



THINK TALK CULTIVATE PEACE

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5th International Conference in Communication and Media Studies (CRCP 2018)

CALL FOR PAPER

“Think Peace, Talk Peace, Cultivate Peace”

In a world characterized by the growing instability and division between individuals and between groups in a society, the interest towards peace building is globally increasing. Deep social changes and challenges especially generated by technological innovations not only trigger us to think more creatively about the volatile future, also shows us that promoting and building peace in all fields of life is fundamental. We strongly believe that making the connection between peace-building and communication helps citizens all over the world to enhance their level of understanding, tolerance, and empathy to each other. It is, therefore, necessary to gain a better grasp of the theories and practices on building peace and communicating peace, to analyze the role of communication and conventional (as well as social) media in peace building, and to map the emerging problems and challenges for communication, media and peace journalism research.

Dates of the Conference: November 8th-9th, 2018

Keynote Speakers: Nico Carpentier & Stuart Allan

Conference Web Site: <http://crcp.emu.edu.tr/>

Organizer: Center of Research and Communication for Peace

Faculty of Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University

Famagusta, North Cyprus

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The Center of Research and Communication for Peace in the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies at Eastern Mediterranean University invites submissions addressing the general theme of *“Think Peace, Talk Peace, Cultivate Peace”*. CRCP 2018 Conference will be held between 26th and 27th of April, 2018 in Famagusta, Northern Cyprus. The conference aims at bringing together scholars, early stage researchers, and graduate students to present their research and exchange ideas in a range of topics including, but not limited to:

- Peace Journalism
- Terrorism and the Media
- PR and Politics
- Visual Rhetoric
- Peace Politics
- Coverage of Refugee and Minorities
- Media Literacy
- Civil Disobedience
- Social Media
- Human Rights
- Visual Communication Design
- Peace Education
- Peace Media
- Participation Democracy
- Community Media for Peace Building
- Social Movements and Activism
- Pop Democracy and Entertaining the Citizen
- LGBT Rights
- Gender Identity
- Cyber Democracy and Internet
- Political Violence and the Media

Papers will be accepted in English and Turkish. There will be separate sessions for each language. The opening and closing meetings will, however, be conducted in English.

The deadline for submitting proposals is **September 3rd, 2018**. Early submission is strongly encouraged.

Abstracts should range between 300 and 500 words in length including the research objectives, theoretical framework and methodology. Each proposal must include title, name(s), affiliation, institutional address and email addresses of the author(s).

Decisions on acceptance of abstracts will be communicated to individual applicants by no later than **15 February 2018**. Presenters are expected to bring fully developed work to the conference.

Further information about CRCP and this conference is available on the respective websites: <http://crp.emu.edu.tr/>

Conference Organization Committee

- Metin Ersoy, PhD, Eastern Mediterranean University
- Nilüfer Türksoy, PhD, Eastern Mediterranean University
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- Engin Aluç, PhD, Eastern Mediterranean University
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INTRODUCTION

The conference booklet you are holding is the full text conference proceedings picked from the presented conference papers in the 5th International Communication and Media Studies Conference, organized in collaboration with the Center of Research and Communication for Peace (CRCP), Faculty of Communication and Media Studies, and Eastern Mediterranean University on 8-9 November 2018. In the conference held at Rauf Raif Denktaş Culture and Congress Center, approximately 60 panelists from 12 different countries have made contributions to science by giving presentations. 43 researches from different areas of Communication and Media Studies have come together with us in the conference. The conference booklet, prepared from the chosen and relevant conference papers, consists of 14 conference papers in total.

When we have set out to organize the 5th International Communication and Media Studies Conference, we knew that about the support and opportunities given to us by dear faculty members of the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies and the EMU Rector's Office. Aside from teamwork, for the conference to achieve success, devotion and virtue were necessary. Foremost, our Rector Prof. Dr. Necdet Osam and Vice Rector Prof. Dr. H. Tanju Besler have given us significant support during the conference. We express our profound gratitude to them. CRCP board members Nilüfer Türksoy, Bahire Efe Özad, Ülfet Kutoğlu Kuruç, Aysu Arsoy, Engin Aluç and Can Bekcan have act together with a true team spirit, achieving success.

As the CRCP Board, in our first meeting for the conference, we have discussed the importance of thinking, talking and cultivating the peace. Knowing that the word peace can be interpreted in many different ways by the members of the society, we had foreseen that such an international conference would contribute to Cyprus on a small scale and to the whole world peace substantially. Due to these reasons, we have invited two globally known professors to be the main speakers. Prof. Dr. Nico Carpentier from University of Uppsala and Prof. Dr. Stuart Allan from University of Cardiff beacon many academicians with the research they have done in the areas of media and society, journalism and peace studies. I thank them again for not turning us down, and sharing their experiences and knowledge with us, despite their busy schedules.

I would like to call upon a saying of India's political and religious leader Gandhi: "**My Life is My Message.**" Please let our lives be a message of **PEACE** and **HARMONY** in the world.

Sincerely,

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin ERSOY

CRCP Chair

GİRİŞ

Elinizde bulunan konferans kitapçığı 8-9 Kasım 2018 tarihlerinde Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi ve Barış için Araştırma ve İletişim Merkezi (BAİM) organizasyonu ile düzenlenen **5. Uluslararası İletişim ve Medya Çalışmaları Konferansı**'nda sunulan bildiriler arasında seçilen bildirilerin tam metinleridir. Rauf Raif Denktaş Kültür ve Kongre Sarayı'nda yapılan konferansta 12 ülkeden yaklaşık 60 panelist sunuşlar yaparak bilime katkı sağladı.

İletişim ve medya çalışmalarının farklı alanlarında 43 araştırma konferansta bizlerle buluştu. Söz konusu bildiriler arasından seçilerek oluşturulan konferans kitapçığında ise toplam 14 adet bildiri bulunmaktadır.

5. Uluslararası İletişim ve Medya Çalışmaları Konferansı'nı organize etmek için yola çıktığımızda DAÜ Rektörlüğü'nün ve İletişim Fakültesi'nin değerli öğretim üyelerinin bizlere verdikleri destek ve imkanların olduğunu biliyorduk. Konferansın başarı olabilmesi için ekip çalışmasının yanı sıra, özveri ve erdem gerekmektedir. Başta Rektörümüz Prof. Dr. Necdet Osam ve Rektör Yardımcımız Prof. Dr. H. Tanju Besler olmak üzere konferans sürecinde bizlere önemli destekler verildi. Kendilerine en içten şükranlarımızı sunuyoruz. BAİM Yönetim Kurulu üyelerim Nilüfer Türksoy, Bahire Efe Özad, Ülfet Kutoğlu Kuruç, Aysu Arsoy, Engin Aluç ve Can Bekcan tam bir takım ruhu ile hareket ederek, başarılarla imza atmıştır.

BAİM Yönetim Kurulu olarak konferans için yaptığımız ilk toplantıda barışı düşünmenin, konuşmanın ve yetiştirmenin önemi tartışmıştık. Barış kelimesinin toplumun bireyleri tarafından farklı farklı yorumlanabileceğini de bildiğimiz için böylesi bir uluslararası konferansın özelde Kıbrıs'a genelde dünya barışına katkı sağlayacağını ön görmekteydik. Bu sebeplerden dolayı konferansımıza dünyaca ünlü iki profesörü ana konuşmacılar olarak davet ettik. Uppsala Üniversitesi'nden Prof. Dr. Nico Carpentier ve Cardiff Üniversitesi'nden Prof. Dr. Stuart Allan gerek toplum medyası gerek gazetecilik gerek ise barış çalışmaları alanlarında yaptıkları araştırmalarla birçok akademisyene yol göstermektedirler. Davetimizi kırmayıp, yoğun programlarına rağmen bilgi ve tecrübelerini bizlerle paylaştıkları için kendilerine tekrardan teşekkür ederim.

Hindistan'ın siyasi ve dini lideri Gandhi'nin bir sözünü hatırlatmak istiyorum: **“Benim hayatım benim mesajımdır.”** Lütfen hayatlarımızın dünyada **BARIŞ** ve **HARMONY** mesajı olmasına izin verelim.

Saygılar,

Doç. Dr. Metin ERSOY

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In Search of Quality Control Mechanisms Against Fake News Proliferation in Nigeria: A Conceptual Analysis

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Abstract

The evolution of Internet and social media technologies in recent times have led to an unprecedented increase in the volume of information available for public consumption, with a rapid decrease in quality. This has been made possible with the advent of unregulated cum alternative news and information sources (alias, new media) which brings to bear, the proliferation of contents that were previously baked in the containers of ethics and professionalism or made to undergo serious scrutiny before dissemination to the public. In the communication and media parlance, terms such as “fake news” and “misinformation” have been used technically to deduce this phenomenon. This study sought to conceptualise the constituents of fake news, with a view to explore the advances in communication and media technologies that facilitate the development of citizen journalism and made the fabrication and spread of fake news much easier in the contemporary. While it has been constructively debated that censoring the cyberspace is not the last option, this study offers alternative means to safeguard societal wellbeing from the negative impacts of fake news. Thus, it recommends the need for media literacy on the part of the general public, to enable them spot the differences between fake and factual news. Again, government and relevant stakeholders should cultivate the habit of providing prompt information about their policies and programmes, as anxiety often lead the public to accept and act upon false information which could be detrimental to them.

Keywords: Citizen journalism, fake news, internet, media literacy, misinformation, social media, user-generated contents.

Introduction

The development of Internet and subsequent emergence of social media and networking sites have in the past decades transformed the journalistic methods of newsgathering and dissemination. These advances have made information from an assortment of sources much accessible in the public domain. However, an aspect of these innovations which continue to raise some questions that have become critical in discourses about the digital revolution in journalism profession is the open-ended character of social media which allows for the dissemination of user-generated content. Questions which revolve around the quality of information we receive in the contemporary could be to ask accordingly: What are the likely effects of fake news and misinformation on journalism profession and the society at large? How can these effects be curtailed without trampling on the public’s right to know?

A step towards successfully accomplishing the objectives of this study, in addition to answering the questions raised above, is to conceptualise key terms that are central to the subject matter. To begin with, the term ‘social media’ refers to Internet-based applications that enable interaction among folks, and the distribution of user-generated content such as text posts or comments, digital photos or videos (Obar & Wildman, 2015). It consists of the new generation mass tools, applications and networking sites which not only enable people to obtain information but to also share, comment, or, more generally, interact with it. Prominent among social media include platforms such as blogs, discussion forums, chat rooms, wikis, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Skype, MySpace, Flickr, SnapChat, Instagram, etc (Zeitsoff, 2017).

Terminologies such as “misinformation,” “fabrication,” “falsehood,” etc. have been used interchangeably to define “fake news” or what Tandoc, Lim and Ling (2018) consider as viral posts based on fictitious accounts made to look like news reports. A study (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017) equally defines fake news as news articles that are intentionally and verifiably false, and could mislead readers. It could accordingly, be said that misinformation is not new in the practice of journalism, considering the earliest use of propaganda (a manipulative technique or form of distortion) in the beginning of world war (Snow et al., 2018). Now that online platforms, particularly social media are becoming the main sources of

news for a growing number of individuals, misinformation seems to have found a new channel (Tandoc et al., 2018).

Among the distinctive features of social media that have eased the fabrication and spread of fake news in the contemporary, as McQuail (2007) outlines, include “interconnectedness” (transcending distance barriers and linking people transversely); “accessibility to individual users as senders and/or receivers” (providing access to folks who serve as message originators, recipients, and at the same time determine the pace of information flow); “interactivity” (easing dialogue among senders and receivers of message, thus facilitating instantaneous feedbacks); “multiplicity of use and open-ended character” (providing various use and purpose without barriers or restrictions); “ubiquity” (accessible universally); and “delocatedness” or anonymity (available on the cyberspace, with no precise location where the message originator, channel and recipients can be traced to). Accordingly, the social media accords its users the choice to access, produce and share or alter, and reproduce existing information. This has by implication, eliminated the quality control (gatekeeping) mechanism that exists in the mainstream media.

Literature Review

A number of studies have been conducted to understand how the expansion of social media has transformed the practice of journalism in different ramifications.

Social Media, Citizen Journalism and Fake News Proliferation

For years, scholars have made efforts to explore how the advent of Internet and social media enhanced the practice of citizen journalism and paved the way for easy fabrication and spread of fake news in the society. Today, online platforms provide space for the latest newcomers or so-called ‘citizen journalists’ to reach a mass audience. Citizen journalism, as Auwal & Zainab (2018) observe, is a practice where members of the public become active participants in the creation and distribution of media content. This practice, which revolves around the distribution of information via the Internet (Radsch, 2011), is mostly achievable through personal websites, blogs, microblogs, social media, thus offering almost everyone the opportunity to become a creator and distributor of information and media content (Bernice, et al., 2014).

The rise of citizen journalism challenged the link between news and journalists, as non-journalists began to engage in journalistic activities to produce journalistic outputs, including news. Citizen journalists were initially confined to blogging. Eventually, social media offered a wider platform for non-journalists to engage in full-fledged journalism. Not only did social media changed news distribution, it has also challenged traditional beliefs of how news should look (Robinson & Deshano, 2011; Tandoc, Lim, et al., 2018). While fake news has always been present, recent research (Dewey, 2016; Silverman, 2016)

suggests that it is now more popular than ever. Websites dedicated solely to propagating fake news are increasingly emerging in recent years. Moreover, these social media networks facilitate the spread of misinformation via automated, anonymous accounts which target users already engaged in conversation on a particular topic (Mustafaraj & Metaxas, 2017). It is now clear, this has made everybody a journalist just as Gutenberg made everybody a printer with the invention of printing press; similar to Marconi who also made everybody a broadcaster by giving us radio. Everyone is now a journalist. Citizen journalism has made it a reality for everybody to be media creator, owner and actor instead of passive user (Ezeibe & Nwagwu, 2009).

Social media platforms such as Facebook have a dramatically different structure than previous media technologies. Content can be relayed among users with no significant third party filtering, fact-checking, or editorial judgment. An individual user with no track record or reputation can in some cases reach as many readers as Fox News, CNN, or the *New York Times* (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). This continues to pose threats to the credibility of journalism profession on one hand, and wreak havoc on societal well-being, on the other.

A study (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017) asserts that barriers to entry in the media industry have dropped precipitously, both because it is now easy to set up websites and because it is easy to monetize web content through advertising platforms. Because reputational concerns discourage mass media outlets from knowingly reporting false stories, higher entry barriers limit false reporting. Social media are well-suited for fake news dissemination, and social media use has risen sharply. The study reveals a continuing decline of trust and confidence in the mass media when it comes to reporting the news fully, accurately, and fairly. The declining trust in mainstream media could be both a cause and a consequence of fake news gaining more traction.

Effects of Fake News in the Society

In recent times, the phenomenon of fake news continues to dominate media discourses around the world. Fake news has had varying effects on individuals and societies around the world. This has however, raised the level of concerns, making it an important subject for study by researchers and professional communicators. Vargo et al. (2018) examine the agenda-setting power of fake news through a computational look at the online mediascape from 2014 to 2016. The study discovered that fake news has an intricately entwined relationship with online partisan media, both responding and setting its issue agenda. However, what we know about fake news so far is predominantly based on anecdotal evidence. Empirical research is sparse as to the greater effects fake news has had on journalistic practices in different media outlets (Vargo et al., 2018). Following the 2016 election, a specific concern has been the effect of false stories—“fake news,” as it has been dubbed—circulated on social media (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

Currently, scholars and professionals alike are very worried about the adverse effects of fake news. These concerns stem from the belief that audiences who stumble across fake news are not also exposed to real news that would push them to question what is true and what is false. However, prior audience behavior scholarship offers reason to believe a counterfactual to this narrative: in this scenario, light Internet users stick mostly to establishment sources for their online news consumption, while heavy users venture out into the long tail of available news media, thus finding themselves exposed to niche offerings like fake news (Nelson & Taneja, 2018).

This study however, identifies two incidents with a view to ascertain the magnitude of effect of fake news in the Nigerian society. One of these events dates back to the outbreak of Ebola virus disease in 2014 when a viral message circulated on social media, indicating that the consumption of excessive quantity of salt, bitter kola and bathing with salty water could prevent Ebola infection and serve as cure to infected persons. On the other hand, is a false story credited to *Miyetti-Allah* Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria which emanates from an online news platform, *Premium Times* in June 2018, resulting in communal clashes and gruesome killings in the Plateau state of Nigeria.

CASE 1: The Aftermath of EVD Hoax in Nigeria

The outbreak of Ebola virus disease (EVD) in Nigeria occurred in 2014 when Patrick Sawyer (a Liberian) who became violently ill and died five days later upon arriving Lagos from Liberia on July 20, 2014 (BBC News, 2014). Prior to this, its first outbreak in the West African region was recorded in Guinea (WHO, 2018).

However, the effectiveness of disseminating educational materials via social media channels such as Twitter and Facebook has been reported severally, and the EVD outbreak in Nigeria depicts this. Since the use of social media and other electronic communication devices has become commonplace even in resource poor settings, disease control strategies need to make full use of this resource to drive behavioural change during outbreaks. This was vital in the Nigerian outbreak as rumours were rife that *garcinia kola* (bitter kola) and salt could cure Ebola virus disease (Otu et al., 2017).

In the midst of this epidemic, a message which created an illusion that drinking of and bathing with salt water can cure or prevent Ebola went viral, causing illness and deaths in different parts of Nigeria. The rumour, as Radford (2014) affirms, originally began as a text message sent by a female student in Nigeria, apparently intended as a joke. As ABC News reported, a social media hoax has resulted in the deaths of at least two people and sickened dozens more. The message spread throughout Nigeria, offered bogus advice about preventing the spread of the dread disease: *“Please ensure that you and your family and all your neighbours bath with hot water and salt before daybreak today because of Ebola virus which is spreading through*

the air.” the text read in part. The message also urged people to drink as much salt water as possible as protection against catching the deadly virus (Radford, 2014). This misinformation spread across borders to other countries in the region, leaving unprecedented consequences both in the number of hospitalized persons and death cases.

In an interview with National Public Radio (Radford, 2014), a woman described how the rumor spread in her home country of Sierra Leone:

There was this buzz. Everybody was talking. Mothers were calling their grown children up at 1, 2, 3 o'clock in the morning to pray over salt water and then bathe in it. Some were told to drink a little. People were being woken out of a deep sleep to perform this ritual literally in the middle of the night. We were told there were instances of town criers going up and down the streets instructing people to bathe with hot salt water... Babies were being bathed with it, elderly people, everybody. It was not a case of educated and not educated. It was everyone (Radford, 2014).

As the number of hospitalized persons (especially diabetic and hypertensive patients) grew due to excessive intake of salt and bitter kola, health experts initiated awareness campaigns to avert further damages. Yet, the illusion created by this message had a negative effect on individuals and the society at large.

CASE 2: Miyetti-Allah Saga in Plateau State

Since independence, Nigeria has witnessed series of conflicts acclaimed to be motivated by different political factors, and worsened by partisan media coverage (Galadima, 2010). The Fulani herdsmen versus farmers' clashes are among the deteriorating conflicts threatening the peaceful coexistence of Nigeria in the past few years. In Nigeria's north-central region, as BBC News (2018) observes, settled farming communities and nomadic cattle herders often clash – usually over access to land and grazing rights. Plateau is one of the states in the region which has a decades-long history of violence between ethnic groups competing for land.

In the wake of the chilling conflicts, an online news platform, *Premium Times* published a false story on June 25, 2018 claiming that Danladi Ciroma, a leader of *Miyetti-Allah* Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, said the attacks in Plateau were revenge for the loss of 300 cows. Part of the statements credited to Ciroma in the report, reads: *“Since those cows were not found, no one should expect peace in the areas”* (BBC News, 2018a). However, the statement drew widespread anger and condemnation which led to the sack of the Plateau state-based reporter, Andrew Ajijah who filed the report; and the management of *Premium Times* resolved to apologise to Ciroma who also refuted the report earlier. At least 86 people died in violent clashes (which preceded the report) between farmers and herders in Plateau (BBC News, 2018a). Following

this report, the tension heightened with death toll rising in hundreds as affected communities carried out reprisal attacks on Fulanis and commuters on the Jos/Akwanga/Kaduna highway.

In addition to pointing at the fact about the damages that hoaxes and rumors can cause on individuals and the society especially at periods of tension, the two incidents illustrate the agenda-setting power of fake news in today's world. With the ubiquitous nature of the Internet, coupled with the explosion of social media alongside the rapid growth of smartphones which put the number of active Facebook users in Nigeria at 26 million; rumours spread quickly and easily. Today, people are easily misled and swayed by rumors or unverified information which could be detrimental to them (BBC News, 2018a; Santas, 2017). When people are dying and desperately afraid of a dread disease like Ebola, any information will be taken seriously by them. And for survivors who were rendered homeless or whose family members lost their lives as a result of the communal clashes, the false report from *Premium Times* empowered them to carryout reprisal on the assumed perpetrators of the earlier attacks on their ethnic group. False information not only can kill, but they can also provide a false sense of security, as evident in the cases cited from the Nigerian society (Radford, 2014).

Seeking a Way Out of the Enigma of Fake News

Concerns have been raised as to whether controlling the Internet and social media is feasible, particularly in the information age. However, the problem lies not with the availability of regulatory mechanisms, but in the application of same to yield the desired result. These concerns, again, raised the following posers: should the cyberspace be regulated? Can it be regulated? If the answer to both questions is "yes," what aspects of it should be regulated? Who should be responsible for carrying out the regulatory functions – the government? Private organisations? Or perhaps Internet users themselves? (Tavani, 2013).

Even though Tavani's perspective seem to have outlined some of the key issues surrounding the use of cyberspace across borders, endorsing an all-encompassing control mechanism is not feasible, especially as the moral implications of this innovation differ from one society to the other. However, controversies abound in the literature on the regulation of the Internet and social media. Some succumb to the notion of censoring contents such as pornography, hate speech, and misinformation. Again, on the question of which content should be regulated or not, Tavani (2013) correlates that there is no broad political oversight of the Internet – no agency like the Federal Communications Commission(FCC) in charge of licensing service providers, ensuring universal access, regulating prices, or controlling content. The Internet's global reach and distributed architecture makes it impossible for one agency to control it effectively. It is more difficult to ban controversial forms of content such as hate speech and information that can cause physical harm to others. Thus, the debate is continuous about the kinds of content, if any,

that should be regulated on the cyberspace.

A great deal of material on the web is inappropriate for children (there is possibility of children viewing pornography, hate speech and even instructions on how to build a homemade bomb); and previous attempts to control content using filtering software on the web wasn't so successful (Hanson, 2014). As more controversial discourses emerge, a recent report by Freedom House (2017) reveals that regimes around the world engage in different forms of online manipulation and disinformation as tactics to expand their power structure, while permanently eroding user confidence in online media and the Internet as a whole. The report exemplifies that online manipulation and disinformation tactics played an important role in elections in the United States and at least 17 other countries.

Political regimes around the world are often vested with divergent interests. Entrusting these regimes with the task of censoring the Internet and the activities it supports, would however, spell doom for the fundamental rights guaranteed by democracy, resulting in rebellion against constituted authorities. This is in consonance with Freedom House (2017) report which observes that governments around the world have dramatically increased their efforts to manipulate information on social media over the past year. The Chinese and Russian regimes pioneered the use of surreptitious methods to distort online discussions and suppress dissent more than a decade ago, but the practice has since gone global. Such state-led interventions present a major threat to the notion of the Internet as a liberating technology.

While the phenomenal spread of fake news has alarming consequences on the credibility of journalism profession and societal well-being in general, it is patent, that censorship is not the last resort in the drive towards curtailing the enigma.

Concluding Remarks

With the unprecedented explosion of fake news and misinformation in the contemporary world, the cyberspace has had an impact on journalism, similar to the challenges faced earlier in the banking sector with the introduction of online or Internet banking system. The growth of online banking was faced with series of criminal and fraudulent activities (cybercrimes) perpetrated by hackers who endangered the security of the financial transactions around the world. While these challenges intensified, stakeholders and financial institutions did not call off the new system, instead, devised practical means of strengthening the system-base by creating impenetrable barrier for hackers.

As the perpetrators of fake news and misinformation steadily intensify efforts to take over the practice of journalism, thereby feeding the general public with unverified information which could be detrimental to them, the onus is on stakeholder and media institutions to cultivate the means of inculcating media literacy on the populace, as this would enable the audiences spot the differences between

fake and factual news. Administrators and policy makers (in the public and private sectors) should also evolve the habit of providing prompt information about their policies and programmes, as anxiety often leads the general public to accept and act upon false information. As BBC News (2018a) aptly observes, the lack of official information in some cases creates a vacuum which has been filled by rumours which only serves to escalate tensions further.

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A Virtual Ethnographic Study of Journalists' Use of Facebook Press Group

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Abstract

This paper explores Palestinian journalists' use of Facebook group, Lammet Sahafa; a closed group used to discuss topical issues such as violence against journalists among other pressing issues. In this paper, through a cyber-ethnographic research method facilitated by observations, systematic interpretation of archived Facebook posts and in-depth interview among six journalists. We identified the following themes; Lammet Sahafa as an online forum, Lammet Sahafa as a telephone directory group and Lammet Sahafa as an extension of offline journalism activities and all of these themes were discussed in terms of journalists welfare as well as other important issues. This study concludes drawing from the interviews, observations, and systematic interpretation of archived posts that Lammet Sahafa is helpful to journalists because it contributes immensely to their offline activities such as investigating articles, out-sourcing, creating and maintaining contacts, corroborating statements and facts, and liaising with other journalists.

Keywords: Facebook group, Lammet Sahafa, cyber-ethnography, Palestinian journalists.

1. Introduction

Facebook, the most popular social networking site in the world, has more than 2.23 billion active monthly users as of the second quarter of 2018 (Statista, 2018). One of its most popular tools, Groups is a platform created for a group of people, association or business to promote a certain cause, event or project. Over the years, it has become a significant tool used by various group of individuals to post their thoughts on a wall and interact through discussion thread for a wide range of issues or needs.

Since launching in 2010, Groups has been able to gather individuals with shared interests to share ideas, opinions, suggestions, thoughts and knowledge through multimedia tools such as text, photos, videos, links etc. under chosen settings of privacy. Public, closed, and secret are the three privacy settings available to group managers fondly called administrators. The public group as the word implies is open; anyone with a Facebook account can find the group, see who is in the group and what they share. For closed groups, only current members can access the threads and posts, but anyone with a Facebook account can view who's in the group. The most exclusive group is the secret group. Only current group members can check who is a member on the community and can also decide who can join. Only former or current members can find the group on Facebook site (Filipek 2016).

There are various kinds of groups on Facebook; TV shows, news, sports, movies, wedding, social experiment, gossip, family, gender or any content related to entertainment. In this ethnographic study, we focus on a Press Facebook group, Lammet Sahafa used by Palestinian journalists to share information of common interest among persons who writes for newspapers, magazines, news websites or broadcast news.

Lammet Sahafa was created in 2011 by Fadi Arouri, a Palestinian journalist, and its membership is exclusive to journalists. Membership is strict and only potential members who have a membership card of the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate and have completed a form designed to get the information of potential members are allowed to join the group (Jarrar, 2013). Lamma has over 1050 members working in different media institutions. This group is well known among journalists especially those in West Bank where the group has organized different events such as solidarity activities with other journalists or media campaigns in partnership with other journalism bodies (Jarrar, 2013).

This study aims to explore the role of the journalism Facebook group (Lammet Sahafa) in the profession of Palestinian journalists and to describe how the Palestinian journalists are using the new media to make their work easy. Considering that this study explores the social interactions that take place in virtual environments, we feel Cyber-ethnography approach seem wells suited hence we investigate Palestinian journalists use of the Lammet Sahafa through a cyber ethnographic

(Hallett & Barber, 2014).

2. Methodology

Traditionally, an ethnographic research is a kind of research where the researcher observes and/or interact with participants in their natural habitat to get a deeper understanding of how they experience, create, perceive and navigate their social world.

Over the past two decades, intervention of new media has changed the way people interact. New forms of new media such as blogs, wikis and social networking websites such as Facebook has created a new natural habitat (Hallett & Barber, 2014) hence, the introduction of cyber-ethnography or (virtual ethnography); a research approach where the researcher explores online life of users on blogs, chat rooms, forums etc (Hallett & Barber, 2014). Unlike the traditional ethnography, in virtual ethnography, “the ethnographer is no longer face-to-face with the participants under enquiry but interacts with them through the means of electronic communication” (Hine, 2000 p. 14). As Cyber-ethnographers, “we are not interested in conducting internet-based research; rather, we explore the importance of including online spaces into more traditional ethnographic research” (Hallett & Barber 2014, p. 308).

Three data collection techniques; semi-structured in-depth interviews, observation and archival analysis were adopted in this study to increase confidence in the findings. We observed participant’s activities and interrelationships in the group, we conducted interviews to collect information from the participants and existing materials and posts that were published in group were also perused. Methodological triangulation is adopted to present thorough understanding

in West Bank, he noticed the extent to which social media, especially Facebook, has helped journalists to coordinate their work and issues and that birthed the idea for this research.

Interviews lasted at least 15 minutes and they were tape recorded on 30th of October 2017. All interviewees participated on a voluntary basis and the participants were selected based on how active they were on the group. All six respondents heavily engage in digital conversations on the group.

Interviews were conducted in Arabic and were translated and transcribed in English Language. After collecting data, the researchers grouped transcripts into meaningful categories and descriptive labels. Then, they organized the data to compare, contrast and identify specific patterns. First level coding is done “to reduce the data to a manageable size, sorting for patterns in descriptive labels into smaller sets” (Sangasubana, 2009 p. 570).

2.1 Participants Profile

Overall, the researchers interviewed six journalists from the group which is a sizeable number because according to Morse (1994), interview-based studies should have at least six participants. It isn’t uncommon to have such a sample size, Maulana and Eckhardt (2007) interviewed seven respondents and used other data gathering techniques such as dairy analysis and observation of website usage in their study. Considering that this study is a sensitive one, we decided to anonymise respondents’ names. We replaced names with alphabets.

Table 1: Demographic Profile

	<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age range</i>	<i>Position</i>
1	A	M	Journalist	34	Administrator
2	B	F	Journalist	36-40	Member
3	C	M	Journalist	34	Administrator
4	D	M	Journalist/writer	53	Member
5	E	F	Journalist/ PR practitioner	29	Member
6	F	F	Reporter	26-30	Member

of the Lamma group in order to strengthen the rigour of this study.

One of the researchers of this study is a member of the group and as Jandt (2003) puts it “The ethnographer knows the language of the group, participates in some of the group’s activities, and uses a variety of observational and recording techniques” (p. 73). When the researcher joined the Facebook group while working as a journalist

Participants are aged 28, 29, 34, 34, 38, 53 with an average age of 30. All interviewees are primarily journalists. One is a journalist-cum-writer and another is journalist-cum-public relations practitioner. All interviewees are members of the group; two however are group administrators.

3. Results

3.1 Participant Observation and Routine Diary based on Archived Posts

A is very active in the group. He coordinates discussions on the page. Some of the ones he has coordinated over the years are; “who has a list of Palestinian journalists phone numbers?”, “We need high quality photos that portray violations against the journalists”, “I will talk with the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate, we should boycott the official events and organize a protest against the government following the attack on journalists”. “I am collecting videos and photos for the attacks on children because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is gathering material to be presented internationally”. All the posts created a lot of digital conversations on the platform.

B is a very active member. She raises questions and coordinate discussions about violations against journalists rights. B is interested in the media campaigns and is known on the group for criticizing the Palestinian security for indiscriminate arrests of journalists. The following are some of the discourses she has championed over the course of her stay on the group, “high quality video footages of prisoners’ dignity strike has been produced and we are looking forward to broadcasting these videos in Arab and international satellite channels”. “I would thank all the journalists who made effort to end the three-month long dispute between me and my colleague, ML” “The Hebron intelligence arrests the journalist MS. The director of intelligence told him to report at a specific time which he did but he hasn’t returned despite been promised that the meeting is going to happen in a friendly environment”. “Security agents arrested Journalist NN on the evening of Thursday, 13th October”. “Security agents called the correspondent of Anadolu Agency today, let’s devise a means to secure their freedom”.

C is one of the group administrators. He works with a government institute and he is very active on social media as a whole. He uses a lot of hashtags and he is also highly interested in media campaigns. He coordinates discussions on the group; some of the ones he has coordinated over the years are; “the opportunity is still available for colleagues who wish to register for a course about economic journalism tomorrow at 9:00 am”. “Media institutions wishing to cover the Italian President’s visit to Hisham Palace on Tuesday, 1-11-2016, please send the name of the photographer and the reporter; the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities will contact you later”. For C, using the platform for problem solving and coordinating events was important to him. Following his passion to engage journalists in this fashion, Lamma group has organized some courses to help journalists improve their various endeavours.

D is specialized in the Israeli media. He translates important reports and news published in the Israeli media. One of his posts is: “Palestinian prisoners hunger strike is still a major headline”. Information about the Israeli media is deemed highly important in the Lamma group considering that Palestinian journalists who speak or understands Hebrew

are very few.

E is a public relations practitioner and media officer in a charity and educational association, and she is a journalist as well. She posts about humanitarian issues and she is mostly interested in publishing news about the events organized by the association and therefore she uses the group as an avenue to reach out to respective journalists who would like to cover the events. Here are some of her posts; “I can facilitate interviews or reports on the humanitarian endeavours of our association. the charitable campaign will be launched on Saturday”. We are honoured to invite you to cover the annual graduation ceremony at 11:00 am”. “For those who wish to make a story or report, there will be an event where children will sing in solidarity with prisoners at 11 o’clock in the city”, “Anyone who wants to register in the Hebrew course should come to the association on Tuesday at 2:00 PM to discuss the timing of the course. Also, I should let you know that there is a discount for journalists”. “I need the phone numbers of the families in need who submitted applications to the ministry and were rejected”.

F is an activist-cum-journalist. She uses the group to promote her work and to invite journalists to cover the events organized by her and her colleagues. Here are some of her posts; “There will be an educational forum for two days, entitled “Miracle”. It targets parents-children discussion on education. I hope that you will contact me to cover the forum considering that the social and educational issues are ignored in media, and this is the first forum in Palestine which will address this issue”. “In respect to my report on the killing of the Palestinian women; it is reported that on average, one Palestinian woman is killed every five weeks”. “Please provide me with names of journalists from inside 1948 area”. “WM announced that they were holding a sit-in outside the Red Cross in Hebron in solidarity with their imprisoned son who has been on hunger strike for twenty days. I hope this case will be covered by the media”. “Please cover this activity: Palestinian girls aged 10-18 are participating in a global competition called Tecnovation challenge”.

Following our observations, every act or posts mentioned above shows how the group run on a daily basis. The issues discussed vary; from politics to cultural, humanitarian and social topics. Out of all topics posted the most topical one is the violation against journalists. Protests are also highly talked about in the group.

3.2 Interviews

Following the observations and routine diary of archived posts outlined above, the researchers conducted in-depth interviews with group members and from the responses of the interviews, we summed all identified theme into four categories; Lammet Sahafa as an online forum, Lammet Sahafa as a telephone directory group and Lammet Sahafa as an extension of offline journalism activities.

3.2.1 Lammet Sahafa as a Forum for Journalists

Just like online forums, Lammet Sahafa supports a

community of journalists formed around a particular interest which is to prepare news for various types of media outlets. Lammet Sahafa serves as a medium for journalists to share their ideas and views on an array of issues that are of interests to the Palestinian journalists. For C, one of the founders of the group. He highlights that the opportunities that comes with a well-managed Facebook group is endless. For him, from the very beginning, “The basic idea was to create an online community that is inclusive-one that would have most of the journalists who work in the Palestinian media sector”. Having young school leaver-journalists and seasoned journalists covering news in ever field including war journalists at the same time was something he deemed powerful. He asserts that “we need this because it has never been done before”. B also mirrors C’s idea, he said this is “the first group of journalists gathered under one platform”. D believes that the group is helpful because it helps seasoned journalists to know about new journalists freshly joining the journalism profession.

Majority of the respondents accedes that one of the most fundamental functions of the group is its use for publishing and distributing news reports including soft news. For D, he said “I use Lamma to publish translations from the Israeli press”.

One of the most important functions of a group like this is to have people with shared interests exchange ideas and build relationship with one another as well the organizations they work for. For C, the goal is “to create and maintain relationships between more than 1000 local and foreign journalists”. This, according to B saves time. F added that Lammet Sahafa makes it easy to identify the activities that are important, share them with colleagues and then facilitate how they will be covered. E adds that “Lammet Sahafa has been able to help us prepare as a group for important events such as visits by foreign officials. This is especially important to me as a public relations practitioner”.

Diversity of opinion, personality, interests, beats is one of the strengths of the group. C asserts that “we rely on the group to reach important stories”. In the same vein, E says that the group helps in “suggesting and creating new ideas”. As most of the interviewees said, the most concerning discussion in the group is the attacks and violence against journalists. Echoing what A and F said, the political detention in West Bank is ignored and the discussions in the group highlights it. Sharing these stories aren’t necessarily only to create awareness but to inform victims of assault that the group is with them in their struggles, C claims.

A claims that “the discussions on topics related to assault and harassment on journalists create awareness on the rights of journalists. B claims that that the group is extremely important because confidential discourses in respect to violations against journalists are kept discretely in the group and not discussed with the general public.

Not every participant agrees with B, another journalist, E said that “there was leakage of some information and some journalists opinions were revealed to the general public.

Some of these journalists were wanted for questioning by security agents”. F claims that the group is not as distinctive as claimed by many. She asserts that “for me, I often avoid the discussions, especially political issues. This is because when there is an opposing opinion, they deal with it in a disdainful manner”.

3.2.2 Lammet Sahafa as a Telephone Directory Group

According to Ibrahim et. al (2011) “Journalists in general have an overwhelming desire to get facts. They maintain that not only are they responsible to provide information to the public, but that their task is to provide feedback from society at large to the powers-that-be” (p. 5). They added that “They see their job as seeking the truth, putting it into perspective, and publishing it so that people can conduct their daily activities proficiently” (p. 5). Considering that journalists generally seek truth, getting to who or where they can get the right information is ultimately important for them and that is why Lammet Sahafa has been so beneficial for them.

Lamma has built a database for journalists. F said “the group provides a database, and it gave me the opportunity to get the names and phone numbers of many officials and politicians that I have been looking for”. B adds that the “group help journalists by providing access to figures, contact information of officials, specialists, political analysts, ambassadors etc.” E also adds that the group is a “huge database that saves our time. We share sources and information with each other”.

3.2.3 Lammet Sahafa as an Extension of Offline Journalism Activities

Online and offline practices are mutually beneficial to strengthening and growing of each other. It is evident that;

Over the last 10 years there has been much debate about the impact of the rise of the Internet and other digital technologies on traditional news media, such as newspapers. The influence of the Internet on news reporting is often formulated in terms of threats to existing, traditional journalism, as well as new opportunities for revitalizing journalistic routines (Hermans, Vergeer & d’Haenens, 2009 p. 138).

Lammet Sahafa has been instrumental for the Palestinian journalists as many of the respondents have claimed. The group allow them to maintain their offline duties through their online presence and vice versa. According to D, the use groups like this is beneficial to the media sector. He adds that with groups such as Lammet Sahafa, journalists have the opportunity to right some of the wrongs they may have made during their offline duties.

As aforementioned, one issue that is usually contentious in the group is the violence against journalists. Some of the imprisoned journalists have been on hunger strike for weeks and even months and while many of their colleagues have supported offline through series of stories written in their various publications, the online group gives them

the opportunity to discuss these issues as a group and excogitate offline problem solution techniques.

4. Conclusion

This paper explores the role of the Facebook group, Lammet Sahafa in the journalism profession in West Bank through a cyber-ethnographic research method enabled by observations, systematic interpretation of archived Facebook posts and in-depth interview among six journalists.

According to Hermans, Vergeer and d'Haenens (2009) "There is no doubt that the rise of the Internet as a technological innovation has influenced journalism. Certain transformations can be highlighted, such as shifts in the news flow, in the daily journalistic routines, and in professional accountability" (p. 139). From the findings of this study, it is evident that this group is instrumental to the Palestinian journalists everyday activities.

Firstly, Lamma serves as an online forum where male and female, young and old and other important demographics come together to discuss topical issues. Regardless of its inadequacies "Whether or not they are as rich and accurate as traditional face-to-face relationships, online communities offer perhaps the strongest online variation, as they develop slowly over time, based on multiple communications that have a common context" (Pitta & Fowler, 2005, p. 267).

Secondly, Lamma has been helpful for journalists as a telephone directory. Journalists reach out to people of interests via the group and following Hermans, Vergeer and d'Haenens (2009), "We conclude that a positive experience with the Internet, improving daily news-gathering processes for fast-tracking new ideas, sources, and informants as well as perceived improved efficiency, affect how journalists use those Internet applications (p. 152).

Overall, the group is helpful to journalists to enhance offline activities such as researching articles, interviewing sources, establishing and maintaining contacts, corroborating statements, facts, and, liaising with other journalists.

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Civil Disobedience in Spain: Comparison of BBC's and TRT's Representation of Catalan Autonomy

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Abstract

Arab Spring and other similar social movements which are analogous to it that originated civil disobedience in some countries. One of these is the issues of between Catalonia and Spain over the course of many years. Two democrat parties (Democratic Union of Catalonia Catalan European Democratic Party and Democratic Convergence of Catalonia) of Catalonia made some field mission of autonomy to divide the region from Spain, and then the division was succeeded with holding a referendum on Catalans. During the process, some of Catalan politicians were arrested because of provocation of the division of Catalonia, and some civilian was exposed to violence by police of central government of Spain. In this study, comparison of online shared videos which have been shared in English on channel of BBC News and TRT World on YouTube between September 1st, 2017 and December 31st, 2017 which are related to Catalan issues, and frame analysis were conducted on more than 100 videos to remark perception differences of legitimacy of the referendum. BBC is known as the most unbiased English external media around the world which shared videos to support civil disobedience to Spanish governance more than TRT World. The present study may guide to find out how external media represent national issues in other countries.

Keywords: Catalonia, national representation, YouTube, frame analysis

Introduction

Civil disobedience may be existed whenever there is pressure on citizens in any regimes in any countries. Although, nationalistic ideologies, economic inequalities or any regional problems may cause conflicts, and these kinds of issues should be monetarized carefully by the media. Also, the media should not bias any oppositions even if they are external according to the codes of journalism ethics¹. In the same time, news may fire up different sides of any issues which are occurred as social movements. In this point, the media has important role to give correct information to the society, but all media has own point of view to criticize any event.

The Catalan issues is the one of the milestones of civil disobedience, and the media's position has been taken affectively to indicate responses of Spanish Central Government to the actions of Catalans. Herein, two different media organizations which are BBC² News from the UK and TRT³ World from Turkey, took up positions due to their ideologies, and published several videos about Catalan issues within the scope of ideologies, on YouTube. This helped to spread news to the world easily.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Being biased in any social movements are not ethical if external media present issues which are related to any social movements. Some media companies may support civil disobedience in foreign countries, even if they do not have any cultural, national and political relations except economic interests. Taşdemir (2005) indicates that media cannot be unbiased because of political ideologies and economic interests of owners of the media (p. 177). Also, different media present the same issue with different perspectives, and this means that they "may support different ideologies" (Bekcan, 2017, p. 13). This may create many problems of international relation if the media do not be careful while the news is published. BBC News and TRT World shared some news on YouTube, and social network sites (SNSs) help to spread information quickly. Situations in Spain between Catalonia and central government of Spain was represented according to perspectives of external media, and it may cause some conflict about the misrepresentation of Catalan issues in Spain.

1 The Codes of Journalism Ethics which is declared by several journalism associations around the world. It includes some recommendations for journalist to make correct news, to reduce misleading news, and to be ethic while they are making news.

2 The British Broadcasting Corporation

3 The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

Misrepresentation is the most effective way to steer people to think about on some issues which are related to social movements, and media have the power to remark civil disobedience as the civil rights to be protected, or the opposite of this can occur. In this case, external media may distort information for misleading people. This kind of approaches should be known by the audience, and the news should be given properly to the audience without partial.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

This study was conducted to find out what the different representations have been occurred for different external media which are BBC News and TRT World on YouTube. Also, the finding of representation of social movement by different external media organ may differ, and present study helps to understand what kinds of differences can be occurred in similar social movements on media.

