis revealed a positive association between the intensity of using Facebook and the perceived level of Facebook interruptions ($r = 0.44$, $p < 0.001$) at time 1.

Among the six purposes for using Facebook, only the organization of work is negatively related to the perceived level of Facebook interruption at time 1, and socializing is positively related to Facebook interruption at time 1. That is, at time 1, the more one uses Facebook to organize work-related activities, the lower the perceived level of Facebook interruption. This result partially confirms Sætre et al.'s (2007) observation of "the invocation of scripts" and media use in the workplace. As scripts are created and stored as a shortcut that guides one to take action, "using a script invariably reduces one's level of awareness or mindfulness in any given context" (p. 137). Thus, for simple routine work such as scheduling, simple Q&A and announcements, organizational members can take the shortcut and process the work automatically, which in turn might reduce the perceived level of Facebook interruptions. While at time 2, the more one uses Facebook to socializing, the higher the perceived level of Facebook interruption. Management nightmare comes true!

To conclude, the present study demonstrates that why and how employees use Facebook in the workplace and the associations between these uses and Facebook interruption change over a 4-year span from 2010 to 2014. Employees perceived higher level of Facebook interruption due to the characteristic of Facebook than the social influence of Facebook uses in the workplace from time 1 to time 2. It seems that at present the more socially attracted employees feel about the interacting partners via the technologies afforded by Facebook, the higher level of interruption they perceive. This higher level of Facebook interruption happens to correspond with the socializing purposes about how employees use Facebook for. It appears that Facebook gradually became a major source of interruption when employees used it for socializing purposes in order to be socially attracted among each other. Will this result stay the same when similar study conducted in the next decade? Future study should keep following this trend of study.

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Part V

**New Journalism and Challenges for Media
Freedom**

Datis Khajeheian and Mike Friedrichsen

25.1 Introduction

“Television used to be a simple affair: a technically highly standardized medium, with fairly similar organizational structure, content types, and business models across developed countries. It provided a nationwide, middle-of-the-road content delivered by national networks, distributed regionally by TV stations with some local programming thrown in, and with either advertising or governmental funding as its economic model. But now, TV is getting quite complicated and varied. And the question is, where is this taking us?” (Noam, 2008: 7).

The search for an answer to Eli Noam’s question leads us to study television from various dimensions. The pervasiveness of television in our everyday lives makes the subject broad to study. It creates an uncertainty to where the subject is leading us. Therefore there is the need to study it from different perspectives. This chapter provides a conceptual perspective on the economics of television and how this medium can save its superiority in the attention markets, in the era of Internet media, to secure advertising incomes.

The main theory of this paper is the Eliasson and Eliasson theory of strategic acquisition. The theory implies integrating innovative and operational efficiency over markets. Using this theory, the authors try to understand how television managers can enable their organizations to adapt and use their competencies for satisfying new consumer needs in an evolutionary market with the existing power-shift in advertising. Berman, Battino, Shipnuck, and Neus (2008) explain the power

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shift in media industries, where budgets have shifted to new formats based on the four key drivers of attention, creativity, measures and advertising inventories.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: in the first section a literature review on television and society shows the uniqueness of television and why no other media can replace the television. The importance of this section is to show that despite the increasing popularity of digital media, the television saves its superior position in people's lives. Therefore, it is worthy to advance the study from the economic and value delivery perspective. In next section technological changes in television is discussed to show how television evolves under technological advances. The section also explains how the acceptance of new television features and the evolution of interactive television influences the interaction with viewers. Finally, by using the existing theories, a conceptual model for integration of users' innovations with operational competencies is proposed.

25.2 Television and Society

The television is a unique media in our era. It functions both as a technology and a tool for cultural storytelling and is a sort of "window on the world" or a "cultural hearth" that has gathered our families, told us stories, and offered glimpses of a world outside our daily experience (Lotz, 2007: 3). From the other side, the television does not only transfer ideas, but provides a mean towards understanding the society: "We can learn far more about the conditions and values of a society by contemplating how it chooses to play, to use its free time, to take its leisure, than by examining how it goes about its work" (Giamatti, 1989: 13 cited in Cooper-Chen, 2005: 237). Kackman, Binfield, Payne, Perlman, and Sebok (2011: 4) stressed on the Television as a 'Flow' medium and argues that the Television has always been a convergent medium that mixed a blend of programs, advertisements, promos, film trailers and so on. They concluded that the television reflects a particular 'institutionalization of culture'.

Lotz (2007: 31) believes that centrality [and popularity] of the television is derived from its availability and ubiquity. The accessibility of television was in many ways enabled by the low cost of acquiring its programming. She studied the Television using the network Era approach, and argues that, during that time, the medium gained its status as a primary cultural institution precisely because network-era programming could and did reach such vast audiences. In her view, 'the Television derived its significance from its capacity to broadly share information and ideas and facilitate an "electronic public sphere" of sorts. Its stories and ideas reached a mass audience, that some have argued enabled television programs to negotiate contradictory and contested social ideas, while others have proposed that this reach allowed television to enforce a dominant way of thinking'.

The new generation is characterized by their adoption of new media. And new media serves both as a tool for them and as a way for them to define themselves. Young people often lead the way with new technology, and this is a source of pride for the millennial generation. New media is important to them, not just for what they can do with the devices, but because the new media is seen as theirs (Geraci &

Nagy, 2004). However, the power of television is in its intrinsic old features of linear watching and passive interaction. This is the television lifestyle: the way consumers interface with television programs with various length is fairly standard, they sit back and watch. TV lacks the interactivity that would allow content producers to render different types of programming fundamentally differently (Gibs, 2008: 15) and this deficiency gives the television a specific characteristic for lifestyle. It offers social integration, it is useful as a means for tension release (Katz, Haas, & Gurevitch, 1973) and to forget the daily troubles of life. Hence the television has performed well. As Ekman and Lankoski (2004: 167) describes it, the Television as a medium has established traditions for how it is used. In addition, online viewing has a very specialized audience: those with larger monitors, broadband access, and high-quality sound on their home computers (Gibs, 2008: 15).

The important influence of change in the media comes from revenue point of view. Increasingly empowered consumers, more self-reliant advertisers, and ever-evolving technologies are redefining how advertising is sold, created, consumed, and tracked (Berman et al., 2008).

When Nielsen asked 2200 long-form video viewers to rank in the order of their preference genres (i.e., drama, sit-com, reality programming) on both the Internet and television, their responses were basically the same. In general, consumers like watching the same programming on both media. This trend suggests that those consumers whom we identify as predominantly home content consumers see very little difference in the type of content they wish to watch (Gibs, 2008: 15).

25.3 Technology and New Media

Web 2.0 and its influence on media industry is so significant that Creeber and Martin (2009) argue that it is fair to coin the phrase 'Media Studies 2.0' as the area to study this new wave of technology. This influence involves Television too, despite its unique characteristics. Ekman and Lankoski (2004) argue, technological innovations have a tendency of spreading from medium to medium. Technological advances create more needs and demands and the evolution of the media satisfies these needs. And interactive television is the product of the television and digital characteristics. Based on Lekakos, Chorianopoulos, and Doukidis (2008) the Television is no longer restricted to one type of technology, one type of service, and one type of application, that is, television programming. But interactive digital television is composed of different technologies and a diversity of different applications, services, and contents. TV has been transformed from a mono-application to a multi-applications medium.

The remarkable point to note is that not only does new media remediate older media, but older media can also remediate newer ones. For example, using the interactivity of networking, Telephone remediates itself to videoconferencing television. Of course, no medium can work and function independently and establish its own separated and purified space of cultural meaning. It is possible to claim that a new medium makes a good thing even better, but this seldom seems to suit the rhetoric of remediation and is certainly not the case for digital media (Bolter &

Grusin, 1999). Dewdney and Ride (2006: 285) explains that new media (and digital television of course) is a continuous extension of existing media culture in which the rules of representation are maintained.

Technological changes and the increase in use of internet does not mean that “TV” as a concept (rather than a device) is dying, in fact quite the opposite is happening—TV is going through a revolution (Gibs, 2008: 11). In particular, digital culture is associated with the speeding up of societal change, causing a number of technological and social transformations in a surprisingly short amount of time (Creeber & Martin, 2009: 5).

Four generations of television picture quality can be distinguished: (1) Pre-TV, (2) Analog TV, (3) Digital TV, (4) Individualized TV (Noam, 2008: 7). The focus of this research is on Individualized TV and how it will influence the consumer markets. Hilms explains that “Television screens have both expanded and shrunk dramatically from the increasingly theatre-like flat screens, now part of home entertainment centers and to the tiny windows on cell phones and iPods. The computer screen becomes[iw1] a television, while television screens hook up with computers. Many former couch potatoes now use their television screens only for playing video games. New program forms debut from ‘mobisodes’ and ‘webisodes’ (television material only available on cell phones or websites) to increasingly interactive formats that allow viewers to affect the narrative, as in voting for the next Pop Idol or calling in questions to be discussed on air’ (2009: 54).

25.4 Advertising Shift

There is no question that the future of advertising will look radically different from its past. The push for control of attention, creativity, measurements, and inventory will reshape the advertising value chain and shift the balance of power. For both incumbent and new players, it is imperative to plan for multiple consumer futures [iw1], craft agile strategies, and build new capabilities before advertising as we know it disappears (Gibs, 2008: 33). As advertising budgets shift to new formats and shape the future advertising market, the control of marketing revenues and power will hinge on four key market drivers: attention, creativity, measures, and advertising inventories (Ibid, p 34).

Another factor in the shift in advertising are the new possibilities for advertising contents. Noam proposes that the television market will be diversifying horizontally and vertically. In his perspective, horizontal diversification includes more diverse programs and content of standard quality. Vertical diversification means a variety of quality levels from low resolution to highly enriched, immersive, participatory TV. The important usage of his thesis is that commercials broadcast on high resolution ones and provide opportunities for advertisers to have a better reach to consumers: “Viewers will also accept low-quality resolution from non-commercial sources. But for commercial content, despite the lowering of cost of a given technology, competition and user expectations will drive the production cost to ever-higher levels” (Noam, 2008: 10).

Another important factor in the shift in advertising is the increase in media producers and suppliers, which happens by dramatic decrease in production costs. As Gibs (2008: 12) emphasizes, with the advent of consumer-generated media the production of video content online was democratized. Suddenly everyone is a producer and the cost of production for sites dropped to almost zero. Soon, the value of consumer correspondents was realized by most major media networks. The changes are not limited to increase in media production, but also in consumers' access. As Berman et al. (2008: 31) explains, consumers are increasingly exercising control of how they view, interact with and filter advertising in a multichannel world, as they continue to shift their attention away from linear TV and adopt ad-skipping, ad-sharing, and ad-rating tools. Also consumers are more powerful in working with technologies and experience more media products. For this reason, they expect more complicated products and this is important for advertisers, because it increases the attractiveness of high tech products. Without competent customers there will be no markets for sophisticated products (Eliasson & Eliasson, 2005: 99). Based on the above mentioned changes, the power shift in advertising occurs. As a result, advertising revenues are becoming more difficult to earn for media managers and in particular in the television market. Also cultural difference has an influence on the level of acceptance of advertising. Zorn, Bellman, Robinson, and Varan (2013) shows that even subtle cultural differences between two very similar countries can affect new forms of advertising such as interactive television (iTV) commercials.

Attention is the key. "This implies advertising incomes stream to any media and company that is more successful to reach consumers attention. There are trends which has an influence on gaining consumer attention, and audience fragmentation is an important part of this trend. Audience fragmentation is a major trend in the media industry and it is continuing because consumers have a broad set of options. Multi-tasking is common among youth and they use two or more media forms at the same time. An example is using the mobile phone and watching Television simultaneously. For young users, the TV is increasingly becoming a secondary "background" medium. The primary focus of attention is elsewhere—surfing the Internet, chatting, or playing an online game. Users spend significant blocks of time on daily personal Internet usage than watching TV, especially among the heaviest users. This shift in attention will eventually be reflected in advertising, subscription, and transactional fees." (Berman et al., 2008: 35).

25.5 Innovation Inventory

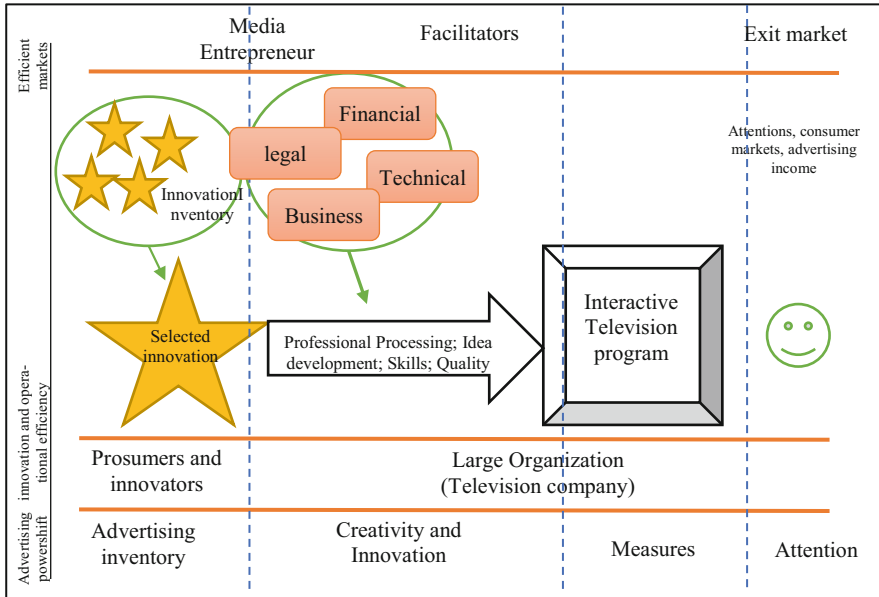
Noam in 2008 argued that Internet TV has not yet found an economic model. Yet in 2017, no model has been strongly established. In this respect, although the aim of this chapter is not to propose a business model, the focus is on proposing a model for a more efficient way of attracting users in consumer markets and to strength the position of Interactive televisions in advertising markets with innovation is the key element.

By Eliasson and Eliasson (2005) the advantage of large companies are in their operational efficiency and access to resources, while the advantage of small companies is in innovation. They provide this insight towards our discussion that Television and broadcasting companies have the superiority and advantage in access to resources, professional staff, talent, infrastructure and capital-intensive assets; but in innovative ideas that are the demanding assets, there is lack of competency. Despite many creative talents and innovative minds who work inside a large media organization—such as Television company—innovative ideas are always rare and limited. In a close cycle inside the organization, rarely radical innovations appear, because of a strong tie (Kontinen & Ojala, 2011). In reverse, the source of innovative ideas and creativity is on the user side and many blockbusters have sourced from externally generated innovative ideas. Users are the people who at the same time consume media content and generate idea. The users have the advantage in innovation, novel, divergent and radical ideas (Same is for small companies in compare with large ones).

However, user generated contents rarely become popular television programs. They are mostly popular on internet websites such as YouTube, mobile networks, etc., but on Television, professional quality is a strict criterion. Here a combination of production skills and innovative ideas are needed, both for development of ideas and for production of a high quality content and those skills usually exist in organizations. A match of those different but complementary advantages is the key for interactive television to attract the consumer markets.

Innovation Inventory is a warehouse of innovative ideas for media companies. Rich inventory of innovation gives broader possibilities for media managers to reach consumers and attract their attention. Thus, the development of innovation inventory would be one of the key activities for television companies in an interactive television area. Maybe a new position for “external entrepreneurial activities” should be developed in television companies to manage different phases of idea generation, development, selection, fostering, open competition, professional production, quality control, etc.

Berman et al. (2008) explain advertising marketplace with three key areas for innovation: consumer innovation, business model innovation, business design and infrastructure innovation. Consumer innovation implies anyone who meets the buyer and consumers’ needs to collect and analyze data to produce relevant and predictive insights. In business model innovation they imply pioneer changes in how advertising is sold; the structure and forms of partnerships, revenue models, advertising formats, and reporting metrics. And business design and infrastructure innovation refers to consumer and business model innovation through redesigned organizational and operating capabilities across the advertising lifecycle. This includes—consumer analytics, channel planning, buying/selling, creation, delivery, and impact reporting. In this paper authors concentrates on consumer innovation.



Based on this model, interactive television managers use consumers’ innovations as a means to attract their other counterparts by developing those ideas with professional in-house operations and resources. This model is very special for television, because professional quality of content is very important for television managers. Of course quality is important for every types media, but television, and interactive television in particular, is bound to high-resolution pictures and high quality of audio, light, plays, narrations, processes, etc. And is less flexible in the use of low-quality contents in comparison with internet sites and social network pages and applications—which are direct rivals for advertising revenues on the net. In this model they leverage their advantages to develop external innovations: “competence of the large firm to integrate large-scale operational efficiency with small-scale innovative capability through distributed development work and integrated production” (Eliasson & Eliasson, 2005: 91). In fact, at the same line with the evolution of media—from production to delivery platforms, the role of interactive television is changing from total producer of content to developing manager of content. This model is also a development for Khajeheian framework for efficient media market (2013). The Model emphasizes on the necessity of creating facilitators in media markets to fill the unmet gaps in the market that are not profitable for large companies, but are economically viable for small companies. The current model contributes with innovation inventory and separation of innovators and prosumers with media entrepreneurs—as they are facilitators themselves.

Corporate openness has to be encouraged in television companies. Many of them are very tight on organizational routines and in-house production and less open to

user innovations. It doesn't mean that they do not accept external ideas, but they trust limited specific professional producers. Corporate entrepreneurship leads organizations to create more openness towards innovative ideas and to build opportunities for easier and more efficient communication of users. Risk taking is another essential characteristic of an interactive television management. Many of ideas and innovations fail and just a few of them succeed. Risk taking is very important to avoid failures, continue investment and work with other innovations. The behavioral characteristics of management is critical in leading a television company to such open and interactive communication with consumers.

Importance of Facilitators

Facilitators are critical elements in the model. They are institutes, authorities, companies, individuals or any type of providers which assist users or entrepreneurs to develop the product, service or idea with their resources. Khajeheian (2013) names seven types of facilitators in media environment: Financial facilitators, Technical facilitators, business solutions, corporate consultants, R&D institutions, Market information and data and finally Venture Capitals (different from financial facilitators, because of their involvement in management). We add media entrepreneurs to the list, because they are players who explore ideas and foster innovations and try to commercialize it—in our context to television organization. The existence of media entrepreneurs feed innovations, because they intermediate to match, adapt and develop ideas and insights with market needs. Entrepreneurs are both innovative and facilitators. They enrich innovation inventory. Also there are other specific facilitators for television-specific innovations, such as Network of creatives, like meet-ups and idea transfer communications; or Network of innovation such as freelance developers, graphics, musicians, etc.

Khajeheian (2013) also considers facilitators as signs of an efficient media market. He argues that in an efficient market, facilitators create a match between large companies and small ones, make space for value adding and synergetic cooperation and also provide exit markets after success of innovations. Interactive television managers have to help facilitators to come into market and assist the users, prosumers and media entrepreneurs and small production companies to develop their ideas and produce quality contents. The television organization is a facilitator too, through the provision of professional development of ideas.

For Further Researches

Based on the proposed thesis in this chapter, it is strongly recommended to researchers in the fields of media entrepreneurship and innovation to conduct researches on the implementation of the innovation inventory by media organization. User innovation is a treasure of creativity for the media industry, and investigation of the mechanism for leveraging these innovative ideas to media content will benefit organizations with competitive advantage in this highly competitive market.

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Adeyemi Obalanlege

26.1 Introduction

The surprising ability of new media technologies to transform journalism practice cannot be overemphasised. Many scholars have demonstrated how the internet provides media personnel with unrivalled access to information for research purposes. Berger (1997) notes how internet technology has enabled journalists to “. . . tap into the collective brain, wit and wisdom of thousands of knowledgeable journalists and non-journalists” (Berger, 1997: 124).

Like the newspaper and broadcast industries themselves, there is not a lot of investment in journalists in Africa. In most cases, newspaper organisations are under-resourced and most journalists in Nigeria echoed their problem of economic stagnation by not being paid regularly. Yet they continue to engage with modern technology.

For a long time, there has been a debate about the impact of the rise of internet technology on traditional news media, such as newspapers. However, the influence of internet and other digital technologies on news reporting is often formulated in terms of threats to the existing order in traditional journalism practice and the need to examine and modernise journalists’ routines in Africa.

Pavlik (2000) notes that the dominant focus in earlier studies of new media and journalism has been technologically themed based on the argument that new content is crucially determined by the available technology. There is no doubt that technological innovations driven by internet technology pose a challenge to journalism profession in Africa. However, the rise of internet technology offers a platform for transformation, as new possibilities provided by the internet lend credibility to content. Hence, the importance of the internet as a news-gathering

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instrument is no longer questioned, since news accuracy is backed by new technology.

This study addresses two key questions: Would the new technology improve the overall quality of news and the ensure credibility of the system? Earlier studies suggest that differences occur between journalists in terms of how, and to what extent, they use the internet in their daily work. While this has changed the daily practice of journalists but, are journalists positive about the changes brought about by the internet?

26.2 Literature Review

26.2.1 What Defines Journalism?

Journalists and the organisations they work for produce news. Essentially, news is both an individual and an organisational product; however, when considering the ways in which news is being constructed, it is imperative to examine the process whereby an excessive amount of events and issues relating to a given day are filtered into a bulletin or newspaper. The processes involved are complex, but “we can distinguish between two sequential stages” in terms of “the selection of events and issues on which to base news stories and subsequent construction of such stories” (Hodkinson, 2011: 128–129). In the cause of looking at what defines journalism itself, it imperative to examine the end product of journalism, which is news.

Most importantly, why do we study production? We study production because this is the point where encoding happens. Stuart Hall’s work on “Encoding/Decoding” (1993) is very important in this area; he not only played a key role in developing theories of cultural and media representation, but also in his theoretical contribution concerning the encoding and decoding of discourses. Drawing on semiology, Hall places emphasis on the encoding of meaning into media discourse by producers. Hall (1993) further argues that ‘discussion’ in the message plays an important role in communication exchange (Hall, 1993). Being a neo-Marxist thinker influenced by Antonio Gramsci, Hall suggests that these encoded meanings “have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them” and are liable to reinforce this prevailing order by reinforcing dominant or hegemonic ideas (Hall, 1993: 93). Thus, in recognising the role of media encoders (reporters, sub-editors and editors, etc.) in influencing audiences, we are alerted to the possibility of media audiences misinterpreting media messages in the process of decoding the messages.

Research about news production has come from three perspectives. From the economic perspective, Schudson (2002), links news construction to the structure of the state and the economy. Likewise, Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that the media create news that supports state interests rather than those of the individuals they are meant to serve. The second approach draws mainly on the sociology of how the television network structure influences news (Epstein, 1974). The third approach focuses on the broad cultural constraints in news work (Chalaby, 1996).

Schudson notes that the perspectives are not wholly distinct and some key studies on media organisations have strong cultural and political references as well. Taking into consideration that news scholarship is vast and theoretically eclectic, this study will now consider the McNair and Schudson accounts of the sociology of news production.

26.2.2 McNair and Schudson's Accounts of the Literature

Schudson (2005) suggests four approaches to the sociology of news: economic organisation, political context, social organisation, and cultural, although economic and political were combined (in Herman & Chomsky, 1988) into a political-economic framework influenced by Marxism, which placed an emphasis on economics before politics. In this analysis, consideration of ownership structure and motives, commercialisation of news organisations and the increasing conglomeration of mainstream outlets as a result of merger and acquisition are examined. Considerable prominence is also given to the research analysing the production component of news production in newspaper organisations, particularly the dominance of newsroom observation studies in the 1970s and 1980s, which falls within Schudson's social organisation approach. Here, news as a social construct dominates part of the discussions, along with reuse of production, together with the important role of sources and the ideological positioning within the newsroom and their relevance in the production of professional values, norms and attitudes. Lastly, the cultural approach moves on to consider the relationships between facts and symbols, with the aim of highlighting the symbolic determinants of news.

McNair (2006) on the other hand seeks to advance a paradigm shift away from control and towards 'chaos', as reflected in the formation or rather proliferation of radical alternative and ethnic media by minority groups in an effort to challenge the status quo, as shaped by the elite's insatiable desire for control of the media. Yet the control mechanism or the execution of such control by the elite continue to be disrupted by the instability arising from the effects of political, ideological, economic and technological factors on communication processes (McNair, 2006). McNair's paradigm involves a critique of established theories in relation to the contemporary global media environment.

According to McNair (2006), the chaos paradigm is posited to challenge what is presented as the dominant conceptual framework for understanding the media and democracy, the 'control paradigm', in which ownership of the media is often linked to the elite in society, based on their socio-cultural and political affiliations (McNair, 2006). In explaining the control paradigm, McNair notes the extent of control of dominant elites, specifically over four main elements: economics (private ownership of media and the resources of promotional culture such as advertising), technology (especially traditional media technologies such as newspapers and broadcasting), politics (both in the sense of regulatory environments and access to resources of promotional culture such as public relations), and culture (in the sense of the management and maintenance of the dominant ideology) (McNair,

2006). The central argument of the control paradigm is the contention that social elites are extremely effective in dominating media systems to the detriment of democracy and the wider public.

26.2.3 Journalism and Shared News Values

One major area that unifies journalism practice centred on the ways in which certain stories are presented by newspapers or news organisations. According to Niblock (2005), “these values are not as easily accounted for in theoretical analysis of news since they relate closely to journalists’ experience of the process of selection rather than a study of the final products” (Niblock, 2005: 79). This judging process, O’Neill and Harcup (2009) argue, “is guided by an understanding of news values” which is “somewhat mythical” (O’Neill & Harcup, 2009: 161).

One of the main contributions to the study of news values was Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) essay which focused on foreign news coverage, leading to identification of factors which can influence an event’s chances of being published or broadcast as news. For example, journalists may predict something will happen and this will form “a mental pre-image of an event which tends to increase its chances of becoming news” (Harcup, 2009: 39). According to the Irish writer and wit Bernard Shaw, “newspapers are unable, seemingly, to discriminate between a bicycle accident and the collapse of civilization” (cited in Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, Kinsey, & Richardson, 2005: 163). This remark implies that one event may be much more ‘newsworthy’ than another (regardless of the feelings of the individual victim of the bicycle accident). If this is the case, it is challenging for journalists to make judgements in deciding what is news and what is not worthy of inclusion in a newspaper. News is defined by Charnley as “the timely reporting of facts or opinions that hold interest or importance, or both for a considerable number of people” (cited in Ogunsiyi, 1989: 23). For the purpose of the current study, there are many definitions of news; news in a relative sense depends on the circumstances and the situation of the person defining it, based on the person’s sense of news judgement. Hence in this study, news is anything that has just happened which attracts the interest and attention of many people.

In essence, what makes a story newsworthy? We need to understand that there are differences of priority and emphasis between news providers in terms of the stories they cover daily, yet analysis suggests that they share a number of core criteria or news values that determine story selection. The most credible attempt to outline shared news values is provided by Galtung and Ruge (1973, cited in Hodkinson, 2011), who identified “eight criteria which they present as universal and a further four that are deemed more specific to developed and capitalist countries” (Hodkinson, 2011: 130).

26.2.4 News Routines

News routines are repeated practices and forms that make it easier for journalists to accomplish tasks in an uncertain world while working within production constraints (Stoval, 2011). Again, Bell (1991) views journalists as “professional storytellers of our age”, while referring to routine selection of events on the basis of their story potential and the series of decisions about how to turn them into stories, in terms of arrangements of headlines, images, text and illustration, among other practices (Bell, 1991: 147). These routines, as explained by Shoemaker and Reese, are created so journalists can manage their work in the face of the vast amount of incoming information, which in turn is made into news in a factory-like process. In particular, the routines are shaped by the available technology and time (Reese, 2001 in Becker & Vlad, 2009). Drawing from writings on the sociology of work, Tuchman (1972), who is credited with being the first to discuss routines within the context of journalism, argued that a key part of news creation is a reliance on routine procedures for managing the flow of incoming information by journalists (Tuchman, 1972 in Becker & Vlad, 2009).

26.2.5 Towards Professionalism

Early journalists fought for various rights, including for freedom of expression in dictatorial societies. According to McNair, “they were reporters of news, but also campaigners who wrote revolutionary tracts on the rights of man—the rights of women came later” (McNair, 1998: 23). As late as the early nineteenth century, newspapers in both Europe and America remained political party organs, infused with ideological commitments and political passion. By the twentieth century, objectivity had emerged as the central ethical concern of the maturing profession of journalism.

McNair (1998) suggests that the recognition of journalism then was as a result of three broad trends that are apparent in capitalist society, namely; the philosophical, technological and economic factors. By the middle of the eighteenth century the status of journalism as a profession emerges, as creator of ‘the first draft of history’; in aspiring to improve the credibility and status of the profession beyond that of merely literary, journalists believed they “could stand apart from the real world, observe it dispassionately and report back with the truth” (McNair, 1998: 23). Kaplan suggests this led to the development of objectivity as the American professional norm and for seeing it as a product of the distinctive shape of the American ‘public sphere’. Objectivity has become a norm among mainstream media journalists in many democratic societies today and it has helped commercial newspapers to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the public as watchdogs of government and therefore became a proxy for social responsibility.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) make the strongest case for severing the link between objectivity and professional standing in the world of journalism. For

them professionalism is defined less in terms of educational barriers to entry, a lack of state regulation, or the ideal of objectivity; rather it is viewed primarily in terms of “greater control over one’s own work process” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 34 in Schudson & Anderson, 2009). Journalists in democratic states judge journalistic autonomy to be compatible with active and international intervention in the political world; in these terms, journalists in Germany are as ‘professional’ as those in the United States. The social bases of their professionalism, however, and the specific content of their values are different (ibid, 2009). For Sarfatti-Larson (1979), groups seeking professional status must organise themselves to attain market power; they must fight to first constitute and then control the market for their services. They must, as marketers of human services, “produce their producers” through training and education; they must attain state sanction for their occupational monopoly; they must ratify this monopoly through “the license, the qualifying examination, the diploma” (Sarfatti-Larson, 1979: 15). For objectivity, there is need for accuracy and thoroughness, since, for example, journalism convention demands that news headlines reflect the content of the story that follows, while photographs must reflect the actual event in order to avoid sensationalism. There is a need for journalists to understand the difference between news reporting and opinion journalism in their daily news-gathering and reporting activities, as a deliberate departure from the truth questions the integrity of the journalism profession. Aldridge and Evetts (2004) see professionalisation as a social process through which individuals develop common values and norms, establish a code of conduct and agree on a set of qualifications that everyone practising a particular occupation or trade is expected to possess; conformity with these occupation- or trade-specific criteria distinguishes the professional from the amateur. Most of the literature focuses on news selection criteria, news values and views on objectivity as applied in the mainstream media (Aldridge & Evetts, 2004). Hence, News values, routines, sources and objectivity among other universal journalistic functions have been described as the hallmark of journalism profession. Journalism in practice therefore remains universal and the label of African journalism is a mirage.

That said, it is no secret that many African news organisations suffer from shortage of skills and training. The broad conclusion here is that African news outlets are often quite poor and struggle to stay afloat, let alone afford to pay decent salary and equip journalists working for them. As a result of poor funding, the African press is lack lustre and passive. Given this, we need to question the role it plays in perpetuating the image of Africa as initially represented by western media.

26.2.6 Journalists and New Media in Nigeria

Having dismissed the notion of ‘African Journalism’ and embraced journalism in its universality without dilution, we should not lose the sight that news media technologies have transformed journalism practice in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. Judging from the manner in which news itself is conceptualised, gathered, produced and consumed by audiences, it is increasingly necessary to investigate

how the use of Smartphone, internet and email technologies are imparting on daily journalistic practices.

Recent studies have shown that we now 'experience journalism through the eyes of technology' (Bonin, 2013: 1), notes that new media and of recent social media in the likes of Twitter and Facebook are the new ways through which products of journalism are being felt. According to Bonin, 'Unlike previous technology, these allow online communities created by readers, listeners, and viewers to discuss issues, have their voices heard, and get feedback in record time' (Bonin, 2013: 1). New media has accelerated the news gathering process due to its digital nature and offers flexibility to journalists by way of allowing them to spend more time in the office. This contrasts with traditional journalism routines, which induce reporters to roam the streets in search of news without adequate communication devices for networking and direction (Deuze, 2003). Yet, the African continent is still coming to terms with the implications of new media more than two decades into the adoption of such technology (Atton & Mabweazara, 2011).

According to O'Sullivan and Heinonen (2008), the new digital technology offers a novel platform for reaching audiences. It has become part of newsgathering and news processing routines which raised an array of new questions about practices and values entrenched in journalism practice (O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008).

Many studies have shown that new media and journalism practice are largely grounded on technological determinism theory (Chari, 2013; Wasserman & de Beer, 2009). In this theoretical approach, technology is seen as the main driver of social change. That said, technology has always been part of human existence and the ability of man to invent and drive technological changes is seen as what distinguishes humans from other animal species.

In the light of the fundamental changes internet technology has brought to journalism, many scholars voice their concerns about the impact of the internet on journalism. However, Fortunati et al. (2009) identify many ways in which the internet has transformed journalism as a profession. Firstly, consider the changes in journalism practice which have brought about conflicts and negotiations between the social actors who make up the narrative of continuous change that journalism has witnessed: these mean that journalism has been deprived of its role as the fourth estate of the realm. For many years, journalism was regarded as an important force in government, so vital to its functioning that it has been portrayed as an integral part of democracy itself. According to Fortunati et al. (2009) 'journalism has been emptied of its critical, dynamic aspects that place it in balancing opposition to power' (Fortunati et al., 2009: 933). Secondly, it is claimed that technology has allowed publishers to de-structure journalism through internet by facilitating globalisation which has further reconstructed the world as a global village through networked organisation (as argued in Castells, 1996–1998; cf. Fortunati et al., 2009). However, ' **would the new technology improve the overall quality of news and ensure credibility in the system?**'

In essence, the internet has brought about significant changes in journalism. It has initiated rationalisation into journalism in the sense that certain functions can be outsourced, while others could be combined in order to reduce cost. For instance,

most media organisations in Nigeria have embraced multi-platform journalism; journalists are now trained not just to specialised in print journalism, but to be able to handle video and some on-line operations, including the merging of online team and traditional newsroom together. Hence, the same content used for traditional publications is now recycled online. What is different is that online content is now regularly updated. Hence, we need to ask, **‘are journalists positive about the changes brought about by the internet?’**

Pavlik (2001) suggests that advancement in new modern technology have transformed these technical devices, ‘which offer new ways to process raw new data in all its forms, whether handwritten notes, audio interviews, or video content’ (Pavlik, 2001: 49).

In conclusion, it is evident that internet technologies including Smartphone devices have emerged as a potential source of new opportunities for journalists by offering possibility of enhancing their work.

26.2.7 Changing Professional Identities

The process of adopting and adapting to the consequences of new technologies in news production is ambivalent. Again, it is no longer an argument that organising production and managing creativity in the news industry is driven by technology (Deuze, 2008). Yet, many African journalists have failed to recognise the need to examine their role in view of the present challenges and opportunities offered by internet technologies to producers of news and consumers of news.

The impact of convergence culture on the professional identity of journalists is enormous and has to be continuously scrutinised. Domingo (2006) argues that the internet ‘has opened a new chapter in the relationships between publishers and journalists as regards professional identity’ (Domingo, 2006 cited in Deuze, 2008). Internet technologies have offered readers the opportunity to contribute to news content (e.g., the Citizen Journalist), allowing readers to compete with journalists in the area of newsgathering and production. However, journalists are more concerned about losing their relevance in the face of challenges posed by new technologies, they are quick to point out that internet technology do not pose a threat to their traditional role in the society, rather it has enhanced the quality of news being produced. Deuze (2008) note that journalists ‘have reacted with defensive attitudes and still refer to traditional professional role conceptions’ (Deuze, 2008: 935).

Potentially, journalists can remain relevant based on their interpretative, investigative and disseminatory roles played in society. These roles are crucial to sustain their traditional function of being the fourth estate of the realm. No matter the technology, journalists will continue to play important role in society based on investigative skills—crucial in scrutinising government decisions and timely verification of news, conferring credibility on the news production process and analysis of complex issues in the society. Missing is the question, **‘to what extent is the internet, including Smartphones and their applications, considered a source of new opportunities by journalists?’**

26.3 Methodological Considerations

The methodological decisions in this study need to reflect how journalists perceive and evaluate changes as a result of internet technology. In particular, it will examine journalism practice and new media in Nigeria, with particular reference to how the internet, social media, and mobile telecommunications have influenced the practice of journalism among members of NUJ Correspondents Chapel in Abeokuta, Nigeria. The survey exercise was used to gather data on news gathering, reporting and how journalists engage with their audiences.

Survey research according to Babbie (1983) “is perhaps the most frequently used mode of observation in the social sciences and one of the frequently used methods available to social scientists interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly” (Babbie, 1983: 208). Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, and Newbold (1998) note that survey research “usually seeks to provide empirical data collected from a population of respondents on a whole number of topics or issues”. On one hand, the data collected is used to lend support to or negate a hypothesis. On the other hand it can simply provide basic information on existing or changing patterns of behaviour.

The data collected from the questionnaires was measured in ordinal and nominal scales. Descriptive statistics were used to measure the mean, the median and the mode, and to measure the variability, range, variance and standard deviation. A five-point Likert Scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Don’t Know, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree) was used to measure the statements in the questionnaire. The descriptive statistics method was used for the statements in the Likert Scale to obtain the means and response percentages, to compare these values with each other and to compare them with other questions and variables. Excel was used to facilitate the percentage calculations of the variables. In all, 60 questionnaires were distributed and 50 completed questionnaires were successfully completed and giving a return rate of eighty-three (83 %).

The questionnaires were distributed among members of the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Abeokuta, Ogun state, Nigeria. Efforts were made to ensure the samples were representative of age and media group, ownership and gender. The questionnaire has ten (10) questions, eight of which were open ended and two (2) closed ended.

Above all, when choosing interviewees, researchers need to consider a sample that best represents the diverse stakeholders and opinions of those stakeholders. Hence, this study employed representative sampling in achieving this task. According to Deacon et al. (2007), “it is in qualitative research that the assumption that—big is beautiful—is challenged most directly. This is because a lot of qualitative studies are less concerned with generating an extensive perspective” (Deacon et al., 2007: 45). In essence, it is more about turning out findings that can be generalised more widely, rather than probing into specific and complex social phenomena. In order to validate data from the survey of the fifty (50) journalists, and again, to be able to bring out nuances which could not be gleaned through questionnaire, ten (10) in-depth interviews were further conducted. Questions were

asked from these journalists regarding their journalism practice in terms of how they gather news 10 years ago and what changes have they noticed as a result of changes in technology in recent time, why do they embrace such changes and most especially, the principles and values behind such practice. The interview took place in Abeokuta between 3rd and 20th July 2015.

According to Boyce and Neale (2006: 3), “In-depth interview is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents in order to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, situation or practice.” Legard, Kegan, and Ward (2003: 138) state that it is “one of the main methods of data collection used in qualitative research”, while Rorty (1980) argues that it reproduces a fundamental process in which knowledge about the social world is constructed in a typical human interaction (Rorty, 1980).

In-depth interviews typically rely on multiple sources of information and, since it is a more intensive type of interview, they are conducted on a one-to-one basis, and are often lengthier than an ordinary interview, running for more than an hour. Such interviews are good for uncovering hidden issues (Jugenheimer et al., 2010). For instance, we might ask journalists and others associated with a particular type of media practice about their experiences and expectations in relation to a newspaper, or broadcast station and the thoughts they have concerning the newspaper, how they operate and practise their journalism, and about any changes they perceive in themselves as a result of their involvement in the production of the publication.

Notes from the in-depth interviews were transcribed, coded into themes and analysed using hermeneutic interpretations. Data from the survey were analysed using Schleiermacher (1977).

26.3.1 Demographic Data

Seventy one percent (76 %) of the respondents were male, while twenty four percent (24 %) were female. Eighty percent (80 %) were employed in the print media; Eighteen percent (18 %) were employed in the broadcast industry, while two percent (2 %) work for online news websites. The average respondent was a Higher National Diploma (HND) holder; with the youngest within the age bracket of (25–30) constituting fifty four percent (54 %), while the oldest are in the region of (45–50) constituted eight percent (8 %) of the respondents. Respondents have an average working experience of 10 years.

26.4 Results and Conclusion

26.4.1 Journalism and Technology

Fifty six percent (56 %) of journalists surveyed in this study trained as journalists before the advent of World Wide Web, but more than a decade after the adoption of internet by news organisations in Nigeria, journalism is still coming to terms with

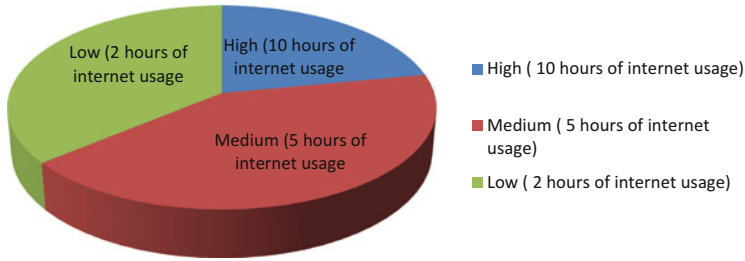


Chart 26.1 Frequency of use of daily internet among journalists in Abeokuta, Nigeria

its implication. Based on the journalists surveyed, this study concludes that internet technology with particular attention to use of portable laptops and Smartphones has become part of the everyday life of Nigerian journalists. In Nigeria today, technology is highly integrated into journalism practice and therefore has become very tangible part of everyday working life among journalists in Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria.

Nigerian journalists continue to integrate new technologies into their news gathering techniques as they emerge. For them, covering events without internet facilities would be like going back in time. Sixty two percent (62%) of state correspondents surveyed in Abeokuta believe that it would be very difficult for them to gather news and report back to their various newsrooms without the use of internet.

When asked about their internet use patterns, eleven percent (11%) admit they spend an average of ten (10) hours on the internet daily for research and other areas that could improve their knowledge of global affairs. As such they see themselves as high user of internet technology. Twenty one percent (21%) spend an average of 5 h daily on internet and see themselves as medium users, while 18% admit spending an average of 2 h daily and regard themselves as low users (see Chart 26.1).

As one of the journalists working for broadcaster 'Ogun State Television' wrote, 'Internet technology's effect on news reporting is considered the most glaring evidence that this is a revolutionary technology, in the sense that journalists and in some cases, the government we observe are no longer the gatekeepers to information because costs of distribution have almost completely disappeared. If knowledge is power, the web is the greatest tool in the history of human existence'.

This account corroborates the argument of Dueze, that new media technology has accelerated the news gathering process due to its digital nature and offers flexibility to journalists.

26.4.2 Use of New Media

In the general use of new media among the journalists surveyed, the study found that eighty six percent (86%) preferred most and often use Google as search engine,

Table 26.1 New media preference of journalists in Abeokuta, Nigeria

Typology		(%) of users
Search engine accounts	Google	86
	Yahoo	10
	Others	4
Email accounts	Gmail	54
	Yahoo	26
	Others	20
Social media platform	Facebook	88
	Twitter	10
	Others	2

fifty four (54) use gmail.com and twenty six percent (26 %) use yahoo.com for their e-mail accounts, while eighty eight percent (88 %) make use of Facebook as their main platform for social media interactions (Table 26.1).

26.4.3 Skilful Use of New Media

Overall, most of the journalists under the study reported that they were experienced users of new media (see Table 26.2). A total of 22 journalists which constitute forty four percent (44 %) confirmed they had over 5 years experience, 13 journalists (26 %), with over 3 years experience, and less that sixteen (16) of the respondents had <2 years experience (see Table 26.2).

26.4.4 News Sourcing with New Media

Incidentally, most journalists make use of new media tools in sourcing local news. The study established that most of the journalists in Abeokuta mainly use SMS to contribute their news ideas for the news diary, though the print diary is the primary tool for news sourcing and planning in many newsrooms in Nigeria. Other tools in use in Nigeria include e-mail and Whatsapp (See Table 26.3).

Seventy two percent (72 %) of surveyed journalists use SMS to share their ideas for the news diary, while less than twelve percent (12 %) use the traditional means. This was discussed with selected journalists during in-depth interview below (Table 26.4).

26.4.5 Online Conference Engagement

Out of all journalists surveyed, only four percent (4 %) have been engaged and sometimes make use of online internet based conference facilities like Skype., while the majority of journalists amounting to ninety six percent (96 %) are not familiar with this application.

Table 26.2 New media use experience of surveyed journalists

Users	Respondents	%
New, with <6 months experience	4	8 %
Over 1 year experience	11	22 %
Over 3 years experience	13	26 %
Over 5 years experience	22	44 %
Over 10 years	0	0
Total	50	100 %

Table 26.3 Tools journalists use to contribute towards new production

Means of contribution	Respondents	%
Official print diary in the newsroom	6	12
SMS	36	72
E-mail	2	4
WhatsApp	6	12

Table 26.4 Use of online (internet based) conferencing platforms

Do you make use of online conferencing facilities?	Respondents	%
Yes	2	4
No	48	96
Total	50	100

26.4.6 In-Depth Interview

Overall analysis on engagement with the above data from our surveyed journalists revealed that journalism is undergoing a fundamental transformation on a massive scale. We are beginning to see the emergence of journalism practice in Africa which allows unequal and immediate access to global information. This allows journalist to engage with their readers through various interactive means, enabling immediate feedback—simply not the case a decade ago in Nigeria.

Further interactions with journalists followed up the survey questionnaire to seek clarification regarding their engagement with new media. Most of the discussion focused on their use of the internet and other technological devices involved in news gathering, for example Smartphones, which are now widely used for voice interviews by journalists in Nigeria. The overall response from journalists interviewed is that devices like the Smartphone are mainly used to keep in touch with family and friends, meeting new people, making professional and business contacts, contacting sources for interview, for appointments and at the same time for official purposes, such as obtaining background information on news events.

Most journalists in Nigeria are no longer using an official voice recorder for interview, stating that their Smartphone equally serves the same purpose. Again, most of the journalists working for print media admit that they sometimes use their Smartphone to video record important news events, which they believe is in the public interest and in turn share such recording on their newspapers website. Here in Nigeria, we are beginning to see what Pavlik asserted, ‘that convergence merely

holds the promise of a better, more efficient, more democratic medium for journalism and the public in the twenty-first century' (Pavlik, 2001: xiii).

Again, most of the journalists agreed that new media provide them with opportunities to contact their source in real time as was never been possible before. They admit that a combination of SMS, Whatsapp and e-mail platforms make it possible for appointments and clarification of issues with sources a reality, unlike a decade ago when these technologies were not in reach. In all, journalists admitted a significant shift from the old traditional system of using paper to write stories in the newsroom while typists are waiting on one side to type news stories written by reporters. In contrast, today's interactive era is one where Smartphones, personal computers, and tablets have dominated journalism operations and in turn this has improved the quality of newsgathering and in extension the news content in Nigeria.

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19 Days in 2015: An Analysis of the Framing of the Digital Migration Debate by Cartoonists in Selected Kenyan Newspapers

27

Jesse Masai

27.1 Introduction

Early on the afternoon of February 14th, 2015, the Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK) switched off analogue transmissions for four of the nation's leading television stations: Citizen TV, Kenya Television Network (KTN), Nation Television (NTV) and QTV. On a day several Kenyans were celebrating Valentine's Day, those watching television suddenly saw screen scrolls which revealed that the regulator was interfering with regular programming. Although the stations were expected to continue transmission on other signal distribution platforms, they withdrew their content, citing copyright infringement, editorial independence, the need to fully prepare for digital migration, and protection of their investments, conservatively estimated to be worth Kshs. 40 billion (Business Today, 2015) (Fig. 27.1).

The regulator, on the other hand, insisted that Kenya needed to fulfill its obligations ahead of the global deadline for digital switchover—June 17th, 2015—in line with a previous resolution by the ITU. In the absence of the four, audiences and advertisers were left to other less dominant players, as well as seemingly ceaseless propaganda between the regulator and the stations. On March 4th, 2015, however, the four declared they would return on air the following day, a few hours before a deadline the regulator had issued (Gitahi, Shollei, & Waruru, 2015). On the evening of March 5th, 2015, the stations four were live, once more, on what they said was their own platform. They were, however, now also available on platforms they had previously denied content.