1.3 Importance of the Study

External media may represent any political issues differently. This is important to understand how external media represents the social movement in some countries even if there is no border with them, or if these countries have trade relations. And, this study is focused on representation of Catalan social movement on BBC News and TRT World on YouTube channels to reveal two different perspectives on the political issues. It is also focused on how two different external media represent same issues in different ways, and this may be helpful to understand what variables can be existed during the social movements to broadcast or share by external media.

TRT was chosen because it has been constituted in 1964 to carry on broadcasting by the Turkish government, and it had been experienced military coup. BBC also was chosen because it had been established in 1922 as a more legal entity than other governmental broadcasting institution.

1.4 Research Methodology

Data mining has been used to collect data from YouTube, and according to Entman (2007), framing is necessary method to understand the role of media to indicate different assumptions of which are related to “power revealing new dimensions and processes of critical political communication” (p. 164). Also, Eveland and Shah (2003) remark that “biased sampling” is differently processed by individuals, which is not relevant to “fairness or balance of similarly processed news content” for our view (pp. 106-107). Because of this reason, the method used in this present research is the quantitative approach of framing on more than 100 shared videos on channels of YouTube by BBC News and TRT World to reveal different representations of Catalan affair in Spain.

1.5 Research Questions

This paper was worked on to find out the following questions;

- What kinds of representations have occurred in media for centralized government in Spain and

Catalans?

- Is there any biased news shared on YouTube by BBC or TRT World?
- What are the differences of representation of Catalan issues between BBC and TRT World?

1.6 Limitations

This study is focused on the representations of Catalan issues on the channel of BBC News and TRT World as external media via YouTube between September 1st, 2017 and December 31st, 2017. There is no English news broadcasted TV channel in Spain, because of that two different countries have been chosen to see how external media approaches nationalist issues from overseas countries.

Two keywords which are ‘Catalan’ and ‘Catalonia’ that were used to filter videos. Also, specific dates were used to limit period.

Literature Review

Social movements are embarked on as an insurrection by governments, and media trigger the situations if it does not do peace journalism⁴. Many social movements are called as civil disobedience such as Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, Gezi Park, etc. According to Glasberg and Deric (2011);

Persistent, organized, and collective efforts to resist existing power structures, cultural repertoires, and practices, and elite dominance and oppression or to introduce changes in them are called social movements. They are organizational structures and strategies that may empower oppressed populations to mount effective challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites” (p. 150).

The most movements were started tranquilly. Then, the governments’ improper practices caused to revolt, and social movements became civil disobedience. Some of them were succeed as social movement, some of them not. Under the circumstances, the definitions of social movements and civil disobedience should be dissociated. This discrimination is shown clearly between different issues.

On the other hand, media may inflame civilians to revolt. This is possible but not necessarily. Even if, external media may support any adverse situation, civilians may not support the ideology of disobedience. However, if there is a strong reaction against to suppress social movements by the government, then the civilians may act as encouraged to rebel⁵ by the media. There are two types of media which

⁴ “Peace Journalism is an analytical method for evaluating reportage of conflicts, a set of practices and ethical norms that journalism could employ in order to improve itself, and a rallying call for change” (Hackett, 2010, p. 183).

⁵ These kinds of insurrectionism is seemed in all social movement such as Gezi Park, Iranian Green Movement, French Students Movements, etc.

are internal and external. Internal media may focus on political issues during the social movements, but external media may tend to steer agenda for international relations between countries to concentrate on having the whip hand of country which is in trouble with civilians. In that case, external media may not be unbiased during the issues are happening.

2.1 Social Movements and Its Transformation to Civil Disobedience

Social movements do not have to be as insurrection, but government actions and the media's approach to the issue may provoke the masses. Carty (2015) indicates that social movements are mostly related to 'social psychology', but "random occurrences and emotionally charged responses among aggrieved individuals to unsatisfactory situations and conditions" are seemed as a part of social movements by sociologists. Also, social movements are that "participants consisted of those who were not fully integrated into society and suffered from anomie or normlessness". However, there is no clear clue why individuals act and attend social movements even so "most people feel deprived on some level at some point in time" (p. 20). Besides, social movements occur peacefully at the beginning (Milligan, 2013, p. 4) and may continue peacefully until violence is existed. According to Delmas (2016) there should be an unlawful resistance to central government until achieve to movements' goal (p. 681) which social movements is called as civil disobedience, but there are several civil disobedience concepts according to Quill (2009), such as "reform vs. revolution and nonviolence vs. violence" (p. 20). Herein, impact-response occurs if the society faces any violence by the government, or non-violence action, or acts of vandalism by civilians (Milligan, 2013, pp. 8, 56, 111, 134-138, 140-144). Nevertheless, the government may interfere the events when they become serious (Milligan, 2013, p. 7). Seriousness of the events may be changed according to the government's policy. Therefore, media is very effective to steer the masses while informing people about situations.

In addition to this, the government may apply sanctions according to the laws, and this generally may interpret as suppressing civilians. Likewise, international laws may support to the government to overcome civil disobedience. Although, external media may determine a different policy than international laws to steer civilians for different goals which are need by some countries.

Some social movements turned to civil disobedience and media showed its power in the events. The cause celebre was the event of Arab Spring in 2010, and new media⁶ was really effective in it. Opportunities of usage of the Internet allow to reach the masses, and Twitter was the most popular SNS during the Arab Spring. Milligan (2013) describes how Arab Spring⁷ was started from non-violent movement

6 New media is relevant to the Internet based media such as social network sites (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc.), website (blogs, online newspapers, etc.) and digital documents (pdf, digital magazines, etc.).

7 "A variety of reasons may be offered to explain why the

to be inflicted violence. Most unemployed want to strike to solve their unemployment because of self-immolations. The breaking point was the seize by police (p. 4). Then, police forces attacked civilians to disband the crowd by violence. Entire civilians reacted to the police forces and took videos to publish on the Internet. They succeeded to reach the masses around the world. Also, Jones (2012) indicates the importance of Arab Spring and defines it as "domino effects" to influence other countries which are the Northern of the Africa. Besides, he remarks new media's power to be effective in any social movement (p. 449), to steer the masses.

On the other hand, Occupy Wall Street has been occurred in the United States in 2011, and the reason of social movement was same with the reason of the Arab Spring. Unemployment and income inequalities. However, it was more different than Arab Spring. Systematic usage of the media helped to protestors to raise awareness about situation (Xu, 2013, p. 2413) (Milner, 2013, p. 2357), and this helped to counteract police forces against to protestors.

Yet another a sample of social movements is Gezi Parkı which has been happened in Turkey, in 2013. This movement started to protect green park of the centre of the Taksim Square in Istanbul, but after that, people who are born in 90s started to protest the government about social constraints (cited in Aziz, 2014; Aydıntaşbaş, 2013). They organized via SNSs, such as Twitter, Facebook and some other chatting networks. The events were broadcasted on these kinds of SNSs, and people responded in replay to police interventions.

2.2 History of Catalonia

Catalonia was the part of the crown of Aragon, and this region was "the centre of a separatist movement that sometimes dominated Spanish affairs" (Catalonia | Geography, Independence Movement, & History | Britannica.com, 2018). This also makes the region more important as a trade centre in between 14th and 18th century. Further, "Catalan industrial bourgeoisie remained loyal to the Restoration system" in 18th century, and this introversion caused Catalanism to be "failed to establish a sufficiently broad social base to become a viable political alternative" (Balcells, 1996, pp. 36-37).

After all of this, civil war had been happened in 1936, in Spain, and then it had been controlled by the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, between 1939 and 1975 (Tortella, 2017, p. 144) and during his period all nations were suppressed by him. However, Catalan economy has been increased around 20 percent above the Spain average even there was political repression in this time (Tortella, 2017, p. 147). On the other hand, the government of the

protests happened and why they took the form that they did in spite of the fact that many of those involved may not have been opposed to violence as a point of principle. One obvious influence that shaped the character of the Occupy Movement was the Arab Spring, the initially successful and similarly non-violent movement which had started in Tunisia in December 2010 with the self-immolation of a jobless student. Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire after police tried to seize the vegetable cart that he was using to make a living" (Milligan, 2013, p. 4).

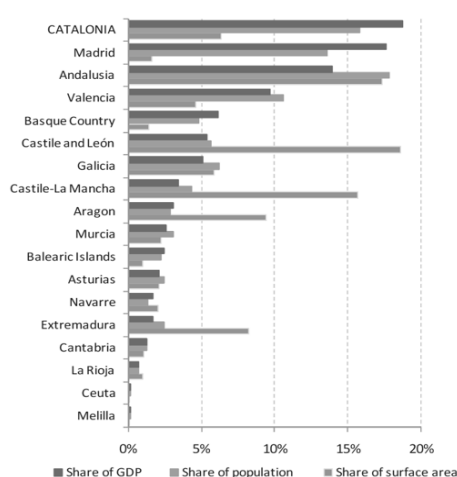
republic did have power to avert secession in the beginning of civil war, but in that time PSUC (Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya - United Socialist Party of Catalonia) and ERC (Republican Left of Catalonia) opposed to any action for secession of Catalonia in 1937, and the central government got under control probable secessions in Catalonia (Balcells, 1996, pp. 118-119). Also, regional government was in balance in 1977, and two parties which are CDC (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia) and UDC (Democratic Union of Catalonia) made a coalition that took the name CiU (Convergence and Union), to increase their votes in the central government in Spain (Balcells, 1996, p. 174).

After Franco's death, "Catalonia exercises its right to self-government in accordance with the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy" (OECD, 2010)⁸ in limited. "Full autonomy was granted in 1979 with the establishment of the autonomous community of Catalonia" (Catalonia | Geography, Independence Movement, & History | Britannica.com, 2018). Notwithstanding, several attempts of autonomy failed, but the central government of Spain gave some opportunities to Catalan in the history;

In 2006, Catalonia was granted "nation" status and given the same level of taxation responsibility as the Spanish central government. Spain's Constitutional Court struck down portions of this autonomy statute in 2010, ruling that Catalans constituted a "nationality" but that Catalonia was not, itself, a "nation" (Catalonia | Geography, Independence Movement, & History | Britannica.com, 2018).

On the other hand, economy of Catalonia is dominant due to results of OECD, in 2005. Figure 1 shows distribution of gross domestic product (GDP) in Spain.

Figure 1 - Catalonia's contribution to Spain



Source: OECD calculations based on the OECD Regional Database. (OECD, 2010, p. 55)

⁸ Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development is a unique forum where the governments of 30 democracies work together to address the economic, social and environmental challenges of globalisation.

According to Figure 1, Catalans' GDP is the highest more than rest of Spain due to share of surface area. Therefore, Catalans pay more taxes than other regions. This stimulates Catalans to support secession.

Also, political background of Catalonia is complicated. Nationalist political movements started with Valenti Almirall who the founder of political Catalanism was, and he constituted the first Catalan language newspaper that named *El Diari Catalii*, in 1879. He wanted to gather "Republicans and Monarchists, Catholics and free-thinker" to collaborate to "create an inter-class front in", However, he could not be succeeded because of the 'apolitical' magazine which is *La Renaixensa*. Catalan bourgeoisie and republicans had not been supporting "public opinion in favour of self-government" (Balcells, 1996, p. 35). These kinds of political depression blocked Catalan nation to make self-government. (Balcells, 1996, p. 36).

2.3 Issue between Catalonia and Spain

Catalan issues are different than aforementioned three social movements by reason of Catalans act by way of their nationality. Catalans also have own national culture, language, educated elites, social structure and politically self-administration. According to Hroch (1995) remarks "the political, economic and social situation in multinational Empires and its changes; the social settings of national movements; and the historical development previous to the national movement, including 'memory,' traditions, and institutions" (p. 293) for secession, and Catalans demands autonomy because of the reason that all processes have been finished which are before mentioned.

The Central Government of Spain does not allow secession of Catalonia because of the economical and regional reasons, therefore the Constitutional Court of Spain promulgates the Title 155 in Law of Spain (Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1978) whenever there is a social movement against to the Central Government of Spain by local autonomies. Some of the Catalans claim independence throughout history, but they could not be succeeded. Since civil war in Spain, Some secessionist Catalans cause crisis. The last one happened in 2017 and it has been warded off by the law.

2.4 Role of Media

Main responsibility of media is to inform society about current issues. Besides, "the media survives in our day as a means publishing the events to broad masses and increasing the sensitivity" (Şensoy & Tanisman, 2018, p. 837), and increase awareness of people about their environment.

This mission of the media is to prevent a separatist and conflicts that can be in the community, and this framed by journalism ethics. Being internal media either nor external media is not important, doing ethically news is important. Even so, external media may not be ethical because of the agenda is not related to own country.

2.4.1 BBC

BBC was founded in 1922 (BBC, n.d.), and its one of

the values is “trust is the foundation of the BBC: we are independent, impartial and honest” (BBC, n.d.). So, it means that BBC does not belong to the UK while news making even if the news causes crisis to country. Also, five purposes are indigenized in BBC:

- “To provide impartial news and information to help people understand and engage with the world around them
- To support learning for people of all ages
- To show the most creative, highest quality and distinctive output and services
- To reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of all of the United Kingdom's nations and regions and, in doing so, support the creative economy across the United Kingdom
- To reflect the United Kingdom, its culture and values to the world” (BBC, n.d.)

2.4.2 TRT

TRT was founded with special legislation as a legal entity in May 1st, 1964, and it has been defined as an ‘impartial’ state-owned enterprise in 1972 (TRT, n.d.). TRT is a broadcasting company. According to Article 2 in Turkish Radio-Television Corporation Income Law, incomes are controlled by the government (KAYSİS, 1984). For these reasons, TRT is dependent to Turkish government, and it may look after government's own benefits. Due to this reason, TRT may not make news against Turkish government. This is a problem about freedom of obtainment of information.

2.4.3 Social Media - YouTube

Social media is a transformed of traditional media in some case. The Internet break the one-way communication technique, and passive audiences become active. Thus, audience term turned to user who have opportunities to watch or take videos, write or comment, like and share. The Internet gives people more freedom to express themselves.

Most of the social movements succeed because of the Internet and social network sites via users who attend the movements. Conglomerate media corporations realized the era has been changed to be active and they keep up with the times. Also, BBC and TRT use social network sites such as YouTube, because it is easy and the cheapest way to share videos. They realized YouTube has a potential to increase followers, and also sharing videos by users that brings to channel owners to chance earn more money. So, it is related to economy politics. On the other hand, YouTube is the biggest video sharing platform and most people watch videos via it. Hence, this makes YouTube more popular.

Sharing videos on YouTube is an effective way to reach the masses to inform or steer people. Consequently, social movements, violence, war, police intervention, governmental issues, etc. are watched on YouTube by users, because they do not have to follow what mainstream media gives, users can choose whatever they want to watch.

2.4 Framing Analysis

According to Ersoy (2016) there is a relation between news frames and understanding the whole picture of the story for reader (p. 1). Frames are also good to see the order of the story, and media has power to create stories. So, “the media do not cause conflict by themselves, but they may provoke conflict in their news stories” (Ersoy, 2016, p. 4). Because of this reason, journalist should act in a certain manner of, in journalism ethics. Therefore, importance of peace journalism seems in highlights. “Peace journalism focuses on solving problems and being fair, balanced, truthful, human oriented and critical journalism” (Ersoy, 2016, p. 2), and frames also should be focused on supporting of solution-oriented structure. Aluç (2017a) indicates importance of frames to demonstrate “component of the encoding of mass media text” (Aluç, Social Movements and Peace Journalism: News Framing of Gezi Park Protests in Turkey, 2017a, p. 23).

After all of this, proper frames which are related to peace journalism and journalism ethics that applied for another research, and also “news coverage of any social movement can use a variety of framing strategies” (Aluç & Ersoy, 2018, p. 197). Violence, political speech and conflict are some of the frames that are fit to social movements. (Goffman, 1986, pp. 21-27)

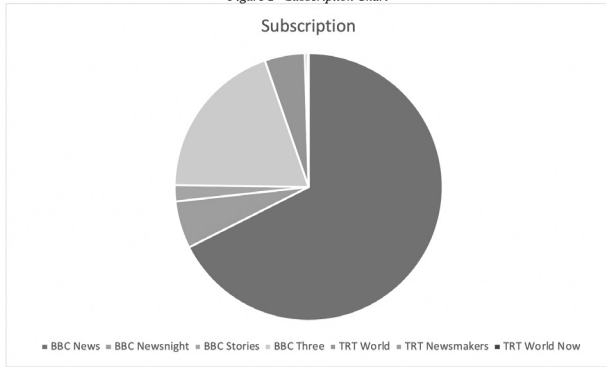
Analysis & Conclusion

All news try to explain what is going on in Catalonia and how the central government of Spain response the initiative of secession. The central government of Spain reacted brutal response when the referendum is in question, and police forces were used to suppress to civilians. Foreign Minister of Spain Alfonso Dastis legitimized the action of police intervention against to people who are around the ballot box of referendum.

TRT featured 87 video footages during the 3 months period. However, BBC featured 41 video footages. In this point, TRT considered events in Catalonia more than BBC. Further, TRT broadcasted videos in 3 different YouTube channels. In comparison to TRT, BBC broadcasted videos in 4 different YouTube channels.

BBC has 3,574,322 in total with 4 channels. BBC News has 2,549,839 subscribers, BBC Newsnight has 215,676 subscribers, BBC Stories has 74,268 subscribers, and BBC Three has 734,539 subscribers. None the less, TRT has 200,129 in total. TRT World has 182,762 subscribers, The Newsmakers has 11,923 subscribers, and TRT World Now has 5,444 subscribers. These results show that BBC's videos may be more effective than TRT's. Most subscription may get more attention, and more attention may cause to be shown than others. Figure 2 illustrates the lots of subscription range.

Figure 2 - Subscription Chart



BBC is dominant when it is compared with TRT in Figure 2, and also other channels of BBC have more subscriber than TRT. Thus, BBC's rating may be higher than TRT. It may also affect people to think due to BBC's perspective.

The ratio of broadcasting of political speech is similar to each other. BBC and TRT allow the central government of Spain and pro-governors to express themselves. However, TRT allows academicians to criticize the events. In addition to that, both channels broadcasted police intervention and violence.

3.1 Frames

Framing analysis was used in this research, and three types of frame were conducted to analyze videos. Violence framing shows how violence is occurred in the videos, political speeches framing is related to political discourse about the events, and conflict framing indicates how conflicts between the central government of Spain and Catalonia are represented.

3.1.1 Violence

The BBC and TRT broadcasted police intervention, which included violence. Visuals show that violence was unilateral by police, and Foreign Minister of Spain, Alfonso Dastis, claims their rights to use force to dissolve illegal movement due to Article 155. Herein TRT gave more space to Catalans to display their difficulty encountered during the police intervention.

Both channels show police attack to civilians inside of the polling station and on the streets. Also, firemen and local police were exposed to violence by police officers from the central government of Spain.

3.1.2 Political Speeches

Two channels showed The King of Spain, Foreign Minister of Spain and Carles Puigdemont⁹ while the events are happening in Spain. After the referendum and shown police violence, both channels gave a space to the central government of Spain for speech.

Besides, TRT gave a chance to one of the arrested ministers' wife to express on the channel how families are affected from detention. Additionally, BBC reporter bravely asked a

⁹ He is Former President of the Generalitat of Catalonia, and he was arrested in March 25th, 2018 in Germany because of separatist cause in Catalonia

question to Alfonso Dastis about how police used force, and Dastis answered the question misleadingly, because he says "some pictures are fake" even though all videos were broadcasted by all other TV channels too. Thus, Dastis's contradiction shows that the central government was not ready to explain the events and intervention.

3.1.3 Conflict

Political speeches were discriminative at the beginning, in both channels. Although, both channels tried to explain the situation in Catalonia with different perspectives, however, BBC is more ethical than TRT because BBC's each video includes both ideology in the same time, which are supporting secession and not supporting. Also, BBC indicates cultural diversity and its grandeur. However, TRT shares more videos about conflict in the region.

Active movements have widespread TRT's coverage, and most of the videos were not explained, just commented by academicians and opinion leaders. However, these people did not give solution-oriented advices. In other respects, BBC shared videos which were looked like a festival, and peaceful. Families are expressing their ideas about Catalan issues on BBC, but TRT does not feature these kinds of video footages.

In conclusion, two different external media represent the Catalan movement for secession in different perspectives, but they did not want to steer people according to any side. They were outside of the events and describe with their own way. BBC was more ethical than TRT due to results. Although, data were not enough to criticize the channels more, and the date should be extended for 10 months because 4 Catalan ministers were arrested, and some other issues happened. However, these events were not included for this research, and if the date might extend, results may be generalized.

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Analyzing the Strategies Used in the #NotTooYoungToRun Campaign in Nigeria

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Abstract

Studies have been carried out to conceptualize youths and their apathetic attitudes toward political issues (Roberts, 2015). Young people are generally not known to be motivated to involve themselves in political affairs. This has made the subject of youth and politics an area of interest. The reason for this interest is perhaps not unconnected to the fact that young people make up a large percent of the demographic in any given society. World population is at 7.6 billion and young people constitute a fifth of that population. In Africa alone, World Bank and UNDP reports indicate that the youths account for more than seventy percent of the continent's population (Mengistu, 2017). Meanwhile, the affairs of these young people are governed by people who do not fall within their demographic. But since the Arab spring, youths have been globally seen at the forefront of various democratic movements. In Nigeria however, studies carried out on youths and politics show that where youths involvement in politics is always tied to thuggery and election unrest. This paper defers in this regard. It rather focuses on the #NotTooYoungToRun movement which Nigerian youths started in 2016. The peaceful campaign which started as a hashtag led to the modification of legislation in Nigeria and an official endorsement from the United Nations thereby paving a way for youths globally. This was a coordinated campaign that did not involve any form of unrest. This research focuses on the Twitter campaign of the movement and aims to determine the rhetoric used by the campaigners, their coordination and the strategies used to accomplish the success of the campaign. Data collection will include distribution of questionnaires to members of the campaign and a sample of tweets that contribute to the hashtag (this will include memes).

Keywords: Participatory democracy, new social movements, social media

Introduction

Studies have been carried out to conceptualize youths and their apathetic attitudes toward political issues (Roberts, 2015). For this paper, I adopt the definition of political participation as given by Tang & Lee (2013 cited in Abdu, Mohamad, & Muda, 2016) – including “political activities such as joining civic/political groups, interacting with politicians, voting, signing petition online, volunteering or participating in campaigns.” Young people are generally not known to be motivated to involve themselves in political affairs. To this end, youth and politics has been subject of much research. The reason for this interest is perhaps not unconnected to the fact that young people make up a large percent of the demographic in any given society. World population is at 7.6 billion and young people constitute a fifth of that population.

In Africa alone, World Bank and UNDP reports indicate that the youths account for more than seventy percent of the continent's population (Mengistu, 2017). Meanwhile, the affairs of these young people are governed by people who do not fall within their demographic. Also, “a youthful demographic can have an undeniable impact on society and politics, particularly with regard to human resources” (Silveira, 2015, p. 18). The necessity for youth involvement in politics is hinged on the fact that generational replacement is crucial for any kind of social and political change in a democracy (Franklin, 2004; Hooghe, 2004 cited in Sloam, 2012). So why are youths not involved in politics if this directly affects them? Arguments have been given to answer this question. Young people are known to be put off by “formal political institutions and processes” (Edwards, 2015) and in many countries, “youth are not stimulated by traditional media such as radio, television and newspaper” (Abdu, Mohamad, & Muda, 2016, p. 128). Mengistu (2017) suggests that “there are no wider spaces for youth to have a chance to make their voices be heard and to shape their future destinies” (p.3). He also adds limited capacity, lack of skill, limited resources and tools as some of the hindrances for youth participation in politics

in the African continent. Some scholars suggest that this apathy is caused by the disconnect between the youths and their representative institutions as well as politicians (Blais & Loewen, 2011 cited in Abdu & Mohamad, 2016). Additionally, other reasons include; the poor financial state of the youths, they are getting started later than earlier in life, education as a whole is getting longer than it used to, steady jobs are further off, homes are not immediate possibilities as a result of that. Also, starting families is not an immediate concern (Lee & Medeiros, 2014). The resulting effect of this political apathy is this; most of the young population become disorganized, unemployed and are susceptible to radical ideas (Mengistu, 2017).

It is important to note that these issues cited by some as reasons for youth apathy in politics also form part of the reasons for the Arab spring that started in 2010. The riots and other developments in recent years give strength to the argument that when young are excluded from “formal processes of politics and policy-making, they will find different ways of exerting influence on democracies” (Sloam, 2012, p. 4).

In Africa, on the other hand, this marginalization is said to be the reason for the predatory activities the youth engage in. Gang-related violence and drug-related problems are not uncommon in the African society. Any attention that is given to the youth that seeks to understand them, who they are, what they need and how their needs can be met would go a long way in finding solutions to the problems the African society faces as a result of youth redundancy. In Nigeria specifically, the typical youth feels a special burden and deprivation with regard to leadership opportunities in politics and governance. Not only do the youth feel excluded and sidelined from stewardship of the country’s economic and political affairs, they also bear the brunt of much of an ongoing deterioration of the country’s infrastructure and industry. This deterioration has resulted in widespread unemployment opportunities for university and college graduates. Like their Arab counterparts, the youths have taken steps to demand change albeit differently.

Social Media as a Bridge Between an Older and a Younger Class

With the debate about youth civic and political participation stretching through decades, the era of social media has ushered in various platforms and an opportunity for civic discourse (Literat & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2018). New opportunities for revolution are now emerging and the ways in which we socialize, communicate and learn are being transformed (O’Byrne & Hale, 2018). A major consequence of this era is evident in how political memberships and affiliations are being transformed in contemporary democracies (Ekstrom & Sveningsson, 2017). Unlike the existing order of joining a political party which is usually perceived to be tedious and thus deters young people from joining in countries like Nigeria, social media through trending hashtag campaigns offers easy access and opportunities for young people to engage in political discourse without having to actually join a party.

Halupka (2014 cited in Ekstrom & Sveningsson, 2017) explains that the collectives found in social media enable young people to engage in political discourses with a click, respond spontaneously to a political issue and easily regulate their own levels of involvement.

Perhaps, an important contribution of social media to political activity is the ease by which funds can be raised for new comers (Kahne & Bowyer, 2018). For Nigerian youths who have been hindered by political connections and a system that works against them, this could be important. From an observer’s point of view, the gap that has existed between Nigeria’s political class which has always been at the helm and the younger class is currently dwindling. While some would argue that the process is slower than they would like, the increase in political engagement through trending hashtags in Nigerian digital space reveals that a new pattern of political engagement is emerging with Nigeria’s youths largely taking the lead through social media. Also, the ease with which information is accessed and shared could be a factor in the mobilization of youths.

Conceptualizing Nigeria’s Youth

Drawing inspiration from Murphy’s analysis of the youth segment (Murphy, 2012), this paper uses four approaches to conceptualize the Nigerian youth. These are; a) demographic bulge, b) human resource issue, c) stage of transition into adulthood, and d) constructed identity. In a statement attributed to Nigeria’s President Buhari in April 2018, Nigeria has an estimated population of about 180 million people and about 60 percent of this population is below the age of 30. This implies that Nigeria has a largely youthful population. Although UNESCO defines a youth as anyone between ages 15 and 25, Nigeria’s National Youth Development Policy defines the youth as anyone between ages 18 and 35 (Osumah, 2016). Within this demographic is a section of Nigeria’s despondent citizenry. While this largely youthful population provides Nigeria a great potential for labour, this population is largely un-engaged. Countries like China and India whose youthful population swallow Nigeria’s have been able to use their large numbers to their advantage. A human resource head in India, Ranjan Bandyopadhyay is quoted as saying, “a young workforce means having more innovative minds. It also means we are able to better leverage technology and increase efficiency” (online Harjani, 2012). In the case of China, evidence is seen in the number of skilled labour it exports to developing countries. In the case of Nigeria however, the rapid population growth is cited as one of the major causes of unemployment (Paul, 2016). With universities churning out graduates in hundreds of thousands on a yearly basis while thousands lose their jobs in the current economic downturn, the situation appears grim. Like their Tunisian counterparts in the Arab Spring, finding suitable jobs or getting education that would suitably equip them for the labour force has been a challenge. Without jobs, they cannot fend for themselves. This means that they remain dependents on parents and other family members. Thus, they remain transfixed in the transition to adulthood.

Ordinarily, the solution would be to elect responsible officers who would make economically viable policies. What they get instead is a repeat of the circle which has led to a series of disgruntled protests and online campaigns.

One of such protests happened in January 2012 when former President Goodluck Jonathan removed petroleum subsidy on New Year's Day. The act which many interpreted as 'heartless' led to nationwide protests and online activism until the government and labour unions (Nigerian Labour Congress and Trade Union Congress) reached a middle ground in negotiations after two weeks of protests. The protests started on 2nd January and officially ended on January 16th after government backtracked and reduced the fuel price from N147 to N97. For most youths who participated in the protests, the compromise the labour unions made with government was a betrayal of trust as the youths wanted a complete reversal of the decision (Chiluva, 2015). This lack of trust was revealed in 2016 when the issue of fuel subsidy came up again. Although petroleum price was once more increased to N145 per liter, Nigerian youths had mixed reactions to the news even though NLC called for a massive strike action. By this time, the youths had realized that they had to control their destinies themselves. In 2012, an aide to former President Goodluck Jonathan called the government's critics collective children of anger (Abati, 2012), a term that many activists embraced. This anger became an identity for the youths. It was a shared pain which spurred a shared destiny. The anger was soon tested as most of these criticized activists overwhelmingly supported Buhari in 2015. However, the current Buhari administration has been marred by recession which has led to thousands of Nigerians losing their jobs. For the youths, the current problems plaguing the country is a wake-up call to take constructive action. I cite Murphy to compare the situation the Tunisian youths faced in 2010 with the situation Nigerian youths currently face to highlight that while the former chose to revolt in a way the world had not seen before, the latter has chosen a different path entirely which is to change legislation that would enable them run for political offices.

Problem Statement

Since the Arab spring of 2010, attention has been shifted from youths not participating in politics to what youths can accomplish when they collectively decide to make a change in the system. Nigeria itself has witnessed a change in attitude from the youths. As stated above, this change was registered in the 2015 elections where they were seen to be interested and actively engaged in the electioneering process. As there have been recent calls to get more youths to become involved in politics and be entrusted with more responsibilities, recent happenings in the country point to the assumption that Nigerian youths are ready to accept the challenge. This may, however, not be unconnected with the frustration the youths have felt at not being rewarded for their efforts in 2015. Given that a precedence was set in the country whereby an incumbent was unseated in the Presidential election for the first

time since the country's independence and there was a peaceful transition afterwards, the youths expected to be rewarded with roles in governance since they were largely responsible for the transition. What happened however was a continuation of the system. Even positions that should naturally be headed by young people were and are still occupied by people in the older political class. An easy example is drawn from the two major parties of the country where their Youth Leader position is occupied by people from the old political order who are typically accused of being out of touch with the youths and can therefore not be expected to know how to mobilize the youths. So far, the youngest person in the current Buhari administration is 24-year old Bashir Ahmad who serves as the President's personal assistant on new media, a title that many find odd as he is not in a position to shape policies. Assistants are not generally known to possess executive power (Fahd, 2016). It is important to note that this was not always the case. Nigeria's present crop of leaders once ruled the affairs of the country at very young ages. An argument can be made for the fact that the situation within which these leaders found themselves in the past is much different than what we have today. For example, Nigeria was not this populated in the 60s, there were lesser economic problems and most of leaders emerged by necessity not by choice. In spite of this argument, it is a known fact that progress requires innovation and young people drive innovation if given the opportunity to thrive.

For the average Nigerian youth, the popular maxim that children are the leaders of tomorrow remains a distant dream as s/he has watches while the same leaders from the 1960s have continued to hold their grip onto power as either kings or the kingmakers. But to change the status quo, they can either negotiate the change they need or they can wait for the political class to recognize their importance long enough to hand power to them.

Realizing the need for change, a group of Nigerian youths started the #NotTooYoungToRun (NTYTR henceforth) campaign on Twitter and Facebook. This campaign started in 2016 shortly after the 2015 general elections. The campaign is run by Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement (YIAGA) and it stemmed from the seeming frustration the youth suffered after realizing that their political power and needs were not a priority to the older generation whose main use of the youth was to help them win elections. The implication here is that the needs and perspectives of the youths are not given much consideration after elections. The campaign received the support of both Senate President Bukola Saraki and Speaker of the House, Yakubu Dogara who voiced their support to youth growth and development. Additionally, the campaign was given more boost when the UN launched the NTYTR global campaign (ibid) on 22nd of November 2016. The global launch was initiated by the office of the UN Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth in partnership with UN Development Programme (UNDP), the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the European Youth Forum

(EYF) and YIAGA. In July 2017, Nigerian senate passed the NTYTR Bill with 86 senators voting in support. The bill which lowered the age requirement for people seeking elective offices needed at least 24 states to pass it before the president could assent to it (Inyang, 2017). By February 2018, 24 states had passed the bill (Asadu, 2018). The bill requires President Buhari’s assent before it becomes law. What this means is that the age limit for people with intent to run for President would be reduced from 40 to 35 years while a 30-year-old could run for governor.

Although history has shown that revolutions have always been driven by aggrieved and disillusioned youths, the involvement of youths in political processes is mostly informal and not yet well recorded (Mengistu, 2017). This is more so in Nigeria as available research does not sufficiently provide knowledge in this regard. Also, the fact that social media has provided the youth an inexpensive forum to engage in meaningful political conversations has given rise to movements such as the Arab Spring and the Occupy movements. Abdu et al. (2016, p.128) argue that “before the coming of social media, space in newspaper and airtime on radio and television were limited and expensive”. As a result of this, youths could not express their opinion nor participate in politics through the traditional media. While this research seeks to contribute to the body knowledge regarding youth movements on social media, it deviates from the dominant norm which has been to focus on Facebook.

This research is not an attempt to invalidate the importance of experience in issues of national importance. The research recognizes that youthfulness cannot be a basis for leadership roles. It, however, validates the role of the youthful population in any given society while emphasizing the need to engage them in issues of national importance. Given that Nigeria’s youths are just coming to grips with the reality of their potential, their engagement in political matters and the strategies they use particularly those who were involved in this campaign ought to be examined. Consequently, this research devotes attention to the rhetoric used in the campaign. Rhetoric in this regard refers to the artful style of presenting ideas in which emphasis is more how things are said than what to say. The ancient rhetorical scholars noted the importance of rhetoric in persuasion as they have suggested in their numerous hypotheses chief among which is that the use of rhetoric increases attention to messages as whole (McQuarrie & Phillips, 2008).

This research tries to establish if/how rhetorical figures were used in the NTYTR campaign in Nigeria. These figures were studied within the context of the three approaches to persuasion – ethos, pathos and logos - which Aristotle developed to determine which of the approaches was successfully applied in the campaign.

Specific objectives of the study are limited to the scope of the NTYTR campaign, establishing if rhetorical figures were used in the campaign, investigating the issues (issues that relate to policy) discussed by the participants in the campaign and determining the effectiveness of the

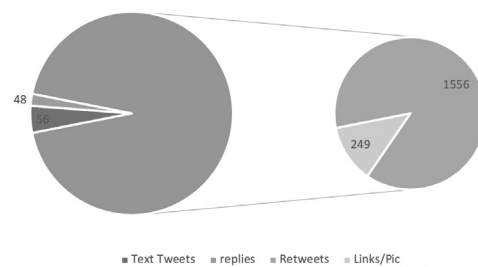
campaign. Although this paper loosely uses the terms youth and social media in some areas, the study is, however, covering all tweets that relate to the NTYTR to Run Campaign and will be limited to the Nigerian political landscape.

Research methodology

This research adopted a qualitative approach to study the messages used by the NTYTR campaigners. To this end, a textual analysis was conducted on Twitter to study tweets generated under the Not Too Young to Run hashtag and also articles published on YIAGA blog regarding the subject matter. The YIAGA blog was deliberately chosen because the group was the major mobilizer for the campaign. These tweets were analyzed to determine the type of rhetoric used in the campaign and how it was used. This was done to fulfil the study’s objectives. To measure the impact of tweets generated in the hashtag, the paper used data generated from an analytical site, tweet binder to determine the strength of the campaign.

Presentation of Findings

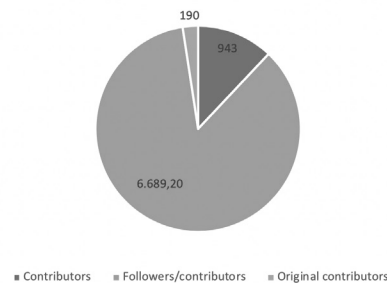
An analysis of 1900 tweets between December 12th 2018 and December 22th, 2018



Source: tweetbinder.com

The chart is a summary of the activity of participants of the campaign.

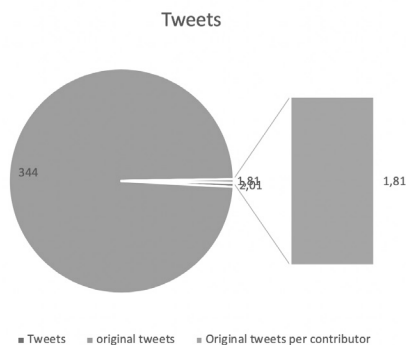
Tweet activity of Twitter users that participated in the campaign within the timeline under review



Source: tweetbinder.com

From the 1900 tweets analyzed, tweet binder reveals that 190 users were original contributors with 344 tweets shared among them. Others followed suit by liking and retweeting content in the hashtag. Thus, contributors may be seen to mean the number of Twitter users that tweeted with the NTYTR hashtag; followers/contributors refer to the average number of followers each of the participants

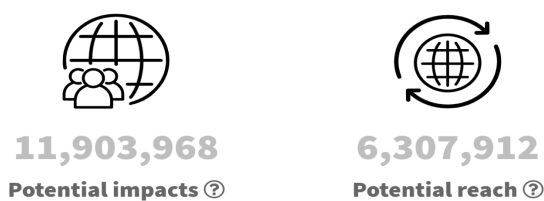
had within the time line; original contributors refer to the number of Twitter users that shared original content like tweets, images, memes, videos, links etc. with the hashtag. These activities continue in the chart below where the potential impact of the contributions is determined.



Source: tweetbinder

While the first chart shows the activity of users in the hashtag, the second chart shows their cumulative contribution of all the users analyzed within the time frame and the percentage of their contribution within the time frame. It is important to clarify the differences between tweets, original tweets and original tweets per contributor as shown in the chart. Tweets here refer to the original number of tweets per contributor; original tweets exclude retweets and likes and only considers original tweets and replies while original tweets per contributor refer to average number of tweets an original contributor posted with the hashtag. It can be seen from the chart that items under contributor and original contributor overlap each other. This is because the figures are close enough to be blurry. While the number of original tweets is put at 2.01%, the number of original tweets per contributor is put at 1.81%.

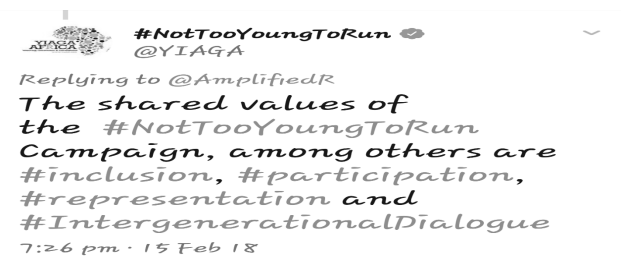
Based on the activity and visibility of these tweets, impact of the campaign can be assumed from the information below;



Source: tweetbinder

Potential impact here refers to the potential number of times a Twitter user could have seen the NTYTR hashtag while potential reach refers to the number of individual Twitter users that could have seen the hashtag.

The message(s) of the campaigners is/are best described in their tweets. The series of tweets below show the convener of the movement, @YIAGA responding to questions from another Twitter user, @AmplifiedR about the success of the campaign. This was after 24 state houses of assembly voted to adopt the NTYTR bill;

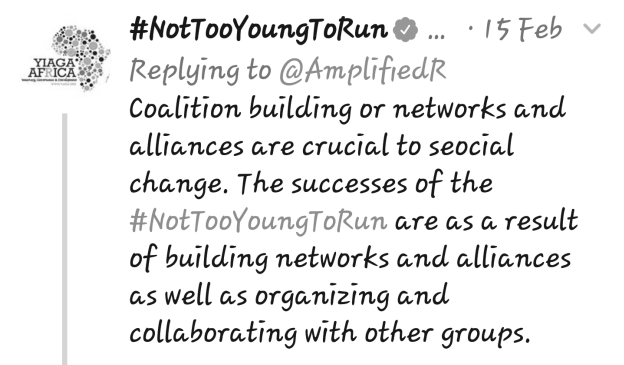


Since this exchange was before the NTYTR bill was signed into law by President Buhari, the question was posed asking if there was any form of assistance for young people who might run for office if it was signed into law. This was their response;




11 Retweets 4 Likes

As this was a youth movement, largely new and needed overwhelming support to gain any momentum, the user (@YIAGA) explained how coalition gave the movement an edge;




When asked what distinguished this campaign from previous attempts to change the law by Nigerian youths, this was their response;

 **#NotTooYoungToRun** @YIAGA

Replying to @AmplifiedR

The #NotTooYoungToRun Campaign used the lessons from previous attempts to ensure a positive outcome. Some of these include identifying allies in the National & state assemblies... building leadership teams at national and state levels too.

7:40 pm · 15 Feb 18


 **#NotTooYoungToRun** @YIAGA

Replying to @AmplifiedR


The #NotTooYoungToRun Campaign identified young men & women as well as youth groups in each state and built their capacity on the power of effectively organizing. Our organizers have been driving the Campaign at the State level.

7:32 pm · 15 Feb 18

The campaign received a moral boost when Emmanuel Macron won the French presidential elections;

 **#NotTooYoungToR...** · 07 May 17

We congratulate #France on the election of @EmmanuelMacron as President. This is testament of their belief in youth power #NotTooYoungToRun


 **JFK | #NewVoices** @Jud... · 15 Feb

Today is exactly 365 days to the general elections.

Today also, the #NotTooYoungToRun Bill scaled the state assemblies and now requires just Presidential Assent to become law.


It also took Macron '365' days to build a coalition that took over France

IMPOSSIBLE IS NOTHING!

 **Chioma Agwuegbo** · 07 May 17

President-elect of France Emmanuel Macron is 39, their median age is 40. Median age in Nigeria is 18, our president is 74. #NotTooYoungToRun

In spite of the victories of the campaigners, as the country approaches an election year, Nigeria's youth are torn between two candidates who are not within the demographic the NTYTR movement plans to retire. From the disappointment expressed in the tweet below, it is understood that the youth have moved past or set aside their need to change to the status quo.

 **Oswald, the Lucky Rabbit.** ... 13 Oct

- I remember when Emmanuel Macron visited Nigeria & all our youths were charged up. Talks of #NotTooYoungToRun rented the air. Fast forward months later, they're supporting septuagenarians & blackmailing us for wanting younger people.

Ah, Nigerians!

Conclusion

From the tweets used in this paper, it is clear that age was the most recurring theme in the NTYTR campaign. Policy was hardly discussed in the tweets. While this shows some level naivety, it also shows the larger frustration that Nigeria's youth deal with. The campaign, while it seems to have misplaced priorities should also not be dismissed. In rhetoric, repetition is argued to be an important tool. The fact that age was the most repeated issue in the campaign messages could be therefore seen as a strategy by the participants. This is a subject for further investigation. The signing of the NTYTR bill into law is a big step in the right direction. Studies ought to be carried out to determine if the youth who participated in this campaign understand the weight of responsibility this success brings to them. Also, the movement should be monitored to determine the gains and losses. This could serve as a template for youth in other African nations who share the same frustration at being ruled by the same political class repeatedly.