Through content analysis, this study analyzes how the digital migration debate was covered in the editorial cartoons of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, newspapers owned by two of the media houses embroiled in the stand-off: the Nation, and Standard media groups. The *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* are

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Fig. 27.1 *The Star*, 3 March 2015

important as sources, not just because of their ownership, but also dominance of Kenya's print and online media markets and checkered history in Kenya's democratic process. According to the Media Policy Research Media Policy Research Centre (2015):

The newspaper industry is dominated by the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and their respective weekend editions. These newspapers have a national audience share of 88.9%... . Based on KARF P7D figures, the *Daily Nation* is the leading newspaper together with its weekend editions, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation*. These newspaper editions have an audience share of 56.11%. According to the KARF report, *The Standard* newspaper and its weekend editions *The Standard on Saturday* and *The Standard on Sunday*, have the second highest audience share of 24.74% (pp. 14–15).

The cartoons in the stated period merit study as they provide information on the quick, leave first impressions on the reader, are cold media—therefore requiring greater engagement with the audience—and are, as a result, fairly powerful media. They are, probably, more persuasive than the written text and, therefore, important on their own for that fact.

27.2 Kenyan Cartooning in Context

The capacity of cartoons to make Kenyans laugh at themselves has been well noted by Musila (2007). And while Obonyo (2011) has found them helpful in health communication within majority illiterate societies, Omanga (2014, p. 17) sees them

as “sites through which power is contested, affirmed, or constructed.” Indigenous cartooning in Kenya traces its roots to the 1950s with E.G. Gitau through his popular *Juha Kalulu* series in *Taifa Leo* and early in the 1980s when, according to *The East African* (2014), James Tumuusime—a Ugandan exile in Kenya—began plying his trade with the *Daily Nation* with the series *Bogi Benda*.

The notion, on the other hand, that cartoons construct meaning on and of their own (DeSousa, 1991; Greenberg, 2002; Omanga, 2012; Walker, 2003) gained currency in Kenya when Paul Kelemba became “the pioneer in caricaturing the most powerful man in the land, President (Daniel arap) Moi, way back in 1997, when it just wasn’t the done thing” (Mochama, 2014). Indeed, so popular had Kelemba and Kenyan columnist Wahome Mutahi become that their switch from the *Daily Nation* to *The Standard* earlier on in 1992 had made it onto front pages. The two, it might be argued, had by 1999 made laughing at the powerful so popular that Kenyans could now take it for granted.

Conversely, the power of cartoons to offend the mighty in Kenya might be seen in the fact that there have been three successful court cases against *The Standard* (Mwaura, 2015). The opportunity for the big two to offend would seem to have found an extra-ordinary moment for expression when the East African nation finally embarked on its path towards digital migration. Fertilizer for this appears to have been in a statement from the regulator, Engineer Francis Wangusi (2015) that had accused the broadcasters of, among other ills, inaccurate and misleading advertisement against the competition; generating confusion about digital migration by the said advertisement; the advertisement contravening the must-carry rule; that they lacked the necessary approval to import and sell set-top boxes; refusal to run the regulator’s advertisements; and engaging in cartel-like behaviour. Incidentally, the regulator’s advertisements—published in Kenya’s third main daily, *The Star*—did not employ caricature.

27.3 Method

In this contribution, content analysis, defined by Holsti (1968, p. 608) as “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages,” is employed. Smith (1975, p. 218) further argues that the process might be both qualitative and quantitative, “because qualitative analysis deals with the forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of form, while quantitative analysis deals with duration and frequency of form.” Through content analysis, cartoons from the two newspapers for the period under review were each assessed for content—manifest and latent—related to the digital migration debate.

Much more pronounced, however, was the concept of cognitive mapping. In recent times, this has been necessitated by the need to treat “identity as a variable, (and) to offer a synthetic theoretical framework that demonstrates the possibilities offered by various methods of measurement” (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & McDermott, 2009). Neuendorf and Skalski (2009, p. 209) argue that this ought to be more inferential, and in effect an integrative model of content analysis, “which

calls for the collation of message-centric (i.e., content analysis) data with other available empirical information regarding source, receiver, channel, or other contextual state, whenever possible.”

In their three-category model, the cartoons would more fittingly fall under “naturally occurring messages that one might *assume* to constitute identity messages (e.g., individual-level messages such as personal ads or speeches, or aggregate-level cultural products such as films, news stories, or literature that might represent a culture or society)” (p. 211). This study, therefore, attempts to broadly analyze the cartoons under consideration in the piloting tradition suggested by both Neuendorf and Skalski. Accordingly, an objective coding scheme was developed to address dates, subject matter, placement, illustration, genre/type of the story, gender focus, nature of the cartoon, length, purpose, direction, author affiliation, lead style and geographical sources of cartoons in the identified period.

This paper shows how the cartoons framed the digital migration debate in Kenya. Media scholar Robert Entman suggests that framing “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, p. 52). Glocalization, on the other hand, might be seen as an attempt to represent this debate “through the lenses of Kenyan sociocultural space” (Omanga, p. 25). For the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, this implied explaining digital migration at the international level in images and phrases their local audiences could understand and relate to. Two coders separately assessed both newspapers, after a joint pilot test.

27.4 Findings

In the period under consideration, coverage of the migration debate was limited to 10 cartoons. Six were in *The Standard*, and the remainder in the *Daily Nation*. Cartoons in the former appeared on February 15th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 21st, and the 23rd. In the latter, however, they ran on February 17th, 19th, 22nd, and the 25th. And while cartoons in the *Daily Nation* were consistently on the editorial page (12), those in *The Standard* were invariably on other pages and sections of the paper as well, particularly *Crazy Monday* (23rd) and *Madd Madd Madd World* comic strip (Saturday, the 21st). As editorial cartoons, they could arguably be seen as communicating the two newspapers’ stand on the debate. Tucked elsewhere as was the case with *The Standard*, however, firmly elevated them into an art for extreme humour altogether, in view of *Crazy Monday* and *Madd Madd Madd World*’s hallowed place in Kenyan popular culture.

A clustering of cartoons in both newspapers points to three specific frames of the digital migration debate:

27.4.1 Frame 1: The Government Almighty

Construction of this frame takes place through three cartoons. It starts on February the 15th, the morning after the switch off, in a two-panel cartoon in *The Standard*. In the first panel, the CAK, in its corporate colours of blue and personified in a suited male—possibly its Director General, Engineer Francis Wangusi—is seen in a power room, switching off analogue television. In his left hand is a piece of paper, with the words “analogue TV” written on it, but crossed out in red. Smiling while facing the viewer, he is also sweating, with drops aimed at the piece of paper. In its second panel, a television set is still on, but without regular programming. A couple is seated on a sofa-set, their young son—in a sports t-shirt—standing beside them. The wife tells her husband there is a power blackout, but he says it cannot be, as the lights are still on. The son asks his father, in Kenyan slang, what might be wrong with their television set’s aerial (Fig. 27.2).

In this cartoon, the Kenyan government is clearly portrayed as a capricious, almighty enemy of the public that has worked hard to deny the latter the right to regular programming. The public is confused, with family heads attempting to understand and explain the situation to their dependants. Television is seen as a media platform that brings families together. Discerning readers are left to contemplate the unstated implications of the unfolding situation on the family unit. The public’s agency is demonstrated by conversation in the family, over and against a

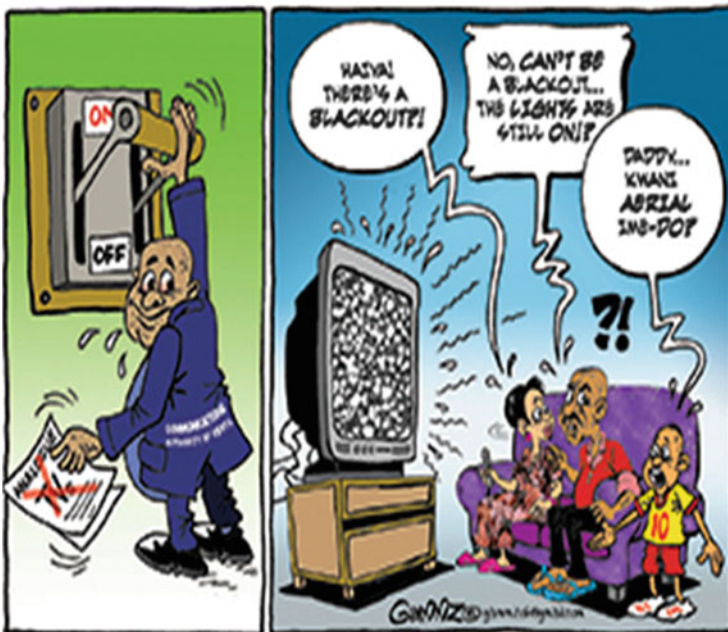


Fig. 27.2 *The Standard*, 15 February 2015

government that is not speaking, but merely acting. This frame is significant, as it defines the debate as a fierce power contest between the government and the public, with Kenyan television as a common good that should otherwise not have been interfered with.

This frame continued on February the 17th in the *Daily Nation*, in a black and white cartoon that further amplifies the meaning being constructed. “Reset your TV sets 30 years back. It’s about to get ugly,” declares the Cabinet Secretary for Information, Communication and Technology, Dr. Fred Matiang’i. In a black suit, he is pointing at the viewer from a black and white television set, homage to the days when Kenya was a digital backwater, and firmly under one-party rule. His teeth are all out, in the Kenyan context often a signal that one may be on the warpath. In this instance, the parent ministry had effectively joined the regulator as part of the evil conspiracy against the public and media.

The last cartoon in this category, for February the 25th in the *Daily Nation*, adds legislators to arms of the government muzzling the press. In this case, however, the legislators are tagged “Mpigs”—derogatory in the Kenyan context, alluding to their perceived greed—and are talking over drinks in a pub in a red light district, with twilight girls on the prowl. An outstretched arm from one of the cars has wads of cash pointed at one of the girls, who is quoted as saying that she pays taxes too. Inside the pub, talk is focussed on digital migration. “We need to do something to get these TV stations back on air,” says one legislator. “My constituents have not seen me on telly for 2 weeks now,” says another. Yet says another: “#©*** I’ve not been able to insult my opponents on air all this time!!” The legislators are not only portrayed as being sleazy, but also the kind in government that is not only missing television, but also might want broadcasts resumed for less than altruistic reasons.

27.4.2 Frame 2: Follow the Money!

Construction of this frame takes place through five cartoons. It begins with a cartoon in the *Daily Nation* on February the 19th, with people of all genders and ages moving about in Chinese boxes as their heads. “More acquire digital ‘brain’ boxes from China,” declares the cartoonist. “Thinking outside the box will be easier,” the voice of reason chimes in. In this case, the Chinese are firmly thrust into the debate, but as a people who might control the thinking of an otherwise free nation through their digital set-up boxes. Kenyans have previously picked online battles—*tweefs*—with other nations on various subjects, but the suggestion in an editorial cartoon that a commercial and cultural invasion could be underway from China was new ground altogether.

On February the 19th in *The Standard*, Dr. Matiang’i is seen strung to a puppet master, whose hand is partially visible, but pulling from the unknown. Strewn on the floor is paperwork on digital migration and licensing. For the first time, the regulator is given a bespectacled human head (Engineer Wangusi), a beak for a mouth, and a duck’s body. He is perched onto Dr. Matiang’i’s left hand, which is also being pulled by the invisible master. The minister announces: “This war has

nothing to do with the games being played!!” Adds the regulator: “Oh yes, it’s an open space!!!” The voice of reason, however, poses: “Eeh? And whose big hand is that?” The reader is clearly told all is not as it seems to be, but left to wonder who it is that might be influencing both the minister and the regulator—key instruments of the State—from the unknown.

In a comic strip—*Madd Madd World*—on February the 21st, Kelemba features digital migration as one of his three main sketches. Combining text and cartoons, he directly accuses President Uhuru Kenyatta and other prominent Kenyans of fronting Chinese interests under the guise of private investment. In the most extensive visual analysis yet, Kelemba tells his readers that as a media owner, President Kenyatta is batting for his side (“it’s also true that when a president has business interests in the media industry—sections of which his or her government is fighting to control—there shall be a big mess. It is also worse when elements in that government take advantage of their positions to do business brought about by digital migration”). Secondly, supposed Chinese companies may actually be Kenyan (“we’re so convinced that some of these companies operating here are actually partly Kenyan-owned. Some have got deals without even being able to do the job and they have to outsource. Some don’t even have audited accounts to showcase their recent existence”). Finally, pay television as well as “‘free’ for life leeches” are but an attempt to hand over private content to other businesses (“in a nutshell, government is ordering analogue broadcasters, with billions invested in their infrastructure over decades, to give PANG their content—and pay for its distribution while they are perfectly capable of doing so themselves given time to install digital equipment ahead of the world deadline which will not add *ugali* in your *sufurias*”). The reference to *ugali* (a Kenyan staple) not being added onto *sufurias* (cooking pans) is particularly poignant, as it alludes to the futility of the whole exercise, akin to fruitless politics. Instructively, this part of the sketch was dubbed “digital migraine.”

On February the 23rd in *The Standard*, another cartoon had a man in a sofa looking askance at a blank television screen, onto which had been nailed two planks of wood, one called “digital” and the other “migration.” On February the 22nd, the *Daily Nation*’s cartoon completed the frame with a suited hand, whose cuff-link is tagged “Jubilee.” Well manicured, it is holding a remote-control, tagged “Pang.” At this stage, the almighty government included the ruling coalition, which now also included a signal distributor associated with Chinese interests. The suggestion that a contemporary African political party might be an extension of burgeoning Chinese interests is more than implied in this case (Fig. 27.3).

27.4.3 Frame 3: Back to the Past!

The final frame emerges from two cartoons, both in *The Standard*. On February the 16th, contemporary man—armed with the tools of modern communication—is



Fig. 27.3 *Daily Nation*, 22 February 2015

captured regressing into early human forms. The cartoonist’s tag for this reverse evolution is “#digital devolution.” As a nation with a devolved system of government, this was a rather back-handed compliment of the Jubilee government’s record 3 years in office. On February the 18th, this was completed by another cartoon in *The Standard*, in which the cartoonist declared that it was now all “back to the past.” At a public square and against a background of African huts and hilltops, a bespectacled Engineer Wangusi—clad in traditional regalia—addresses people who are comparably more modernized in appearance than he is. “Hear ye!! Hear ye!! Here’s your news round up!” he is telling them, reading from a scroll labelled “CA,” i.e. Communication Authority. A drummer boy, chicken and a stray goat complete the cast. The regulator is clearly not only out of touch with the times, but also his audience, which expects much better from him. The view of the mighty as not only outdated in thinking but also, perhaps, foolish would greatly appeal to the underdog image most Kenyans often see themselves as having (Fig. 27.4).

27.5 Discussion

The digitally networked environment, argues Burri-Nenova (2008, p. 1), “has modified the ways markets for cultural content function and the ways in which cultural content is created, distributed and accessed.” In this regard, both the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* considered it their mandate to explain the digital migration debate to their readers and, in so doing, expanded the arena of reflections on this matter beyond television. As platforms owned by the media houses embroiled

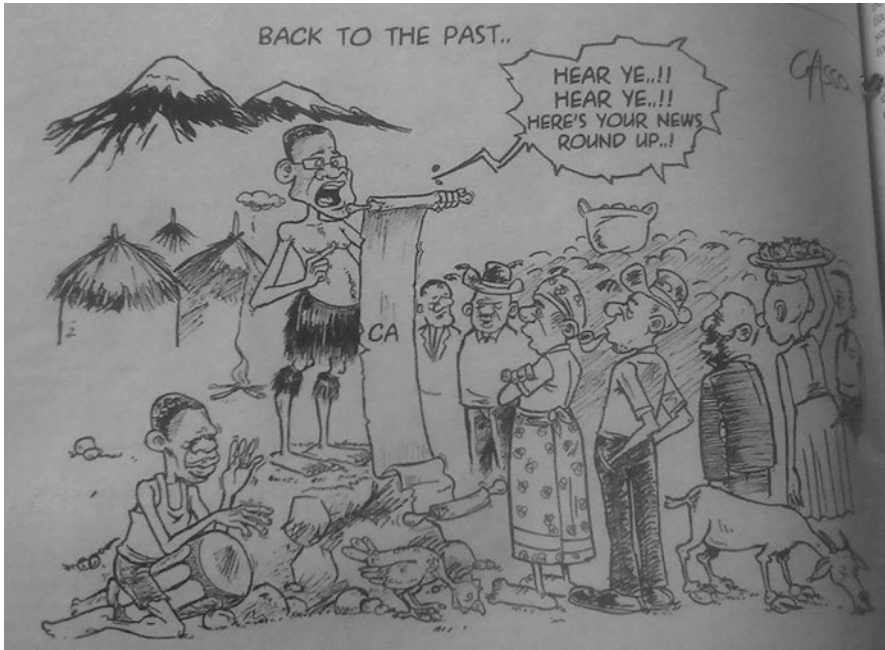


Fig. 27.4 *The Standard*, 18 February 2015

in the debate, they also effectively became an extension of the protracted battle between the broadcasters and the government. The posture of the three media houses in this debate is perhaps what led the Media Policy Research Centre to accuse them of “apparent dithering” and holding “the country to ransom with their unwillingness to allow for a complete switchover to digital broadcasting, a process expected to be finalized on 17 June 2015” (p. 2).

The first frame, while effervescent, does little to provide extensive context to the debate. Kenya’s documented attempts at preparing for the digital migration since March 2007 are not addressed in the cartoons. (Media Policy Research Centre, pp. 9–11) As was the case with the Cameroonian government (Lishan Adam, Jensen, Song, & Southwood, 2013, p. 39), a review of literature on the regulator’s website points to a Kenyan establishment that had effectively adopted a digital switchover strategy that outlines key interventions in six main areas: Institutional and regulatory framework development; technical standards and frequency management; content development; human capacity building; financing; consumer protection and education. Like Estonia, the Kenyan State seemed to have narrowed its digital agenda to “creating an environment that facilitates the use of (Information and Communication Technologies) ICT and the development of smart solutions” (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communications, 2014, p. 2). The cartoons in question do little to speak to this, as indeed the media’s own role in the debate since 2007. In the end, Kenyan media would be accused of being dishonestly one-sided in

the debate, while the regulator was incompetent in its execution of the transition (Gathara, 2015). This affirmed Katrin Nyman-Metcalf's warning that "a lot of broadcasters in many countries do not like the process (at least initially) and have tried to obstruct it. . . . At the same time, there are many examples of regulators (governments) handling the process badly" (Personal correspondence, 2015). Ironically, all this was unfolding just over a year after President Kenyatta had, at a famous media breakfast in Nairobi's State House, observed that "the relationship between Government and media need not be adversarial" (Kenyatta, 2013).

The second frame effectively questions the business side of the migration debate. The fear that media pluralism might be negatively influenced by the dominance of the State in broadcasting has been with Kenyans since the days of the one-party era when the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) ran as a propaganda tool and, whenever it engaged in unfair competition with private companies once the industry was liberalized. "Such an abuse of freedom of the media," experts have warned, "seems to get a boost in the (digital) switchover process" (Nyman-Metcalf & Richter, 2010, p. 4). In Kenya, some are wary that its increasingly look-East policy could further complicate the situation, given China's very own restrictive media environment. Indeed, none has been more eloquent on this than columnist Jaindi Kisero. Writing in the *Daily Nation* (2015), he observed:

Star Times has been straddling the continent, cutting opaque deals with ministers of communications, telecommunication regulators and State-owned broadcasters, gobbling every deal in sight and leaving behind loud protests by incumbent broadcasters. Today, when as a local player, your interests clash with the interests of Chinese capital in the digital migration space, you will unwittingly find yourself pitted against an impregnable nexus of influential power brokers.

The third frame, on the other hand, points to the urgency of the task of bridging the digital gap in the developing world, and the agency the government must assume to help make this happen. That gap, in addition to privacy and security, has been considered a significant challenge in similar transitions elsewhere (Nyman-Metcalf, 2014, p. 73). The key success factors, it does appear, will remain having all actors on board; strong leadership; sufficient financial resources; and an effective communication strategy (DigiTAG, 2013, p. 23). On the last factor, cartoons might particularly be helpful in conveying the dividends of the digital migration, which seem to have been conveniently lost in the Kenyan debate.

27.6 Conclusion

With regard to the specific objectives of this study, it may be concluded that cartoons in both the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* perpetuated the standoff between the broadcasters on one hand and the Kenyan government on the other. While the Kenyan government clearly saw it as an opportunity to tame a recalcitrant industry, the broadcasters defined it—through the cartoons—as an existential battle for free enterprise, limited government and press freedom. Perhaps, in Christian

Koenig's timeless words, "a more refined State aid law approach after a crude switch over to digital television" would have been helpful (2012, p. 1).

Secondly, the majority poor world will need to factor popular culture, in the way of cartoons, as part of its communication strategy in similar transitions. There also exists a cautionary tale in the monopoly the three media house have on the Kenyan landscape, and the ways in which their cross-ownership of various platforms—print in this instance—served to complicate this particular debate. As the Media Policy Research Centre has warned:

(They) are growing more powerful and are able to influence goings-on (including the political process and democracy) in Kenya. This trend is worrying given their covert and, sometimes, overt support for particular political parties, politicians, ideas, and ideologies, and marginalisation of issues of the common people (p. 2).

Finally, the media ownership structure in most African countries, as indeed other majority poor contexts, points to exciting times ahead. In much of Africa, monopolies or duopolies of various shades mostly run the show. Assessing the Kenyan experience, Nyman-Metcalf has observed:

(It is an) interesting reflection on how broadcasters can use ownership of other media to push their side of the story in digitalization. I am not aware of this from other countries where their opposition has often not been so public (due to costs, not being adequately prepared etc.) and the opposition from the audience (having to get new equipment, for instance.) are often two separate things, as ordinary people would rather see the broadcasters as the "villains" as they do not understand well where the new system comes from (Personal correspondence, 2015).

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Recommendation Further research needs to be undertaken on why no cartoon in either paper addressed digital migration after February the 25th, yet the days following marked some of the most dramatic moments in the debate. Further examination of governmental discourses around digital migration might also be necessary.

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Understanding Quality in Digital Storytelling: A Theoretically Based Analysis of the Interactive Documentary

28

John V. Pavlik and Jackie O. Pavlik

Storytelling is undergoing a dramatic transformation in the age of digital media. New techniques for telling stories interactively, immersively and using multiple media are fast emerging. New narrative structures are being developed built on data and in dynamic formats. This chapter examines the nature of this storytelling transformation in the form of the interactive documentary, an emergent type of digital journalism. The interactive documentary has emerged in the past two decades as a format for telling journalistic stories based on original research or reporting, multiple media, and immersive environments to engage the audience interactively with deep content, the storyteller and each other.

This chapter develops and tests a theoretical framework that articulates the key dimensions of storytelling in the interactive documentary, a media form using digital, networked and mobile media. Among these dimensions are the concepts of interactivity, immersiveness, multiple media, and dynamic narrative or non-linear story structure. This chapter builds on other work (Dominguez, 2014; Höllerer, Feiner, & Pavlik, 1999; Nash, Craig, & Summerhayes, 2014; Pavlik, 2001; Pavlik & Bridges, 2013) and Gifreu Castells (2013) whose research “provides an original conceptual framework and taxonomic study of the interactive documentary and the interactive forms of nonfiction.”

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28.1 A Conceptual Framework for Digital Journalism Storytelling

Storytelling comes in a wide variety of media forms, from short stories to novels, animations to feature-length motion pictures. For the democratic process, among the most important forms of storytelling is that of journalism. In journalism, the primary content unit is the story. Assignment editors famously direct reporters to, “Get the story!”

The story in journalism is a container for a message of presumed public importance or at least interest. A journalistic story does not mean a fable. It is a story that represents the real world as observed and reported honestly by journalists. The story in journalism is not imagined. Journalists observe for themselves. They interview eyewitnesses to events and expert sources. They interrogate documents and records especially those from the public or governmental arena. They cull the facts from extensive reporting, a form of journalistic research, and assemble the facts into a narrative form called the news story. Stories in journalism deal with real people and places, actual processes and events. Journalists use the story to tell what are called the five W’s: who, what, when, where and why, plus at least occasionally how. These stories typically follow a structure that begins with a lead sentence containing the most important elements of the story, followed by a nut graph, expanding a bit on key elements, and then the body of the story with least important elements toward the end. Editors can then delete for space reasons from the bottom up. Breaking or hard news often uses this story structure known as the inverted pyramid, as it puts the most important information at the start or the top of the pyramid (Wikipedia, 2015a, b, c). An example might be from the 2015 news: Freddie Gray died while in police custody in Baltimore yesterday. This lead contains who (Freddie Gray), what (died, stated in the active voice), when (while and yesterday), where (in Baltimore) and even touches on the how (in police custody).

Alternative structures are often used for soft or human interest or feature stories. Such stories might start with an anecdote or vignette, and then move on to the main narrative.

In days increasingly gone-by, the tools journalists used to tell the story were primarily the word, spoken or written, supplemented by photographs, graphics, video and audio. These largely text-based stories were packaged for and delivered to the public in printed media, such as newspapers and magazines, and electronic media, such as television and radio. In even older days, newsreels were an important source of news in the form of motion pictures. . .and before that there were other analog forms.

These journalism stories of the twentieth century tended to feature a narrative structure that revolved around two dimensions: the most important facts tended to come first, and stories used a structure that implied or assumed a beginning (how the story started), middle (where it went) and end (how it concluded). For example, a standard breaking news item might report on a robbery, revealing the most important facts of the case, and implying what happened first (the robbery),

involving whom (e.g., victim, suspect), how the case proceeded (did the police catch the suspect) and eventually how it turned out (was the suspect convicted). This information probably would not be reported all in one version of the story, but would be reported in a series of reports over time, perhaps days, weeks, months or even years (e.g., the Etan Patz unsolved child-kidnapping case in New York City from 1979 developed new storytelling aspects in 2015 with a trial of a suspect; Wikipedia, 2015a, b, c). Various factors would affect the relative importance of the different facts and people. For instance, the involvement of a celebrity in a crime would greatly heighten the “who” element of a story. Stories in the analog age model were published or broadcast and fixed in time or place.

The story consists of three main elements: the facts, the sources of information the reporter relies upon, and the presentation of the story.

The rise of digital media and the Internet have ushered in sweeping changes to the media landscape and have utterly transformed the storytelling palette for the journalist of the twenty-first century. A journalist might as often be a citizen reporter as a professionally trained and paid newsman or woman.

As such, each of the three elements described above, the facts, the sources, and the presentation, are undergoing dramatic changes. Moreover, the transformation is very much a work in progress. . . it is continuing to shift like the Earth’s tectonic plates and is resulting in continuous changes in the journalism story form.

Figure 28.1 summarizes the general model of storytelling in traditional analog media. This model widely characterized mainstream U.S. news media in the twentieth century and some other news media internationally.

In this model, the story structure is linear, with an implied beginning, middle and end. The story is published or broadcast in a fixed form or place, with corrections offered subsequently when errors are detected. Context is generally very limited as editors focused on a single spine or frame for each story arc.

Fig. 28.1 Digital media journalism storytelling model

- Foundational
 - Extensive reporting
 - Message substance
 - Production values
- Structural
 - Non-linear
 - Dynamic
 - More process-centered, less episodic
 - Immersive, 1st-person point of view increasing
- Features of Digital Media Environment
 - Multiple modalities
 - Interactive
 - Contextualized

The citizen consumes the story passively, reading, watching or listening to the story as presented, with little opportunity to provide feedback or to interact other than face to face with friends or family or in the form of a letter or phone call to an editor. Stories feature one or two modes of human communication, such as text, image, sound or moving image for the eye. Journalists typically conceptualize the story in the form of an episode or event, or occasionally a process. The narrative voice or perspective is typically the third person. This perspective tends to imply neutrality on the part of the storyteller or journalist. The story approach was almost always a non-participatory narrative, with the journalist attempting to present the facts and sources in a value-free or neutral fashion. Research has demonstrated that this style of “objectivity” in the narrative is generally flawed in that any reporter or news organization brings a bias, whether personal, cultural or commercial. It has generally been replaced by approaches that place greater emphasis on fairness or impartiality. The frequent blurring of notions of facts (measurable or observable information) and opinion (a point of view with regard to the facts, situation, issue or participants) is also contributing to this problem.

These elements align around three main dimensions: the fundamentals, such as the reporting or research and writing and editing needed to achieve accuracy and overall excellence; structural elements, such as the narrative format and voice; and the features of the medium of communication (e.g., newspapers, TV, radio), such as the modalities of communication. Content form is generally based on the written word, with audio, video, and images (photographs and graphics) layered into or onto the presentation of a story.

Much of the impetus for the development of new digital storytelling forms arises from the struggles of journalism leadership to adapt and innovate in a changing media landscape. Boczkowski (2010) notes that in the analog age of media, journalism had been increasingly characterized by a sameness in content that undermined audience engagement. “The rise of homogenization in the news has led to a state of affairs that neither journalists nor consumers like but feel powerless to alter” (p. 6).

As digitization has transformed the media and communication environment, traditional media have faced an increasing crisis to maintain their position in the media arena. This crisis includes a loss of audience or consumers of news as well as a loss of advertising sponsorship, a primary financial foundation for much of the journalism industry, especially in the U.S. (Steel & Ember, 2015). The public has migrated to digital communication platforms including social media such as Facebook and Twitter and digital search portals such as Google. Correspondingly, marketers have increasingly invested their resources in these digital platforms to employ highly efficient, algorithm driven media to engage consumers with their advertising messages. Traditional news and media organizations have seen their revenues drop and in response have sought new business models often increasingly based on digital subscriptions or other data-driven advertising models (Ember, 2015). News leadership has also encouraged innovation in storytelling forms, such as the interactive documentary, that utilize the digital media increasingly favored by the public and marketers. These new storytelling forms require changes

in journalistic practice and methods of work, as journalists must learn to use new tools such as virtual reality to tell their stories. This adaptation has challenged news organizations around the world.

Figure 28.1 outlines the main parameters of a model of storytelling for journalism in the age of digital, networked and mobile media. This model aligns around three main dimensions: the foundational, the structural, and the presentational and interactive features of the digital media environment. Foundationally, all journalism storytelling, whether part of the old model or the new, rests on certain fundamental elements. Among these, the most important are extensive research, or what journalists call reporting (including a number of forms such as direct observation, photographs, video and audio recording, and document or public records analysis), great writing and editing, and thorough fact-checking, supplemented by excellent news judgment (what is important, fair and in the public interest) and ethics. Reporting is evolving rapidly and although some traditional methods are still central, such as the personal interview, other data-driven methods are on the rapid ascent. Further, as these fundamental elements evolve, they impact storytelling, by enabling data-driven visualizations and the like, as has been suggested above. In the digital age, production values (e.g., audio, video quality) are an important factor in creating a compelling multimedia narrative.

Notably, the substantive characteristics of a story are relevant to its presentation. This is true whether in the old or new model. These characteristics include the social meaning, significance or resonance of a story, the unexpectedness or surprising nature of the story (i.e., what is new or novel), and the vividness of the presentation, either through words or images, but increasingly through emergent forms such as immersive or tactile experience.

The story approach is evolving away from the traditional non-participatory narrative model in which the reporter tells the reader, listener or viewer, what happened and to whom, or what the parameters or consequences of the issue are. In its place, more immersive and participatory models are emerging, including simulations in which the audience member becomes more akin to a user of software or mobile app and experiences the events for her or himself through role playing, making decisions as if a character in a non-fiction play. Or, game formats are being developed where the user plays against others or a computer algorithm in an attempt to explore and understand the circumstances, people and issues presented in the digital materials. Virtual reality and augmented reality are also being employed to create a more immersive experience (Project Syria, 2014). Gaudenzi (2013) describes this new approach to storytelling as a transformation from “representing reality” in traditional film or analog documentaries to “co-creating reality in the digital interactive documentary” (p. 1).

Structural elements of news stories are increasingly of a dramatically different form in the digital age of journalism. Stories increasingly feature a non-linear narrative form. There may not be an implied beginning, middle or end, and more often than not each citizen may consume or experience the story in a variety of arcs or narratives. Stories increasingly feature process-centered themes (e.g., the role of

race or social class in the criminal justice system) and are less dominated by episodic or event-centered news.

In addition, journalism stories in the twenty-first century are increasingly utilizing a new voice or perspective alternative to the third-person voice long heard or read in the U.S. news. First-person and second-person voice is increasingly providing the news consumer with an opportunity to see or hear the news from the perspective of a central player in a story, what in drama is called the protagonist. This enables the audience member to imagine being in a place and experiencing something for her or himself. Such first-person perspective is common in immersive media forms. It is also increasingly employed in audio (e.g., online, via podcasts) and radio storytelling such as on *The Moth* (2015).

Digital journalism stories increasingly utilize the qualities or characteristics unique to the networked, digital and mobile media environment. Stories often feature a wide spectrum of content formats and modalities. Any story is likely to contain a variety of media formats, including text, audio, video, and emergent forms, including animation, haptic or tactile presentations, data visualizations, and locative media.

Storytelling is increasingly interactive. This means interaction between or among citizens and journalist, often in the form of social media. It also means between the story consumer and the content itself. For instance, the citizen might click on an object in the story presentation to access additional embedded content, or to customize the information in the story. Interactivity often takes the form of a clickable menu for navigation through the documentary content.

Further, and this is a structural dimension that links directly to the digital media environment, the content in digital stories is increasingly dynamic and data-driven (Pavlik, 2014). As a result, stories can evolve or adapt over time or to user preferences or circumstances (e.g., location) or media form used (e.g., mobile). Data-driven visualizations are increasingly common and customizable.

Finally, digital journalism stories are increasingly providing contextualization to the episodes or events that may have been their original impetus. For instance, a story about the 2015 riots in Baltimore, MD might extend far beyond the specifics of the circumstances that resulted in one young man's death and provide historical context based on data regarding the housing, community segregation and income inequality along racial lines that has long characterized the city of Baltimore (and much of the U.S.).

Combined, these digital journalism storytelling elements enable the story to heighten the engagement of the citizen in the news being reported. Public engagement has always been a central goal of journalism regardless of form. But it has often been difficult to achieve, especially in the latter part of the twentieth century as citizens, at least in the U.S., often became increasingly alienated from the political process. Although this chapter does not directly measure engagement, it is an important topic for possible future investigation.

- Foundational
 - Extensive reporting

- Message substance
- Production values
- Structural
 - Non-linear
 - Dynamic
 - More process-centered, less episodic
 - Immersive, 1st-person point of view increasing
- Features of Digital Media Environment
 - Multiple modalities
 - Interactive
 - Contextualized

This model provides the foundation for the analytical framework the authors use to critically examine a set of award-winning or highly acclaimed interactive documentaries and can extend to other emerging storytelling forms.

28.2 Methodology

For this chapter, the authors have outlined a digital storytelling framework for journalism that builds on the traditional model of the story form in journalism, but re-conceptualizes it for the digital, networked and mobile age. The authors employ this digital storytelling framework to systematically analyze the techniques used in an emergent form of twenty-first century journalism story called generally the interactive documentary. The authors have chosen this story form because it encapsulates many of the possibilities innate to the realm of networked and digital media. The specific interactive documentaries selected for a close examination, or interrogation, are ten award-winning or highly acclaimed original journalistic productions from the past decade around the world.

To critically examine these interactive documentaries, the authors use a form of close reading (i.e., examination) known generally as textual analysis, although it is not limited to text (e.g., it can include audio or video, etc.), nor is it strictly reading (i.e., it can include any mode of expression) (Anderson, 2011). The authors interrogate each selected interactive documentary to assess and measure the extent to which it incorporates each of the dimensions in the model or the presence or absence of particular techniques.

Each author coded every selected interactive documentary to test inter-coder reliability. A measure of reliability is generated by assessing inter-coder agreement on each of 15 dimensions included in the coding framework and averaging overall.

- Foundational Elements
 - Extent of evidence of reporting (number of sources cited)
 - Message substance (significance of social meaning, novelty—describe)
 - Quality of writing, editing
 - Production values, reflecting quality of audio, video or other content elements

- Structural Elements
 - Use of Non-Linear narrative structure (sequencing, layering content, braided, interrupted, or mutable narrative)
 - Presence of dynamic data-driven content (e.g., customization, data visualizations, fluidity, location-enabled, kinetic/motion)

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 - Extent of evidence of reporting (number of sources cited)
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- Structural Elements
 - Use of Non-Linear narrative structure (sequencing, layering content, braided, interrupted, or mutable narrative)
 - Presence of dynamic data-driven content (e.g., customization, data visualizations, fluidity, location-enabled, kinetic/motion)
 - Use of Immersive, 1st person point of view (versus 3rd person narration)

- Features Unique to the Digital Media Environment
 - Number of Media Modalities (text, audio/actualities, acoustic elements/environmental sounds, video/GPS encoded, drone video or satellite imagery (Pavlik, 2015), animation, music, voices, adaptable to mobile, wearable; color, light, image composition, pattern making or grouping/shapes and models, user interface, motion, java, flash, gifs, virtual reality, augmented reality/ Google cardboard possibilities, haptic, tactile, physical computing such as 3D or 4D printing)
 - Extent of interactive content elements (clickable, BMI, game interface)
 - Incorporation of social media interactivity (engaged with social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, role of Internet of things)
 - Extent or presence of contextualized content (connected to larger picture, data patterns, historical trends)
 - Approach (e.g., narrative exploration, game, simulation, virtual reality)

Fig. 28.2 Analytic framework for digital media journalism storytelling

- Use of Immersive, 1st person point of view (versus 3rd person narration)
- Features Unique to the Digital Media Environment
 - Number of Media Modalities (text, audio/actualities, acoustic elements/environmental sounds, video/GPS encoded, drone video or satellite imagery (Pavlik, 2015), animation, music, voices, adaptable to mobile, wearable; color, light, image composition, pattern making or grouping/shapes and models, user interface, motion, java, flash, gifs, virtual reality, augmented reality/Google cardboard possibilities, haptic, tactile, physical computing such as 3D or 4D printing)
 - Extent of interactive content elements (clickable, BMI, game interface)
 - Incorporation of social media interactivity (engaged with social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, role of Internet of things)
 - Extent or presence of contextualized content (connected to larger picture, data patterns, historical trends)
 - Approach (e.g., narrative exploration, game, simulation, virtual reality)

Figure 28.2 presents a framework for the analysis of digital media journalism storytelling. The authors use this framework to analyze a set of 10 award-winning or highly acclaimed interactive documentaries from the U.S. and six other countries in North America, Latin America, Europe, and Asia. The authors have selected these for the following three reasons. First, these selected productions reflect a diversity of content as reflected in the international aspects of each interactive documentary. Second, the standard of implied quality of these productions is reflected in their award-winning and acclaimed status. Third, the free availability online or on mobile platforms including Apple iOS makes these available to students, journalists, the public at large and other scholars anywhere for further examination.

28.3 Findings

The authors have analyzed ten interactive documentaries. The analysis is based on the storytelling framework outlined above. The ten selected interactive documentaries are listed in Table 28.1

The ten interactive documentaries examined in this chapter explore a wide range of topics, from an examination of a murder mystery in Iceland to the decline of farming communities in Iowa. Each interactive documentary won at least one award or recognition for quality. *Fort McMoney*, for instance, “was named Best Original Interactive Production Produced for Digital Media at the 3rd Canadian Screen Awards” (Academy Awards, 2015). *Le Mystere de Grimouville* won the FIGRA2013 Award Inside Web&Doc and SCAM2013Brouillon d’un Reve.

The authors’ textual analysis of the ten interactive documentaries reveals that journalists use a wide spectrum of digital techniques to create engaging stories. The findings are grouped into the three broad dimensions as outlined in the journalism storytelling framework outlined in Fig. 28.2. First are findings with

Table 28.1 Ten award-winning interactive documentaries

1. <i>Le Mystere de Grimouville</i> : mystery in a French community (France, 2013)
2. <i>Hollow</i> : an interactive documentary about the economic and cultural decline of an American community in West Virginia (USA, 2013)
3. <i>Fort McMoney</i> : a Web documentary and strategy video game about the efforts in Fort McMurray, Alberta, Canada, to develop the world's largest oil sand reserves (Canada, 2013)
4. <i>Inside disaster</i> : inside the Haiti earthquake experienced through a multimedia simulation (Haiti, 2010)
5. <i>A Journey to the End of Coal in China</i> (China, 2008)
6. <i>The Reykyavik Confessions</i> : The mystery of why six people admitted roles in two murders when they couldn't remember anything about the crimes. Produced by the BBC, UK (2014)
7. <i>Harvest of Change</i> : Iowa farm families confront a nation in transition. Produced by <i>The Des Moines Register</i> . USA (2014)
8. <i>Gaza Confidential</i> . Klynt Interactive Player mobile app for iOS, France (2015)
9. <i>Losing Ground: Louisiana erosion</i> , from ProPublica; USA (2014)
10. <i>Fukushima</i> : a nuclear disaster, from POV; USA (2014)

regard to the structural dimensions of the interactive documentary. Next are the storytelling elements unique to the digital, networked media environment. Last are the findings with regard to the foundational elements of writing, research and production values.

Most of the productions employ a non-linear narrative model, but the extent to and manner in which they do so varies. *Hollow*, for instance, gives the user control over the general episodes to explore, but the specific elements of each largely consist of a series of linear video segments.

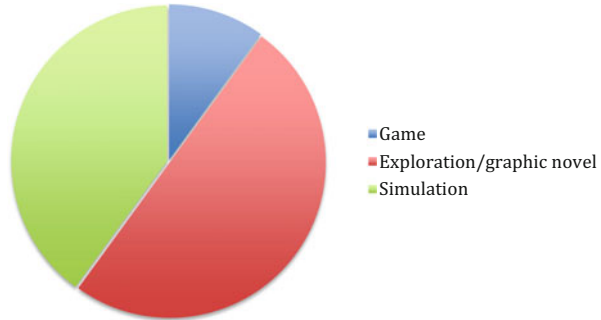
The productions enable various levels of user customization. *Fort McMoney* allows the user to customize the settings. *Fort McMoney* is largely a user-constructed narrative. The production presents a series of data points and decisions that the user must make. Each choice can affect the subsequent possibilities and the overall user experience.

Inside Disaster: Inside the Haiti Earthquake allows substantial user customization, as well, with options including various choices within the narrative, such as the decisions about how to frame a story (e.g., is the chaos best described as “looting” or “scavenging”) if the user selects the role of the journalist.

Figure 28.3 provides a summary of the varying storytelling approaches featured in the interactive documentaries. There are four main types of approaches: simulation, game, virtual reality and narrative exploration. Several productions use the narrative exploration approach. In this approach, the producers have designed their digital content to enable the user to proceed through the elements of the narrative at a largely self-paced and user-controlled fashion, but with relatively little interactivity. Each individual piece is largely linear in format. The voice or perspective in these productions is generally the third person. This is for the most part in the fashion of a traditional documentary.

Several of the productions employ a roleplaying approach in which the digital elements are arranged in a fashion that provides a virtual simulation of the

Fig. 28.3 Storytelling approach

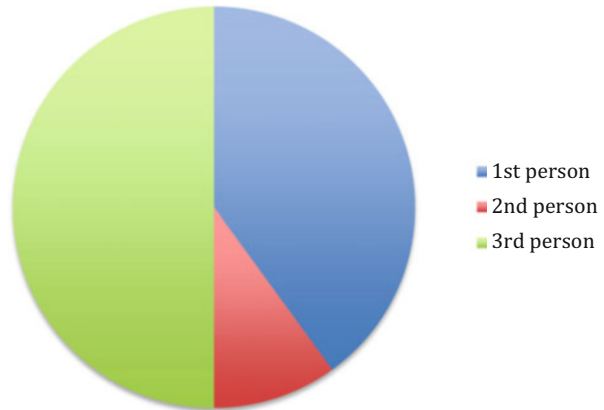


corresponding real-world subject matter. This is the case in the *Inside Disaster* production, “Simulation: Inside the Haiti Earthquake.” The user selects from one of three roles, such as a survivor of the earthquake, an aid worker, or a journalist on an assignment to produce a documentary. Through these roles, the user proceeds in a first-person perspective attempting to achieve the goals as laid out for her or his character, confronting a variety of challenges and problems, making decisions and attempting to solve them. As the simulation states, “What decisions would you make as an earthquake survivor, aid worker, or journalist in Haiti after the earthquake? *Inside the Haiti Earthquake* is a first-person simulation based on documentary footage from Haiti and real-life decision scenarios. Try it now, click the graphic below.”

Some productions use a game approach, in which participants can play against other users or against the computer. Such is the case in *Fort McMurray*, which takes the user to the real-life setting of Fort McMurray, Canada. There, the user enters a community confronted by major growing pains, environmental problems and more as the sand oil industry booms. Virtual reality is used in *Harvest of Change* as a platform for experiencing life in an Iowa farming community. While a web-based version is available, the full experience requires Oculus Rift or a similar wearable head-set. *Gaza Confidential* uses a graphic novel approach, layering in animated text and limited user interaction and is designed for mobile, hand-held device users.

Figure 28.4 provides a summary of the point of view, voice or perspective employed in the productions. First-person perspective was common as expected but third-person was in fact somewhat surprisingly used slightly more often. Some productions allow the user to see the same story, circumstances or events from multiple perspectives.

The modes of communication are diverse, and several productions make use of at least eight modes of expression. The modes utilized include audio in the form of spoken words, music, environmental sounds, photographs, artist-rendered graphics, data-driven visualizations, video, animation, immersive video, and location-based media. None of the interactive documentaries employ emerging modalities such as drone-captured video or other data collected via multi-spectral sensors that might provide aerial or other broader perspective or tactile engagement.

Fig. 28.4 Perspective

Several of the productions provide compelling contextual information. *Hollow*, for example, provides extensive data and historical information on the decline of the county it examines in West Virginia, USA. It situates the county in time and place, and uses algorithms to automatically generate animations of the data-driven visualizations.

Most of the productions use social media, and do so in several alternative forms. First, any that integrate social media at a minimum allow users to share or like their experience on social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. A few also allow the user to upload information that can be shared with other participants with regard to the story.

All the productions utilize interactive techniques but vary in their method. Most utilize an on-screen clickable menu that allows the user to select and navigate through the content. *Le Mystere de Grimouville* extends its interactive navigation further, providing an animated, locative map of the community that overlays the user's virtual location in real time. But the map is not interactive; the user cannot click on a location and move there by choice.

A small number of the productions utilize a mobile platform. Most of the productions were designed for a Web presentation. The newest of the productions tended to utilize a mobile design and app. *Gaza Confidential* is one example. The mobile apps tended to offer less overall interactivity than the Web-based documentaries.

The productions generally utilize original reporting, and draw on a wide range of types of sources. The writing and editing quality is generally good. Several productions use a wide spectrum of sources, including interviews, paper records, digital records, direct observation in the form of photographs, video or audio recording, and governmental data such as the U.S. Census, economic data and the like. *Gaza Confidential* is drawn largely from secondary sources, but utilizes some direct observational evidence. The production values are generally good, and some are exceptional. *Le Mystere de Grimouville*, *Hollow* and *Fort McMurray*, for instance, all utilize high quality professionally produced multimedia. Shots are

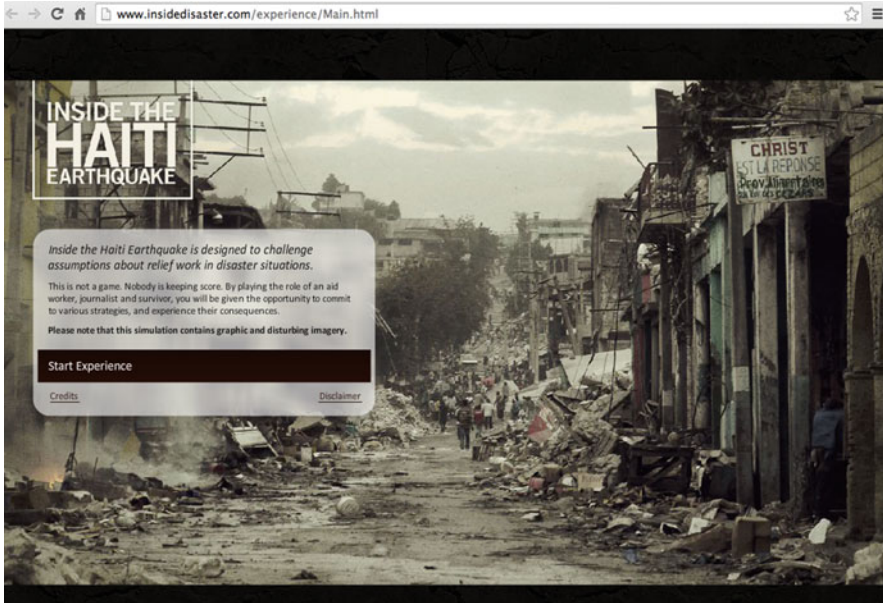


Fig. 28.5 Inside The Haiti Earthquake interface

well composed and appropriately lighted. Color and framing are effective and video and audio tightly edited.