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Problems of Non-Verbal Cues in Romantic Relationships

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Abstract

Young adults or adolescents often struggle with romantic relationship for many reasons. Related problems occurs due to inexperience or lack of proper guidance in most cases. This study mentioned some of the conflicts which can be identify among the adolescents or young adults; identifying problems is the first step to problem solving. Hence, this study highlighted some of the problems of nonverbal cues in romantic relationship among the young adults and adolescents, which includes body language, tone, inflexion, elements of voice, dress code and so on. Some possible solutions that can enhance tranquillity among all and sundry are also proffered.

Keywords: Non-verbal cues, romantic relationships, communication problems, young adults

1.0 Introduction

We are emotional beings as human, and we react to our physical environment. What we see, what we hear and what we feel, are all prove and are all ingredients that influences how we behave or react to situations. Inevitably, natural process for procreation includes romantic sceneries as well as sexual activities, hence most human desired it. The qualities and values of life are fragmented to various aspects of livelihood, when put together as a whole, then is when qualities could be measured based on different standards. Relationship is just as important as drinking and eating for physical growth. On the other side, romantic relationship as well is one of the significant measures of the adulthood. Humans, being emotional, hence has ways to which we react to issues be it a positive reaction or negative reaction depending on the occurrence. However, peace and conflicts among humans tends to melt back to our contact with others both verbally and non-verbally, physically or not. What we pay attention to most are what we hear, meanwhile there are lots embedded in the non-verbal aspects of our relationships which includes body language, tone, inflexion, and other elements of voice.

1.1 An Overview of Romantic Relationships

According to Gonzaga, Turner, Keltner, & Campos (2006), romantic love has a motivational state associated with feelings of attachment and the inclination to seek commitment with one partner. Maslow's hierarchy of needs stated the essence of love and belongingness of humans. To love and to be loved is one of those essentials humans craves for. Romantic relationship happens mostly at early stage for different reasons, either as a way to understand partner before proper marriage or needs for satisfying sexual gratifications and many other reasons.

According to Jeffry, Andrew, Sisi, & Haydon (2007), many of the most intense emotions arise during the formation, the maintenance, the disruption, and the renewal of attachment relationships. The formation of a bond is described as falling in love, maintaining a bond as loving someone, and losing a partner as grieving over someone. Similarly, threat of loss arouses anxiety, and actual loss gives rise to sorrow, while each of these situations is likely to arouse anger. According to Collins, Welsh, & Furman (2008) the subject of romantic relationship is a factor commonly associated with the adolescents or young adults. Romantic relationships are common during adolescence than has usually been assumed.

1.1.2 Reasons for engaging in Romantic Relationship among Adolescence and Young Adults

Most romantic relationships might have started as mere friendships before it progresses to love attachment and emotional bound, which give ways to attachment and intimacies. As Gonzaga et al., (2006) reported, "it was found in many cases that romantic love acts as a commitment device that binds romantic partners together in long-term relations" (p. 164).

Arriaga (2001) in his article mentioned that "it is commonly assumed that feelings of satisfaction figure prominently in directing the course of new relationships, satisfied individuals seek further and deeper involvement with partner, whereas dissatisfied individuals consider distancing themselves" (p. 754). In other words of the reasons why many go into relationships is for emotional satisfaction.

Many as well go into relationships for experiences before the marital life so as to understand the fundamentals underlying these institutions. Some as well go into relationships as a way to understand their partners prior the marital state so as to be able to get along well with each other as its span through life time. According to Wyndol & Simon (1999), so many are in a relationship, familiarizing themselves with different behaviours, with much time devoted to thinking and talking about their boyfriends or girlfriends and their relationships. He also mentioned that some actually when were faced with family issues they tend to turn to their romantic partners as a way of getting security.

2.0 Problems of Non-Verbal Cues

Several interpersonal theories suggest that adolescents' romantic relationships are associated with distinct patterns of social experience (Connolly & Johnson, 1996). Obviously, differences in background or upbringing play important role in relationships. According to Duford, (2016) most couples will experience challenges during the course of a romantic relationship. However, some couples can navigate the challenges better than others and she stated eleven (11) common general problems in a romantic relationship which includes poor communication or lack of communication, trust, differences in sexual drives and desires, jealousy and insecurity, money, home responsibilities/chores, change in priorities, time, partners drift apart, space and individual growth, falling out of love.

Clarifications suggests breaking down the aforementioned basic problems in romantic relationships which are poor communication or lack of communication, trust, differences in sexual drives and desires, jealousy and insecurity, money, home responsibilities/chores, change in priorities, time, partners drift apart, space and individual growth, falling out of love.

2.1 Other Non-Verbal Problems in Romantic Relationships

Aside the aforementioned problems many other problems could be identified as follows:

Depression, checking ones phone as a sign of doodle, facial expression at each other, codes of dressing in social representation, table manners, comparing partner with others, associate of friends, avoiding direct touch from partner, initiating interaction, inappropriate voice tone, late reply of text messages, aggression in tone of communication, social display and insignificant of the partner, constant monitoring of partners phone, non-transparency in communication or actions.

Imposing decisions on partner (male react a lot to this), non-availability as at when partner expected or not checking on the other person constantly as it should be, excessive intrusion on personal affairs.

2.1.2 Poor Communication or lack of Communication

A good communication is a sing of commitment and

involvement in an healthy romantic relationship, hence communication, be it verbal or nonverbal has the ability to serve as a determinant to who is much more committed in any romantic relationship in question, this also plays a major role as far as emotional tie or attachment is concern.

In most relationships adequate self-expression sometimes could be difficult to differences in perceptions, partner could be selective of what to say and how to say them so as not to hurt each other, this doesn't mean lack of freedom of expression but in most cases considerations are given to individual tolerance. This in some cases will make partner become defensive in time of discussion. Men's ego reflect in relationships, most men want to feel like men, communication in a certain direction could make them feel uncomfortable or being challenged hence if the partner had noticed this in occasions she might want to withdraw few of her actions or words, this attitude alone nonverbally speaks louder, if compiled in time could escalate as a whole bunch of issues to be dealt with.

2.1.3 Absent Minded while Physically Present (Doodle)

The issue on the uses of mobile phone cannot be overemphasized in this context. According to Srivastava, (2005) "Mobile phones allow users to construct their own 'at-home' environment, regardless of where they find themselves in physical space" (p. 112). In a same space, six people can be sited for more than an hour and never have any interaction because all are swayed and are riding in the virtual world. This in some ways been an addiction, especially in the age of social media as a means of gratification.

According to Ling & Pedersen, (2005) the uses and gratifications paradigm argued that "gratifications sought motivate the use of a particular medium and hence users fulfil certain psychological needs." (p. 257).

As Srivastava, (2005) reported, "the search for a sense of belonging has always been an important human struggle. There are four classic facets to the sense of belonging: place, family, country and race. Mobile technologies have certainly had an impact on the first two" (p. 112).

These are mentioned to show the psychological effect of modern absent mindedness due to the use of mobile phones. In romantic relationship this great act of doodle could be a great barrier and could hinder intimacy, hence conflicts or problems are inevitable.

2.1.4 Jealousy and Insecurity

When partners are jealous animosity is inevitable in such situation, past incidents between them tends to reoccur, such situation where partner refer to previous incidents. Causes of jealous and insecurity in a relationship to a female partner always melt down to the fear losing the male to another female and vice versa. The impact of social media cannot be over emphasized on this matter. Situation where both partners are constantly monitoring the likes and comments on each other's social media accounts. According to Marshall, Bejayan, & Castro (2012), a lady

monitoring her boyfriend on Facebook was “Driven by anxiety and suspicion, she logs onto Facebook to see if she can find any evidence of his extra-dyadic transgressions. On his Facebook page, she sees that he has recently added three attractive women to his list of friends, he has been tagged in a photo with his arm around an unknown pretty girl, and his relationship status is still listed as “single” rather than “in a relationship” (p. 2).

Imagine a scenery of another lady who on Facebook will not allow the boyfriend chat with any lady including the ex-girlfriend, she believed chatting the ex is a means of reviving the formal feelings and erotic commitments in the relationship, meanwhile the ex-girlfriend is mere co-worker with the male friend who needs to discuss official matters. This calls for high level of insecurity in the female partner. This reason makes partners feel so uncomfortable with the relationships that individuals are so conscious of what and what not to post on social media which includes the issue of selfies or other photographs that could attract attentions and unwanted comments.

Halpern, Katz, & Carril (2017) cited Garimella et al., that “Twitter has been used by romantic partners to publicize their fights” (p. 115). Sometimes when females especially adolescents express their feelings, they are posting their emotional thoughts online and could call for insecurity at the other end especially a situation where the partner tends to like privacy in relationship

2.1.5 Home Responsibilities/Chores

At most tertiary institutions students who are in relationships tends to have intimacy to the extent of sharing same accommodation based on different reasons, in this process they experience premarital activities as a way of courtship which including sharing of what to do and not to do at home which in popular culture certain responsibilities are shared to the male gender and some others are attributed to the females. When one party has done his or her side the other party too will be expectant, the failure or lesser performance could lead to array disarray and fracas or various forms of brouhaha. Duford, (2016) has argued, “Partners that do not have a pre-existing agreement or understanding of personal roles and responsibilities within the home will experience problems in their romantic relationship” (p.1). Partners that feel they are carrying the bulk of the responsibilities in the home often express feelings of being taken for granted, taken advantage of, or overwhelmed with the additional responsibilities.

2.1.6 Change in Priorities

Change is said to be constant in life. Development and growth both physically and non-physically occur in every individual which makes us shift in stages of needs, desires and tastes. It has been a serious issue between partners who in time couldn't develop or display some level of maturity, especially if one has been in a long-time relationship and couldn't meet up with test of time. As an individual especially when we are yet to reach the level of self-actualization we tend to change if partner did not grow in

time and on same pace. Most relationships have goals, the type of partner we want, level of education such should have, look they should wear and so on. But as adolescents or young adults who had engaged in relationships earlier noticed the partner does not vision far as we do, then lost in taste and choice are inevitable. There is situation in the university where the female got into relationship with a male because of his academic prowess and eventually breakup at the end after achieving her desired grades at the end of the academic semester.

2.1.7 Partners Drift Apart

This is basically caused by lesser time spent together by partners in relationships. As times goes on in a relationship where individuals tend to discover that they need to start exploring different options outside each other. This is a major way to give in to an intruder. No partner in a romantic relationship will want the other partner to cherish or put any other things ahead of them except it is mutually agreed on or with mutual benefits, otherwise it could stand as a signifier to each parties as a pointer to low interest or loss of interest in each other.

On the other hand, situation whereby they both met at a level as a student and are both together most time until they graduate from the university, then got a job and both have lesser time to spend with each other as the level of responsibilities has increased. Both partners and jobs are important, but one could hinder the other, in this case the level of communication reduced gradually which is a big signifier to the death of intimacy between them. The bedrock of every relationship melts down to intimacy and healthy communication. When communication is drifted then there is a high tendency of misunderstanding which stands as another big problem in relationships.

2.1.8 Sexual Issues and Sexual Misconduct based on Perception

To talk about romantic relationship and not mentioning sexual issues is just like a half-baked cake. Widman, Welsh, McNulty, & Katherine (2006) argue, that sexual communication is an important component of intimate relationships. As Collins, Welsh, & Furman, (2008) mentioned, romantic relationships are hallmark of adolescence. It is not of news to know that most adolescence are pushed by youthful exuberant and the urge for sexual taste or intent of sexual desire is absolutely common among them. Attempt to sex as initiated by either male or female could also be a signifier to romantic longevity or the short term of it. In an interrogation with a female friend, it is of common perspective among female young adults that if a lady pay a visit on a first day to a male partner and he approach her for sexual intercourse, it could signify that the male has no plan for the female friend than to have her as sexual tool, in such situation even if the female has accepted to give in for a relationship she could change her mind, break the relationship and move on.

From the male perspective, it opines that if a lady is being approached on a very first day of visit and give in to a

sexual offer either initiated by male or the female, it means she's cheap and of low value, or might probably be wanting the male as a sexual tool even though such is not a common act among the female, and it could be that the female has no sexual control and could psychologically attack the perception of the male towards the female partner in terms of trust and reliability. Gonzaga et al., (2006) argued and mentioned by Hazan & Zeifman, 1994, 1999; Zeifman & Hazan, (1997) that sexual desire, related feelings of passion and infatuation fulfil an initiation role, motivating sexual interest, proximity seeking, and initial contact. By motivating proximity seeking, sexual desire promotes contact and allows commitment to grow. Meanwhile, Widman et al., (2006) cited Guzman et al., that in a study of over 1000 adolescents, found that only 52% of youth felt comfortable talking with their current dating partners about sex.

2.1.9 Aggression in Tone of Communication

Obviously even aside being a romantic relationship, for instance in a discussion between father and son, and all of a sudden in the conversation the father frowns his face with raised his voice little bit higher than normal, the son or the observer around even without listening to the conversation will know something is wrong. Now imagine in a relationship which emotional strings are attached where for normative reasons females are expected to be treated with emotions, passions and companion, but had happened then it could serve as a non-verbal signifier of relationship problem. This could be caused by different reasons, either external or within the relationship either depression, aggression, anxiousness or this problem could highly indicate low level of tolerance or falling out of love. In a research conducted by Hyoun & Capaldi, (2004), the women who own antisocial behaviour and depressive symptoms had strong effects on their physical aggression toward the young men, Similarly, the young men's antisocial behaviour and depressive symptoms did not account for any additional variance in their partners' psychological aggression over and above her own antisocial behaviour and depressive symptoms.

3.0 Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Studies

This article so far has been able to highlight some of the non-verbal problems in romantic relationship with explanations. Identification of problems are great steps to problem solving. Young adults who are in a relationship could find this useful in order to serve as a guidance to quickly curb any arising matters or problems related to non-verbal communication in their relationships. Jennifer, et al., (2011) argued that consequently, the fear of intimacy and the avoidance of open communication and emotional expression between partners for fear of negative evaluation are likely to have significant consequences in terms of both overall relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction specifically. In the wide range of many studies and writings on relationships, it has been said that most relationship with low frequency of communication tends to fail due to the

fact that communication remains the bedrock of knowledge because information comes from there. McIsaac, Connolly, Mckenney, Pepler, & Wendy, (2008) argued from their observational data by suggesting that in "order for young people to truly maximize their sense of individuality, they must learn to negotiate conflicts in ways that attend to the needs of their relationship partners as well as themselves" (702). Identifying individual differences between partners could help understand each other personalities and could enhance tolerance when needs come and also accepts each other as the nature demands this could give chance to peace and comfort in relationships. Partners should be aware that every relationship will always have trying time in a diverse way, but handling and response to issues and situations will determine either if the relationship will be sustained or terminated. Having special time to review in a retrospective talking section, diligently with good analysis in a respectful way about the ills and some shortcoming in the relationship will help improve in a very long way, but old problems that affect emotions as regarding the past of individuals should be avoided so as not to create emotional turbulence.

Understanding of individual sexual stretch of individuals could help balance and respect each other's emotions. Partners should act fairly to each other even in difficult times acknowledging the fact that they share emotional ties with each other this could portray self-respects. Arguments and exchange of bitter words out of anger or depression should be avoided as it may trigger bitter reactions. Ibeh, Mabel, & Uzoechina (2013) also suggested that the communication and forgiveness is important when one couple hurts the other. Melanie & Zimmer (1999) stated that understanding future social and individual development, and help us identify additional sources of risk and resilience during adolescence and into early adulthood. Robert (2018) suggested that they need to come up with a plan for concrete behaviours that each is willing to adopt to break the pattern. Then they put their heads down and do it, without keeping score or having high, unrealistic expectations. They have to try it for a few weeks, and then circle back and fine-tune. It is about changing the emotional climate, ending the power struggle and resentment, and healing emotional wounds by stepping outside your comfort zones.

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Türkiye’de Askeri Darbe Girişimi: Geleneksel ve Online Medyanın Rolü

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Öz

Sosyal medya uygulamaları günden güne gelişmekte ve kullanıcı sayıları da giderek artmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Türk televizyonlarının ve sosyal medya uygulamalarının Türkiye’ye yaşanan askeri darbe girişimi sırasında oynadıkları roller incelenmiştir. 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde Türkiye’de yaşanan darbe girişimi sırasında sosyal medya uygulamaları ve televizyonlar önemli bir rol üstlenmiş ve darbenin seyrine etki etmiştir. Televizyonlar darbe girişimi sırasında sosyal medya uygulamalarını da kullanarak canlı yayınlar yapmışlardır. Medyanın kriz ortamlarında olayların yaşandığı yerlere gitmesi ve canlı yayınlar yapması her zaman mümkün olmamaktadır. Buna rağmen, yeni medya düzeni sayesinde mobil telefonu olan çoğu bireyin kameralarını da kullanmasıyla birlikte haberin oluşumuna vatandaş gazetecisi gibi katkı yapması mümkündür. Darbe girişimin olduğu sıralarda, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan yeni medya uygulaması olan Facetime’ı kullanarak televizyonların canlı yayınlarına bağlanmış ve vatandaşlara meydanlarda toplanarak kolektif bir eylem çağrısı yapmıştı. Sonuç olarak, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın 15 Temmuz tarihinde gerçekleştirilen askeri darbe sırasında televizyon ve sosyal medya uygulamalarını kullanarak yaptığı çağrılar vatandaşlardan ve polisten destek görmüş, darbe girişimi başarısız olmuş, dolayısıyla medyanın bu tür kriz durumlarında oynadığı rolün önemi bir kez daha ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, askeri darbe, televizyon, twitter, siyasi söylem, Facetime, Whatsapp.

Giriş

Dünya genelinde birçok kişinin “yeni medya” üzerinden, gündemi takip ettiğini ve bilgiye ulaştığını son yıllarda yapılan araştırmalardan biliyoruz (Solis & Breakenridge, 2009; Urista et. al, 2008). Dünyada değişen sosyal ve ekonomik yapıdan dolayı, medyanın da yapısı farklılaşıyor. Değişen medya düzeninde ise en fazla dikkat çeken nokta; hız, etkileşimli iletişim ve dijitalleşme oluyor. Tüm bunları bir araya getirdiğimizde; “yeni medya” dediğimiz ve genel yaygın bilinen ismiyle “sosyal ağlar/medya” olarak da bilinen bir konudan bahsetmiş oluyoruz. Bireyler geleneksel medya olarak tanımladığımız gazeteyi, televizyonu ve radyoyu takip ediyor, ayrıca geleneksel medyaya alternatif olması açısından online haber sitelerini, uygulamaları (applications) ve sosyal ağları da kullanıyorlar.

Özellikle gençlerin sosyalleşmek, eğlenmek, vakit geçirmek, bilgi edinmek ve haber almak için kullandıkları sosyal ağlar, bazı kesimler tarafından siyaset ve kamuoyu oluşturma platformu olarak da kullanılıyor (e.g., Sunstein 2002; Bennett 2003; Benkler 2006; Farrell and Drezner 2008; Aday et al. 2010; Tumasjan et al. 2011; Nguyen, 2011; Stieglitz et al. 2012). Son 10 yıldır birçok ülkede yaşanan sivil protestolar, sosyal hareketler, eylemler ve askeri darbeler sonrasında sosyal ağların önemini gösteren araştırmalar yapılmıştır (Porta & Diani, 2006; Donk et al., 2004; Harlow, 2011). Twitter, Facebook ve Youtube vb. üzerine yapılan araştırmalar gösteriyor ki bireyler sosyal hareketleri geleneksel medya yerine sosyal ağlardan takip etmeyi tercih ediyorlar (Petrocchi et al., 2015; Colas et al., 2013; Shao; 2009; Chen, 2011; Quan-Haase & Young, 2010). Ancak Türkiye’de 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde bazı ordu mensupları tarafından gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılan askeri darbe teşebbüsü geleneksel ve online (alternatif) medyanın önemini bir kez daha ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’de askeri darbe teşebbüsü sırasında Türk medyasının ve online medyanın rolü araştırılmıştır. Araştırmada şu sorulara yanıt aranmıştır: (i) Türkiye’de 15 Temmuz 2016 askeri darbe teşebbüsü sırasında siyasiler kitle iletişim araçlarını nasıl kullandı? (ii) Darbe sırasında politikacılar online (alternatif) medya uygulamalarını nasıl kullandı? (iii) Darbeyi gerçekleştirmek isteyen ordu mensupları kitle iletişim araçlarını nasıl kullandı? (iv) Darbe sırasında darbeciler online (alternatif) medya uygulamalarını nasıl kullandı? (v) Cumhurbaşkanı ve Başbakan yaptıkları ilk açıklamalarda darbe konusunda hangi söylemlerde bulundular?

Sosyal Ağlar ve Uygulamalar

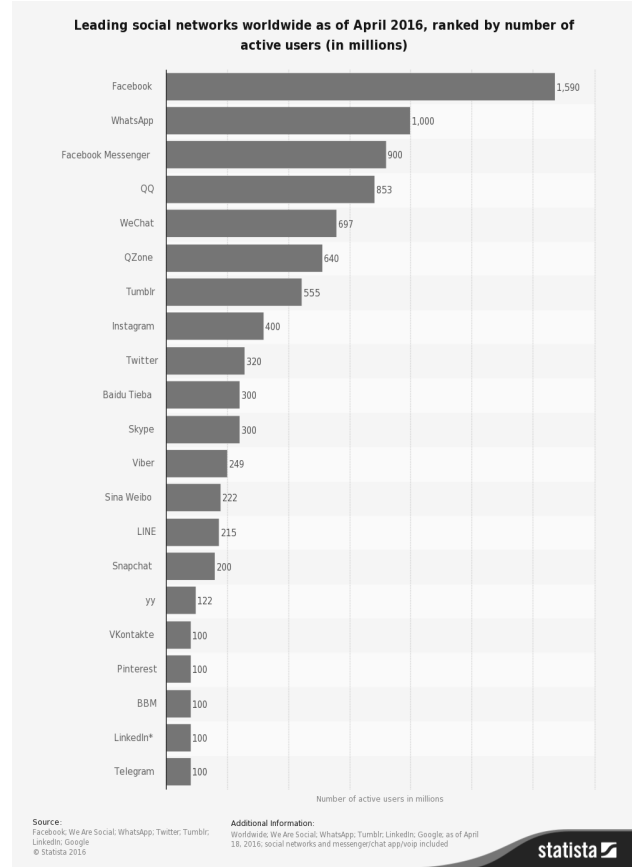
Zappavigna (2012) mentioned that, “sosyal medya, genellikle bir tür sosyal etkileşim veya ‘ağ kurma’ işlemini kolaylaştıran web tabanlı hizmetlere uygulanan bir şemsiye terimdir” (sf. 2). Zappavigna (2012) sosyal medyayı bu şekilde tanımlayarak, sosyal ağları kullanan kişilerin aktif özelliklerine dikkat çekmektedir. Bu aktif özellik arasında sadece ilişki kurmak ve takip yapmak değil, aynı zamanda içerik üretmek, iş birliği yapmak da bulunmaktadır. Web 2.0 teknolojisi dediğimiz, özellikle Twitter’ın ve Facebook kullanıcılarına sağlanan içerik üretme ve paylaşma özelliği sayesinde bireylerin internet kullanırken daha “aktif” ve katılımcı olduğu yapılan araştırmalarla ortaya konmuştur (Kasmania et al., 2014). Kaplan and Haenlein’in (2010) sosyal medya tanımı da benzer görüşü paylaşmaktadır: “Web 2.0’in ideolojik ve teknolojik temellerini temel alan ve kullanıcı tarafından oluşturulan içeriğin oluşturulmasına ve değiştirilmesine olanak tanıyan bir grup internet tabanlı uygulama (sf. 61)”. Sosyal ağların arasında Twitter¹, komuyu oluşumunda önemli bir noktaya gelmiştir. Ellison (2007), özellikle Facebook ve Twitter gibi sosyal ağların, kullanıcılarına tanışma ve mesajlaşma olanağı sunmasının ötesinde, organizasyon kurma, organize olma, bilgi ve fikir paylaşma, inanç ve düşünceler etrafında gruplaşma imkânlarını da verdiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Yıllar önce Habermas’ın (1989) ortaya attığı kamusal alan kavramı; insanların fikirlerini paylaşabildiği bir platformdan bahsederken, devlet ile ekonomiden ayrı olarak kararları değiştirme veya etkileme olanağına sahip olduğu da vurgulanmıştı. Günümüzde ise yüz yüze görüşmelerde yapılan sohbetlerin yerini hızlı bir şekilde online platformların aldığı söyleyebiliriz. Dolayısıyla Valtysson’un (2012) ifade ettiği gibi artık “dijital kamusal alan(lar)” (digital public spheres) etrafımızı sarmış durumda. Günlük yaşamımızın bir parçası haline gelen dijital veya online ağların ve politik söylemin etkileri konularında Garimella et al. (2016) iki farklı anlayışın olduğunu vurguluyor: Cyber-optimists and cyber-pessimists. “Siber-iyimlerler, çevrimiçi olarak serbest fikir akışının daha eğitilmiş bir popülasyona ve daha güçlü demokrasilere yol açacağına inanıyor. Öte yandan siber kötümserler, dijital iletişim teknolojilerinin yalnızca çevrimiçi “eko odaları” nı kolaylaştırarak ve yanlış bilginin yayılmasına yardımcı olarak daha kutuplaşmış görüşlere yol açtığına inanıyor” (Garimella et al., 2016, sf. 1).

Sosyal medya uygulamaları (app) gün geçtikçe çeşitleniyor ve kullanıcı sayıları artıyor. Statista sitesinin (2016) rakamlarına göre Facebook ve WhatsApp dünyada en fazla tercih edilen ve kullanılan sosyal medya uygulamasıdır. Bireylerin cep telefonlarına veya mobil elektronik cihazlarına indirerek kullandığı uygulamalar, Heo et al. (2009) tarafından taşınabilir ve bireysel bilgiler içeren **iletişim sistemleri** olarak tanımlanıyor. Bu özelliklerinden

¹ Twitter, 2006 yılının başında, kişilerin kısa metin mesajlarını (“tweets”) sistemdeki diğerleriyle paylaşmalarını sağlamak için kurulan bir mikroblog hizmetidir. Sistem aslında tweetlerin SMS yoluyla paylaşılması için tasarlandığından, tweetin maksimum uzunluğu 140 karakterdir. (boyd, et al. 2010: 2). Ancak günümüzde maksimum tweet uzunluğu 280 karaktere yükseltildi.

dolayı Türkiye’de 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde yaşanan darbe teşebbüsünde sosyal medya uygulamaları önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Buna göre, darbeciler kendi aralarındaki iletişimi WhatsApp uygulaması üzerinden yaparken, darbecilere karşı cevap vermek için siyasi liderler Facetime uygulamasını tercih etmiştir. Facetime, Macintosh firmasının tarafından geliştirilen ve sadece Ipad ile Iphone elektronik cihazlarında çalışan bir uygulamadır.



Grafik 1: 2016 yılında en fazla kullanılan sosyal ağların listesi. <http://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>

Metot

Araştırmada, nitel içerik analizi metodu ile siyasilerin kitle iletişim ve mobil uygulama araçları üzerinden darbe teşebbüsü hakkında yaptıkları ilk açıklamalar incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma Türkiye’de kriz dönemlerinde (askeri darbe) kitle iletişim ve online (alternatif) araçların oynadığı kritik rolü gösterdiği için bir ilk niteliği taşımaktadır. Farklı konularda araştırmalar yapılmış olsa da darbe konusunda geleneksel ve online/alternatif medya üzerine ilk kez bu çalışma yapılmıştır.

Türkiye’de darbe teşebbüsü sırasında siyasi liderlerin yapmış oldukları açıklamalar Maxwell (1996), Bogdan & Biklen (2006) ve Glesne’in (2011) nitel araştırma tanımlamalarına göre; derinlemesine ve detaylı bir şekilde analiz edilmiştir. Bu araştırma bir durum çalışmasıdır (case study). Yin’in (2003) belirttiği gibi, “vaka çalışması yöntemi, araştırmacıların bireysel yaşam döngüleri, küçük grup davranışı, örgütsel ve yönetsel süreçler, mahalle değişikliği, okul performansı, uluslararası ilişkiler ve

endüstrilerin olgunlaşması gibi gerçek hayattaki olayların bütünsel ve anlamlı özelliklerini korumasını sağlar” (sf. 3). Araştırmada Türkiye’de 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde meydana gelen darbe teşebbüsü durum çalışması olarak belirlenmiştir.

Verilerin Toplanması ve Analizi

Bu çalışmada; 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde Türkiye’de meydana gelen darbe teşebbüsü sırasında siyasi liderlerin televizyonlara (geleneksel) yaptıkları canlı ve görüntülü telefon bağlantıları ile Twitter’den (sosyal medya) attıkları mesajlar temel veri kaynağı olarak araştırılmıştır. Darbe teşebbüsü sırasında televizyonlara ilk canlı telefon bağlantısını gerçekleştiren Başbakan Binali Yıldırım ile sonrasında canlı ve görüntülü bağlanan Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan ile 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül’ün mesajları deşifre edilip, nitel içerik analizi yapılmıştır. Söz konusu televizyon yayımlarıyla ilgili görüntüler internet ortamından toplanmış ve analiz edilmiştir. Siyasi liderlerin darbe teşebbüsü gecesi atmış olduğu ilk 3 Twitter mesajı da araştırma soruları ışığında metin (textual)² analizi tekniği ile incelenmiştir.

Dünyadaki askeri darbe girişimleri

Askeri darbenin tanımına ilişkin literatürde (Sampford, 2011 & Varol, 2012) farklı denemeler olsa da bu çalışmada Powell & Thyne’in (2011) tanımlaması kullanılmıştır, “Bir darbe girişiminin tanımı, devlet teşkilatı içindeki ordunun veya diğer elitlerin yasadışı ve açık bir biçimde iktidarı devirme teşebbüslerini içerir” (sf. 252). Habermas (1989) ordu kavramını “devletin ideolojik” aygıtı olarak tanımlarken, bu noktada devletin orduyu güç (force) kullanarak düzeni sağlaması olarak göstermekteydi. Tabii aynı şekilde ordunun da güç kullanarak devlet iktidarını ele geçirmesi de söz konusu olabiliyor. Bu tür durumlar ise yasa dışı girişimler olarak görülmekle birlikte, literatürde rejim değiştirme girişimleri “darbe” olarak tanımlanmaktadır. O’Kane (1987) ordunun bu şekilde bir güç kullanmasını “negatif” bir durum olarak açıklarken, Thyne and Powell (2014) darbelerin demokrasi üzerindeki etkisini araştırarak, darbelerin az gelişmiş demokrasiye sahip otoriter rejimlerde demokrasiye bir pencere açabileceğini vurguluyorlar.

Powell and Thyne (2011) ise 1950-2010 yılları arasında yaptıkları araştırma ile darbelerin en fazla Afrika ve Amerika kıtalarında gerçekleştiğini ortaya koydular. Bu kıtaları Ortadoğu ve Asya takip ederken, Avrupa kıtası en az askeri darbe yaşayan kıta oldu. Özellikle 2010 yılında gerçekleşen Arap Baharı hareketleri sonrası darbeye ilgili söz konusu rakamların Afrika ve Ortadoğu ülkeleri açısından arttığı söylenebilir (eg. Mısır, 2011).

Feaver (1999) askeri darbe yapanların ortak özelliğini “devleti dış tehditlerden korumak” olarak gösteriyor. Türkiye’de 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde yaşanan darbe

teşebbüsünün arkasındaki ordu mensupları Yurtta Sulh Konseyi imzasıyla yayınladıkları bildiriye darbenin gerekçelerini geniş yelpazede kamuoyuna açıklanırken, genel olarak bir demokrasi ve insan hakları vurgusu yapmaya çalışmıştır.

15 Temmuz darbe teşebbüsü

Türkiye askeri darbe tarihinde birkaç kez askeri darbe girişimlerinin başarısız olduğunu biliyoruz (20 Mayıs 1969 ve 9 Mart 1971). Başarısız darbe girişimlerine bir yenisi de 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde eklenmiştir. Böylece, “15 Temmuz 2016” tarihi Türkiye’de ordunun darbe teşebbüsünde bulunduğu tarih olarak kayıtlara geçmiş oldu. Ordunun ülke yönetimine el koyma girişimiyle ilgili ilk bilgiler tankların İstanbul’daki köprülerin (Fatih Sultan Mehmet ve Boğaziçi) giriş ve çıkışlarını kapattığı ile ilgiliydi. Ardından F16 savaş uçaklarının ve askeri helikopterlerin Ankara’da Genelkurmay Başkanlığı’nın üzerinde alçak uçuş yaptıkları bilgisi medya aracılığıyla kamuoyuna ulaştı. “Türkiye’de darbe mi oluyor?” sorusu akıllara geldiği sırada ilk açıklama Türkiye Başbakanı Binali Yıldırım’dan geldi. Başbakanı Binali Yıldırım’ın NTV televizyonuna canlı telefon bağlantısı³ ile yaptığı açıklamada İstanbul ve Ankara’da yaşanan askeri hareketliliği “bir kalkışma ihtimali” olarak tanımladı. Açıklamasında “darbe” kelimesine özellikle yer vermeyen Başbakan Yıldırım, “asker içerisinde bazı kişilerin kanunsuz eylemi söz konusu” dedi.

Türkiye’nin askeri darbelerle ilgili kısa tarihçesine bakıldığında, Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri (TSK) ya kurumsal olarak ya da bazı subayların girişimleri ile sivil yönetime yönelik darbeler yapılmıştır. TSK’nın direkt olarak devlet yönetimine el koyması ilk olarak 1960 yılında, ikinci olarak da 1980 yılında olmuştur. Ancak arada 1971 yılı var ki, bu yılda TSK, hükümeti istifaya zorlamış bir tür askeri muhtıra (andıç) vermiştir. Benzer bir muhtıra (andıç) girişimi de 1997 yılında yaşandı. Türkiye’de yaklaşık 20 yıldır herhangi bir darbe girişimi olmamasına rağmen, son yıllarda kamuoyunun bilgisine gelen yolsuzluk, rüşvet, usulsüzlük ve ihalelere fesat karıştırıldığı iddiaları böylesi bir askeri darbe girişiminin beklendiği izlenimi doğurmaktaydı.

Kriz döneminde gazetecilik

Kriz dönemlerinde gazetecilik yapmak, normal koşullara göre daha fazla dikkat ve özen gerektirmektedir. Çaplı ve Taş’ın (2009) “kriz haberciliği” isimli makalelerinde de belirttiği gibi: “Kriz ya da felaketin duyulması ile birlikte oluşan endişe ortamında kamuoyu, yaşanan durumun ‘gerçekte ne olduğunu’ anlayabilmek ve içinde bulunduğu belirsizliği giderebilmek için enformasyona ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Dolayısıyla kriz durumlarında haberciliğin toplumsal önemi katlanarak artmaktadır.” Gazeteciler yaptıkları haberlerin sonuçlarından sorumlu olduğunu kabul ediyorsak, özellikle kriz durumlarında kamuya karşı daha fazla sorumluluk almaları beklenmektedir.

2 “Metin analizi, metinlerin içeriğini ve anlamını veya bunların yapılarını ve söylemlerini yakından inceleyen bir veri analizi yöntemidir” (Given, 2008)

3 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RT8lN7yvrE>

Kriz durumlarını Çaplı ve Taş (2009) tarafından şöyle tanımlanıyor: “Savaş, terör, saldırı, hastalık, iktisadi bunalım, siyasal çalkantı, doğal afet ve kaza gibi kriz durumları, farklı toplumsal, ekonomik, siyasal ve moral olguların çeşitli biçimlerde iç içe geçmesiyle görünürlük kazanmaktadır.” Açıkça görülüyor ki bu tür kriz durumlarını medya çok hızlı bir şekilde kendi lehine çevirebiliyor ve bu süreçten maksimum düzeyde faydalanmaya çalışıyor. Televizyonlar için söyleyecek olursak; olayla ilgili yayımlanan görüntüler, müzikler ile birlikte dikkat çekici efektlerle süsleniyor. Böylece izleyiciler daha fazla etki altına alınıyor. Aynı şekilde gazetelerin ön sayfaları bazı gerçekleri görmemizi gizleyecek şekilde iri puntolarla ve büyük fotoğraflarla tasarlanıyor. Böylece medyanın olayla ilgili olarak aklımızda yarattığı gerçekliği, bize sunduğu çerçevede algılamaya başlıyoruz. Aklımızdaki görsel imgeler ve sözler medyanın gerçekliği ile paralellik gösteriyor. Dolayısıyla, deprem, su taşkınları, doğal afetler gibi durumların yanı sıra, askeri darbe girişimlerinde de “kriz haberciliği” gerektiren durumlar gazetecilik anlayışı benimsenmelidir. Zira, halkın informasyon ihtiyacı birincil olarak medyadan karşılanmaktadır.

“Gerçekte ne olduğunu” anlamaya çalışan halkın medyaya olan ihtiyacı bu kadar yüksek bir seviyeye çıkarken, medyanın da bu noktada şeffaf, adil, baskılardan uzak bir şekilde hareket etmesi bekleniyor.

Ancak, son yıllarda medyanın durumuna baktığımızda özellikle yaşanan krizlerde gazetecilerin bu olayları haberleştirirken baskılar yaşadığını görüyoruz. Siyasal veya ekonomik baskılardan kaynaklanabilen bu durumlar karşısında çaresizce ya bilgiler gizleniyor ya da kamuoyunun görmesi, duyması ve bilmesi istenen bilgiler çarpıtılarak sunuluyor.

15 Temmuz’da gazetecilik

Türkiye’de darbe teşebbüsünün olduğunun kamuoyuna ulaşmasından sonra, gazeteciler için de bir sınav başlamış oluyor. Öylesi bir sınav ki, darbeyi gerçekleştirmeye çalışanlar ile sivil idare arasında kalınıyor. Bir başka ifadeyle “medya savaşı” darbeciler ile hükümet arasında

başlıyor ve bu savaşın sonucu darbenin de gidişatını değiştirecek kadar hayati bir öneme sahip oluyor. Darbe girişiminde bulunan askeri personel kitle iletişim araçlarına hâkim olmaları gerektiğinin bilinciyle hareket ederler. 15 Temmuz darbe teşebbüsünü daha önceki darbelerden ayıran en önemli özellikler, 21. yüzyılda yapıyor olması ve bu çağda bireylerin yoğun bir şekilde sosyal ağları (alternatif) kullanıyor olmasıdır. Artık sadece geleneksel olarak tanımladığımız gazete, televizyon, radyo, dergi vb. kitle araçlarının olmadığı bir çağdayız. Dolayısıyla, bireyler alternatif bilgiye kitle iletişim araçlarının yanı sıra sosyal ağlar vasıtasıyla da hızlı ve kolay bir şekilde ulaşabiliyor. Sosyal ağların yapısının geleneksel medya araçlarına göre daha zor kontrol edilebilmesi, 15 Temmuz darbe teşebbüsünün de seyrini değiştirmiştir. Genelde internete özeldir ise sosyal ağlara erişimin engellenmediği durumlarda sosyal ağları kontrol etmek kolay bir durum değildir.

Darbe sırasında gazeteciler sadece halkın bilgi ihtiyacını karşılamadı. Aynı zamanda darbe teşebbüsünde bulunan kesimin de sivil otoritenin de bilgi ihtiyacına cevap verdi. Ayrıca medya darbecilerin de sivil otoritenin de hâkimiyet kurmaya çalıştığı, bu vesileyle istenen kamuoyunun yaratıldığı bir araç haline dönüştü.

Bulgular

Bu çalışmada birinci araştırma sorusu şöyle oluşturuldu: (i) Türkiye’de 15 Temmuz 2016 askeri darbe teşebbüsü sırasında siyasiler kitle iletişim araçlarını nasıl kullandı? İstanbul ve Ankara’da yaşanan askeri hareketlilik sonrasında televizyonlardaki canlı yayımlara ilk bağlanan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı Binali Yıldırım oldu. Başbakan Binali Yıldırım ilk olarak NTV televizyonunun canlı yayınına telefon ile bağlanarak açıklamalarda bulundu. Ardından Haber Türk televizyonuna telefon ile bağlandı. Fotoğraf 1’de de görüldüğü gibi Başbakan Yıldırım, askeri darbe teşebbüsü bilgisini aldıktan sonra, geleneksel kitle iletişim aracı olan televizyonu tercih ederek, vatandaşlarına seslendi.

Fotoğraf 1: Başbakan Binali Yıldırım NTV canlı yayınına telefon bağlantısı yaptı



NTV televizyonunu seçerek kanala telefonla bağlanan Binali Yıldırım’ın bu tercihi kanalın “haber kanalı” olması olarak gösterilebilir. Birçok kişinin haber ihtiyacını karşıladığı haber kanalları, bu noktada başbakan tarafından daha güvenilir, saygın bulunmuş olabilir ayrıca vatandaşlara hızlı ulaşmak adına yapılmış bir hamle olarak da yorumlanabilir. NTV televizyonu son dakika olarak geçtiği görüntülerle birlikte Başbakan Binali Yıldırım’ın konuyla ilgili görüşlerini yayımladı. NTV haberi, “Bir kalkışma var”, “Başbakan: Buna izin vermeyeceğiz” özetleriyle Başbakan Yıldırım’ın sözlerinden alıntı yaparak verdi.

Fotoğraf 2: Başbakan Binali Yıldırım Haber Türk canlı yayınına telefon bağlantısı yaptı



Başbakan Binali Yıldırım ikinci canlı telefon bağlantısını bir başka haber kanalı olan Haber Türk kanalına yaptı. “Son dakika” haberi olarak geçilen bilgiler, tankların, askerlerin silahlı görüntüleriyle desteklendi. Haber Türk haberi ise “Askeri kalkışma iddiası” başlığı ile duyuru yaparak, alt başlıkta “Başbakan Yıldırım: Bunu yapanlar en ağır bedeli ödeyeceklerdir” şeklinde Başbakan Yıldırım’ın sözleri ile özetledi.

Araştırmamızın ikinci sorusu: “Darbe sırasında politikacılar online (alternatif) medya uygulamalarını nasıl kullandı?” şeklindeydi. Bu soruya yanıt arandığında, Türkiye’nin 12. Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan ile 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül’ün hem televizyonları hem de sosyal uygulamaları kullandığını söyleyebiliriz. Her iki politikacı da “Facetime”⁴ uygulaması vasıtasıyla geleneksel televizyonların haber programlarına bağlanarak darbe teşebbüsünü değerlendirdiler ve vatandaşlara çağrıda bulundular. Ardından Twitter sosyal medya uygulaması ile vatandaşlara yönelik tweetler atıldılar. Darbe teşebbüsü sırasında Marmaris’te tatilde olan Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan, ilk canlı telefon bağlantısını CNN Türk televizyon kanalı⁵ ile yaptı.

Fotoğraf 3: Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan CNN Türk canlı yayınına Facetime bağlantısı yaptı



Fotoğraf 3’te görüldüğü gibi Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, televizyona telefon ile bağlanmak yerine, Apple firmasının geliştirdiği “Facetime” uygulaması ile bağlanıyor ve sesi ile görüntüsü de cep telefonundan televizyondaki izleyicilere aktarılıyor. Erdoğan’ın kendi cep telefonu ile mi yoksa başka bir telefonu kullandığı bilinmiyor ancak geleneksel şekilde sadece “sesi” ile televizyona bağlanmak yerine gücünü kanıtlarcasına “ben buradayım”, “yaşıyorum” ve “sağlığım yerinde” mesajları veriyor. Darbe girişimlerinde ilk önce siyasetler hedef alınır ve sivil otoritenin başı olarak kabul edilen cumhurbaşkanlarının yakalanmasına yönelik girişimler olur. Benzer bir durum Türkiye’deki 15 Temmuz darbe teşebbüsünde de yaşandı. Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın tatil yaptığı otele yönelik darbeci askerler tarafından suikast girişimi yapıldı. Böylesi bir saldırı olabileceğini düşünen Cumhurbaşkanlığı koruma ekibi, buna karşı tedbir alarak Erdoğan’ın güvenli bir yere götürdüler. Darbecilerin suikastından kurtulan Erdoğan, canlı yayınlara katılarak vatandaşlara seslendi ve bu görüntülü bağlantılar darbenin seyrini değiştirdi. CNN Türk kanalı Erdoğan’ın konuşmasını: “Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: Yapılan işgali ortadan kaldırılacağına inanıyorum” şeklinde verdi.