The significance and novelty of the content of each story varies. Most explore a domain that involves elements of social or economic injustice, the imbalance of power, and environmental consequences of large corporate or governmental actions or policies. Some explore topics of human greed and crime, including murder. Several engage the user in a mystery that can only be understood by completing the interactive experience.

Figures 28.5 and 28.6 provide screen shots from two of the interactive documentaries. These illustrate aspects of the digital storytelling. Figure 28.5 illustrates the opening scene setting in *Inside Haiti*, designed to engage the user in the story. Figure 28.6 illustrates the complex user interface employed in *Fort McMoney*.

Two particularly interesting interactive documentaries that scored highly on nearly every dimension of the storytelling framework are *Losing Ground* and *Fukushima*. *Losing Ground* is an intriguing interactive documentary from ProPublica. *Losing Ground* examines the topic of the environmental devastation of development and industry activities in the Gulf region of Louisiana. *Fukushima* is a similarly creative interactive documentary. *Fukushima* examines the aftermath of the 2011 catastrophic nuclear accident in Japan. Both productions make extensive use of data-driven visualizations, location-based media, and compelling media perspectives, including satellite imagery to provide effective understanding of environmental dimensions of their stories.



Fig. 28.6 Fort McMurray interface

28.4 Concluding Reflections

This chapter has examined the evolving nature of journalistic storytelling in the form of the interactive documentary. The interactive documentary has emerged in the twenty-first century as an increasingly widely used non-fiction story form in journalistic work around the world.

The findings reported here suggest at least three sets of implications for the journalism storytelling model presented in Fig. 28.3. First, journalists utilize a wide spectrum of techniques in producing and designing interactive documentaries. There is no single design standard.

Second, the findings confirm three major dimensions of digital journalism storytelling. Producers of interactive documentaries are generating quality non-fiction storytelling based on (1) foundational elements including the substantive dimensions of the message or story, writing, editing, research and media production, (2) structural elements, including non-linear narrative structure, first-person perspective and dynamic data-driven content, and (3) the unique qualities of the digital, networked and mobile media environment, including mixed media modalities, social networking media, greater contextualization and novel approaches such as games and simulations. The extent to which journalists use these varies widely in scope and quality and will likely be affected by the advent of wearable and other technologies.

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José Antonio Brambila

Introduction In the past two decades the fragmentation of political power and the increase in competition in the media market has opened the door to more voices in the media ecosystem and fostered more societal-oriented, independent and professional journalism in Mexico. Nonetheless, structural barriers have heavily constrained and limited media openness in Mexico, – in the literature media openness is “the process by which the media systems of transitional societies become more representative of societal viewpoints” and more independent from external forces (Porto, 2012:4; Hughes and Lawson, 2005, Lawson, 2002) –.

Thus, largely inspired by this literature, especially Hughes and Lawson account (2005) on the barriers to media opening in Latin America published one decade ago, this chapter revisited six challenges (or barriers) to the media openness in contemporary Mexico in some detail. These include but are not limited to: the primacy of market driven news in public interest stories; lack of development of public media initiatives; conditions restricting the development of journalists professional autonomy; discretionary public spending in the media; *instrumentalisation* of legal frameworks against journalists, and anti-press violence. The conclusion summarises the most outstanding remarks of this study and suggests ideas for further research.

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Even though the following description is focused on the Mexican system, the piece offers some comparative insights into Latin American media systems, as scholars have noted (Guerrero, 2014; Lugo Ocando, 2008; Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002; Hughes & Lawson, 2005) that factors in Latin American media systems that hampered an open press are very similar.

29.1 Poor Development of Public Media Initiatives

The broadcasting model that Latin American countries have adopted has been very similar to commercial-entertainment broadcasting projects in the USA (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). It is made of private TV companies funded by both private and public ads, with high levels of media concentration and very few public broadcasters (Matos, 2012). In addition to the commercial approach, “state intervention in South America has had the aim of reinforcing governmental control rather than promoting democratic form of communication” (Matos, 2012: 187). In this context, the history of state-owned broadcasting has been a failure thanks to economic crisis, lack of political autonomy, corruption and, more recently, technological challenges achieving digitalization (Waisbord & Mastrini, 2015).

Back in 1947, the Mexican government decided to implement the commercial model, and opted to support one TV private monopoly rather than a public broadcaster, Televisa—in this context, the state gave Televisa technical and economical benefits to ensure the development of private broadcasting, in exchange for a completely political endorsement (Guerrero, 2010). Then, during the wave of “savage deregulation” (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) in Latin America in the decade of 1990, the Mexican government sold the largest public broadcaster (Mexican Television Institute) to a private owner, TV Azteca, Televisa’s only current competitor.

Thus, historically public media initiatives in the Mexican TV have operated in the shadow of the private broadcasters. In this context, only two terrestrial state channels, *Canal 22* and *Canal 11*, have been developing public service vocation. Since 1959, *Instituto Politecnico Nacional* (National Polytechnic Institute), a public organism that belongs to the Education Ministry, owns *Canal 11*. The TV station became the first educational TV station in Mexico. Since then, it has developed more than “educational” content, expanding to produce TV dramas, children’s programs, newscasts, and political talk shows in the year 2000. On the other hand, since 1993 Minister of Culture (Conaculta) runs *Canal 22*, a channel dedicated mainly to fine arts and cultural agenda (such as ARTV in Chile, or Canal Antigua in Guatemala). However, these public media initiatives in Mexico operate without financial or editorial independence and has been concentrated in big urban centres, without a real audience or advertisers, and with a technological set back (Brambila, 2016).

In the early 2000s, a set of public TDT channels emerged in Mexico—*Canal del Congreso* (1998); *TV UNAM* (2000), and *Canal del Poder Judicial* (2008)—which represented a direct increase in the availability of information and news close to the

notion of *public service vocation*. These new public ventures not only share the same broadcasting technological platform (TDT), but also some features; they broadcast from Mexico City and, despite the scarceness of resources, they try to produce their own content. They do not operate under executive control, but under the control of autonomous entities: two autonomous branches of government (the Congress and the Supreme Court) and the National Autonomous Mexican University (UNAM) (Brambila, 2016). However, In spite of the rapid consolidation of those channels, one of the most important obstacles in the near future will be the low penetration of digital technology in the country. Nevertheless, the digitalization of these public media initiatives also opens the door to new forms of interactions between the public services providers and some “new” audiences via the use of social media platforms (Brambila, 2016).

29.2 Primacy of Market Driven News in Public Interest Stories

Following the breakdown of the authoritarian regime and liberalisation of media market in 1990s, the market-driven news model, also known as *sensationalist* or *tabloid* news, became one of the most common trends in Mexican news coverage (Hughes, 2006). Even though such journalistic styles appeared in the TV programmes first (Hallin, 2000), tabloidisation permeated other types of media, including print media (Lozano, 2004) and online quality newspapers (Sánchez, 2014).

For some authors of the media political economy tradition (McChensey, 1999; McManus, 2009), private-oriented media turned media content into a commodity and the media public into consumers, along with transforming a marketplace full of diverse ideas and editorial autonomy into a market-driven model, guided by economic, financial and corporate interests. In Mexico, the media concentration and prevalence of market logic in the consumption of information, as well as fierce and hierarchical control in the newsrooms (McPherson, 2012), explain the emergence of market-driven news, or the *dictadura del rating* (rating dictatorship), as Trejo (2001) found. For McManus (2009, p. 227), market-driven news is “any action intended to boost profit that interferes with a journalist’s or news organization’s best effort to maximize public understanding of those issues and events that shape the community they claim to serve.” For him, there are two features that explain why “the more the market model of news selection is followed, the less the news becomes an information resource for citizens” (McManus, 2009, p. 227): Firstly, that what is most expensive to cover is often what is most newsworthy and secondly, that news companies receive pressure to increase ad revenue by creating content to maximize consumer appetites.

In Mexico, market-driven journalism in public interest issues is distinguished by the *spectacularization* of the information, from political campaigns to natural disasters, passing through dramatisation and over-simplification of social movements and international conflicts.

In regards to the coverage of political campaigns, one of the consequences of market-driven journalism was that the majority of the stories in the newscasts, instead of reporting on the political platform of the candidates, were dedicated to political scandals, defamations, controversies, physical and verbal aggressions and photo opportunities (Lozano, 2004). Beyond the political agenda, some evidence suggests that market-driven news has led to the over-simplification, dramatisation and demonisation of rural and indigenous guerrilla as well as media mediarepresentation of the so-called Mexican ‘war against drugs’ (Escalante, 2012; Montemayor, 2007).

However, in opposition to the hyper-commercializing offering of news, there is the idea that other kinds of ownership could serve better to the “democratic needs of citizens” (Cushion, 2012). Thus, in front of the increased phenomena of hyper-commercialization of news in México (and in some Latin American countries), public service media news offering holds an unsurpassable position for social utility. Thus, recent empirical research (Brambila, 2014) points out that in contrast to the highly biased, partial and “tabloid” coverage of commercial TV stations of social movements, under certain conditions, public media services newscast’s coverage may be more balance, plural and rigorous. Far from the traditional experience of West Europe performance of PSM (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), the explanations behind this trend do not address the autonomy of public media services from the government, rather than the active function of internal regulatory bodies (such as, code of ethics and news ombudsman) to regulate the news content (Brambila, 2016).

29.3 Conditions Restricting the Development of Journalists Professional Autonomy

During the *PRI* regime, journalists acted entirely without any standard of professional autonomy from state intervention, distinct professional role or public service orientation (Guerrero, 2010). After the dismissal of the authoritarian regime and the rise of media market competence, Hughes argued that different models of news production “compete for hegemony” (civic, market-driven, and inertial authoritarian models) (2006). Following with this account, one of those models (the civil model) adopted a more public service orientation, incorporating important societal voices into the news agenda. In this line of thought, Lawson (2002) claimed that free journalism delegitimised the *PRI* regime and systematically exposed autocratic abuse and political wrongdoing. According to Lawson (2002, p. 150), “The result was a series of devastating political scandals that exposed the darker side of authoritarian rule. Recurring scandals in turn undermined support for existing institutions, generated pressure for reform, altered elite calculation, and generally drove forward the process of political transition”. Additionally, Márquez (2012) suggests, this group of authors assumes that a natural consequence of the *PRI* government being overthrown was the introduction of an emerge media that adopted the path of a more assertive, balance and investigative model of journalism.

However, other scholars challenged that progress. Even when Guerrero (2014) accepted “that important advances regarding the hiring of professionals trained in the areas of journalism, communication, and related disciplines are already common practice”, he also claims that “contrary to what may be expected after the alternation of power for almost a decade, the relation between the media and the political power has not become more transparent, well-balanced or professional” (2009, p. 23). Márquez-Ramírez (2012) also contests such improvements: In her research, she recognises that some newspapers do exercise journalism with independence but also sustains that “not only sound-byte journalism is still a newsgathering procedure, but also there are not manifested and consensual procedures to ensure factual accuracy”. In fact, she adds that “many of their stories—by own recognition—have been either false, incomplete, exaggerated, unverified or lacked context” (Márquez-Ramírez, 2012, p. 253). Overall, she indicates that authoritarian press practices persist, by pointing out that “old habits die hard” (Márquez-Ramírez, 2012, p. 253).

Moreover, another practice that limited the professionalization of media workers is the prevalence of presscorruption, specially the extensive bribery and direct payments to journalists; one of the most well-rooted authoritarian practices of media control. Instead of the interpretation of claims that *press-corruption* practice has been slowly eroding in Mexico after transition to democracy (Lawson, 2002), Márquez-Ramírez talks of a clash of generations, whereby “the older generation of journalists is widely perceived as uneducated and corrupt; this sharply contrasts with the view that most contemporary journalists hold of themselves: highly skilled, committed, and educated professionals” (2014, p. 57).

Among the reasons behind the prevalence of *press-corruption* practice in Mexico, are the very poor salaries that journalists received. With this in mind, it is easy to agree with Voltmer’s statement that corruption in journalism—or the ‘dark side of journalism’, as Rockwell and Janus 2002 denominate—is “particularly rife in societies where huge levels of income inequality leave large parts of the population, including well-educated and professional groups like journalists” (2013, p. 212). According to recent evidence (WAN-INFRA, 2014, p. 30), local journalists receive monthly incomes from \$226 to 300 USD, or are paid 2.5–3 USD for each published article. According to a recent report (Reporters Without Borders, Periodistas de a Pie, Casa de los derechos de los periodistas & Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa, 2014), local journalists have neither social security nor health insurance and are not even allowed to join trade unions or to participate in workers’ rights demonstrations. Those precarious working conditions do not only have a direct impact on professional autonomy of journalists, but also make local reporters easy prey for corrupt authorities, local bosses and drugs cartels.

29.4 Discretionary Allocation of Public Funding in the Media

According to Tracery (2002, cited Voltmer, 2013, p. 151), there is a clear correlation between the source of funding and the content produced by media outlet; “programmers directly funded by the government, and with no intervening structural head shield, inevitably tend to utter the tones of their masters voice”. In many new democracies, Voltmer argues that “more often than not the state remains as the only, or main, possible source of funding (2013, pp. 151).

As Guerrero (2014) notes for Latin America, for the political groups that came into power in the post-transitional period, when communication, public relations and political marketing experienced their boom in the region, “media became a key instrument in the search for and preservation of power”. Thus, since the breakdown of the Mexican authoritarian regime, authorities have been increasing their communication budget exponentially and use it with political purposes without any controls or public sanctions. According to official data, public spending in communication and marketing increased fourfold between 2001 and 2012 (WAN-INFRA, 2014, p. 21). Furthermore, the state—comprising the three branches of power, governmental agencies and political parties in all levels of government—is currently the second largest advertiser in the media industry, just behind private companies (IBOPE, 2009).

As some civic organisations have proven (WAN-INFRA, 2014), public spending remains one of the most substantial sources of revenue for TV, radio and newspapers. The abuse of advertising for political purposes is rife in contemporary Mexico. A recent study by WAN-IFRA (2014) found various mechanisms of official advertising-related abuse including the abuse of government advertising to directly influence content, discriminatory allocation of advertising to media favourites and political allies and the use of advertising for propaganda purposes. In the broadcasting industry, the allocation of public spending for TV is a generalised practice within all the branches of the Federal government. As Brambila (2014) finds, during the so-called ‘war against drugs’ introduced by the last administration, the expenditure on communication and marketing by the Ministry of Defence rose 450 % from 2006 to 2012. Besides, the allocation of those resources was discretionary and favoured media concentration and the two main TV companies received as much as 70 % of the total resources.

In the publishing industry the story is not much better, as public resources remain the most important source of revenue for national newspapers (WAN-INFRA, 2014). These practices are more ‘severe’ in provinces where the media and journalists are more vulnerable to financial and political pressures. Meanwhile, the Federal government spent only 10 % of their communication budget on print media and 78 % on broadcasting in 2010; the average amount spent by provincial governments was 29 % and 52 % respectively (WAN-IFRA, 2014, p. 20; Article 19, 2014). The notable differences in print media spending between national and provincial governments represented the fact that political advertisements operated as subsidies to local newspapers and magazines (Article 19, 2014, p. 48). For example, in the province of State of Mexico—the same

province in which most prominent newspapers did not mention the scandal about the president's mansion in 2014 (Aguayo, 2014)—there is a complete lack of legislation establishing fair, competitive and transparent advertising contracting procedures and governmental advertising represents up to 80 % of revenues for local newspapers.

29.5 Instrumentalisation of Legal Framework

Among the range of forms that media regulation takes are libel laws, which are amongst the most commonly abused regulations employed to restrict media openness (Voltmer, 2013, p. 144). In the same sense, Walden (2002, p. 206, cited Voltmer, 2013, p. 144) states that seditious libel laws “constitute one of the most pervasive, repressive, and dangerous forms of media regulation”.

In Latin America, Hughes and Lawson (2005) speak about a hostile legal climate against free journalism that includes defamation laws to protect the “honour and dignity” of public officials. In 2002, all 17 Latin American countries viewed libel as a “jailable offense” (Hughes & Lawson, 2005, p. 12). According to Boas (2013), cases against journalists are more common in Latin American provinces where autocratic executives control local courts.

According to Stanig (2014, pp. 1–2), in the federal-governed countries of Argentina and USA, the regulatory framework of freedom of the media is based on the Supreme Court, and the law is uniform within the provinces. Contrary to that, in Mexican provinces, freedom of the press is regulated by local criminal code (*Código Penal*), therefore the intervention of the Supreme Court does not create uniformity of law across the states. Despite that in 2011 the Mexican Congress decriminalised the last libel and insult laws at Federal level, 13 of the 32 states retained some sort of libel or slander in local codes and legislation (Article 19, 2014). In some states journalists who face honour charges face up to 4 years in jail. In the east-central state of *Tlaxcala*, where libel laws remain, government officials accused six journalists of defamation in the last administration (Article 19, 2014). For Article 19s Mexican Global Protection Officer, Rodrigo Gómez decriminalisation at federal level is not significant if this kind of legislation still applies at sub-national level; “That is not relevant when in many states, such as Tlaxcala or Baja California, are still in place, and operating”.¹ For him the presence of libel, honour and defamation laws have a chilling effect for local journalists: “The mere existence of this type of legislation is a warning message”.² Even more, in a statistical analysis of all 32 provinces, Stanig (2014) establishes that corruption receives significantly less attention in states with a more repressive defamation law. In his study, Stanig (2014) finds that corruption receives significantly less attention in states with a more repressive defamation law; “there is a systematic negative

¹Personal interview with the author (November, 2014).

²Ibid.

association between how punitive defamation law is and the number of articles that mention events of political and bureaucratic corruption and police misconduct in Mexican newspapers (17)".

29.6 Anti-press Violence

For some authors (Hughes & Lawson, 2005) the most difficult obstacle for free and independent media to overcome in Latin America is the generalised weakness in the Rule of Law, which turns into aggression towards journalists and media outlets from state and non-state actors. In México, even when anti-press violence at local level was a credible threat during the 'golden years' of the PRI-dictatorship (1940–1994), this phenomenon did not constitute a regular means of press-control, as Mexican autocrats preferred co-optation and clientelism as the main form of media-control (Guerrero, 2010). However, violence against the press has increased exponentially since the last decade of the twentieth century, where decentralization of resources and fragmentation of political power coincided with both the rise of more independent journalism at the beginning of the twentieth Century (Hughes, 2006) and the emergence of the so called 'war against drugs', a frontal strategy launched by president Felipe Calderón at the end of 2006 which shifted and multiplied the sources of violence between the government and drugs cartels, between drug cartel cells, and against society in general (including the press) (Schedler, 2015).

Thus, the 16 journalists that have been killed over the last 12 years of the PRI dictatorship (1988–1999) increased to 26 during the first 6 years of democratic alternation (2000–2006). From 2007 on, attacks on the press increased even more. During the Calderón administration (2006–2012), as much as 67 journalists were murdered, 14 reported missing and as many as 630 attacks on media and journalists were reported by Article 19. This anti-press atmosphere did not change with the arrival of the new administration in 2012. During the first three years of Peña Nieto's term, 15 journalists were killed, four went missing and hundreds have been injured (Article 19, 2014).

Since 2006, Mexico has ranked as one of the most dangerous places in the world for journalists, according to international news safety organizations, such as Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders.

As Waisbord noted, violence against journalists eliminates the assumption that sustains free press ideals: "the existence of an open and uninhibited exchange of ideas. It drives reporters to self-censorship and editors to take few, if any, risks" (2007, p. 119). Empirical evidence in Mexico shows that in some newsrooms in the north of the country, censorship and self-censorship became part of the daily journalistic routines. "Self-censorship and censorship became a new norm that is tolerated in some newsrooms" (González de Bustamante & Rely, 2014, p. 123).

Thus, beyond self-censorship and the chilling effect that anti-press violence imposes on Mexican journalists and newsrooms, the aggressions against media personnel, Guerrero (2014) argues, do not result "either from a lack of guarantees for exercising of journalism, or from state incapacity to carry out effective

investigation process against perpetrators”. According to Article 19’s Mexico office, in Veracruz, one of the most dangerous provinces for journalists in Mexico, journalists and media outlets demand more guarantees, as in the last administration as many as 13 journalists have been killed since 2010 (Article 19, 2014). As in other states, in Veracruz the perpetrators are rarely captured. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, 2014), since 1992, in 89 % of the assassinations committed specifically against journalists as a result of their jobs, the killers have not been punished. The CPJ report raises special concerns about the fact that these cases remain unsolved even though Federal authorities have had the jurisdiction to prosecute crimes against freedom of expression since April 2013. Waisbord (2002, p. 91) commented on this: “Without judicial systems that, if not completely independent, are, at least, minimally committed to respecting and enforcing basic press liberties, press laws that favour critical reporting are dead letter”.

29.7 Conclusions

First, the chapter describes the way in which the poor development of public service broadcasting and the media concentration rate, that prevailed after the process of media deregulation and the hyper-commercialisation of the TV industry, creates a market-driven news model that *spectacularizes* public interest information, oversimplifies political events and treats news about social injustices and poverty with disdain. Beside these negative consequences on the quality and democratic interest of the supply of information, media concentration dictates that dominant competitors—such as the Mexican *duopolio*—hoard the revenue coming from the advertisement industry; this forces independent news companies to become financially dependent on governmental resources (particularly the local newspapers in Mexican provinces).

This chapter also concludes that the historical clientelar relations and informality that defined press-state relations during *priismo* still prevail in contemporary Mexico. Even though such relations may manifest in many different ways, this study finds that one of the most extensive and popular clientelistic exchanges is the discretionary allocation of public spending in return for favourable coverage. Recognised by international organisations as a form of soft censorship, this practice operates in a very different context than during *PRI* regime years. In the current situation, discretionary allocation of public spending happens in spite of the democratic institutional environment and the rise of liberal journalistic models within the journalistic guild.

These factors, along with the generalised weakness in the Rule of Law (roused from the internal conflict surrounding the war on drugs), result in an environment of systematic harassment and violent attitudes to journalistic work. In such a context, political groups and local bosses *instrumentalized* the legal framework; meanwhile the state lost monopoly of violence and violence became privatised by state or non-state actors.

In spite of the fact that all these elements are present throughout the country, the chapter also concludes that all these barriers to press performance in democracy are more *severe* among Mexican provinces where democratic check and balance institutions do not operate and news media and journalistic material conditions are more precarious.

In addition to the list of barriers that this chapter describes, a more exhaustive analysis could discuss other challenges such as material limitations and the impact of the extensive job cuts in many Mexican newsrooms following the international financial crisis. Others include how news media face the challenge of generating profits and quality journalism in a time when traditional sources of income are, in many cases, drying up in this digital age.

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Considerations for Providing Emotional Support to Local Journalists During and in the Aftermath of Psychologically Traumatizing Events

30

Paul Beighley

30.1 Introduction

In the aftermath of a large scale psychologically traumatizing event, such as a natural disaster, war or terrorist attack, a variety of actors to include governments, UN agencies, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) frequently provide a variety of different types of support. While these actors may not have psychological support as one of their primary missions, in virtue of operating in such an environment it is beneficial for these organizations to maintain awareness of evidence-informed best practices to provide psycho-social support to operate effectively. Once primarily the domain of medical researchers and planners in the military, concerns about how primary and vicarious exposure to traumatic incidents can psychologically affect individuals and groups is now frequently considered in policy and operations.

Journalists report on events involving human suffering and are not immune from being psychologically affected by what they have witnessed. There is ample evidence based both on anecdotal accounts as well as objective research showing journalists frequently experience both short and long term psychological effects from vicariously experienced psychological trauma.¹ Discussions on how to best prepare journalists for what they will encounter, how to best cope with the experience during the time they are reporting on the event, and recovering in the aftermath, are ongoing with so called psycho-social interventions or media support programs offered by some organizations. These efforts are by and large aimed at Western journalists while there has been a lack of work formulating best practices to assist journalists who

¹Feinstein A, Owen J, Blair N: A hazardous profession: war, journalists, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159:9, 2002, 1570–1575.

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are locally employed and live at the location of a large scale traumatic incident and whose experience of the event is different from an outsider whose primary trauma is vicarious in nature. This paper examines why this population merits special attention and discusses a framework which might be applied broadly and cross culturally when developing programs for psycho-social support for this group.

30.2 Traumatic Stress

The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM), published by the American Psychiatric Association, defines a psychologically traumatic event as a situation in which a person experiences or witnesses “actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others.”² Not surprisingly traumatic stress has long been a concern among military medical practitioners and planners as psychological casualties resulting from the horrors of war are a well-known phenomenon. Protocols and practices have been developed to reduce the impact of wartime traumatic stress on military personnel in an effort to preserve forces as well as to treat individuals who develop psychiatric problems related to such exposure. With the rise of organized efforts to purposefully target and terrorize civilian populations the lessons learned from the military experience have been a starting point as research is conducted to develop interventions focused on civilian populations.

Efforts to demonstrate effective interventions to decrease psychiatric morbidity associated with exposure to traumatic events have been discouraging. Cilliers et al.³ found that interventions to promote reconciliation in Sierra Leone led to worsening of psychological health in treatment areas. Reviews in Cochrane⁴ of the available literature showed no psychological intervention could be recommended for routine use following traumatic events if prevention of psychiatric diagnoses was the desired outcome. Paradoxically, well-meaning efforts that involve debriefings and discussions of the traumatic event in group settings can cause harm to some individuals with a higher likelihood of developing PTSD than if no intervention was provided.⁵ It is speculated that some individuals, in talking about their experience of a traumatic event, may be re-traumatized and that debriefing may be contraindicated.

Most recently, the use of programs to promote resiliency in advance of experiencing a psychologically troubling experience have been advocated. Resiliency can be broadly described as a return to the baseline level of psychological health after exposure to trauma. Just as in the case of efforts to reduce psychiatric morbidity with

²American Psychiatric Association. *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders*, fifth edition. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association; 2013.

³Cilliers J, Oeindrila D, Bilal S: Can the wounds of war be healed? Experimental evidence on reconciliation in Sierra Leone. Center for Global Development, 2015.

⁴Roberts NP, Kitchiner NJ, Kenardy J, Bisson JI: Multiple session early psychological interventions for prevention of post-traumatic stress disorder. Cochrane, 2010.

⁵Rose SC, Bisson J, Churchill R, Wessley S: Psychological debriefing for preventing post traumatic stress disorder. Cochrane, 2009.

post-exposure intervention, the benefit of programs to enhance resiliency continue to require additional research with the cost to benefit and efficacy of these programs being called into question in military populations where it is being studied.⁶

30.3 Local Journalists

Western reporters who cover traumatic events such as war are known to suffer from PTSD and depression at rates much higher than their colleagues due to vicarious traumatization.⁷ Fortunately, symptoms are frequently transient and even normal in the context of the experience. Journalists covering the events of September 11 had PTSD symptoms with a profile similar to war correspondents shortly after the attacks with the majority having resolution of symptoms at 1 year out.⁸

As pointed out by Betz,⁹ there are decided differences in the situation of journalists who are locally employed and residing at the location where the traumatic event takes place versus those who are coming in to cover these stories and not personally affected other than through vicarious exposure. Unlike their locally based colleagues, Western journalists have greater access to mental health resources, are not suffering from any personal loss associated with the event, have greater financial and medical resources, and know their exposure is time limited. Local journalists may also have to deal with legal and social ramifications of their reporting if it is deemed unpopular or critical of their government.

As described in DSM V,¹⁰ appreciating the cultural context of mental health related conditions such as those secondary to exposure to traumatic stress is vital. A framework for assessing this context includes the cultural identity of the individual, cultural conceptualization of distress, psychosocial stressors and cultural features of vulnerability and resilience. The cultural features of the relationship between the individual and those who are attempting to provide support and training is also important to define to avoid impediments to a trusting and effective bond. Without sensitivity to these factors a trainer or mental health provider may be ineffective in providing support. Planners developing programs that will be in support of local journalists must be aware of the need for this cultural competency.

Some experts in disaster psychiatry believe cultural awareness and competency in supporting individuals from low and middle income countries is particularly

⁶Harms P: The role of emotion and emotion regulation in job stress and well being. *Research in Occupational Stress and Well Being* Volume 11. Emerald, 2013, 103–132.

⁷Feinstein A, Owen J, Blair N: A hazardous profession: war, journalists, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159:9, 2002, 1570–1575.

⁸Feinsein A: The psychological hazards of war journalism. *Nieman Reports*, Summer 2004, 75–76.

⁹Betz M: But What about me? Challenges in providing psycho-social support to local journalists during and in the aftermath of psychologically traumatizing events. Unpublished, 2015.

¹⁰American Psychiatric Association. *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders*, fifth edition. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association; 2013.

important.¹¹ Without cultural competency, efforts to provide psycho-social support may not be effective. For example, in many developing country cultures there is a different emphasis than in high income countries on the importance of collective support. Without taking this difference into account efforts may neglect important group and family dynamics. Western protocols and guidelines may need appropriate adaptation, testing and evidence-based modification.¹²

30.4 Challenges Supporting Local Journalists

Unfortunately, mental health resources in less developed countries tend to be inadequate even at baseline.¹³ Assumptions about options for journalists to receive professional help from indigenous medical sources may not be realistic in these settings. As having trained mental health providers who share culture and language with their patients is considered crucial, the absence of these providers cannot be overcome with volunteer mental health providers or those providing remote support. In the event of a mass traumatic event the limited availability of any local, competent, and available help is likely to be further eroded.

Transient stress reactions are normal and do not represent a pathological response or a precursor to developing a psychiatric illness such as PTSD. However, it is also possible for problems to develop in vulnerable individuals even when the apparent level of exposure to the traumatic event is brief or mild.¹⁴ The wide variability in response and need for individualized evaluation and treatment by experienced providers is challenging even in well-resourced locations.

30.5 A Possible Approach

Hobfoll et al.¹⁵ conducted a thorough literature review to determine which interventions were most effective in the immediate and mid-term post trauma phase. They developed five intervention principals which are evidence-informed

¹¹de Jong JT: Textbook of disaster psychiatry. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 209.

¹²Osofsky HJ. War Correspondents as Responders: Considerations for Training and Clinical Services. *Psychiatry*, Fall 2005, 68(3), 283–293.

¹³The world health report 2001 – mental health: new understanding, new hope. World Health Organization, Geneva, 2001.

¹⁴Lilienfeld SO, Arkowitz H: Does post traumatic stress disorder require trauma? *Scientific American*, May 2012.

¹⁵Hobfoll SE, Watson P, Bell CC, Bryant RA, Brymer MJ, Friedman MJ, Friedman M, Gersons BP, de Jong JT, Layne CM, Maguen S, Neria Y, Norwood AE, Pynoos RS, Reissman D, Ruzek JI, Shalev AY, Solomon Z, Steinberg AM, Ursano RJ. Five essential elements of immediate and mid-term mass trauma intervention: empirical evidence. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes*: Vol. 70, No. 4, 2007, 283–315.

although the literature did not support specific interventions at the level of being evidence-based. Knowledge of these principals might potentially be helpful as organizations develop support strategies for local journalists they may be working with. These principals are; a sense of safety, calming, a sense of self-and-community efficacy, connectedness, and hope. For the purposes of this paper these recommendations are clustered into two groups. Those that work towards safety and calming which are passive in nature, and those which involve taking action which are to promote efficacy, connectedness and hope.

Post trauma reactions tend to continue in the presence of ongoing threat or danger and this appears to be a universal, cross cultural finding.^{16, 17, 18} These responses to stress occur not only on the psychological but also the physiological level.¹⁹ For journalists attempting to competently report on a traumatic event, a decline in cognitive performance due to emotional and physical changes related to trauma response will impact their ability to meet their professional requirements. It may be that organized efforts to provide support to local journalists include formal consideration of how the journalists' safety can be enhanced. For example, training could be staged in areas in which participant journalists can achieve at least a temporary sense of safety to regroup emotionally and have a chance to take inventory of their current situation and work on developing solutions to the hardships they and their family may face.

The need for safety extends not just to the immediate physical risk but also towards risk of reprisal by actors who feel threatened by the work of the journalist or attempt to manipulate journalists to convey a sense of threat to the local population for political purposes. Advocacy on behalf of journalists working in environments in which their safety and security are threatened is an ongoing need. External organizations may be in a position to provide this advocacy through their internal and external contacts.

Unlike their international colleagues who are coming in to provide coverage and return to locations where threat levels are low, and who have not themselves experienced loss or injury, the ability to have periods of calmness and reflection is reduced for local journalists. It has been speculated that one of the reasons some psychological interventions in the immediate aftermath of a traumatic event are detrimental is that they employ techniques, such as debriefing, which lead to heightened levels of autonomic arousal as the traumatic experiences are relived.

¹⁶de Jong JT, Komproe IH, Ommeren MV, Masri ME, Araya M, Khaled N, van de Put W, Somasundaram D: Lifetime events and posttraumatic stress disorder in four post-conflict settings. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 286(5), 2001, 555–562.

¹⁷de Jong K, Mulhern M, Ford N, van der Kam S, Kleber R: The trauma of war in Sierra Leone. *Lancet*, 355, 2000, 2067–2068.

¹⁸Porter M, Haslam N: Predisplacement and postdisplacement factors associated with mental health of refugees and internally displaced persons: A meta-analysis. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 294(5), 2005, 602–612.

¹⁹Wiley SC: *Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science* Volume 4, Issue 3, May/June 2013, 245–261.

For local journalists psychoeducational training including discussion on the needs for calm periods might be helpful. There are a number of self-help materials which are available and focus on techniques such as diaphragmatic breathing, mindfulness, and relaxation and do not require a trained provider to teach. Arousal or numbing affects are frequently seen in populations suffering from traumatic events and will normally improve over time as the traumatic event resolves.

The second set of factors that promote psychological adaptation in the event of a traumatic event are self-and-community efficacy, connectedness, and hope. Journalists have the potential to be involved in an active fashion in response to a traumatic event transforming their experience from that of victim to one of altruistically serving a higher call. Being efficacious in their work—providing information that is published and seen by others, can be tremendously empowering. Any tools that improve their ability to function professionally will therefore likely have the dual benefit of helping them cope psychologically. One caveat that external actors need to keep in mind, in their efforts to help local journalists if there are unrealistic expectations without adequate resources to follow, the end result can be demoralizing.²⁰

Related to the value of community efficacy is the benefit of connectedness to a larger group in which resources are shared, common experiences discussed, and self-help encouraged. This connectedness might occur through the use of social media, mentoring, training, and conferences. One approach that might also be helpful is the development of peer support groups. These types of groups have been utilized in professions such as law enforcement when encounters with traumatic events are likely to occur and when members value interactions with peers who they see as able to relate to the experience in a credible and empathic fashion. In 2014 the DART Center for Journalism and Trauma partnered with Digital First Media to develop a peer support program for journalists with a goal of trying to “understand trauma on a deeper, cultural level to become stronger at covering trauma survivors; and develop resilience and peer-support skills to help colleagues that are distressed by what they cover.”²¹ These types of groups frequently benefit from the involvement of a mental health clinician who can act as a consultant and external supporter of the group.

Finally, it has been demonstrated that those who are able to retain a sense of optimism and hope tend to have better psychological outcomes.²² In the absence of trained psychological providers, there may be a role for psychoeducational materials which encourage a positive and hopeful view of the eventual outcome and normalizes the commonly seen emotional responses to trauma.

²⁰Rappaport J: In praise of paradox: A social policy of empowerment over prevention. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9, 1981, 1–25.

²¹<http://dartcenter.org/blog/dart-digital-first-media-collaborate-on-peer-support-program>

²²Carver, CS, Scheier MR: *On the self-regulation of behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

30.6 Conclusions

Local journalists involved in covering traumatic events in their own countries present an underrepresented population in research. Supporting them will require a sophisticated appreciation of the many obstacles and differences between them and their colleagues who come from resource rich environments. Relying on intuition to develop interventions and policy, without evidence-informed and culturally sensitive considerations, has the potential to cause psychological harm. Developing protocols that can be applied cross culturally, in rapid fashion, which are economically viable, and which can be tested for effectiveness is necessary.

Mona Badran

31.1 Introduction

Freedom of expression is a basic human right that is crucial for respectable governance, human dignity and the application of the rule of law. However, due to the circumstances we are currently facing that include the increase in the rate of violence and crimes, it is seriously essential to provide citizens with the information they require in order to establish knowledgeable decisions concerning their lives in specific and their societies in general (Bokova, 2014). Consequently, there is a reliance on traditional news media journalists and social media journalism practitioners as well. But since their safety is threatened; therefore, this might result in a true crisis in terms of deliverable information. As a result, this will lead to a shortage of reporting in terms of news coverage and accountability.

Since 2008, the Arab region, with several of its 19 countries, has been experiencing popular uprisings, reform movements and armed conflicts. All these have resulted on major impacts on press freedom. Since then press freedom has faced several challenges in countries with new governments in addition to countries that didn't experience political transitions. Despite the fact that there has been a countervailing tendency towards more media freedom and the implementation of freedom of information laws, the central trend that has emerged designates ongoing restrictions on freedom of expression. As a result, the digital news platforms and citizen journalism platforms have become gradually widespread. This has limited the outcome of censorship mechanisms applied to traditional media. But on the other hand, they have triggered a response from authorities in parts of the Arab region that has resulted in firmer laws and tougher penalties (Radsch, 2014).

Countervailing trends have included ongoing and new restrictions throughout several platforms, mainly the internet, in many countries in the name of maintaining

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stability and avoiding chaos. Harassment through defamation cases, and economic pressure in the procedure of advertising boycotts, has been used as methods in order to restrict media freedom. In other cases, earlier restrictive laws have been revised and authorities have taken steps, which are still ongoing, to liberalize the media system. The uprisings and the transitional phases of some countries in the Arab region have featured an ongoing tendency of viewing the media as a destabilizing force and as a cause of dissonance and conflict. In the countries where there was a change in political leadership, the new elites have rarely acknowledged the independent watchdog role of the press. State-owned media have not been assigned with a public service mission nor have been empowered to engage with media freedom, but instead have mainly continued to lack editorial independence. Citizen journalism through blogs and social media has played an important role in the recent political changes. This phenomenon has continued to signify pressure concerning more freedom of expression in the region (Radsch, 2014).

31.2 Media Pluralism in the Arab Region

The most important change that took place since 2007 in terms of media pluralism in the Arab region is the rise of the internet and the emergence of social media. This has considerably changed the way people in the Arab region access information. The popular uprisings that have taken place throughout the past years in the Arab region are to some extent attributed to greater pluralism in the media. Historically, the governments in the Arab region owned and controlled most of the media outlets. The development of satellite television, including privately owned channels in addition to the attractiveness of the internet and the rise of the online outlets have facilitated the communication among people while practicing more freedom. This has resulted in a change in the political, cultural and social fabric of the region.

The trend towards citizen journalism and blogging has increased starting 2007. This reflects the fact that social media users and young users in particular are able to spread information regarding daily events. These events include popular movements where social media is becoming an alternative news sources for local and global media. In the Arab countries where media freedom was highly restricted, there has been an increase in the rise of media outlets indicating a trend towards greater pluralism driven by increasing rates of the internet and specifically user-generated content (Radsch, 2014).

A Nielson survey in 2009 of four Arab countries has found out that 41 % of news readers accessed news through newspapers, while 40 % of users accessed the news via online news websites. The results of the survey also revealed that 17 % of the users accessed on blogs and 7 % via mobile alerts. The Arab Social Media Report in 2011 found out that 83 % men and 89 % women used social media to get news and information. The Arab Social Media Report in 2013 underscored the decrease in traditional media as primary news sources. The results revealed that 28 % of the respondents turned to traditional media sources as their primary source of news and 36 % get their news from online news sources and news portals (Radsch, 2014).

The dominance of television has been declining. The Arab Public Opinion Survey in 2009 has shown that 80% of those surveyed regard television as the primary source for international news. This percentage has dropped in 2011 to reach 58%. The wake of the 2011 uprisings has resulted in an increase in the usage of social media especially among youth. The Gulf countries have the highest rate of using the social media. The number of Facebook users has tripled since 2010 to more than 45 million users. This has resulted in a diversified choice of news sources among certain age groups, particularly young people.

31.3 Media Independence in the Arab Region

Much of the Arab region has witnessed decades of restricting freedom of expression. This has certainly resulted in the existence of high levels of self-censorship among journalists. Since the uprisings in 2011, media developments and press regulations are indicating a growing tendency among several governments to control online communications, reporting and opinion sharing. At the same time, the internet has facilitated the development of a new generation of mainly online journalists, such as bloggers and citizen journalists who are more daring in reporting. Also, the increased number of privately-owned traditional media outlets has introduced more freedom and independence in expressing different opinions. Emergence of various views has appeared, especially in countries undergoing political transitions, such as critical views regarding assessing the government progression, discussing social taboos, and critical views on religious aspects. Such developments have resulted in reducing the extent of self-censorship among journalists in the Arab region.

The Panos Paris Institute and the Mediterranean Observatory of Communication conducted a study in 2012 where eight Arab countries were studied. Results have shown that four out of the eight countries had a regulatory authority other than a government ministry to supervise licensing and to monitor the content of national media. Generally, there have not been quotas on equal representation of women in the media. Public service broadcasting has nearly been non-existent in the Arab region as a result of the shortage of legal regulatory frameworks to support and promote this component of media pluralism. There have not been independent press councils in the Arab region, despite the fact that this might be shifting in countries undergoing transitions.

31.4 Media Safety in the Arab Region

The wave of political uprisings in the Arab region has created new opportunities for journalists. On the other hand, more risky conditions appeared for practicing journalism across the Arab region. Conflict zones in specific have witnessed journalists' arrests, harassment, imprisonment, and seizure of equipment. Two developments in specific have impacted upon journalists' safety. The first one is

the continuing political turmoil. The second is the expansion of journalism including institutional media and citizen journalism. Countries undergoing transitions are experiencing increasingly tense relations between the government and the press agencies. Impunity has continued to prevail for the killings of journalists with little progress in solving crimes against media professionals. Such crimes have reportedly occurred most frequently at the hands of political groups or state agents.

Powerful non-government groups who do not allow unfavorable reporting pose a deadly threat to journalists in many countries. Examples include the Islamic State militia in Iraq and Syria, Boko Haram in Nigeria, and several Islamic groups in Libya (Scholz, 2015). Due to the circumstances of violent conflict starting the war in Iraq in 2003, the Arab region has become one of the highest regions in number of journalist killings. During the 2011 uprisings in the region, the number of killings of journalists and the consequent occurrence of armed conflict has continued to result in making the Arab region among the most deadly regions for journalists. With the outbreak of popular protests and in some cases military intervention in parts of the region, the death toll of journalists has mounted significantly, indicating an upward trend in their death and imprisonment. UNESCO's Directors-General has condemned the killing of 127 journalists in the Arab region. All of them were males except for two females who were killed in 2012 (Radsch, 2014).

In some Arab countries there has been a reported increasing trend of repression against bloggers and citizen journalists, especially those who tend to cover sensitive political issues or who criticize the ruling elites. In the mid-2000s, authorities in the Arab region tended to depend mainly on legal and self-censorship mechanisms to control online access and expression. The time between 2007 and 2012 has seen various cases of officials who are implicated in physical threats, attacks and harassment. The UN Special Rapporteur in his 2012 annual report on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression noted that there was a 'notable trend' of increasing attacks against journalists during protests in the streets and in the destruction and confiscation of journalists' equipment in 2011. The Special Rapporteur noted as well that authorities were increasingly confiscating digital equipment and computers from bloggers who attempted to cover social protest, specifically when this was related to activism. The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) has recorded 500 attacks that include assaults, destruction of equipment and footage and abductions in the first quarter of 2011. This was aimed to prevent coverage of social unrest in the Arab region.

31.5 Attacks on International Journalists

Despite the fact that restrictions on foreign reporters were not new in some countries, such restrictions have increased during and after the 2011 uprisings. Foreign reporters have been prohibited and/or expelled from entering a number of countries and geographical areas considered sensitive within others. According to the CPJ special report on international journalists killed at high rate in 2014, Syria is the world's deadliest country for journalists for the third year in a row. According to

CPJ research, almost nine out of each ten journalists killed are local people covering local stories. In total, at least 60 journalists were killed globally in 2014 in relation to their work.

Working as an international correspondent is considered in itself a dangerous job. In April 2014, an Associated Press German photographer, Anja Niedringhaus, was shot dead by a police officer during covering elections in Afghanistan. In August 2014, U.S. freelance journalist James Foley was executed by members of Islamic State militant group, who published an online video of the murder. In November 2012, Foley was kidnapped in Syria, but his location and situation were unknown. Two weeks following his murder, the Islamic State published another online video that showed the beheading of the U.S. Israeli freelance journalist, Steven Sotloff. Sotloff was abducted in August 2013 (Omari, 2014).

The Syrian conflict led to the deaths of at least 17 journalists in 2014. The overall number of journalists killed in Syria since the start of the conflict in 2011 is 79. In Iraq, five journalists at least were killed in 2014. Three of them were covering the clashes between the Iraqi government and its allies against the Islamic State. Khaled Ali Hamada is a cameraman for El Ahad TV. According to the new reports, he was killed while covering clashes in Diyala province between Iraqi security forces and Islamic State gunmen in June 2014.

Four journalists and three media workers at least were killed during covering the 50 days of conflict in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories in July and August 2014. On July 9, 2014, a driver for the local agency Media 24 was killed as his car, marked "Press," was hit by an Israeli strike.

According to the CPJ's research published in December 2014, about half of the journalists who were killed in the year 2014 died in the Middle East. Almost 38 % of the total died in crossfire or combat. More than 40 % of the journalists who were killed in 2014 were targeted for murder. About 31 % of them reported receiving threats first. The most common job held by journalists who were killed in 2014 was broadcast reporter (35 %), followed by camera operator and photographer (27 %). Almost 68 % of the journalists who were killed in 2014 were covering politics and 55 % of them were covering human rights.

31.6 Freedom of the Press in the Middle East and North Africa

After historic gains in the Middle East in 2011, one country only has continued to make progress concerning achieving the promise of the Arab spring. According to Freedom House report (April, 2015), Tunisia registered the best score, although it remained Partly Free. Tunisia's score has improved because of the approval of the 2014 constitution. This has guaranteed freedom of speech and freedom of press, in addition to, incremental decreases in editorial pressure as well as attacks on journalists.

Algeria's score declined to reach 61. Its status as well has declined from being Partly Free to Not Free. This is because of the restrictions enforced on the media during the 2014 presidential election. A January law placed content limitations on

privately owned TV Channels. Also, government agencies removed advertising from media outlets that covered opposition parties. Foreign journalists also were denied to obtain entry visas. Their visas were either restricted or they faced difficulties to access on the ground (Dunham, Nelson, & Aghekyan, 2015).

Egypt and Libya, on the other hand, saw dramatic improvements in 2011; however, they both maintained a pattern of backsliding. Egypt has scored 73, which is considered its worst in 11 years. Egypt's score declined because of the arrests of journalists and the increase in the court cases. This has resulted in harsh punishments for media workers in general and journalists in specific. Such an environment has resulted in an increase in self-censorship and a drop in media diversity, where many outlets became dedicated to support the current regime. Libya's score as well continued to drop. The civil war in Libya affected the post-Qadhafi media environment. The continuing deterioration of the security environment has denied journalists access to many places. Media workers are exposed to attacks and assassinations. They also face prosecution for defamation and further criminal offenses. Media outlets have come under severe pressure to abide by the views of the dominant militia groups in their area, as the civil war worsened political division (Dunham et al., 2015).

The ongoing conflict in Syria worsened conditions in this country and also indirectly contributed to declines in Iraq, which includes through as well the rise of the Islamic State. Iraq score has declined to become 72 due to an increase in censorship concerning the coverage of the Islamic State and Iraqi security forces. This includes internet blackouts in the summer of 2014. The extreme security environment made it also much more difficult and dangerous to report from large parts of the country (Dunham et al., 2015).

In Lebanon, the war put pressure on the country as its score reached a 5-year low of 55. This is due to an increase in libel cases against journalists in 2014. Penalties have included jail time, fines and many publications are facing several suits from the same aggrieved party. Furthermore, rulings from Lebanon's Court of Publications during 2014 indicated a spontaneous bias against the media and political motives behind many cases (Dunham et al., 2015).

As a result of the war in Gaza, the West Bank and Gaza Strip's score declined by two points to 84. Israel remains the only Free media environment in the region. Both the Israeli and Palestinian authorities have restricted the journalists' movements in the West Bank and Gaza. Also members of media are injured and killed throughout the ongoing conflict between Israel and Hamas militants (Dunham et al., 2015).