Görüntülü olarak vatandaşlara seslenen Erdoğan, vatandaşlara meydanlara ve havalimanlarına gitmesi yönünde çağrıda bulundu. Böylece darbenin gerçekleşmesinin önüne ciddi bir engel koymuş oldu. Ayrıca görüntülü bağlantısıyla, halka moral ve motivasyon da vermiş oldu.

4 FaceTime, Apple iPhone ve Apple iPod touch ile iPad yeni nesil tabletlerinde (4. Jenerasyon) videolu görüşme özelliğidir.

5 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnrUXpCx008>

Fotoğraf 4: Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan NTV canlı yayınına Facetime bağlantısı yaptı



Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan daha sonra bir başka haber kanalı olan NTV'ye yine Facetime uygulaması ile canlı telefon bağlantısı yaptı. Erdoğan “demokrasiye inananları meydanlara davet ediyorum” diyerek vatandaşlara seslendi. Erdoğan burada da darbenin başarısız olacağını ve darbecilere haddini bildireceklerinin altını çizerek, darbeni başarılı olamayacağına yönelik söylemleriyle vatandaşa moral verirken, darbecilerin de direnme gücünü zayıflattı. Darbe teşebbüsünün başarısız olacağını düşünmeye başlayan birçok darbeci teslim olması Erdoğan'ın konuşmasının gücünü göstermesi açısından önemlidir.

Fotoğraf 5: Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan A Haber canlı yayınına Facetime bağlantısı yaptı



Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın açıklama yaptığı diğer bir geleneksel kitle iletişim aracı A Haber televizyon kanalı oldu. Benzer şekilde Facetime uygulaması ile vatandaşlara seslenen Erdoğan, bu vesileyle vatandaşların meydanlara toplanmasını sağlamakla birlikte, darbe teşebbüsü karşısına sivil direnişi öne sürerek polislerin olaylara müdahale edebilmesi için zaman kazanmış oldu. Görüldüğü gibi Erdoğan özellikle haber kanallarını seçerek vatandaşa seslenmiş, Türkiye'deki diğer ulusal televizyonlar da ortak canlı yayınlarla haber kanallarından aldıkları bilgi ve görüntülere ülke geneline yayımladılar.

Fotoğraf 6: 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül NTV⁶ canlı yayınına Facetime bağlantısı yaptı



Fotoğraf 7: 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül CNN Türk⁷ canlı yayınına Facetime bağlantısı yaptı



6. ve 7. fotoğraflarda da görüldüğü gibi, 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül NTV ve CNN Türk haber kanallarının canlı yayınına Facetime bağlantıları yaptı. Abdullah Gül'de aynen Recep T. Erdoğan gibi darbenin başarısız olacağına dikkat çekerek, askerlerin kırsalına dönmesi ve Türkiye'de bu şekilde rejim değiştirilmesinin mümkün olmadığını vurguladı. Mobil iletişim uygulamalarının özellikle görüntülü iletişimin siyasi liderler tarafından 15 Temmuz darbe teşebbüsü sırasında etkin bir şekilde harmanlanarak kullanıldığını gördük. Sadece ses ile vatandaşa ulaşmanın görüntüye göre daha az bir etki yaratacağını bilen siyasi liderler, bu noktada halka darbenin başarısız olacağına yönelik mesajlar verdiler.

Darbe girişimcileri ve sosyal uygulamalar

Darbe girişiminde bulunan bazı ordu mensuplarının ilk olarak telekomünikasyon sistemini ele geçirmesi böylece bilgi akışını istekleri doğrultuda ayarlamaları bekleniyordu. Nitekim geleneksel medyaya yönelik müdahaleler darbe başladıktan kısa süre sonra yapıldı. Araştırma soruları arasında bulunan üçüncü soru ise şöyleydi: “Darbeyi

6 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5cnpj0SPpHA>

7 <http://www.cnnturk.com/video/turkiye/abdullah-gul-askere-seslendi>

gerçekleştirmek isteyen ordu mensupları kitle iletişim araçlarını nasıl kullandı?” Darbeciler geleneksel kitle iletişim araçlarını kontrol almaya yönelik bazı operasyonlar yaptılar. Medyaya hâkim olmanın darbenin seyri konusunda önemli olduğunu bilen darbeciler önce devletin televizyon kanalı olan TRT’ye baskın düzenlediler. Baskın yapıldıktan sonra, TRT haber spikerlerinden Tijen Karş’a darbe bildirisi okutuldu. Silah zoruyla okutulan darbe bildirisi Yurtta Sulh Konseyi imzası taşıyordu. Söz konusu bildiride, ülkedeki terör olaylarının artması, yolsuzluk ve hırsızlığın artması, hukuk sisteminin işlemez hale gelmesi, anayasal düzeni yeniden tahsis etmek, uluslararası ortamda barış ve istikrar gibi nedenler sıralanarak tüm yurtta sıkıyönetim ilan edildiğini açıkladılar. Bildirinin sonunda “İkinci bir duyuruya kadar sokağa çıkma yasağı uygulanacaktır” ifadesi bulunuyor. TRT’de okutulan bildirinin ardından darbeciler CNN Türk kanalının da içinde bulunduğu Hürriyet gazetesinin binasını, Digitürk (dijital yayın yapan platform), Türkcell (mobil iletişim operatörü) ve Türksat (uydu haberleşme) binaları işgal edilerek kontrol altına almaya çalışıldı. Darbecilerin medyaya yönelik müdahaleleri etkin olan televizyon kanallarını kontrol altına almak, sonrasında uyduda yayın yapan kanalları susturmak ve mobil iletişimi kontrol altına almaktı. Polis ve vatandaşların direnmesiyle medya darbeciler tarafından kontrol altına alınmadı. Bu da darbe teşebbüsünün başarısız olmasında önemli rol oynadı.

15 Temmuz darbe teşebbüsü ilginç deneyimlere sahne oldu. İlk kez bir darbeye darbeciler kendi aralarındaki iletişimi “Whatsapp⁸” sosyal medya uygulaması üzerinden yürüttü. Araştırmanın dördüncü sorusu bu noktayı araştırıyor: “*Darbe sırasında darbeciler online (alternatif) medya uygulamalarını nasıl kullandı?”* Whatsapp uygulamasını bir darbe aracına dönüştüren darbeciler bundan dolayı sosyal ağlara erişimi bilinçli olarak engellememiş olabilirler. Zira kendi aralarındaki iletişimi sosyal medya uygulaması olan “Whatsapp” üzerinden sağlıyorlardı. Bir başka ifadeyle, darbeciler gizli iletişimlerini “Whatsapp” uygulaması kullanarak yaptılar. Gençlerin sosyalleşmek için kullandığı ücretsiz bir uygulama olan Whatsapp, bir darbe aracı haline dönüştürüldü. Dolayısıyla internete erişim engeli konması veya internet hızının yavaşlatılması gibi müdahaleleri darbeciler tarafından planlanmadığını anlıyoruz. Zaten böylesi müdahaleler olsaydı, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan televizyonlara görüntülü bağlanamazdı, darbeciler de kendi arasında iletişimi sağlayamazdı.

Siyasilerin ilk açıklamaları

Araştırmanın son sorusu ise “*Cumhurbaşkanı ve Başbakan yaptıkları ilk açıklamalarda darbe konusunda hangi söylemlerde bulundular?”* konusuna ilgilidir. Bu sorunun yanıtı için Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan, 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül ve Başbakan Binali Yıldırım’ın televizyonlara yaptıkları açıklamalara ek olarak Twitter’da attıkları mesajlar metin (textual) analizi

8 Whatsapp Messenger, SMS için ödeme yapmak zorunda kalmadan mesaj alışverişi yapmanızı sağlayan çapraz platformlu bir mobil mesajlaşma uygulamasıdır.

tekniki ile incelenmiştir.

Binali Yıldırım NTV’de...

Başbakan Binali Yıldırım, NTV televizyonunun canlı yayınına katılarak telefon bağlantısı gerçekleştirdi. 3.07 dakika süren görüşmede Başbakan Yıldırım’ın ilk açıklamasını şu sözlerle yapıyor:

Doğrusu bir kalkışma ihtimali üzerinde duruyoruz. Belli ki, emir komuta zinciri olmadan asker içerisinde bazı kişilerin kanunsuz bir eylemi söz konusu. Ancak vatandaşların ve milletim bunu bilsin ki demokrasiye herhangi bir zarar getirecek hiçbir faaliyete izin verilmeyecek bu bir. İkincisi, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti hükümeti vatandaşın milletin seçtiği milletin iradesini temsil eden hükümet iş başındadır. Bunun iş başından gitmesi ancak milletin kararıyla olur. Bu bilinmelidir. Bu kalkışmayı yapanlar, bu çılgınlığı yapanlar, bu kanunsuz eylemin içerisinde olanlar da en ağır şekilde bedelini ödeyecektir. Vatandaşımın bunu bilmesini istiyorum. Asla ve asla bu gibi kalkışmalara pabuç bırakmayacağız. Vatandaşlarımız sakin olsunlar. Ama asla ve asla bu ve buna benzer çılgınlıklara da müsaade etmeyeceğimizi bilsinler.

Darbe teşebbüsünün ilk saatlerini “kalkışma ihtimali” olarak tanımlayan Başbakan Yıldırım, bunu yapanların asker içinde bazı kişiler olduğunu söyleyerek, kanunsuz bir eylem olduğunu vurguluyor. Yıldırım, konuşmasının devamında ise “demokrasi” vurgusu yaparak, darbeye teşebbüs edenlerin ağır bir şekilde cezalandırılacağını söylüyor. Arkasından da hükümetin işinin başında olduğunu vatandaşlarla paylaşarak, vatandaşların sakin olmalarını istiyor. Spikerin “Bir darbe mi gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılıyor, yani bunu mu anlıyoruz?” şeklindeki sorusuna ise Binali Yıldırım şu yanıtı veriyor:

Şimdi bunun adına henüz bir darbe demek doğru olmaz. Bir kalkışma olduğu doğrudur. Belirli bölgelerde, sorumsuzca devletin emanet ettiği silahları, araçları alıp, vatandaşların üzerine giden, onları yere yatırıp efendim etkisiz hale getirmeye çalışan birtakım gruplar var. Bu grupların kim olduğu? Hangi amaçla hareket ettiklerini kısa sürede anlayacağız ve gerekeni yapacağız. Milletimiz rahat olsun. Asla ve asla yasa dışı demokrasiyi kesintiye uğratabilecek faaliyetlere müsamaha göstermeyeceğiz.

Başbakan Binali Yıldırım, konuşmasında birkaç kez tekrar ederek, güçlü, kesin ve kararlı ifadeler kullanarak darbe teşebbüsüne müsamaha gösterilmeyeceğini söylüyor. Başbakan kamuoyuna verdiği kararlı mesajda, darbenin başarıya ulaşamayacağını açıkça söylemese de kanun dışı bir duruma izin vermeyeceklerinin altını çiziyor. Başbakan Yıldırım’ın canlı telefon bağlantısından anlaşıldığı gibi, darbe teşebbüsünü “kalkışma” olarak tanımlıyor. Darbe teşebbüsünde bulunan kişileri ise; “birtakım gruplar”

şeklinde açıkladı. Başbakanın konuşmasının genel yapısı incelendiğinde ise; sakin tonda, kendinden emin bir üslup ile kararlı mesajlar verdiği gözlemlenmiştir.

Erdoğan CNN Türk'te...

Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan, CNN Türk televizyonunun canlı yayınına katılarak, Facetime vasıtasıyla görüntülü olarak telefon bağlantısı gerçekleştirdi. 6.34 dakika süren görüşmede televizyon tarihinde ilk kez Facetime uygulaması cep telefonu kamerası ile geleneksel televizyona bağlanılıyor. Darbe teşebbüsünün yaşandığı sırada Marmaris'te olan Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan, hızlı ve kolay bir şekilde ulusal televizyonun canlı yayınına bağlanarak önemli mesajlar veriyor. Bu mesajlar darbenin gidişatını değiştirmesi yönünden önemliydi. Zira, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın tutuklandığı, suikasta uğradığı ve sağlık durumunun iyi olmadığı yönünde propaganda niteliğinde haberler hızla yayılmaktaydı. Bunun üzerine iyi organize olmuş bir şekilde Erdoğan, yeni ve eski teknolojiyi birleştirerek televizyoncuların yanına gelmesine veya kendisinin stüdyoya girmesine gerek kalmadan süratli bir şekilde kamuoyuna vermek istediği mesajları verdi. Erdoğan konuşmasına şu sözlerle başlıyor:

Tabii bugünkü bu gelişme gerçekten silahlı kuvvetlerimizin içerisindeki bir azınlığın ne yazık ki kalkınma hareketidir. Ve bu malum yapıya ait, paralel yapılanmanın teşvik ettiği, üst akıl olarak onların kullandığı bir harekettir. Ülkemizin birliği beraberliği bütünlüğüne yönelik bu harekete karşı inanıyorum ki milletçe vereceğimiz güzel bir cevapla bunlar gerekli olan cezayı alacaklardır. Yani, şu anda bu milletin imkânlarıyla ortaya konmuş olan tankı, topu vesaire uçagını, helikopterini kullanarak milletin üzerine gelmenin bunlar çok ağır ödeyeceklerdir. Ve bu konuda gerek cumhurbaşkanı olarak gerek başbakanımız hükümetimiz olarak bizler atılması gereken adımlar neyse dik durmak suretiyle bu adımı atacağız. Yani bunun bedelini asla bizler farklı bir şekilde yorumlayamayız ve meydanı da onlara bırakamayız. Şu anda yapmış oldukları işgali de çok kısa zamanda ortadan kaldıracığımızı inanıyorum. Kararlı bir şekilde de bu işin üzerine gideceğimizi özellikle bildirmek istiyorum. Ve bu konuda bu kararlılığımızı kimsenin test etmeye de gücü yetmeyecektir.

Darbe teşebbüsünü "kalkınma" olarak tanımlayan Erdoğan'ın bu noktada dili sürçmüş olabilir. Kalkınma kelimesi Türkçe'de ekonomi terimi olarak kullanılır ve "zenginleşmek" anlamına gelmektedir. Belli ki cumhurbaşkanı, Başbakan Yıldırım'ın da ifade ettiği gibi "kalkışma" kelimesini kastediyor. Darbe teşebbüsünü ilk andan itibaren paralel yapının üst aklının idare ettiğini savunan Erdoğan burada Fetullah Gülen ve cemaatini işaret ediyor. Aynı başbakan gibi güçlü, kararlı ve kesin ifadelerle kamuoyuna seslenen Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, darbe teşebbüsünde bulunanların da yargı tarafından en

ağır şekilde cezalandırılacağını söylüyor.

Erdoğan konuşmasının devamında darbenin seyrini değiştirecek kritik mesajı geliyor: "Bu arada tabii milletime de bir çağrı yapıyorum. O da şudur: Milletimizi illerimizin meydanlarına davet ediyorum. Havalimanlarına davet ediyorum. Ve milletçe meydanlarda havalimanında toplanalım ve bunların o azınlık grubu tanklarıyla toplarıyla gelsinler ne yapacaklarsa halka orada yapsınlar. Halkın üzerinde bir güç ben tanımadım bugüne kadar. Bundan sonra da zaten böyle bir şeyi tanımamız söz konusu değil." Milleti meydanlara ve havalimanlarına davet eden Cumhurbaşkanı, darbecilere meydan okuyor ve halk desteğine ne kadar güvendiğini ortaya koyuyor. Zaten birçok vatandaş Erdoğan'ın bu çağrısından sonra, meydanlara, köprülere ve havalimanlarına akın ediyor. Darbeciler "Yurtta Sulh Konseyi" adına yayımladıkları bildiriye TRT ekranlarından okuttuktan sonra vatandaşın bir sonraki emre kadar sokağa çıkmamasını söylüyor. Ancak Erdoğan, vatandaşları ısrarla sokağa davet ediyor.

Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, darbe teşebbüsünde bulunanlara da mesaj vererek şu ifadeleri kullanıyor: "Kesinlikle bunun bedelini yargı önünde çok ağır ödeyeceklerdir. Ve bu şu anda demokrasiye inananların işini de kolaylaştıracaktır. Ama onlara da bunun bedelini çok ağır ödettirecektir." Erdoğan konuşmasının devamında, darbecilerin başarılı olamayacağını şöyle belirtiyor: "Ben kesinlikle bu darbecilerin başarılı olacağına inanmıyorum. Tarih boyunca darbeciler başarılı olamamıştır. Er veya geç onlar yok olmuşlardır. Bunu da böyle bilmeniz lazım". Erdoğan'ın konuşmasındaki kararlı duruşu ve güçlü ifadeleri vatandaş üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahip oluyor. Birçok vatandaş Erdoğan'ı sağlıklı ve kararlı bir şekilde ekranda gördükten sonra meydanlara gitti. Ayrıca Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın "ben başkomutan olarak meydana geliyorum" ifadesi de yine milleti darbeye karşı durmaya teşvik ederek, vatandaşların bu süreçte daha aktif bir rol almasını sağlıyor.

Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın canlı ve görüntülü telefon bağlantısından anlaşıldığı gibi, darbe teşebbüsünü "kalkınma" olarak tanımlıyor. Darbe teşebbüsünde bulunan kişileri ise; "paralel yapılanmanın teşvik ettiği, üst akıl olarak onların kullandığı bir hareket" şeklinde açıkladı. Cumhurbaşkanının konuşmasının genel yapısı incelendiğinde ise; sakin tonda, geri adım atmayacağını gösteren ifadelerle, kendinden emin, meydan okuyan, liderlik duruşuyla kararlı mesajlar verdiği gözlemlenmiştir.

Abdullah Gül CNN Türk'te...

11. Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül de aynen Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan gibi Facetime uygulaması ile televizyonlara bağlandı. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül'ün 3.22 dakika süren konuşması CNN Türk'te yayımlandı. Cumhurbaşkanlığı görevini 7 yıl yapan Abdullah Gül, halk tarafından ılımlı, sorun çözen ve ağır başlı bir başkan olarak biliniyor. Dolayısıyla Abdullah Gül'ün darbe hakkında söyleyecekleri vatandaşlar tarafından merakla bekleniyordu. 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül şu ifadelerle darbe teşebbüsünü değerlendirdi:

Her şeyden önce Türkiye bir Latin Amerika ülkesi değildir. Türkiye bir Afrika ülkesi de değildir. Türkiye’de bu şekilde bir grubun gece baskınıyla yönetim değiştirmesi, rejim değiştirmesi mümkün değildir. Asla mümkün değildir. Dolayısıyla bugün bütün vatandaşlarımızın fikri, zikri, inancı, partisi ne olursa olsun bütün bunları bir yana bırakıp demokrasiye ve milli iradeye sahip çıkma günüdür. Bu bir sınav günüdür. Ayrıca bugün sokağa çıkan bir kısım askere de şunu söylemek isterim; onların 7 sene Cumhurbaşkanı olarak, başkomutanlığını yapmış bir kişi olarak emir komuta zinciri altında bir talimat yoktur. Genelkurmay Başkanı’nın herhangi bir talimatı yoktur. Ordu komutanlarının yoktur, böyle bir durumda size kim talimat veriyorsa bunları kesinlikle dinlemeyin ve bir an önce bu hatadan, bu yanlıştan dönün. TSK’nın başına karşı yapılan bu rencide edici ve bu kabul edilmez olay asla unutulmaz. Onun için tekrar söylüyorum; yanlış içerisinde olanlar bu yanlışlarından vazgeçsinler, bir an önce kışlarına dönsünler, milletin halkla karşı karşıya gelmesinler. Acılar yaşanmasın. Türkiye bir kaos içerisine girmesin. Bir an önce bu yanlıştan dönlün. Halkımıza da vatandaşlarımıza da bir kez daha hatırlatıyorum ki bugün demokrasiye sahip çıkma günüdür. Bir taşkınlık yapmadan demokrasiye sahip çıkacağına inancım tamdır.

Konuşmasında Türkiye’nin siyasi rejiminin güçlü olduğunu vurgulamaya çalışan Abdullah Gül, Türkiye’nin Latin Amerika veya Afrika ülkeleriyle karıştırılmamasını istiyor. Ardından da vatandaşları demokrasi ve milli irade etrafında birlik ve beraberliğe davet ediyor. Konuşmasında darbe teşebbüsünde bulunan askerlere de seslenen 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Gül, askerlere kışlarına dönmeleri yönünde telkinde bulunuyor. Abdullah Gül’ün her zamanki yapıcı ve sorun çözen yapısı burada da devreye giriyor ve birlik bütünlük mesajını kamuoyu ile paylaşıyor. Bu noktada dikkat çeken bir husus ise, Abdullah Gül’ün de aynen başbakan ve cumhurbaşkanı gibi olayları “darbe” olarak yorumlamaktan kaçınmasıydı. Gül, konuşmasında güçlü bir şekilde halka seslenerek demokrasiye sahip çıkmalarını söylüyor.

11. Cumhurbaşkanı Gül’ün canlı ve görüntülü telefon bağlantısından anlaşıldığı gibi, darbe teşebbüsünü “baskıyla, yönetim değiştirme, rejim değiştirme” olarak tanımlıyor. Darbe teşebbüsünde bulunan kişileri ise; “bir grup” şeklinde tanımlıyor. Konuşmasının devamında ise bu grubun TSK’da görevli askerler olduğunu anlıyoruz. 11. Cumhurbaşkanı’nın konuşmasının genel yapısı incelendiğinde ise; sakin başlayan ancak devamında sertleşen bir ses tonu vardı. Ayrıca konuşmada genel olarak yapıcı, uzlaşıcı ve çatışma çözümleyici ifadeler tercih edildiği gözlemlendi.

Twitter mesajları

Başbakan Binali Yıldırım ilk önce televizyonlara canlı telefon bağlantısı yapmıştı. Ardından “TC_Basbakan” kullanıcı ismiyle “BA_Yildirim”⁹dan gelen mesajı 01:28’de retweet etti: “*Vatandaşlarım bilsin ki demokrasiye zarar verecek hiçbir faaliyete izin verilmeyecek.*” “BA_Yildirim” ile “TC_Basbakan” hesapları birleştirilmiş hesaplardır. Yine aynı dakika içinde ikinci darbe teşebbüsüyle ilgili ikinci mesajını attı: “*Kalkışma ihtimali üzerinde duruyoruz. Belli ki emir komuta zinciri olmadan asker içerisinde bazı kişilerin kanunsuz bir eylemi söz konusu*” (01.28). Aradan 16 dakika geçtikten sonra ise: “*Ordunun içinde bir grubun kalkışma girişimidir. Bu girişime izin verilmeyecektir. Bunu yapanlar en ağır bedeli ödeyeceklerdir*” (01.44). Başbakan Yıldırım attığı ilk üç tweet ile kamuoyuna darbe teşebbüsünü “kalkışma” olarak tanımlıyor. Ardından da bunu yapanlara yönelik mesaj veriyor. Yıldırım, bilinçli olarak “darbe” kelimesini kullanmıyor. Başbakan Yıldırım, Twitter’ı etkin bir şekilde kullanmasına rağmen, darbe gecesi ilk mesajlarını vermek için geleneksel medya olan televizyonları tercih etmişti.

Cumhurbaşkanı Recep T. Erdoğan ise “RT_Erdogan”¹⁰ kullanıcı adı ile Twitter’daki ilk mesajını 02.08’de attı: “*Milletimizi demokrasimize ve milli iradeye sahip çıkmak üzere meydanlara, havalimanlarına davet ediyorum.*” 03.33’te Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanlığı’nda ait resmi hesap olan @tcbestepe kullanıcı adıyla şu tweet atıldı: “*Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: “Herkesi şehirlerin meydanlarına, havalimanlarına davet ediyorum. Ben de aynı şekilde onların arasında olacağım.*” Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın gönderdiği her iki mesajda da “darbe” kelimesine yer vermediği görülmektedir. Aynen televizyonda Facetime üzerinden yaptığı açıklamada da olduğu gibi vatandaşları demokrasiye ve milli iradeye sahip çıkmaya davet ediyor, böylece darbeye yönelik sivil direnişin başlamasında etkin bir rol oynuyor. Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’da darbe teşebbüsüyle ilgili ilk değerlendirmelerini görüntülü olarak Facetime vasıtasıyla ulusal haber kanallarına vermişti. Bu noktada kamuoyuna mesaj vermek için liderlerin Twitter’ı ikinci planda tuttuğu söylenebilir.

11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül, darbe teşebbüsünün sabahında @cbabdullahgul kullanıcı ismiyle şu tweete takipçileriyle paylaşıyor: “*Bugün düşüncesi, partisi ve görüşü ne olursa olsun herkesin farklılıklarını bir yana koyup demokrasiye sahip çıkması günüdür.*” 02.29’da atılan mesaj ile Abdullah Gül, “demokrasi”ye vurgu yaparak, vatandaşları demokrasiye sahip çıkmaya davet ettiği anlaşılmaktadır. 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Gül, darbe teşebbüsüyle ilgili sadece 1 tweet atmıştır. Bu da bize, Gül’ün Twitter’ı fazla etkili kullanmadığını göstermektedir.

9 29 Temmuz 2016 tarihi itibarıyla, 576,936 Twitter takipçisi bulunuyor.

10 29 Temmuz 2016 tarihi itibarıyla, 8,846,848 Twitter takipçisi bulunuyor.

Sonuç

Her iki cumhurbaşkanının ve başbakanın da televizyona vermiş oldukları röportajlarda dikkat çeken ortak özellik ise, darbe teşebbüsünü tanımlarken “darbe” kelimesini kullanmamış olduklarıydı. Darbe kelimesinin liderler tarafından kullanılmamasının nedeni; halkın darbecilere destek vermemesi için yapılmış bilinçli bir tercih olabileceği gibi, kendilerine ulaşan az bilgiden de kaynaklanabilir. Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan ve Başbakan Yıldırım “asker” kelimesini vermiş oldukları röportajda kullanmazken, “asker” ve “Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri” sadece 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Gül tarafından dile getirildi. Liderlerin bir diğer ortak noktası ise konuşmalarında güçlü, kararlı ve kendinden emin mesajlar vermesiydi. Böylece darbenin başarısız olacağına dair söyledikleri kamuoyu tarafından ciddiye alındı ve halk Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın çağrısına uyup sokaklara çıkarak, darbe teşebbüsünde bulunan askerlere karşı direndi.

Online medyanın darbe teşebbüsü sırasındaki gücünü iki şekilde görme fırsatımız oldu. Birincisi darbeye teşebbüs eden darbeciler kendi aralarındaki iletişimi ve koordinasyonu Whatsapp uygulaması ile yaptıkları ortaya çıktı. İkincisi ile Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın ulusal televizyonlara canlı telefon bağlantısı yaparak Facetime gibi görüntülü konuşma uygulaması ile mesajlar vermesiydi. Darbe teşebbüslerinde ilk tutuklanması beklenen kişiler siyasetçilerdir. Türkiye’de 15 Temmuz 2016 akşamı yapılmaya çalışılan askeri darbe yeni medya uygulamaları aracılığı ile halkın desteği ve polis güçlerinin sayesinde başarısızlığa uğratıldı. Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, sağlıklı, güçlü ve görevinin başında olduğunu ulusal televizyonlar ve Facetime uygulaması aracılığı ile kamuoyuyla paylaştı. Erdoğan’ı ekranlarda gören binlerce kişi, “meydanlara ve havalimanlarına gidin” çağrısına uyarak, darbecilerle geçit vermemek için sokaklara çıktı. Darbe teşebbüsünün medya boyutu bu şekilde yaşandı, ancak 15 ve 16 Temmuz 2016 tarihlerinde birçok sivil hayatını kaybetti ve yüzlerce kişi de yaralandı. Anadolu Ajansı’nın haberine göre, 15 Temmuz’da yaşanan darbe girişimi sırasında 173’ü sivil, 67 polis ve asker toplam 240 kişi hayatını kaybetti. Darbe girişimi sırasında 1.535 kişi de yaralandı. Türkiye İçişleri Bakanı Efkân Ala¹¹, Fetullahçı Terör Örgütü’nün (FETÖ) darbe girişimine yönelik soruşturmalara ilişkin, “Tutuklu sayısı 8 bin 113. Bunlardan 5 bin 266’sı asker, bunlardan da 151’i general, bin 656’sı subay ve diğerleri. Hâkim ve savcılardan bin 684’ü, polisten alınanlardan da bin 19’u tutuklandı”¹² dedi. Ayrıca 15 Temmuz darbe teşebbüsü sonrası ilan edilen Olağanüstü Hal kapsamında yapılan soruşturmalarda FETÖ ile bağlantısı olduğu gerekçesiyle; 3 haber ajansı, 16 TV, 23 radyo, 45 gazete, 15 derginin yanı sıra 29 yayınevi kapatıldı.

Darbe teşebbüsü sırasında liderlerin Twitter’ı kullanmadıkları gözlemlendi. Başbakan Binali Yıldırım ilk tweetini 16 Temmuz sabahı 01.28’de attı. Cumhurbaşkanı

11 Türkiye İçişleri Bakanı Efkân Ala 31 Ağustos 2016 tarihinde görevinden istifa etti.

12 <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1272731-efkan-ala-8-bin-113-kisi-tutuklandi>

Recep T. Erdoğan ise 02.08’de Twitter aracılığı ile mesaj gönderdi. 11. Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül darbe teşebbüsüyle ilgili olarak tek bir tweet attı, o da sabaha karşı 02.29’daydı. Liderler darbe teşebbüsü sırasında ağırlıklı olarak ulusal televizyonları ve mobil iletişim uygulaması olan Facetime’ı kullandılar. Üç lider arasında Binali Yıldırım, Twitter’ı daha etkin ve sık kullanıyor. Darbe teşebbüsü sonrasında attığı tweetler ile kitleleri yönlendirme ve bilgilendirme girişimleri oldu.

Türkiye ulusal televizyonları darbe teşebbüsünü “son dakika” haberi olarak izleyicileriyle buluşturduğu andan itibaren canlı telefon bağlantıları yaptılar. Bu bağlantılarla birlikte darbenin başarısız olacağı algısı sürekli tekrarlandı. Ayrıca sokaklarda ve bazı stratejik noktalarda darbecilerle polis arasında çatışmalar devam etmesine rağmen “operasyonların bittiği”, “birçok yerin tekrar ele geçirildiği” veya “1 saat içinde her tarafın darbecilerden temizleneceği” gibi cümleler ekranlarda izleyenlerle paylaşıldı. Oysa kamuoyu ile “darbenin başarısız” olduğu gibi bilgiler paylaşılırken, 02.42’de Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi F16 uçakları tarafından 3 kez bombalandı. Medya, *devletin ideolojik bir aygıtı* (Habermas, 1989) gibi işlev yaparak kamuoyunu bilgilendirdi. Darbenin ilk saatlerinde siyasi söylemin çerçevesinden çıkmayan ve kendilerine politikacılar tarafından verilen bilgi ile yetinen bir televizyon yayıncılığı vardı. Televizyonlar yaptıkları canlı yayınlarda, yeni medya uygulamalarını da birleştirince darbenin seyrini değiştirdiler. Kriz durumlarında medyanın olay yerine gitmesi, kamera ile canlı yayın yapması kolay bir durum değildir. Ne var ki, yeni medya düzeninde artık her cep telefonu birer kamera görevi görebildiği gibi, herkes de birer vatandaş gazetecisi olmaya adaydır. Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan bir vatandaş gazetecisi gibi yeni medya uygulamasını kullanarak Facetime programı ile televizyonlara bağlandı ve vatandaşa bilgi verdi, meydanlara inmeleri çağrısı yaptı. Bu durum darbecilerin hesaplayamadıkları bir noktaydı. 15 Temmuz askeri darbe teşebbüsünün önüne geleneksel medyanın ve yeni medyanın aracılığı, vatandaşların ve polislerin desteği ile geçilmiş oldu.

Çoklu ve özgür medya düzeni olağanüstü ve kriz dönemlerinde daha da önemli hale geliyor. Özellikle yeni medyanın ne denli hayati işlevler yüklenebileceğini bir kez daha ortaya çıkmış oldu. Ayrıca, yeni medya uygulamaları verimli ve amacına uygun kullanıldığı zaman nasıl ciddi işlere imza atıldığını görüyoruz.

Kriz dönemlerinde bilgiye olan ihtiyaç arttığı için medyanın da yaptığı yayınlar ile kamuoyundan güven kazandığı ve güven kaybettiği durumlar da ortaya çıkar. Türk televizyonlarının darbe teşebbüsü sırasında bilgi verme girişimi takdir edilebilir. Ancak kendilerine siyasiler tarafından çizilen sınırların dışına çıkamaması, Türkiye’de medyanın devletin ideolojik bir aygıtı olduğu savını desteklemektedir. Darbe teşebbüsünden sonra yapılan televizyon ve gazete yayınları ayrı araştırma konularıdır. Araştırmacılara bundan sonra; darbe sonrasını ve sivil otorite ile medyanın iş birliğini analiz etmeleri önerilir. Zira Türkiye ulusal medyası, “darbeye karşı olmak” ile

“hükümetin sesi” olmayı birbirine karıştırmış durumdadır. Bu nokta da bizlere Türkiye’de medya ile iktidar ilişkisinin ne kadar yakın bir ilişki olduğunu göstermektedir.

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Cinema in Divided Societies: A Tale of Cameroon National Cinema

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Abstract

Despite the contributions of internationally recognized Cameroonian directors like Jean Pierre Dikongue, D’jia Mokouri, Victor Viyouh and Theresa Sita Bella, to the growth of African cinema, Cameroon cinema has remained incognito in most discourses on African cinema. Having produced such prolific directors, there is a need to understand the nature and peculiarity of Cameroon national cinema in its uniqueness as a bilingual country with two dominant cultures and many ethnic groups. This is because, Cameroon as a nation has experienced different national dynamics; one of which is the ongoing secessionist attempts that began in October 2016 dubbed “The Anglophone Crisis”. Looking at nations as a product of the territorialisation of collective memory and shared culture, understanding the nature of Cameroon national cinema could be a means towards finding a common grounds of coexistence between the Anglophone and Francophone parts of Cameroon. It is on this basis that I sought to examine the nature of Cameroon cinema with specific references to the Anglophone and Francophone cinemas in Cameroon.

This was in an attempt to see how the development of its political history has influenced the development and characterization of Cameroon cinema as a whole. The analysis revealed that the Anglophone and Francophone cinemas in Cameroon have both been influenced by their inherited colonial cultures and cinematic styles. Despite these inherited colonial differences, contemporary movies in both cinemas revealed a tendency towards symmetry by adopting the African storytelling cinematic approach, dominated by popular movies. The use of ethnic languages, the two official languages and emerging hybrid languages like ‘Camfranglais’ and Pidgin English created a cultural diversity that diffuses the dominant political partition of Cameroon into the Anglophone and Francophone cultures with English and French as their identifying languages. This movie culture of linguistic tolerance therefore reveals the uniqueness of Cameroon cinema and could be harnessed to mitigate the existing anti-nationalist feelings in the Anglophone regions.

Keywords: Cameroon, national cinema, divided societies, the Anglophone Crisis.

Introduction

A coexistence of 230 ethnic groups, each with its language and traditions as well as a triple colonial heritage with a mélange of French and English cultures is the unique story of Cameroon in the post-colonial era. This heritage of coexistence is why Cameroon has been described as ‘Africa in miniature’ and ‘the microcosm of Africa’. The tale of Cameroon society, and cinema can therefore not be a one-dimensional tale as it will be plagued with what Adichie (2009) has described as ‘The danger of a single story’ which propagates stereotypes and incomplete stories as the whole (Adichie, 2009). This is reflected in most studies that describe Cameroon cinema as part of Francophone sub-Saharan African cinema, ignoring its constituent Anglophone cinema. This makes it common to see film critics classify prolific Cameroonian directors like Jean-Pierre Bekolo as heir to the Senegalese Djibril Diop Mambety in line with their contributions to the emergence of a new African storytelling cinema, with no reference to their national origins (Khatib, 2012, p. 115).

There is therefore the need to examine the socio-political context in which directors have emerged in order to better understand their works and film philosophies. It is on this basis that this paper seeks to analyze the films of Cameroonian directors in the context of their national cinema. This is because Cameroon’s bicultural and multi-ethnic orientation has made it to serve as a continuous source of postcolonial conflict as a result of the unequal repartition of the territory between

Britain and France after ousting Germany according to the treaty of Versailles. This unequal partition supervised by the League of Nations, laid the foundation for the construction of identity crisis in Cameroon. (Michael U. Mbanaso & Chima J. Korieh, 2010, p. 252). This has manifested in different forms of protests and civil disobedience which in extreme cases are outright secessionist attempts as has been the case with the ongoing October 2016 Anglophone crisis.

Adopting a comprehensive narrative approach to the development of Cameroon national cinema, I will analyse 20 movies made by Cameroonian directors about Cameroon in tandem with the historical developments of Cameroon as a nation. Through this approach, I will first give an overview of Cameroon as a divided society in the context of its historical developments. I will then go ahead through discourse analysis to examine how these developments have affected the development of Cameroon cinema generally and the Anglophone and Francophone cinemas in particular. The last part will focus on the distinct use of language in both cinemas.

Cameroon as a Divided Society

The tale of Cameroon as a divided society starts in the precolonial period with migrant groups like the Bantu, and the Baka settling in the southern coast and eventually inland and the Muslim Fulani settling in the North as a result of the Islamic wars. These early migrating tribes then grow to form 230 independent ethnic groups today. The population of Cameroon by 2017 is estimated at 24.5 million people, divided into ten regions (Cameroon Population 1960-2018, 2018). Two of the regions are known as Anglophone regions (English speaking) which equals 20% of the total population and the remaining eight are Francophone regions (French Speaking) with 80% of the total population. This national division originates from the British and French repartition of Cameroon after they defeated and ousted the Germans in 1914 according to the Treaty of Versailles. Hence Cameroon has a triple colonial heritage of the Germans, British and French which has greatly affected its national cultural divisions.

This diversity is also the reason for the age long discontent among the minority Anglophone population in what had been coined the “Anglophone Problem”. The “Anglophone Problem” describes the general feeling of marginalisation by the Anglophones as a result of their minority national status with regards to the Francophones. This has led to several secessionist attempts by the Anglophones with the recent one being the October 2016, christened the “Anglophone crisis”. The crisis as Wamey (2017) explains, became a means to quieten the debate on whether there is an ‘Anglophone Problem’ as it brought about the first, explicit acknowledgement by the government that there is indeed an “Anglophone Problem” in Cameroon as it raised a greater level of awareness among the Francophone population of the evils of discrimination, injustices and second-class citizenship status of Anglophones. (Wamey, 2017). Details on the Anglophone Crisis will be discussed

in the following paragraph.

The Anglophone Crisis

The Anglophone crisis was first led by the Anglophone lawyers who were protesting against the continuous appointment of French judges in Courts in the English speaking regions, advocating for the institutionalisation of the common law system that was inherent to the Anglophone legal system. They were later joined by the Anglophone teachers who were protesting against the infiltration of the French system of education into the English system of education and advocating for the maintenance of the English sub- system of education. (Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle & Hans De Marie Huengoup, 2017). This however degenerated to a crisis involving all citizens in the Anglophone regions characterised by protests and sit-in strikes closure of schools and traditional ghost town days in the Anglophone regions. Public service institutions and property have been burnt and destroyed, private residences burnt down, villages destroyed and deserted causing a refugee situation in Nigeria with more than 20,000 Cameroonian refugees fleeing the violence. (UNHCR, 2018). Hundreds of lives have also been lost since the beginning of the crisis and casualties have been recorded from both the military and civilian sides. These protests, are championed by several groups mobilising Anglophone nationalism within Cameroon and abroad (Okereke, 2018, p. 10).

Although there are several mutations in the development of the Cameroon history that have led to this divided sense of national identity, for the sake of the focus of this paper I will go directly to the discourse on the development of Cameroon national cinema.

The Development of Cameroon National Cinema

The story of Cameroon cinema starts with early productions by Cameroonian students in France in the early 60's with early productions like *Aventure en France* (1962) by Jean-Paul Ngassa which was co-directed in Paris by Philippe Brunet (Coulon, 2011, p. 91). This was 26 minute, 35mm black and white film exposing how Cameroonian students in France are adapting to the French culture (Olinga, 2004). A year after this production in 1963 was the film by Thérèse Sita-Bella, the first African woman, south of the Sahara to direct a film; it was titled *Tam-Tam a Paris* (1963), (Schmidt, 1997). This was a 30minute documentary on the performance of the National Dance Company of Cameroon at the Sarah Bernhardt theatre in Paris. By 1965 there was *La Grande Case Bamileke* (1965) by Jean Paul Ngassa, an 18 minutes documentary exploring the construction rituals of the Bamileke tribe. This therefore debunks the literary accounts that identify *de Vue No.1*. (1966) Dia Moukouri as the first feature film produced in Cameroon.

By the early 70's, there were movies like *Une nation est née* (1970) a documentary on the 10 years of independence of La Republique du Cameroun by Jean-Paul Ngassa, *Boubou cravate* (1972) by Daniel Kamwa, a 29 minutes

film cultural assimilation that comes with living in Europe, and *Un enfant noir* (1972) a 28 minutes film by Alphonse Beni, about a white French couple that gave birth to a black baby. This era was dominated by short 35mm documentary movies with very few dramas and feature films. The films were of great quality given the sponsorship and control received from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs that took over governance from the Ministry of French Overseas Territories during the period of decolonization.

However, by 1973, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed over the control of the cinema sector in Cameroon to the Cameroon government. The Cameroon government upon taking control of the cinema sector, created the Film Industry Development Fund (FODIC) aimed at supporting national film production through financing and controlled ticketing as theatre halls were very active with about 32 theatres in the country (Coulon, 2011, pp. 91-105). From this time, the cinematic scene in Cameroon became dominated by feature films; and a shift from purely documentary style movies to other genres like the erotic, adventure and romantic dramas. We have directors like Alphonse Beni releasing his erotic *Les tringleuses* (1975) in France on June 25 1975 and *Danse mon amour* (1979), which is about a filmmaker who reunites with his brother in France after being apart for 10 years and decides to introduce him to the world of African musicians in Paris. There are also other directors like Daniel Kamwa who produced *Pousse-pousse* (1976), a romantic comedy showing the exploitation of the African practice of dowry and Jean Pierre Dikongue-Pipa, also releases his *Muna Moto* (1975), also a drama on the dilemmas that lovers can face with the practice of dowry in the African marriage tradition.

After this period, a second generation of critical directors who use the camera to decolonize the gaze and deconstruct the neo-colonial political giants emerged. This critical generation questions the past and present and contribute to national reconstruction (Pfaff, 2005). In this second generation, we have films like *Le malentendu colonial*, (2005) by Jean-Marie Teno that sets out to counter the western colonial narrative of Africa. In this film, Teno reveals how colonialism destroyed the existing African belief institutions and social systems replacing them with European institutions and the role of the missionaries in the colonisation process in the guise of evangelism. This contrasts the first generation that was characterised by apolitical directors, whose focus was on celebrating the nation and its attributes in collaboration with the state with mainly documentary productions and few dramas.

This era lasted until 1991 when FODIC was dissolved as a result of the economic crisis in Cameroon. In this period, multiparty politics was introduced in Cameroon and influenced productions like Jean Marie Teno's *Afrique je te plumerai* (1991), a documentary intended to portray the influence of colonial texts in the literary scene of Cameroon. Witnessing a government orchestrated uproar with the launch of the SDF (Social Democratic Front) party at the birth of multiparty politics, Teno decided to dedicate the first part of his 1 hour 28 minutes movie to

address the issue of state failure in Cameroon tracing its history till the point of contemporary violence which he intercepted with his camera before moving ahead with what he intended to produce. According to Soh (2010), the institutionalisation of FODIC brought forth the glorious years of Cameroon cinema characterised by regular releases, quality production and artistic creativity as it financed, provided the technical inputs required as well as controlled the marketing and screenings in the then 32 cinema theatres in the national territory (Soh, 2010).

FODIC is said to have operated on an annual budget of about a million dollars then with about 41 films being produced with the assistance from this body which placed Cameroon in the second rank in Francophone Africa after Senegal that produced about 53 films at that time. Under this scheme, there were productions like Dikongue Pipa's *Le prix de la liberté* (1978), Dia Moukouri's *Les Brûlures d'Urbain* (1978), Henry-Joseph Nama's *Ribo ou le soleil sauvage* (1978), and Daniel Kamwa's *Notre fille* (1980), (Soh, 2010). The election of a conservative president, Jacques Chirac in 1995 and eventual dissolution of the French Ministry of Cooperation and Development which was supporting film making in Francophone countries 1999 spelled a future doom for African and Cameroon filmmakers. This is because the Ministry of Cooperation and Development supported African filmmaking in more than just financing as it took responsibility of projecting their films in international film festivals and supporting indigenous film festivals like Cannes International Film Festival, Ecran du Sud, Ecrans Nord-Sud and ATRIA.

Although there were no films from Anglophone Cameroon at this time in the cinema scene of Cameroon, the Anglophones had a thriving and critical literary culture, a period which Ashuntang (2009) describes as 'the era of the clash of cultures' in Anglophone literature with early plays like Linus, T. Asong's *Stranger in his homeland* (1947) countering colonialism. (Joyce, 2009, p. 88). While Anglophones focused on cultivating a strong tradition in indigenous oral performances in the form of stage plays, their Francophone counterparts were advancing in developing formidable cinematic culture (Owomoyela, 2008, p. 10). Artistic works from the period of colonialism to the birth of Anglophone home movies in Cameroon was dominated by themes such as 'Colonialism, Negritude, Aesthetics of Victimization and Conscientisation of the Masses'. It should be noted that Anglophone writers formed a daunting force in the construction of the Cameroon national identity. Victor Epie Ngome's *What God has put asunder* (1992) is one of the literary works critical of the reunification of the two Cameroons. (Joyce, 2009, pp. 94-116).

It should be noted here that despite the creation of the first Ministry fully devoted to Culture in Cameroon in November 26, 1992 by presidential decree N° 92/245. The film industry suffered a devastating decrease since 2000. This was facilitated by the by the closure of all cinema halls, with the last three being shut down by January 20, 2009. The ministry which is today known as the Ministry of

Arts and Culture has done very little to help the declining cinematic culture in Cameroon apart from facilitating the hosting of film festivals like the Ecrans Noirs Film Festival and Cameroon International Film Festival. Production and distribution is in the hands of private individuals with no regulatory body. It is in this declining phase, and 'uninstitutionalized' national cinematic atmosphere that Anglophone Cameroon cinema was born. At this time, high quality productions were made through co-operation with western institutions hence were financed by these institutions. There was also the introduction of Television in 1985 with the birth of the state owned Cameroon Radio Television cooperation (CRTV).

The CRTV monopolised the media audio-visual landscape until the institution of the liberty laws in 1990 which spiralled the setting up of many print media and broadcast organisations with the help of Decree No 2000/058/PM of 3 April 2000 that stipulated the conditions under which private broadcast stations could operate. (Bolvine, 2017). The infiltration of the digital age which popularised the sale of DVD's as a trickle down from the video-cassette market in Nigeria, launched the Anglophone cinema in Cameroon. Although popular movies in Anglophone cinema adopted the Nollywood home-video film pattern, there were early classics like Florence Ayisi and Kim Longinotto's *Sisters in Law* (2005), a documentary on domestic violence and child trafficking that won 28 prominent awards including Prix Art et Essai at Cannes film festival, Grierson Award for best documentary on a contemporary issue, Audience Award at the International Documentary Festival Amsterdam and Peabody Award in USA as well as being short listed for Oscar nominations in 2006.

Before this period, Cameroon films were being screened and distributed in the international market mainly France, USA, Belgium and a few locally. This international presence coupled with the constitutional infrastructures that characterised the early period made it possible for several Cameroon films to win awards in international film festivals like *Muna Moto* (1975) by Jean-Pierre Dikongue Pipa that won the First Prize Festival international du Film de L'ensemble Francophone in Switzerland (1975), the George Sadoul Prize in France (1975), the Golden Stallion at the Pan-African film and television Festival in Ouagadougou in 1976, and the Silver Tanit at Journées cinématographiques de Carthage, in Tunis (1976). Thérèse Sita-Bella's *Tam-Tam a Paris* (1963) was featured at the first week of the African cinema festival FESPACO and Jean-Paul Ngassa's *Aventure en France* (1962), Jean Marie Teno's *Afrique Je te Plumerai* (1991) and Daniel Kamwa's *Notre fille* (1980) were selected for the 12th Moscow International Film Festival.

As from the 2000's with the advent of Anglophone popular films in DVD's, Francophone cinema also adopted this approach with emphasis on entertainment and telling stories of ordinary middle-class city dwellers and less focus on cinematic aesthetics and quality. In Anglophone cinema we have films like Tanwie Elvis' *Ride my wrong* (2010), Dir. Neba Lawrence's and *The Great Obligation*

(2012) by Nfor Lawrence. In Francophone cinema we have films like *Hotel Savano* (2005) by Moustafa Bako, *Fingong Tralala in Belgium* (2011) by Serge Tcham, *Heritage Mistique* (2012) by Serge Alain Ndjamen, and *Un Smars extraordinaire* (2013) by Leopold Magloire B. Yando. These low budget films target the local Cameroonian market hence are domestically consumed with very few attempts at the international markets apart from the Cameroon diaspora community which is often reached through internet platforms like youtube.

These low budget movies are however interspersed with successful dramas like Victor Viyouh's *Ninah's Dowry* (2012) winning the Special Jury Award at the African Movie Academy awards 2013, Audience Choice Award at the Big Muddy Film Festival 2013, and the Audience Award at the Phoenix film festival in 2013 in the category of world cinema. In Francophone cinema we have blockbuster films like *Paris a Tout Prix* (2007) by Josephine Ndagnou that recorded sales of about 70,000 tickets in 2008 and Osvalt Lewat's *A case of Negroes* (2007) that was selected in thirty film festivals (Coulon, 2011). Having had an overview of the cinema story of Cameroon and an understanding of the socio-political developments in Cameroon, I will then show how these developments have influenced the nature of Cameroon cinema.

The Introduction of Third Cinema in Cameroon.

Cameroon just like other African nations that suffered from colonialism, easily adopted the concept of the third cinema as a means to tell its own story and experience of colonialism. This is evident in the works of Cameroonian directors like Jean-Marie Teno in his work, *Afrique, Je Te Plumerai* (1991) and *Le Malentendu Colonial*, (2005) targeting colonialism. Other works include Jean-Paul Ngassa's *Une Nation est Née* (1970). The third cinema here can be seen as a body of theory and filmmaking practice committed to social and cultural emancipation (Wayne, 2001, p. 1). According to Mike Wayne, it refuses to be mere entertainment as it is passionate, angry, often satirical and always complex as manifested in Osvalde Lewat's *A case of Negroes* (2005).

With colonialism coming to a close in the 1970's, third cinema in African cinema was used as a tool for demonstrating the damage colonialism had caused for many, and the instability it left. Although, the third cinema has expanded its boundaries beyond anti-colonialism to addressing every aspect of oppression and giving a voice to the voiceless, much credit is still given to the original thesis by Solanas and Getino that birth to this concept (Schoonover, 2010). Starting predominantly with focus on the impact of colonialism in Cameroon, third cinema in Cameroon gradually evolved to addressing issues of human rights like child trafficking, female genital mutilation, domestic violence, violence against women and citizenship rights as seen in contemporary films like *Ninah's Dowry* (2012), *Traffic D'Enfants* (2009), and *Sisters in law* by Florence Ayisi (2005).

The Influence of Nollywood Cinema

Talking about Nollywood cinema, Pierre Barrot argues that the video film industry in Nigeria is Africa's revival and possible response to a definition of its cinema which consists of, cost effective production and quick marketing and distribution (Barrot, 2011). Asserting that many of these movies are of poor quality, lacking in both artistic ambition and technical polish, Barrot opines that even the feeblest films in the Nollywood movement offer entertainment, as well as political and social engagement, for audiences throughout Africa. Designed to please a certain target audience, Nollywood's high commercial ability is boosted by their embrace of digital video which when used with proper technical care yields remarkable results equalling the quality of 35mm film (Barrot, 2011, pp. 107-121).

This cinema is therefore a people's cinema, unmediated by government agencies or corporate bodies and serves as an example to the birth of cinema in any country where the desire for self-representation is primordial. This is why Cameroonian film scholars propose that Cameroonian cinema through benchmarking, could use the phenomenon of Nollywood to revive the film industry in Cameroon (Bertha, 2002, p. 10). This Nollywood phenomenon can be seen in movies like *Neglected Obligation* (2012), *Great Obligation* (2012), *Ride My Wrong* (2010), *Desire*, (2012). *Hotel Savano* (2005), *Fingong Tralala in Belgium* (2011) and *Heritage Mystique* (2012).

The Influence of French Culture and Cinematic Style on Francophone Cinema

During the decolonization period, cinema became the main cultural instrument to safeguard France's hold over her former colonies especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Though having nothing to do with French Cinema or literature, it benefits from the French Auteur cinema which is a non-commercial and a more artistic approach to filmmaking. Following France's film policy of the Decret Laval of 1934, France had the obligation to control all films shown in its colonies, with the requirement to get an authorization from the colony's lieutenant governor for any filming to be carried out in the territories, the French cinematic style was automatically passed on to its colonies, Cameroon not being an exception (Turegano, 2003). Adopting from the French auteur style of film making movies like '*Aventure en France*' (1962), *De Ouaga à Douala en Passant par Paris* (1987), and *Vacances au Pays* (1999) telling personal stories and experiences which simply give the film maker the opportunity to express their artistic skills.

The Lack of an Effective Governing Institution for Cameroon Cinema

Although having succeeded to set up the Film Industry Developments Fund in the early days of Cameroon cinema, it should be noted here, that the institution benefited mostly if not only Francophone film makers, as Anglophone cinema was birth in the 2000's after the institution was dissolved. It is based on this reason that some film critics attribute the

under-developed state of Anglophone Cameroon cinema, when compared to the quality of Francophone productions to the marginalization of Anglophones in Cameroon given the fact that the Film Industry Development's Fund that was created to provide aid to film makers was principally to the advantage of francophone film makers (Coulon, 2011).

Although numerous movies were produced in Cameroon due to the industrial nature of film makers in Cameroon, even after the dissolution of the government's Film Industry Developments Fund in 1991, it was only until 2008, that the cinema sector in Cameroon tried creating another institution to manage the affairs of the industry. The board chair of this revamped Cameroon Film industry Vitalis Otia Suh, in an interview explained that the main aim of creating a governing institution is to create a platform where film stakeholders in Cameroon can "come together, exchange ideas, share expertise, sell and buy their different talents and resources" (CameroonTribune, 2014).

In this interview he revealed that, before 2008, people were doing a lot of mediocre productions, thinking it was the best but coming together made them realise there was much to learn, reason why they were introduced to websites and film schools where they could take short courses (CameroonTribune, 2014). Despite the existence of this structure, scholars like Butake (2015) are of the opinion that it is non-functional, as it is unable able to give an accurate number of films produced talk less of accounting for how these films are marketed (Butake, 2015). Looking at the raison d'être of this industry, we see that it is more Anglophone Cameroon cinema inclined and little or no mention is being made of Francophone Cameroon cinema.

The Lack of a Homogenous Internal Market for Cameroon Movies

This market division is brought about mainly by the linguistic disparities between the Anglophone and Francophone region which limits films produced in one region from being easily consumed in other regions. Despite a population of 24.5million, Anglophone film makers tend to sell only to a minimal 20% given that that is the Anglophone population in Cameroon whereas the Francophone film makers occupy the remaining 80% of the market share. Also, being home to about 230 languages, the linguistic factor that makes for a homogenous market is greatly jeopardized.

This is because although English and French are the two official languages, yet, very few Cameroonians can speak both languages and many do not speak any of the languages as Cameroonian pidgin English language tends to be the lingua franca of the Anglophone zone while in the Francophone zone, Fulfude dominates in the North, Ewondo in the Center, South and East regions, and Camfranglais which is a hybrid language with traces of English and French, tends to dominate in the main urban cities where Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians commute. UNDP statistics by 2005 revealed an estimated 67.9% of adult literacy rate in Cameroon although other

reports claimed that 40% of the population is illiterate in English or French (Rosendal, 2008, pp. 9-10). This therefore makes it difficult to produce films that are market sensitive and can be consumed in the whole national territory.

Another limitation to marketing is the closure by 2009 of all cinemas that had existed in the post-independence era in. This limits film makers to using DVD's which tend to be highly pirated by the Cameroonian black market making it difficult for movie producers to break even. Although, according to the Cameroon Film Industry (CFI) association at least 20 films are released in Cameroon per year since 2012, most Anglophone Cameroonian films have been generally criticized to lack creative, innovative and good technical qualities, gearing their productive values mostly towards a Nollywood sensitive audience.

Linguistic Diversity in Cameroon Cinema

The most important aspect on how the development of Cameroon has affected its cinema is in the use of language. This is important because linguistic marginalisation of the English language is one of the main reasons for the Anglophone problem which has made the Anglophones feel as second-class citizens. In this part, I will look at the use of language in two dimensions. First, films that are monolingual, and secondly films that are multi-lingual and how this language is being used in the film.

Monolingual Movies

Monolingual films from Francophone cinema to be analysed here are *Hotel Savano* (2005) by the Northern director Moustafa Bako and *Cameroon connection* (1985) by Alphonse Beni. *Hotel Savano* is produced in one of the northern ethnic languages-Fulfulde given that the narrative is local targeting the Northern Muslim cultural setting and values. *Cameroon connection* on the other hand is a popular auteur drama featured an international actor Bruce Lee. This film is an example of the north-south connections that Cameroonian directors engaged in after sponsorship was withdrawn. The film is shot in Yaounde the capital of Cameroon and Paris (France). Addressing issues of racism with a negritude approach, it reveals the challenges of elite Cameroonians living in France as it traces the cause of the murder.

Monolingual Anglophone movies to be analysed here are *Nsahbarah* (2012) by Tumi Cornelius and Tanwie Elvis' *Ride My Wrong* (2010). *Nsahbarah* is a popular comedy done in lamnso, one of the ethnic languages of the Anglophone North west region. The movie is appealing to its target audience and a localised narrative that falls in line with the cultural specificities of the target ethnic group. Tanwie Elvis' *Ride My Wrong* (2010), on the other hand, is a popular melodrama done in English telling a story of middle-class city dwellers in the Anglophone region. Apart from *Nsahbarah* (2012), and *Cameroon connection* (1985) that are purely monolingual as a result of their target audience, *Hotel Savano* (2005) and *Ride My Wrong* (2010)

have traces of the French language, be it in songs or isolated phrases, given the urban setting and target audience.

Multilingual Movies

In this part I will look at which languages are used and how they are used in each movie. The movie chosen from Francophone cinema in this category is *Les Mbenguistes* (2009). This is a popular comedy shot in Germany. The use of language in this movie is character oriented. Simon the protagonist engages in dialogues in French, German, and English. Fingong and Tagne the lead comedians use French, pidgin English and 'Camfranglais' with one or two phrases in English. The assistant to Simon also speaks in pidgin English and the German taxi driver speaks German. The language distribution is in line with the proficiency of the actors.

From Anglophone cinema we have *Ninah's Dowry* (2012) and, *Sisters in law* (2005). *Sisters in law*, adopts two principal languages which are English language and pidgin English in capturing the reality the Anglophone setting Kumba town and its locals. In *Ninah's Dowry*, there are three languages used distributed with respect to the characters proficiency. It makes use of English, pidgin English and the ethnic dialect. It is shot in one of the villages in the North West Anglophone region. Both movies here are however sub-titled unlike *Les Mbenguistes*.

Conclusion

From the discourse above, we see that the main contemporary differentiating aspect between Anglophone and Francophone cinema is the use of language which is determined by the target audience of the films. If it is a particular ethnic group, then the film will use the local language of the ethnic group. If the target audience of a movie is urban, then it will be in French or English depending on which part of the country and in most cases bilingual as the urban population constitutes people from both parts of the countries. If produced in cities like Douala and Yaounde with the proliferation of the 'Camfranglais', the movies tend to include it alongside French, English and pidgin English. If the movie is targeting an international market like France for example, it will be purely monolingual in French or subtitled so the target audience can understand. Given that one of the rudiments of the Anglophone problem is linguistic marginalisation, this study reveals the necessity to explore the linguistic verities of the nation rather than try to synchronise to the two official languages. This is because the 'other' is essential in completely constructing one's identity. There is, therefore, a necessity to engage in a dialogue of differentiation in constructing the national identity of Cameroon and if film as popular culture is truly reflective of the society, then the way forward to enhancing coexistence in Cameroon is linguistic tolerance and hybridity.

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Social Networking Sites as a Tool for Promoting Citizen Journalism and Fake News: Its Effect on some Nigerian Students in Eastern Mediterranean University

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Abstract

The use of social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, Blogs, Instagram and Snapchat amongst others has given rise to the sharing of news with pictures, audio, and texts without certainty of its authenticity and verification. This study seeks to examine the level of uncertainty on social networking sites users' exhibit when information such as news items on the platform are due to lack of professionalism. 30 students and also an in-depth interview was also conducted to 15 different sets of students all from Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkish Republic of North Cyprus. Findings showed that the highest platform used by students as well as the level of effect the fake news on social networking sites have on them and their hope of going back to their countries. Results showed how and why fake news are being reported on social networking sites. The work suggests the introduction of media literacy to those African countries that have not yet introduce media literacy as a subject or a course to include it on their syllables or curriculum, since communication is a continuum and not a category. More also adults can be cautioned on their use of social networking sites to guide against the dissemination of Fake news and it's like on the platforms.

Keywords: Social networking sites, promotion, citizen journalism, fake news, African students.

Introduction

The use of social networking sites (SNSs) have been seen as a ground where information abounds. This is possible because of the shift in communication its demand and also the technology used in dissemination of such news in our present world. This is supported with the research, conducted by some communication scholars that readers are sometimes not willing to come across such information but accidentally they have such information as a result their willingness to use the social networking sites in search for news is possible (Karnowski et al, 2017). Currently a research carried out by indicates that news fits and the social media are in collaboration to send information and news to the large audience who are depending on the social media news on platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Reddit, this have deploy a means by which the satisfaction can be matched, based on attention of the users and how the social media can be effectively used to disseminate information properly hence it is regarded as the use of special tool refer to as "AI- Technique" a tool use as social media journalist (Orellana-Rodriqueez & Keane, 2018). All of the above demands are possible because users or people have access to the smart phones or the tools that are needed for them to be able to have information at their needs, hence availability is one factor that affects the crave and satisfaction for information.

The paper considers students, from Eastern Mediterranean University as a subject of the research to find out how the use of (SNSs) serves as a means of promoting fake news on its formulation and also delivery of such information. The participant students are from Nigeria which is a developing country. They will tell better the possibility of such fake news or information they might have been receiving, in line with events that continue to unfold back to their country although not the only country that might have experience such in Africa, but have great effect on them because of the sudden happenings such as killings, kidnapping, activities of Boko Haram and also posting of such events on SNSs. If some are true or fake and the means of receiving are employed in creating such news which are clearly specify.

The research method we utilized is a semi structured questionnaire and in-depth interview. While the semi structured questionnaire is to be able to access information on demography of users and also the background information of on users, there is a segment that ask questions on uncertainty which is the issues that they are confronted with on SNSs that they are not happy with. Hours of usage and reliability of the use of SNSs for news was also ask if users can depend on it. In addition, questions on the need for the users to be educated to some level testing their media literacy was also asked.

The in-depth interview segment features questions on fake news and how and why people involve themselves in circulating

fake news and more also to know if fake news have effect. Additionally, asking the people to suggest the solution or way or hear their opinion on how we can solve the problem of fake news we disseminate.

Purpose of the Study

The present study aimed at examining and establishing facts on how SNSs are tools that help in promoting fake information that are disseminated among people, since it permits citizen journalism and to what level. Additionally, the study tries to find out if as a result of this fake news, there is any effect on Nigerian students who tend to monitor information via the SNSs. Consequently, the Nigerian student of Eastern Mediterranean University(EMU) Turkish Republic of North Cyprus(TRNC) were targeted to enable them say their opinion on this issue and as a results some of these hypothesis are develop.

Hypothesis

H1: News and information are created and disseminated by users, as a result of this SNSs sometimes people do not disseminate true news and information since they generate the information themselves.

H2: Using the SNSs as a result of user generated content promote fake news, to what level or degree, we want to know

H3: Because the information are package by individual and publish by them they have effect on students, to sort for the way out of the problem.

Literature Review

Social networking sites are seen as web-based instruments that allow users to create their profiles and a network attached to those profiles as well as communicate with others utilizing the application (Xenos, Vromen, & Loader, 2014). These sites are Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Google+, MySpace, blogs, wikis, and Snapchat (Boulliane, 2015; Bryer & Zavattaro, 2011). Social networking sites is said to be having positive and negative sides while some use it for different purposes. According to Alaiwan et al, (2017) individual are permitted on social networking services to communicate what they have in mind and the knowledge of its application seems to be more interactive that people happened to use it always because it is the best means of interaction that link the community virtually.

Despite the role social networking sites plays positively, there are some activities on the sites that are seen to be negative too (Mantymaki & Islam, 2016). Some of the negative activities documented by researchers are cyberbullying by (Cao & Lin, 2015; Royen et al, 2015), while addiction like (spending longer hours on SNSs), observed by Moqbel & Kock (2018); all these are evidences that aside the use of social networking sites for positive purpose it can also be employ for a negative use too.

Although the SNSs have its affordances too, and the gratification people derived in using it for such as good

for information seeking, surveillance as part of the society, transfer of cultural heritage from one generation to the other, it is also good if we consider it as a capable of spreading negative news, because some people have severally sent information on it that are sometimes not true. As a matter of fact, some of the information on SNSs goes with video that ginger believability. This research work stands to examine if the SNSs is good at promoting fake news and information through its posting, since the posting are done individually without being checked.

The Concept of Citizen Journalism

Citizen journalism is defined by different scholars based on how they see and consider it from their perspective and conceptualization. According to Hamilton (2015) citizen journalism is the writing and editing with its publication and the distribution of such production by a person who is not skilled in the field of journalism, but assuming the role of a journalist within and outside the news room for the sake of informing others not minding the risk involve.

Adding to the above explanation, citizen journalism is seen as the report carried out by an ordinary person in who is also handling the work of professionals thereby either not reporting correctly or giving the information but based on his level of understanding, hence the researchers refer to such as an "Amateur journalism" (Kang, 2016). More also citizen journalism (CJ) has also attracted people and lots of users since the researcher reports that the role it plays cannot be relegated. This is because it has assisted and got funded and those communities where newspaper is not reaching, has been replaced by the citizen journalism hence it is seen as a substitute to get inform on issues emove (Lindner & Larson, 2017). It is as a result of these names that the citizen journalism is called like "non-professional", "Amateur professional" and like cases of Fake reporting capable of triggering some uncertainty featured. This is because of the user generated content (UGC) by every user that can afford to have the tools for communication.

The Place of Fake News and Its Effects on Society

The advancement in technology has led to some investigation on this issue of what is true news and which is fake news because there is no basis but base on what one can assumed as his/her fake news. Since some of the scholars reported that about 82% of people in their report are of the opinion that they cannot categorized fake news neither can they distinguish that the news is true or fake (Atodiresei et al, 2018).This implies that whatever a person chooses as his true or fake news for one reason or the other or not believing with it is fake.

Figueira & Oliveira, (2017) are of the opinion that in recent days fake news have caused a lot of havoc which have negative impact in the society as a result of the speed the SNSs are used in disseminating its information stressing that once it goes viral it spreads with a lot of harm done to lives and the globe as whole. Some of the fake news on global outlook are cases of advertisers who send qualitative

signal to attract buyers through social information, this is geared towards improving sells; but later the product are not measuring to the information receive via the SNSs, thus its effect gave rise to decision making by the consumer to neglect social information because of the ratig of ranking of information/goods or service (Wessel et al, 2016).

To this effect, there are two things that happens when the media is used for communication, since it is clearly stated that what the media does for people and the benefit people derive from their media are the two key factors that are unavoidable since the media messages are send with the target at heart, put into consideration the Uses and Gratification theory, as presented by McQuail (1969) considers the major point why we use the media for our interaction, for surveillance, personal identity, personal relationship and Escapism.

Methodology

The summer research was conducted around (20th August to 29th of September all in 2018).

Indepth interview method was employed by meeting with the students on the basis that it is the only type of inquiry that a particular topic can be focussed on, and this will allow the interviewee express themselves very well on a particular topic. Fifteen of the students were pick to participate because the interview is elaborate. A qualitative research dominated method will be used because the questions on SNSs are semi structured.

Defining qualitative research, Braun & Clarke (2013), stressed that it is words that are more important in data collection and also turn into analysis. The words collected based on the topic will be analysed for the sake of the research at hand.

According to Clarke, guidelines that percerntage may be employed to get information on how/why SNSs usage stands the chance of going further to get the information indepth. The questions cover the reason for fake news and how people promote it. Respondents were students from EMU TRNC. The sample size was 45 because semi structured interview was meant for just 30 students and 15 for indepth interview. All the participant were selected by the researchers, Nigerians because of their fewer number during summer. However, the number of students are still reasonable and can serve the purpose of the research. The semi-structured questionnaire was given at random, there was no equal in number of male and female that answer the questions. The sample include only students at undergraduate and graduate level that were available.

Measurement

The guide to the interview, consist of questions that covers the aspect of demographics was taken into consideration such as their (age, sex, and their educational background). The research was done among EMU students only, from which the graduate and the undergraduate students are made up of the interviewee.

Findings

According to the findings, 15 students were interviewed out of the 15, this is the breakdown of their demographics 10 male, 5 female as well as having the students used grouped into graduate and under graduate students amid different age group brackets. This is presented in a table as thus:

Table 1

Age	18-23	4
	24-29	5
	30-34	4
	35-39	1
	40-44	1
	45 and above	-
Gender	Male	10
	Female	5
Educational background	Graduate	9
	Undergraduate	6

The table above reflect what is obtainable during the summer with the graduate students more in school for research work compare to the undergraduate students.

On the use of social networking sites it is quite revealing that students use more than one platform, this is shown below

Number of Social Networking Sites in Use

Based on submission by the users although 5 networking sites were pointed as used by the students Facebook and Instagram are in competition since their usage proves it.

Table 2

Number of SNS in Use	Names of SNS used by students
3	Facebook, Twitter, Instagram.
3	Twitter, WhatsApp, LinkedIn
2	Facebook, WhatsApp
3	Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram
4	Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram
2	Facebook, WhatsApp
2	Twitter, Instagram
3	Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter
3	Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram
4	Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Snapchat

3	Facebook, WhatsApp, Imo
5	Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube
2	Instagram, YouTube
3	Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram
3	Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram

The use of SNSs seems to be inevitable by students as some make use of more than one, there is no a single student that uses just a social networking site. This is in agreement with the research conducted that each of the networking sites are preferred to the other for a particular purpose, which include privacy and public interest they considering the case of age, gender as some of the key factors that influence and motivate usage among students (Shane-Simpson et al, 2018). Going by the table above, it is glaring that Facebook, have about 12 of the students using it against 15, likewise WhatsApp, followed by instagram with about 8 students using it for their interactions.

Asking on which users of the SNSs have ever come across fake news, these are the responses; “Yea, I have come across fake news especially with this use of “Twitter and Facebook” while another too was being specific on “yes especially the Facebook”.

Some are of the opinion that “Fake news is rampant” others are also saying that “fake news is every where ” on SNSs.

Other groups are of the opinion that “although there is fake news but it is not regular” while some group of the users stressed that it is “multiple”.

Based on their different opinion all of social networking users agree that there are fake news but at different levels hence if these is put into grouping, 100% agree with the existence but about 66.7% agree with fake news on social networking sites while 20.0% are specific that fake news is common on Facebook and on Twitter while those who are certain that they encounter fake news are 13.0% totalling 100 which there are but at different levels. This implies degree of fake news is high.

On question if the circulation of fake news promote peace in our society, there are different views by the respondents those that believe it does and some that believe it does not for some reasons.

Some group of the respondents agree that “sometimes” fake news promote peace, others observe that they don’t, actually they don’t promote peace, while some group strongly pointed at what some of fake news might have seems to do in lives of citizens like “crises”, “war”, some kind of “disobedient” generally characterised as being “chaotic” and “problematic” since they are not professionally carried out as a result of citizen journalism which permits easy broadcasting. Out of the 15 interviewed, just two persons responded that there are “faketure” news with the element of true that comes with it, some two also said that fake news also comes as joke which ought to be taken as true

when they are presented, eleven out of the whole number see fake news as being problematic.

In explanation, “I have seen some fake write up that promote peace” usually there are some write ups that comes in form of health tips, mental health and all of these that they are fake but mildly written.

Naturally any fake news should be characterised as worth promoting crises, based on what some of the respondents have said any piece of information should be verified, but because “fake is fake” it capable of having negative effect on individual life and causing problem in he society as a whole with majority of people responding that it posed “chaos”, “troubles” and even made some people to “commit suicide” based on report submitted by fake news is capable of triggering problems this they said is having great effect on the societ and individual (Jang & Kim, 2018).

This news presentation on social SNSs are made possible because every one is at liberty to write his or her words for interction based on User Generated Content which, professionalism that comes with media literacy cannot be strictly adhere to as a result of the new media and its affordances which photos, news either audio or video are posted without editing, some are “falsified” (Ishida & Kuraya, 2018).

Conclusion

The conclusion of the paper is that SNSs are seen as tool of promoting Fake news and its dissemination instead of the social responsibility role of the media that journalist are saddle with, there by presenting crises instead of abating it and becoming agents that will promote peace and harmony in the society.

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“Shifting Enemies Face” Representation of Terrorism by Hollywood: Iran as the New Face of the Enemy

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Abstract

In the age of rapid technological and mass media proliferation, fewer people engage the world of literature – let alone actually analyze literary contents and absorb the hidden arts. Today scrip writers, filmmakers, directors, and producers are the ones who form a popular culture of the country. Giant media industries like Hollywood (Disney, Paramount, Metro Goldwyn Mayer, Warner Brothers, 20th Century Fox) are the main source of standardizing culture and public perception. In time, Hollywood has constantly used its cultural imperialism power to produce faulty representation and stereotyping of different races, religions and foreign cultures. According to the time and American foreign policies, such faulty representations has shifted from communist Russia to the Muslim Arabs; and nowadays to Iranians. Almost all box office top hit action movies in the past decade had Muslim or Middle Eastern roots of the antagonist character in the movie. While the representation of Arab Muslims as terrorists has been discussed and studied from different angles, anti-Iranian agenda of Hollywood or Iranophobia representations has not been discussed yet. This paper will focus on Hollywood movies which represent Iran and Iranians as the new face of the terrorism in the world. Researcher theoretical framework will be drawing on critical media studies and critical textual analysis (emphasizing the question of representation and ideology) in order to reveal the underline ideological tensions in the text. Methodologically researcher will select Hollywood films which were released from (2002-2017) and represent Iran and Iranians as a new face of terrorism in the world.

Keywords: Terrorism

Introduction

In the age of rapid technological and mass media proliferation, fewer people engage the world of literature – let alone actually analyze literary contents and absorb the hidden arts. Today scrip writers, filmmakers, directors, and producers are the ones who form the popular culture of the country. Giant media industries like Hollywood (Disney, Paramount, Metro Goldwyn Mayer, Warner Brothers, and 20th Century Fox) are the main source of standardizing culture and public perception. Nevertheless U.S market is not the only market that Hollywood has concurred. In the late 20th century, by the realization that almost 35% of Hollywood profits generating from overseas, US government support of Hollywood impressively increased and Hollywood has become a medium for promoting American culture all over the world (De Zoysa & Newman, 2002, p. 190). Embracing its soft power (De Zoysa & Newman, 2002, p. 189), Hollywood become a tool for creating a routine narrative of a specific ideology, class and sexual order (De Zoysa & Newman, 2002, p. 190). In time, Hollywood has constantly used its cultural imperialism power to produce misrepresentation and stereotyping of different races, religions and foreign cultures. With that in mind right now the cultural dominance of US media; nationally and globally is undeniable. Since WWII, Hollywood was used its influence to portray an image of the enemy on the public mind. Whether it was Nazi Germany, Communist Soviet, China, Muslim Arabs or North Korea, Hollywood has constantly found the new face of terrorism in its contents. Prevalence of Hollywood techniques persuades audiences to have a specific image of the antagonist and protagonist. Hero of most Hollywood productions was dominantly muscular white Christian men while the identity of the enemy was changed according to the U.S foreign policies and political conflicts. For instance, during the cold war and even after that, the villains in most Hollywood movies were communist Russians. During cold war the struggle between capitalist America and communist Soviet lead to movies like *Iron Curtain* (1948), *Red Menace* (1949), *Dr. Strangelove* (1964), *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962), *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951), *The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming* (1966), these movies although had different genres and different scenario but all were similar in their anti-Soviet, anti-communist propaganda in their content. Many years after that although the cold war was over Russian were still favorite bad guys of the most Hollywood productions. Parallel with U.S foreign policies against Russia, movies like *A Beautiful Mind* (2001), *Rocky IV* (1985), *Red Dawn* (1984),

“Air Force One” (1997), “Rambo First Blood” (1982), “Goldeneye” (1995) and many more movies consistently represent and stereotype Russian as mafia warlords, cold-blooded and cruel killers. Although the presence of Russians terrorism in films diminishes after 9/11 and US deceleration of war against terrorism in the Middle East, recent political struggles between Russia and U.S can again bold Russian misrepresentations in Hollywood movies.

Middle East Arabs and Muslims were never really a favorite character in the Hollywood productions. Arabs and Muslims have often been represented in Hollywood as lazy rich oil sheik’s surrounded by belly dancer girls and many wives who were oppressed and kept in the harem (Alsultany, 2012, p. 7) (Shaheen J. G., 2012). However, by the end of the 1940s and inauguration of the state of Israel (1948), the picture of Arabs in Hollywood movies changed (Shaheen J. G., 2012). While movies like “The Siege” (1998) and “Three Kings” (1999) still had common courtesy of pretending to show the movie from both sides of story, most films after 9/11 were only focused on stereotyping Arabs as evil, maniac jihadi suicide bombers whom mostly do these things from hatred or without any reason.

Iran and Iranians are Hollywood newest faces of terrorism. Islamic revolution of Iran (1978) and American embassy hostage crisis (1979) was the beginning of first representation of Iranian in Hollywood. Preliminary Hollywood representation of Iran was with movies, like “The mission” (1983), “Not Without My Daughter” (1991) and Maryam (2002). In these films, Iranians were represented as savage Muslim extremists. However, by the beginning of the year 2002 and exposing of Iranian nuclear sites in Natanz and Arak this representation slightly become worse. The new stereotype portrays Iranians as dormant evil who only need a nuclear bomb to show their evil apocalyptic face. While many Hollywood films like “House of Sand and Fog” (2003), “300” (2006), “The Stoning of Soraya” (2008), “Circumstance” (2011), “Argo” (2012), “Rosewater” (2014), “Septembers of Shiraz” (2015) and “Women Without Men” (2009) continue their strategy in showing the same savage, misogynic Muslim extremists representation of Iranians; other films, represent Iran as foothold of terrorism and cause of nuclear Armageddon. Iranians in movies like Syriana (2005), Unthinkable (2010), Transformers: Dark of the Moon (2011), Jerusalem Countdown (2011), RED 2 (2013), The Fifth Estate (2013), Robo Cop (2014) and American Assassins (2017); have been represented as cunning radical militant whom desperately seek for nuclear weapons of mass destruction. These representations are not only limited to anti-Iranian propagated movies, but many other Hollywood movies with different storyline narratives also consistently represent Iran and Iranians in the same manner. In a way being a nuclear maniac terrorist has become a stereotypical representation of Iran in Hollywood productions.

Nevertheless, American Hollywood is not the only media who deceive its audience by misrepresentation and stereotyping, almost all countries around the world use

the same technique through their media to create a needed image from their enemies. As it has been discussed in “Faces of the Enemy” by Sam Keen (1991, p. 10), when it comes to killing and destroying enemies, first we have to create an image of that enemy as “others”; so sinful, so demonized and full of hatred that any aggression against that “others”, are considered to be logical reaction. For every country and every government, then, the identity of this “other” enemy is different but the representation and the ideology behind such representations are the same. The public supposed to fear and hate “others” while political elites define who the “others” are. Similarly, movie audiences are powerless of choosing the antagonist image in the film, the picture of enemy or terrorist are identified for them by the media industry. Through time consistent representations become stereotypes; and one nation, religion or race associated with being terrorist, evil and anarchists. As Barker & Jane (2016, p. 411) argue, television is not a window to the reality but only constructed a representation of the reality which the dominant class wants mass to see. Television here could be interpreted to all kind of mass media and dominant class in every country are the elites whom control the power structure and mean of production. Nevertheless, compared to any other film production industry around the world, Hollywood has the dominant power economically and socially which no other country and no other media can compete with.

In this paper, the researcher will explore whether the films that are unrelated to Iran or Iranians, nevertheless contain minor characters which are identifiable as Iranians and reinforce the ideology of “Iranian terrorism” in their subtext. The researcher will conduct a qualitative research with the cultural study as a theoretical framework. Methodologically researcher will be drawing on critical media studies race and ethnicity studies, critical textual analysis (emphasizing the question of representation and ideology) in order to reveal the underline ideological tensions in the text. Table 1 shows all the films which include Iran and Iranians as minor characters during the years 2004-2017.

Table 1. Films with minor Iranian characters

Film	Year	Genre
“Crash”	(2004)	Drama/Crime
“Syriana”	(2005)	Drama, Thriller
“Yes Man”	(2008)	Comedy, Drama
“The Wrestler”	(2008)	Drama, Sport
“Unthinkable”	(2010)	Drama, Thriller
“Jerusalem Countdown”	(2011)	Drama, Religious
“Transformers: Dark of the Moon”	(2011)	Action, Sci-Fi
“Red 2”	(2013)	Action, Comedy
“The Fifth Estate”	(2013)	Biography, Drama
“Deliver Us from Evil”	(2014)	Horror, Crime
“RoboCop”	(2014)	Action, Sci-Fi
“American Assassin”	(2017)	Action, Thriller

After having watched all the films, three of them (“Transformers: Dark of the Moon”, “Robo Cop”, “American Assassin”) are chosen from action genres. Nonetheless, the researcher will consider all other movies on the list, in order to argue that such stereotyped story and representation have been reproducing over and over again in different genres. The aim of this research is to

decentralize of traditional narratives through textual analysis that reveals stereotype, in authentic examining cinematic techniques that dehumanize, demonize and represent as terrorism threat in minor characters that are Iranian of associated with Iran.

"Transformers: Dark of the Moon" (2011) Action, Adventure, Sci-Fi

Directed by Michael Bay, it is the third part of the Transformers movies franchise. Continuing the same storyline, Transformers: Dark of the Moon is again fighting between Autobots whom allied with good humans –which in these franchise only mean the U.S- against evil decepticons who try to destroy the humanity, loot the earth resources and enslave the mankind. Sam Witwicky (Shia LaBeouf), is Hollywood's typical American white man protagonist whom by the end of the movie save the world and be rewarded by the love of his beautiful sexualized passive girlfriend Carly Spencer (Rosie Huntington-Whiteley). Transformers glorify capitalism, patriotism and U.S military.

Transformer franchise of Michael Bay is not only a movie about an alien robots battles and their complications with humans, but it is about America as a global power and its self-giving role as a sheriff of the world. The third part of Transformers franchise practices more American foreign policies by picturing cold war-like scenario, reinforcing pro-military scenes and giving the role of world police to the Autobots and their rightful allies "United States of America".

The political struggle between Iran and America was represented in the early part of the movie as a battle between the Iranian military and Autobots. While the movie caption only shows "middle east- illegal nuclear site", the flag, army's uniform and language of the Middle Eastern units all indicating Iran. The voice of the leader of Autobots on the background of the movie explains the attack on Iranian soil and nuclear facilities as an only way to save mankind from harming himself. The motivation and reasons for having nuclear sites are completely absent. The only Iranian character represented in the movie are rough military soldiers who fight against - guardian of the world-Autobots. It is interesting that from the all actual deathly conflicts in the world, and all nuclear sites, Autobots only choose Iranian nuclear sites which they considered to be potentially harmful to the world.

The most controversial part of this movie is displaying upside down Iranian flag on the transformed Autobots cars and in the Iranian army base. The upside down flag originally represents a country in dire distress. Using such a symbol in the film can be justification for Autobots attack on Iranian soil and saving not only Iranian people (who are in need for help) but even all mankind from the threat of Iranian government and its nuclear facilities. However, there is no sign of sympathizing with Iranian people or respect for the Iranian soldiers who are defending the site. The scene is filmed through a dramatic change from

modern, urban U.S city to a rustic desert in Iran. This could only refer to the traditional stereotype of backward and wild lands of the Middle East, where people are savage and transporting by camel in the desert. Moreover, there is portrayal of Iranian soldiers guarding what called as an illegal nuclear site. A close-up shot to the Iranian soldier is part of the next scene. Using of hardcore, wild, rough looking man reinforce the sense of terror and danger. The way that transformer robot image reflects on sunglasses of this soldier, can be connected to the conflict between Iran and U.S, with the U.S being in the position of advanced technology and Iran being a simple conflict which can be crossed on easily. The next scene in a way confirms this view with an alien robot in the position of power, pinning Iranian soldiers on the ground and tell them to stay there and Iranian soldiers defeated and frighten stay down. The scene finishes with the defeat of Iranian military and total destruction of a nuclear site. It is important to have in mind that Autobots in transformer franchise, just like DC's Superman and Marvel's Captain America were a symbol of American military power and its role for being a world police. Transformers as a successful box office top hits of its time, not only manage to unify the image of superhero alien robots with American government policies, it also glorifies the role of American military and promotes humanitarian interventions based on American politics. Movies like transformers while having narrative unrelated to Iran and Iranians, reinvigorate the negative image of Iranian terrorism in Hollywood.

RoboCop (2014) Action/Crime

Directed by José Padilha, RoboCop is a reboot of the RoboCop franchise (1987- 1993), with less violence and more political content. Robots in this movie are being used to overthrow governments and occupy countries in the name of spreading democracy and freedom. The film starts with the occupation of Tehran by U.S Robots and proud face of host Novak element program Jack Lewis (played by Samuel L. Jackson) who try to convince Robophobic American people that using robots inside the U.S is safe too.

Tehran which is represented at the beginning of the film, is ignorantly underdeveloped and rural, filled with old dusty buildings and peasant-like people. Apart from the fact that film is trying to argue the human sensations are needed to have a "good robots", the movie is forcefully neglected the part that the U.S has attacked a country, filled the streets with robots and drones, and call that "operation freedom". The streets of Tehran are introduced with shaking shots of the camera and thrilling music on the background. The ragged clothes, poor and rustic appearance of Iranian people in the shot clearly divide these people from technologically advanced, rich Americans who control the fate of these miserable "others" by their war robots. According to Rose (2001, p. 55) eye-level camera angle usually is used to show the characters as equals, however, in the scene of invasion of Tehran, robots see the Iranian people through their robotic gun scanning angle, which

can be interpreted as seeing all these people as enemy and threat. This movie like many other action films insists on picturing the ideology of “us vs. them”. Naturally western audience will side and identify themselves with characters familiar to them based on appearance and culture; against those whom not have common ground with them. In this film, Iranians are the “others” that Keen (1991) mentioned. They are the ones who have other appearance, religion, values, and culture; therefore, they are the enemy and face of terrorism. However, robots are a symbol of American technological and military power, they are American salvation from defeats and humiliations of all previous wars (Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan).