In the Gulf region, Qatar passed a new cybercrime law that included penalties for defamation and 'false news.' There are hopes that a new Open Data Policy will improve access and transparency to government sources. In Bahrain, the media continues its suffering from self-censorship and oppression. Citizen journalists who reported on the ongoing protests through social media faced government punishments. The United Arab Emirates has remained to be one of the most suppressive media environments in the region (Dunham et al., 2015).

On the Arabian Peninsula, Yemen's score has declined two points to reach 78. This is because the government and Houthi rebel forces targeted journalists. The media faced greater pressure to serve political interests. As for Saudi Arabia, its autocratic regime has strengthened the existing media restrictions with the passage of harsh antiterrorism legislation and increased the arrests of critics (Dunham et al., 2015).

31.7 Research Design and Methodology

This research aims at investigating the present situation of journalism and free expression in Egypt, where official and non-official threats and attacks targeting journalists are still intact. Such acts result as a true challenge to press. This paper will further discuss the challenges Egyptian journalists still face after the January 25 Revolution. These challenges include threats, arbitrary detentions, harassment, and sometimes murder in cold blood. In addition, this research aims at explaining and discussing in depth the reasons behind such trends and their relation and impact on the future of political freedom in Egypt, the most populous Arab country.

In order to achieve the objective of the research, the researcher conducted focus groups and intensive interviews. Focus groups targets Egyptian journalists and media practitioners who share their professional experience regarding the violent actions and threats they face daily while performing their jobs. Intensive interviews are conducted with Political Media Experts who explain and discuss in details the current challenge facing press and its impact on Egypt's political freedom.

Such research design has been applied in order to answer the main research questions of this paper which are:

RQ 1: What is the current level of freedom of expression for most journalists?

RQ2: Is Egypt today in a worse position than it used to be under the rule of Mubarak?

RQ3: Can social media actually allow for some divergent opinions to emerge?

Twelve focus groups have been conducted where each focus group consisted of ten participants from the Egyptian media. The sample of the focus groups included both males and females. Participants' jobs include journalists, anchors, editors, producers, video-journalists and drafting team. Four intensive interviews were conducted with Political Media Experts. The first one is with Ashraf Sadeq, a media professional who works as the managing editor of the Egyptian Gazette newspaper, which is the oldest English newspaper in Egypt. The second one is conducted with Dr. Ralph Berenger, a media scholar and an associate professor at the American University of Sharjah, UAE. Dr. Berenger has a profound experience in the field of journalism and political media. The third one is with Dr. Matt J. Duffy, a visiting assistant professor at Berry College in Rome, Georgia. Dr. Duffy teaches journalism, media ethics and international communication law. His research focuses on journalism and media laws in the Middle East. The final

intensive interview is conducted with Khaled Dawoud, assistant Editor-in-Chief of Al Ahram Weekly newspaper, an English language weekly newspaper. He is also the official spokesman of social-liberal Al-Dostour Party, established by Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr. Mohamed El-Baradei in the wake of Egypt's 25 January Revolution. Dawoud is an opinion writer at Al-Tahrir newspaper. He is a political analyst for Arab and international television channels on local and Arab affairs.

31.8 Discussion

The data collected and analyzed from the literature review in addition to the data collected from the intensive interviews and the focus groups have shown that in Egypt, the media picture is still unclear after the January 25 and June 30 uprisings due to a variety of reasons. The most important of which is the heavy involvement of the military establishment in politics. This involvement has proponents and opponents among the members of the media community.

Regarding the current level of freedom of expression for most journalists in Egypt and whether the Media outlets can actually criticize the status quo, the majority of the participants of the conducted focus groups, about 75 %, have stated the editorial staff members of State-run newspapers and army-backed TV channels promote the idea of enforcing the media code of ethics, which is actually a veiled way of suppressing freedom of expression, or criticizing how the army runs the state.

Khaled Dawoud, assistant editor-in-chief of Al-Ahram Weekly said that since June 30, 2013, Egypt has been witnessing a war against terrorism. The government and Egyptian president Abdel Fattah El Sisi stressed that this war requires the media to play a role of mobilization rather than objective role in reporting the news. El Sisi asked the media to unite and stop reporting negative news. The diversity that existed after the 25th revolution disappeared. The media that represents the Muslim Brotherhood was closed down after June 30, 2013. The state and private media do not represent those who criticize El Sisi (Dawoud, 2015).

Ashraf Sadeq, the managing editor of the Egyptian Gazette newspaper, adds that the opposition parties' newspapers focus their attention on two issues. The first one, criticizing the Muslim Brotherhood and its ex-president Mohamed Morsi in return for a slice of the political gains and favors the opposition parties can get from the army-backed government. The second issue is promoting the government's agenda for the aforesaid purpose, too (Sadeq, 2015).

Dr. Matt J. Duffy, visiting assistant professor at Berry College in Rome, Georgia, confirmed that the current level of freedom of expression for most journalists is very low. He added that with the exception of a few outlets, most media outlets have learned that they must not criticize the status quo. The government has also used arrests to make sure people understand not to criticize the government (Duffy, 2015).

Dr. Ralph Berenger, associate professor at the American University of Sharjah, UAE, believes that Egypt takes a step forward and a step and a half backward in journalism every few years (Berenger, 2015).

Regarding whether Egypt is today in a worse position than it used to be under the rule of the ousted Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, about 80 % of the participants agreed and confirmed this statement. However, about 20 % said that it is too early to judge. They added that Mubarak stayed in presidency for 30 years so it is really unfair to judge and compare a 1 or 2 years of presidency to this 30 years.

The political media experts' interviewees confirmed that Egypt today is in a worse position. Ashraf Sadeq said that ex-president Hosni Mubarak was politically intelligent enough to let the private and opposition media say whatever they wanted to say about his regime in order to convince the Western world that there was a true freedom of expression in Egypt. But, in the meantime, his State-run media was responsible for defending his policies and rapping up the opposition figures on his behalf. In such a process, the public's attention would be focused on that inter-media row, and forget about Mubarak's wrong policies, or even criticizing his administration (Sadeq, 2015).

Khaled Dawoud added during the last 5 years in Mubarak era, there has been more tolerance than now. The government felt more confident. There were yet some red lines for the journalists to avoid tackling such as like tackling the army, the president and his family. Currently, journalists are prosecuted which is leading to less freedom of expression. There is a setback to the outreach of traditional media and the only current resort is online media, which is the Internet (Dawoud, 2015).

Dr. Ralph Berenger stated that the situation in Egypt might be the same as it used to be under the ruling of Mubarak. However, he added that we should be patient, wait and perceive the results (Berenger, 2015).

As for the relationship between democratic progress and free speech, about 85 % of the participants said that democratic progress is closely linked to freedom of speech. While 15 % said that freedom of speech and expression of opinions should be limited especially in the case of Egypt because of fighting terrorism.

The results of the intensive interviews have shown that the freedom of speech and expression have certain cultural perspectives and limits, too. The present Egyptian regime indicate that the priority for the time being is rectifying the economic conditions and restoring security, which were badly damaged by the Arab Spring uprising. Such a process may take 20 years, or more. Then, their second priority would be working on establishing a true democracy that would be based on freedom of speech, free media, and rotating leadership.

Dr. Matt J. Duffy confirmed that Egypt will find it difficult to embrace political reform while living under the harsh censorship of the current administration (Duffy, 2015). While Ashraf Sadeq stated that for the Egyptian regime it is more important to re-instate the state institutions, re-build a damaged economy, and restore security more than bringing about political reforms, which are always considered as a luxurious reward they offer to the people (Sadeq, 2015).

However, Khaled Dawoud said that when there is no democracy, there is no free speech. The setback leads to the lack of democracy. He added that not only is the

media having restrictions, also the NGOs as well. He focused on the fact that there are no parliament elections for the past 3 years. This results in an occurrence of a lack of the basic democratic principles. He declared that it is very difficult to let the media act as a watchdog. Since there is a state of fear, therefore there is a lack in the expression of opinions and as a result it is very difficult to achieve political reform. In Egypt, the majority of the private TV Channels are owned by businessmen who are loyal to the former president Mubarak regime. They hide some truths concerning violations and crimes and this actually results in making the situation difficult (Dawoud, 2015).

Regarding the role of social media and whether it allows for some divergent opinions to emerge. About 65 % of the participants of the focus groups agreed that social media such as Facebook and Twitter allows people to post and express their own opinions freely. On the other hand, 35 % of the participants said that even social media have certain restrictions and people started to apply self-censorship because they fear getting arrested, or harassed.

Ashraf Sadeq said that in Egypt, the social media has become a powerful tool that can put pressure on the government, and to some extent change its policies. He also added that the social media can allow various opinions to emerge but the important question is whether these views can turn into reality, or even be accepted by the State in serious matters such as defense or national security issues (Sadeq, 2015).

Khaled Dawoud added that the social media is an alternative forum for people to express themselves. People post on social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and blogs without fear. However, currently due to the tight observation of the government to the accounts and posts on social media, some people get either arrested or harassed. So there is also a risk to express one's self on social media. Those who get arrested are accused of threatening the country's security (Dawoud, 2015).

31.9 Conclusion and Recommendations

After the researcher conducted this research, she has concluded that Egypt is still not free in terms of freedom of expression. However, due to the continuous actions and events that the country is facing, it still requires time and effort in order to reach an appropriate level of freedom of speech. Furthermore, regarding the current situation in Egypt and comparing it to the Mubarak era, the researcher believes that Egypt is getting backwards in terms of journalism and freedom of expression. As for the role of the social media and its ability in allowing the emergence of divergent opinions, previous literature in addition to the conducted methodological framework have proved that social media is a powerful tool in terms of expressing various opinions and can actually change policies in the Egyptian society but to a certain limited extent.

Freedom of expression is considered an individual right where no one should be killed. It is also considered a means of empowering populations through facilitating dialogue, and reaching democracy in speech. Without freedom of expression and

specifically freedom of press, the researcher believes that citizens will not be able to get informed and practice an active role in their societies. When journalists are safe in the society, citizens will be able to access qualified information and human rights will be fully applied and practiced.

The protection of journalists should not only include those who are formally documented as journalists, but should also include the citizen journalists, online journalists and community media workers. The protection of journalists should adapt to the local realities affecting journalists. Journalists who report on cases such as corruption or organized crime are mainly targeted by organized crime groups and other powers.

The threat posed to journalists and media workers by non-state actors such as terrorist organizations is actually growing. This highlights a careful consideration of the differing needs of journalists in conflict and non-conflict zones in addition to the different legal tools and methods available to ensure their safety, security and protection.

The UNESCO has thankfully undertaken a number of activities that are specially designed in order to raise awareness concerning journalists' safety. Among such activities are World Press Freedom Day that is celebrated annually on the 3rd of May; and the Guillermo Cano/UNESCO World Press Freedom Prize, that is actually intended to honor the work of any organization or individual, located anywhere in the world, defending or promoting freedom of expression, specifically in dangerous circumstances.

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Glocalizing *Charlie Hebdo*: An Analysis of Coverage of the Paris Attacks in Kenya's *The Friday Bulletin* (January 7th–February 28th, 2015)

32

Jesse Masai

32.1 Introduction

On the morning of January 7th, 2015, two brothers stormed into *Charlie Hebdo*'s offices in Paris, killing a section of its editorial team. It was reported that the duo had been offended by previous caricatures of Prophet Muhammad in the satirical magazine. An attack on a Jewish establishment within the city at about the same time was fast linked to the duo's sympathizers. In the few hours that followed, an anxious French public sought to demonstrate its solidarity with the magazine in line with the nation's libertarian tradition.

As scores of world leaders joined thousands of Parisians in a solidarity march, newspapers and magazines around the world published supportive blurbs and cartoons. When, a few days later, *Charlie Hebdo* republished part of the offending content in a commemorative edition, some global media did not, arguing that they were being sensitive to Muslim sensibilities. Critics, however, said they were themselves afraid of Muslim reprisals. Media outlets in the Muslim world expressed their frustration with the manner in which the story was now developing. In Kenya, both *The Star* and *Business Daily*—owned by Radio Africa and Nation Media Group respectively—elected to run with the content (BBC, 2015).

Through content analysis, this study analyzed how this global story was localized in *The Friday Bulletin*, a weekly publication of Kenya's Jamia Mosque Committee. *The Friday Bulletin* is important as a source, not just because of its ownership, but also continued emergence as the reference point for considered reflections by the Muslim community in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. Heightened radicalization in sections of the Muslim community in Kenya further primes its place in related conversations. As such, this paper considers how these articles are

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working toward shaping a Muslim identity in a nation which has experienced multiple deadly terrorist attacks by the Islamist group Al Shabaab.

32.2 Locating Religious Media in Kenya

Kenya's vibrant media landscape has previously witnessed attempts by faith-based organizations to interpret current affairs for the reading public, famously typified by *Target*, a now defunct newsletter of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), published in the period following independence from Great Britain in 1963. Liberalization of the media in Kenya after the 1990s has further witnessed forays by faith communities into the industry, across various platforms. Less appreciated, however, has been the story of Muslim media at a time when they constitute an estimated 11.1% of the Kenyan population (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). *The Friday Bulletin* is significant—alongside other Muslim media—in understanding the community's sense of self in Kenya and the surrounding world, given its prominence over the past 11 years in several local mosques, where it is freely distributed, in addition to its availability online and via mailing lists (Wandera & Abdi, 2015, p. 6). Both Wandera and Abdi further argue that the newsletter has now come to the point at which “it further envisions its role and legitimacy as an authoritative source of matters Islamic in Kenya” (p. 10) They aver that “during the past 11 years, *The Friday Bulletin* has consistently fought for the rights and freedoms of Muslim communities and institutions (and) fearlessly assumed a strong affirmative posture on matters affecting the Muslim constituency.”

In a separate historical and contextual analysis of *The Friday Bulletin*, Abdi notes that when it was previously co-published with the Islamic Foundation of Kenya (IFK), “it was not regular and had less thematic content as it is today” (2014, p. 4). Growing from a basic four to eight pages since 2008, however, “up to 10,000 copies are (now) produced for distribution every week. Of this, 5000 are for Nairobi mosques and the rest for mosques in other parts of Kenya” (Abdi). Aside from religious proselytism, he argues, it now serves “as a forum for dissemination of national and international news with direct bearing on the faith community; an avenue for marketing of business products and a space for advertisement of educational institutions and job opportunities” (p. 5). It, therefore, becomes apparent that *The Friday Bulletin* not only pronounces itself on major developments, but also serves as a possible agent and institution for the transformation of Islamic knowledge in Africa.

32.3 Method

Miles and Huberman (1994) see content analysis as not merely being the condensing of data and making it systematically comparable, but also one that birthes interpretive, social anthropological and collaborative social research approaches towards the analysis of qualitative data. While all three might periodically overlap within one study, collaborative social research approaches—in which this research

is grounded—was particularly helpful in perceiving collected data as both a tool for further reflection and as information to understand *The Friday Bulletin*'s coverage of the situation under consideration.

Accordingly, an objective coding scheme was developed to address dates, subject matter, placement, illustration, genre/type of the story, gender focus, nature of the story, length, purpose, direction, author affiliation, lead style and geographical sources of *The Friday Bulletin*'s stories in the identified period. Using these schemes, this paper attempts to probe how the newsletter framed the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*. Framing, suggests media scholar Robert Entman, “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, p. 52).

Glocalization, on the other hand, might be seen as an attempt to represent this attack “through the lenses of Kenyan sociocultural space” (Omanga, 2014, p. 25). Through content analysis, issues of *The Friday Bulletin* for the period under review were each assessed for stories related to the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*. Much more pronounced, however, was the concept of cognitive mapping. In recent times, this has been necessitated by the need to treat “identity as a variable, (and) to offer a synthetic theoretical framework that demonstrates the possibilities offered by various methods of measurement” (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & McDermott, 2009). Neuendorf and Skalski (2009, p. 209) argue that this ought to be more inferential, and in effect an integrative model of content analysis, “which calls for the collation of message-centric (i.e., content analysis) data with other available empirical information regarding source, receiver, channel, or other contextual state, whenever possible.”

In their three-category model, *The Friday Bulletin* would more fittingly fall under “naturally occurring messages that one might *assume* to constitute identity messages (e.g., individual-level messages such as personal ads or speeches, or aggregate-level cultural products such as films, news stories, or literature that might represent a culture or society)” (p. 211). This study therefore attempts to broadly analyze the text under consideration in the piloting tradition suggested by both Neuendorf and Skalski. This study relied on two coders who, after a dry run, were provided with issues of *The Friday Bulletin* for the period under consideration and required to look out for emerging frames.

32.4 Findings

In the period under consideration, coverage of the attacks was limited to the following editions of *The Friday Bulletin*, hereafter considered as independent one-word frames:

32.4.1 January 16, 2015 (Issue No. 611): Abomination!

Its unsigned splash, headlined *Global outrage over offensive French cartoons*, marked the newsletter's first foray into the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks. It was reported (Fig. 32.1):

The publication of the satirical caricature falsely depicting Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, by a French publication *Charlie Hebdo* have sparked off criticism by Muslims from the country and the world (sic). The French magazine on Wednesday published on its front page a cartoon which aimed at mocking and insulting Prophet Muhammad in reaction to the killing of 12 of its staffers by gunmen at its Paris office last week. Speaking to *The Friday Bulletin*, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM) Secretary General Adan Wachu condemned the publication terming it as “highly offensive” and could dampen efforts of mutual understanding between the Muslims and non-Muslims. He further took issue with a section of the local press for republishing the caricature from the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine saying that the action was done in bad faith and it was deliberately made to offend Muslims (p. 1).

In 550 words, *The Friday Bulletin* had prominently and effectively summed up its immediate position on arguably the most important religious story of the year. Understandably without another illustration, the newsletter had further straddled the hazy paths of interpretive journalism by blending news with opinion, particularly when it came to honouring the person of Prophet Muhammad. Focusing on male authorities in Kenyan Islam, it characterized the story as a crisis, and saw its purpose as being primarily to castigate the actions of others and confront emerging Islamophobia locally and abroad.

In an editorial on the same page, titled *The irony of freedom of expression*, the newsletter lamented that “Western societies have misused the values of freedom to insult and demean the values held dear by other people”. *Charlie Hebdo*, it said, had not only a history of abusive and vulgar drawings against different faiths, but also a long running bias against Islam, while acquiescing to “the powerful Jewish lobby.” In 560 words, the editorial recaps the aspects of coverage alluded to in the lead story. Now, however, the conflict is not merely between the traditional East and West but, “in an almost binary reductionist frame” (Omanga, 2014, p. 29) a revelation that little has changed in Muslim-Jewish relations in Kenya. The attack on the Nairobi-based Westgate Mall in 2013—popular with expatriates and



Fig. 32.1 *The Friday Bulletin*, 16 January 2015

Kenya's wealthier classes—it might be argued, fits into the binary vision of Kenya as a theatre for unresolved tensions between the two Abrahamic faiths, as it was Jewish-owned. In a sense, therefore, *The Friday Bulletin* was reminding its readers of the unsettled Middle East question and its many global ramifications.

On page six, the bulletin re-ran a commentary from Sharif Nashashib, “an award-winning journalist and a regular contributor for Al Jazeera,” titled *Islam and free speech: What's so funny?* A careful reading of this piece demonstrates that it had been the source of positions already advanced in the editorial. While similar in many respects to the first two stories, Nashashib's contribution was decidedly persuasive in purpose and certainly international in sourcing. At 1036 words, the Jamia Mosque Committee seems to have found it helpful enough in its agenda as to extensively re-publish it. A consideration of the story in question, therefore, points to an editorial decision grounded in seeking another nuanced voice on *Charlie Hebdo*.

32.4.2 January 23, 2015 (Issue No. 612): Provocation!

In another splash, titled *Don't provoke Muslims, local media told*, the newsletter now focused on reining in local media. SUPKEM's Mr. Wachu, it was reported, had told media in the country “to respect Muslim sensibilities and avoid publishing inflammatory and inciting content which is deliberately made to provoke anger in the community”. Mr. Wachu, it was said, had taken “issue with some section of the local media for republishing caricatures by a French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* which ridicule and demonize Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him”. It was further observed that “in a letter to the Media Council of Kenya, he (had) condemned the publication of satirical drawings by two local newspapers saying that they offended Muslims by demeaning Islam and Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him” (p. 1). In 722 words, the newsletter revisits approaches seen in the cover story in the previous edition. The shift in this instance, however, is towards the creative combination of awareness, persuasion and castigating as its purposes. At this stage, there seems to be a consciousness that the newsletter is speaking to interested internal and external audiences. Jamia mosque and its leadership also clearly emerge as the centre of action for Kenyan Muslims at this time, a role it has successfully played in the past, pointing to the seamless manner in which the divine sometimes meets the ordinary in the Kenyan context (Fig. 32.2).

The petition to the media regulator is significant, as there had been a moment—years before—when aggrieved Muslims had allegedly petrol-bombed the Mombasa bureau of *The Standard* over a story. In this one act, this section of the leadership of the Muslim community in Kenya was loudly telling the organized world that it is a responsible actor in Kenyan affairs, and willing to engage with existing institutions.

At the time of this writing, Kenya was still grappling with multiple terrorist threats in much of its coastal and North-Eastern region, attributed to heightened radicalization in sections of its Muslim population. While the government's counter-terrorism efforts have expectedly been tough on the Muslim community,



Fig. 32.2 *The Friday Bulletin*, 23 January 2015

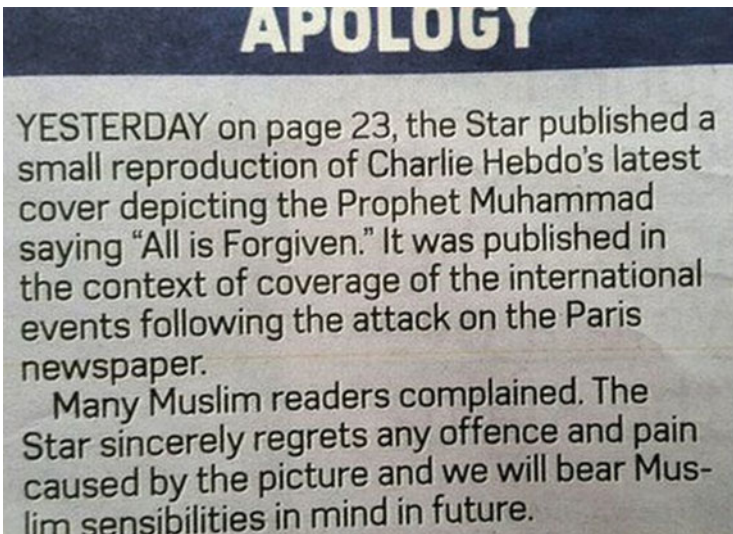


Fig. 32.3 *BBC website*, 15 January 2015

there are those who view this modern-day insecurity as a consequence of lopsided policy options and, importantly, poorly managed community relations. By pointing to possible tensions over *Charlie Hebdo*, *The Friday Bulletin* was, therefore, effectively serving a surveillance and agenda-setting role for its internal and external publics. *The Star* (Fig. 32.3), it seems, was listening.

On page three, in a story sourced from www.islam21c.com, a commentary titled *Insulting the Prophet—The beginning of the end*, chronicles past leaders and empires that have collapsed on account of their disrespect for Islam. The author, Abu Haneefa, ends his reflection thus:

So where you find a culture or civilization attacking the persona of the Prophet Muhammad (sall Allahu ‘alayhi wa sallam), it is a sure sign of the beginning of their end. A sure sign that they have become so intoxicated with the perception of their own power that they no longer see truth from falsehood, morality from obscenity, or that which benefits them from that which destroys them (p. 4).

At 2344 words, Abu's was the longest story on *Charlie Hebdo* by far. That he sees the end of Islam's enemies—in this case those celebrating *Charlie Hebdo*'s satire—in purely apocalyptic terms reignites the binary vision of the world alluded to earlier in this study. The cosmic struggle between good and evil must, at least on his terms, be settled. It is hard to see how *Charlie Hebdo* and such others would, on their own terms, want to stay away from such an end-time scenario.

On page six, in a commentary titled *Freedom of speech is a French myth*, Firoz Osman argued that “years of taunts, insults and humiliating caricatures of the revered Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and immigrants, by the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* has resulted in what the French authorities have long warned against, an explosion of violence leading to the tragic deaths and injuries of more than 20 people”. While he revisited issues already addressed and approaches taken by previous stories, he particularly argued that the cartoons had harmed French prestige and its notions of liberty in the global arena. His sweeping statements at this stage firmly anchor his commentary in the domain of negative propaganda, for a cursory glance at French behaviour on the global stage in the past few years denies it the omnipotent role he accords it. In Iraq, for instance, the United States for long exclusively retained “The Great Satan” tag because France had led Old Europe in opposing unilateral American action against Saddam Hussein.

In an unsigned story on page seven, headlined *No justification for abuse of Islam—Saudi Arabia*, a Foreign Ministry official from the kingdom is quoted as saying that it “condemns the magazine for mocking Islam and the personality of Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet of guidance and compassion.” Yusuf Al-Qardawi of the Qatar-based International Union of Muslim Scholars was also quoted as having called on the United Nations to make “contempt of religions” illegal and asking the West to protect Muslim communities in the attack's aftermath. Pope Francis, on the other hand, was liberally quoted as equating ridiculing one's faith to insulting a mother. The Pope's voice was significant, as one could now argue that Muslims had support from a mainstream Church, particularly in a local context in which Christian-Muslim relations had already been strained by repeated terrorist attacks by suspected Al-Shabaab militants.

32.4.3 February 06, 2015 (Issue No. 614): Intolerant!

In the second lead story on the front page, titled *Offensive cartoons 'intolerant and inexcusable'*—*Information CS*, *The Friday Bulletin* reported that the Information and Communication Technology Cabinet Secretary, Dr. Fred Matiang'i, had met Muslim leaders and taken issue with a section of local media for re-publishing *Charlie Hebdo*'s cartoons, and warned that the government would not tolerate “irresponsible” coverage. Continuing onto the second page, the story introduced perspectives from various Muslim leaders, attributing re-runs of the cartoons to malice aforethought and—for the first time—a desire by some local media houses “to gain financial leverage at the expense of offending Muslims' sensibilities”.

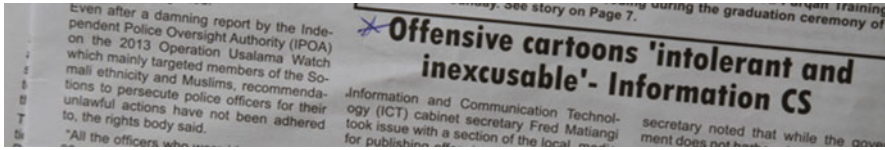


Fig. 32.4 *The Friday Bulletin*, 6 February 2015

Belatedly, therefore, Muslim leadership was acknowledging that a media manager “satisfies financial expectations of owners; ensures the outlet functions appropriately (advertising, entertainment, information and service); ensures survival in an increasingly competitive environment; and responds to the interests of the community his or her media outlet is licensed to serve” (Pringle, Starr, & McCavitt, 2006, p. 2). Once again, *The Friday Bulletin* accused the Nation Media Group of not walking in Radio Africa Group’s steps of eating humble pie over the cartoons. It then reminded its readers (Fig. 32.4):

In 2005, despite global anger by Muslims over the publication of offensive cartoons by a Danish publication *Jyl-lands-Posten*, a local television station owned by the Nation Media Group went ahead to run in one (of) its news bulletins the disgusting caricatures. The media house swiftly responded with an apology pledging that the “cracks” would be closed to ensure that a repeat of the same did not take place (p. 2).

In 552 words, the newsletter had not only informed its readers that the government was now with the community against *Charlie Hebdo*, but also a profit motive was now at play in local attempts at republishing the offensive cartoons. That the government could play this role, yet at the same time continue to feature in anti-Muslim sentiments elsewhere might perhaps point to the contradictory nature of the Kenyan State. Critically, the Nation Media Group was increasingly emerging as the bad boy in the newsletter’s books, a tag most would have ordinarily found difficult to associate with the former.

32.4.4 February 13, 2015 (Issue No. 615): Bias!

On the last page (eight), an unsigned piece from www.Onislam.net fittingly posed in its headline: *Where’s media in Chapel Hill killings?* It simply reported that “the brutal execution-style murder of three American Muslims in a calm neighbourhood in North Carolina has sparked angry reactions on social media, with many rushing to compare media coverage of the terrible incident to that of *Charlie Hebdo* attacks.” “Long hours after the murder, which occurred after 5 p.m. in North Carolina local time,” it lamented, “no reports about the incident made it to major media outlets.” Significantly, this also becomes the first time a woman has been named as a protagonist in the newsletter since *Charlie Hebdo* (Fig. 32.5).

The purpose of this story needs to be seen as persuasive, fitting into a narrative already built by earlier stories of bias against Muslims in Western contexts.

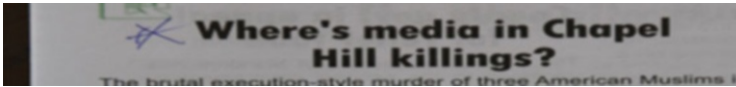


Fig. 32.5 *The Friday Bulletin*, 13 February 2015

The public square is clearly contested, and Muslims do not imagine for a moment that they are approaching it on an equal footing with everyone else. The media, they believe, is missing in action when it is needed the most.

32.4.5 February 27, 2015 (Issue 617): Convict!

On page two, *The Friday Bulletin* lurches onto an introspective commentary by the Nation Media Group's public editor, Mr. Peter Mwaura, on the *Business Daily's* re-publishing of the cartoons to declare the '*Nation*' guilty of demonizing Muslims. It quotes him as noting in the *Daily Nation* that the group's "editorial policy requires that its publications and broadcast outlets 'stand for racial, ethnic, religious and communal harmony.' But, as can be seen...they have contributed to the demonization of Muslims (Fig. 32.6)".

The 476 words article ends by alluding to a 2014 report from the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), dubbed *The Kenyan study, Deconstructing Terror: Assessing Media's Role in Religious Intolerance and Radicalization*, which had accused local media of "demonizing Islam and Muslims with a narrative which reinforces the view that Muslims are potential terrorists, Islam preaches and supports violent radicalization and extremism and People of Somali origin are potential terrorists." At this stage, it may be argued that *The Friday Bulletin* had finally extracted an apology from its next door neighbour, even if indirectly. The atonement, however, would seemingly have been incomplete without further reference to a study that had systematically documented related infractions by local media.

On the last page (eight), another unsigned piece from www.Onislam.net announces, in its headline, that *French reverts to Islam double after Charlie Hebdo* (sic). Citing the example of French director Isabelle Matic who had announced her conversion on Facebook shortly after the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*, the report indicated that converts were increasingly drawn from various professions. In 352 words, the world was informed that rather than driving people away from Islam, the attack seemed to have had precisely the opposite effect. The new converts, it was also suggested, were also coming in as warriors of an orthodox Islam that was primarily peaceful.

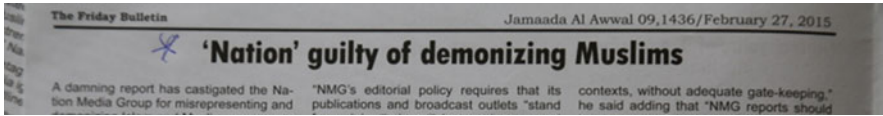


Fig. 32.6 *The Friday Bulletin*, 27 February 2015

32.5 Discussion

A general overview demonstrates that coverage was characterized by a mix of news, editorial and opinion throughout, some of it on front pages. On February 6th, it had become a sub-lead on the front page, on the 13th a news item on the back-page, and on the 27th a news item on the second and back pages. In all, 8303 words were dedicated to this story. This study demonstrates that, throughout, *The Friday Bulletin* consistently stayed true to what Abdi (2014) had already captured as its stated mission of “revitalising the Muslim media. .in the face of the negative campaign which ironically is being projected mainly, through the media” (p. 5).

By running the content on *Charlie Hebdo*, both *The Star* and *Business Daily* apparently felt that there exists a strand of Islam that is violent while passing off as peaceful and tolerant (Sookhdeo, 2007, pp. 12–13). By developing its own varied perspectives on *Charlie Hebdo* and sourcing content from various international sources for distribution across its two platforms, however, *The Friday Bulletin* gave effect to Fareed Zakaria’s (2004, p. 15) rather optimistic vision of the democratization of technology and information in this age in which “everyone is connected but no one is in control”.

The Friday Bulletin clearly saw its internal public as a people on the periphery of Kenyan and international media systems, muted by hegemonic tendencies in both. The Muted Group Theory has its roots in the work of linguistic anthropologists Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941) who understood language as a culture-specific means of defining and creating reality (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). A native tongue, others have argued, has a crucial impact on how one perceives the world. It might be argued that as a non-dominant group, *The Friday Bulletin* shoe-horned its own ideology into the dominant groups’ established systems of expression (Griffin, 2009, p. 459) while utilizing a foreign language, English. With few exceptions, women’s expressions in the newsletter were also muted considering perhaps that men will, whether consciously or not, prevent acknowledgement of other voices (Spencer, 1980).

Faith-based media around the world will clearly be interested in a story that touches on their members even if such were to break thousands of kilometers away. For the Muslim community in Kenya, this apparently meant seeking diverse voices that would affirm its sense of being in an increasingly contested public square. Re-telling the *Charlie Hebdo* story, therefore, meant locating it in a global narrative of media bias and high-voltage international politics. The Nation Media Group, it would seem, took a while to remember that it had a small, but vocal Muslim

constituency to cater for in its coverage. As such, notions of the freedom of expression and press in Kenya begged for a fresh understanding for all involved.

32.6 Conclusion

The identified one-word frames per edition remind us all that the role of community in Islam cannot be overemphasized. *The Friday Bulletin*, in the Kenyan context, apparently sees its mission as exposing perceived bias against the Muslim community at home and abroad. The mainstream media in Kenya, on the other hand, sees its purpose as being to offend, on occasion religious sensibilities notwithstanding. The attack on *Charlie Hebdo* provided an unprecedented opportunity for a conversation between mainstream and faith-based media on a matter that will continue to test the bonds that tie Kenyans together for years to come.

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Recommendation Further research needs to be undertaken on why *The Friday Bulletin* did not run with the story in its edition for January 9th, 2015, two days after the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*. In fact, it did not address the event until after the subsequent edition of *Charlie Hebdo* was published. Was that because of the day of the week? Or did they choose to ignore the event initially? A legitimate expectation from readers would have been either for a brief mention condemning the incident, or a special edition altogether providing in-depth coverage.

Dr. Halkano Abdi has also expressed frustration that the newsletter similarly glossed over the terrorist attacks on Garissa University on 2 April 2015, which occurred a day before its regular edition at the time and claimed an estimated 147 lives (Personal interview, 2015). This editorial posture opens it up to the possibility of being perceived in some quarters as being subtly sympathetic to those who executed these attacks. On the other hand, however, it might just be that its editorial team has yet to understand that strategy “is defined as the large-scale, future-oriented plans for interacting with the competitive environment to achieve company objectives” (Pearce & Robinson, 2007, p. 3). But again, it might be that there is simply no financial pressure to go this way.

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Part VI

Education and Learning

Role of New Media in Education and Corporate Communication: Trends and Prospects in a Middle Eastern Context

33

Mahboub E. Hashem, Joseph Hashem, and Paul Hashem

33.1 Introduction

Youngsters across our Middle Eastern region have been embracing modernity as new information technology and mobile media streamline behavior; nevertheless, family and friends as well as religion remain some of the most traditional and crucial factors influencing our youths. Just about half of our youths admit that traditional values and behaviors are somewhat ‘a thing of the past’ and it’s about time to move on and embrace modernity that digital and mobile media are introducing to mostly youths around the globe. Whereas parental, friendship, and religion influences are still strong in the Middle East, digital and mobile media seem as strong, if not stronger, among the most influential factors. Besides, while youth optimism about Arab spring is vanishing, their hope and confidence in their ability to influence the future remain strong.

Not too long ago, media systems were characterized as locally owned radio, television, and newspaper industries. There was basic importation for movies, TV shows, music, and books, which appeared to a large extent dominated by western-based, most notably US-based firms. Yet, local commercial interests, on occasions combined with state-affiliated diffusion services, prevailed within media systems. All of this has been changing rapidly. Although up to that time, media systems were commonly domestic; in the past few years, global social and commercial-media markets have emerged and affected that status-quo. To comprehend media today, we must start with comprehending the global media systems and consider

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differences we have at the domestic level. What we are witnessing these days consists of establishing global oligopolies. Oligopolies result from various forms of connection which reduce competition and lead to higher prices for consumers. In the past few decades, oligopolies occurred in the oil (OPEC) and automotive industries (Chrysler and Mercedes Benz); now, it seems that they have been occurring in the media industries as well. For instance, besides Comcast (CMCSA), the giants—Time Warner, Disney, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, Viacom, Sony, Seagram, AT&T/Liberty Media, Bertelsmann, and GE—to a great degree used to provide almost all of our TV programs, movies, videos, radio shows, music, books, and other recreational activities. Today, these conglomerates don't only produce content, but also own distribution, just as the Viacom/CBS merger indicates, producers and distribution networks aren't doing this only, but they are also racing to link up with each other as well. These companies own positively some merger of television networks, TV show production, TV stations, movie studios, cable channels, cable systems, music companies, magazines, newspapers, and book publishing firms. For example, Viacom/CBS, can now produce a movie at Paramount or a TV show at Spelling studios, air it on Showtime and CBS, advertise it on its 34 TV stations, as well as on the 163 Infinity Radio stations, and then sell it at Blockbuster Video—all owned by the same merged company (McChesney, 1999).

The major problem with the introduction of media conglomerates is that regulators have been very reluctant in regulating these media mergers, especially after the introduction of the Internet technology and its global use by worldwide consumers, thinking that it will offset the great influence of media conglomerates. Although the Internet is undoubtedly changing the nature of our media system; however, after 5 years, it has not produced a good or competitive media marketplace. Hence, the giants have too many advantages to be seriously challenged. They have the programming, the brand names, the advertisers, the promotional ability, and the capital to rule the Internet. While the Internet and its various applications play a vigorous role in many societies; whether it is in the field of academy, business, or family; still media conglomeration has a heavy hand in making major decisions and influencing the media markets worldwide. Actually, the term "new media or information technology" was conceived of from combining computer and communication technologies together. Therefore, this term describes any new or recent technology that helps to produce, manipulate, store, communicate, or disseminate data or new knowledge. Often the term "new media or information technology" is associated with the use of computers, however; there are many other examples of new information technologies. These are mobile technology, video conferencing, twittering (blogs), electronic gaming, I-Pad, I-Pod, podcasts, World Wide Web, Internet, and Intranet. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the role new media play in education and corporate communication in a Middle Eastern context.

Middle Eastern media ownership, especially electronic media, consists of total governmental control of media, as is the case in many authoritarian regimes or under the auspices of political party leaders or by inheritance from well-established media outlets, such as in Lebanon. By way of programming and content, Middle

Eastern media imitate western media major programs and borrow a lot from them, a fact indicating Western and, most notably, North American hegemony. Consequently, objectivity suffers a great deal, due to conveying news that is usually colored by the opinion of those in power as well as tailoring borrowed content and coloring it to fit cultural norms. For instance, owners of the networks seem to be increasingly hostile to airing reports that may call into question some of their other activities or current statuses and, given the spread of those activities, there may be a lot of uncovered territory regarding those owners. While media conglomeration is far from taking place in the Middle Eastern context, the concept of hegemony is at its best in that same context. In the following paragraphs, this paper will discuss the role of new media (Internet, mobile media, and gaming), media conversion, and how Middle Easterners cope with all of these rapid changes in the media world and what these are bringing to them.

33.2 Role of New Media: The Internet

According to Pakhare (2007, p. 1), the “Internet has been, perhaps, the most outstanding innovation in the field of communication in the history of mankind.” Just like any other innovation, the Internet has its own set of advantages and disadvantages. Apart from e-mail and World Wide Web, the Internet includes a number of other applications such as chat rooms, search engines, twittering, social networking sites, online-dating, online-education, e-gaming, and e-commerce. In fact, the Internet has become the best business tool for modern day scenario. It has made the idea of global village, which was coined by Marshal McLuhan in the 1960s, possible as it brings together people from all over the world into one place. It offers many advantages for businesses as it allows greater flexibility due to its high speed, thereby, making communication faster and convenient. Companies can store and retrieve important confidential documents with the help of the Internet. It allows companies to have a “flatter corporate hierarchy as an employee with an idea or concern can share it directly with an individual without having the message reviewed or filtered by others.” (Center, Jackson, Smith, & Stansberry, 2008, p. 29).

Additionally, the Internet allows organizations to have a quick way to give and get feedback, which reduces the communication cycle time. Furthermore, companies can also use this medium to place their advertisements on specific websites, which would enable wider reach and become cost effective. E-mail services offered by the Internet also allow companies to communicate and, later, operate their business with others who are not within the same locality. Likewise, the Internet allows businesses to conduct meetings online via video-call conference services.

Besides, e-commerce also plays a vital role in contemporary business settings, as people can now conduct business deals that involve transfer of information across the globe via the Internet. For instance, twittering which is a “social networking and micro-blogging service enabling its users to send and read other users’ updates” is much in demand (Twittering, 2009, p. 1). These blogging services assist as personal online diaries. An increasing number of companies are using blogs to interact with

customers in order to get their feedback on improving corporation products and services. These blogs are also used by companies to advertise their products and services as well as to provide the necessary information to potential customer visitors. For example: product developers in Microsoft use blogs in order to intrigue the public's interest in their work (Twittering, 2009).

Similarly, the Internet is widely used in high schools and universities as a source of information. For instance, university students make use of search engines like Yahoo and Google for projects and research purposes. With the help of these search engines, students have access to a colossal volume of information on any topic. In other words, the "World Wide Web has enabled a sudden and extreme decentralization of information and data" (Internet, 2009, p. 34). E-mail services also allow students to communicate with their professors in case they have any questions regarding assignments. In addition, university students frequently use library online databases for research purposes. Apart from this, the Internet excessively provides students with the ability to take virtual courses, which is basically online education via the Internet. This form of instruction permits students to use electronic and multi-media technologies, such as discussion forums, e-mails, voice mails, and the like for their educational progress and status enhancement. Besides, this form of education is inexpensive and convenient, as most of the universities and schools have started using the Internet to post assignments and results online. Besides, the Internet has become a source of entertainment, as people surf the net to watch and download music, movies, games, visit chat rooms. Moreover, one can also have access to current news updates via online newspaper websites, as nearly all newspapers can be accessed online these days.

Families often use Internet services, such as e-mail and windows live messenger (MSN), to keep in touch with their loved ones who live apart from corner to corner across the globe. Even social networking sites such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and the like allow people to keep in touch with friends worldwide. Moreover, the Internet offers a number of messenger services, which enable people to develop friendships, share their thoughts, and explore other cultures of different ethnicity (Pakhare, 2007). Online dating services, which allow individuals to find their matches over the Internet, have also become popular. Nowadays, more and more people have adopted online shopping techniques which are much more convenient than traditional retail shopping. In addition, online shopping is a form of e-commerce used by various organizations.

Another information technology tool provided by the Internet consists of video conferencing service. This service makes use of telecommunications of audio and video to get people from different sites together for meeting purposes. Video conferencing is useful for students too, as it provides them with the prospect to learn by partaking in a two-way communication platform (Teleconferencing, 2009). Most businesses have started using this form of technology to conduct meetings and conferences online, thereby saving time and travel expenses.

Just like any other innovations, the Internet has also its own set of disadvantages on various organizations. "No field of human life has been more affected by the Internet than the way people communicate with others," as stated by Fulk and Ryu

(1990, p. 2). The Internet is gradually altering the way people interact with each other. "This technology that has allowed people to keep in touch with distant family members and friends, to find information quickly and to develop friendships with people around the world apparently, is also replacing vital, everyday human communication" (Turkle, 1995, p. 18). Studies have shown that adolescents and high school students make use of the Internet more than any other age groups (UCLA Centre for Communication Policy, 2003). For instance, Nie and Erbring (2000) found that there was a negative correlation between Internet use and its user's interpersonal communication with family and friends. They and Kraut et al. (1998) found that people engaged less in face-to-face communication with their family members and friends as a result of excessive use of the Internet. For instance, today's youths prefer sending e-mail notes to their next door neighbors (whether it is at their residence or their office at work) instead of meeting them face-to-face. This fact shows how excessive usage of the Internet leads to a decrease in face-to-face interaction with others.

Additionally, one of the most significant adverse effects of the Internet is that "it's impersonal and increases the risk of dehumanizing relationships" (Center et al., 2008, p. 29). Since Internet and, particularly, e-mail services are used quickly, even impulsively, the Internet can increase the likelihood for misunderstanding when people across distances chat with one another. One common disadvantage Internet users have is with regard to the accuracy of information it provides. Although a vast amount of information is available online, some information may be incorrect or not authentic; thereby, it makes it difficult for people to select the correct information (Advantages and Disadvantages of Internet, N.D.). Similarly, the Internet faces security problems, as virus threats might put companies at risk of losing their valuable and confidential data, which might adversely affect their organizational activities. In addition, confidential data might as well be accessed by unauthorized persons.

Likewise, spamming and junk mails might needlessly obstruct organizational activities and result in wasting a lot of time. Apart from these, blogging services used by corporations are expensive and time-consuming, as they require people-in-charge to regularly update and maintain their blogs. In case someone is engaging in online business, s/he would face a lot of distractions (television, talking) and this would result in loss of concentration. In addition to this, as online business work is tedious and boring, it is easy for people to get distracted and this would adversely affect their business (Glantschnig, 2007). As students spend major portions of their time surfing the net, chatting, downloading music, and playing games, a lot of their time is wasted. This precious time could be used for academic purposes. Moreover, sometimes students are addicted to certain social networking sites, such as Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter and, hence, end up wasting their valuable time. Similarly, the Internet affects the language of those students, as they begin to use chat language, such as LOL, BRB, etc. in their essays. Apart from this, some websites include immoral material (text, pictures, and movies), which corrupts the character of the new generation (Advantages and Disadvantages of Internet, N.D.). Furthermore, students who develop online relationships through the Internet

end up meeting strangers and, thereby, might get into trouble. On one hand, people can find matches through matrimonial sites; however, on the other hand, they might face lies and deception cases, as people could have false identities and publish wrong information about the selves.

33.3 Role of New Media: Mobile Technology

Mobile technology is “without doubt one of the most explosive developments ever to have taken place in telecommunications industry” (The social impact of mobile telephony, N.D., para. 1). Mobile technology offers many advantages for organizations, such as faster communication and greater convenience. Additionally, it allows people to take advantage of the precious time to do business on the move. Today, mobile industries like Nokia, Blackberry, Samsung, and I-Phone have made smartphones (mobiles) suitable for businesspersons. Apart from Bluetooth, SMS, GPS, and camera, these mobile phones have additional features, such as Wi-Fi connectivity, call-making facilities, Internet access, e-mail, instant messaging service, intranet, and quick office. They are most commonly known as smart phones, wireless handheld devices, which support all the above features along with Internet faxing and multi-tasking operation systems. In other words, they are like small versions of computers, laptops, camcorders, home phones, calendars, and televisions combined in one entity. As these phones have been made particularly for business purposes, they make communication more convenient and faster than ever before, thereby, wasting no time at all. Businesspersons often make use of the Internet facility to search data, read current news, arrange meetings, and to send emails. This technology proves to be very useful, not just for virtually all businesses using mobile phones to conduct their businesses, but also for students and teachers at educational institutions for purposes of learning, teaching, and exchanging information.

Moreover, some companies and institutions have made the effort of making their blogs mobile-device friendly. An increasing number of universities and colleges are making an effort to get students to use their mobile phones and I-pads as learning tools in class and at home. Therefore, educational institutions have made lectures and PowerPoint presentations available for students to view from their mobile phones. Currently, this makes it even more convenient for students. Similarly, mobile technology allows families to send pictures, and make international calls to their loved ones. In addition, mobile phones have also brought “new freedoms for youngsters, increased security, and peace of mind for their parents” (The Social Impact, N.D., para 27).

Similar to any other technology, mobile phones also have certain negative effects on various organizations. Firstly, this technology is distracting, as most university students tend to fiddle with their cell phones and don't pay attention in class, thereby affecting their academic performance. Moreover, most teenagers waste a lot of time talking on their phones. Again, this precious time could be used effectively for studying and spending quality time with loved ones. Today's

youths are so dependent on mobile technology to an extent that they even make calls to their friends, even though they are within the same vicinity. Likewise, employees next door send each other email notes instead of moving from their chairs for a few seconds to interact face-to-face with their corporate workers working next to them.