The image that is represented in the movie as invaded Tehran is far away from peace and safety, without questioning American invasion or the way that they promote peace, it makes one wonder if the only argument of the movie is about ethicality of producing human-like robots, not the way American post-colonial agenda finally find its way to conquer the middle east. “Cunning evil” is the stereotype that Iranian men are usually represented in Hollywood. Unlike Arab men stereotype that are mostly savage, wild, stupid suicidal bomber terrorists, Iranian men are represented more deceiver and insidious while having the same terroristic identity. The face of the terrorism in Robocop is the Iranian men whom wearing suicidal bomb jackets and blow them self-up between the robots. However, their aim is not only the destruction of robots but to let the world see what is happening through the reporter’s camera. Whether these people want to confront their invaders or victim-playing in front of the camera, the way these people were represented with bombs around their jackets and shouts of “Allah Akbar” only resembles the terrorist stereotype in viewer’s eyes. Another representation for Middle Eastern men is the way they oppress, conceal and mistreat their women. Women are manifestations of family, romance and love. A representation of evil and terrorism cannot have love and romance in their character. Therefore, it is not strange that the same stereotype has been used for the Iranian character of this movie, who shout, mistreat and violently act with his scared wife and children. Interesting enough the son continues the way of his father by ignoring his mother, take a knife and going to the street to do the same act of violence by attacking American robots. Giving the audience the assumption that the wild, terroristic nature of Iranian male adults is something within the race and sons of this terrorist race are meant to continue their fathers’ way. The American Robot sees the Iranian boy from the high camera angle, which according to Rose (2001, p. 55) is used to make the character look vulnerable, inferior or unimportant, therefore his sly by robots can seem negligible or even logical by the viewers.

Iranian women in the film, have the same stereotype of passive, incapable and oppressed characters who are usually represented like Arab women. The wife of terrorist men in the film was not only unable to stop her son to continue his father’s way but even did not leave the house when her son get killed. Sorrowful and whimpering she

only looked from the jail like the window of the house how her husband and son got killed by the robots. Nonetheless, the invasion of Iran and the Iranian suicide bombers in the film are only in the movie to represent the face of the enemy. When the enemy fights with fire and explosion without giving a context to the ideology and reasons for this fight, using of technologically enhanced robots, seems to be the best solution.

The main narrative of the film is about Alex Murphy (Peter Weller), an honest police officer whom critically got injured by a car bomb and transformed by Omni Corporation researchers to the human/robot called Robo Cop. From that point on the movie go through Alex Murphy’s (Robocop) family drama, thrilling combat scenes and struggles of being corporate made human-like cyborg in U.S. Although by the end of movie at the Novak element program the host Jack Lewis mentioned about the concerns of using Robots in American soil or other countries, it never discussed about legitimacy of America on usage of such dangerous products on other countries or even its right to invade them.

American Assassin (2017) Thriller/Action

Directed by Michael Cuesta and acted by Dylan O’Brien (Mitch Rapp) and Michael Keaton (Stan Hurley) American Assassin is a movie about a man who lost his love in the terrorist attack and get his revenge by joining CIA and save millions of lives in doing so. Like other films with pro-CIA and pro-military tone; the U.S in this movie is the ensign of democracy, freedom, and heroism by saving innocent people of the world from the bad Muslim Middle Easterners. The content of this movie is anti-Muslim propagated and represent Iranians on being nuclear bomb maniacs, Turks as Arms traffickers and Arabs as crazy savage killers. On the contrary, American characters –even their assassin squad- has represented as caring, understanding and loving human beings who have to protect themselves from terrors and evil plans which all originated from Islamic countries of Middle East. The only Iranian characters who were given a chance of being good souls are the ones whom secretly work with American government and choose non-Islamic and more westerner way of life. The film is filled with nuclear deal treaty references and consistently representing Iranian government of being double-faced, sly and unfaithful to this agreement. American assassin portrays Iran as world class terrorist mastermind and Iranian government as nuclear maniacs who only looking for a way to access nuclear bomb and destroy Israel.

The representation of violence in this movie is by Middle Eastern Muslim indications like facial hairs, darker skin, uncivilized manners, and underdeveloped cities. The transformation of the main character Mitch from romantic young man to cold blood assassin was also represented by growing long facial hair. American assassin tries to heroize and humanize all the American assassins in the film by showing pain and agony that Mitch felt from losing the love of his life to the terrorists. As it was mentioned by Rose (2001, p. 114), identification of protagonist is encouraged by the way camera is picturing the film narrative, in another

word the movie is from protagonist (Mitch's) perspective. A western white male hero who kills Middle Eastern terrorists. However, in this movie, the meaning of terrorist and Muslims are strongly tied together. While almost all the Muslim characters in the movie were represented as terrorist and dangerous, even the Islamic symbols in the film were a reference to the violence and terrorist activities. Employing Koran verse before attempting to kill Mitch in Libya and AZAN sound on the movie background in Istanbul before the wild dogs attacking Mitch are both deliberate choices to portray Islam as being potentially dangerous and violent.

In this film, Iranian as a Muslim nation, have some of the same stereotypic characteristics like other Muslim

characters. Facial hair, darker skin, savagery and holding to the fanatical Islamic beliefs are the main stereotypes. However, what makes Iranian separate from other Muslim stereotypes, is the level of intelligent and deception. Most Hollywood productions stereotype Iranians as a deceiver, insidious and intelligently Maleficent, however, Arab Muslims in most representation are backwards and possessing inferior intelligence. In a way, Iranian in Hollywood are represented as a more dangerous enemy than Arabs, because of their ability to deceive the world and play innocent while having the same extremist's ideas like any other dangerous Muslim nation. As it was also mentioned by Stan Hurley in the film: *"The enemy dressed like a deer and he kills like a lion"*.

American assassin is a film full of cliché stereotypes which categorize the "others", or the "enemy" based on their cultural and religious beliefs. As it was explained by Dyer (1999, p. 1) stereotypes are a fortress of our traditions, behind its wall, we feel safe and confident about the way that we see other people. Dyer also suggests that we characterize others, simplify and pattern them through typification (Dyer, 1999, p. 2). The characteristics which the American assassin represent enemies with it are the example of what Dyer described. The enemy in the eye of movie protagonist Mitch is simplified stereotyped version of Middle Eastern Muslims. Being evil and terrorist is a typical part of being Muslim. Like many other films, the evil side of the story does not have any reason for doing the evil things they do. There is no complication and critical discussion on the audience mind since the same stereotypes that they already familiar with, are repeating for another unknown "others".

Similarly, Lippmann states that stereotype is our projection about the world. This projection depends on cultural and traditional group interest, stereotypes are used to differentiate in-group from outsiders (Lippmann, 1998, p. xxv). With that in mind, we can say that stereotypes can be different from group to group or from a country to a country based on the shared values, beliefs and the culture of them. The outsiders are diverse for different groups, likewise, each country has its own stereotype for other nations. Governmental foreign policies and international relations could have a huge effect on directing these stereotypes.

Because the Middle East, their culture, religion, and values were always different and outsider for the west, a terrorist attack by few who were identified as Muslims, flared up a series of misrepresentation and stereotyping for all Muslims and middle easterners. Until today the face of terrorism or the identity of terrorists are deeply tied with indications of Islam. American Assassin like many other Islamophobic movies represent the Middle East as the cradle of terrorism and stereotype the people from this region (regardless of the variety of their history, culture, and traditions) as same savage, hostile and extremists. However, the Hollywood representation of Iran as worldwide terrorism base has been magnified in the past decade. In fact, recently almost every film and series which had a slight reference to Iran or Iranians, include a nuclear bomb, weapons of mass destruction or apocalyptic world end, in their narratives.

In a way, Hollywood plays an essential role in representing and stereotyping the people of the world from an American point of view. Hollywood actively promote and defend American values, culture, and beliefs. Aydemir (2017, p. 81) argue that *"Hollywood is the expression of mental process for the political aims of America"*. Hollywood movies are aimed to cultivate U.S foreign policies and stereotypically represent "good guys" and "bad guys" based on that. For almost a century now Hollywood uses consistent, repetitive negative stereotyping for "other" sexes, races, ethnicities, religions, and cultures. American Assassin, parallel to the Hollywood ideology of misrepresenting others, portray a world of invisible war between U.S and Iran, where the only way of saving a world was the use of Assassins who were not obligated to answer for their actions. In a way, American Assassin acknowledges and support court-less death sentences and confirms a U.S conservative foreign policies in the Middle East.

Terrorism in Hollywood and U.S Intervention

While the central theme of discussed films is all located in the United States, the political conflicts and representation of terrorism are located in the Middle Eastern and addresses US foreign policies of interventionism in middle eastern countries especially Iran. In Transformers the only threat that Autobots found in the world and attempt to help mankind by solving it, was Iranian nuclear site. These good alien robots which in many scenes in the franchise stand by the American government and flapping American flag; are a symbol of American arm-forced supremacy, invade Iran to solve to not only securement American foreign policies of intervention but to also destroy the only humankind threat which was portrayed in the film. In Robocop American intervention happens from the beginning of the movie with Tehran being the battlefield of American robot army and Iranian people. While it is US army who invade Iran, the film builds a sense of fear from Iranian terrorism using suicide bombers and angry wild male characters, referencing Muslim terrorists in many other Hollywood films. American Assassin from other hand does not only include American intervention in the Middle East, but it also justifies and even glorifies this intervention as the only

way to confront Iranian apocalyptic terrorism.

The key aspect which almost all of the listed films had in common was their resilience against patriotic, Iranophobic, stereotyped, “other’s hating” imagery which dominated these movies. On the other hand, the definition of terrorism is complicated in these movies by stereotyping terrorists as the unknown “others” who are the “enemy” of American ideology for no clear reasons. As stated by Steuter & Wills (2008, p. 18) “*Propaganda is not concerned with disseminating information but with rallying emotion*”. Consequently, using scenes of armed-conflict against Iran with references such as weapons of mass destruction and suicide bombing can be an attempt to shift emotions on traditional Arab-Muslim terrorism to Nuclearized-Iran as the new face of terrorism. Whether Iran possesses nuclear bomb or weapons of mass destruction, is not a logical discussion of films, neither Iran’s adherents to the nuclear deal treaty. As a matter of fact, even Arab-Muslim terrorism representation in post 9/11 was never rationally reasoned and argued. The notion and identity of the enemy as the face of terrorism is consistently being simplified by Hollywood representations. Such interpretation of terrorism and shifts in representation and identity of the enemy could only be related and legitimize by the political ruling class who control the ideological contents of Hollywood. American foreign policies for a long time had an influence on the identity and representation of “terrorism” and “terrorists”. Terrorism before 9/11 was mostly represented by Russian or eastern European characters. After 9/11 however, Arabs and more specifically Muslims were the stereotypical terrorists. U.S-Iran nuclear conflicts make Iranians target of purposeful and politically motivated terrorist stereotyping of Hollywood. In almost all of the films listed in this paper, Iranian/Persian male characters represented as wild, underdeveloped, misogynist and extremists who are potential threat or terrorists. On the contrary Iranian female characters are most oppressed, weak and covered if not completely absent from the movies. Then again as it was discussed by Keen (1991, p. 13), just because the projection of the “other” or the “enemy” is misrepresented, it does not mean that that “other” is innocent. Likewise, the researcher is not suggesting political hostility, struggle for regional dominance, human right violations and social injustice is not part of the ideological structure of Iranian government, nevertheless, such political ideology and governing style are not only limited to Iran. Many governments in the world built on similar ideologies and yet their political interests were in line with the U.S and therefore they did not identify as an enemy by the Hollywood. For the Iranian people likewise, the fixation of showing the same representation and stereotyping whole population of one country for forty years could be deceptive and misleading for the global audiences who are unfamiliar with the culture and history of Iran.

Comparative Representation of Terrorism between Iranian Men and Women

Female characters in Hollywood are usually used as visual pleasure for the audience and to construct the image of a patriarchal society where “*women are taken just as a body or for their body parts to give pleasure to the male gaze*” (AHMED & ABDUL WAHAB, 2016, pp. 5-6). In such representation, the male character is the protagonist and star of the movie, while female character mostly represents as passive, dependent and sexualized. Female characters in the majority of the films and series are represented as a victim rather than a strong character with an active role in the movie. As it was adopted by Freud’s argument in Creed (1993, p. 7) book “THE MONSTROUS-FEMININE” women are mostly represented in the movies as a victim because they are castrated and already founded as a victim. Accordingly, the representation of Middle Eastern women has the same victimized and desperate characteristics on it. Muslim Arab women were always humiliated, demonized and eroticized in Hollywood films (Shaheen J. G., 2001, p. 22). Through the time the image of women in the Middle East changed from exotic sexy belly dancers to what Shaheen (2003, p. 183) calls unattractive ‘Bundles of Black’. Up till then still, the majority of terrorist characters in Hollywood movies were male (IVORY, HATCH, WILLIAMS, & COVUCCI, 2007, p. 7), Arab women were still pictured as submissive and oppressed victims of Arab men. 9/11 was the turning point for such representations, through that female Muslim terrorists were also added to the movie storylines. However, according to Brown (2011, p. 707), female terrorists in Hollywood are represented as emotional, unbalanced and irrational while male terrorists were represented with more rationality and ideological motives. The bottom line here is the fact that even in the representation of female terrorism, the patriarchal ideology of Hollywood, is still sensible.

Being Middle Easterner and Muslim, Iranian women were also humiliated and portrayed as submissive and passive. Iranian women image were absent from Hollywood for a long time, in fact Iran and Iranians (Persians) were not known to the Hollywood fifty years ago, before the Islamic revolution of Iran (1979), however after revolution and American embassy hostage crisis (1981) the first representations of Iranian women as covered, oppressed and depressed screened in “Not Without My Daughter” (1991) film. While in a plethora of religious, political and economic situation of 1979 revolution; an ideological suppression of women is not out of mind, but persistence and continuation of showing the same representation over time, could only be interpreted as deliberately one-dimensional and sided representation. Many other movies after that continue the same misrepresentation in their content. In movies like “The Stoning of Soraya” (2008), “Circumstance” (2011), “Argo” (2012), “Septembers of Shiraz” (2015), “Women without Men” (2009), apart from savage, wild and barbaric representation of the Iranian men, Iranian women were most of the times represented as oppressed, miserable, rural and dependent characters.

In a way, such representation becomes a stereotype representation of Iranian women in the movie.

Conclusion

Whether it was embedded as a familiar subtext in their audience mind since their childhood, or because of the rapid spread of English language literacy all over the world (De Zoysa & Newman, p. 189), today Hollywood production globally has more coverage and influence over all of its domestic competitors. Since public perception can be affected by Hollywood productions, it is safe to say that it can use its fictional representations to make long-lasting stereotypes for both protagonists and antagonist characters. While based on Hollywood ideology the "Hero" is often represented as muscular white Christian men, the antagonist is the collection of characteristics and attributes, which are based on U.S. dominant ideology, considered to be the "enemy". U.S. foreign policies have always effected on the representation of enemy as the "others" whom public should fear and beware. Accordingly, the face of the enemy has shifted through time from Nazi Germany, Communist Soviet Russia to Muslim Arabs and recently to Iranians. Considering box office hits in past decade, it is possible to say that there was a slight shift in the represented image of the "enemy" by Hollywood; political tensions between Iran and United States, has resulted in representation and stereotyping of Iran and Iranian as the new face of Terrorism in the world. However, this shift does not mean that the previous enemy's stereotypes and misrepresentation are changed; but only it has replaced its place with more serious, dangerous and more deadly enemy.

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New Media and the Pursuit of Peace and Justice: A Comparative Analysis of Global Uses, Issues and Implications

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Abstract

The ongoing breakthroughs in technology and innovations in communication have radically altered both the manner and means through which conflicts are conducted and resolved at local, national and international levels. Nowhere are the consequences of these new developments more evident and felt than in the growth and impact of new and social media, and the possibilities they offer for mediation in conflict. While writing on the potential social media possess for empowering and facilitating citizen groups, Lievrouw (2011) argued that, the social media are ideal platforms for organized groups of citizens around the world to harness and achieve a wide array of causes,” noting that the “new media have played an indispensable role in the global justice movement by drawing together a widely diverse range of groups and causes into a globally scattered, loosely articulated, self-organizing movement capable of responding to major multinational policy bodies and staging high visibility events all over the globe”. Because social media are widely and directly available to the public, governments around the world have lost – or increasingly losing - the monopoly they once enjoyed on dissemination of information; as non-state actors, activists and individuals assume more prominent and active roles in world affairs, conflicts, and conflict resolution initiatives. This study used cases from Cyprus and Kenya to demonstrate usage and impact of new media and technology in diffusion of conflict and advancement of peace. The study focuses on new and interactive media and draws from radical democratic theoretical framework to argue that these media provide communication platforms better suited for inclusive, dialogic, participatory and democratic communication, especially on issues often neglected or marginalized such as collective quest for justice (Kenya) and facilitation of interaction between otherwise estranged communities/societies (Cyprus).

Keywords: New media, peace building, technology, participatory and democratic communication

Introduction

Manual Castell’s books “The Rise of the Network Society” (1996), and “Communication Power” (2009), stirred sociological discussions about the effects of the new media on the 21st Century society where the world wide internet has become a major tool for the spread of participatory democracy and cyber activism throughout the world. Howard (2011) defined cyber-activism as “the act of using the internet to advance a political cause that is difficult to advance offline” (p.145)

The ongoing breakthroughs in technology and innovations in communication have radically altered the manner and means through which conflicts are conducted and resolved both at national and international levels. Nowhere are the consequences of these new developments more visible and felt than in the growth and impact of new and social media, and the new possibilities they offer for mediation in conflict. Galvanizing public opinion has never been easier. As Khondker argues, lately, quite a number of new and significant developments have taken place demonstrating the potential of the new media to galvanize public opinion and rally people around important causes and issues locally, nationally, regionally and globally (2011).

With only a few exceptions, much of what we know about causes and impact of conflict on human cognition have been based on compilations of scholarly accounts of the power of the media in shaping and conditioning human destructive instincts largely within the theoretical framework of cultivation hypothesis or theory. Not as much effort has been invested in exploring the potentials the media may pose for harnessing and consolidating peace. We use the new media and

social media as well as the preceding theoretical insights as our focus to argue that there is need to conceptualize the potentials of such media as instruments and channels for peace building and to facilitate dialogue especially in societies where provisions of Article 19 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948) are yet to be fully realized or attained.

The paper argues that the very media that cultivation theorists have found responsible for “cultivating” cultures of violence or conflict in the minds and habits of people can similarly and beneficially cultivate culture of peace and justice in the sensitive globalized environment in which we currently live. The present study focuses on new and interactive media and draws from radical democratic theoretical framework to argue that these media provide communication platforms better suited for participatory and democratic communication, especially on issues often neglected or marginalized such as collective quest for justice (in the case of Kenya) and facilitation of interaction between otherwise estranged communities/societies (in the case of Cyprus).

The new and interactive media provide unique and effective communication platform; creating better opportunities for participatory communication and facilitation of prompt feedback. This interactive nature of communication leads to social participation of the public, making eventual peace a more likely “Participatory” outcome. As a result, individuals within societies are more active in global issues including conflicts and conflict resolution efforts. This development makes new media more likely to contribute to conflict resolution and peace-building. The widely available and largely “uncensored” Internet and the other social media platforms bring a new dimension to social mobilization – ‘new social movement activism’.

We argue for the use of social media for purposes of activism in the promotion of global peace and justice arguing that effective and strategic activist usage of the new media and new communication technologies available through the Internet hold true prospects for the achievement of durable peace and conflict resolution at local, national and international levels. We do so while asking such questions as how could or how have the activists used the new media to contribute to the peace-building process in their societies at local, national or international levels? What are the potential uses and roles of the new media in changing existing conflict phases or situation to achieve the desired social justice? What unique advantages do new media have over conventional media with regard to peace-building?

The study used critical and case studies approaches to support the argument that the emerging new technological breakthroughs in communication and the Internet have radically altered the role and uses of new media in conflict resolution in ways that are more consistent with or likely to facilitate peace-building and collective pursuit for justice worldwide.

The Role of Technology and New Media in Conflict Resolution & Peace- building Attempts

Since people have different and sometimes conflicting needs and wants, it is not easy to entirely remove conflict within societies. All societies may experience conflict, or varying degrees of it. In conflict situations media systems especially in the authoritarian regimes will be controlled by the government. Hence, under such regimes we consider the use of uncensored and not-so-easy to control social media particularly important for disseminating information and to mobilize citizens for dialogue on important issues or collective action as Castells (2009) and Lievrouw (2011) have separately mentioned. Through the effective use of new media, governments have lost their control or monopoly on information flow and non-state actors and citizens have become more active in the dissemination of information during times of conflict and conflict resolution.

The enormous potential and advantages of social media use by organized activist citizen groups to achieve beneficial outcomes in a wide array of causes was aptly summed up by Lievrouw (2011) who said, “New media have played an indispensable role in the global justice movement by drawing together a widely diverse range of groups and causes into a globally scattered, loosely articulated, self-organizing movement capable of responding to major multinational policy bodies and staging high visibility events all over the globe” (p. 163). This can be said to be the case with regard to the studies we have used in this study concerning Cyprus and Kenya where the new media were effectively used by the activist groups to make their voices heard both locally and internationally. Ritter and Treschel (2011) additionally argued that social media’s role “... is to allow for an impressive multiplication and amplification of voices” (p. 19). These articulations of the social media’s role are important because of the emphasis they lay on the unique freedom they offer users – and access- they give to citizens.

Grunig and Hunt (1984) outlined the four models of communication that they argued as; a) one-way models which incorporate “Press agent/publicity” model, and “public information” model on the one hand, and b) two-way models that incorporate “two-way asymmetrical” and “two-way symmetrical” models on the other. Social media provide a new platform for interactive communication. Many of the subsequent research and writings on public relations have highlighted the advantages of the “two way symmetrical” model with lofty accolades for the provision it makes for participatory, democratic and dialogic interaction between or among participants. The underlying logic and advantages of two-way symmetrical Communication model is its emphasis on the use of communication to negotiate with the public, resolve conflict and promote mutual understanding and respect between organizations and their stakeholders. Key to our argument in this paper is that new media are particularly well suited for two-way symmetrical communication which we also contend is dialogic, participatory and democratic – in contrast to traditional media; features that social movement (or peace)

activists would find beneficial and rewarding for their causes (Opiyo & Kuruç, 2016) in the two cases mentioned in this paper.

The New Media, Social Movements & Peace-building Initiatives

Arguably, both theoretical and practical implications of the emerging potential and role of the new media in facilitating/harnessing social movements for peace-building are profound. Many of the studies that investigated media coverage of social issues, and peace-building attempts have concluded that social movements, public protests and advocacy groups tend to be ignored by conventional media (see Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993; Gitlin, 1980, 2003; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith, 1996). For these reasons we argued that conventional media are useful but inadequate platforms for comprehensive, democratic and participatory societal dialogue on a wide spectrum of societal issues requiring greater citizen participation. These limitations could arise from official, legal or societal restrictions on certain discourses. We use two cases from Cyprus and Kenya as examples to show the potential transformational benefits that usage of social media and new media we are advocating can bring in society.

The benefits or opportunities of the role of new media in peace-building initiatives include without being limited to, facilitation of participatory communication; cost effectiveness; widespread access to more people and the provision they make for dialogic (two-way) as opposed to monologic (one-way) communication, among other benefits. (Opiyo & Kuruç, 2016). Yet, despite these potentials there are some concerns of the use of social media in peace building attempts.

In an interview with Spain's El Pais newspaper, Zygmunt Bauman depicted social media as a trap. Bauman argued that, "social media don't teach us to dialogue because it is so easy to avoid controversy... most people use social media not to unite not to open their horizons wider, but on the contrary, to cut themselves a comfort zone where the only sounds they hear are the echoes of their own voice, where the only things they see are the reflections of their own face" (2016).

Consequently, it could be said that social media on the one hand can contribute to and increase participation through two-way communication, the access and participation may not be enough to marshal contemporary grassroots movements and bring democracy and peace to the various societies. In other words, the new media are effective tools in the dissemination of information and facilitate dialogue. However, this is not enough for social change and spearheading conflict resolution. Digital communication is important in creating networks and arranging coordination across diverse geographies but as Bauman mentions social change requires "high-risk activism" as well.

The media "cannot replace the physical actions required for successful revolutions" (Lindsey, 2013). Pfeifle (2012) aptly sums up the main thesis on the (potential)

role of these media in the uprisings. "Social media may not have been the spark that set the fire, but it certainly provided the oxygen that caused it to spread" (Pfeifle, 2012). Social media have the power and potential of a 'double-edged sword' as suggested by Howard (2002) with opportunities and benefits on one side, and risks and destructive consequences, on the other, lying primarily in how it is used. The impact of the social media could be negative when they disseminate messages of intolerance, especially those that manipulate public opinion. Fig.1.1, the conflict barometer, shows the map of the conflict zones of the world. As can be seen on the map both of the cases that we've used in this paper fall within these conflict prone zones. In many of such places a lot of violent news create a feeling of hopelessness among the citizens. Citizens who are exposed to such media would more likely to believe that their communities are unsafe and the world is a dangerous place to live.

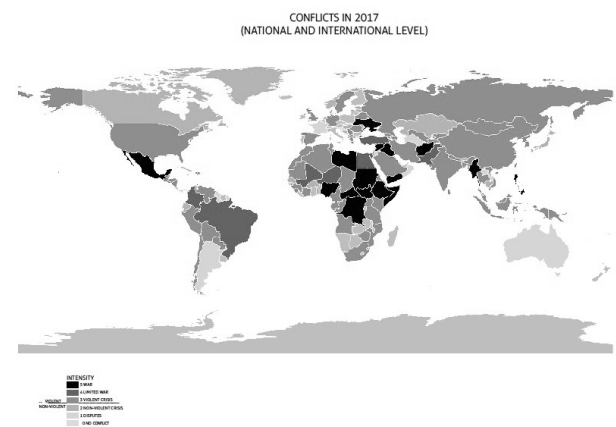


Fig 1.1 Global distribution of conflicts (source: Conflict Barometer 2017, Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research).

The Use of Technology, New Media and Peacebuilding Initiatives

Some of the most inspiring practical examples of the use of technology and new media on a global scale and their functions are outlined below. The following list has been taken from the report Technology for Peacebuilding in Divided Societies by Young and Young (2016):

#PeaceTech

The concept of technology and peacebuilding has been encompassed in a term that has been coined as "#PeaceTech" or "#tech4peace". This hashtag is a good example of how individuals and communities may use social media to contribute to peacebuilding or vice versa. As Berns posits "#PeaceTech's point of departure is that technology, per se, is not inherently good or bad, powerful or not; it is people's decisions that have the power to design, use or misuse technology – and influence where it leads us" (2015, p.3).

BuildPeace

Website: howtobuildpeace.org

Build Peace is a platform used to bring activists, academics,

policy makers, new media practitioners from all over the world to share their experiences concerning the use of technology in peace-building and conflict transformation. Build Peace brings various stakeholders such as the activists and opinion leaders to form a dialogue (two-way communication) to talk about peace-building initiatives.

ICT4Peace Foundation

Website: ict4peace.org

This is a global foundation that explores the use of technology and new media to contribute to peace-building. ICT4Peace aims to facilitate effective communication between communities and stakeholders involved in conflict prevention, mediation and peace-building through better understanding of and enhanced application of Information Communications Technology (ICT) including the new media. This foundation was launched with the support of Swiss government in 2003. ICT4Peace is ‘inter alia’ working with many international organizations such as:

- UN DESA
- UNDP
- UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation
- African Union
- Government of Kenya
- Crisis Management Initiative
- Kofi Annan Foundation, Geneva
- Facebook
- Twitter

Ushahidi

Website: ushahidi.com

Ushahidi, Inc. is a non-profit technology company whose mission is to help activist groups to make their voice heard. Ushahidi (Swahili for “testimony” or “witness”) created a website in the aftermath of Kenya’s disputed 2007 presidential election that collected eyewitness reports of violence reported by email and text message and placed them on a Google Maps map. The organization uses the concept of “crowdsourcing for social activism and public accountability, serving as an initial model for what has been coined as “activist mapping”—the combination of social activism, citizen journalism and geospatial information.” On Facebook more than 20,000 people like this website.

Peace.Facebook

Website: peace.facebook.com

This is a joint project between Facebook and the Persuasive Technology Lab at Stanford University. This platform is trying to bring together opposing sides in some of the most bitterly divided areas of the world, encouraging online dialogue between such conflict zones as Israel and Palestine, Pakistan and India and Ukraine and Russia.

Mobile Applications

PeaceApp

Website: unaoc.org/peaceapp

Peaceapp is a global competition organized by the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations and the United Nations Development Program in collaboration with Build Up to promote digital games as venues for cultural dialogue and conflict resolution. Nowadays digital games are very popular especially among young generations and this will be

Games

Games for Peace

Website: gamesforpeace.org

There is a growing community of people who believe that online gaming and games represent a radical new way of bridging the gap between young people in conflict zones. They use popular, commercial video games to stimulate trust between the younger generations in Israel, Palestine, other parts of the Middle East and regions of the world embroiled in conflict. The games aim to eliminate the negative stereotypes players from different backgrounds often have of the “other”. The main focus here is to form interactive communication between different players. This two-way interactive communication increases the encounters between people on different sides of the spectrum in places plagued by conflict in the world. New media and new communication technologies enable citizens to share news and information freely, and have created a comparatively more democratic platform for participatory and dialogic communication. Social media provide a new public sphere that helps in the formation of public opinion which is crucial in participatory democracy.

Advances in technology and the use of social networks through mediated mobilization can help create and facilitate collective action which in turn can help citizen mobilization for a variety of causes and to share their ideas. This makes them more powerful. In societies where sections of the public feel that their opinions are in minority, they may feel reluctant to express them. Actions taken by governments especially in authoritarian regimes to control the mainstream media would normally contribute to the formation of a ‘spiral of silence’. Noelle-Neumann (1984) demonstrated how one-sided media content tends to generate a dominant opinion that silences the minority perceived ‘unpopular’ opinion. In times of conflict, Bratiae (2006) said “media systems... will usually be underdeveloped and rarely diverse. It is not uncommon to find that only a few news sources dominate the media environment” (p.5). By providing for the dissemination of information during conflict, social media leads and enable the masses to gather around common goals. Through the use of social networking sites, for example, the public will have the chance to share their ideas with the other individuals, dismantling the spiral of silence and enabling them to mobilize their collective action and contribute to participatory democracy. It would seem reasonable, therefore to assume that new communication technologies are playing an important and constructive role in the lives of people around the globe; be they, hand-held devices

such as mobile phones or social media networking sites; technology has advanced and spread across all forms of media, ushering in the advent of true participatory communication in the globalized world.

Case Study 1: Cyprus-Mahallae

This case study focuses on Mahallae which was designed as “a digital neighbourhood for civic engagement”. The project was developed by Cypriot civil society and innovators from the Euro-Mediterranean region. The title of the platform itself has been used intentionally as “Mahalla-e”. This word is derived from the combination of a Greek word (Mahalla) and a Turkish word (Mahalle) both refer to neighbourhood. Mahallae is a new digital technological innovation that offers us new communication opportunities to make our voices heard to contribute to peace-building. ‘Mahallae’ provides opportunities for civic engagement that can contribute to build a more peaceful neighbourhood. Cypriot opinion leaders, activists and civil society leaders share their ideas and experiences to support peace-building initiative and social transition in Cyprus. Mahallae provides a suitable case study to address the issue of the use of technology to create a dialogue to contribute to peace-building initiatives. This digital neighbourhood is not only limited to the use of Cypriots but the people in the MENA region, and the wider Eastern Mediterranean region are welcome to use it. Mahallae has both a Facebook page and a Twitter account. As a digital platform “Mahallae” mainly uses the following spaces (Pandjarou, 2013):

1- Collaboration

A social innovation space that provide opportunities for Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots to work jointly with each other and to build partnerships in various social activities. Eventually these partnerships and collaborations will help the people of Cyprus to make empathy with each other.

2- Civic Mapping

A collection of data visualization space that demonstrates the civic engagement and peace building initiatives of Cypriot civil society from 1990's till today.

3- Interactive tools

A space for keeping digital technologies such as games and video toolkits to contribute to the peace-building initiatives among Cypriots.

Mahallae uses one of its online tools “digi wisdom for mediators and trainers” as a platform for storytelling. The storytelling processes here were not just beneficial for the documentation of peacebuilding approaches in the region over the decades but had alternative positive impacts mainly to make the two Cypriot civil societies be in dialogue (two-way communication). The new media creates the platform for interaction and two-way communication. In post conflict Cyprus of the 1990s, a group of individuals

from both sides of the divide, with the help of academics and conflict resolution practitioners participated in a series of seminars and trainings. As an outcome of these trainings a number of activists with a vision for peacebuilding and reconciliation on the island share their experiences and stories in short videos.

One can follow an example of such an online video via YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nIzdveI8etw>). In the video one is able to see the dialogue between two mediators who are Katie Clerides (Greek Cypriot) and Canan Öztoprak (Turkish Cypriot).

In this “digi wisdom for mediators and trainers” tool Mahallae effectively used new technologies to ensure that the experience of those engaging in peacebuilding initiatives are documented and informing future generations of peace-builders who will be essential in the peacebuilding attempts in future. It also increases the reach of their experiences to different geographical contexts and global dimensions. The people in Cyprus get in touch with each other physically after they have been informed digitally.

This paper has placed emphasis on the enabling aspects of technology for society. Shirky (2008:17) has argued that “when we change the way we communicate, we change society”. Similarly, others have emphasized the potential of new technologies to increase or reconfigure social interactions or “to make new forms of sociality possible” (Rheingold, 2012:192). This position has been embraced by many commentators (Shirky, 2008; Gauntlett, 2011; Castells, 2012) in relation to the likelihood of new technologies (particularly the development of social media) to increase civic engagement. In the “post conflict” setting of Cyprus, where new media may provide an intermediary “space” to introduce a sense of relational “proximity” between the two communities (Young and Young, 2016).

Mahallae has demonstrated the power of technology to engage with peacebuilding programmes and initiatives. This paper provides an examination of how technology and new media have the potential to impact peacebuilding practices and how this may be extended in the context in Cyprus and Kenya. Through case studies, this study attempts to increase the knowledge of the role of technology and new media in the peacebuilding efforts in Cyprus and Kenya. In the context of this paper “peacebuilding” refers to the processes that involve recognizing and supporting social initiatives that inhibit violent conflict, contribute to peace, and aid the development of a “post-conflict” society. This study explores the digital platforms that may have the potential to increase the level of communication and engagement in geographically conflict zones of the world such as Cyprus and Kenya. Although this is beginning to happen in Cyprus, we are still far away from making the most of this potential, and understanding the opportunities as well challenges in these new approaches. For this reason, this paper explores: 1). The role of technological advancements and new media in peacebuilding; and 2). Different platforms used to contribute to peacebuilding. In

order to do this, two international case studies from Cyprus and Kenya were used vis-a-viz to technology, new media and peacebuilding and challenges and the opportunities for the use of these technologies and new media in peacebuilding in the conflict zones.

Opportunities of the Use of Technology and New Media in Peacebuilding

Technology and new media ought to be embedded in peacebuilding initiatives rather than seen as a separate approach since they provide organizations with alternative and cost-effective approaches to peacebuilding. Embracing new and emerging technologies would also increase the sphere of peacebuilding efforts beyond the immediate and necessarily limited and limiting geographical locations. This is particularly beneficial when looked in the context of new media providing interactive platforms that reinforce two-way communication as well.

Challenges of the Use of Technology and New Media in Peacebuilding

At the most basic level, the problem of uneven availability or access to Internet connectivity for different countries could be seen as one of the key challenges that may reduce or hinder full reaping of benefits that the new media and technology offers peace building and conflict resolution initiatives around the world. Connectivity or lack of it (not to have access to certain technologies) is often directly related to socio-economic deprivation or geographic disparities in access both within and between countries. Therefore, the use of technology and new media in peacebuilding attempts may be comparatively more restricted in certain geographical contexts in comparison to others. As Larrauri & Kahl aptly argued:

Technology tools are often seen as a means for reaching out to more people, but not everyone has equal access to all types of technology. Practitioners must assess whether some groups are more able than others to access and use a given technology. For example, in many countries certain technologies are used more by those who are young, urban, and better off economically. More importantly, practitioners must keep in mind whether access to certain technologies can be manipulated, particularly in repressive political contexts (2013, p. 2).

In order for full benefits of new communication technologies to be realized, national connectivity to the information superhighway via the Web is a necessary criteria and critical consideration. In spite of the general disadvantaged position of many parts of the African continent in terms of Internet connectivity, the East Africa state of Kenya appears to be one of the countries that have made commendable strides. According to statistics of both International Telecommunications Union (ITU) and Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK), per capita Internet connectivity in Kenya jumped from 0.7%

of the population in 2000 to 89.4% in 2017 (<https://www.internetworldstats.com/af/ke.htm>), making the country among the better connected ones in the continent – and both the country’s connectivity ranking and Internet speed likely much higher in 2019 following massive investment in undersea fiber optic cable and general ICT infrastructure in recent years. It is partly against this backdrop of the promise of highspeed Internet availability on the one hand, and cyclical political conflict in Kenya that much hope was pinned by experts on the possibility of using the Web to initiate dialogue and build peace in the country.

It needs to be acknowledged, too, that although the Internet has been much lauded for the provision that it gives protagonists in conflict to dialogue and hopefully build peace, there is also a similar growing list of concerns over the potential it offers for abusive usage in the modern digital era when nearly everyone with a hand-held gadget is free and at liberty to upload images and issues of their choice online. Memory is still fresh with the gory incident in New Zealand in March 2019 where a gunman mowed down 50 worshippers in two Mosques in the city of Christchurch, injuring another 50; and the attacker was livestreaming the shootings on Facebook as he shot his victims. Three months prior to the New Zealand incident in November 2018, a father in South Sudan caused global consternation when he auctioned their daughter to the highest bidder as a child bride on Facebook. Parents of the teenaged daughter used the world’s biggest social networking site to solicit dowry from highest bidder – reportedly settling for 500 cows, three cars and \$10,000 in cash in exchange for their daughter, married off to the winning bidder at a ceremony on November 3, 2018. (<https://edition.cnn.com/2018/11/20/africa/south-sudan-child-bride-facebook-auction-intl/index.html>). In the New Zealand case, as was with the South Sudan one, Facebook only realized what had happened long after it happened, deleting posts only long after the worst had happened. And these are only two examples among many others. Facebook CEO has most recently called for governments around the world to consider enforcing greater regulation of social media, arguing that self-surveillance had become too much of a burden and responsibility for social networking companies themselves.

Consequently, it should come as little surprise that one of the key concerns regarding Internet or social networking and peacebuilding in any context should be its ethical dimension and usage. In practice, this requires practitioners to selectively harness and use the enormous potential that technology possesses for peace, while consciously guarding against any of the potentially many disastrous consequences that unethical use entails. (Some) of these “negative” impacts were outlined by Anderson and Olson (2003, p. 22-23) as:

- a) Worsening divisions between conflicting groups;
- b) Increasing danger for participants in peace activities;
- c) Reinforcing structural or overt violence
- d) Diverting human and material resources from

- productive peace activities;
- e) Increasing cynicism; and
- f) Disempowering local people.

An increasing number of studies continue to shed light on hitherto barely understood dimensions of social media – their nature, their usage as well as societal consequences of such usage and impact on individuals. With regard to their widespread and suitability for dialogic communication, the web-based communication forums have been hailed as engines for decentralized democratic communication – in which small or large groups can debate and peacefully resolve issues that left unresolved would lead to conflict in the least, and at most, war. It is in the context of this doubled-edged sword nature of the Internet and social media that the issues raised and analyzed in case study 2 of this research should be understood.

Case Study 2: Politics, cycle of violence and the quest for justice in Kenya



Figure 1.2; Kenya country profile (Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13681341>) January 31, 2018.

Almost since gaining independence from Britain in December 12, 1963 the practice of politics in the East African state of Kenya has almost always been conducted along the ethnic lines of the country’s 42 ethnic groups. Often ethnic groups get into political alliances crafted for the purpose of winning elections, especially the Presidency. Because of this, national elections are usually very tense, occasionally spilling over into ethnic skirmishes which a number of times cause several deaths. Perhaps the worst on the country’s history and record is the Presidential election of 2007/08 when both the Opposition Alliance and incumbent President and government claimed victory. The ensuing standoff led to widespread ethnic animosities and inter-communal fighting, pitting communities in the Opposition alliance and those in government for weeks, leaving over 1,300 people killed – some of them burnt alive in their homes or in places where they had gone to seek shelter, and tens of thousands of people internally displaced. Many lost their homes and the country became heavily polarized along ethnic lines.

Following political disputes and tension arising from the 2007/08 presidential election, the UN intervened under the leadership of its former Secretary General Kofi Annan to help Kenya “permanently” deal with and address the

root causes of the circle of violence that traditionally followed every general and Presidential election. It was a comprehensive and multifaceted approach which aimed at creating and/or strengthening the country’s conflict resolution mechanisms and institutions. A Commission of Inquiry was established to attempt to identify those who were behind the political violence, deaths and displacement. Eventually, “Winners” of the presidential election (the President and his Deputy) were sent to the International Criminal Court at the Hague for trial, while serious efforts were also made to strengthen the country’s Institutions in ways that would reduce or deter violence during and following presidential elections. Perhaps the most important of such efforts was the creation in 2008 of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission Kenya (NCIC) with the mandate to facilitate devise ways to help the country’s ethnic groups co-exist harmoniously at all times. Two years later in 2010, Kenya also unveiled a new constitution in 2010. Politically, the UN-mandated mediators came up with a Grand-coalition government structure that included both the Opposition and government side and created a Prime Minister’s position with two deputies. Administratively, the new constitution in 2010 diluted the “imperial presidency” by creating devolved governance structure with 47 elected Governors (each with a Deputy) heading newly created County governments with members of the County Assembly and cabinet. Creation of the regional governments was intended, in part, to take away (some of) the glamor from the Presidency that made it so desirable for everyone.

NCIC (Kenya) was one of the outcomes of UN-led mediation in 2008



Figure 2.1 National Cohesion and Integration Commission Kenya logo (Source: <https://www.cohesion.or.ke/>)

- The National Cohesion and Integration Commission was founded to help the country’s 42 ethnic groups to peacefully co-exist and think of themselves as one nation – as possible long-term strategy to achieve lasting peace.
- To this end, NCIC does many things including monitoring hate speech in the country and prosecuting those found guilty, in addition to running a website Amani (Peace) Club spreading the concept of peace and peaceful coexistence throughout the country.

NCIC establishment mandate 2008

- The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is a statutory body established under the National Cohesion and Integration Act No.12 of 2008. The establishment of NCIC recognized the need for a national institution to promote national identity and values, mitigate ethno-political competition and ethnically motivated violence, eliminate discrimination on ethnic, racial and religious basis and promote national reconciliation and healing.

NCIC-inspired images circulated on social media include:



Figure 2.2 Peace, Love, & Unity Kenya: One nation; One people; One Kenya. (source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=Love+Peace+and+Unity+Kenya&tbm=isch&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwizjLmV4-PhAhWCLVAKHS6DCVYQ7A16BAgJEA0&biw=1063&bih=589#imgrc=x1Ng1bu7HbkBhM.>)

Method

Under the new constitution of Kenya promulgated in 2010, the country’s 47 Districts that used to be headed by District Commissioners appointed by the President became Counties headed by elected Governors, each with a Deputy. Each county has an active online web presence with a community of active users, with many of them directly geared towards advocacy either for peace, national unity or various other causes.

Sample

Three such community online groups were selected; Group Kenya which is nationwide, Migori Republican Council in Migori County, and Homa-Bay County News in Homa-Bay County.

Group Kenya is an activist nationwide forum created May 22, 2013, and has close to 2.5 million members. Group Kenya has over 131,000 Likes on FB, and has 16 Admins and Moderators. These “Admins and Moderators” are meant to decide what is “acceptable” vs. what is not for sharing on the forum.

Migori Republican Council is a “Closed Group” on FB, was created May 27, 2012, has close to 70,000 members and has 16 Admins and Moderators and is mostly about development and social issues in Migori County.