Secondly, SMS service (texting) is changing language through its widespread use. According to Castells, Ardevo, Qui, and Sey (2004), we are now facing “a new case in which the adoption of new technology affects the language itself, including vocabulary and grammar rules in the practice of people” (p. 246). These researchers further say that “we are also beginning to see texting vocabulary spill over into standard English writing or French writing or Spanish writing” (p. 246). Moreover, “teachers are beginning to complain about students using SMS words in their essays” (p. 246).

Thirdly, mobile phones pose threat to human health caused via the radiations used by mobile phones to communicate. Furthermore, when people are talking on their mobile phones, they are less aware of their surroundings. This can be dangerous in situations such as while driving a car. In fact, most people are often seen using their mobile phones while driving, which could lead to serious accidents. “Sociologists are already beginning to note that many people, especially those under 30 years old, are spending a great deal of time speaking to people they are not with, at the expense of those who are actually there” (The Social Impact, N.D., para. 25). This statement shows how mobile phones have reduced face-to-face communication with family and friends.

A case in point was Mizuko, Okabe, and Matsuda (2006). Ito is a professor at the Humanities Research Institute at the University of California, Irvine. Her main professional interest has been young people’s use of media technology. She has explored the ways in which digital media are changing relationships, identities, and communities. Hence, she has documented the growing place of mobile technology and communication among Japanese youths and how they affected Japanese life in general. For instance, Ito describes young couples as remaining in constant contact with each other throughout the day, thanks to their access to various mobile technologies. They wake up together, work together, eat together, and go to bed together even though they live miles apart and may have face-to-face contact only a few times a month. We might call it ‘tele-cocooning’, for the use of mobile communication reinforces ties between close friends and family, producing ‘tele-cocooning’ by tight-knit social groups. This technology did not just evoke technical capability or freedom of movement, but intimacy and portability, defining a personal accessory that allows constant social connection. Japan’s enthusiastic engagement with mobile technology has become—along with anime, manga, and sushi—part of its trendsetting popular culture. This treatment of mobile communication use in Japan covers the transformation of this new technology from a business tool to a personal device for communication and play. This groundbreaking work of these authors documents the rise, incorporation, and domestication of mobile communication in a wide range of social practices and institutions.

Although mobile technology has been used in educational institutions with the aim of enhancing students' overall academic performance, the growth in this industry has been primarily attributed to the inability of the standard educational system to address the unique needs of students living in rural areas, distant locations, or cannot attend classes the traditional way. Adoption of private mobile technology services have been largely encouraged by the increasing number of students living in rural areas and less fortunate families that cannot afford sending their children to faraway schools. Besides, there are other factors influencing the decision to seek effective use of mobile technology for sick students who are forced to be absent from school for long periods of time and seek some online tutoring services, which may include the need to assist children in keeping pace with classroom teaching activities, improve their overall grades, and boost their knowledge and skill levels.

Demand for online education and tutoring is increasing, due to the convenience and multi-utility features of the medium. Despite the sustained demand for face-to-face education and tutoring, steady rise in popularity of online instruction is attributed to the increasing number of children well acquainted with the Internet. Also, widespread use of smartphones and tablet phones among students has enabled easy access to web-based training programs. E-Learning, even though is not so popular in the Middle Eastern region, has been growing as a business and in great demand globally.

33.4 Role of New Media: Gaming

Computers and video games are sources of entertainment, which can be commonly used by youths and adults alike. Video games, like all other technologies, have certain positive and negative effects on various organizations. As mentioned earlier, people who engage in online businesses often play online games, due to their tedious and boring work. Apart from being sources of entertainment, video games are being increasingly used as auxiliary materials by many educational institutions. These games prove to be effective in teaching children various academic skills. "There are also video games which have been developed and designed that require skills like remembering, inducing, memorizing, deducing, solving problems, recognizing patterns and mapping" (Pratt, 2008, para. 4). In addition, video games are known to increase awareness, concentration, and release of stress as well as to exercise the eyes and the brain. Furthermore, they function as contributors to the progress of motor and perseverance skills. However, there is a common belief that video games are addictive forms of entertainment. Well, in this case, high school and university students tend to spend too much time playing X-BOX, PS2, and PS3 games; hence, wasting their time, which they could use effectively for studying.

Moreover, video games lack a great deal of abilities that children need to develop their social skills properly. Numerous studies show that "video games, especially ones with violent content, adversely affect a teen's aggressive behavior"

(Norcia, 2008, para. 2). Gentile and Anderson (2003) state that playing video games may increase aggressive behavior, as violent acts may be continually repeated throughout any video game. Gradually, people learn how to be violent by imitating the characters they see in these video games and end up behaving in aggressive ways towards others. Quite often, people learn some inappropriate words (slangs) from these video games and use them with their peers; hence, affecting their language use. Finally, as video games are addictive in nature, students who play them for extended periods of time face decline in school achievements (Gentile, Lynch, Linder, & Walsh, 2004).

Apart from gaming, there are two more new information technologies that are being increasingly used in various organizations. These are podcasts and intranet. Podcasts refer to a number of digital media files, usually digital audios or videos that are made available for download. The term Podcast is derived from “iPod” and “broadcast”. Podcasts can be distinguished from other digital media formats in terms of syndication and subscription. Although, it is a fairly new technology, people are building up refined applications to use this medium effectively. “This new form of broadcasting of information opens up tremendous opportunities for dispersion of information, entertainment, and news” (Bacak, 2005, para. 2). Podcasts provide flexible learning opportunities, as students can listen and watch anytime they wish. They are also useful for students to review what was done in class. With the help of podcasts, students can learn from more than one way: that is listening to audio files, watching videos, and reading course materials. Likewise, these audio files can be easily and inexpensively uploaded to course websites. Podcasts allow students to have access to lectures, classes, and talks via downloading. They are especially advantageous for university students who miss lectures or who could not attend classes for one reason or another. Moreover, there are certain websites which allow people to download any topic of their choice to podcasts. They have also become other Internet marketing opportunities for media planners to help drive traffic to their websites. Besides being easily accessible, podcasts constitute to be great ways for small businesses to attract new customers. In addition, podcasts are useful for individuals with little time to spare, as they help them to keep in touch with top technological trends and be updated with current events.

Despite of their advantages, podcasts constitute a fairly new technology that faces certain limitations in terms of its accessibility. Transcripts made for files are time-consuming and expensive. People who have slow Internet connection would face problems, due to large sizes of video files. Regardless of it being easy, quick, and inexpensive technology to record and podcast a lecture, editing and creating high quality files can be time consuming.

Similarly, Intranet is a private computer network which is restricted to members within a corporation in order to share any part of the organization’s information. Basically, it’s a private version of the Internet. Its uses are mainly in the field of business. In organizations, Intranet is mainly used for communication and collaboration purposes such as working in teams, crews, teleconferencing, etc. This technology allows employees to discuss significant issues, provide their suggestions

and views; thereby, improving employee relations. Since information is easily accessible only by authorized users, security is sustained. With the help of Intranet, organizations can make more information available to employees. It promotes common corporate culture, as the same information is viewed by all. Most importantly, it serves as a powerful apparatus for communication within the organization. Universities are widely using this kind of technology. For instance; 'I-Learn' and 'Black-Board' serve as instructive websites that can only be accessed by students of a particular university or educational institution. As such, they serve students to communicate with their respective course professors as well as with each other. However, the disadvantage of these technologies includes having a management team to review and respond to the Intranet posts on a daily basis, which is time consuming as well.

33.5 Media Conversion

Media researchers have been interested in the problem of media convergence since the 1980s; however, the huge wave of publications, conferences, and discussions about media convergence began just after the publication of Henry Jenkins' book *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (2008). Actually, Ithiel de Sola Pool and Nicholas Negroponte were the two media scholars who contributed greatly to propagating this term and the problems associated with the issue of convergence. For instance, Pool defined convergence of modes as clouding the lines between media, even between point-to-point communication, such as the post, telephone, telegraph, and mass communication, such as the press, radio, and television. A single physical means; be it wires, cables, or airwaves; may carry services that, in the past, were provided in separate ways. Nowadays, a service that was provided in the past by any one medium can be provided in several different physical ways. So the one-to-one relationship that used to exist between a medium and its use seems eroding. "Convergence is the mutual remediation of at least three important technologies-telephone, television, and computer-each of which is a hybrid of technical, social, and economic practice and each of which offers its own path to immediacy." (Bolter & Grusin, 2000, p. 224; Kopecka-Piech, 2011).

In the Encyclopedia of New Media, Featherly (2008) contends that Multimedia development underlies convergence; and the term 'multimedia' refers to the integration of multiple media forms, comprising text, music, spoken words, video, illustrated graphics, and still photographs, to communicate unified messages that, ideally at least, are also interactive. When presented using hypertext links, this becomes 'hypermedia.' Kopecka-Piech (2011), in *media convergence concepts*, discusses different types of convergence, which include: technological convergence resulting in transformation from 'atoms' to bits and digitalization of the whole media content. It also arises through footing and conveying that correspond to merging of devices and network convergence. Additionally, merging of devices or mixed-media (a medium wherein two or more forms of communication are integrated), which consists of "bringing together multiple media functions within

the same device” making them become similar. Mainly, it follows the expansion of the Internet, e-business, multimedia and IT applications. It is also specified as terminal merging considering the role of the terminal: radio set, television set, telephone, and computer. Furthermore, there is the merging of solutions which involves regulating network access processes, services, applications, and procedures. Moreover, service merging includes both transmission merging providing similar services with the use of different application of tools belonging to various communication units and diverse solutions resulting from merging of devices. For instance, Tri-Play services; such as television, telephone, Internet, and Multi-package access services; such as telephone, Internet, interactive television, VOD via stationary telephony with the use of modem, are excellent examples of converged services. Finally, Kopecka-Piech (2011) introduces network convergence wherein there is no difference between sound, text, and images in digital networks, since they are all transmitted as bits and bytes, in contrast to analog signals.

Simply stated, media convergence is not just a technological shift. It is also the flow of content through various media platforms, teamwork amongst numerous media undertakings, and seasonal conduct of media audiences who will seek the kinds of entertainment practices they want to experience. Media convergence describes technological, industrial, cultural, and social changes depending on who are speaking and what they think they are talking about. It modifies the relationship between existing technologies, industries, markets, genres, and audiences.

Meanwhile, our entire lives and undertakings flow via multiple media platforms and, then, entertainment content is not the only thing that runs across those platforms; so, media convergence does not just comprise commercially created resources and features roving together with well-regulated and anticipated courses of action. It does not just include mobile firms getting together with film companies to decide how, when, and where a newly film is released. It also occurs when people take media in their own hands. Entertainment content is not the only thing that flows across multiple media platforms. Our lives, relationships, memories, fantasies, and desires also stream through media channels.

Additionally, media convergence is both a top-down commercial-driven course of action and, likewise, a bottom-up customer driven course of action. As such, commercial convergence concurs with popular convergence. Media establishments are learning how to speed up the flow of media content through distribution networks to increase income opportunities, extend markets, and reinforce consumers’ obligation. By the same token, consumers are learning how to use different media technologies to bring the flow of media more fully under their control and to interact with other consumers. Sometimes, commercial and consumer convergences support each other, producing closer, more gratifying relations between media producers and consumers.

In the realm of media convergence, anything is likely to happen to anyone around the globe. Many stories may be told, numerous brands may be sold, and countless customers may be pleased over modern media across the world. Circulation of media content across the world depends largely on customers’ active

involvement. Hence, convergence represents a cultural shift as customers are stimulated to pursue new information and network amongst themselves for their favorite choices of media content. As Jenkins (2006) puts it, convergence culture takes place where the new and old collide. Hence, partaking of new cultures diverge from older ones, wherein ideas of passive media spectatorship prevail. Rather than considering media producers and clients as occupying separate roles, they might be seen as partakers with different roles and who interact with each other according to a new set of rules and regulations that may be hard to fully understand. Not all partakers are equally created. Media companies and some individuals within those companies may exert more power than clients or consumers. Similarly, few consumers may have greater capabilities to partake in this emerging culture than others within or outside of those media firms. Convergence does not arise through media devices, however refined they may be. Convergence happens within the brains of consumers and through their social networks with others.

Itihel de Sola Pool, in his 1983 published book, *Technologies of Freedom*, described the modes of technology and was the first one to coin the term 'convergence' in order to clarify the effects of various innovations on society as well as a force of change in the media businesses. He states that digital microelectronics present convergence between historically separated modes of communication. Theater, news events, and speaking are all increasingly delivered electronically. These modes of communicating ideas are becoming one single grand system (Wiki Enc., 2014).

Bagdikian (1983, 2000, & 2004) and other scholars have recognized the implications of media corporatization and ownership concentration. In addition, Bagdikian (2004) shows that only five gigantic corporations; Time Warner, Disney, Murdoch's News Corporation, Bertelsmann of Germany, and Viacom (formerly CBS); now control most of the media industry in the U.S. Besides these, General Electric's NBC is a close sixth. Nevertheless, current processes of globalization, digitization, networking, and cultural variation of media have prompted new forms of organization, production, and distribution through which these media industries function. The global network of media organizations is a vast and complex entity constituted by countless players, of whom we note: Time Warner, Disney, News Corp., Bertelsmann, NBC (owned by General Electric), CBS, and Viacom, as well as the largest Internet Amelia H. Arsenault, Manuel Castells, Google, Microsoft, Yahoo, Apple, and the like. As a result of globalization, major corporations, and digitization in the West; there has been a focus on indigenous and regional media firms so as to deliver customized content to their audiences. By the same token, native and provincial companies have been actively importing and assuming foreign products and formats. Hence, capital and production have become globalized, whereas the content of media has become customized to local cultures and diverse audiences. Consequently, similar to other industries, globalization and diversification have become two interwoven processes. Only global networks would take care of global media production; however, their market share would continue to depend on their ability to localize their content and connect to local distribution channels.

Furthermore, while the Internet is an autonomous network of local and global communication, private and public corporations also own their infrastructure, and most popular social spaces and Web sites, which are fast becoming a segment of multimedia business. Artz (2007) maintains that international media are those that produce content in one country and distribute it to others; whereas multinational media are based in one country; however, they produce content with foreign media companies and distribute it in many countries. Therefore, media conversion and corporations have progressed out of the interactivity between different kinds of media and communication technologies. The digitization of information means that while at one time a host of media and communication networks operated sometimes in harmony, rarely autonomously, gradually the space of communication is joined into one network created by telecommunications, the Internet, and the mass media (Jenkins, 2006). Media products move fluidly across a variety of platforms; end-users can now choose the form and the location in which they consume media products.

From a young age, children become familiar with connected devices, from pills to smartphones. Many know how to use an I-Pad before they can write and speak confidently and, yet, when they go to school and they are given a pencil and paper as tools for education. It's becoming gradually apparent that this is counterproductive: if children can engage easily and effectively with smart technology, then, why not use it in the classroom?

The technology which constitutes the basis of a functional school can easily become outdated, compared to what learners may have access to at home; such as tablets, laptops and smartphones. There are various ways in which connected technology can be used to upgrade a school, keeping it, not only up-to-date, but improving its results and pupil satisfaction. While many schools learn to rely on a telecoms network which has served them for years, time and money can be saved by upgrading to a more advanced connected network. The most effective way of teaching can be determined by using analytics, and the most effective way to relay information to learners may no longer be a conventional whiteboard or textbook, but a smart device. There exist numerous educational institutes where a smart upgrade has been used to improve education, networking, communication, and efficiency in the classroom and beyond. Those institutes made it easier for their teachers and pupils alike to interact and benefit from networking together for the sole purposes of educating and learning, while others have clunked to the old way of doing things (Total Education, N.D.).

All in all, we have seen that various new media and information technologies, such as the Internet, smart phones, podcasts, Intranet, and others comprise of both positive and negative effects on different organizations (families, schools, universities, etc.). We also discussed media conversion and how media oligopolies and conglomerates developed and controlled media content and distribution around the globe. What remains to be seen is the influence of these processes on Arab consumers of media content, usage, and source diversification. Uses and gratification theory is an approach to understanding why and how people actively seek out specific media to satisfy particular needs. In addition, it is an audience-centered

style deviating from other media effect theories that question ‘what do media do to people;’ and focusing instead on ‘what do people do with media?’ It also suggests that media users play an active role in choosing and using their media tools. Thus, users become goal oriented in their media use via seeking out media sources that best satisfy their desires. As a result, this theory assumes that users have alternative choices to gratify their needs (Blumler & Katz, 1974; Ruggiero, 2000). Furthermore, the emergence of computer-mediated communication has revived the importance of uses and gratifications theory, which has constantly provided a pioneering approach in the preliminary stages of each new mass communication medium: that is newspapers, radio, television, and currently the Internet (Ruggiero, 2000). This research paper draws on uses and gratifications theory, which is likely to shed some light concerning Arab youths’ new media usage: Are they playing an active role in that usage and, if not, to what extent are they allowing the new media to affect them and the ways they are using them at home as well as at work?

33.6 Methodology

A descriptive and exploratory survey research design was chosen to identify Middle Eastern or Arab students and employees in order to discover how they use their new media tools, the level of their competencies with and dependencies on them for their studies and work. With over 250,000 Internet users, the UAE presents itself as an important state of the Gulf region and a global community with more than 80 different nationalities (very diverse society). Thus, the UAE, which is embracing new media faster and more effectively than any other nation in the region, is a normal population from which to draw a representative sample for this study. Therefore, public and private institutions were selected, for they provided an excellent context from which subjects can be chosen to answer freely the questions asked in the survey without restraint. Furthermore, multiple sources of influence are likely to be avoided with regard to choices of answers related to their use of new media activities. For the purpose of this study, all UAE residents in those institutions were potential subjects to be included in the target sample. Excluded were members of the pilot study only, which preceded this one.

Participants A total of 311 UAE residents across a variety of institutes participated in the survey, which was delivered in paper form by the author’s research assistants who were trained by the researcher to distribute the surveys and collect data from all participants. 160 participants were males (51.45 %); 151 were females (48.55 %). Their age varied between 16 and 35 or older. After participants’ assents were attained, a 15-min anonymous survey was administered. Subjects were reminded of the prevailing interest of the researchers and were told that the objective of the study was to understand their views concerning their adoption and use of new media in their various activities.

The constructs in this research model were operationalized through items validated in a prior pilot research study. The instrument was pilot-tested to ensure

that the respondents in this study would properly interpret all question items. The pilot questionnaire was tested on a total of 64 students enrolled at a midsize university in the UAE. Based on the results of the pilot study, revisions and additions were made to the instrument. Pilot participants were excluded of the current study sample. The questionnaire consisted of 28 major questions. Subjects rated themselves as new media tools and traditional media users using a five item-scale on most of the questions.

Cellular Phone, Computer, I-Pad, I-Pod, and gaming are the new media tools, which constituted the bulk of the questions in the survey and how they have been used by UAE residents. The variables are based on participants' responses to a 5-point Likert scale to most of the survey questions pertaining to the number of Cellular Phones, duration of use per day, and specificity of that use. In addition, computer use, Internet access/use variables are also based on participants' responses to a 5-point Likert scale to the survey questions pertaining to availability of computers as well as longevity of Internet use at home, at school, and work; number of e-mail addresses they have; duration of use per day; specificity of use; etc. Furthermore, I-Pad use and Gaming would be measured the same way using a 5-point Likert scale. Overall, multiple choice questions were asked so participants could easily designate their responses. These measures would in due course indicate the UAE residents' competency, dependency levels on their new media tools, as well as the effects of these tools on them and, as a result, on their families and/or organizations. Additionally, subjects were asked about the concept of media conversion, media conglomerates and concentration as well as the likelihood of their effects on them.

Hypothesis I The more competent UAE residents are in using new media tools, the more dependent on them they become and the more influence these tools would have on the way they spend time working, studying, or interacting face-to-face with significant others.

Hypothesis II UAE Female residents rather than their male counterparts are likely to spend more time online than going out or talking directly to others.

Hypothesis III While Middle Eastern residents value the phenomenon of media convergence, they are predicted to have a somewhat negative attitude towards media conglomeration and hegemony.

33.7 Results and Discussion

The sample of $N = 311$ Emirati residents in this study came from a wide variety of institutions and organizations of all seven emirates in the UAE. Sample characteristics and descriptive statistics consist of the percentages which are presented in the following tables: Table 33.1 indicates that 46.95 % of the sample

Table 33.1 Age and gender distributions

Age	Count	Percent	Gender	Count	Percent
16–18	69	22.19	Males	160	51.45
19–21	77	24.76	Females	151	48.55
22–24	97	31.19			
25–Older	68	21.86			
Total	N = 311	100 %		311	100 %

Table 33.2 Attitude towards media convergence

Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	All
Males	90	40	16	2	4	2	6	160
	56.25	25.0	10.0	1.25	2.5	1.25	3.75	100
Females	75	25	15	10	15	7	4	151
	49.67	16.56	9.93	6.62	9.93	4.63	2.65	99.99
All	165	65	31	12	19	9	10	311
	105.92	41.56	19.93	7.87	12.43	5.88	6.4	199.99

N = 311

1 = very important; 2 = important; 3 = slightly important; 4 = neutral; 5 = somewhat unimportant; 6 = not important; 7 = least important

was 16–21 years old and the remaining 53.05 % of that sample was 22 years or older. Females represented 48.55 % of the respondents and 51.45 % represented the male respondents.

Table 33.2 above shows that both male and female subjects consider media convergence as very important and timely. Hence, they consider convergence as vital to their usage of those media tools. 130 males and 100 females checked the very important and important points 1 and 2 on that scale. Only about 7.5 % males and around 17.21 % of the female subjects considered convergence as somewhat unimportant to least important by checking points 5, 6, and 7 on the scale. The difference between the two genders was about 9.71 %. This difference indicates that media convergence is assumed a bit more important to male subjects than to their female counterparts.

Table 33.3 below indicates that a large majority of both males and females dislike media conglomeration and cultural hegemony. As many as 130 males out of 160 and 135 out of 151 females exhibited their disliking for these two phenomena, since they all come from developing countries and see firsthand how their own cultures are affected by a variety of western cultures and, most notably, the American culture. Both genders dislike media conglomeration and hegemony because they imply that control is in the hands of a few. Hence, while Middle Easterners seem to appreciate media convergence as shown in Table 33.2 above, they dislike media conglomerates and cultural hegemony as the results indicate in Table 33.3 below.

Table 33.4 below exhibits high percentages of males (48.74) and females (57.62) using new media more than 5 h daily. While there is a high percentage of males'

Table 33.3 Attitude towards media conglomeration and cultural hegemony

Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	All
Males	95	35	16	14	0	0	0	160
	59.37	21.87	10.0	8.75	0	0	0	99.99
Females	100	35	15	1	0	0	0	151
	66.2	23.18	9.93	0.66	0	0	0	99.99
All	195	70	31	15	0	0	0	311
	125.57	45.05	19.93	9.41	0	0	0	154.91

N = 311

1 = dislike them a lot; 2 = dislike them; 3 = slightly dislike them; 4 = neutral; 5 = like them a little; 6 = don't like them; 7 = don't like them at all

spending a lot of time using their new media tools for a variety of purposes, still there is a higher female percentage than their male counterparts using the same new media tools for diverse functions. This is confirming the authors' prediction in Hypothesis II that: UAE Female residents rather than their male counterparts are likely to spend more time online than going out or talking directly to others. These results are cultural and significant with a p value being <0.05 at the five percent significance level and a Pearson Chi-Square = 20.600, DF = 8 and a likelihood ratio of Chi-Square = 20.939, DF = 8.

Additionally, Table 33.4 below shows that, the highlighted cells contribute the most to this significant difference between the two genders. Definitely, males seem to spend less time online than females where only 14 of them reported that they spend over 9 h daily. For the same amount of time, 40 females reported to have spent over 9 h using their new media tools, which is much higher than what the test expected under the no difference assumption. As mentioned earlier, this is culturally driven, since most Middle Eastern females are supposed to be protected and don't, like males, venture out of the house quite often except for shopping with close family members or relatives and for going to school.

In short, the overall comparisons between the two genders indicate a strong significant difference in their use of new media tools. The small p-values (0.008; 0.007) mean that this significant difference between the two genders exists because females spend more time on these tools than their male counterparts and by the virtue that they stay home much more time than males as well. Further analysis of these results concerning subjects' use of smart phones reveals that genders show significant differences in using their mobile/smart phones for a variety of purposes, especially for messaging (SMS).

Table 33.5 below correspondingly indicates that females clearly show greater use of mobile media than their male counterparts. While 69 males only reported that they always use their new media tools (smart phones) for messaging, 100 females (P value = 0.000) admitted to always use their new media tools (smart phones) for the same purpose (SMS). Additionally, the highlighted cells contribute the most to this highly significant difference.

Table 33.4 Daily hours spent using new media

Gender	0	1	2	3	4	5	7	9	10	All
Males	6	12	13	13	14	24	29	35	14	160
	3.75	7.5	8.12	8.12	8.75	15.0	18.12	21.87	8.75	99.99
Females	2	5	10	10	18	19	21	26	40	151
	1.32	3.31	6.62	6.62	11.92	12.58	13.91	17.22	26.49	99.99
All	8	17	23	23	32	43	50	61	56	311
	5.07	10.81	14.74	14.74	20.67	27.58	32.03	39.09	35.24	

N = 311

Pearson Chi-Square = 20.600, DF = 8, P-Value = 0.008

Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square = 20.939, DF = 8, P-Value = 0.007

0 = <1/2 h; 1 = 1/2-1 h; 2 = 1-2 h; 3 = 2-3 h; 4 = 3-4 h; 5 = 4-5 h; 7 = 5-7 h; 9 = 7-9 h; 10 = over 9 h

Table 33.5 Use of mobile/smart phones for messaging (SMS)

Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	All
Males	2	14	20	55	69	0	160
%	1.25	8.75	12.5	34.37	43.12	0	99.99
Females	1	17	14	19	100	0	151
%	0.66	11.26	9.27	12.58	66.22	0	99.99
All	3	31	34	74	169	0	311
	1.91	20.01	21.77	46.95	109.34	0	

N = 311

Pearson Chi-Square = 34.495, DF = 5, P-Value = 0.000

Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square = 34.823, DF = 5, P-Value = 0.000

1 = rarely; 2 + occasionally; 3 = frequently; 4 = often; 5 = always; 6 = DNA

33.8 Summary of Answers to Open-Ended Questions

Subjects were asked to describe in their own words how new media tools are affecting education and corporate communication in the Middle Eastern societies, especially during ‘Arab Spring.’

Some of the interesting answers were as follows:

Education In the case of education, “new media tools have been available to students and it seems that everyone has a portable device/book with all the answers to any questions or doubts.” “The Internet helps a lot in downloading media content, such as lecture notes, and assignments; new media tools have a great role in diffusing knowledge around the entire globe, which enhances the educational skills of everyone. However, these tools have pros and cons. On one hand, they are helping us learn about other cultures, they are also helpful in terms of using a variety of search engines and websites, such as downloading and reading books, magazines, and newspapers online as well as prepare and use power point presentations, which help teachers and pupils at the same time. On the other hand, they made us very dependent on them and, therefore, became very distracting, since I cannot study without checking my smart phone every 10 min or even less.” Likewise, “new media are promoting stereotypes, cause barriers among different peoples, waste a lot of our time; they also have reduced face-to-face interactions among family members, friends, and workers; and have been distracting us from important things in life.” “New media tools assist us in learning, training, and cope with new technology; “they have made it easy to learn and communicate with other groups, parents, and professors, even when we are away. They boosted education aspects via learning new methods of doing things.” By the same token, some subjects stated that, “using new media relentlessly affected my sleep, studying, and relationships with family and friends a great deal. I find myself checking my Face-Book and Instagram accounts every once in a while, playing a variety of games well into the night, while depriving myself from preparing for school work,

etc.” “New media are extending our world boundaries and lines that were previously hard to break down or go beyond. They have opened up new opportunities and areas of knowledge that have, thus, made room for new perspectives.”

Corporate Communication In the case of corporate communication, “new media tools have been excellent platforms for promoting businesses and advertising new products. Files and new information about companies and consumers can be easily accessed anywhere a person is or from afar;” “during the Arab Spring, people from around the world were getting instant updates or minute-by-minute apprisers on what’s going on. New media energized Arab youths, enabled them to voice their opinions concerning corruption and other affairs of their own countries, and helped in mobilizing them against their rulers in most Arab states. They also helped organize many protests and have made each individual become a miniature journalist, I love that. Things are much better now than they were back then, when compared with the days of only having the MSN platform.” Additionally, “social media keep us connected the entire time, since more and more of us are purchasing portable tablets and smart phones on which we became very dependent;” “they allow us to get updated on our surroundings in any part of the world. “In my opinion, social media played a key role in removing Mubarak from power and; hence, they created a strong impact on their users in Egypt.” Furthermore, “social media tools provide worldly information, which enhances our knowledge and enables us to make critical decisions.” “The Internet has helped firms to get market updates of their countries, inform the public, and stay current; thus, they are excellent tools for advertising purposes. They have also improved the corporate sectors in terms of adopting the latest innovations and imitating successful businesses.” Likewise, “because of new media, stereotypes and rumors about Middle Easterners are running high, especially during ‘Arab Spring.’ Arabs are seen more and more as terrorists killing each other as well as a lot of other different people.” By the same token, “new media eased corporate employees’ and leaders’ travels via helping businesses hold video-conferences from far away and, thus, saving them a lot of unnecessary spending.” Similarly, “new media increased the number of revolutions in the Arab world and other near Eastern countries; such as in Iran in 2009, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, etc.” Besides, “new media allowed us to conduct many activities online such as shopping, paying bills and fines, purchasing tickets, booking taxies, flights and hotel rooms, which were previously done physically only. They also helped people to bypass physical borders among nations, shortened distances, and allowed them to stay connected the entire time.”

Still, some other subjects related the effects of new media to their users’ ways of dealing with them, rather than solely to the availability and use of them. Therefore, they stated that: “It all depends on users of new media: some could be using them for fun and, hence, distract themselves from studying and working; and some others could use new media to learn many things easier and faster as well as to enhance their job and productivity.” “While new media played a great role in improving our educational system and revolutionized the way we learn and conduct business in the

MENA region, they also played a negative role in distracting us from studying appropriately, wasting a lot of our valuable time messaging, gaming, and goofing off on the job, etc.” This is quite relevant to what uses and gratification theory suggests.

33.9 Implications and Conclusions

Clearly, new media tools and, most notably, mobile media (smart phones) have become a primary element of people’s lives everywhere we go, most notably amongst youths in the Middle Eastern region. The younger people are, the more they spend time with their new media tools, especially their smart phones. Hence, new media tools are here to stay and people have to make adoption and usage decisions within complex educational, organizational, and other societal contexts, which can be convenient and beneficial to them. The purpose of this study was to look at the effects those new and mobile media tools have on our youths in various organizational contexts. To that end, we examined the extent of those effects on those organizations, most notably families and places of work along with UAE residents’ competency and dependency levels on these tools and applications.

Our findings indicate that UAE residents are mostly competent in using new and mobile media tools in almost all of their organizations as well as at their homes and for various aims, including communication (messaging, e-mailing, chatting, etc.), entertaining, researching for up-to-date information, shopping, and the like. UAE residents seem to appreciate these tools and their numerous applications. To a certain degree, they have become quite dependent on them for many of their daily functions and cannot live without them anymore. They seem to have facilitated their learning, teaching, training and other organizational activities, although they are marred with definite minuses.

These findings advocate that at home, in educational institutions, and all other organizations, new and mobile media tools have positive as well as negative effects on users and organizations, depending on how these tools are being used and for what purposes. Therefore, we need to emphasize attending to revealing promises to certain new and mobile media tools along with their various applications for conditional adoption decisions. Promises and support of these tools must serve a basic role in promoting configurations for the prominence and legitimization of these tools adoption and use, for it is imperative for wise users to assist others in developing positive attitudes and habits towards using these tools. This and further areas merit additional investigation. Developing apparatuses that can measure Middle Eastern residents’ attitudes and concrete use of these tools may be very helpful on the long run, so as to establish definite plans for purchasing and proper ways of using them for the benefit of all: students, employees, and family members. The results of this study, while interesting, do not seem conclusive. New and mobile media tools are here to stay, progress. Therefore, we better get used to them. They seem to be the most popular things at the moment, for they provide various benefits:

they are prompt, economical, expedient, and educational. The only thing we need to be watchful about is to wisely use them with some kind of self-control, so they do not disrupt our lives in major ways, mainly our youngsters, for they may affect them to an extent of neglecting their major duties toward important relationships or responsibilities at home and work as well as make their lives miserable.

In conclusion, UAE residents, especially Middle Easterners are persistently visible new and mobile media tools users and the ongoing effect of these tools is expected. These tools and their numerous applications appear as major aspects of UAE residents' and Middle Easterners' lives. Therefore, we need to become better learners about these tools, more proficient in the way we use them, and wiser, so we can control their usage for our benefit. The better educated we become about new and mobile media, the more successful we turn out to be in using them positively to enhance our lives and the lives of others around us in the UAE society and beyond. This way, we can equip ourselves with what we need in order to live our lives without the many dangers new and mobile media tools present for us and for our youths.

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Is Medium the Message? Perceptions of and Reactions to Emergency Alert Communications on College Campuses

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Pavica Sheldon

One of the central missions of all institutions of higher education is to provide safe and secure learning environments. While most campuses across the United States are relatively safe, the tragic events at Virginia Tech in April 2007 revealed that campus communities are vulnerable and that technology may play a key role in better protecting it. After the shooting at Virginia Tech, a number of colleges in the United States started implementing their own emergency alert systems that could be used for any type of public crisis, including campus shootings, acts of terrorism, or natural disasters (Kopel, Sims, & Chin, 2014). Similarly, many universities have their own departments of emergency preparedness that help students prepare for an on-campus incident (Thompson & Schlehofer, 2014). They use warning channels such as voice calls, text messages, social media posts, and announcements posted on the schools' official websites (Horton, 2012; Romano, 2013). However, there is little research about how students respond to those warning messages. The most relevant study was done by McGee and Gow (2012) at the University of Alberta in Canada. They did focus groups to examine how undergraduate students living on campus may respond to an emergency alert warning sent by the university through their cell phone.

Most previous studies, however, have focused on how the public uses media to communicate interpersonally with each other during a natural or a technological disaster (e.g., Palen, Vieweg, Hughes, & Hughes, 2009). Very few studies have explored how people perceive and respond to an acute man-made crisis, such as a shooting. Unlike the general population which is often alerted about a disaster through television or a radio, students on campus do not have a chance to watch television while in class. Therefore, they rely on their university's emergency management system to deliver a message.

The purpose of the current research was to test the impact of emergency alert communications on college students' perceptions of the severity of a warning

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message and the resulting behavior. The two primary warning channels used in this investigation are social media and text messages, the most popular technologies among college students (Sheldon, 2015). The use of social media has become so common place that in March of 2013 Ball State University fell under public scrutiny for failing to turn to social media during an emergency alert (Romano, 2013). The term “secondary crisis communication” (Schultz, Utz, & Goritz, 2011) involves “significant others” with whom students share information about the crisis.

The Protective Action Decision Model (PADM, Lindell & Perry, 2004), explains the process of how people “typically” make decisions about adopting actions to protect against environmental hazards. The response to the threat depends upon evaluations of both the threat and the available protective actions. Thus, people at risk will either resume normal activities, seek more information, pursue an action to protect themselves, or engage in emotion-focused actions to reduce their immediate psychological distress. According to Lasswell’s model (Lasswell & Bryson, 1948), all communication should be analyzed in terms of “who” says “what,” via what “medium,” to “whom,” and directed at what kind of change.

34.1 Media’s Role During a Crisis

Media have a dual role during emergency and crisis situations. They can be used as a warning tool or as a secondary crisis communication tool. Social networking services have been used effectively as a warning tool, most often by public officials when trying to broadcast a message to those at risk (Sutton, Spiro, Johnson, Fitzhugh, Gibson et al., 2014), but also as a secondary communication tool. For example, Cho and Park (2013) explored social media use during Japan’s 2011 catastrophic earthquake, and they found that immediately after the earthquake landline and mobile phones were unavailable, and people had to rely on social media. Austin, Fisher Liu, and Jin (2012) also found that audiences use social media during crises for insider information and to check in with family and friends, while they use traditional media for educational purposes.

Similarly, cell phones and text messages serve both functions as well: as an alert to notify students about a crisis or as a secondary crisis communication tool used to inform family and friends about an ongoing emergency. McGee and Gow (2012) who studied Canadian students’ reactions to an emergency alert warning found that students would believe an emergency alert warning sent by the university as long as the phone number that appeared on students’ phones was a number that they associated with the university’s emergency alert system. However, they also found restrictions on the length of the messages sent via cell phones. Some students indicated that the lack of detailed information created uncertainty about the threat and how to respond in order to protect themselves.

According to media systems dependency theory, a media system has the potential to reinforce or change attitudes and behaviors on a personal level through its information dissemination function (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976; Lin & Lagoe, 2013). The theory predicts that the individuals most highly dependent on media are

the most affected by media content. For example, in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, people were highly dependent on television and print, and less dependent on interpersonal communication, radio, and the Web (Lowrey, 2004). Other studies (e.g., Kim, Jung, Cohen, & Ball-Rokeach, 2004; Kim & Kang, 2010) have also confirmed that in times of uncertainty, individuals pay more attention to personal risk information because of media exposure (Lin & Lagoe, 2013). According to PADM, how people respond to a crisis depends on their threat assessment.

34.2 Threat Assessment and Secondary Crisis Communication

Mileti and Sorensen (1990) differentiated between the sender factors and the receiver (public) factors that affect the warning response process. Not all warnings will lead to behavioral compliance. The sender factors include the warning message, communication channels through which the messages are communicated, the frequency of messages, and the person or organization disseminating the warning (as cited in McGee & Gow, 2012).

Sherman-Morris (2010) examined student responses following a tornado warning on a university campus in Mississippi. The results showed that their behavior was influenced by their own belief about whether or not the tornado was a serious threat. Furthermore, Kopel et al. (2014) discovered that students at the University of Central Florida rated themselves as not taking their emergency alert system seriously. McGee and Gow (2012) studied three types of risk messages sent to university students in Canada: threatening warnings, which they perceived as the most risky, tornado warnings which they perceived to be high in risk, and fire warnings which were perceived to be a low risk. In their focus groups, students said that instead of confirming a warning message with family members, they would confirm it with fellow students and friends, as well as faculty and staff.

Schultz et al. (2011) have also emphasized the need to take into account and critically analyze secondary crisis communication. Schultz et al. experimentally tested the effects of an apology, sympathy, and information as response strategies via different traditional and social media on crisis perceptions and secondary crisis communication. A crisis that they examined included a car maker, Mercedes-Benz. The case described that there have been thousands of accidents and that 10 people died because of problems with their spark plugs. Depending on the experimental condition, respondents were presented with one of the three reactions via one of the three media (newspapers, Twitter, blogs). Schultz et al. found that people talk more about newspaper articles than about blogs or tweets. Moreover, media use had a strong effect on secondary crisis communication. Twitter users were more likely to share the message than blog users and non-users of social media. Interestingly, they were also more likely to share the newspaper article than the blog post or tweet. The authors argued that future research should focus not only on the content of communications, but also on different media and their effects on the recipients' communication and reactions, in order to evaluate efficient ways of responding to

the crisis. Secondary crisis communication might also include friends and anyone around the recipient of the warning message. Sutton et al. (2014) found that people retweeted messages of public officials during the Waldo Canyon fire in Colorado Springs during the summer of 2012, contributing to the messages' amplification.

When forwarding a message to another person, the recipient has an option to choose a variety of media. According to uses and gratifications theory (U&G; Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973–1974), people choose media that can satisfy one or more of their needs. Media uses and gratifications are particularly important in times of crisis situations (Lev-On, 2011). As mentioned earlier, participation in online communities helps people provide and receive support.

Based on the lack of previous research, the goal of the present study was to answer the following questions:

Research Question 1: How do different media (text message vs. social media) that the university uses to alert students about the crisis influence students' threat assessment and likelihood to share the message with other people (secondary crisis communication)?

Research Question 2: Who do students share the alert message with?

Research Question 3: Which media do students use to share the university's warning alert with parents and friends?

Based on reviewed studies, it is safe to hypothesize that the perceived severity of a warning message will influence students' likelihood to share the message with their significant others (Hypothesis 1).

34.3 Methods

34.3.1 Participants

One hundred seventy-two students (89 men and 83 women) participated in a 2 by 2 within-subject experiment involving technology type (social media vs. text message) and crisis type (shooting vs. tornado). Respondents ranged in age from 19 to 55 (mean age = 24 years; $SD = 5.64$). On average, students spent 1.38 h on Facebook per day ($SD = 1.64$), 0.57 h on Twitter ($SD = 1.19$), and sent 55 text messages per day ($SD = 75.59$).

34.3.2 Stimulus Materials

Due to the time-sensitive topic of this study, it was not possible to examine students' actual reactions to an emergency alert message issued by the university. However, hypothetical scenarios were created and presented as mocked screenshots that could resemble an actual emergency alert (see Appendix for the mock

scenarios). The text for each of the warning messages was taken from the university's previous text messages sent to students about crises.

After reading four different scenarios (social media shooting alert, text message shooting alert, social media alert, text message tornado alert), participants filled out a questionnaire measuring their secondary crisis communication, their perception of the severity of the event, as well as the media that they would use to share this message with their immediate family. Each participant received each of the four conditions. Stimuli were presented in four different orders as a counterbalance to randomly distribute variables.

34.3.3 Measures

The *perceived severity of an alert message* was measured with a Likert-scale item asking "How serious would you consider this message to be?" Responses range from "extremely serious" (5) to "not at all serious (1)". See Table 34.1 for the means and standard deviations across all four scenarios.

To measure *secondary crisis communication*, participants first indicated how likely they are to share the message with the following people: (a) anyone sitting around you; (b) parents; and (c) friends. Answers were given on a five-point scale ranging from "very unlikely" to "very likely." In order to determine the overall likelihood of sharing a certain message, four composite variables were created from averages for each medium (social media and text message) and crisis type (shooting and tornado) (see Table 34.2). The second question asked participants to indicate the *first people* that they would likely share the message with. Response options included parents, friends, anyone sitting around you, and other. Participants were also asked to indicate which medium they would use to share the message with their immediate family (parents, brothers, and sisters). Response options consisted of a phone call, text message, Facebook post, and e-mail.

After finishing all of the scenarios, participants answered basic demographics questions (age, gender, and race).

Table 34.1 Perceived seriousness of a crisis alert

Crisis type	Medium	M	SD
Shooting	Social media	3.98	1.63
Shooting	Text message	4.74 ^{#1}	0.70
Tornado	Social media	3.22	1.44
Tornado	Text message	3.73	0.92

Table 34.2 Likelihood to share the message with other people

Crisis type	Medium	M	SD
Shooting	Social media	3.36	1.64
Shooting	Text message	3.81	1.09
Tornado	Social media	4.49 ^{#1}	0.91
Tornado	Text message	3.94	1.54

34.3.4 Statistical Analysis

Repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to test for the effect of experimental stimuli on two dependent variables: secondary crisis communication and the perceived severity of an alert message. Frequencies were counted to further explain some of the findings. Hypothesis 1 was tested using linear regression.

34.4 Results

RQ1 asked how the technology that the university uses to alert students about the crisis influences recipients' perceptions of the severity of the event and the likelihood to share the message with others. Repeated measures MANOVA results indicated a significant interaction effect (crisis * medium) for the experimental condition: Wilks' $\lambda = 0.86$, $F(2170) = 14.38$, $p < 0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.15$, with both significant main effects. Univariate results were also significant for both secondary crisis communication, $F(1171) = 25.25$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.13$, and threat perception, $F(1171) = 7.93$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$. These results indicate that text message warnings were perceived more seriously ($M = 4.23$, $SE = 0.05$) than social media warnings ($M = 3.60$, $SE = 10$); however, pairwise comparisons revealed that the warning channel did not matter when it comes to the likelihood of sharing the alert with other people ($p = 0.37$).

When it comes to the influence of the crisis type, overall, a shooting was perceived to be a more serious crisis ($M = 4.36$, $SE = 0.07$) than a tornado ($M = 3.47$, $SE = 0.08$). That difference was statistically significant ($p = 0.000$). As evident from Table 34.1, the alert message about the shooting sent via text message was perceived to be the most serious, followed by the social media alert about the shooting. The least serious was the social media alert containing the tornado warning. Interestingly, there was more secondary crisis communication for tornado alerts ($M = 4.22$, $SE = 0.08$) than for shooting alerts ($M = 3.58$, $SE = 0.09$) (Table 34.2).

RQ2 asked about people that students would share the warning message with. Regardless of the channel and crisis type, most participants would first share the crisis news with anyone sitting around them. This is followed by friends and then parents (Table 34.3). These results indicate the importance of word-of-mouth communication.

Furthermore, Table 34.4 shows the percentage of people that they would contact *first* during each scenario. As shown in the table, most people said that they would first notify someone sitting nearby. This was true for all four scenarios, although in the case of a shooting that number was higher than in the case of a tornado warning. Among those who would contact parents first, more would do it after receiving the warning about the tornado.

RQ3 asked about the medium that students would use to share the alert message with their immediate family. As shown in Table 34.5, in more than 90 % of cases,

Table 34.3 Likelihood to share crises alert with different people (mean values)

Person	Social media shooting alert	Text message shooting alert	Social media tornado alert	Text message tornado alert
Someone nearby	4.32	4.84	3.69	4.17
Parents	3.55	4.17	3.12	3.56
Friends	3.97	4.45	3.26	3.70

Table 34.4 First person being alerted about the crisis (% per scenario)

First person	Social media shooting alert	Text message shooting alert	Social media tornado alert	Text message tornado alert
Someone nearby	73.2	68.9	54.5	59.4
Parents	11.4	17.4	25.2	20
Friends	15.4	13.2	18.9	20.6
Other	0	0.5	1.4	

Table 34.5 Medium used to alert *the Immediate Family* about the crisis (% per scenario)

Medium	Social media shooting alert	Text message shooting alert	Social media tornado alert	Text message tornado alert
Phone call	51.6	55.5	37.8	39.4
Text message	46.4	43.9	60.1	60
Facebook post	1	0.6	0.7	0
E-Mail	1	0	1.4	0.6

students would either use a phone call or a text message to notify their immediate family (parents and siblings) about the crisis. When it comes to a shooting, more students would choose a phone call over a text message. However, text messages were the first choice for tornado alerts. The type of crisis, therefore, influenced whether a student would choose a phone call or a text message. Very few students would choose Facebook or an e-mail.

H1 predicted that the perceived severity of a crisis would be positively associated with the likelihood to share the message with other people. The overall regression model was significant only for the shooting message sent through social media, $F(1171) = 94.56$, $p = 0.000$, and results indicated that the more serious the warning message about the shooting was perceived, the higher the likelihood that it would be shared with others ($\beta = 0.60$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = 0.000$).

34.5 Discussion

First, the results show that warning messages about the crisis that the university sends through text messages are perceived to be more serious than warning messages sent through social media. This was the case in both the shooting and tornado scenarios. These results could be explained if we consider the nature of texting and text messages. Texting is not only faster than logging into social media, but it is near-synchronous. Text messages are also more personal and could be perceived as sent only to *us*. Moreover, most universities use social media to advertise their events, often posting multiple statuses per day (Sheldon, 2015). However, rarely do universities send text messages to students. It is likely then that students will give more attention to a text message alert than to a social media alert, as they are not used to receiving that many text messages from that particular source.

In addition, an alert about a shooting is perceived to be more serious than a tornado alert. These results might be due to the location where the study took place. Most participants had experienced a series of tornado warnings in the past but did not have experience with a campus shooting. Research about how prior experiences with specific hazards influence the likelihood to take protective action has been inconsistent. According to one group of researchers (e.g., Choi & Lin, 2009; Claeys & Cauberghe, 2013), individuals with a high crisis involvement scrutinize crisis information more in depth than those who are low in involvement. Another group of studies did not find a relationship between personal experience and compliance (for reviews, see Lindell & Perry, 2004). Thus, inconsistent findings indicate the importance of taking past experiences into account when trying to understand students' perceptions, but also when trying to design a crisis plan on the university level.

As findings of this study show, regardless of the channel and crisis type, the first person notified would be someone sitting nearby. The explanation again might be in the nature of the media available to students. To alert parents, students need to use their mobile device. Word-of-mouth is the simplest way to notify anyone sitting around us. McGee and Gow (2012) also found that when receiving a warning message from the university, students would first want to confirm it with fellow students and friends. In their experiment about media use during crises, Austin et al. (2012) also found that face-to-face communication was the most important form of crisis communication.

In this study, among students who said that they would contact their parents first, more would do it after receiving the alert about the tornado. This finding is surprising considering that students perceive the shooting alert to be more serious. However, a gunman on campus does not pose an immediate danger to the students' family members, while a tornado might impact a family member on another side of town. Overall, students are more likely to share the alert about a tornado than an alert about a shooter on campus.

In terms of the channels used to contact their immediate family, more than 90 % of students would choose either to make a phone call or send a text message to the

loved ones. Very few students would send an e-mail or make a post on social media. Text messages are the first choice for tornado alerts while phone calls are the first choice during a shooting. This difference in the medium choice might have to do with the different nature of each crisis. A tornado warning alerts students about the possibility of severe weather. In this stage, participants would text-message their loved ones. An alert about a shooting indicates a more serious and acute situation, in which case participants would make a phone call. As a richer medium, allowing audio cues, personal phone calls provide more emotional support than a simple text message (Juric & Sylvester, 2007). However, more secondary crisis communication occurs after students receive an alert about a tornado. Again, we can speculate that students are more concerned about their own safety when they hear about a shooting on campus, while receiving info about a tornado might also influence their family in the area.

When it comes to the preferred channel, two interesting findings emerged. First, as evident from the current study, students rely on one of the oldest channels—phone calls—to communicate the warning message to their closest family members. Phone calls are fast, immediate, and personal. Although they did not use social media much, social media alerts about a shooting made students share the message more often if they perceived it to be serious. Of all possible scenarios, the relationship between the perceived seriousness of a warning message and secondary crisis communication was only positive when the alert was about a shooting and when it was posted on social media. Unlike text messages, social media messages are usually seen by a larger number of persons. We can therefore not underestimate the importance of social media alerts when it comes to potentially saving the lives of students, faculty, and staff.

Although this study focused on the emergency alerts that the university sends to students, its findings could be further related to a previous study of Stephens, Barrett, and Mahometa's (2013) who found that when organizational members received multiple notifications about a large-scale emergency, those who received them through at least one synchronous communication source (e.g., phone or face-to-face communication) perceived the urgency of the situation the most quickly. Those receiving official messages through asynchronous channels (text message) had the lowest sense of urgency. It is possible that the threat assessment and urgency or willingness to take an action are two different things that future research should further investigate.

In conclusion, this study indicates the importance of studying the warning channels and their influence on taking protective actions. As described in the protective action decision model (Lindell & Perry, 2004), the channel through which warning information is sent does matter. Cell phones are the most frequently used tool for secondary crisis communication. The audience chooses media channels to transmit warning messages depending on the functions those media can perform. Future research should focus on alternative media of communication when cell phone towers are down and participants cannot send a text message or use a phone call to inform their family about the event. To improve ecological or external validity, they should study perceptions and reactions to a real crisis.

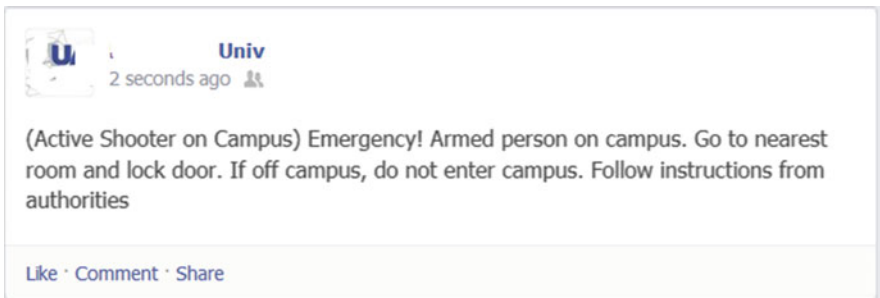
The use of hypothetical scenarios in this study, however, provides an advantage of simultaneously studying participants’ reactions to different crisis scenarios.

Overall, campuses should continue using text messages to alert students about critical events, but they should also use social media when a serious threat occurs. Despite technological advances, traditional media, such as word-of-mouth and phone conversations, still play some of the most important roles in crisis communication.

Appendix

Mock Up Scenarios (Modified to Remove the Name of the University)

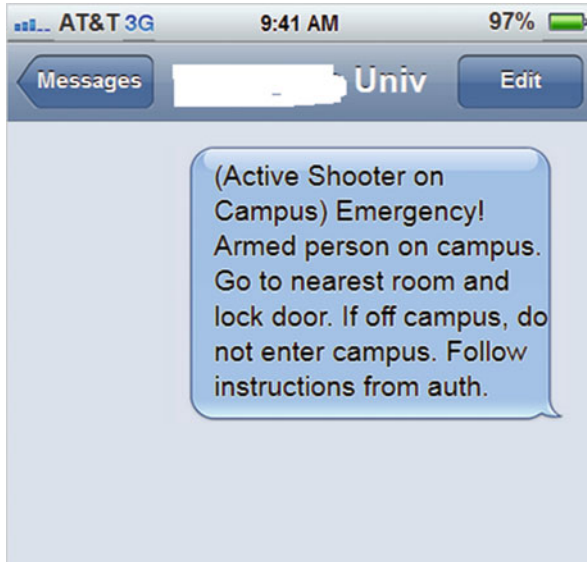
Social media shooting alert



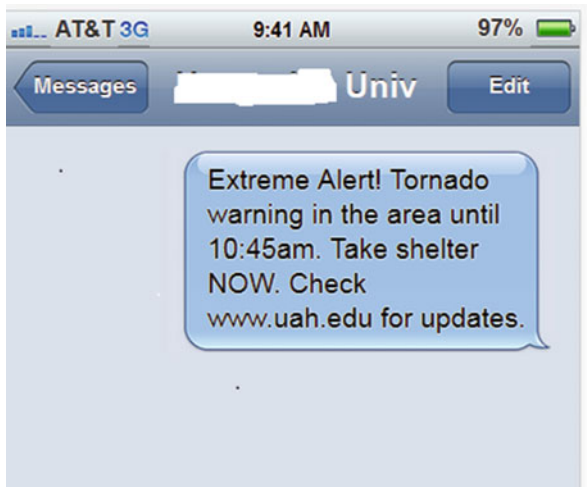
Social media tornado alert



Text message shooting alert



Text message tornado alert



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35.1 Introduction

35.1.1 Purpose

Distance Learning is a pragmatic catalyst for promoting global education. For professors who have been teaching for 15 years or more, it may seem as digital technology has transformed communication and educational strategies at rapid speed. The challenge is to develop an effective pedagogy for distance education to enhance global understanding. Three virtual global studies courses were examined using a case study qualitative research method. The objective was to isolate duplicable methods, events and activities in a course using distance technology that met specific learning objectives for global understanding. The essential research questions (RQs) were:

- a. RQ 1: “What methods, events and activities successfully met the student learning outcome for global understanding using a distance learning platform?”
- b. RQ 2: “Could these methods, events and activities be duplicated?” and
- c. RQ 3: “If successful methods, events and activities are isolated, what is needed for the instructor/professor to successfully facilitated student learning?”

35.1.2 Background, Assumptions and Scope

Most instructors, professors and other educational leaders possess knowledge and expertise in their specific discipline. The major assumption was that the instructor

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or professor must intuitively determine how to integrate distance technology with transmitting knowledge to students. These faculty members were expected to:

1. Accelerate global awareness within their course, implement a classroom focus on at least one of the following global themes:
 - a. Latin America and the Caribbean and the Impact of Urbanization or
 - b. West Africa, Senegal with neighboring Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Mali, and Mauritania and the Impact of WTO and Economic Instability
2. Deliver a distance learning videoconferencing course with partnering faculty member(s) from a university in a foreign nation, to be taught in two languages (Team-teaching was preferred).
3. Naturally be comfortable with team-teaching.
4. Dramatically increase the number of students who meaningfully interact with students in foreign nations.
5. Strengthen interdisciplinary and transnational partnerships.
6. Enhance joint research and international student recruitment.
7. Actively engage in a global network of scholarship.

This study is limited to three courses in Global Studies and Liberal Studies that used a distance learning platform.

35.1.3 Methodology and Research Design

Three virtual global studies courses were examined using a case study qualitative research method. Distance learning technologies as a sound platform for effective pedagogical practices for teaching global understanding were investigated. The first case involved a virtual reality learning lab. Faculty in the Department of Liberal Studies at the North Carolina A&T State University were selected to create virtual immersion courses as a result of an innovation grant.

35.1.3.1 Preparation

The first case involved a virtual reality learning lab. For the development of a virtual synchronous learning program with partners in foreign nations, faculty members were sent abroad to meet and coordinate with collaborating faculty in either a Spanish-speaking nation or a French-speaking nation to engage institutional support for this simple, yet innovative way to connect students with other cultures.

Participating faculty were selected to collaborate with Senegalese courses at Senegal Université Cheick Anta Diop. Other faculty members organized a cadre of student volunteers from several schools in the Dominican Republic through the International Studies Abroad Program (ISA). The results of the virtual immersion courses provided key information for distance learning technologies for further study.

The second and third cases involved courses that are required for the Global Studies Certificate Program, GSCP 100 and GSCP 200. The Global Understanding

Course (GSCP 100) was implemented with India as part of the University of NC Technology Learning Program. It was jointly taught with Mahatma Gandhi University in Kottayam, Kerala, India. The Global Studies Course (GSCP 200) is taught cooperatively with China at the Henan Polytechnic University, in Henan China. The results of these two cases suggested for further study more information about the Distance Learning Technologies, similar to the first case and professional development needs for instructors.

Students did not receive any additional preparation prior to taking the courses. Instructors attended Blackboard training, a learning management system. Faculty were required to complete a series of courses in order to teach online, attend update training courses on the Blackboard Learning Management System, and they were subject to peer reviews (where a peer online faculty member will make virtual visits into the online class—early-to-mid-semester- and provide constructive feedback to the instructor). Additionally, distance learning faculty members have access to self-directed web-based learning modules, as well as the self-evaluation checklist form.

The series of courses include the following four 3-h sessions:

1. Introduction to Teaching Online at NCA&T,
2. Course Planning,
3. Course Development, and
4. Course Production.

The Blackboard Learning Management System Update Training Sessions include:

1. Adding Assignments
2. Creating Interactive Lessons Using SoftChalk
3. Blackboard Collaborate
4. Introduction to Blackboard Parts I and II
5. Grade Center and the rubric Tool
6. Reducing the Distance in Distance Education
7. Course Tools
8. Respondus (Test-making software)
9. Creating and Adding Tests
10. Supporting Collaboration and Time on Task
11. Applying Pedagogical Strategies into Online and Blended Courses
12. Real-time Content Sharing

The faculty instructing the online courses did not have experience in teaching the same courses face-to-face. These were newly designed courses (Table 35.1).

Table 35.1 Case study courses

Case studies	Virtual global studies courses	Semester I Fall 13	Semester II Spring 14
Case study A	GSCP 100— Virtual reality learning lab	Virtual cultural immersion using second life	Transitioned to video-conferencing
Case study B	GSCP 200— Video-conferencing	Virtual cultural exposure using team-teaching with a partner in China at the Henan Polytechnic University	Virtual cultural exposure using team-teaching with a partner in Mahatma Gandhi University in Kottayam, Kerala, India
Case study C	LIBS 404/405— Video-conferencing same students	Skype Peer Groups with students in Dominican Republic, Santiago, ISA: International Studies Abroad Program	Skype Peer Groups in Senegal students at the Université Cheick Anta Diop

35.2 Critical Discourse Data Collection and Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was the theoretical framework used to collect student perceived learning and faculty-perceived teaching. CDA was used to provide insight and unmask a deeper understanding of what a student and the instructor is feeling or perceiving. The CDA framework Assessment through critical discourse captures information that the assessor never thought to seek. Similar to narrative research and other qualitative methodologies, researchers acknowledge that there is significant information that may not be captured in traditional quantifiable survey instruments. Traditional tests and assessments have the same limitations. Discourse integrates linguistics, sociology, philosophy, and cultural studies. It is a social interaction. Discourse includes representations of how things are and have been, as well as representations of how things should be or could be (Fairclough, 1993).

This study used CDA to analyze these case studies on three common levels: description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 1989). It systematically explored “opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes” (Fairclough, 1993, p. 135). Inherently, CDA exposes nondemocratic practices in hopes of spurring people to corrective actions (Fairclough, 1993). Because critical discourse analysis perceives language as a social practice, it presupposes that it cannot function in isolation, but only within a cultural or social setting. Issues of politics and power are interwoven into language and is also considered within the assessment process. Texts carry the power that reflects the interests of those who made the statement. This is a political exercise whether it is intentional or not. Dominant discourse, however, is the power to interpret messages that may favor one over another. Dominant discourse can construct in a society versions of reality. Generally, in most classes, the professor usually has the dominant discourse.

CDA connects the relationships between three levels of analysis: (1) the actual text, (2) the discursive practices rules, norms, and mental modes of socially acceptable behavior in specific roles, or (3) relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret messages. These are spoken and unspoken conventions that govern how individuals learn to think, act, and speak in all the social positions they occupy (student or instructor); the larger social context that accepts the text; and the discursive practice.

An examination of the words that convey how we see ourselves as instructors and as students unveil our identity, knowledge, values, beliefs, and truths. We construct and interpret through discourse. Although Wodak cautions that different assessors may interpret differently, it is evident that words are a habit of language and are rarely neutral. If we view all of the students enrolled in a course as part of a microcosmic culture, professors may approach the class members as members of a community or a society. Professors created opportunities for free discourse for data collection.

Students and professors had a safe space to express their feelings and emotions about their teaching and learning, and systematically and meaningfully process their learning and/or instructional activities that provided accessible feedback in a timely manner. Students and professors communicated perceived truths using natural language skills. The discourse was captured in a repository and analyzed. Statements were deconstructed to uncover hidden perspectives and perceived truths (Batstone, 1995).

Distance learning online classes have the inherent advantage of dated digital documentation functionality. Information gathered from two data collection repositories from the online courses will be from the “safe space” which was a virtual conduit for students to become comfortable and casual with their comments about their course, their instructor, their instruction, and their perceived learning. Students were paired with students of another culture unassumingly and led to communicate overtly, to plan a team project, and covertly, to promote honest dialogue of learning perceptions. Professors were required to maintain reflection journals. These journal reflections are captured in a self-assessment course monitoring system which provided a safe space for professors to reflect upon their perceived effectiveness of their instruction. The information in these two data collection repositories (one representing student participants and the other representing their instructors) provided both real-time feedback about specific activities designed to measure student learning objectives.

Instructors, acknowledging their dominant discourse, were prompted to respond to questions about their microcosmic classroom, “How are successful students made?” and “What is my influence on my students?” Students are asked to respond to “What do I want from this course?” or “What do I need to have a fair and equitable opportunity to acquire knowledge?” The texts from the discourse were reviewed. The major assumption was that what is said or written is purposeful, be it conscious or unconscious. The discourse included elements of cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativeness, situationality, and/or intertextuality (triangulation).

After examining what the language reflects about the individual and collective beliefs and practices in the class, inevitably, notions can be addressed reproduced,

resisted, changed, or transformed. Having this information provided the indicators from students and professors of either meeting the established learning objectives of the case study courses aside from traditional testing and other assessments.

35.3 Discussion

35.3.1 Teaching Pedagogies for Distance Learning

Implementation and employment of specific teaching pedagogies may be considered processes that are forms of technologies. Technologies are in essence, a collection of techniques, methods or processes used to create a desired end product or service. The contemporary meaning of technology presupposes these techniques are embedded in a device, a computer or a machine. A teaching pedagogy is also a collection of techniques, methods or processes to create a desired product—a *student learning outcome*. RQ 1: “What methods, events and activities successfully met the *student learning outcome* for global understanding using a distance learning platform?” The student learning outcomes for global understanding were established using as the foundation the broad mission from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University’s Office of International Program which is committed to promoting global awareness, understanding and education for students, faculty and staff, creating access to international and cross-cultural experiences through study abroad and exchange programs and the North Carolina Agricultural and State University’s Strategic Plan, Preeminence 2020. With these university charges and our rapidly changing society, there is an urgent need to address and infuse global understanding into the curriculum, to include distance learning education. A global education focus according to students will face a new world order thereby creating a need to acquire a global education. He states:

Their daily contacts will include individuals from diverse ethnic, gender, linguistic, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds. They will experience some of history’s most serious health problems, inequities among less-developed and more-developed nations, environmental deterioration, overpopulation transnational migrations, ethnic nationalism, and the decline of the nation-state.

Additionally, suggest a global understanding includes individuals “who possess high-tech skills, broad interdisciplinary knowledge about the contemporary world, and adaptability, flexibility, and world mindedness to participate effectively in the globalized world” (p. 11). Hence, professors may need to also possess the high-tech skills, broad interdisciplinary knowledge about the contemporary world, and adaptability, flexibility, and world mindedness to participate effectively in the globalized world. Laura Burnouf suggested that asks if professors “possess sufficient knowledge of relevant cultures, their beliefs, felt needs, histories, political economies and their past and present relationships with the United States to be able to provide students with the necessary background information?” (p. 148). This

concern grew when the student learning outcomes were developed for the case study courses. Student learning outcomes had to address the state of our planet and “concern for a more holistic and deeper understanding of the world.”

Bloom’s taxonomy is organized with the intent to promote higher form of thinking in education rather than just remembering facts. From the lowest to highest thinking levels, a student will:

- a. Remember
- b. Understand
- c. Apply
- d. Analyze
- e. Evaluate
- f. Create.

35.3.2 Student Learning Outcomes: Global Mindfulness

The student learning outcomes for the global understanding courses were to promote an even higher form of thinking in education—*integration*. “The idea of integration was associated with holism, unity, and synthesis” (Repko, 2012). The faculty agreed that all of the student learning outcomes should speak to *Global Mindfulness*. The faculty also agreed that a “globally mindful” student would be employing integration as their higher form of thinking. They would be practicing “the cognitive process of critically evaluating disciplinary insights and creating common ground among them to construct a more comprehensive understanding. The understanding is the product or result of the integrative process.” (Repko, 2012). Derived from Robert G. Hanvey’s classic monograph, the following focus areas were adapted for student learning outcomes (Hanvey, 1976). It was decided that all of the learning outcomes of a student completing this course will understand the following:

- a. Perspective Consciousness
 1. Perspective consciousness is the awareness that each of us has a worldview or “cognitive map” that is not universally shared by others and may be shaped by factors that we are unaware of and unable to control.
 2. “It is important to teach students to look upon a certain phenomenon or event from different perspectives so as to encourage respect and appreciation for beliefs, customs, and values different from their own” (Hanvey, 1976).
 3. It is not only about racial and cultural differences, instead, a pluralistic view needs to be taken when looking at global perspectives.
- b. State-of-the-planet awareness
 1. State-of-the-planet awareness is knowledge of prevailing and emergent world conditions including population growth, migration, economic conditions, natural resources and physical environment, political developments, science and technology, law, health, and international and intra-national conflicts.

2. It includes an in-depth understanding of global issues such as population growth, migrations, and economic disparities, depletion of resources, and international conflicts, that require global learners to be aware of the world around them.
- c. Cross-cultural awareness
1. This dimension includes the diversity of ideas and practices in human societies and how these ideas and practices are found in human societies around the world, including concepts of how others might view one's own society as perceived from other vantage points. According to Hanvey (1976), this dimension is the most difficult to attain most likely because it refers to the highest level of global cognition.
 2. The misconception about cross-cultural awareness is that people consider it no more than a set of stereotypes that do more harm than good as superficial knowledge engenders prejudice.
 3. An effective way to promote cross-cultural awareness is by showing videos and then having discussions with students about these films to help them in separating stereotypical views from those that are more authentic.
- d. Knowledge of global dynamics
1. Knowledge of global dynamics refers to an understanding how the world works and, in particular, understanding the key features and mechanisms of various global systems (e.g., economic, political, ecological, and social).
 2. Students are expected to demonstrate a high level of sophistication to achieve due to the unanticipated effects on the human condition. It includes a consciousness of global change and cannot be acquired through mass media (Haavenson et al. 1998/1999).
 3. Students may be asked to create webs of the factors influencing the issue, to suggest feasible solutions, and to foresee possible side effects of such actions.
- e. Awareness of human choices or knowledge of alternatives
1. Hanvey (1976) challenges global thinkers to realize the problems of choice confronting individuals and nations as consciousness and knowledge of global systems expand.
 2. It is related to global dynamics in such a way that it focuses on making choices and develops a sense of responsibility for making decisions made which affect future generations.
 3. It also includes an awareness of the interconnectedness of individual, national, and international settings.
 4. It fosters a sense of responsible citizenship on the local and global levels. Students may be introduced to alternatives on thought and behavior by looking at relationships and interactions between man and the world.
 5. Students are asked to account for their choices and are taught to be tolerant toward the view of others.

An interdisciplinary model also includes worldwide concerns and conditions of “an alternative future directions in worldwide affairs.” A synthesis of the outcomes addressed earlier with the ideals of open mindedness, resistance to stereotyping, anticipation of complexity, empathy, and concerns regarding sexism should reach the *integration* level of higher thinking; a level of higher thinking not addressed by Blooms taxonomy. However, synthesis was expected and inevitable to assist students in working through class projects requiring multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary ideas for solutions to concerns regarding inequality/equality, injustice/justice, conflict/peace; environmental damage/care; alienation/participation and spatial dimension which emphasizes exploration of the local-global connections that exist in relation to these issues, including the nature of both interdependency and dependency. Ultimately, faculty emphasized a participatory and experiential pedagogy requiring the interaction with peers of another culture which explores differing value perspectives and leads to politically aware local-global citizenship. An interdisciplinary model rather than study in isolation was encouraged. The interdisciplinary context focused on citizenship exercised across multiple life dimensions (ecological, economic, political, social and cultural). Students were required to understanding a marginalized point of view; having empathy for the disenfranchised. Students were required to examine local or global affairs and had to complete a service learning goal designed to improve the human condition in some aspect.

Every student was paired with a student of another culture and were required to complete the same projects, in most cases, jointly. The initial reflective writing materials, journals, and closing reflective activities were individual. Students were encouraged to use the internet café, a safe space for students to meet online and informally discuss their projects, ask questions of other students in the course, vent their frustrations with the course, and criticize their professors without retribution.

35.4 Results

The results of the case studies were significantly consistent. Using the CDA framework was effective but not the most efficient due to the time-consuming task of categorizing all of the student and faculty evaluative comments regarding the courses. However, we were able to address the essential research questions.

- a. RQ 1: “What methods, events and activities successfully met the student learning outcome for global understanding using a distance learning platform?”
 - a. Once the faculty was clear that they wanted each student to have an outcome of “global mindfulness” the activities developed were student-team projects with multiple parts that required a synthesis of multiple disciplines. Students were able to use multi-media software to create a presentation that addressed the ecological, economic, political, social and cultural aspects of educational opportunities, the anticipated job market, their future family goals and their samples of the influences of popular culture.

- b. The students presented their work and expressed their intentions to continue their relationships with their student partners from abroad.
- b. RQ 2: “Could these methods, events and activities be duplicated?”
 - a. Yes. The projects produced by the students improved from one semester to the next as the faculty members improved their instructions, their expectations, and their relationships in their team teaching.
- c. RQ 3: “If successful methods, events and activities are isolated, what is needed for the instructor/professor to successfully facilitate student learning?”
 - a. The major concern was the reliability of the technologies used. The video-conferencing equipment in both countries experienced technical difficulties.
 - b. To manage student work from abroad required third party software. Software outside of the learning management system used at North Carolina A&T State University. This placed the professors at a disadvantage because of their limited knowledge of the capabilities of various technologies that could be used by students on campus and abroad.

It is recommended that courses of this nature have the technological infrastructure on campus and abroad to ensure reliable consistent communication. Professors need opportunities to continue to grow professionally in the area of teaching global understanding courses and in their area of expertise on a global level. Professional development in this area of higher education is vital.

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Thorsten Riemke-Gurzki

Company management is driven by internal communication. The maturity level of the internal communication is a contributing factor for business success. Internal communication is achieved by direct personal addressing or indirect addressing using corporate media such as print magazines. The development of information and communication technology (ICT) has changed business and media within the last three decades. Its impact is not limited to the way business is conducted. It has been an enabler for completely new business models and sectors. ICT simplified the facilitation of new business models, created new means of disruption in various sectors and led to a Digital Transformation. Digital Transformation is triggered by four main factors. These factors include the technological but also political, social and economic changes (Fig. 36.1) and have a deep impact on how is communicated and collaborated in companies.

New technologies like mobile and cloud computing are gamechanger for many businesses. Start-ups may attack large and established companies using new products and business models based on these new technologies. The digital change is also visible in the social and personal life. For example, employees are using mobile technologies for their private communication and for the organisation of their daily life. In the year 2018 we expect to have nearly 2.5 billion smartphone users world-wide (eMarketer, 2014). The ubiquity of communication and information is a fundamental change in the society and the way people live. Social networks are used by 74 % of the internet users (PewResearchCenter, 2015). These fundamental changes in the society and the daily life are in conflict with the organisation of many companies. Classic corporate organisation is mostly associated with hierarchic structures. The horizontal structure reflects the division of labour within the company. The vertical structure represents the responsibility for tasks. The information flow and internal communication is aligned along the hierarchic

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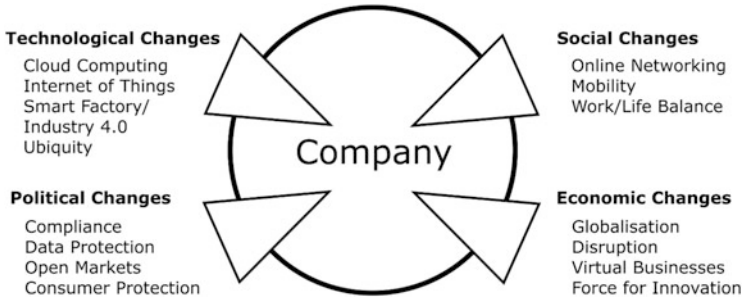


Fig. 36.1 Triggers for digital transformation

structure. Instructions are propagated top-down and the reporting flows from bottom-up. This is an obvious contradiction to the networked personal life of many employees. The internal information and communication has to be adapted to the new expectations which are driven by the digital change in society.

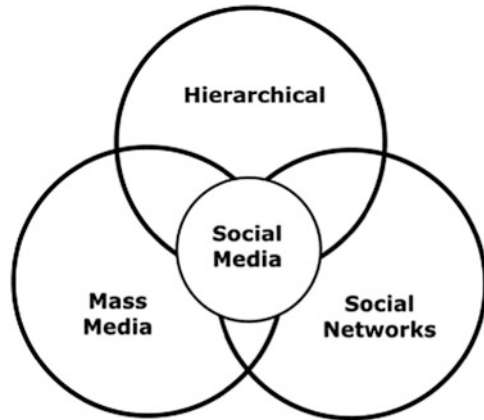
36.1 Internal Communication

Internal Communication is a special part of corporate communication. The literature shows many different views on the term internal communication. For example (Eisenkrein, 2013) enumerates goals like information of the employees, creating a sense of “we”, communication of corporate values or the explanation of strategies. The function of internal communication also includes the building of a common corporate identity beside the corporate management. Another view on internal communication divides the topic into four building blocks (Fig. 36.2): Hierarchical, mass media, social networks and the intersecting block social media (Witworth, 2011).

The hierarchical communication is based on the organisational structure and involves the managers. Mass media summarises various internal mass media like e-mail and intranet. Social networks are the personal networks in the company which transport important information and also gossip. This type of communication is hidden (Witworth, 2011).

Corporate social media make this hidden communication visible and valuable to the organisation. But it may also be used for corporate management and identity. To achieve the communication goals internal communication can make use of a broad variety of other corporate media. Pre-digital newspapers, employee magazines, flyers, work instructions and posters can be found even today. An important step towards digital communication has been the introduction of e-mail. Today e-mail is still used even for undirected information to all employees.

Fig. 36.2 Building blocks of an internal communication program (Witworth, 2011)



36.2 History of the Intranet

The intranet has become a main internal digital information medium. Intranets have been developed since the early nineties when web technology has begun to be used more widely on the internet. The first evolution step was the information-driven intranet, which has been based on one-way internal information distribution. This application is diametrically opposed to the idea of Tim Berners-Lee of a global open information web (Berners-Lee, 1991). In fact, in the early time many intranets, such as university intranets, have been available to the public. Obviously they didn't provide any sensitive information to the users. The editing of the content was a task for specialists since the content was coded manually in the hypertext markup language.

The next evolution step of the intranet has been the introduction of web-based business applications. These applications have been very basic in their first approach in the mid-nineties. Typically the Intranet was a kind of link list to applications and information sources in a company. This stage of evolution introduced the first content management systems. The use of content management systems allowed broader levels of employees to create and edit content in the intranet. The use of content management systems was the prerequisite for the professional use of intranet by the internal communication departments.

A trending topic after the turn of the millennium were corporate portals with integrated workflows and processes. The main goal was to create user-centric workflows which hide the underlying business applications. This abstraction layer should also lead to reduced costs since major changes in the process can be made cost-efficient in the portal. Some portal products included visual process design tools and application integration frameworks. The idea fitted perfectly to service oriented architectures (SOA). SOA aims an encapsulation and external exposure of defined functionality of business systems. This exposed functionality can be used for creating processes and workflows. Even the idea of workflows didn't gain full

acceptance in companies. The use of workflows is still limited up today. An explorative study in the German market shows that only 41 % of the companies in the survey are using digital workflows (Riemke-Gurzki, 2015).

The next step has been the introduction of collaboration tools, which allowed the creation of team rooms for projects or other purposes. Collaboration in a practical, non-scientific corporate context may range from simple document sharing to virtual meetings. Typical products like the widely used Microsoft SharePoint offer functionalities like common document sharing, discussions, teamrooms and wikis. Collaboration can be carried out in a closed environment for a specific employee group or project. An open environment addresses all employees of the company and facilitates their collaboration.

With the success of the well-known social networks like Facebook or Twitter, more and more companies are planning to adopt these social network approaches in their internal social intranets. In the German market 17 % of the companies planned to invest in social intranet in 2015 and additional 23 % planned an investment in the future (Riemke-Gurzki, 2015). Social intranets are also named enterprise social networks (ESN). ESN are usually built on top of existing information or collaboration intranets and extend their functionality with interactive functions like activity streams or enterprise microblogging. User generated content reaches the internal communication with a social intranet. Figure 36.3 summarises the evolution in the last centuries.

Intranets are also a technical base for audio-visual corporate media. Business TV using satellites for distribution has been an expensive mean of communication within large corporations. A modern intranet allows the publication of web-based video to all employees on an existing cost-efficient distribution channel. Also the cost for video production reduced dramatically since semi-professional or even consumer equipment can be used for high definition video production with a sufficient quality level.

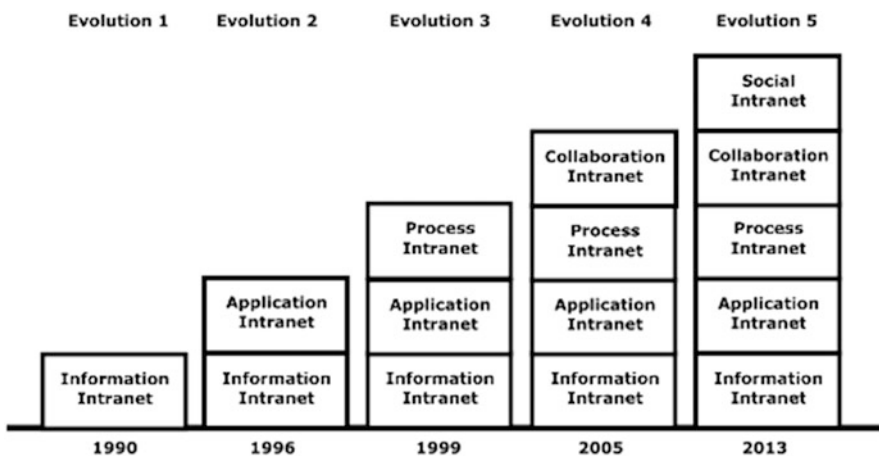


Fig. 36.3 Evolution of the intranet

36.3 Digital Transformation

As discussed previously, the internal communication is also influenced by external factors. During the last decades many products became cheaper while their quality increased (Downes & Nunes, 2014). This effect is facilitated by globalisation and the development of digital technologies as major elements of the economic change (see also Fig. 36.1). Companies have to react to this development by increasing their innovation cycles. This is challenging to companies with traditional organisational models. In the past the information flow had been top-down (Eisenkrein, 2013). One way to achieve faster innovation is to make the grown inflexible decision lines in the company more flexible and to empower the employees in their professional expertise. Virtual networked value chains deliver a perfect blueprint for new ideas in the internal communication and cooperation between the experts. Companies have to listen more efficiently to the ideas and expertise of all employees—not only to predefined responsible departments. Otherwise they are not able to cope with growing innovation needs. Today, the information has to flow in a company-wide network. To establish such a network, companies have to develop a new digital corporate culture. This new culture has to stimulate the internal networking, the exchange of ideas and the common identity. Political changes manifest in new regulations like financial and data protection laws. Corporations have to ensure that they meet all compliance criteria. As a reaction to these digital challenges companies have to rethink their internal communication and their corporate communication culture.

36.4 The Future Development of the Media Mix for the Digital Age

The described changes imply a new media mix for the internal corporate communication in the digital age. This section will focus the main internal media: employee magazines, e-mail, work instructions, meetings/events and the intranet.

Employee magazines will not disappear in a modern digital media mix. But magazines are on the way to lose their function to deliver latest business news to the employees. This function has already handed over to the intranet in many companies since the delivery of news is faster and cheaper. While the news in the intranet deals with the latest daily information, the employee magazine may still deliver high quality background information on company strategy or new products. The employee magazine shifts from news broadcast to an identity building element of the digital media mix. The employee magazine can be provided as a vintage print magazine. Or it may be implemented as a digital newspaper. Digital employee magazines may be used in companies with a high mobility of the employees. However, a prerequisite for a digital magazine is the availability of suitable mobile devices. The devices may be personal devices of the employees or business devices

from the company which are used in the daily work. This requires a company-wide mobile device strategy. The major daily business news channel for today is the intranet, which allows immediate mass information.

The business e-mail flood is still increasing. A forecast predicts an annual growth of 3 % between 2015 and 2019 with an average amount of 128 business mails per day in 2019 (The Radicati Group, 2015). In addition, two major shortcomings are reducing its efficiency for corporate communication: First, e-mails are time-limited in the direction of the past. Only receivers who are employees in the moment of the sending of the e-mail will get the information. Employees joining the company later, will neither receive the information nor will they be able to search for it. Second, e-mails are read and archived somewhere. The information is not directly attached to the according work like tasks, projects or processes and might be forgotten when the information becomes relevant in a business situation. The use of e-mail as a mass medium or for hierarchical communication cannot be continued. E-Mail is used best for personal one to one communication in a digital media mix. Hierarchic and mass information should be communicated in a medium which archives the information. The use of the intranet seems to be a good solution for this problem. Since the employees have to be informed about new events, an activity stream is required. This function may be part of a social intranet.

Work instructions, as important hierarchical communication in the company, are usually communicated by either e-mail or documents. Documents may be delivered in written form or may be stored in document management systems or the intranet. Archivable digital documents are the best solution for the internal communication. The storage in document management systems does not contribute to the communication aspect since it is simply a storage. Document management has to be combined with a communication medium. Work instruction documents or document management system notifications via e-mail suffer from the same problems as already described above in the discussion of e-mails. The remaining solution is the allocation of the communication as a part of the intranet. The notifications of a document management system may be automatically posted in the activity stream of a social intranet.

Meetings and events must be split up into hierarchical and daily business communication. Daily business communication in personal meetings can be complemented by digital teleconferencing tools. They are used especially in international operating companies to reduce travel costs and to speed up information exchange in projects or teams. Teamrooms and document management systems are supporting the communication in team or project scenarios. Teamrooms are converging with social intranets. This makes sense from the user's point of view since he has only one tool for communication and cooperation. Today virtual meeting software is a product class of its own. But with the emerging WebRTC standard which brings bidirectional audio and video to the browser (WebRTC.org, 2014), video and audio telephony will also be part of the intranet in the near future. Hierarchic communication in meetings and events transfers usually important information on significant changes or news regarding the company like the planned

dismissal of employees. These events may be broadcasted to the whole company at all subsidiaries using streaming video. The start point for the use of telecommunication tools or the participation via streaming video is also the intranet.

The intranet is becoming the leading news channel for quick updates and the communication of fast reaction on market or legal events to the employees. They remain a mean of mass communication but also of hierarchical communication. Work instructions are the visible part of corporate management in the intranet. The corporate news also aim to influence the behaviour of the employees. A state-of-the-art intranet should also offer the external and public corporate information to the employees. This is neglected in many intranets and leading to the fact, that customers or other stakeholders are better informed about products than the employees. Audio-visual media in the intranet can be used to explain the background of decisions in the company. Moreover, the intranet is becoming the leading corporate medium.

Social intranets extend this model with more direct and personal news. In addition the employees are part of the corporate community and may generate their own news on a microblog or blog. This facilitates information and knowledge exchange. It also contributes to identity building and internal networking leading to a learning company—a vision of the nineties. The social intranet also covers the social communication. It provides a technical mean for social interaction. Obviously it does not transfer the complete social interaction within the office into a virtual environment. It is an extension of the social interaction and an enabler for interaction between locally distributed employees. With work- and project-related activity streams it may also cover the requirement for cooperation. The social intranet becomes a starting point for the daily work. As a central element for the digital work it has to be used as a mean for identity building in the company. Identity and an open communication in a social intranet fit perfectly together.

36.5 Conclusions

The challenges of the digital economy have to be reflected in the company. The changes have a deep impact on how companies are organising themselves, how employees are working together and how they are communicating internally. Internal communication has to rethink the media mix to reflect the changes in business and in the digital society in the outside world. The tailoring of the media mix depends on several factors: the target markets, competition, organisational structure, corporate management and the corporate culture of an organisation. The media mix is individual for each company since these dependency factors are also individual. The transformation of the society into a digital society with virtually ubiquitous information also has a deep impact on the internal communication. Employees are familiar with mobile devices and the fast and networked communication in social media. Companies have to react to this development to keep up with the expectations of their employees. The digital media mix also contributes to the competitiveness of the company. The intranet is becoming the primary digital

internal communication channel. Companies which are working and cooperating digital in social intranets, gain the best benefit regarding the digital transformation.

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Postsecondary education is big business in the United States. According to Ferrall (2011), “In 2007, 4352 accredited public and private degree-granting institutions enrolled 18.2 million students . . .The enrolled students represented 39 % of all 18–24-year-olds (and 46 % of those who had graduated from high school)” (p. 1). Ferrall claims these institutions totaled \$410 billion in revenues in 2006. With all this choice, making the selection of which institution to attend becomes a complex process for students and their families.

Often a determining factor for enrollment is the school’s mission as defined by institutional type. One standard for defining American institutions of higher education is the classification system offered by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, revised in 2010. This four pronged classification system has been the basis of the “Best Colleges” ranking categories created by *U.S. News & World Report* that defines an institution as a national university, a national liberal arts college, a regional university, or a regional college. Using these categorizations, *US News & World Report* defines these institutions according to the following criteria:

National universities offer a full range of undergraduate majors, plus master’s and doctoral programs, and emphasize faculty research. National liberal arts colleges focus almost exclusively on undergraduate education. They award at least 50 percent of their degrees in the arts and sciences. Regional universities offer a broad scope of undergraduate degrees and some master’s degree programs but few, if any, doctoral programs. Regional colleges focus on undergraduate education but grant fewer than 50 percent of their degrees in liberal arts disciplines; this category also includes schools that have small bachelor’s degree programs but primarily grant two-year associate degrees. (*U.S. News & World Report*, 2015)

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The National Liberal Arts colleges are the smallest category, depending on how they are classified accounting for 125 to 250 private liberal arts colleges (Ferrall 2015, p. 1). *The U.S. News & World Report* ranks 181 such institutions, although, until the second half of the nineteenth century, virtually every 4-year, postsecondary institution that was not a trade or professional school offered a broad, non-vocational undergraduate curriculum and could reasonably be viewed as a liberal arts college (p. 12). Today, liberal arts colleges account for only a small percentage of the students enrolled in post secondary education in the United States. However, for many their value in producing thoughtful citizens and strong leaders is considered unparalleled. According to Ferrall (2011), “Society needs well and broadly educated citizens. . . in the ever more complex and contentious society in which we live; thoughtful citizens are a precious resource. . . [students] develop a set of skills that are broadly useful, fully transferable, and applicable to any challenge, vocational or other” (p. 17).

In the United States, liberal arts universities take pride in preparing their students for a lifetime of learning and creating thoughtful citizens, who know how to think, analyze, and learn in a community of students and faculty, and who, together explore the various foundations of knowledge. A Pew-sponsored Higher Education Roundtable of college Presidents emphasized, “It is the liberal arts college that best retains the language and imagery of education as a social compact between a community and its individual members—even as ‘community’ has come to encompass a broad range of people. . . In this setting, acquiring knowledge is defined not just as a means to individual advancement but as a basis for assuming the mantle of social responsibility, of making constructive contributions to the community and larger society of which one is part” (Ferrall 2011, p. 22).

It is not surprising, then, that the mission statements at most liberal arts universities support the ideal of global awareness and global citizenship, which can be seen in the following sampling from national liberal arts universities. One of Macalester College’s hallmarks is “an internationalist view of the world. . . The school provides an atmosphere of high-powered scholarship and success, pairing academic rigor with global perspective” (Macalester College website, Guide Book Reviews, 2015). Williams College claims that their education “reflects the complexity and diversity of the world” (Williams College website. Mission Statement, 2016). The faculty at Wellesley College wants “To provide an excellent liberal arts education for women who will make a difference in the world” (Wellesley College website. Mission Statement, 2016). Bowdoin College specifically requires study outside the perspectives of Europe and the West; and it encourages study abroad to foster students’ international awareness and linguistic mastery (Bowdoin College website, Mission Statement, 2015). Pomona College’s mission statement states, “We gather students, regardless of financial circumstances, into a small residential community that is strongly rooted in Southern California yet global in its orientation” (Pomona College website, Mission Statement, 2015). Finally, Middlebury College places its mission squarely into the global, “. . . the College also reaches far beyond the Green Mountains, offering a rich array of undergraduate and graduate programs that connect our community to other places, countries, and cultures. We

strive to engage students' capacity for rigorous analysis and independent thought within a wide range of disciplines and endeavors, and to cultivate the intellectual, creative, physical, ethical, and social qualities essential for leadership in a rapidly changing global community. Through the pursuit of knowledge unconstrained by national or disciplinary boundaries, students who come to Middlebury learn to engage the world" (Middlebury College, Mission Statement, 2015).

In an increasingly complex world that is now more networked and media dominated, there is a need for a more global outlook and to provide students with opportunities to study and produce literate content using the new digital and visual platforms that are available worldwide. In discussing the importance of media to understanding this contemporary environment, as early as 1996 Appadurai claimed, "Media is one of the key carriers of the very processes of globalization" (in Kluver, Campbell, & Balifour 2013, p. 4). Recent changes in the global media environment started with the introduction of the Internet and has more recently transformed again with the rise of social networking media and mobile devices. It is nearly trite to assert that this new media environment is more participatory, which has implications for worldwide social and political communication, changing the relationships of nations. It follows, therefore, that if one is to be a citizen of the world, understanding the role of media, especially new forms of digital media is increasingly important. According to McCoy (2013), "The study of global social media permits a deeper view of world cultures as well as a concise understanding of one's place in the world" (p. 1). . .[and] global awareness is a pivotal goal of modern learning as today's students are called to process and reflect upon information in new and more meaningful ways" (p. 5). The relevance and even indispensability for understanding media developments and communication issues is a "particular challenge for liberal arts colleges and their stated commitments to preparing broadly educated students for a life of civic engagement" (Griffin, 2011, p. 1829) because the current traditional culture of elite liberal arts colleges typically does not recognize communication and media as a core liberal arts discipline.

37.1 Method

In order determine if top-ranked liberal arts colleges are addressing this need and fulfilling their purported interest in educating their students to be citizens of the world, this paper examined the availability of course offerings focused on the teaching of international media in the top-ranked 53 U.S. liberal arts college/universities as defined by the *US News & World Report* rankings for 2015. According to *US News & World Report*, a liberal arts university is characterized by emphasis on undergraduate education and the awarding of at least 50 % of their degrees in the liberal arts fields of study. Enrollment at U.S. liberal arts colleges/universities is relatively small (usually between 1000 and 2500), residential, and focused on teaching undergraduates. On average, classes consist of 20 or fewer students, providing a high degree of faculty and undergraduate student interaction. According to Hawkins (in Ferrall, 2011), a liberal arts college/university is "...an

institution resistant to highly specific vocational preparation and insisting on a considerable breadth of studies. . . [that hopes to develop] interests and capabilities that will enrich both the individual learner and future communities” (p. 13). Although, some consider it flawed (see Ferrall, 2011), the *U.S. News and World Report's* “Best Liberal Arts Colleges” list is familiar and often referred to by both students and college administrators. “Tier 1 includes the 51 highest ranked, best known, and (for the most part) richest private liberal arts colleges” (Ferrall, p. 16). The ranking for 2015 includes a three-way tie for 51, so this study will look at the top 53.

This study identifies what courses focus on issues of international media and are offered at these top liberal arts colleges/universities. I was interested in how these institutions perceived to be elite in their category have either embraced or ignored this field. However, similar to Downing (2009), who analyzed the teaching of “International media studies in the US academy,” there were some complications in carrying out this research. Downing examined the most widely used introductory media studies textbooks and how they covered international and global communication in eight private universities that were recognized as top in the field and also at eight leading public universities. It was not possible to critique the courses and textbooks as it would have been too big of a project. I, too, had to recognize that I could not undertake a lengthy examination of what is covered in these courses, as syllabi were not easily available; however, I was able to find descriptions of course offerings which suggested how well these topics were covered at each liberal arts institution.

Moreover, I encountered additional complications with trying to accomplish this research: (1) the course descriptions varied in their specificity as to what would be covered in the course; (2) Some courses might be taught under “Special Topic,” and then only occasionally; (3) Some web pages only indicated what was offered semester by semester, thus limiting access to the entire curriculum. In addition, I found that there were very few communication departments in these top-ranked liberal arts colleges, but one could find courses covering some aspects of global media in other majors, such as film studies departments, permeations of interdisciplinary international studies concentrates that might include courses from a wide variety of departments, and political science departments.

37.2 Discussion

The results of the survey of course offerings of the top-ranked 53 liberal arts colleges found that only 28 of them had at least one course focusing on international media, however only three of those had more than two courses. (See Appendix 2, although because a few colleges have both multiple majors, i.e., one in Film Studies plus one in International Relations, the numbers will not totally mesh.) These courses are found within a variety of departments and majors, including traditional communication and media departments, film studies, film and media

studies, and several varieties of interdisciplinary international relations concentrations.

Traditional film studies majors or the rather broader film and media studies majors are the most common media offerings available at most of these institutions. Twenty-six of the top liberal arts colleges have one or the other of these programs. By far, both of these majors offered mostly national cinema courses, either through the film studies department/film and media studies department or the specific language departments. (For details of the offerings for each of the 53 top-ranked Liberal Arts Universities see Appendix 1.) For purposes of this study, these national cinema courses were not considered sufficiently “international” because of their more local orientation and lack of linkage to important overarching global issues, which is the signature of the broader focused courses cited in this study. The course descriptions did not offer any indication that they considered broader issues of globalization, transnational contexts, or a variety of media, such as websites, social media, etc. The national cinema courses offered in these programs might typically include such courses as: African Cinema, European Silent cinemas (Colby College), French Cinema (Oberlin College), Cubania, Russian Cinema, Israeli Cinema, Film of the Third Reich (Dickinson College), or the courses national cinema of Chinese, German, Slavic, East Asian, Hispanic, or Italian (Connecticut College). These departments also might include a course in “Global Cinema after WWII” (Smith College) or International Cinema I prior to 1945 and International Cinema II after 1945 (Colby College).

Four of the traditional film studies departments have rather non-traditional courses available that seem to take on a broader international view. Bryn Mawr offers a course in Asian American Film, Video and New Media, which states that “The course explores the role of pleasure in production, reception and performance of Asian American identities in film, video, and the internet, taking as its focus the sexual representation of Asian Americans in works produced by Asian American artists from 1915 to present” (Bryn Mawr Website. Course Offerings, 2014). Bryn Mawr also offers a course cross-listed in the Italian Department, Food in Italian Literature, Culture and Cinema. This course looks at “a profile of Italian literature/culture/cinema obtained through an analysis of gastronomic documents, films, literary texts, and magazines. . .include a discussion of the Slow Food Revolution, a movement initiated in Italy in 1980 and now with a world-wide following, and its social, economic, ecological, aesthetic, and cultural impact to counteract fast food and to promote local food traditions” (Bryn Mawr Website. Course Offerings, 2014).