Homa Bay County Daily News was created October 6, 2015 and changed name on January 8, 2018. It lists the County’s Governor as the Admin, with six other people as

“Moderators”.

The researchers joined the three closed groups as members and actively participated as a “participant observers” for one month to be able to monitor usage and issues discussed and debated so as to determine, evaluate and analyze how pursuit of peace was transacted in the three closed group social media outlets.

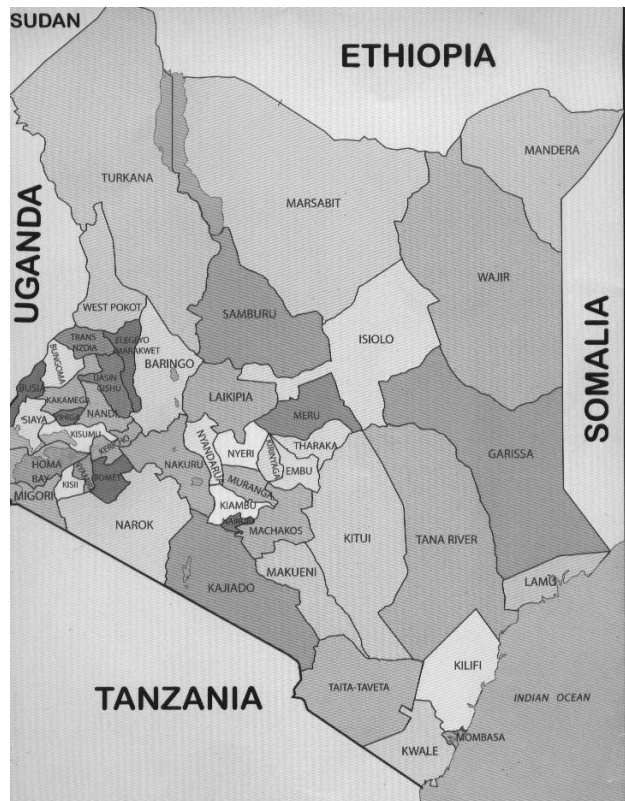


Figure 3.1 The 47 Counties of Kenya from which the sample was drawn.

Findings

Findings revealed that in all three networking sites, Kenyans were very actively engaged in social media-based national conversations with all three sites showing high traffic of posts by various people on a variety of issues. Average daily posts by members ranged between 25 and 50 per day, mostly on topical issues ranging issues affecting the country/County such as corruption, crime or commendable acts of virtue.

Team Kenya site generally portrayed the impression of a coordinated attempt by many to show the humane face of a country – with many posts seeming to deliberately pick on positive developments and national unity in the country. Example of such as stories included, but were not limited to, public bus service conductor who picked someone’s wallet with thousands of shillings in it (100 shillings = \$1USD) and chose to return it to the owner with all the money in it intact. Another was someone who picked another person’s cell phone in the street, and when called by the owner answers the phone and says he picked the phone in the street and would wish to return it to the owner; thereby depicting a picture of “there are many honest people in this country” narrative, contrary to the ethnically

divided one. If viewed in the context of the mandate of National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), such behavior would seem consistent with the mission of NCIC or manifestation of the positive effects of its work. It is worth noting that there are more than one million Kenyans living outside the country in diaspora – with the greatest numbers in the US, the UK and Middle Eastern/Gulf countries. They, too, are active participants in all three networking sites that were selected for this study. Among the many interesting random sample postings by Kenyans in diaspora was a congratulatory message and celebration of election to US Congress of Ilhan Omar. In a seeming attempt to explain to other Kenyans in the network who Ilhan Omar is, Mohamedoor Yakub Mohamed said in the post, starting all in caps:

“ILHAN OMAR BECOMES FIRST MUSLIM WOMAN IN US CONGRESS, HER LIFE IN KENYA BACK YEARS AGO Omar fled Somalia’s civil war with her parents at the age of eight and spent four years at a refugee camp in Kenya. Her family settled in Minnesota in 1997, where there is a sizable Somali population. She won a seat in the State’s Legislature in 2016, becoming the first Somali-American lawmaker in the country. Before that, she had worked as a community organizer, a policy worker for city leaders in Minneapolis, and as a leader in her local chapter of the NAACP -- the African-American civil rights group. She decided to run for Congress after Ellison, who is also black, decided to give up his seat after 12 years in Congress to run for attorney general of Minnesota. Omar has forged a progressive political identity. She supports free college education, housing for all, and criminal justice reform. She opposes Trump’s restrictive immigration policies, supports a universal health care system, and wants to abolish US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which has conducted deportation raids. CONGRATULATIONS ILHAN: Ilhan Omar elected to US Congress” (November 7, 2018).



Other posts included spiritual encouragements to which many Kenyans could relate e.g. “If you have anything to be thankful to God for today, just type Amen!”, to which thousands of people would respond in the affirmative or asking for prayers or help for someone who was deemed in need. Other discussions centered on problems Kenyans

were facing in newly-independent neighboring country of South Sudan, encouraging members to learn as much as possible about problems Kenyans are likely to face in the neighboring country.

On the contrary, Migori Republican Council, and Homa Bay County Daily news were quite different from Groups Kenya; both characterized with discussions that lacked civility by members. Issues of interest and concern included corruption allegations, and charges of alleged murder of a female University student from Homa Bay County by the Governor of neighboring Migori. Conversations and posts were laced with abusive epithets that had hitherto so characterized Kenyan politics. This in spite of both Homa-Bay and Migori Counties neighboring each other, with majority of residents belonging to the same Luo ethnic group. Posts with clippings from the media such as the frontpage news of the Standard newspaper below were frequent, and example of what one regularly saw on Migori Republican Council or Homa-Bay Daily News networking groups. Mr. Okoth Obado is the Governor of Migori whose agents were at the time of research charged with alleged abduction and subsequent killing of a University student in neighboring Homa Bay County. About the same time, there were news reports of him (Migori Governor) being pursued by anti-Corruption sleuths regarding alleged misappropriation of County government funds. Online community in both Counties used such allegations often to taunt one another, and a clear “anti” and “pro” so-and-so were very strong and clear, especially the anti and pro Governor participants in Migori.



Figure 4.1 One of Kenya’s leading dailies with a TV station subsidiary pitching itself Online by highlighting its headline of the day – later generously shared and commented on by group Social networking members; November 6, 2018: Source: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001301679/obado-mystery-family-and-missing-sh2b>

Problems associated with social media use

One thing was clear in all three group networking sites; many members did not use their real names, posing what arguably is one of the main concerns about social media use as extension of problems of social media; the absence of physical presence emboldens people to say and do things they would probably not be able or willing to do in person. Even though one could sense from the comments that some of the participants knew each other, many of them did not know each other in person, causing name-calling and hurling insults (exacerbated by murder concerns in Homa Bay and corruption in Migori) to become commonplace occurrence. In addition to this, provision that social media makes for people to frequently change their identities, or use pseudonyms renders monitoring and control difficult and creates a lot of room for mischief. We befriended some active participants and sensed after a while that their usernames kept changing, depending on what contributions they wanted to make. In addition, some people deliberately open and operate more than one account or profile on social media. This made ownership or taking responsibility for one's comments on social media both problematic and elusive.

Further, there are people who use creative but nonexistent names; a frequent contributor in Migori Republican Council was someone called "Nam Min Aore" (a Luo phrase meaning "Lake the mother of Rivers.") There definitely is no one who can go by such name in real life, and such names encourage people to make comments they would not be willing to take responsibility for as they would if they were going by their real names.

The emergence of the phenomenon of "fake news" or deliberate or unintentional peddling of false information continues on social media unhindered – and there were enough "wishful news" peddled on both Migori Republican Council and Homa-Bay Daily News networking sites especially, largely leaving the important issue of ethical online behavior to individual actors – rendering it subjective and comparative.

Generally, study of Migori Republican Council and Homa-Bay Daily News suggest the emergence of a visible trend in Kenya when it comes to politics and conflict; the new system and structures of governance appear to have "devolved" conflict to the local level where clans and/or Counties people belong to seem to considerably influence the stand they take on issues, although nationally the identity and brand Kenya appears to have been enhanced and strengthened. At the County level political discourse revolves around or is shaped by whether or not one supports or is against an incumbent Governor. This was recently witnessed at the time of study in the case of Migori Governor whose supporters remained steadfast on social media during his month-long detention by Police on alleged murder charges.

But at the national level – study of Groups Kenya networking appears to show less conflict and appearance of (national) unity, although scanning the national

environment also revealed a new and distinctly different ideological definition of Kenya's national politics in terms of competing loyalties to the offices of the President on the one hand, and Deputy President, on the other, albeit with well-coordinated efforts to ensure such loyalties are not seen to be purely along ethnic lines.

Conclusions

This research used two cases from conflict situations in two different parts of the world to explore the promises and potential that social media pose for effective dialogue in conflict resolution in both cases. In doing so, it also looked into any challenges that such usage may cause or problems they may pose, and how such problems could be overcome or minimized. Both cases in Cyprus and Kenya showed enormous potential that social media present for the advancement of peace and security around the world; given particularly, their dialogic nature, speed and inexpensive and widespread availability.

The study, however, also found examples and ample evidence of scope for abuse of social media use, ironically, to their very speed and widespread availability which has placed in the hands of many with hand-held gadgets the weighty ethical decision to destroy or build, to fabricate and convey false messages or to honestly share verified and carefully weighed information, within seconds and, perhaps most importantly for us, use social media for dialogue that advance the cause of peace and stability through understanding. Choosing the latter can diffuse tension in many of the conflict-laden societies in addition to boosting economic prosperity in a better, happier world beyond North Cyprus and Kenya.

We conclude by pertinent professional observations. During a recent interview by CNN, Apple CEO Tim Cook almost seemed afraid about how much technology was readily available in the world today, and what uses each person could put it to – and with what effect. In an around and about way Mr. Cook more or less urged governments to rise to the reality of the world we are living in and consider legislations that would provide regulatory framework for technology, lest we be ahead of ourselves. Nowhere is the impact of this concern more visible and need greater than in the realm of social media. More recently, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg has joined in and called for regulation of social media by governments following complaints about how Facebook was used to stream live the macabre murder of 50 worshippers at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand recently.

As we argued earlier in the paper in the words of Berns (2015) "...technology, per se, is neither inherently good nor bad, powerful or not; it is people's decisions that have the power to design, use or misuse technology – and influence where it leads us" (2015, p. 3). Our study confirms this to be largely true of both Kenya and Cyprus.

There seem to be adequate indications of misuse and abuse of social media to cause us to be cautiously optimistic and periodically concerned.

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Women in the Gezi Park Protests: A Frame Analysis on Turkish News Media

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Abstract

This study is designed to analyze how the women were represented at the time of Gezi Park Protests which occurred in 2013 in the first five days of the movement. The presence of women will be investigated in the Turkish print news media. The aim of the research is to find out the framing and its discrimination on gender in Turkish print media, which has been followed by many people during the protests in its first five years anniversary. This will give the reader comprehension on why the language was changed on the following days of protests in the body of news stories. Five different and mainstream newspapers have been chosen for this study. Each of the newspapers has a different ideological stance; *Aydınlık Gazetesi*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Milliyet*, *Sabah* and *Hürriyet*. Frame analysis is used to compare the news content of these five newspapers.

Keywords: Mainstream media and opposition, frame analysis and framing, representation, gender mainstreaming, women presence

Introduction

Reality is a common problem for every individual in society. To lead humanity to a certain belief or behavior, authorities use the media where they issue not only for manipulating but keeping the reality faded in the Gezi Park Protests.

The movement which occurred in 2013 was claimed as it has been organized by the authorities. In fact, the protests launched by media and spread all over the country as a response to the faded reality. As Konda (2014) had mentioned the participants were relatively young who had no connections with any political party or organization. As we can see in the reports of Konda (2014), the participants may have sympathy for an ideology but most of them (%78, 9) was not politically or socially a member of any organization.

As a prologue, the media was oppressing in the sense of the patriarchal system by ignoring the women. Thus, this paper discusses how the media messages were shoving the women to join the protests.

The ultimate aim of this research is to get a comprehension of the frequencies of how media distributed the messages, which made protestors feel angry and scared at the same time which caused them to support the movements. The movement was unorganized, as known by everyone. Thus, the women may have decided to be a part of the movement because of the giant misunderstanding that has been caused by the mainstream media about the first icon as a woman on the media regarding the movement.

The research has associated with the women's representations in social movements in the Turkish press. Five newspapers addressing the case of the Gezi Park protests serve as the main focal point of the study.

Five daily newspapers from the Turkish press were examined with respect to their coverage of the Gezi Park protests from 27 May 2013 to 31 May 2013 which the analysis centered on cover pages. The limitation of the study is the first five days of the protests. During these five days, there was only 'woman in red' who did not even take place in the news-texture.

In this study, the researcher is trying to show to the reader that the women have been underrepresented from the first day that the mainstream media started to write about the Gezi Park protests. The main body of the news, the titles of the news and the photo that was served was not appropriate within itself. The news was misinterpreted.

The aim of the research is two-folded. The discussion of the paper is the unwritten parts of a story under the lens of feminist perspectives. As seen during the Gezi Park Protests, firstly the media have ignored the women in the movement, and secondly, have generated a patriarchal speech. Therefore, the aim of the study is two-folded as given below;

1. The media ignoring the story of Woman in Red,
2. The media framing which caused women to go to the park every day in expanding amounts, are certain discussions

in of the study.

How the Gezi Park Started and Spread

Agenda setting is a common issue for every individual in a society to shape or reshape their realities. The media are made up of a bunch of powerful tools to manipulate the realities of society’s individuals. The mainstream media mostly switches the topics in the movements to relate the news to certain topics or ignoring some of the news.

Gezi Park Protests located in the Turkish press, for the first time, with the ‘woman in red’ icon. The icon had left an important “scar” in the minds of the audience. What happened to ‘Woman in red’ and the news that is related to her is called “scar” in this study. As a reason to call the incident effects as “scar”, it can be claimed that the reasons for arrests and brutal police and legal position attacks.

Therefore, during the movements, many citizens had been etherized by the media with dehumanized women body and the importance of the movement is reduced by similar photos and stories. On the point, the icon of “the woman in red” was used to grab attention from the audience as an attractive tool.

Though it happened five years ago, Gezi Park Protest still keeps itself unique in comparison with any kinds of alteration of any other movement that can be analyzed as new social movements, all around the world.

Gezi Park was a movement that brought opposing people that had never come together; the movement was an interesting one that had changed the ratings of mainstream channels (Tava, 2018). After the movement started, it was observed from the ratings, that many audiences have started following the news by criticizing the event on TV. They are now trying to watch different channels and make a comparison of the events.

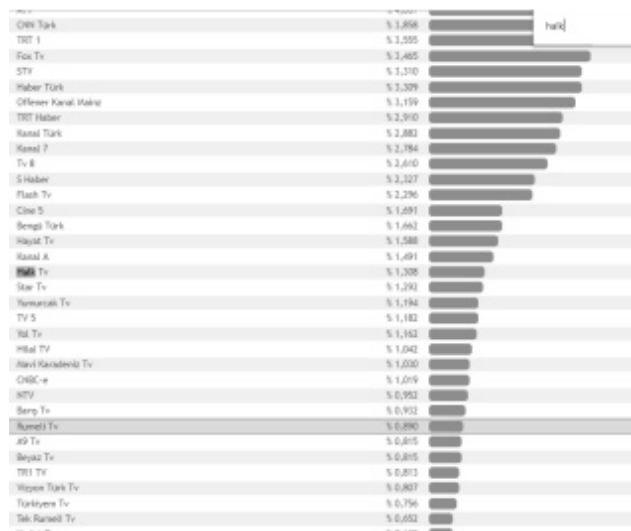


Figure 1: June 2013 TV channels rating in Turkey Picture (Tava, 2018).

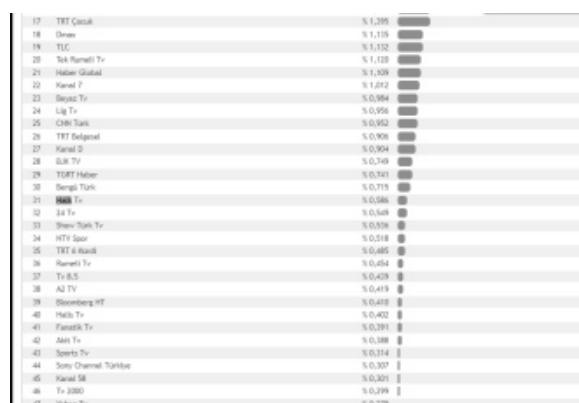


Figure 2: September 2018 TV channels ratings in Turkey (Tava, 2018).

It is obvious that from the first days of the Gezi Park movements, people started to change their perspective on the dependency of their media usage. As Kongar (2013) et al. states Halk Tv was the only channel which have followed the movement from the first day. Noticeably, the audience started to follow news through the alternative media. Furthermore, the times that ratings were taken are from prime news hours and alternative media has seemingly changed the perspective of the audience to import the news.

Also, there were no seemingly possible ways that they could have been more organized before the movement. According to the ratings of channels, many individuals have changed their ways of thinking and their media reading and criticism.

The Women Movement in Turkey and the Women in the Movement

As known, the claim about the Gezi movement is written as a failure of opposition parties. Especially during the first week of the protest, the discussion and the story of the news were built on a political party member, but the photo of the news was telling a brutal story against a woman.

On the other hand, the protest was an opposition, indeed. It was an opposition to protect the self, it was an opposition to protect the private lives, and it was an opposition not to be intervened in private life.

Turkmen (2018) have stated as in 1980 and 1990 the women was asking for taking a different stance in life but, we understand that in this protest the women asked only not to be disturbed in their private lives. She stated in her article that The Gezi Revolt was the most effective movement in Turkey which was different than the previous movements.

The women who got on scene during the movements in Turkey are still blurred. There is a ‘woman in red’ that was in the photos but Sırrı Süreyya Önder was on the news body which is a clear attempt by the media to manipulate and to discriminate the society into sides.

In comparison with the previous movements in Turkey, Gezi lasted longer. The police (sent by the government) was brutal, which guided and pushed the movement to gain

speed. It is assumed that the women presence has changed the way of the protests which soften the responses of the protests to the brutal police attacks while the independent pictures on the newspapers cover page of their presence were manipulating society.

Turkmen (2018) claims that after the violence of the police, the Gezi movement continued in neighborhood forums, solidarity organizations and urban resistance movements. It continued in social and cultural levels which opened minds and helped people to look at solidarity in another perspective. Thus, the Gezi Protest had changed the perspectives in solidarity.

The Flow of the Movement and the Flow of the News

The society has witnessed a protest that everyone included in the protest was claiming that the people were ready to go out to tell that there was something wrong going on at that time.

During the first five days, there had been no news about what was happening in the park. There was even no news telling that there will be new mall construction. The Protest started as follows:

The 1st day, approximately 50 people came to the park, to stop the destruction of the park (Gezi Parkı Olayları, 2013). As it is claimed, late evening the destruction of the park started and 5 trees had been moved out (Ayata, et al., 2013) and as it had been stated only one TV channel was there to record the event which was called Halk TV (Kongar & Küçükkaya, 2013).

Therefore as Kongar & Küçükkaya (2013) mentions, there were only a small group of people in the park who decided

morning. (Kongar & Küçükkaya, 2013). Also, the woman in red was photographed within the same news with Sırrı Süreyya Önder (Ayata, et al., 2013).

Thus, Süreyya Önder came to the Park to stop demolishing the Gezi Park but the newspapers have chosen to give the news with the photos of the woman in red (Ayata, et al., 2013; Kongar & Küçükkaya, 2013).

The 3rd day, Sırrı Süreyya Önder and his own style of stopping the destructing machines was written on some of the newspapers with a no name woman in red in the photos. But the news was built on ignoring the women and also all the other participants in the park.

The 4th day, the machines entered early in the morning to the Park.

The 5th day there came a decision about to stop demolishing. But the tough attacks from the police have not stopped (Ayata, et al., 2013).

The News Frames and Distribution of the Titles

To facilitate the identification of dominant frames in the selected news stories, the following evaluation items have been employed: (i) insulting frame; (ii) ignoring the woman presence frame; and (iii) oppression on the woman frame. As Aluç (2017) mentions in his study the conflict was built highly by the mainstream media. Furthermore, the mainstream media had crucial oppress or ignorance about women presence in the protests and the media have tried to build that conflict on gender.

In the table below, it is noticeable how the news was distributed during the first five days:

The sample for this study is the news about the ‘woman in

Table 1: The content analysis of the news distribution

	Hürriyet			Milliyet			Sabah			Yeni Şafak			Aydınlık		
27 th May	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28 th May	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29 th May	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting
	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
30 th May	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting
	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
31 st May	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting	Oppressed	ignored	insulting
	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

to sleep in small tents to occupy the park. According to the written regulations of demolishing the park, there was no permission to move first five trees (Ayata, et al., 2013).

The 2nd day, the friends of the protestors had come to relieve their friends who were there to secure the trees for the whole night. Then Sırrı Süreyya Önder came to the park as a citizen, to see what was going on. He had seen the violence of the police and dare to ask the destruction team if they had allowance papers to move the trees. He told the destruction team that “I’m the minister of the region thus I’m the minister of the tree, each of us will stand for a tree and we will tell to the birds that we were here every

red’ and Sırrı Süreyya Önder. On the other hand, as it has been chosen as a sample in the study we should mention that the woman in red, was on the news photo. It is thought to be there as an icon because she had a nice and attractive view in the photo and has no other reason to be in the photo cause the body of the news is related to Sırrı Süreyya Önder. But as in one of the interviews in Reuters that ‘woman in red’ has given to, she told that she was only passing from the park as any of the other citizens of the country trying to see what was happening in the park.

Aluç (2017) devises, “Self and other-oriented” item show evaluating issues with differentiation of “us” and “them”

perspective. In our discussion in the news which is related to Woman in Red, the self is the man and other is the stranger which is represented with a woman body:

ABD YOLLARINDA 175 BIN DOBLÖ
İHRACAT ŞAMPİYONU YİNE TÜPRAŞ OLDU
GÜNZİP SOKAK'TA HUZUN VAR
Devlet adabına uygun taziye
Rahşan Ecevit'le görüşme yaşadı
Müjde Nazmiye kupe bulundu!
Karaday'ın Çiller'e resti çektiği an
İÇEKEKSEN GİT EVİNDE İÇ
AGAÇ NÖBETİ TUTANLARA GAZ
3. köprü temeli için her şey hazır

Yeni Dünya Tasarım Döğretici Karşı
Komutanlardan tarihi savunma:
RUSYA'NIN ETKİLİ İSMİ AYDINLIK'A KONUŞTU
Aydınlik
HESABI ÖDEMEDEN NEREYE!
Obama'nın spasmı
Ceyhan'da Aydınlik rüzgarı
TAKSİM'DE GAZLI AGAÇ KATLIAMI
Polisin ağaç sevgisi göz yaşarttı

65 OKURLARA ARMAGAN
Hürriyet
HÜRRIYET'İN 3.0 DEVRİMİ
İKİ AY YASAK POLEMİĞİ
SOYADI ZAFERİ
Gezi Parkı savunması
NAZMIYANIM darbeyle yaşad

Yeni Şafak
CHP'DE BARIS İSİMDE KALDI
Vatana ihanete buluştunuz
Güniz Sokak'a ziyaretçi akını
5'e makas terörü
Sinıra robot devriye
İstihbarat 3 gün önce
McCain yine sahnedeydi



Picture 1: The Newspapers on the 29th of May

As it is seen, on the day of the news that we are talking about, 1/9 of the cover page is related to the Gezi Park. In both Milliyet and Hürriyet the news bodies are similar which are related to Sırrı Süreyya Önder but they are using the photo of ‘the woman in red’. In Aydınlik Gazetesi, the news are served with the title as ‘Massacre of gas in Taksim’. The frame of all the newspapers is ignoring the exact happening and gender. The used frames and the news bodies show that the gatekeepers of the newspapers are also confused about what to write about the movement.

In Aydınlik the frame of the title and the news body is closer in meaning but the three photos that the newspaper is using taken from the same angle representing the ‘men’ as the only contributors of the protest.

Conclusion

The newspapers started to take Gezi Park Movement as an issue after the protests started and the violent counterpart of the police. The first day that the newspapers started writing about Gezi Park is 29 of May in 2013.

Women were in the protest as themselves, as housewives, as academicians, as mothers, as doctors, as human (please see the video on YouTube)¹. As the flow of the movement got higher the flow of mainstream media got lower which means that they got stuck onto the news that is irrelevant to the movement, itself. As seen in the ‘Woman in Red’ example, the news that is related to the woman was not

given from the newspapers as main stories. The women were only in the news to grab attention as it is assumed like the only readers are ‘men’.

It is obvious that the Gezi Movement has changed lots of things in socio-cultural stance so that the individuals decided to support the first 50 people who started the movement in the park. The audience was not aware of the movement who were heavy viewers of mainstream media in the first five days, because there was no news on TV channels or newspapers.

Frame analysis is chosen for this study in the beginning; however, the content is limited to build a frame analysis. In content analysis, the data is only collected to see if there is any news about the case, and in frame analysis, thus the study is been focused on have the story is conceptualized.

The protests may also be assumed as a reaction against the distribution and service of the news. The media constituted the meaning which has bad influences on individuals that made individuals get angry during the Gezi Park protests. As much as the media manipulated the reality about what was outgoing on, in the Park, people wondered what was going on in the Park and came to see the event in the Park. Then they have seen the violent aggression of the police. And they had to run with the protestors. Thus, they have become Protestors.

Technology has given new form to media tools. As Gerbaudo (2014) claims “the speeds of group action increases as more people adopt simple social tools and these tools provide faster communication.” As noticeable it is a closed circuit that any message that has been shared through the social media found a ground in the movements related to Gezi Park Protests.

There is a big conflict about the icons of the movement presentation on the news. As it is seen, in the example that has been chosen for this study, there were women in the pictures of the news, but no news related with the women, no written information about the women in the body of the news. Growing technologies used during the protests have given the audience to follow up the movement and feel like they have been involved. Furthermore, Halk TV was also reporting the movement with 3G technology with no edit in the scene. These assumed as making the audience wonder what was going on in the park and join the movements. Besides, in the future studies it is possible to search the audiences’ responses to the mainstream media messages.

Therefore, the icon of the first five days (Kırmızılı Kadın-Woman in Red) and the news stories related with it have chosen to make the content visible. Thus, we had focused on the news frames and content for this study.

Frame analysis is an analysis to studying constructions of reality. To understand the constructed reality frame analysis asks the questions of “What is going on, right now?”, “When am I most vulnerable?”, “Can I know if someone is telling the truth?” (Hill, 2014).

Therefore, the questions that we are trying to answer are

1 Please see - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQ1UKAyVqZl&t=1s>

'how the women left vulnerable?', 'who are the contributors of the protests by the women?', 'how the reality had been changed for the women?'

As the first five days considered, it is obvious that during a social movement in Turkey mainstream media ignore the woman presence during the movement. The women were not even on the news completely. They were fragmented and alienated. The women were not recognized as passing citizens across a street or a park, but a woman was recognized as an icon which is used to grab attention.

Due to the previous steps of the movement that had been started in the Park, the question has been changed. Why the women were not there as the movement holder but as an icon to gather interest, in the frames. The next steps of the study will be focusing on, how the content of news of mainstream media was affecting the flow of the movement by setting an icon to the movement.

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Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: A Case of #Endsars Campaign

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Abstract

This study explores the history and relevance of hashtags and timeline of prominent hashtags in Nigeria. In particular, it explores Nigeria's #Endsars, a hashtag used to create awareness on police brutality such as, extortion, rape, physical and verbal assault, extra-judicial killings, wanton arrests and other forms of intimidation tactics against young innocent Nigerians. It discusses the history of police brutality, the creation of Special Anti-robbery Squad (SARS) and the commencement of #Endsars Campaign. Following agenda-setting theory, the study concludes that hashtag activism is instrumental for social transformation and as such, social media impacts, dictates and influence what the traditional media think and show as important to the public.

Keywords: Twitter, hashtag activism, #Endsars, police brutality, social transformation

Introduction

Microblogging, a social phenomenon of Web 2.0 permeates the gap between blogging and instant messaging, allows individuals to publish short messages on the web about their current status (Passant, et al 2008). Twitter, a microblogging service was created in 2006. It has been on rapid growth since it was created with over 335 million active monthly users¹. Twitter allow users to update their current status by tweeting in 280 characters per post. Research in the use of new media has rapidly increased particularly in the use of Twitter. According to Axel and Burgess (2011, p.1);

Recent works has especially highlighted the role of the Twitter hashtag – a short keyword, prefixed with the hash symbol ‘#’ – as a means of coordinating a distributed discussion between more or less large groups of users, who do not need to be connected through existing ‘follower’ networks.

The use of Twitter for social transformation over the years has given rise to hashtag activism, which is the use of hashtags for digital activism. Hashtag activism is a discursive protest on social media organized with a hashtagged word, phrase or sentence (Yang, 2016). Prominent hashtag activism in Nigeria include #Occupynigeria, #Bringbackourgirls and more recently is the #Endsars social movement advocated by Nigerian Twitter users led by Segun Awosanya². The #Endsars hashtag was created to protest against the high handedness and human right abuse by men of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a unit of the Nigeria Police Force. Nigerian youth using the hashtag explained their ordeals with the ruthless SARS officers, some of which included humiliation, detention, extortion, unlawful arrest as well as forcefully breaking into their homes especially student dormitories.

According to Moscato (2014) “The ability of hashtags within Twitter to diffuse and amplify information and ideas across social media has afforded new media outreach opportunities for activists” (p. 9). It is on this premise that this study set to explore the history and relevance of hashtag activism in relation to social transformation. It will explore the timeline of hashtags in Nigeria and how Twitter hashtag activism sets the agenda for masses and traditional media.

History of Hashtags and Hashtag Activism

The use of hashtags started long before the creation of Twitter although it was made popular by Twitter. Online hashtag usage can be traced back to the late 1990s, when it was used on IRC (Internet Relay Chat) to classify items into groups (Shea, 2014). On the 23rd August 2007, a San Francisco technologist, Chris Messina proposed the use of Twitter hashtag by asking his followers this question “how do you feel about using # (pound) for groups. As in #barcamp [msg]?” (Messina, 2007), hence becoming the first person to use the hashtag on Twitter. Twitter formally accepted the hashtags into code in July 2009 with an automatically hyperlinking term affixed with the # sign (Gregorio, 2014). About a year

1 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/27/technology/twitter-stock-earnings.html>

2 Segun Awosanya, a Twitter user with the Twitter handle @segalink, he is the convener of the #Endsars campaign

after that, other social networking sites such as Pinterest, Facebook and Instagram adopted it. Gregorio (2014, p.1) accedes that;

The proliferation and use of hashtags have grown to tremendous popularity that the use of this symbol has become associated or even synonymous to trends and discussions in social media. Tagging keywords, phrases and other strings of texts and letters are what social media users do to track topics and conversations – and provide the ability to other users as well.

This is to show that hashtags were first used to trend world issues on microblogging platforms and sometimes to have real time updates on issues that affects or can affect the public. An example is the wildfire that occurred in California in 2007. It was hashtagged #Sandiegofire as first tweeted by Nate Ridder³ to give an account of current situation with the wildfire incident.

Twitter activism started out to be called “Twitter revolution” a word coined in 2009 in reference to the mass demonstration that took place in Moldova and few week later in Iran (Gonzalez-Bailon et al., 2011). These demonstrations were in protest of irregularities in the countries’ elections, which was believed to be fraudulent and massively rigged. Hence, hashtag activism can be seen as an effort that concurrently induce awareness to a movement and ambiguous important phases of the movement such as historical background or socio-political context (Dadas, 2017).

During Twitter revolution period, there was a debate about online activism between the “cyber-enthusiasts” and the “cyber-skeptics” (Gadi et al, 2013, p.1). Cyber-skeptics gave little importance to new media in achieving social change through activism as the web gives people a misconception of political participation and prevents them from partaking in physical protesting; while the cyber-enthusiasts saw the use of the internet has a tool to mobilise and inform people for greater social transformation. However, over the years, the cyber-enthusiasts have won the debate as online activism particularly hashtag activism has been used in achieving social transformation as with the example of #OccupyWallStreet, #BlackLivesMatters #BringBackOurGirls #Ferguson, #ArabSpring and recently the #Endsars campaign in Nigeria which has yielded lots of success.

Online activism in Nigeria can be traced back to 2009 when former Nigerian Rapper eLDee took to Twitter to express his discontent about erratic power supply in Nigeria. This came after his friend could not have a surgery done due to power outage. He canvassed four other young Nigerians, Sheile Ojei, Amara Nwakpa, Seyi Kuyinu and Nigerian Singer, Banky W to join in public discussion of the poor power situation in the country (Odewale, 2014). During their online conversation, the phrase “Light Up Nigeria”

came up and within few minutes, it became a trending hashtag on Twitter. The hashtag quickly became an avenue for average Nigerians to express their displeasure about the situation. Odewale (2014, p.1) asserts that;

Until Light Up Nigeria, there had been no recorded example of a campaign of this magnitude started online and, largely, remaining online. Therefore, LUN serves as the pioneer case of a digitally motivated campaign in Nigeria. Of course, there were online discussions around political developments in the country, there was the outrage about the video of military officers molesting an innocent woman. But such discussions were mainly held on Facebook at a time when Twitter was not popular.

With the success of “Light Up Nigeria” campaign as the first recorded online campaign, other online campaigns began. After “Light Up Nigeria” #EnoughIsEnough campaign where youths demanded for a free, fair and credible election in 2011 general election. The #OccupyNigeria was another significant campaign that shaped the Nigerian political economy. It was a collective protest used to challenge the removal of subsidy on Premium Motor Spirit (PMS) and subsequently increasing the price of PMS from ₦65 to ₦140. This came after the Arab Spring between 2010 and 2011 and the Global Occupy social protest. Just like these movements, #OccupyNigeria drew international attention through online mobilization and eventual physical occupation of the street by Nigerians (Egbunike, 2015). The protest was characterized by mass demonstration, civil disobedience, strike actions and social media activism using Twitter and Facebook. It is worth noting that the effects of microblogging are presumably visible in developing forms of public discourse and collaboration (Mejias, 2016). Organizers of the protest made use of microblogs and social media services to connect with millions of Nigerians on the removal of subsidy, since the mainstream media has marginalized them and taken sides with the government. The protest was successful as it made the government revert the price of PMS from ₦140 to ₦97. #OccupyNigeria symbolizes a clear indication of the future of social advocacy and global movements in Nigeria. With the success of #OccupyNigeria campaign, online social campaign especially Twitter hashtags became a potent tool for activism as seen in the case of #BringBackOurGirls campaign, which was created to make the public aware about the abduction of hundreds of young girls in Chibok, a town in Borno state, Northern Nigeria.

The campaign caught the attention of international community and it subsequently seeks international help to rescue the girls, although it has proved abortive. The #BringBackOurGirls hashtag campaign has transformed into #BBOG, #ChibokGirls, and #TheChibokGirls hashtags all with the same goal. #BBOG has also gained scholarly attention. Ofori-Parku and Moscato (2018) explored how the Nigerian media, British and American media framed

³ Nate Ridder is a Twitter user with handle (@nateritter, he started the #Sandiegofire on Twitter during the California wildfire in 2007

the #BringBackOurGirls campaign. Other scholars that have contributed to the discourse of #BringBackOurGirls explored it in terms of; online communities supporting real-world transformation and change (e.g. Olson, 2016), social mobilization (Olutokunbo, Suandi, Cephas and Abu-Samah, 2015), gender representation (e.g. Berents, 2016) and feminist appropriations (Maxfield, 2016).

Other hashtags that were created on Twitter, which were used to create awareness and make public demands includes #IStandWithNigeria, #ABSURape, #BeingFemaleInNigeria, #OpenNASS, #StopBokoHaram more recently the #PoliceReform and #Endsars campaign. There are three distinct observations from all the hashtag campaigns; firstly, it creates awareness about public issues. Secondly, it demands for a solution from the government and lastly, it sets the agenda for the public. Majority of these hashtags that have been successful, has also been impacted by offline engagement and participation. According to Olson (2016, pp. 773-774):

Online and offline activism are symbiotic, each strengthening and growing the other. This powerful connection of networked protest and activism drove #BringBackOurGirls onto the international political agenda. While the Chibok schoolgirls still have not been returned to their families, #BringBackOurGirls has given Nigerian activists political clout and a voice in national affairs. Internationally, it has focused attention on the ways that women and girls are the target of Boko Haram’s war tactics. The #BringBackOurGirls movement’s enduring presence shows that online communities galvanized by a cause have the power to transform the public agenda in a way that can change people’s lived realities.

communities where colonial rules were resisted, the police engaged in brutal attacks to suppress their resistance. The force was first created for the Lagos colony in 1861 and other constabularies were created in what was then called Northern and Southern protectorate. The use of violence to suppress the people by the police from the beginning as created a disconnection between the people and the force; this has defined law enforcement practices in Nigeria since that period.

The same basic structure was retained after Nigeria gained independence from Britain in 1960. By this time, public perceptions of the police were firmly grounded in their experience of the use of the police force to extend colonial domination, for example, in the suppression of demonstrations from the late 1920s, workers strikes in the 1940s and communal violence from the 1950s. Post independence, successive military regimes used the police to enforce authoritarian rule, further entrenching a culture of violence and inhibiting the development of democratic institutions, founded on the rule of law (Human Rights Watch, 2005, p. 9).

With this disconnection, the ordinary citizen feels and perceives that the police force has been disloyal to their primary duty of protecting lives and properties but rather they attack citizens for economic gain. Reports by international and local non-government organizations show that the relationship between the police and the citizen they are meant to protect is characterized by brutality, unlawful arrest and exploitation⁴. There are local reports of incidence where officers of the police force compelled motorists to stop at checkpoints and then threaten and sometimes shoot at those who refuse to pay bribe for as

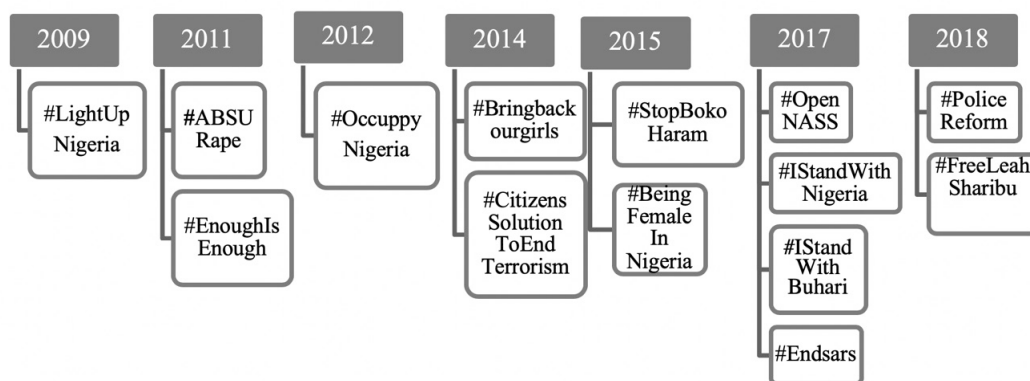


Figure 1: Timeline of Prominent Hashtags in Nigeria

Overview Of #Endsars Campaign

The history of police brutality in Nigeria dates back to the colonial period. The goal of creating the police at that time was to promote the economic and political agenda of the colonizers (Human Rights Watch, 2005). In many

low as ₦50⁵. For these reasons, an average Nigerian has a

⁴ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/nigeria-special-police-squad-get-rich-torturing-detainees/>

⁵ <http://www.informationng.com/2018/02/graphic-photos-of-driver-killed-by-a-police-officer-in-benin-over-n100-bribe-vehicles-set-ablaze.html> , <http://saharareporters.com/2014/07/27/bus-passenger-killed-bribe-seeking-police-lagos-buried> , <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/268282-photos-nigerian-police-officers-caught-on->

negative perception as well as low confidence in the police force.

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was created in Lagos State in 1992, a time when Notorious armed robbers such as Shina Rambo⁶ were in control of the state (Midenda, 2017). It was created as a faceless police unit that performs undercover operations against armed robbers. Within almost two decades of its creation, the unit has spread across the various states of the country. The spread of the unit across the nation without a proper structure, accounts for some of its lawless characteristics. The current report of police brutality using the #Endsars on Twitter has brought public attention to it. The online campaign about the police brutality is new, however, Nigerian pop stars has over the years expressed their worries, fears and incidents of police brutality. The Nigerian movie industry, Nollywood has also portrayed cases of brutality and corruption within the Nigerian police force in their productions.

Nigerians having been subjected to wanton arrests, extortion and extra judiciary killings, launched a social media campaign using the hashtag #Endsars on Twitter to put an end to police brutality. The #Endsars campaign started with the publication of a petition by convener Segun Awosanya. It was signed by 10,195 Nigerians⁷ and submitted to the Nigerian National Assembly to scrap the police unit. The Twitter campaign started on the 2nd of December 2017, when a footage of police officers attached to the unit shot and killed a man surfaced online. The campaign became a trending topic on Twitter with over 400,000 Tweets⁸ within twelve hours. Nigerians using 280 characters detailing their horrible and harrowing experiences with SARS, the dreaded unit of the police created to fight banditry. Before the campaign, there have been isolated cases of police brutality all over the country. However, it was during the campaign that the damage caused by such brutality was discovered. The campaign also exposed the level of rot within the police unit according to the convener of the campaign. The campaign further revealed that the police has no recognizable structure with no organized system of operation, officers of the unit act based on self-will with little or no regards for fundamental human right for citizens especially vulnerable youth.

Social Media: Setting the Agenda for Tradition Media

In recent years, Nigerians are actively involved in the politics of their country through the use of social media. Nigerians use social network sites especially Twitter, to engage with government agencies as well as question governments policies and decisions. With the use of social media, activists are not only communicating with fellow

[camera-taking-bribe.html](https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2012/02/12/camera-taking-bribe.html) , <https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2012/02/12/cop-kills-bus-passenger-over-bribe-in-lagos/>

⁶ Shina Rambo was one of the last infamous armed robbers who terrorized Nigeria.

⁷ <https://www.thecable.ng/nigerians-say-end-sars-police-brutality>

⁸ www.twitter.com

citizens but also with policy makers, this is why McQuail (2010) argued that public agenda is highly being influenced by public issues communicated through social media.

Can social media set the agenda for mainstream media? This is a question this paper set out to answer. The concept of agenda-setting is centered on the hypothesis that audiences not only learn about issues through the media but also places much importance to attach to an issue from the emphasis the media put on the topic (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This explains that people unconsciously attach importance to some issues over others based on how much the media emphasizes it. That is the more the media talks about a particular issue, the more people give it more importance. Agenda-setting is a vital process as a change in media report changes people's perception of what issues are important and which ones are not. Bernard Cohen's statement in his 1963 book perfectly describes agenda-setting "The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p.13). This statement explains the way agenda setting works, the media does not tell audience exactly what to think but they successfully tell audience what to think about.

Agenda-setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. Most research on agenda-setting hinges on two basic assumptions (University of Twente, 2017). The first one states that media filters and shape reality instead of simply mirroring it. For example, news reports are presented in the order that editors and producer determine to be more appealing to the audience. The second assumption states that, the more attention the media attach to specific issues, the more likely the audience will regard such issues as important than other issues. Agenda-setting theory seems quite useful in helping us have a better understanding of the pervasive role the media plays.

Social media makes creation and sharing of news stories easy and fast; its viral nature allow such news to have a wider reach. With the growth of web 2.0, we are practicing what some called public agenda. A situation where public opinion is at the fore front and a discussion usually political is focalized around the opinion of the public through social media (Salman, Salleh, Mustaffa and Ali, 2016). This means the mainstream media no longer has total control of agenda setting over the masses. This is due to the popularity of the social media which provide easy access and makes new sharing easy and faster (ibid). Woody (2008) asserts that the development and ascendancy of the Internet as an informational medium has altered the information environment in which political elites and interested citizens function.