Sewanee—University of the South’s course, Narrating Place/Space in Contemporary World Film “examines some of the most acclaimed international feature films of the past decade, with focus on how geographical places and spaces are constructed, narrated, and visualized in cinema. . .inviting students to ponder broader issues of multiculturalism, globalization, and otherness” (Sewanee website, Course Offerings, 2015). Finally, Gettysburg College’s contribution to the study of international media offers a course, Global Media Cultures, which undertakes a “Consideration of the current state of international media, combining theoretical

approaches to globalization with case studies of film, websites, and broadcasting systems” (Gettysburg College website, Course Offerings, 2015).

Film/cinema and media studies is a broader interpretation of the tradition film/cinema studies major, although a majority of these offerings are also national cinema courses. Thirteen institutions, which include five of the top eight ranked liberal arts colleges in the rating, offer this major. However, only two of these colleges offer an international media focused course. Like the more traditional film studies programs, they mostly offer national cinema courses or broad survey courses. For example, Swarthmore, Wellesley, Middlebury, and Carleton offer a fairly wide variety of national cinema courses, either in the Film and Media Studies Department or through specific language courses (often taught in English). In fact, Carleton has an extensive listing, including: Contemporary Spanish Cinema, Contemporary Global Cinema, Japanese Cinema, Russian Film, Eastern European Film, and Cinema in Chile and Argentina: Representing and Reimagining Identity.

The seemingly more modern major of Film/Cinema and Media Studies had only two institutions out of 14 that offered more options for courses focused on a broader look at international media. Hamilton College which had a Cinema and Media Studies major up until 2014 when the faculty voted out the concentration, offered a course, International Communications: Policy, Production, and Reception, which “examines media as a transnational phenomenon bounded by geopolitical arrangements within nation-states. The course provides a comparative analysis of media policies and systems across several nations. We will examine the role of media across the globe from the perspective of political economy and critical cultural studies. Central to the course will be exploration of how media policies shape content, the contribution of media to fostering regional, national, and transnational ‘imagined communities,’ and how media and communication systems and content operate in a transnational context” (Hamilton College website, Course Offerings, 2015). Colgate College’s one course is a more traditional Global Cinema course.

Whitman College’s catalog provides insight into the mission of the Film and Media Studies program claiming that it “is an indispensable element of a Twenty-First curriculum that helps students learn to make sense of and positively influence the world in which we live” (Whitman College website, Course Offerings, 2015). It continues an explanation of the program by saying it “is an interdisciplinary program that enriches understanding of the complexity of global media culture by providing a solid grounding in the theory, history, production, interpretation, and criticism of a wide variety of media texts—including but not limited to film, television, video games, graphic novels, online vides and social networks...” (Whitman College website, Course Offerings, 2015). It offers a course, Introduction to Television Studies, which “explores world culture through an analysis of what is arguably its central medium: television... The course will also consider television in terms of industrial production and audience reception, including the rapidly changing practices associated with television viewing in the twenty-first century” (Whitman website, Course Offerings, 2015). However, since a syllabus was not available, it is hard to say how much of this course actually is focused on

international media. Whitman also offers a course on The Middle East in Cinema & Media that purports to examine “visual texts (primarily film and television) in which the Middle East is represented and represents itself. . . In addition to critically, aesthetically, and culturally analyzing films from the Arab, Persian, Turkish, and Hebraic Middle East, we will look at the role of media in articulating politics and identity” (Whitman website, Course Offerings, 2015).

Finally, Whitman offers a course called Globalization, Culture & Media that appears to include a deeper and broader analysis of the role of media in the world. According to the Whitman website, the “class will examine transnational media . . . will look at the role that media narratives play in enculturating viewers within and across physical, cultural, and linguistic borders. With an eye toward avoiding simplistic binaries such as East/West, Global/Local, or Good/Bad, we will explore the complex and contradictory impulses of global culture and globalization from multiple theoretical perspectives and academic political theory, cultural geography, and cultural studies” (Whitman website, Course Offerings, 2015). From these examples of courses offered in the seemingly more encompassing film/cinema and media programs, there seems to be less of an opportunity to encounter a more encompassing international media focused course, than in the seemingly more limited film studies programs.

The colleges that include programs in film/cinema, film/cinema and media studies and film studies include only seven colleges out of 27 that offered at least one course focused on international media. The availability of international media-focused courses was much higher in colleges that had more traditional communication/media departments. Eleven of the 12 colleges in this category offered such courses. However, it is important to note that the The Claremont Colleges in California, which includes, Claremont-McKenna, Harvey-Mudd, Pomona, Pitzer, and Scripps have a joint Media Studies program that includes two courses focused on International Media. These two courses inflate the count of international media courses by four, because the same courses are offered for the four colleges. So, the two courses available at the five Claremont Colleges account for 5 of the 12 counted in this category (See Appendix 2). Outside of the Claremont Consortium offerings, there were four colleges (Washington & Lee, Macalester, DePauw, and Furman) that offered 1 or 2 courses, and two institutions that offered more diverse programs with 3+ courses (Vassar and Denison).

The Claremont Consortium offers two courses in its Media Studies offerings, including the course in Media and International Communications which explores political identity, social change and social movements in relation to media and “will explore different approaches to the relationship between national cultures and processes of globalization. We will familiarize ourselves with debates around issues of media as agents for national development, social change, and identity” (Pomona website. Course Offerings, 2015). The consortium also offers a course in Television and Globalization which looks at questions of social justice and power and “introduces students to theories of television against the background of discussions of globalization. It approaches television as a set of institutions,

technologies and texts (in flux) shaped by cultural political and economic forces (Pomona website, Course Offerings, 2015).

As mentioned above, Vassar and Denison offer the most extensive programs in International Media. Vassar's offerings include courses on Cities of the Global South: Urbanization and Social Change in the Developing World, Chinese Popular Culture, Indigenous and Oppositional Media, Visual Urbanism, Culture, Commerce and Public Sphere. All of these courses promise to include the study of some form or forms of media, including film, television, radio, newspaper, music, print, Internet, etc. Denison offers courses in Global Communication, Comparative Media Systems, Cultural Globalization and Identity, and International Communication. These courses examine a wide variety of issues pertinent to the study of international media, including such issues as, information flows within and between nations, the role news and entertainment media might play in the formation and maintenance of nation states, the global circulation of popular culture and the backlash that might occur, issues of globalization, ownership of the media, and many others. With so many courses offered, these two institutions have an unusual depth of coverage.

However, four of these colleges with traditional communication and/or media departments only offer one course. At Washington & Lee in the Journalism and Mass Communication Department, the course is entitled, Communication in Global Perspectives. The description says that "this course examines how the marketplace of ideas created by the Web impacts, impedes, and affects our communication and discernment abilities by looking at the laws that empower, encourage, and inhibit these abilities on the Web" (Washington & Lee website, Course Offerings, 2015). Macalester, in its Media and Cultural Studies major offers one course, Global Media Industries. This course acknowledges the "tremendous influence" of global media "in how many see and comprehend the world and therefore the information and beliefs upon which they feel or act. . . .media industries are situated geographically, culturally and institutionally. Even if they promise worldwide coverage or are multinational companies, there is much to be gained from studying how media are produced and distributed differently according to specific, social, political, economic and historical conditions" (Macalester website, Course Offerings, 2015). In their Communication and Theatre Department, DePauw University offers one course in International Media which states that the course will provide an "analysis of structures and content of international media (newspapers, TV, film, and Internet) and the role of culture in globalization, in order to increase understanding of the politics and economics of media systems in specific regions of the world and the societies in which they function. This course aims to explore key developments in information technologies, international relations, the free flow of information, interpretations of free expression and intellectual property, aggregated regional networks, and the influence of Western media and consequent forms of resistance located in history and cultural perspectives of different genres of media programs including news, entertainment, advertising and PR" (DePauw University website, Course Offerings, 2015).

Finally, the Communication Studies Department at Furman University offers two courses: a broad International Communication course, and a more narrowly focused course, *Lenses on Africa: African Film in a Global Context*. The International Communication course is “a survey of the media systems in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, Middle East and Oceania. Exploring the basic characteristics of media philosophies, reporting, content and audience in each world region and discussion of the impact of media globalization (Westernization’ of the media, clash of cultures, transnational media conglomerations, new technologies, etc.)” The *Lenses on Africa* course “explores the African continent through film, focusing on critical social issues and ongoing transformations of social orientations and values” (Furman University website, Course Offerings, 2015). This course seems closer to the traditional national/regional film offerings at other liberal arts universities.

For the most part, with the exception of Vassar and Dennison, the film/media/communication programs discussed above do not present very thorough coverage (18 of 39 institutions) of the study of international media for their institutions. Thus, it was important to look further into the offerings of the institutions. Again, emphasizing the importance that top-ranked liberal arts colleges claim they are placing on issues of globalization, 27 of these top-ranked liberal arts colleges offered a major, usually interdisciplinary, in international relations. Thirteen of the 27 programs offer one or two courses with some focus on some issue in international media (See Appendix 1). These programs were variously identified as international relations, international and global studies, global studies, or international affairs. They are sometimes at colleges that have film or film and media studies programs, but sometimes didn’t cross-list. In addition, there were three other political science departments at other liberal arts colleges offering one course in international media, but these departments were not within an international relations concentration. This makes a total of 16 institutions that offer international media courses outside of the traditional film/media studies/communication departments. A few of these institutions offer both some form of film/media/communication programs and international relations major. Macalester is one example of this. Nevertheless, only 16 of these institutions offer at least one or two courses covering international media and only one, Trinity College in Hartford, CT, has a more extensive coverage of courses focused on the media included in their International Studies major.

As mentioned above, Macalester College offers one course in its Media and Cultural studies department (*Global Media Industries*), but also offers two courses in its International Studies major, broadening their offerings beyond the typical top liberal arts college. The *Introduction to International Studies: Globalization, Media, and Cultural Identities* asks

What roles do media play in constituting identities for people and places...? How do various media facilitate or hinder globalization? How are cultures and cultural identities shaped by contemporary media practices and globalization? The course introduces some key concepts in social theory that have been central to how media is researched (i.e., public

sphere, national, media, identity, Diaspora, multiculturalism and so on). . . . This course focuses on thinking through, about and with media (Macalester Website, Course Offerings, 2015).

The Culture and Globalization Course states that “the world is far more interconnected today than ever before, but what does this mean in terms of culture? This course looks at the impact of globalization on cultures and at examples of global cultures such [as] immigrants, media and popular cultures, world cities, and transnational intellectuals, ethnicities and ideologies. It also looks at the way cultures interact at geographic borders and in the margins of society” (Macalester Website, Course Offerings, 2015).

Standing alone out of the already rather limited number of institutions that study media in their international relations programs (13 of 29), the International Studies major at Trinity College, Hartford, CT offers a wide array of international media focuses courses, including such courses as, Hip Hop and Urban Art in Southeast Asia, Youth Culture in the Muslim World, Japanese Crime Literature and Film, Latin American Film and Human Rights, and Democracy, development and media in the Global South (Trinity College website, Course Offerings, 2015).

It is apparent from the rather lengthy preceding discussion that liberal arts universities with actual communication/media departments have the greatest possibilities of offering a course or courses that explore some aspect of international media (11 of 12). It is also apparent that those institutions offering either film/cinema studies or film/cinema and media studies have the least possibility of offering a course that studies the impact of media on the world (7 of 27). Some colleges compensate by adding a few offerings about international media in their interdisciplinary international relations concentrations (13 of 29). Only 3 of the 53 top liberal arts colleges, Vassar, Trinity University, CT, and Denison cover the topic of international media with any depth, despite the claim the globalization is an important topic for their students to understand in the process of becoming global citizens. One has to be puzzled at this lack of enthusiasm for studying not only media, but any other form of media besides film at these top liberal arts institutions.

Griffin, in the 2011 article “The Uneasy Institutional Position of Communication and Media Studies and its impact on Academic Labor in Large Universities Versus Small Colleges,” offers some insight: “despite a growing consensus about the centrality of communication studies in an ever more networked and media dominated world. . . [there is a contradiction] between the values and inertia of traditional disciplinary formations and what nearly everyone recognizes as the contemporary relevance (indispensability, even) of media developments and communication issues” (p. 1829). Griffin especially points to selective liberal arts colleges where media and communication programs are rare and states that “Elite liberal arts colleges seem more likely to offer some version of cinema studies” (p. 1829). This study supports Griffin’s assertions.

37.3 A Potential Model Course Design

It would seem important for these top-ranked liberal arts institutions to examine the possibility of expanding their offering in the study of media. If they could at least add one course, based on my experience over the past 10 years, I would urge them to add a course that provides some breadth, surveying the subject area, and then study some aspect of digital media in depth on a local and/or regional basis.

In 2005, I taught my first International Media course at a top-tiered liberal arts university using two texts, various readings, a documentary and a Bollywood film. I began the course with a look at what sources were available beyond the western media to learn about the Middle East. I showed a documentary provided by the Mosaic network, “War of Information” to introduce this topic. I discovered that students had very little knowledge about the Middle East, despite its importance to the United States. Over time, I expanded this portion of the class, to include some closer study of the specific sources of information from another culture viewpoint. I used Kamalipour’s 2002 text, *Global Communication*, for a broader look at the topic. This text explored a broad range of topics, including historical contexts of global communication systems, global economy and telecommunication networks, transnational media corporation and global competition, global communication theories, development theory, global advertising and PR, and the politics of global communication. I then concentrated on the use of the Internet in Asia, using the Gans, Gomez, and Johannsen (eds.) text *Asian Cyberactivism: Freedom of Expression and Media Censorship* (2004). This text explored one party states, civil society that included women’s movements and cyber jihad, and political parties in Vietnam, China, Thailand, Pakistan, Cambodia and India. I ended the course with a look at Bollywood films. The topics in the course were also supported with a variety of readings.

Over the years, I kept to this same idea of breadth and depth, but adding more discussion about geography and cultures of different regions, often having them do the research and presentations and a wider variety of digital media. For 2 years I used the Flew text, *Understanding Global Media* (2007) for the broad look at International Media and added the Sen and Lee (eds) text, *Political Regimes and the Media in Asia* (2008). This past year, I began the course with Seib’s (ed.) text, *Al Jazeera English: Global News in a Changing World* (2013) then proceeded to Mirrlees text, *Global Entertainment Media: Between Cultural Imperialism and Cultural Globalization* (2013), and ended with a look at Wilmot and Aw’s edited text, *Social Media, Culture and Politics in Asia*. Students continue to be both surprised at the information and interested in the content of the course, both on the broader level and the specific. This course attracts both communication majors and non-communication majors. Every year I have taught it, over the past 10 years, I have had students thank me for creating in them an awareness of the interconnectedness of the world and the place of media in that world.

37.4 Limitations, Conclusion and Suggestions for Future Research

This study's limitations have already been discussed but include lack of access to course syllabi and a reliance on the *US News and World Reports* controversial ranking system. As such, this study suggests an opportunity for future research to gather syllabi and drill down into what is actually being taught about international media, not only in our top-ranked liberal arts institutions, but at all liberal arts colleges. It is apparent that these universities are not satisfying their mission statements to prepare students to be better global citizens. The International Communication Division of the Associations for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) has started a syllabus bank, but as far as I can tell, there were only ten posted international communication syllabi available, none from any of the institutions examined here. The Poynter Institute in conjunction with the Broadcast Education Association (BEA) is also gathering syllabi, but so far there is no grouping for courses in international media.

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Appendix 1

Course Offerings Focused on International Media in the 53 Top-Ranked National Liberal Arts Universities

1. Williams College, Williamstown, MA—No media department. No international media courses in Political Science or International relations.
2. Amherst College, Amherst, MA—Film & Media Studies (offer national cinema courses). No international media courses in Political Science.
3. Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA—Film & Media Studies. Course on “What on Earth is World Cinema”, Japanese Popular Culture and courses on national cinema in language departments. No international media courses in Political Science.
4. Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA. Cinema and Media Studies (offer courses in national cinema). Political Science and International Relations offer no international media courses.
5. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME. Visual Arts/Cinema Studies (no international media courses.) International Relations (no courses in international media).
5. Pomona College, Claremont, CA. Share Intercollegiate Media Studies with Pitzer, Harvey Mudd and Claremont McKenna. Offer national cinema courses, but also several courses such as Television and Globalization, Media and International Communication, and Drone Theory.

7. Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT. Film and Media Culture. Courses in national cinema, such as Bollywood and Beyond, Japanese Pop Culture, International Cinema, Chinese Cinema, Kurasawa, Indian Cinema Romance. Also have an International and Global Studies major, but don't mention media in any of the descriptions of coursework.
8. Carleton College, Northfield, MN. Cinema and Media Studies (offer courses in national cinema such as Contemporary Spanish Cinema, Contemporary Global Cinema, Japanese Cinema, Russian Film, Eastern European Film, Cinema in Chile and Argentina: Representing and Reimagining Identity.)
8. Claremont McKenna College—See Intercollege Media Studies with Pomona, Pitzer, etc. Also has International Relations major with 120 courses, none that mention media in the descriptions.
11. Davidson College, Davidson, NC. Communication Studies (Interdisciplinary minor which includes 62 courses in various departments including biology, anthropology, history, sociology, political science, psychology, English and film studies. No international media courses.
11. Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY. Media Studies, offers some interesting internationally focused courses including a course on Chinese Popular Culture, Visual Urbanism, Culture, Commerce and the Public Sphere. Film Studies including course in national cinema and a course on World Cinema prior to 1945 and after 1945. International Studies include no mention of media in sample courses.
13. United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD. Political Science Department offers a lot of courses about particular regions, but none of them mention media.
14. Washington & Lee University, Lexington, VA. Journalism and Mass Communication Department offers a course entitled, "Communication in Global Perspectives."
15. Colby College, Waterville, ME. Cinema Studies which studies American culture through film and other media, but only have International Cinema I and II with dividing year 1945. They do have Global Studies, but only one course Media, Culture & Political Imagination.
15. Hamilton College, Clinton, NY. Cinema and Media Studies includes a World Cinema Class. Communication is a minor (faculty voted out concentration in 2014?). They do have one course: International Communications: Policy, Production, and Reception.
15. Harvey Mudd College, Claremont, CA. See Claremont McKenna.
15. Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT. Film Studies which includes courses in national cinema and a course on "History of World Cinema in the 60's." The International Politics major includes course such as, "Comparative politics of the Middle East," United States Foreign Policy," International Security in a changing world with no mention of media. The course description of "The Arab Spring and the Aftermath" also does not mention media. There is a course on "Terrorism and Film."

19. Bates College, Lewiston, ME. Art and Visual Culture offers a “Modern Vietnamese Culture through Film” course and many national media courses. The Political Science Department offers courses such as “African Perspectives on Justice, Human Rights and Renewal, Politics in a Global Perspective”, Politics of the Modern Middle East, International Politics and media is NOT mentioned.
19. Grinnell College, Grinnell, IA. Global Development Studies major offers a course in “Modern China through Literature and Film” and “The Gods of Bollywood.”
19. Smith College, Northhampton, MA. (See five College Programs: Smith, Amherst, Hampshire, MT. Holyoke, and University of Mass). Film Studies courses include “Global Cinema after WWII,” and Korean Popular Culture. International Relations claims to have two topic courses in association with the University of Mass called “World Mass Media” and “International Media Effects” but no descriptions were available.
22. Colgate, Hamilton, NY. Minor in media and film studies, including a course in “Global Cinema.” International Relations Major offers some area studies, but no media mentioned in description and a course on “Global Peace and War.”
23. Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. Cinema Studies offers course in national cinemas. The International Studies concentration says it prepares you to live in a larger world, but no media mentioned in any course descriptions.
24. Macalester College, St. Paul, MN. Media and Cultural studies offers one course in “Global Media Industries.” The International Studies major offers a course entitled “Introduction to international Studies: Globalization, Media and Cultural Identities.”
24. Scripps College, Claremont, CA. See Claremont McKenna, Pomona, Pitzer and Harvey Mudd.
24. United States Military Academy, West Point, NY. International Relations offers no mention of any media in any of their courses.
27. Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA. (Includes courses offered in association with Haverford and Swathmore). Film Studies offers quite a few national cinema courses and also a course on “Video and New Media,” “Food in Italian Literature, Culture, and Cinema.” In the Political Science Department, the course on “Politics of the Arab Uprising” doesn’t mention media in the description.
27. Colorado College, Colorado Springs, CO. Film and Media Studies talks about global, but offer no global media courses. There are topics in the language programs. The International Relations course “International Politics of the Middle East and North Africa” does not mention inclusion of any study of the media.
27. United States Academy, Colorado. In the Geopolitics major, there is no mention of media.
30. Kenyon College. International Studies is an interdisciplinary major that includes courses in Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, and Sociology. The anthropology department has a course, “Anthropology of Mass

- Media” in which they admit anthropology is a newcomer to the field. There is also a course in “Music, Human Rights, and Cultural Rights,” and a course in “Globalization” that does not include media in the description.
30. University of Richmond, VA—The Film Studies includes several national cinema courses. The International Studies major offers nine courses on “Perspectives in International Studies,” one of which is media. Journalism has no courses on international media. The Rhetoric and Communication Studies has a course on the “Rhetoric of Globalization” that does not mention media.
 32. Barnard College, NY. The International Relations department in the Political Science Dept has a course on “Political Movements in the Middle East.” According to the syllabus, 1 day in the semester is devoted to new media. The same with the course on “Globalization and International Politics.”
 32. Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA. One course in International Relations called “Naming Violence: language, space and power in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.” The description mentions no media.
 34. College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA. In the Political Science Department, only one course mentions media, “Using Popular Media to examine Immigration Policy.”
 35. Lafayette College, Easton, PA. Film and Media offers course in traditional national cinema. The International Affairs major has no media courses.
 35. Pitzer College (See previous Claremont Schools).
 37. Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Film Studies offers national cinema courses. International studies has no media courses. The Political Science Department offers a course in “Media and Politics in the Middle East and North Africa.”
 37. Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, PA. Film and Media Studies offers only Russian Cinema. International Studies offers no media courses.
 37. Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, NY. International Affairs major offers one media course, “Global Media” out of 49 possible courses.
 37. Whitman College, Walla Walla, WA. Film and Media Studies talks about global, but only offers “Globalization, Culture & Media” and “Middle East in Cinema and Media” which is not offered every year. The Rhetoric Department offers a “Rhetoric of Social Protest: Exploring the Arab Spring” which does not mention media in the description.
 41. Mount Holyoke, South Hadley, MA. (See five College program).
 41. Soka University of America, Allso Viejo, CA. Claims to provide “students with a global and personal college Experience,” but in the International Studies major it offers only one course, “Media and Society in the Asian Pacific” out of 49 courses.
 41. Union College, Schenectady, NY. The Political Science Department offers 86 courses, but only one, “Politics and Film” which may offer a few films from abroad.
 44. Occidental College, LA, CA. Politics major offers 71 courses, none of which mention media.

45. Bard College, Annandale on Hudson, NY. Global and International Studies major offers no media courses.
45. Centre College, Danville, KY. Film Studies has no international courses. International Studies offers a course in “Africa in film, music, and media” and “Latin America at the Movies.”
45. Connecticut College, New London, CT. Film Studies offers courses in national cinema. International Relations has a course in “Human Rights and Media.” They don’t talk about media in “Foreign Policy” or “International Politics of the Middle East” or “International Organizations.”
45. Sewanee—University of the South, Sewanee, TN. Film Studies minor offers national cinema courses and a course on “Narrating Place/space in contemporary world film.” The International and Global Studies Major offers a course in “Media and Globalization.”
45. Trinity College, Hartford, CT. The International Studies major offers a course in “Hip Hop and Urban Art in Southeast Asia” and courses, such as “Youth culture in the Muslim World, Japanese Crime Literature and Film,” and “Democracy, development and media in the Global South.”
50. Gettysburg College, PA. Film Studies minor offers national cinema courses and a course on “Global Media Cultures,” and “Global Media Industries.” Major in Globalization Study offers no other media courses.
51. Denison University, Granville, Ohio. Communication Department offers 40 courses, four courses in international media: “Global Communication,” “Comparative Media Systems,” “Cultural Globalization and Identity,” and “International Communication.” There is a course called “Global Digital Networks” that has been taught, but no description in catalog.
51. DePauw University, Greencastle, IN. Communication and Theatre Department offers one course in “International Media.” The Film Studies program offers national cinema courses.
51. Furman University, South Carolina. The Communication Studies Department offers a course in “International Communication.” Also courses on “Lenses on Africa: African Film in Global Context.”

Appendix 2

International media focused courses available at top 53 Liberal Arts Universities

Dept/Major	Institutions offered	1 or 2 courses	3+ courses
Film Studies	13	4	0
Film and Media Studies	14	3	0
International Relations	29	13 [10]	1 (Trinity, CT)
Political Science	–	3	0
Communication/Media	12	9 [5]	2 (Vassar and Denison)
Total		32	3

Note 1: Of the 13 courses counted as international relations focused 1 course is offered for 5 institutions which are part of the 5 College Consortium (Smith, Amherst, Mt. Holyoke, Hampshire.) So, in reality there are only ten independent courses

Note 2: Under Communication/Media departments, the Five Claremont Colleges (Pomona, Pitzer, Harvey Mudd, Claremont-McKenna, and Scripps) have an intercollegiate course offers that includes two courses. These two courses are the same for all five colleges, so in reality, there are only six institutions

Note 3: Several of the programs under listed under Communication/Media Departments are not traditional. The Communication Studies department at Davidson is an interdisciplinary minor, as is the major at Hamilton. Hamilton faculty has voted out this major as of 2014, although the one course offered is included in this table

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Effect of Technology on Education in Middle East: Traditional Education Versus Digital Education

38

Tahereh Ebrahimi

38.1 Introduction

In the ultra-modern world of today, the role of technology and its undeniable impact on public administration is obvious to everyone. It has a tangible role in establishment of quality and functional goals of society. The human desire to achieve a better life is getting more depended on technology, and this is perhaps the most important reason that our world is developing with extraordinary speed. In fact, the main difference between the world as it is today with the past, is the speed of technological developments. The world is changing and the pace of change is increasing more and more. We are in a critical relationship with the technology. Some believe that humanity is threatened by the evolution of technology. They believe that by application of new technologies, machines are replacing manpower. But the main goal of technology is to facilitate fulfilment of jobs by human and not the omission or replacement of human. Thus, the prevalence of technology drastically affects many areas of society including education. Education has always been one of the main concerns of the educational system of every country, and families and the educational system are constantly trying to help this process to reach its destination in better and faster ways with regard to the possibilities and necessities of the age. Educational system has the duty of creativity and innovation as well as the proper use of the talents and abilities of individuals. This is the way for the development of cultural, economic and social community. The present age which is called the age of technology, can contribute to this issue.

In this paper, we aim to discuss the role of technology in our education and its impact on the quality of education and the educational systems. It also emphasize on the effectiveness of traditional teaching and explores the key issues of classroom, as compared to online learning and compares the major dimensions of

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learning effectiveness of the two cases. As a result, various questions rose in this case: How technology affects the teaching process and how is this impact in the field of education in Middle East? What are the differences between traditional education and Distance training? What are the advantages of classical education on distance education?

Due to the dynamic impact of technology on different aspects of education, this article have tried to use the systemic approach and charting cause—effect, to present its dynamics characteristics in order to answer these questions.

38.2 Interaction of Technology and Human Factors

Education boosts the use of technology and technology aids education. Technology affects the human factors and brings change in them. On the other hand, human factors are effective on the adoption of technology, the type of technology and how to use it. One of the important areas of technology in training is the education. By influencing on human factors and development of human skills, technology, provides improved educational performance. The relationship between technology and education with productivity of manpower is two-way and interdependent relationship (Lee, Waxman, & Wu, 2011). This means that on the one hand, without having skilled manpower familiar with methods and practical skills at their disposal, one cannot hope to the real and sustainable development and National stability based on knowledge. On the other hand, technology is itself the tool and effective method for training and manpower productivity increase.

38.3 Education in Middle East

In the last three decades, developed and developing countries have faced with many ups and downs in the political, economic, cultural and educational field. In the face of many potential future challenges, the educational system as a necessary asset in the effort to achieve the goals of development is considered as the most important tools available to promote and realize the aspirations of a nation. Here the task of the educational system and the importance of its position are evident. The main mission of the educational system is to upgrade the individuals and develop their talents and also full recognition of their creative abilities. To achieve this target, though difficult and long, is considered an essential contribution to the pursuit of a more just and better world to live. This will be realized when everything is put in its place. Proper use of new technology can make positive changes in the educational system. The educational system plays an important role in innovation and creativity, as well as the correct use of the talents and abilities of people.

On the other hand, technology has always been associated with the development of the society and improvement of living standards of life. Development as one of the most important goals of human society, requires a tool such as technology to affect its structures. In Middle East, while most of its countries have surplus labor

force, they lack the necessary skill for the growth of the industrial sector. Concentration on human capital will be solution to solve these problems by providing the necessary skills in human resources. The need for investment in human resources in these countries is far more than physical capital. In spite of imports and creation physical capital, these countries are yet not able to accelerate their economic growth. They still remain underdeveloped in the human resources and because of the lack of essential skills, are not able to make full use of these resources. Although the professional skills and expertise is imported with foreign capital it is not enough (Brach, 2009).

Therefore, investments in social projects are one of the important needs of these countries. There are abundant natural resources in this region, but production methods and skills necessary for effective and rational use of these resources to improve economic and social conditions is limited. Increasing the level of knowledge and skills of the people is necessary condition for the elimination of economic backwardness and creation of motivation necessary for development (Brach, 2010). Education is one of the areas that can solve the problem in this region.

With the advent of new technologies and the fast pace of change, the behavior of individuals in Middle East is undergoing different changes that will inevitably put certain bad effects on society and the individual. As a result, society in dealing with a large volume of new technologies, while reducing the damaging effects, must take required steps in order to further the benefits of technology not only to survive but also grow.

38.3.1 The Impact of Technology on Education in Middle East

Generally, technology plays an important role in the country's educational system. As shown in the Fig. 38.1, with the advent of new technologies, the amounts of manual and physical work have been reduced and the changing natures are towards soft work. Intellectual work requires special skills and expertise provided through academic education Professionals and skilled, have an incentive to innovation. This innovation creates new technologies or upgrade old technology in developed countries. But in most Middle Eastern countries, Censorship is common practice.

Fig. 38.1 Role of technology on educational system

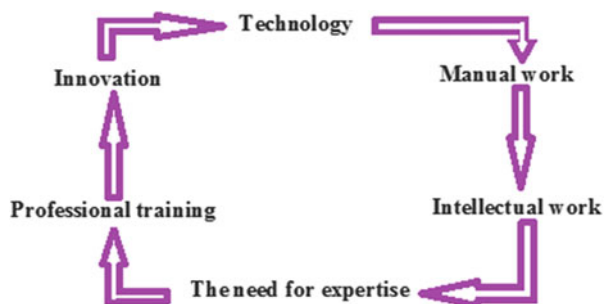
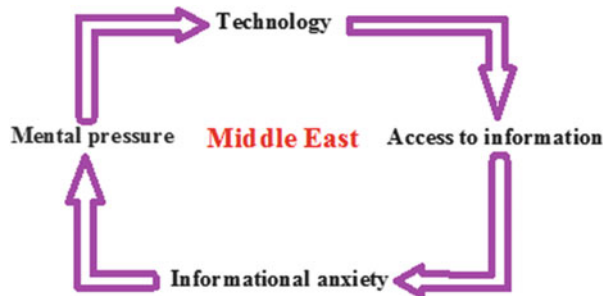


Fig. 38.2 Application of technology in developed countries



Fig. 38.3 Application of technology in developing countries



For this reason, many of the countries within this region were hesitant to widely adopt the Internet (Mirza, 2011).

But the application of technology in education in developed, and developing and underdeveloped countries is different and therefore has a different effect on education. In developed countries, access to information, flourishes the creativity and innovation which eventually will increase the efficiency of the technology (Fig. 38.2).

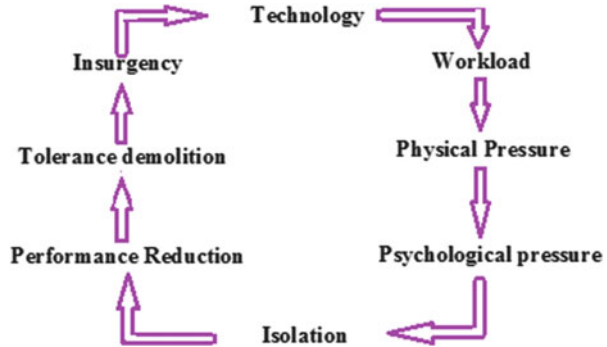
But in developing countries, including the Middle East, access to the large volume of information creates anxiety and stress due to lack suitable substrates and the characteristic of malicious causes. Hence, profitability is reduced and the cost goes up (Fig. 38.3).

Generally, it seems that technology in this region provides pressure in four ways:

A. Mental and Physical Pressures

In this case, technology provides pressures on individuals in two ways. New technologies increase the workload. In a society with a traditional structure, due to the limited capacity of individuals on the one hand and the volume of activity on the other hand, leads to the physical pressures. The harm caused by work pressure increases anxiety about the performance. The resulting stress may increase the psychological pressure, and the individual will be isolated. On the other hand, the volume of work and the creation of new techniques require new skills, may lead to increased stress that again may be left isolated. This leads to

Fig. 38.4 Performance of technology in societies with traditional structure



reduced performance levels and increase costs. When this pressure goes out of the individual's tolerance, insurgency will occur this isolation makes the individual to work alone or in a group, on specific technology to meet their target. Conflicts in the Middle East perhaps fit this kind of entanglement (Fig. 38.4).

B. Antagonism Pressures

Conflict of values is created with the advent of new technologies. This conflict in situations where there is no proper planning for the arrival of new technologies becomes more acute. The new technology always causes new ethical issues that often increase as potential threat. Ethical issues associated with new technologies occur in a long period. However, these conflicts and feeling of insecurity provide resistance to change. In other words, many cultures or because of unfounded and pathological fantasies or because they are afraid to enter the new technologies, present their resistance in different forms such as non-use or misuse of new technologies. Of course, at certain point where they want to create or change a particular culture, technology and tools are organized in an organizational activity in order to succeed in replacing the desired cultural change. This is evident in the Middle East as well (Fig. 38.5).

C. Identity Pressures

Identity is a grade to which individuals before identifying by a special working group or field of professional expertise are recognized as a set of organization. With the advent of new technology, individual identity is influenced by the professional identity. One of the issues about the identity loop that can be seen in the Middle East is the strong relationship between organizational identity and organizational behavior of the so-called Islamic state which considers its identity as organizational and with access to the large volume of data and misuse of technology has led to unrest in the Middle East (Fig. 38.6).

D. Informational Pressures

With the advent of new technologies, including IT, the possibility of access to a large volume of data is provided. As a result, information has created the field of creativity and innovation, which has led to innovations in different fields. But on the negative point, Technology may bring informational stress (Fig. 38.7).

Fig. 38.5 Antagonism pressure of technology

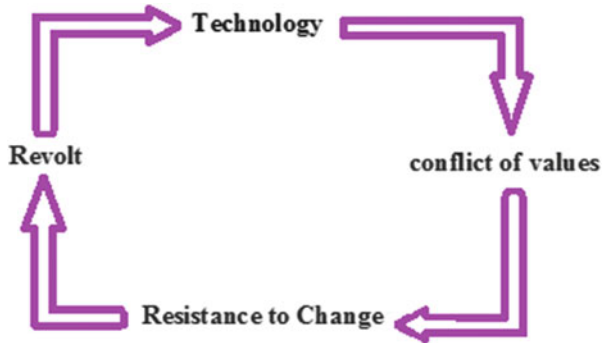


Fig. 38.6 Identity pressure of technology

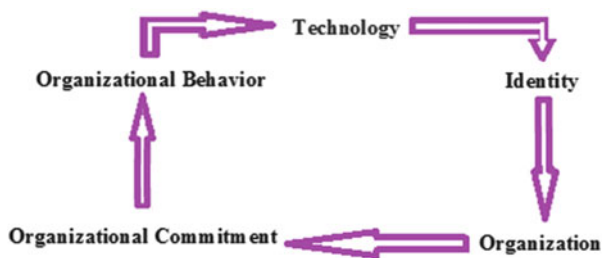
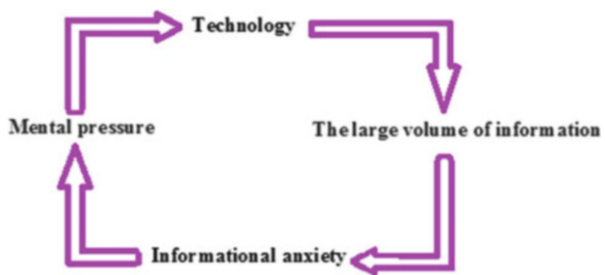


Fig. 38.7 Informational pressure of technology



On-line teaching is the application of technology that teaches people on certain issues but does not limit the scope of learning. Therefore, by using the advanced technology, range of search is widened and students experience new knowledge in helping them understands the elements of change, and realize that the future is shaped by them. They understand that they have a variety of options ahead and do more than the collection of information. But there arises three difficulties (Ebrahimi far, 2011)

1. **Wide range:** The wide range of technology, include infinite cultural variety. Approaching the new and various sphere, will cause different clashes with different culture. To avoid these clashes, people usually enter to that spheres which are closer to theirs. The creation of different terrorist groups in the Middle

East reflects this issue. Therefore a suitable base for cultural discourse will not be provided.

2. **Speed of information:** In digital space, the communication is established rapidly and simultaneously and the reaction, therefore, is rapid and simultaneous. In such an environment, the chance of thinking and critical review is replaced by urgency in which the cultural signs are not transferred completely. In such circumstances, misunderstanding escalates and rebellion is formed.
3. **No-Boundaries:** Modern-day students not have computers only to help them with their schoolwork; they also use the Internet for research in different field, performing their intentions and purposes without tracing of their symptom, in a manner unknown from any responsibility. This freedom ultimately changes to a unfettered and unbridled freedom, leading to the absence of responsibility. In Middle East with autocratic structure, sacrificing the value of freedom will be destructive.

Technology as a Teaching Aid

Technology plays a vital role in every sphere of life, and education is no exception. Technology has revolutionized the field of education. The use of technology has made the process of teaching and learning all the more enjoyable. In general, the new technology is considered as a strong factor for change. New technologies can make education more productive, more scientific and provide more equal access to education. Technology also motivates and engages the learner.

The purpose of education consists of three elements: knowledge, attitude, and learning. Knowledge is not enough for creative and effective learning. Interest, training orientation, and training method are also the pillars of learning. If an individual, does not have incentive to anything, substantially, does not try to learn that thing and his behavior does not change.

Practice and experience are the other conditions of learning. The aim, due to learning, also has three dimensions: cognitive, emotional, and mental-moving dimensions. Some believe that for obtaining necessary creative education, one need to move away from traditional methods and apply for new methods in teaching. However, there are many obvious benefits in using different technologies, the use of inappropriate technologies or the inappropriate use of technology can have its negative consequences for countries to follow.

38.3.2 Online Education Versus Traditional Education

Two trends have recently converged in teaching public administration: Traditional classroom teaching and online education (Ni, 2013). Training based on new technologies, has put online training versus traditional education by basic changes in educational system, such as eliminating the time, place and resource constraints. This has caused a major change in techniques, ways and approaches in education. The development of these two trends merging in the contemporary education setting raises a question about the effectiveness of online education, particularly

as compared to traditional classroom learning (Al-Hassan, 2011). But in today's era of increasing technology everybody learns differently. With constant changes in technology from all different degree programs, it is important to consider the advantages to an online versus traditional education and examine how each type of education impacts a student. However, this paper intends to emphasize on the advantages of traditional classroom education as compared to online teaching.

38.3.3 Online Education

Online education is also known as distance learning and consists of taking classes via the internet. The Virtual Learning Environment (Web-based Learning Environment-WBLE), is defined as the technology that uses the internet as a tool to support and promote learning (Basioudis & De Lange, 2009). Distance teaching is an active and intelligent learning that provides certain developments in learning and teaching process and knowledge management, giving this possibility to students to think actively and innovatively and use these ideas, commonly. This type of education is done by using a wide range application of information technology that provides possibility of education and learning for each person in each field and in each time and each place. Distance education, is broad-based and, multiple-orientated- all included. In this system, education is done by internet, covering a set of training methods along with the latest information. Generally, the electronic learning is a kind of learning that happens in the network environment and a set of multimedia technology, media and telecommunications is taken to service. It is a kind of learning that is done in internet environment and is facilitated using network technology. Generally, distance learning has highlighted three characteristics:

1. Capabilities to use information are enhanced.
2. Capabilities to select information are enhanced.
3. Learners' cognitive powers are strengthened.

Online teaching and learning presents a number of advantages and disadvantages. Important benefits are outlined below:

- **Flexibility:** Online classes offer flexibility to the student. They do not need to attend the courses physically and will mold with the schedule. Students can use much more than just pen and paper to express themselves or present what they have learned. The flexibility makes it possible for many to attend class that would otherwise be unable to do so.
- **Affordability:** Distance learning is very affordable. The affordability of program and the ability to work from home make this a very convenient way to complete studies.

- **Convenience:** With distance learning, there is no need to drive to class meetings or manage loads of book orders every year. savings of travel time, and absence of conflict with work hours are very valuable to all types of students.
- **Accessibility:** It allows for learning in a distant or disadvantaged location. Online education is easy to access and provides a convenient way to obtain course materials such as homework, exam schedules, test scores and more. Most online learning environments are accessible from a standard internet connection and typically require average home computer system requirements.
- **Easy Transfer:** It facilitates easy information transfer. For most online teaching, all course information is obtained by browsing the internet and sending/receiving email. This instant and secure transfer of information provides a convenient way for students to communicate with their instructors and fellow classmates. This provides a means for students to interact with each other while learning a particular subject thus enhancing the overall learning experience.
- **Self-direction:** In online teaching, students, to a large extent, learn to be self-starters and self-independent. This ability is valued in careers as well as working well with others.
- **The time savings:** Time is one of the issues that learners and teachers both have to face in learning. The time savings from students not having to travel to and from and attend class can allow for much greater time to be spent on other learning activities. Online learning facilitates learning without having to organize when and where everyone who is interested in a course can be present. Students, as well as the instructor, can put more time on other activities.

38.3.4 Disadvantages of Online Teaching

As with new teaching methods, online learning has faced much criticism from many sources. It is argued that online teaching will reduce the effectiveness of obtaining quality career positions these skeptics claim many existing barriers to effectively learning complex subjects in an online-only setting. So, even given all the benefits of e-learning, one cannot deny there are some drawbacks.

- **Barriers to accessing learning environments:** Although Internet courses allow all the students in over the world to develop their potential, but this facility is not provided to all. All people do not have equal opportunity to internet and other online facilities. All educational centers are not equipped with the facilities required for this type of instruction.
- **Isolation:** Online education creates a “monologue and not a real dialogue” in the learning environment. Some believe that online teaching isolates the students from one another as well as their instructor reducing the overall value of taking the course. This is because learning online is a solo act for the most part, which may give the learner the feeling that they are acting completely alone. Getting used to a life of isolation, makes people sad and feel more depressed.

- **Health Concerns:** Distance learning requires the use of a computer and other such devices; this means that eyestrain, bad posture and other physical problems may affect the learner. Too much work makes the situation worse.
- **Limited understanding of effective teaching methods:** Distance learning is a useful method, but many people have limited understanding of effective teaching methods due to youth of online learning. Many in developing and underdeveloped also do not know how to use it properly. This issue has caused the technology to become a destructive tool especially in Middle East.
- **Reducing individual transactions:** Not only less time you spend with the people but also those who are around you physically, are deprived from your love. As a result, people tend to spend less time with you.
- **Deviation of the real-life goals:** Too much attention to the virtual world in social network, have prevented people to compete in the real world and achieve important goals.
- **Comparison:** Constantly comparing you with others in your social networks lead to destruction.

38.4 Traditional Classroom Education

However, the mission of education is to help students to cope with life crises and use the opportunities and battle the risks and strengthen the ability to anticipate events and adapt to change. But this mission only by understanding the desire of young people in the educational system according to their social needs can play an effective role only through classroom instruction.

The advantages of online education are numerous, from flexibility to time saving. However, but a quick look around the real world clearly demonstrates that most students are still choosing traditional classes (Guarino, Leopardi, Sorrenti, De Antoni, Catania, et al., 2014). This shows that there can be multiple drawbacks to online education in comparison to traditional classroom education.

The inherent characteristics of the traditional classroom instruction present advantages that make it a far superior choice to online teaching (McLaren, 2004). These advantages can be illustrated as bellow:

1. **Face to face meetings:** In classroom, different attractions can be added in order to inculcate motivations to the learners to do better and new research. By inspiring the student with beauty of words and different attractions, one can develop the spirit of research and scientific exploration. Hand gestures, voice intonation, and facial expression, can all be very important in efficiently making things clear and conveying valuable nuance.
2. **Quick feedback:** One of the issues which are very important in classroom teaching is that both tutors and students receive the feedback of their work in the shortest time. When the student and teacher get the feedback on their teaching practice so quickly, they can do better planning for future programs and can make considerable progress in learning and teaching.

3. **Developing order:** The Middle East is a traditional society in which class management, and order in teaching, enjoys great importance and from the past was regarded as the main responsibility of tutor. Classroom management skills and how to teach, has great effect on the behavior and feelings of learners, and teacher's work is evaluated in this way.
4. **Interaction:** Online education facilitates learning without having to organize when and where everyone who is interested in a course can be present. Most students consider the traditional classroom environment beneficial for learning because they can interact with the teacher and their classmates. Especially for people who learn better through cooperative activities and group work, the possibility of asking questions and receiving immediate answers is important.
5. **Improvements in teaching methods and techniques:** Undoubtedly, human resources, especially tutors, are the main constituent educational environments and in this regard, the attitude and teaching methods of teachers in the educational activity process and, ultimately, its impact on learning process is very important. Influence of location and the necessary facilities, are obvious to any individual, but all the facilities without teacher performance will be of no use. Teacher deals with identifying opportunities to mobilize adequate learning environment, and organizes the environment and the educational facilities, and creates desired educational opportunities and by recognizing the talents, interests and abilities of students, will lead them in the right way.
6. **The establishment of cooperation and social interaction:** One of the important things emphasized by educational system about the classroom is group's discussion and creation a spirit of social work in students. Students in two-person, a group or class group, enable teacher to get a lot of feedback through listening to explanations of the students. This gives teachers a deeper sight to find out the progress of the students. Participation of all students in the use of IT resources in specific topics gives them the opportunity of challenging each other's understanding and through partnerships, to learn more.
7. **Glorifying student talent:** Another advantage of classroom education is glorifying of students hidden talents. When in class, group discussions enthusiasm, reaches to its peak, the students, can discover their abilities and capabilities that they themselves may not be aware of them and with guidance of teacher these abilities can be developed.
8. **Ethical and moral Training:** Other benefits of classroom teaching, is ethical and moral training. In the traditional societies like Middle East, most of ethical subject is thought in the attended class. In this way, moral issue is considered to be relatively more stable in the minds of students.
9. **Attention feeling:** Human beings crave is love. Sad and happy faces are not something that can be seen online. Love and affection is not something that is expressed through the monitor screen. Sometimes people need to be seen, have sympathy with their sorrows and encourage their success. Online training consists mainly of reading the words on the screen. Persian poem, Sa'adi says: If the teacher whispered love, holidays brought the elusive child to school on foot.

10. **Reducing misuse of emerging technologies:** When in classroom teaching, students become familiar with the various features as well as practical and tangible characteristics of technologies, the use of such technologies became less negative. Students by realizing the diverse and exciting applications for science and research, notice the positive effects and benefits from the technology and enjoy it and negative use of this tool will be driven to zero.
11. Participation in the competitive environment and motivation
12. Acquaintance with competitors and their scientific level
13. Conducting the study with planning
14. Increasing self-confidence
15. Making synergy through collective study

38.5 Conclusion

One of the most important and influential factor that affects the public administration, is technology. Technology has become the key to a new world of education. Education feeds technology, which in turn forms the basis for education. Education in the Middle East, has not been used for understanding the correct application of the technology. In turn, technology did not work as an instrument of effective education. Technology, therefore, technology has become a means of revenge.

What we need in this region today is not talent in producing advanced technologies but talent in understanding. We as an individual and member of societies should be aware of its effects on society and individuals. This calls again on education. Education should teach how to make optimum use of technology and to assist them to make use of the technology for faster development. Education must be much more responsive to the skill needs of society. The basic principles of education have to be based more on the notion of learning capacities rather than formal education. For the majority of Middle East countries, the quality of life is deteriorating and development is still the main problem.

All industrial societies because of their belief in science and technology have made them consistent with the instrumental rationality of the production. Instrumental rationality of all cultural, political, social and economic sectors of society is forced to adhere to the principle of material productivity. But here the issue is raised in the name of the proper use of technology, in this sense that it can be used in a way that it does not put bad effect on human values.

On the other hand, distance, education in Middle East makes the issue more complicated. Education through virtual instructor is a type of teaching and learning in which the teachers and learners are geographically separated from each other. Internet is not only for lessons, and students are not limited to particular issue of instructor. Technology may take people to the private room and use it in negative term. Due to the youth of online learning, there has been little research conducted to evaluate the teaching methods or the effectiveness of student comprehension through an online-only learning environment. Some programs may be designed

for a combination of online and classroom style teaching for the same course. This allows for the benefits of both types of learning to be realized.

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Effective Educational Practices for Beginning Students: An Analysis of Academic Discourses and Practical Necessities

39

Susanne Günther

Imagine a perfect world of higher education. What would you expect? Personal campuses, carefree and motivated students, easy-going and motivated faculty members, an atmosphere of competence, commitment and action...high expectations that can barely keep up with higher education realities.

The complexities associated with teaching and learning, the influences of organizational structures and individual motivation, the interrelation between personality and academic success are aspects that have been extensively discussed by educational research. However, most studies focus on one aspect or the other but it seems rather challenging to develop comprehensive approaches. This might be scientifically unsatisfying on the one hand, but reflects realities on the other. Due to the diversity of higher education institutions, the diversity of student and faculty bodies as well as the diversity of learning and teaching techniques, there can only be suggestions—a tool kit of instruments—that might improve certain aspects of higher education.

Therefore, the objective of this paper is to provide theoretical perspectives on expectations in higher education. Further, the focus will shift to a more practical perspective of higher education realities—that of Mittweida University of Applied Sciences (HSMW). Even though, HSMW continuously works on enhancing its “tool kit” there are two emphasizes: (1) Beginning students’ needs as precondition for academic success and (2) faculty members’ skills and scopes to consider beginning students’ needs. The paper aims at presenting how educational practices have to be pursued in order to promote successful academic development. It outlines how students’ needs change throughout the semesters and how such developments should be included into academic curricula. It challenges existing preconceptions and outlines practical teaching and supporting strategies of Mittweida University of Applied Sciences.

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39.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Expectations in Higher Education

According to Wang (2012) “participation in postsecondary education represents one of the most viable pathways to economic and social success” (p. 301). Attending a higher education institution seems to be a beneficial as well as logical step for high school graduates. The number of students pursuing a postsecondary degree coming from a different professional background has also steadily increased throughout the past (Wolniak & Engberg, 2010). Thus, the growing number of individuals entering higher education result in a diverse learning environment characterized by diverse student learners, different levels of knowledge and different expectations of teaching and learning (Chickering & Gamson, 1987).

Having a closer look on the inclusion of beginning students into higher education as their new habitat seems reasonable since studies have shown, that students who do not succeed in enculturating to their study environment have a higher risk of dropping out than students who successfully master the integration process (Demoulin, 2002; Tinto, 1998; Ender, Chand, & Thorton, 1996).

Studies have been looking at students’ individual needs for development within the system of higher education focusing on the “Big Five” (Busato, Prins, Elshout, & Hamaker, 1999a) or the “5Cs” (Martin, Colmar, Davey, & Marsh, 2010). All approaches are directed towards the integration of individual abilities and competences as variables for academic success.

Motivation seems to be one of the most significant talents in regard to academic success. From a student’s perspective being motivated conveys a high level of student engagement which consequently results into learning (to learn), enhancement of knowledge and expertise as well as becoming a part of the higher education system. Busato et al. (1999a) connects motivation in higher education with five personality factors: (1) extraversion, (2) agreeableness, (3) conscientiousness, (4) neuroticism and (5) openness to experience (p. 131). These factors depend on each other. Unsuccessful studying might result in neurotic feelings that add up to a sense of failure which again might result in less motivation for studying (Busato et al., 1999a).

Motivation can also be assessed from a teacher’s point of view. Fostering positive learning and studying experiences and including students into motivating as well as social learning communities should be one of the prior motivations of teachers. With personality factors being stable over time and hard to change, that task can result in a lowering teaching productivity. Another significant talent in that regard seems to be “academic buoyancy” which complements motivation by the ability to “successfully deal with setbacks and challenges that are typical of academic life” (Martin et al., 2010, p. 473). Trigwell and Prosser (2014) examined possible approaches to teaching taking research findings on motivation and learning success into consideration. Effective academic practices leading towards academic success and satisfaction need student- and teacher-focused approaches aiming at transferring information to students as well as developing students’ understanding (Trigwell & Prosser, 2014, p. 141; Evans, 2013).

Miles and Rainbird (2014) argue, that interdisciplinary higher education depends on collaboration, on developing “complementary skills or expertise to create a new understanding” (p. 3). Thinking that further, efficient higher education aiming at students’ academic success comprises of teaching methodologies and practices that exceed a discipline’s boundaries (Miles & Rainbird, 2014, p. 4). That crossing of boundaries however, depends on the openness to experience, meaning students engagement into studying not only to pass exams as well as teachers acknowledging different studying talents that might differ from ideal expectations (Busato, Prins, Elshout, & Hamaker, 1999b, p. 1065).

Research however seems to be idealistic itself considering the topic of academic success of students. It often times neglects educational realities. University teachers are bound within an academic framework of course work, teaching and research productivity as well as external pedagogic target evaluations. Organizational units manage administrative tasks assuming beginning students’ knowledge of structures. Then again, beginning students feel overwhelmed, unprepared and misunderstood. Balancing such academic necessities and individual needs is much more difficult than academically perceived. It also takes longer to foster positive learning and studying experiences that depend on personality than one or two semesters.

Other studies rather emphasize on the higher education system as a whole intending to develop principles of good practice for all parties involved: students, faculty members and administrators (Chickering & Gamson, 1987; Heikkilä, Lonka, Nieminen, & Niemivirta, 2012; Wolniak & Engberg, 2010). On the one hand, those studies reflect on general questions such as: What is learning?, What is established about an institution? or How does communication work among actors within higher education systems? The researchers seek to debate basic variables of education such diversity, cooperation, interaction or responsibility (Chickering & Gamson, 1987, p. 3; Schlossberg, Lynch, & Chickering, 1989). Providing comprehensive viewpoints create a deeper understanding of institutional and organizational needs and necessities. However, those studies often times neglect individual learning processes. Individuals—students and teachers—“hold the main responsibility for improving [...] education” (Chickering & Gamson, 1987, p. 5). Whereas studies on individual abilities and academic success mainly focus on students, analyses which emphasize on organizational complexities rather approach the teacher’s role. Often times becoming a teacher at university is a process that is based on expertise. Knowledge as the key aspect is supplemented by experience, research, funding, publication, networks etc. Becoming a professional in higher education is challenging. Teaching skills or the ability to reflect about one’s role as a teacher however, are often times considered as “nice to have” but they are no requirement. A typical career in German higher education can be described as following: (1) First teaching experiences as a student tutor having been appointed based on exam results and academic performance. The ability to actually teach is not a part of the recruitment process.

(2) Working as a research assistant—being evaluated based on publications, third-party funding and fast professional development, e.g., pursuing a Ph.D. Degree. Teaching is an obligation but does not have any reputation nor does it

support building such. (3) Having patience and being at the right place at the right time. To conclude: Starting a professional career in higher education depends on knowledge, timing and a little bit of luck. Teaching just seems to be an insignificant part in the world of higher education.

Recently there have been attempts to create a shift from higher education towards the significance of higher educational teaching. Loughran (2002) emphasizes on “a better understanding of teaching, and teaching about teaching” (p. 33). Being able to define a teacher’s role, a teacher’s way to act as well as the ability of making teaching methods and goals explicit should be indispensable skills of an educator. As mentioned above, this skill develops through experiences and depends on individual variables. Yet, the interrelation between experience and reflection also needs to be taken into consideration (Loughran, 2002, p. 35). Teachers’ professional knowledge in that regard is not just simply about knowing the subject but also on articulating knowledge, on creating learning environments through experiences and reflection (Carter & Doyle, 1987).

Studies focusing on the higher education system as a whole can elaborate on the influence if academic institutions on academic achievements by measuring concrete support from administrators and faculty leaders, by measuring the adequacy of funding or the discussion of policies and procedures (Chickering & Gamson, 1987). They do not provide explanations on questions like why organizational and didactic improvements do not necessarily enhance student’s learning performances (Brahm & Gebhardt, 2011, p. 16; Jackson & Lawty-Jones, 1996).

Higher education research on the one hand emphasizes on external influences and frameworks, it studies learning motivation and personality as well as diverse talents and ways of teaching on the other. Taking those to key approaches into consideration, Mittweida University of Applied Sciences started different empirical analysis surveys at the Media Faculty. Being the largest faculty with the most diverse group of students it represented an interesting research habitat.

Research goals included the following scientific objectives:

- Identification of students’ learning expectations and needs.
- Identification of teachers’ expectations and needs.
- Identification of learning and teaching preferences.

The reorganization of media study programs was to be based on the above mentioned research findings. The growing number of media students as well as the increasing diversity of educational backgrounds made an adjustment of learning structures and teaching contents necessary. The following aspects were considered as pre-conditions and served as guideline for all surveys:

- (1) The transition from any educational background to higher education shall be made as smooth as possible. First semester experiences in that regard are considered as most significant for further academic success,

- (2) Students' personalities, expectations as well as experiences are considered as meaningful, thus chance for university didactic. Teachers ought to be sensitive in that regard.
- (3) Diverse study groups with diverse learning and teaching knowledge require flexible curricular, e.g., learning environments, teaching methods or exam options.
- (4) Flexible learning and teaching designs require transparency of expectations and their assessment.
- (5) Flexible learning and teaching designs require guidance and time.

39.2 Empirical Evidence on Expectations in Higher Education

Over a period of four semesters 428 students were interviewed and completed questionnaires. Feedback sessions and reviews were undertaken in different media classes. The focus was on first and third semester students of media management, media an acoustical engineering as well as media informatics. Furthermore, graduate candidates of such study programs evaluated their experiences and satisfaction. The questions aimed at self-reviewing of learning-techniques, teaching preferences, motivation as well as assessment of student-teacher-communication and guidance. In addition to question students, teachers' expectations as well as teaching structures were included in the evaluation process.

Research at Mittweida University has shown that beginning students aim for academic guidance whereas advanced students prefer counselling. The preference of guidance is also reflected in the differences in the favoring of teaching approaches. Beginning students prefer teacher-centered approaches; advanced students do eventually favor application-oriented teaching methods. There also were significant differences among beginning students and study programs.

Students with technical specializations generally prefer lectures. Among the questioned beginning students of study programs such as Media and Acoustical Engineering 42 % preferred lectures. At the end of the first semester, this number even rose to 56 % (Figs. 39.1 and 39.2).

Media Management students, on the contrary, prefer more two-way approaches such as tutorials or discussions rather than teacher-centered approaches like lectures. 42 % of beginning students marked their preference as very high; at the end of the first semester that number increased to 56 % (Figs. 39.3 and 39.4).

Interestingly, the preferences remain about the same throughout the semesters and among the study profiles. However, numbers also showed that the openness towards unknown teaching and learning methods increases throughout the courses of study (Fig. 39.5). Empirical evidence has shown that study and subject choices reflect openness for teaching methods—whereas interviewed students with creative specializations, e.g., media creation or creative content design are open towards new didactic approaches, students with natural scientific specializations are more reluctant. This level of skepticism decreased from first to third semester students but remained high in classes with an overall evaluation below average.

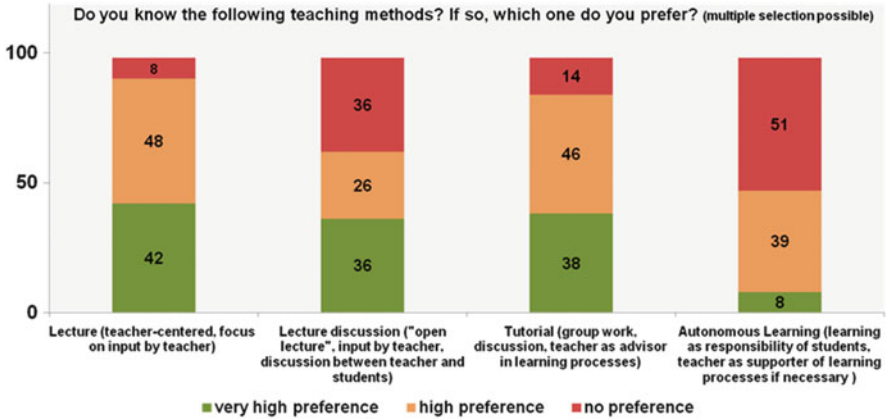


Fig. 39.1 Preference of teaching methods—Media and Acoustical Engineering/Media Engineers, first semester students (first week of semester, in per cent)

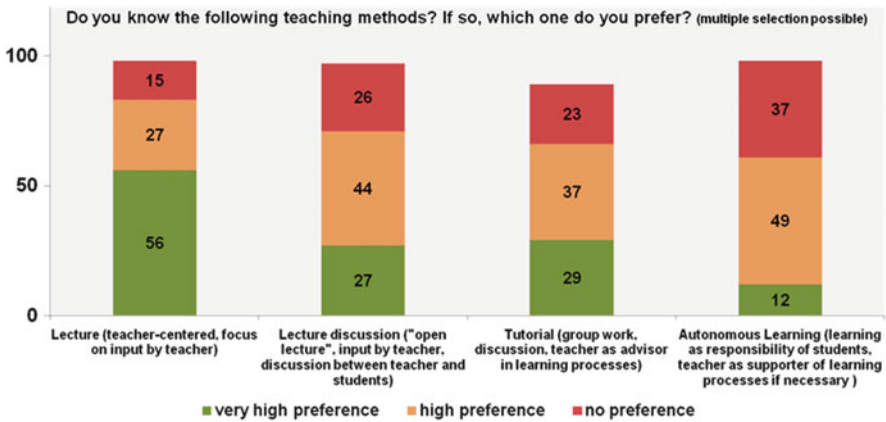


Fig. 39.2 Preference of teaching methods—Media and Acoustical Engineering/Media Engineers, first semester students (end of semester, in per cent)

The evaluation showed a lack of communication and nontransparent expectations as reasons for negative assessments of teaching methods by students. Interestingly, study environment such as room sizes, technical equipment or study group size was neither considered of significant relevance by students nor by teachers.

Research at HSMW showed that teachers' expectations are relatively easy to phrase—they wish for motivated and present audiences, they wish for educated learners willing to enhance knowledge. A second look into the empirical findings showed a more diverse picture. Especially media faculty members tried to incorporate different learning backgrounds as well as levels of preparedness into curricula. However, the lack of time was mentioned repeatedly as obstacle for student-centered teaching. The awareness for students with special needs—e.g., physically

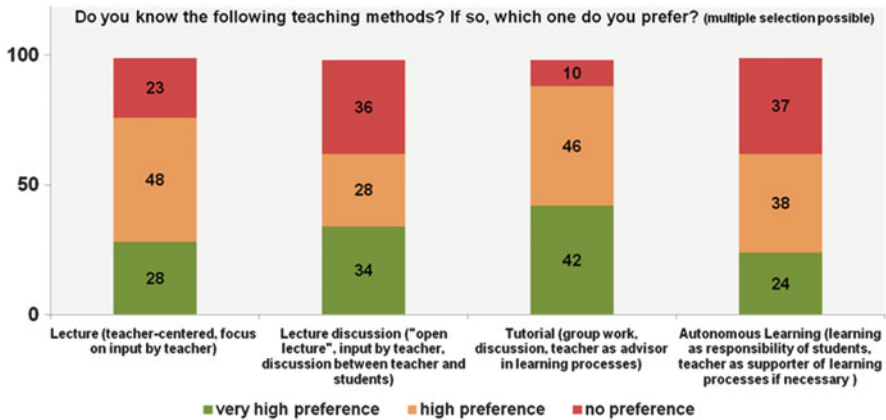


Fig. 39.3 Preference of teaching methods—Media Management/Applied Media, first semester students (first week of semester, in per cent)

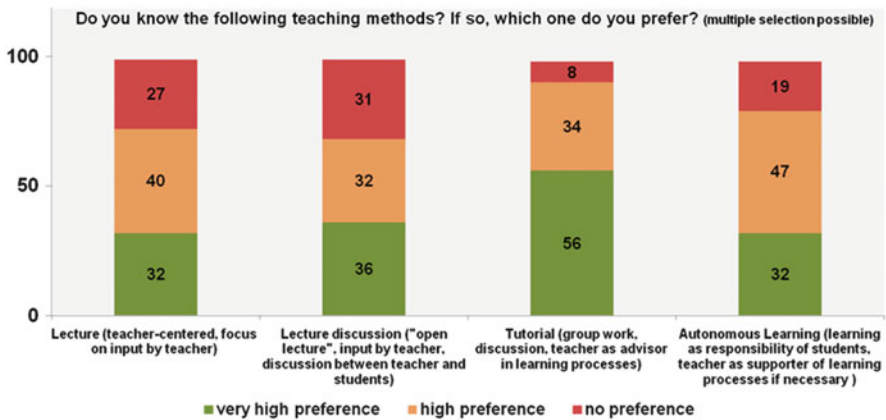


Fig. 39.4 Preference of teaching methods—Media Management/Applied Media, first semester students (end of semester, in per cent)

or mentally handicapped students, student parents, student top athletes, part-time students—was also high among interviewed media teachers. Yet, finding the right way of inclusion of such needs was considered a challenge among the interviewed teachers.

The survey results illustrated a gap between students and teachers capabilities. Whereas as the expectations of both concentrated on “necessity-oriented” teaching and learning, assessment of capabilities differed remarkably. Questioned teachers are willing to try new methods of teaching and to create new learning environments, but feel constrained by time. Students on the other hand expect teachers to be lecturers, moderators and advisors of learning processes. That implies time consuming preparation and the openness of students to engage in unfamiliar learning and teaching settings. Empirical findings outlined that students’ overall evaluation

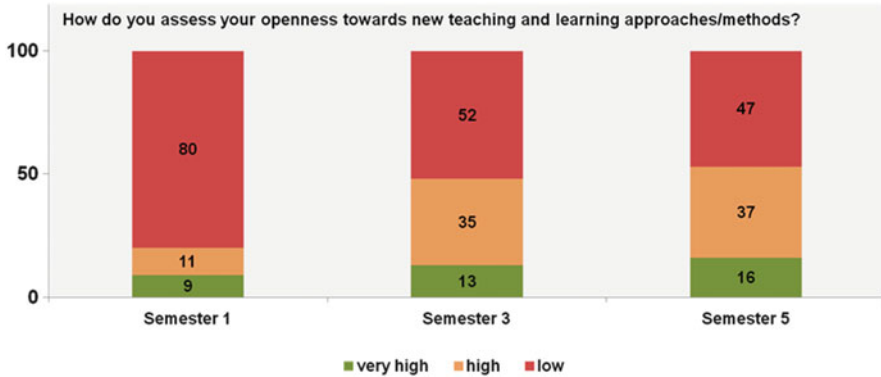


Fig. 39.5 Openness towards unknown teaching and learning approaches/methods (in per cent)

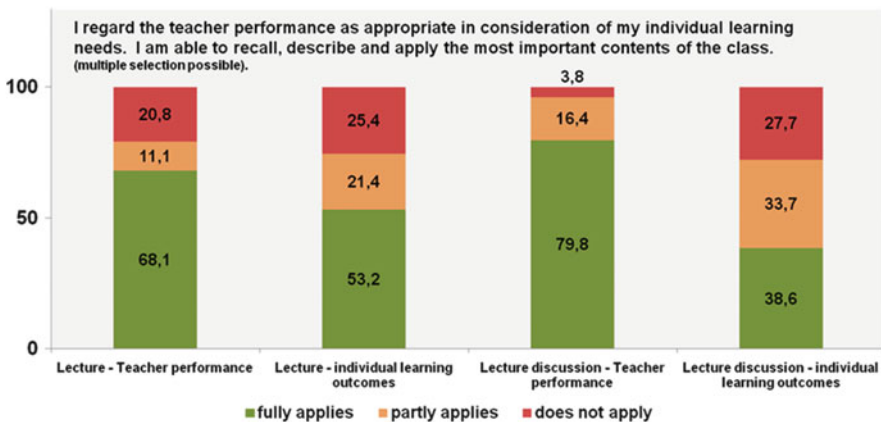


Fig. 39.6 Assessment of teacher performance and individual learning outcomes, Media Engineering third semester (in per cent)

of classes is more positive when learning contents and expectations are assessed as transparent by more than 50 % of the students. The teaching formats and methods are of less significance when teacher-student communication is considered as structured and clear. Teaching methods are assessed as positive when the teacher performance is evaluated positively as well. Figure 39.6 illustrates that research finding exemplary.

39.3 Practical Necessities and Curricula Design in Higher Education

The undertaken research showed the challenges regarding teaching and learning needs that are influenced by preparedness but also individual learning preferences. Mittweida University designed a new study programme which not only focuses on

the needs of beginning students but also takes the changes of expectations and capabilities throughout the course of study into account.

ELAT—Education, Learning, Appliance and Transfer in Media Studies—includes the capabilities and needs of students as well as their levels of expectations into the curricular design. Teachers are given the scope and time for planning and applying teaching methods. ELAT organizes study phases subsequently, creating a workflow that supports students' individual learning needs. Within semester 1, 3 and 5, 1 week-lecturing periods introduce students to the expectations and requirements of the upcoming semesters.

Whereas the first phase comprises of techniques (Learn how to learn) and instructions to higher education structures (Education), the third semester students are introduced to methods of applied-oriented learning (Appliance of science). The fifth semester students are prepared to transfer their theoretical and methodical expertise into praxis (Transfer of science).

Variables such as knowledge and abilities of students, motivation and emotions are taken into consideration and are incorporated within teaching and learning methods. Constructive alignment proofed to be an effective instrument for designing classes, exams and method choices. The heterogeneity within learning groups has to be considered when planning teaching methods. Effective educational practices for beginning students have been proven to be “slow-learning initial sessions” that lay theoretical ground for the quality of later sessions. The timely expansion of course work matches the need for learning flexibility of students and has been of benefit for teachers as well since they are able to adjust class contents to students' needs and levels of knowledge continuously. Teachers have been part of creating and revising curricula, gradually adapting and implementing effective learning environments for beginning and advanced students of media subjects (Fig. 39.7).

It is most important to emphasize on the benefits of the inclusion of different expectations and capabilities. Developing learning and studying abilities of students is crucial for student's academic success. The habitat of higher education needs to be explored and tested; students need to learn how to learn and how to behave within that setting. Subsequently, they will be able to develop individual learning techniques that are to be supported by suitable teaching methods. At the end of their studies they will be able to transfer their knowledge into practice but also confident and aware of their expertise. That is why ELAT does focus on teaching and counseling—the comprehensiveness of knowledge and personality development can be considered as key for academic success. Students are considered as pupils during the first period of their studies but given more responsibilities later on. They support teachers by engaging in peer learning and instructing fellow students; enhancing their soft skills and expertise.

ELAT also focuses on the teachers' needs and capabilities that influence academic success. Learning with and from each other is a concept that proofed successful within ELAT. A comprehensive approach seems to be applicable for creating “a perfect world of higher education”. Comprehensiveness in higher education,

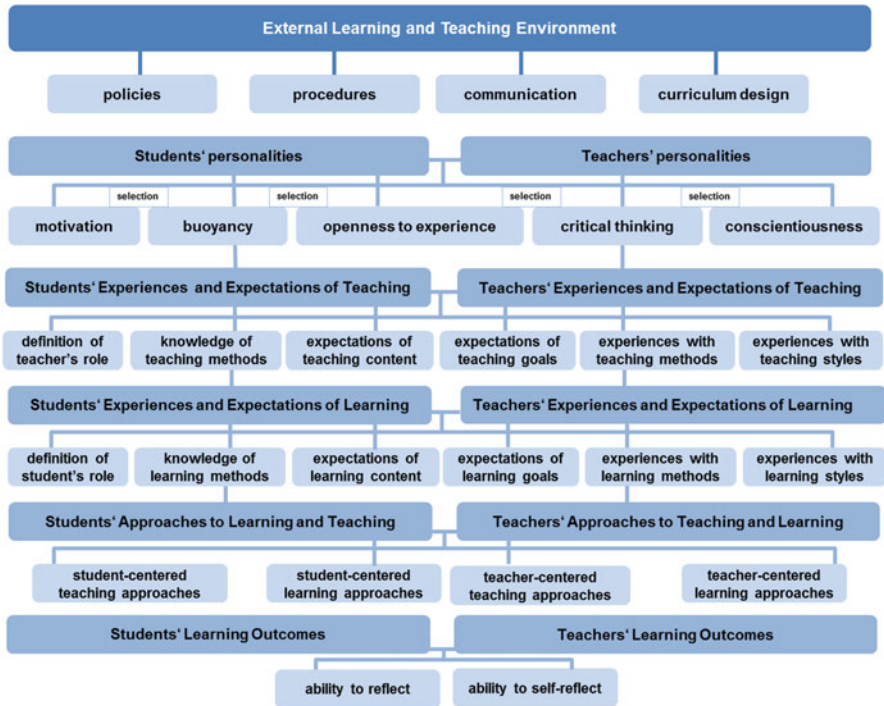


Fig. 39.7 Components of ELAT

however, is a puzzle—putting all the single pieces together takes times, needs effort and includes knowledge.

Imagine a perfect world of higher education. What would you expect? Personal campuses, carefree and motivated students, easy-going and motivated faculty members, an atmosphere of competence, commitment and action...high expectations that can barely keep up with higher education realities. Making the reality “work” therefore is one step towards that perfect world of higher education. Projects like ELAT are no guarantee for the beneficial inclusion of beginning students into higher education and academic success of students in general—they only mark one step of educational efficiency, only one instrument of the didactic tool kit.

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Problems of Forming Tolerance in the Educational Environment of Tajikistan

40

Diloro M. Iskandarova

40.1 Introduction

It is noticeable that the second half of the twentieth century was marked for the world as the period of social movement against racism, racial, religious and ethnic discrimination; for civil, economic, cultural and social rights. However, the beginning of the twenty-first century has shown an increasing risk of collisions and conflicts caused by social and ethnic intolerance.

Modern world can be characterized by various forms of ethnic conflict: ethno-territorial conflicts and clashes caused by religious and ethnic hatred, acts of violence by neo-Nazi and extremist organizations, occurrences of racism towards ethnic migrants, etc. Formation of tolerance can serve as a mechanism for resolving ethnic conflicts, caused, in particular, by ethnic and social stereotypes.

We are well aware that the construction of tolerant relations is impossible without the knowledge of the peculiarities of behavior, traditions, and habits of different ethnic groups. Sometimes, misunderstanding and rejection happen not only among members of different ethnic groups, but also between different regions within the country (Hamutovskaya, 2012). Breaking social stereotypes, dissociation of regions, radical Islamism, false “democratization”, intolerance, among other political and social factors have led to the fact that Tajikistan experienced civil war in 1992–1997.

In this regard, we considered it necessary that Tajikistan required research of the national linguistic picture, the associative field and morale, cultural and social values in which the origins of intolerance in society are rooted. Existence of ethnic

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stereotypes may lead to internal ethnic conflicts (Abolin, 2009; Belozeroва, 2011; Gorodetskaya, 2002; Isayeva, 2010).

The main purpose of this research is to explore the associative field of tolerance, which could contribute to the formation and development of ethnic tolerance in our society.

It means that we have to solve the following tasks:

- Monitoring of ethnic tolerance in the educational environment in the conditions of cultural interactions;
- Implementation of the survey and the association experiment in order to describe ethno-psychological portraits of the people in Tajikistan;
- Analysis of the data in order to develop recommendations and specific action plan to conduct trainings and seminars in the educational environment on ethnic stereotypes and tolerance.

40.2 Methods

Tolerance is an important concept in the field of communication. This concept interested scientists and experts for a long period. The studies of tolerance (intolerance) were carried out in the framework of a large number of scientific disciplines, such as linguistics, psychology, social science, philosophy, etc. Within each research area congruent classification, methods and approaches were used (Malkova, 2002; Nerovnaya, 2013; Petuhova, 2012; Rashkovskiy, 2003; Shamsutsinova, 2006; Tihonova, 2011; Zherebilo, 2011; Zhmyrova, 2006).

We conduct researches of the national linguistic picture where, we consider, the origins of intolerance in our society have their roots, and which create the ethnic stereotypes leading to inter-ethnic conflicts in Tajikistan. We need to emphasize that the need for such studies primarily determined by the need to predict the real problems of inter-ethnic communication among youth, and to build a policy of tolerant relations between people of different ethnic groups (Iskandarova, 2015).

Since there were no such studies in Tajikistan, we are the first ones to provide a large-scale study of tolerance in our country. Monitoring and analyses of the associative field of tolerance among young people was our first task and an associative experiment is a part of this work. The study of an associative field of tolerance will allow us to reveal a number of problems prevailing in the linguistic consciousness of young people.

Associative field was formed by the responses of native speakers' reactions to the word stimulus (Cherkasova, 2004; Frumkina, 2001).

There have been 324 respondents total (171 in Sogd and 153 in Khatlon, after selection 300 left equally in both regions).

Sogd	Khatlon
Location: Khujand, the administrative center of Sogd region, Khujand State University Respondents: 150 Nationality: Tajiks—115, Uzbeks—33, Tatars—2 Gender: M—62, F—88 Age: from 18 to 21	Location: Khatlon: Kulyab State University and Kurgan-Tube State University Respondents: 150 Nationality: Tajiks—109; Uzbeks—36; Turkmen—1; no identification—4 Gender: M—96; F—50; no identification—4 Age: from 19 to 21

Respondents had the stimulus-words—Tajik, Russian, and Uzbek. Tajiks are the indigenous nation in the republic, Uzbeks live in neighboring Uzbekistan, and moreover their number totals for more than a quarter of the population in Tajikistan, Russians are also a part of our society and we had a lot in common, especially in the Soviet era and communication is strong enough so far.

Words stimulus were given in two forms: the ethnonym and the corresponding adjective for further reactions. The reactions to incentives are shown from highest to lower.

40.3 Results and Discussion

40.3.1 Results of Associative Experiment

40.3.1.1 Sogd

Tajik

Hard-working 12, hospitable 10, beautiful 10, kind 9, Dushanbe 6, Mountains 6, a reasonable 4, we 4, a patriot 3, black eyes 3, dark 3, (pilaf 3, shakarob 2, mantu 2, sambusa 2),¹ the birthplace 2, black hair 2, beautiful figure 2, a good 2, lazy 2, word 2, language 2, bright sun 2, a Muslim 2, Tajikistan, Temurmalik,² history, nationality, nation, culture, Aryan man, the official language, black eyebrows, beard, medium height, beautiful eyes and eyebrows, small, skullcap, clothing, satin dress, cute (good) people, generous, loyal, honest, powerful, modest, black, white, mountain, the wise, benevolent, cultural, communicative, gentle, not very clever, Uzbek, worker, bravo, movies, songs, a lot of flowers, flourishing city, working with confidence, does not miss his/her chance.

Tajik (adj)

Osh (pilaf) 10, Tajik 8, mountains 4, water 4, traditions 4, friendliness 3, people 3, the national dress (which is different from all) 3, nature 2 (beautiful), University 2, 2 meal (delicious), fruits 2, family 2, hospitality 2, guys 2, skullcap 2, kurutob

¹These words belong to the Tajik national cuisine.

²Temurmalik is a name of one of the Tajik national hero, as well as name of a district in Sogd region.

2, sambusa, shakarob, kitchen, paradise, place, lake, river, home, Dushanbe, Khujand, Pamir, caftan, scarf, long hair, black eyes, eyebrows, history, people, flag, culture, song, poet, film, movie, holiday, Nowruz, an employee, a mosque, a gymnasium, Russian, sweet, gold, ruby, a Hisarian man.

Interpreting the results of this part of the survey can say that the majority of respondents in Sogd region associate Tajik with a home places—30 (place names (11) mountains, nature, places, etc.); with various dishes of Tajik cuisine—29, appearance—17, national dress—10, different personality traits, such as a hard-working—12, charming 10, good 9, reasonable 4, sweet, kind people, generous, loyal, honest, mighty, modest, wise men, benevolent, cultural, communicative, gentle. In addition to the positive characteristics such features as *lazy* and *not very smart* were also added.

40.3.1.2 Khatlon

Tajik

Friendly 35, hard-working 28, a Muslim 22, Culture 7, Emomali Rakhmon 5, rich history and people 4, my nation 4, nation 4, patriot 4, tojdor³ 4, good 4, a nation with a rich culture 3, merciful 3, sociable 3, friendly 2, humane 2, the border 2, Tojik 2, trust in God only 2, sun 2, black eyes 2, brown eyes, Nigina Amonkulova⁴ 2, (S. Aini 2; Somoni, Rudaki),⁵ free Tajikistan, Dushanbe, friendly nation, a worthy nation, mountains, home, beloved homeland, the guy, people, ancient people, noble, history, university, tradition, proud, brave, intelligent, kind, native language, our place, a resident of the city, like them, the fate of a free nation, a beautiful country, the Tajik clothes, mineral reserves, Tajik respects his uncle, not his father;

Tajik (adj)

Language 9, clothes 8, Tajik food: (shakarob 4, pilaf 3, food 3, kurutob 2), clothing (chakan⁴, joma, dresses), hospitality 3, cinema 3, movie 3, girl 2, people 2, good nation 2, national idea², beautiful 2, brave 2, cotton 2, customs 2, excellent, culture, nobleman, a beautiful girl, gold, dance, freedom, Nowruz, dish, tradition, history, pride, culture, very good, Falak,⁶ Parda Qosim,⁷ Aryan, humane, beauty, man, honorable people, a movie “Dar Orzui Padar”, Farsi and Russian.

Some different results were obtained in the Khatlon region. Tajik in this region is mostly associated with hospitality-38, diligence-28, faith: (Muslims) 22. Young people in Khatlon are distinguished by their patriotism and immense love for their

³Sometimes Tajik is linked to tojdor ‘crowned’.

⁴A famous Tajik singer.

⁵Famous Tajik personalities.

⁶Falak is folk style of singing.

⁷A Tajik singer.

country—30, love their national dress-15, food-13, are proud of their famous people—12 and language-9.

40.3.1.3 Sogd

Russian

Red (red-haired) 23, blue eyes 17, character 9, honest 7, language 6, white 4, Russia 4, Moscow 4, intelligent 4 wise 3, kind 3, people 2, songs 2, singers 2, good 2, cultural 2, healthy 2, bright 2, Red Square 2, the Kremlin, blonde, green eyes, blond, tall, a lover of pleasures, cunning, friendly, hard-working, simple, intelligent, brave, coffee, tradition, temple, culture, (matryoshka, kokoshnik, balalaika),⁸ shape, city, hair, a writer, a beautiful area, Putin, Nyusha,⁹ little, knows his rights, alkash,¹⁰ nobody.

Russian (adj)

Character 10, cuisine 5, song 4, music 3, language 3, guy 3, ballet 2, literature 2, tales 2, mind 2, a man 2, people 2, singers 2, pancakes 2, coffee 2, chocolate 2, St. Petersburg 2, Moscow, the Kremlin, star, writer, singer, scientist, ordinary people, blonde, grandmother, cousin, dish, Putin, Nikolai Baskov,¹¹ intelligence, knowledge, talent, nation, tradition, words, stories, items, book, hat, telephone, building, sauna, a beautiful city, movie, eyes, Tajik, Chinese, kind, sincere.

We noted very positive perception of Russians among this group of respondents. It was only one negative reaction—alkash ‘drunkard’.

Most respondents noted appearance—47 (hair, skin and eyes (red-haired, blue-eyed, white)), different people—21 (persons: Putin, singers Baskov and Nyusha, Russian people of certain professions). Many respondents noted the nature of Russian—19, Russian place names—15 (Russia, Moscow, St. Petersburg, etc.). Some responses were also connected with Russian culture—(literature, music, songs, ballet) or realia (balalaika, matryoshka, kokoshnik). Quality features—honest, intelligent, good, kind, wise, cunning, friendly, hard-working, simple, tall, intelligent, brave, sincere, knows his rights.

40.3.1.4 Khatlon

Russian

People 11 (a generous people, friendly people, very good, humane people), honest 7, truthful 7, Nation 15 (good nation 2, a united nation 2, friend of our nation, a friendly nation, strong nation, an ideal nation), Red Square 5, language 4 (modern language, our second language), Pushkin 4, green-eyed 4, clean 4, V.I. Lenin 4, the

⁸Russian cultural realia.

⁹A Russian singer.

¹⁰Alkash—drunkard.

¹¹A Russian famous singer.

Kremlin 3, L.N. Tolstoy 3, Gorky 3, ideal 3, good 3, patriots 2, workaholic 2, clever 2, cultural 2, competent 2, neat 2, educated 2, humane 2, beautiful 2, bright 2, respect 2, honorable man 2, modern (too modern) 2, person 2, Putin 2, movie 2, Russian literature 2, loves nature 2; Russia, state, fair, educated, rich, famous, thoughtful, just, authoritative, big, lively, welcoming, strong, civilized, reasonable, friendship, friend, progress, hero, soldier, (Alla Pugacheva, Natasha Koroleva, Yuri Shatunov);¹² Russian loved ones we believe also believe in God, also a believer, they pray Jesus Christ; cultural country, can be trusted, Russian spring, a man born in Russia, I like the Russian language, but do not like the Russian people; drunkard.

Russian (adj)

Language 21, film 5, girl 3, words 2, people 2, cute 2, clothing 2, Ruble 2, low ruble, money, pants, skirt, it, shopping, technology, character, topic, series, kitchen, Christian, car, bride, tree, waltz, city, soup, cakes, nature, forest, museums, bala-laika, festivities, the Kremlin, Putin, Alla Pugacheva, song, friends, Tajik, birch, humane, actress; hrus.¹³

Even more positive perception of Russian poll showed students in Khatlon. There was a minimum of adverse reactions such as a drunkard (1) and I like the Russian language, but do not like the Russian people (1).

In contrast to the students of the northern region, who mostly marked characteristics of the Russians' image (external), Khatlon students showed a friendly attitude and respect for the Russian people—28, noting: people 4 and their specifications (generous people, friendly people, very good, humane people), the nation characteristics 15 (friendly nation 4, good nation 3, strong nation 2, an ideal nation), and the language 27 (modern language, our second language) demonstrated knowledge of Russian history, literature, called symbolic names and places (total 26): Red Square, 5, Pushkin 4, Lenin 4, Kremlin 4, Lev Tolstoy 3, Gorky 3, Putin 3, Russian modern singers 4: Alla Pugacheva 2, Natasha Koroleva, Yuri Shatunov; given the extremely positive characteristics Russian—55: honest, truthful, ideal, good patriots, fair, educated, rich, famous, caring, just, authoritative, lively, welcoming, strong, humane, civilized, reasonable. In addition, some respondents noted that they consider Russians their close friends, Russian loves nature, believes in God, they can be trusted and Russia is a cultural country. Only 13 responses were on the appearance, food and clothing.

40.3.1.5 Sogd

Uzbek

Beautiful people 5, good 5, hospitable 4, worker (hardworking 4), Tashkent 4, Bukhara 4, Samarkand 4, Uzbekistan 3, strange people 3, the neighbor 3, songs 3, talker 3, people 3, rice 5, unreasonable 3, good 2, language 2, nationality 2, me

¹²Russian singers.

¹³Hrus is a word-echo to Urus (Rus)—Tajik name of Russians.

2, country 2, Movie 2, Sneaky 2, sincere sociable sweet, happy, humble humanity, a lover, Lagman, dish, brother Tajik, Tajik, black eyebrows, black eyes, a mustache, bearded, dark-skinned, medium height, bald, our friend, the books, the abuser, misanthrope, the enemy, the enemy of the Tajiks, ugly, treacherous hypocrite, uncultured, not to become a man, talks a lot, taciturn, custom, series, music, videos, movies, filmmakers, tradition and rituals, customs, border, skullcap, chuzbek.¹⁴

Uzbek (adj)

Pilaf 14, movie 7, film 5, tongue 5, actors 3, cars 3, music 2, eyes 2, charming 2, clothing 2, songs 2, dance, artist, culture, family, farmer, Samarkand, student, planes, Tashkent, fool, lagman, watermelon, dish, tradition, outfit, satin, earring, nation, gas, happiness, Kyrgyz, educated people, too modern, forty Uzbek braids.

The reaction to the word stimulus Uzbeks were in the first words related to the culture—24 (music, songs, movies, etc.), in addition, pilaf-16 and other national dishes, external data—15, place-names—15. There were also marked by the quality of man as a positive—hospitable, hardworking, outgoing, gentle, sincere, happy and negative—17: misanthrope, the enemy, the treacherous hypocrite, sneaky, uncultured.

It proved ambiguous attitude towards the Uzbeks, who are not only the residents of the neighboring countries, but also live side by side with the Tajiks for centuries. Nevertheless, the policy of exclusion of the Government of Uzbekistan in the years of Independence, is clearly influenced by a change in relations between the countries and peoples for the worse. Since 1992, there is no flight connection between our countries, put a severe visa regime (the word-response *border*), stopped deliveries of Uzbek gas (word *gas*), attempts to isolate Tajikistan (geographically), etc. influenced the mentality of the people in Tajikistan. The result is particularly surprising were the results of the survey in Sogd region, whose inhabitants are traditionally very kind to the brother people.

40.3.1.6 Khatlon

Uzbek

Nation 20 (nationality, poor nation 2, the nation that provides its country), Islom Karimov¹⁵ 6, Muslim 5, hospitable 5, good 4, people 3, hard-working people 3, friendly people, humane 3, workaholic 3, enemies 3, bad 3, Sevinch Muminova¹⁶ 3, Samarkand 2, the border of Tajikistan 2, neighbors 2, good-natured neighbors that border us 2, merciful 2, probably good 2, movie 2, nomads 2, Laqai¹⁷ 2, I don't like them 2, man, language, customs, traditions, clothing, strange, proud, friendly,

¹⁴Is also a word-echo to Uzbek.

¹⁵President of Uzbekistan.

¹⁶An Uzbek singer.

¹⁷A name of the Turkic tribe.

chubby, Tamerlan, Aziz Rajabov, the friendship between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, it is the person who respects people older than themselves; not a good relationship, I do not know, hate, do not love, why do not we like it, not so good, yakshimsys,¹⁸ kol masang (from the Uzbek song meaning ‘if you do not leave me’), the most shameless nation, despicable nation.

Uzbek (adj)

Language 7, cinema 3, movie 3, people 3, music 3, satin 3, pilaf 2 nation 2, enemies 2, Bukhara, Sevinch, actor, books, literature, culture, art, film “Superkelinchak”, grain, kulcha, food, fruit, money, Muslims, respect, women, car, clothes, scarf, community name, Surkh, Kazakh; bad, having nothing.

In Khatlon region reaction to the word Uzbek was even more controversial. Most respondents said reaction nation or people—36, with both positive (hard-working, friendly) and negative traits (bad). The expected response was that mentioned neighborhood, friendly relations and common border (9). Quite often referred to as the specific person—the president of Islam Karimov—6, singer Sevinhc-4, Tamerlan and some Aziz Rajabov, Samarkand 2 and Bukhara, the language—8, Muslims—6. Uzbek movies are quite popular—9, marked also books, literature, culture, art. Positive qualities—28: charming, nice, humane, merciful, good, proud, friendly, a man who respects people older than themselves.

It was also quite a lot of negative responses—19: bad—6, enemies—3, is not a good relationship-1, I hate-1, dislike-1, for some reason they do not like us-1, not so good-1 etc.

40.3.2 A Comparative Analysis of the Data by Region

Tables 40.1, 40.2 and 40.3.

The most often reactions demonstrate prevailing values among youth in both regions.

Based on collected data on reactions one can identify prevailing values in language cultures of young people in other regions and particularly model their ethno psycholinguistic portraits.

In accordance with given data we can state that young people in Sogd are very positive about sharing their mind when questioned, they put much attention to a man appearance, noting details of his/her basic look, enjoy and value delicious food, have quite good cultural and arts awareness, feel very linked to father’s home, reckon that the character of a man is important and prefer to dress well.

Even more positive when describing various nations turned to be the students of Khatlon region (see position 1, Table 40.4). They placed Arts and Culture onto second position and demonstrated good knowledge of well-known personalities, repeatedly noted the importance of people and nations; they turned not to love

¹⁸Yakhshi mi siz (uzb.)—How are you?

Table 40.1 Reactions to the word-stimulus Tajik in comparison

Sogd	Khatlon
1. The positive qualities-46	1. The positive character traits-96
2. House-30	2. Patriotism and national pride-30
3. National dishes-29	3. Vera-24
4. External data-27	4. Culture, Arts—19
5. Clothing-10	5. The national dress-15
6. Culture, art—5	6. The national dishes-13
	7. Famous personalities—12
	8. Language-9
Negative reaction—2	Negative—0

Table 40.2 Reactions to the word-stimulus Russian in comparison

Sogd	Khatlon
1. The external data—50	1. The positive qualities-55
2. The positive qualities of—29	2. The language-28
3 People 21	3 People, people-26
4. Culture, Arts 21	4. The well-known personalities—21
5. 19-character	5. Culture, Arts—13
6. Place names-15	6. Place names 10
7. Food-13	7. External data, and food—a total of 11
Negative reaction—1	Negative reaction—2

Table 40.3 Reactions to the word-stimulus Uzbek in comparison

Sogd	Khatlon
1. Culture, art—29	1. The people/nation-36
2. The positive qualities-25	2. The positive qualities-28
3. Pilaf-19	3. Culture, Arts 21
4. The place-names-16	4. The person—12
5. The external data 15	5. Language—8
	6. Border neighboring countries-7
	7. Muslims—6
Negative reaction—11	Negative reaction—19

national food as much as northern young people. Though patriotism and national pride feeling were easy seen in their answers. Their faith also must be noted.

Thus the analysis of the survey added a number of interesting points to an ethno psycholinguistic portrait of a man in North and South of Tajikistan. It will significantly help for further studies analysis.

40.3.3 Conclusion

Comparative analysis of the material indicates a greater openness of youth in Khatlon region, which actively responded to almost all word-stimuli. As for the

Table 40.4 Difference in linguistic picture of the world (most common type reactions)

Sogd (North)	Khatlon (South)
1. The positive qualities 100	1. The positive character traits-179
2. The external data 92	2. Culture, Arts—53
3. National dishes-64	3. The well-known personalities—45
4. Culture, art-55	4. Language-45
5. The place-names-31	5 People/nation-36
6. House-30	6. The national dishes-32
7 People 21	7. Patriotism and national pride-30
8. Character—19	8. Faith-30
9. Clothes 10	9. People, people-26
	10. The place-names-16
	11. The national dress-15
Negative reaction—14	Negative—21

students from the Sogd region—there were many failures among the profiles, answers often quite cautious, despite the complete anonymity of the survey.

The survey showed that university students fairly tolerant people with very little negative judgments. At the same time, we must remember that stereotypes tend to develop quickly enough in a particular environment.

Analyzing the data, we concluded that respondents revealed a fairly calm, balanced, non-aggressive reaction, which clearly demonstrate their relative absence of conflict and adequate tolerance.

Analysis of responses to ethnonyms indicates certain problems in relations between the Tajiks and Uzbeks, but the general attitude of all respondents (both Tajiks and Uzbeks) to the Russian was good enough and respectful.

Further analysis of another set of word-stimuli will enable to complement this framework with rather complete data, and a comparative analysis on a regional basis will show similarities and differences in the associative field of youth from different regions of the country.

In our opinion, such research help to more fully disclose the phenomenon of tolerance, to show how the young generation feels, perceives, understands this concept.

Carrying out the survey and the association experiment on the main aspects of tolerance in the youth environment allows to identify problem areas and develop a basis for a package of measures (training, workshops, interactive activities) to build a tolerant linguistic person.

Development of methodology and organization of measurements to promote ethnic tolerance in the educational environment under interaction of cultures will increase the number of students with a positive ethnic identity, improve their tolerance and also to reduce the number of students hostile to intercultural interaction. As a result, the students participating in the programs of formation and development of ethnic tolerance, will not only receive intercultural experience and knowledge of ethno-psychological features of different ethnic groups' representatives, but also learn how to consciously use them to solve problems that might arise.

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