The #Endsars campaign since inception has gathered increasing attention on Twitter with over 2000 tweets daily detailing incidences of police brutality. This narratives on Twitter became major headlines on the mainstream media especially newspapers, radio and television. For social media to influence public agenda, an increased attention to

political issue on twitter should be followed by increased attention to that issue in traditional media (Gidengil, 2014). Following the start of #Endsars campaign on Twitter, Nigerian traditional media houses started reporting news about about police brutality immediately. Newspapers had the report on front pages with pictures, for example, BusinessDay Newspaper⁹ had a caption on it December 3rd paper's front page that reads "Nigerians launch #Endsars campaign on Twitter, it made use of tweets by Nigerians in its report.

BBC reported the issue on the 4th of December with a caption "Nigerian's #Endsars campaign at police brutality video". As the hashtag gathered momentum on Twitter, mainstream media started reporting about it daily using tweets¹⁰, detailing horrifying cases of brutality by officers of the unit on Nigerians. Before the campaign, cases of police brutality were not reported as major news and it was usually reported in isolation. The Twitter hashtag #Endsars however, made the case of police brutality a national discourse, both online and offline. The social media campaign attracted the attention of necessary authorities. The police force through the public relation officer, Ag. DCP Jimoh Moshood, downplayed the campaign as a political rather than a social movement. However, this did not stop the rise of the movement and the force eventually bowed to public pressure, the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Idris, announced the restructuring of the unit, appointing a new commission to oversee the affairs of the unit as well as an investigation on the allegation against the police unit. The reports after six months of this restructuring yielded no result as social media reports shows the continuous assault by officers of the police unit SARS on Nigerians especially on the youths. However, with the cosolidated efforts of every Nigerian groups led by the #Endsars converner, Segun Awosanya, the Nigeria acting president, Yemi Osinbajo, on 14th August 2018, directed the inspeector general of police to overhaul the unit citing persistent complaints of human right abuse by the unit (Mutum, 2018).

Conclusion

This paper explored the role of hashtags in Nigeria with an examination of #Endsars campaign and it is evident from what we have discussed in this study that social media has become an important tool for social change and transformation. #Endsars was used to put a spotlight on the issue of police brutality in Nigeria and the campaign was able to create a digitally networked solidarity for alienated individuals which enabled them some form of validation. Furthermore, the #Endsars was able to dictate what giant media organizations, both private and state owned, wrote and reported as important. According to Lasorsa, Lewis

and Holton (2012), news coverage of hashtag campaigns demonstrates the degree to which mainstream media and social networks mutually beneficial from each other because mass media professionals gather their news and reports from Twitter to provide timely news and engage with large, scattered and heterogenous audiences. This we agree, social networks like Twitter dictates what the mainstream media, the public and even political office holders think is important. #Endsars campaign influenced national discourse so much that the Nigerian National Assembly started delibrating a police reform bill, while the presidency directed the inspector general of police to take neccessary actions by overhauling the police unit and setting up human rights committee to investigate the allegations leveled against the unit.

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⁹ BusinessDay newspaper is a daily business newspaper based in Lagos, it was established in 2001, www.businessdayonline.com

¹⁰ <https://www.businessdayonline.com/news/article/nigerians-launch-endsars-campaign-twitter/>, <https://www.pressreader.com/nigeria/thisday/20180614/281642485880990>, <https://connectnigeria.com/articles/2017/12/endsars-campaign-drama-as-tweetizens-calls-for-scrapping-of-sars/>,

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The Role of Signifying Practices in Social Change: Drawing on Vygotsky

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Concerns regarding social changes that would overcome intense social inequalities and implement public emancipation are already contemporary topics of discussion in the context of left-wing political and communications scholars, which take two major approaches, namely Marxism and Radical democracy. These two critical perspectives, despite their ontological and epistemological differences, have also played a crucial role in the field of critical communication studies. Signifying practices can be investigated as one of the major drivers of social change. In this study the role of discursive and signifying practices in political and social change will be taken into consideration in terms of Marxist and pluralistic principles. The Vygotskian concept of ZPD, and historical-cultural development will be taken into consideration in relation to signifying practices. This approach will be compared to discourse theory and the notion of the logic of equivalence and difference as forms of social consensus and pluralism respectively.

Keywords: Signifying practice, ZPD, the logic of equivalence, the logic of difference.

Overview of Media and Revolution by Pondering Social Actors

In general, the causes of revolutions, as a form of social change, can be analyzed from several angles, such as economic and political crises, the role of media, and social actors [social classes]. However, all of these perspectives are complementary to each other towards social changes. First, some examples of social revolts or revolutions during the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries are briefly mentioned in order to problematize and question the process of social changes in terms of communication facilities and social actors. For example, Europe met with a series of revolutions in 1848 that emerged in France and proliferated throughout Europe. According to historical narratives, this chain of revolts were raised against the monarchies due to poverty, nationalism, and democratic motivations which were, pursued by radical liberals and workers demanding reforms in constitutions or overall changes in government.

The relationship between media and political movements can be understood in terms of four broad areas; “sociology, social psychology, history, and media studies” (Fahlenbrach et al., 2014, p. 3). This study will provide some examples on the role of mass communication in the context of historical revolutions. The Hungarian uprising of 1956 is an example of the power of mass communication on the process of revolution. In the Hungarian case Radio transmissions, such as the U.S-backed Radio Free Europe (RFE), VOA and print media, persuaded communities towards collective action and transmission of nationalist information to combat Soviet domination (Pulido, 2007). Mass communication, printed materials such as leaflets of literature from the community of professional writers, as well as interpersonal communications, had considerable influence in persuading dissident students and workers toward nationalist sentiments and demonstrations (Pulido, 2007). Therefore, the eruption of the Hungarian Revolution cannot be simply reduced to the means of mass communication, political and economic discontents, participation of intellectuals, and most importantly “demonstrators” must also be considered. There is a complex connection between protests and mass media, as is exemplified by protests in the nineteenth century by women and laborers which relied on alternative outlets and street demonstrations because they were not able to access mass media (Fahlenbrach et al. 2014). Since the 1960s, however, through the popularization of television in western societies the representation of images and political discourses of protests and peace movements have become news values of the content of TV news programs (Fahlenbrach et al. 2014, pp. 1-2). Also of significance is the role of digital media, social media, You Tube, and the interactivity of these platforms to each other in the twenty-first century (Fahlenbrach et al. 2014, p. 3).

One of the remarkable debates of the impact of social media on revolution and social change is related to the pro-democratic uprisings in 2011 that took place in Tunisian, Bahrain, Morocco, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and Libya. In the case of Yemen, Syria and Libya, the uprisings led to civil and tribal conflict and in the cases of Yemen and Syria the domestic conflict led to international conflict which continues at the time of writing (“Arab Spring”, 2019.). Nevertheless, the

Arab uprisings can be seen through two main perspectives. The first is to question what motivated social actors to protest and how they did do. The second relates to the role of cyber activities and social media. To put it briefly, the first question can be analyzed in regard to economic and political crises that caused workers to strike and demonstrate against unemployment and poverty. Beinín (2016) from the perspective of political economy argued that the rather successful uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt occurred due to a well-organized worker class and their organizations, while the mobility of workers refers back to their historical struggle against low wages linked to neoliberal and privatization policies in the second-half of the twentieth century (Beinín, 2016, pp. 6-7).

Regarding the second perspective, Ghannam (2011) conducted research on the impact of social media and the Arab uprisings using interviews with activists, documents, and sources on blogs and websites (Ghannam, 2011, p. 24). Drawing upon this study, Hosni Mubarak’s government blocked the internet and social media on 25 January 2011, and the Syrian government banned social media platforms, therefore, citizens used proxies to access those platforms (Ghannam, pp. 17, 22). Also, he argued, an Arab cyber

activists believed that the content of Facebook helped journalists to collect data on the revolution, then they translated and transferred this to other platforms of social media (Ghannam, 2011, pp. 16-7). In addition, he quoted a Tunisian activist’s opinion about the role of new media in the Arab uprisings: “... if new media were able to foster this revolution (alone), I think it would have happened long before” (Cited in Ghannam, 2011, p. 16). Finally, he concluded that social media is helpful in the cycling of knowledge, community participation, and free expression, but, “blogging and social networking alone cannot be expected to bring about immediate political change.” (Ghannam, 2011, p. 23).

To sum up, the political and economic deficiencies are prerequisite criteria to mobilize social subjects towards strikes, revolts, and revolutions. However, the role of media as a means of facilitating protests is another questionable issue which has also been addressed by Marchart, by which he differentiates between alternative media and counter media in order to consider the mediatic role of media as “mediatic apparatus” or “protest media” (Marchart, 2011, p. 64-65). In the next part the question of how historical cognition of social actors mediate and bridge the signifying

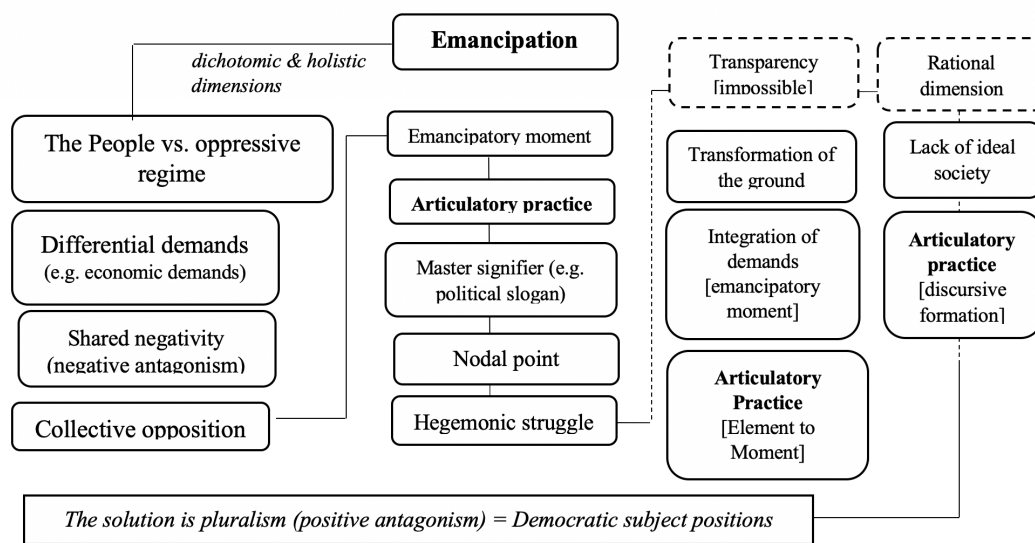


Diagram 1: This figure shows Laclau and Mouffe’s idea on emancipatory politics. Based on *Hegemony and Social Strategy (HSS) (2001)*, *On Populist Reason (2005)* and Flisfeder’s (2008) discussion.

practices of media and the actual exercise of social actors in revolts, and how these two subjects can be related to social emancipation is addressed.

Emancipation and Signifying Practices

The concept of emancipation by social change is related to classic critical thought. This concept also connotes justice, freedom, democracy, and abandonment of exploitation and dominant ideology. In the Marxist paradigm, freedom, and emancipation of exploitation and false ideology emerges in revolution against negative antagonism (Fuchs, 2011, pp. 21-35). However, in postmodern thought the use of the notion of emancipation and justice is not achievable

by revolution, rather, this discipline emphasizes pluralism and rejects any universal truth, origin, or certainty (Fuchs, 2011, pp. 30-31). In other words, transformative action in postmodernism relies on “Local reforms and identity politics” (Fuchs, 2011, p. 35)¹.

Another argument on political emancipation is related to radical democracy which draws on both the Marxist and Postmodernist strands. It is noted however that emancipatory politics in Radical Democracy is plural democracy, which is not concerned with Marxist principles such as class struggle and revolution.

¹ Fuchs (2016) provided a brief contribution to Vygotsky’s activity theory in communications in regard to the mediated activity between tool and sign (Fuchs, 2016, p. 189).

The article will now focus on Laclau and Mouffe's argument about the logic of difference and equivalence in discursive articulations, as well as Laclau's approach to emancipatory politics. Then, it will question and discuss how their arguments can be applicable to media discourse and actual social changes.

For Laclau, populism is a way towards emancipation by which excluded social groups are included and recognized in society, and this will be exerted by articulating "equivalential demands" in order to construct a "popular identity" as a broad signifier that lessens the particularity of demands or differential demands (Laclau, 2005, p. 95; Torfing, 1999, p.283). Flisfeder (2008) provided a concise and understandable definition of Laclau's definition of the concept of emancipation.

As he argued, Laclau considered demands as "shared negativity" and "collective opposition" that constructs hegemony in the political field in order to challenge the oppressive regime (Flisfeder, 2008, pp. 4-5). This process includes six dimensions. The first two are dichotomic and holistic dimensions that construct the third dimension or "emancipatory moment" by referring to a master signifier or nodal point which is the field of hegemonic struggle. In this transparency or absolute accordance of the social [utopian society] is the fourth dimension which cannot occur (Flisfeder, 2008, pp. 7-13). The fifth dimension is the transformation of the ground in which the emancipatory moment through the integration of demands will occur, and the sixth is the rational dimension that lacks a real or ideal other (Flisfeder, 2008, p. 10). Also, the emancipatory subject for Laclau displays "the populism of the lumpenproletariat"² (Flisfeder, 2008, p. 2), rather than the proletariat which is a remarkable difference between Marxism and the radical democratic approach.

Despite the fact that Laclau and Mouffe referred to some of the historical movements in their works, their argument of emancipatory politics almost remains at discursive levels and articulatory practices. For instance, in *HSS* they have drawn upon the Foucauldian concept of "dispersion" and come up with the notion of "articulatory practice" in which the process of the "transition from elements³ to moments⁴ can never be completed" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 113), in discursive formation. Also, their discussion on Radical democracy is rooted in the logic of equivalence and difference in articulatory practices of discourse. As they put forward, "[...] the logic of equivalence is a logic of the simplification of political space [...] expands the paradigmatic pole [...] the elements can be substituted for one another." (Laclau & Mouffe 2001, p. 130), and "[...] the logic of difference is a logic of [political] expansion and increasing complexity [...] we could say that the logic of difference tends to expand the syntagmatic pole

of language, the number of positions that can enter into a relation of combination [...]" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 130).

Therefore, these two logics help to explain what they mean by popular and democratic subject positions. In the democratic subject position there is no antagonistic relation between two polar or "series of equivalences" but there is a positive antagonism between democratic positions which provide more space for different positions in articulatory practice (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 131). Also, the insertion of the democratic subject position into the sphere of media can be seen through the peace process of communication and "participatory-democratic project" that Carpentier (2017) argued for.

On the other, popular subject positions create negative antagonism in which two poles stand against each other (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 131), such as equivalential demands against oppressive regimes. At this point the logic of equivalence is shaped around collective demands while oppressive regimes become external to it. Therefore, by the mobilization of popular subject positions, the social and political context is prone to change through the processes of strikes, demonstrations, revolutions etc. Here, the question is how media discourse can bridge the demands of popular subject positions with the actual changes of social and political context? If popular demands just remain as discursive practices, this may help the growth of pluralist discourse, free flow of information, and raising knowledge, but it is not enough to assure that the popular demands have actually been met.

So, there has to be something to link social contexts and signifying practices of media discourse in order to direct discursive practice towards a goal-oriented practice and social change. For doing so, signifying practice must consider the attitudes of social actors in terms of their historical-cultural cognition. Indeed, considering the role of cognition in discourse is not a new subject in academia. For instance, van Dijk (1998) argued about social aspects of cognition that shape social actions, belief systems, knowledge, commonsense, etc. (van Dijk, 1998, p. 18). Wodak (2001) in her discussion on the discourse-historical approach has mentioned the dimensions of cognition and social action (Wodak, 2001, p. 64). Jäger used Leontjew's activity theory by which he considered the "social acting subject" as a mediation between discursive and non-discursive practices, although Jäger's position on epistemological aspects is in accordance with Foucault and Laclau's, in the sense that nothing is out of discourse (Wodak, 2001, p. 20; Jäger, 2011). Apart from these approaches I will draw on Vygotsky's approach to emphasize the importance of Vygotsky's sociogenetic psychology which has almost been overlooked or has been given little consideration in media studies and CDA theories. His Cultural-historical approach in the evolution of human behavior provides a critical way to bridge signifying practices and social changes on the one hand, and offers a pedagogical insight into media and its relation to the process of social changes, on the other.

2 Laclau (2005) argued "The term lumpenproletariat has an intended referent: those lower sectors of society which have no clear insertion in the social order." (p. 136).

3 Laclau and Mouffe (2001) defined elements as "any difference that is not discursively articulated." (p. 105).

4 Laclau and Mouffe (2001) define moments as "The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse..." (p. 105).

Vygotsky: Sign, Tool and Goal-based Activity

Vygotsky’s (1979) critical theory in *Mind and Society* is known as “the history of the development of psychological functions” (p. 14), which is based on sociogenesis and Marxist dialectical materialism (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 6). He emphasized the social nature of sign systems and tools as mediations in development of thought through social interactions. As he discussed,

Like tool systems, sign systems (language, writing, number systems) are created by societies over the course of human history and change with the form of society and the level of its cultural development (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 7).

Vygotsky by conducting an experimental study on young children came up with the divergent and convergent routs of sign and tool in historical-cultural development of mind, which is also applicable to the macro-levels of social and political changes as shown in Diagram 2). He explained, the development of human behavior is the result of a dynamic relationship between sign and tool towards the goal of activity, regarding “tool” is “externally oriented [and] leads to changes in objects [...] triumphing over nature,” (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 55), and “sign” is “a means of internal activity aimed at mastering oneself” (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 55). He further added that in the early stages of development the child relies on an “objective situation” and uses gestures to express herself, such as pointing to others. As such, the external or interpersonal activity transforms to intrapersonal activity, considering these transformations are not cyclical, but are spiral or revolutionary and based on the reconstruction of previous activities into new forms of activity (Vygotsky, 1979, pp. 55-57). In the more complex levels of cultural development, human activity occurs on a lingual level such as speech and interpersonal communications to control the environment, solve tasks, and plan future actions (Vygotsky, 1979, pp. 25-6). Vygotsky (1979) also explained “with the help of speech, children [...] acquire the capacity to be both the subjects and objects of their own behavior” (p. 26).

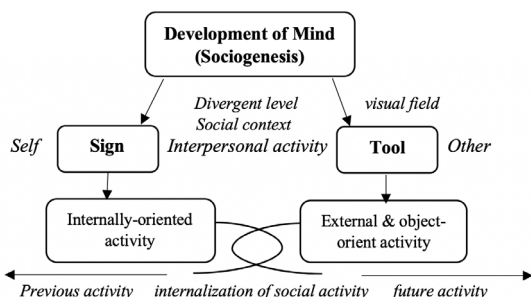


Diagram 2: This model is based on Vygotsky’s (1979) discussion on Cultural-historical development in *Mind and Society*

In addition, the dynamic and interdependent relationship between subjects and objects of one’s behavior is a considerable point in Vygotsky’s thought about self-other relations at both a cognitive level and in a social context.

Valsiner and Veer (2005) studied Vygotsky’s approach to the meaning of “self”. They conclude that Vygotsky’s analysis on the notion of self or personality is based on sociogenesis and in this regard he was inspired by Baldwin’s argument about “self-other dialectic” (Valsiner & Veer,2005, p. 90). Simply put, for Vygotsky the meaning of “I” or personality is “the social in ourselves” (cited in Valsiner & Veer, 2005, p. 91). Therefore, any notion about “self” or personality is social, and any use of sign systems or language combines the definition of the self-and-other, and is based on cultural-historical processes of development which are derived from social activity. Another point about social activity and language in Vygotsky’s (1979) argument is related to “inner speech” which occurs when children are “deprived of the opportunity to engage in social speech” (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 28). It can be said, the consequence of the deprivation of social communication on a large scale can result in deprivation of social members and collective activity to engage in discursive practices and social development which in turn disrupts social unity, overlooks differences and directs social members to isolated or monologic discourse that prevents them from expressing their demands. In Vygotskian (1986) analysis on the social psychology of language, the concept of shared apperception is used for mutual understanding in the process of communication through signifying practices (Vygotsky, 1986, p.238). The notion of apperceptive perception is rooted in Vygotsky’s discussion about monologic and dialogic forms of speech which has been comprehensively taken into consideration by Cheyne and Tarulli (2005). As they explained, for Vygotsky, inner speech is a form of monologue that occurs as a form of collaboration or discourse with oneself. Thus, inner speech is a form of dialogue with the self, but there is also a form of dialogue that takes place between the self and other or interlocutors (Cheyne & Tarulli, 2005, p. 126).

In other words, apprehensive perception is the result of shared activity and dialogue which entails mutual understanding and mutual knowledge that all altogether moderates asymmetry of power and knowledge by generation of the Socratic dialog⁵ (Cheyne & Tarulli, 2005, pp. 126-128, 140).

Following previous discussions, it can be said that relying on the cultural-historical context of social subjects [interlocutors] and dialogical activities can ease the process of social unity and convergence of demands, on the other it can help social transformation or convergence of oppositional groups. In this aspect discursive practices of media can play a pedagogical role toward social changes. In this regard, Vygotsky’s idea on the *Zone of Proximal Development*⁶ (ZPD) is worth mentioning. This

5 The Socratic dialogue expands negotiation and active forms of dialogue in which the final decision [the telos] is postponed in favor of social critique and open-ended or conflicting dialogues (Cheyne & Torulli, 2005, pp. 136-8).

6 According to Vygotsky (1979) ZPD is defined as “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (p. 86).

concept is related to internalization of cultural forms and learning through social interaction with the aid of parents (adults) or instructors (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 86). Also, media discourse or signifying practices of media can be considered as proleptic instruction that play a pedagogical role by representing and anticipating potentials of subject positions toward social transformations. In the next part, the role of media discourse in social transformation on the basis of Vygotsky’s historical-cultural approach will be discussed.

Media Discourse, ZPD, and Social Transformation

Regarding *Diagram 3* Vygotsky’s approach on developmental psychology has been stretched to the macro-level of discursive practice, in which the continuation of goal-oriented signifying practices can result in apperceptive perception and moderation of differences, but this result will emerge under the condition that dialogical and discursive practices are based on historical-cultural heritage such as common presuppositions and mutual knowledge, which in turn bridge the previous subjective activities to future activities and task solving.

Looking to Vygotsky’s developmental psychology, it can be concluded that at the macro -level of social analysis, goal-based political activities along with cultural-historical-based discursive practices are two important

mediated activities toward the development or recognition of subject positions, social transformation, and political emancipation, which must be passed from early modes of social activities to mature forms such as revolution.

De Smet (2014) in *Dialectical Pedagogy of Revolt* has drawn upon Vygotsky and Gramsci’s works to analyze the developmental process of revolution. To De Smet, what has taken place in the Egyptian uprising was not a form of revolution or fundamental transformation of political and economic systems (De Smet, 2014, p. 104). Also, he argued that the Egyptian uprising “was not simply initiated by the Tunisian protests that started in December 2012, but it constituted a development of earlier projects of revolt, such as pro-democracy sit-ins and strikes for higher wages.” (De Smet, 2014, p. 104). This point is significant in order to consider the behavior of political activities of a nation in terms of its previous activities in the course of history, also the geopolitical algebra and external forces are part of the historical criteria that is likely to influence political activities transformation of the civil uprising in Syria to civil war and international conflict. Therefore, this point of view is aligned with Vygotsky’s qualitative developmental psychology which is based on the mediation of historical-cultural activities. Based on Vygotsky’s model, mediated activities must be goal-oriented to result in a progressive development (*Diagram 3*).

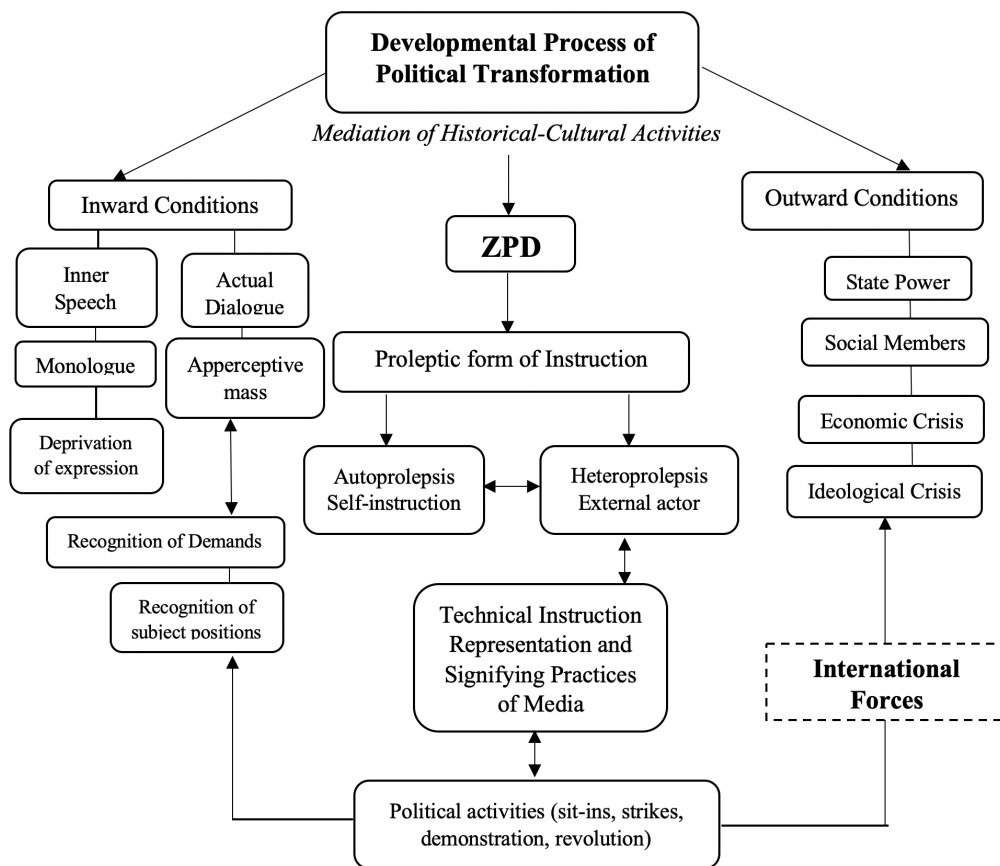


Diagram 3: Developmental approach to political transformation in terms of proleptic instruction.

As De Smet discussed, political emancipation entails the convergence of economic and political lines which are mediated by several activities, and he considered strikes or sit-ins as cell-forms of economic struggle that transform to goal-oriented activity of the trade unions. Thus, the convergence of economic struggle with the political line will direct towards demonstrations which itself is a cell-form of revolutionary activity (De Smet, 2014, p. 89-105). Apart from these activities, the role of “proleptic instruction” is also another mediated activity which develop and accelerate the potential of future activities, which is understood as the ZPD in Vygotsky’s discussion (De Smet, 2014, p. 91; Vygotsky, 1979, p. 86). Also, proleptic instruction itself divides into two forms; autoproleptic instruction which is related to self-instruction and self-recognition, and heteroproleptic instruction which can be exercised by three forms of instruction as deliberated by Gramsci, including directive, cultural, and technical instructions (De Smet, 2014, pp. 90, 99).

As De Smet explained, for Gramsci, directive instruction exercised by those leaders who represent the interests of the subaltern groups in strikes, demonstration etc., and cultural instruction, belong to aesthetic aspects of subject position such as symbolization of signifying practices by different types of educators. The third form is technical instruction belonging to those organizers that fund political activities and news editorials (De Smet, 2014, pp. 90). Also, opinion leaders, citizen journalists, bloggers, and social media activists, can be added to the realm of technical instruction. In addition, all three forms of instructions can collaborate with each other to converge the lines of economic, political, and cultural activities.

For instance, Ziter (2015) studied the cultural elements of Syrians in Syria’s theaters and plays. This for example can be situated under cultural instruction or reformulation which in turn facilitates the process of proleptic instruction towards identification and subject positions in the course of history.

A Brief Discussion about the openDemocracy News Website

One of the examples of a pluralistic exercise of media is the independent and global news website of “openDemocracy” (oD) that share news articles from the East, Eurasia, North Africa and the Middle East, and takes responsibility for supporting human rights and policy change by challenging social inequality, injustice, and providing a platform for free speech and presenting the voices of subaltern groups. Along with journalism and editorials, this platform also collaborates with and supports the point of views of academicians and social activists. Based on a statistical study, most visitors to this news website are located in the UK (36.2%), Americas (26.1%), Europe (-UK) (20.3%). Only 10.7% in Asia and 2.9% in Africa (“[About openDemocracy?](#)”). This asymmetrical percentage of visitors is related to several criteria such as the accessibility or the cost of the internet, but the main point of this data is that Africans and Asians have much less opportunity to

contribute to the activities of this platform.

This website by sharing a video entitled “Take back our media” (“[About openDemocracy?](#)”), propagates some statements challenging elitist propaganda y publishing truthful stories, and avoiding polarization in favor of making an effort to be unbiased towards the East and the West. As is obvious, from the name of this outlet, it is devoted to supporting the democratization of societies on a global scale. It declares its position by stating it is “International in breadth whilst sensitive to local particularities and heritages” (“[About openDemocracy?](#)”). For example, this website includes some publications on Syria that are based on oral culture, oral history, cultural identities, and local narratives.

The second concern is that supporting democracy along with being sensitive to particularities and cultural heritage, is likely to create a paradox in regard to praxis. This issue is also analogous to that of Laclau and Mouffe’s discussion on empty signifier and impossible totality. Laclau argued that,

[...] totality is an object which is both impossible and necessary. Impossible, because the tension between equivalence and difference is ultimately insurmountable; necessary, because without some kind of closure, however precarious it might be, there would be no signification and no identity (Laclau, 2005, p. 70).

According to this argumentation, the concept of “open democracy” as the title of a news website, is an empty signifier which signifies the hegemony of democracy and indicates its totality on the one hand and being sensitive to differential logics such as cultural and historical heritage of each nation on the other, which destabilizes the process of democratization. For instance, oD is devoted to democratic policy in order to make an equivalential logic among all countries of the world and invites voiceless groups to fight for their rights, but this universal goal in praxis is not compatible in economic, political, and ideological terms, because these aspects cannot go in one direction.

Differential aspects of the political and social dimensions disturb the chain of equivalential logic of subaltern groups on a global scale. In this way, equivalential logic can only remain at the level of signifying practices or symbolization and individual opinions. In this manner signifying practice will not construct apperceptive perception and will not take on the role as proleptic instruction in favor of the social or political changes.

Conclusion

This article argues for the importance of Vygotsky’s developmental psychology in discursive and signifying practices of media, which is based on the pedagogical role of political transformation. Also, the notion of goal-oriented activity upholds the convergence of the discursive practices of media and macro-levels of society. In addition, his approach to this argumentation also fills the gap in Laclau

and Mouffe's approach regarding simplistic articulation of the fragmented segments of society, which gives less attention to the mediated components of historical-cultural activities, and makes their theory seem to be a universal prescription for political changes. As a general conclusion, signifying practices of media is one of the mediated forms of activity for such changes, under the condition that media discursive activities take a goal-oriented proleptic instructional role to be parallel with potential activities of the other segments of society. This study, also inspired by the notion of the Agonistic project (Mouffe, 2000, p. 89), draws on a notion of affiliation to the Vygotskian approach within the Agonistic project for future studies.

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Critical Discourse Analysis of Rises in Electricity Prices in North Cyprus in 2018

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Abstract

Peace journalism, which mostly focuses on international conflicts is also applicable to local conflicts. The present study seeks to focus on a local issue and find out whether an oppositional and a pro-government online newspapers apply traditional or peace journalism perspective while giving the news.

In 2018, there was a drastic devaluation of Turkish lira. Throughout the year, going through an economic crisis, electricity - the main source of power - including heating, cooking, etc. in North Cyprus has been given rises for three times in a short time by the Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board. These rises are announced to the society through the press - both written and audio-visual. This paper seeks to explore how these rises were announced on two online newspapers through Critical Discourse Analysis.

Keywords: News, economic crisis

Introduction

Peace Journalism, which takes place within the framework of Normative Media Theory supports the notion that mass media plays a significant role in shaping the opinion of the society (Lukacovic, 2016, p.1). Peace Journalism is generally associated with international conflicts; yet, recently, it has also started to be used for national/local problems (Tokan, 2017).

One of the main aims of Peace Journalism is to frame the news in such a way to offer an extensive understanding of the conflict paying attention to avoid escalating it. Johan Galtung (2000) refers to media as the “fourth pillar”; the first three being the State, and the others Capital and Civil Society. As this fourth pillar, it is the journalists’ “*right and duty to make what goes on in one pillar transparent to the other two. The goal is social transparency*” (Galtung (2000), p.159). In a similar vein, Peleg (2006); McGoldrick & Lynch (2000) suggest that the media’s reporting is influential in creating peace or conflict and hence media is in a position to contribute to peace.

Based on the above, in this study, we seek to explore a national/local issue within the common interest of public: rise in electricity prices in North Cyprus. Electricity is common interest of everyone in this particular society. In 2018, in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, rises in electricity prices are observed for 3 times in 3 months. In this study, we seek to explore an oppositional and a pro-government online newspapers’ news on this particular issue through Critical Discourse analysis put forth by Van Dijk (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on the studies such as social power abuse and ‘*inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context*’ (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 466).

Electricity is one of the common interests for the Turkish Cypriots who live on the North of Cyprus. Indeed, electricity is the main source of heating, cooling, cooking, washing and other domestic activities. The extensive use makes electricity one of the main expenses of the domestic budget. In the year 2018, due to drastic devaluation of Turkish lira, electricity prices went up for 3 times in a few months. These rises were announced to the society through both written, audio, audio-visual and online press. The way rises in electricity is delivered to the society shapes the comprehension of the event and is important for the public welfare.

Electricity in North Cyprus is under the control of Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board which is a government office. It is directed by an appointed Executive Board and the civil servants who work under this Board. In this context, electricity is one of the debatable areas in which privatization is under consideration. Since the production is based on fuel, which is bought in foreign currency, it is not only more expensive than other countries in the region and in Europe but every increase in foreign currency has an influence on the cost of electricity which is reflected in electricity prices. Therefore, this is a sensitive issue and the news in relation to the rise in electricity prices should be given with care. Based on this framework the present study has three main underlying assumptions:

1. Electricity is a significant issue for the Turkish Cypriots and hence both an oppositional and a pro-government newspaper take the electricity related news into their coverage.
2. Media that is close to the government tries to give the news - (in this case, rise in electricity prices) in an indifferent, normal manner.
3. Media that is against the government seeks to pass the news (rise in electricity prices) in a rather critical way.

For the study, two online newspapers are chosen: one of these is HaberKıbrıs which is in opposition to the government and the other is GündemKıbrıs which is a pro-government newspaper. 3 days from both online newspapers are taken and analysed through Critical Discourse Analysis suggested by Van Dijk (2015).

Indeed, Tokan (2014:25) draws our attention to the fact that discourse produced by media texts are significant for they set the scene for public opinion, polarization in the society, creating and escalating conflict and all these influence people's actions respectively (translated from Tokan: 2014: 25).

In a nutshell, the way media passes information is influential in shaping public opinion. The news are constructed as stories according to the concepts and issues in which people are involved (Bryant and Zillmann, 2008, p. 3-4). Not only giving the news itself is an issue to bring it to the information and agenda of public, but also leads the public to prioritize the topics according to the order the news is given (Shaw and McCombs, 1972, p.177). What is more, the news presented, and the order of presentation should be in line with the benefits of the owners. In doing this, the aim is to convince the audience through narrating the story and deciding on what to include or leave out and the choice of language used in terms of accent, vocabulary etc. Through these devices traditional journalism makes use of conflict. Alternatively, peace journalism sets out to seek reality, fairness and logic (Kempf 2003:83). In other words, instead of making use of conflict, peace journalism looks for ways in which conflict can be prevented (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005:5).

In the news, the meaning is conveyed via discourse. Potter (1996) suggests that discourse creates the meaning. Through discourse, people form links among already present symbols and meanings. Hence, societies form their ideas or communications as issues, events, concepts upon discourse. In order to understand and analyze the meaning set by these two online newspapers, the present study has been carried through Critical Discourse Analysis.

Van Dijk (1988) points out that Critical Discourse Analysis looks at how power relations or hegemonic relations are established through discourse. Van Dijk (1988) claims that discourse analysis is based on language and language use in a theoretical and practical way. Texts, messages, conversation, dialogues, in short, all types of communication can be analysed through this method. The typical vocabulary used in this type of analysis is

as follows; power, dominance, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, interest, reproduction, institutions, social structure and social order.

Van Dijk (1988) points out that in terms of Critical Discourse Analysis, the news can be analysed at macro and micro levels. Macro analysis concentrates on thematic and schematic issues. Thematic is related to headlines, subheading, spots and news access. Schematic, on the other hand, is based on situation, news event and the main event. Macro level analysis focuses on power, dominance and inequality between social groups.

Micro analysis, on the other hand, is concerned about syntax, lexis and rhetoric used in analysing ideological discourse. In other words, it looks at sentence structure, the connection between sentences and the selection of word in the news. These include the voice of the text, selection of words, sentence structure and how meanings on the same topic are conveyed and reflected differently.

In a nutshell, based on the above, the aim of the present study is to look at how the two online newspapers HaberKıbrıs and GündemKıbrıs convey the rises in electricity prices. In other words, the present study seeks to explore the extent to which they favour traditional journalism or peace journalism.

Context

As it has been mentioned earlier, the present study is based on the rise in electricity prices in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 2018. During the study, in North Cyprus, a coalition government is in power. This government is constituted by four political parties: Republican Turkish Party, Socialist Democracy Party, Democrat Party and Public Party. The first two are left wing parties and the latter two are right wing parties. For the present study, 2 online newspapers chosen are HaberKıbrıs and GündemKıbrıs. The news for 3 days on which rises in electricity prices are covered.

During the study, it is found out that HABERKIBRIS newspaper is critical of electricity rises (May, 2018). It gives the news in the headline as 'Last Minute: 'Rise in electricity too' (02.05.2018). The news continued: the official authority announced this rise (the Chair of Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board namely Ahmet Hüdaoğlu). Hüdaoğlu points out that the government does not apply the regulations, therefore, people are affected more (Photo 1). This news is the only one in which the name of the Chair of the Turkish Electricity Board is mentioned.

In line with this, the present study seeks to explore whether traditional or peace journalism perspectives is adopted by an oppositional and a pro-government newspaper in relation to a topic which is of interest for all public.



Photo 1

In July 2018, HABERKIBRIS newspaper offered a rather less critical discourse on the same issue. “An increase is made in electricity prices”. In the subtitle ‘Approximately up to 30% increase in made on electricity (09.07.2018). On 9 July 2018, the same newspaper gave the news as: “Massive increase in electricity prices”. The news continued with some explanations and excuses such as the world petrol crisis and inflation in the world. This news is given on a photo of an electricity bill (Photo 2). In this news, an electric bill is also used as the background image like the former.



Photo 2

HABERKIBRIS newspaper presented the same news in September 2018 in a more critical manner than May 2018. “Increase rate in electricity prices are determined! 18% Kıb-Tek (Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board) produces electricity under its cost!” (22.09.2018). The news continued to point out that there is a real rise wave due to the increase in foreign currency and rise in supply prices. On the photo of the news an electricity bill with a light bulb in bold and capital letters, says ‘18% increase in electricity is at the door’. This time, rather than the name of the director, the Board is mentioned as the responsible institution (Photo 3).

Elektrikte zam oranı belirlendi! Yüzde 18 Kıb-Tek zararına üretiyor...

Ülkemizde gerek dövizden gerekse girdi maliyetlerinin artışından dolayı yaşanan zam dalgası devam ediyor.

22 Eylül 2018 Cumartesi 12:19



Twitter Facebook Google+ LinkedIn Pinterest

A⁻ A⁺ ↺ ↻

Son olarak akaryakıtta yapılan 1 TL'ye yakın zammın etkileri sürerken yeni zammı nereye geleceği de belli oldu. Kıbrıs Türk Elektrik Kurumu hafta içi yaptığı toplantıda kilowatt başına elektrik ücretlerine zam yapma kararı aldı. Kıbrıs Türk Elektrik Kurumu Yönetim Kurulu yapılacak zammın yüzde 18 olması noktasında ise ısrarcı.

Haberin devamı için tıklayın.

Photo 3

When looking at HaberKibris newspaper, news coverage of electricity rises from macro-level perspective; it could be said that: the production of the news is rather negative. Additionally, it uses bold titles and heavy assertives in its titles. News entering styles are mostly critical. The sources of the news covered the percentage and claimed that there is a real deficit in electricity production. It included comments and these comments are especially disappointing. Electricity bill at the back with an electric bulb and in the front, in bold letters of 18% increase in electricity is at the door. Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board announces this by saying that this rise is in addition to petrol prices.

On the other hand, when focusing the text at the micro-level such as language use, it has a rather negative style. Harmony between lines can be seen as suitable and the selection of words highlight criticizing the current situation and giving some excuse due to money crisis in the world.

GündemKıbrıs newspaper presented electricity rises

combined with fuel oil rises in May 2018. It is put as: ‘Heavy rises both in electricity and petrol prices’ (03.05.2018). The news continued giving the ratio such as rise in electricity is 7.88 TL and rise in petrol and euro diesel is 11 cents. In bold characters, it highlights “the increase in fuel” (Photo 4).

GÜNDEM KIBRIS

KIBRIS DÜNYA RUM BASINI TÜRKİYE SAĞLIK TEKNOLOJİ SPOR MAGAZİN

12:03 Ercan'da Para Kambyo Yasası'na aykırı hareket

Çinliler'den yeni akıllı gözlük! **Kivi neye iyi gelir?** **Bu yiyecekleri dondurmayın!** **Yoğurdun faydası!**

Hem akaryakıtta hem de elektrığe bindirim!

Hem elektrik hem de akaryakıt fiyatları zamlandı.

03 Mayıs 2018 Perşembe 08:43

AKARYAKITA ZAM

Hem elektrik hem de akaryakıt fiyatları zamlandı.

Benzin ve Euro Dizel'de 11 kuruş ve Gazyağı'nda 13 kuruş artış oldu.

Elektrığe de 7.88 TL zam yapıldı.

Açıklamayı bir televizyon programına katılan KIB-TEK Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Ahmet Hüdaoğlu yaptı.

Hüdaoğlu, nizamnameye uyulmadığı için iki yıldır elektrığe zam yapılmadığını söyledi ve "eğer nizamnameye uyulsaydı artış her ay otomatik uygulanacaktı ve hissedilmeyecekti" dedi.

Akaryakıtta yeni fiyatlar şöyle:

95 Oktan: 4.30 TL

98 Oktan: 4.48 TL

Eurodizel: 4.13 TL

Gaz Yağı: 3.91 TL

Photo 4

In July, GündemKıbrıs newspaper offered a less critical and negative discourse. ‘Rises in both electricity and fuel oil prices’ (09.07.2018). ‘19TL rise to electricity and 2 cent rise to petrol/ oil prices’. The news content included some reasons that led to these rises such as the devaluation of Turkish lira in global market leading to an increase in electricity and petrol prices in North Cyprus. Also, it gives

the ratios of rises. Although 2 cents is a negligible amount in comparison to 19TL (950 times less), the comparison is made in order to create the background environment for the rise (Photo 5).

GÜNDEM KIBRIS

KIBRIS DÜNYA RUM BASINI TÜRKİYE SAĞLIK TEKNOLOJİ SPOR MAGAZİN

09 Temmuz 2018 Pazartesi 23:19

Elektrığe ve akaryakıtta zam

Elektrığe 19, akaryakıtta 2 kuruş zam yapıldı

09 Temmuz 2018 Pazartesi 23:19

Elektrığe ve akaryakıtta zam yapıldı

Elektrığe 19, akaryakıtta 2 kuruş zam yapıldı

09 Temmuz 2018 Pazartesi 23:19

Photo 5

In September, GündemKıbrıs newspaper presented the same news with a serious claim. ‘Electricity prices are identified! Kıb-Tek produces 18% as its loss (22.09.2018). ‘The rate of increase in electricity is the determined: 18%’. ‘Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board produces below its production cost’. Like the former, GündemKıbrıs draws a parallel between the rise in petroleum and electricity prices despite the fact that rise in petroleum is trivial (Photo 6).

Elektrikte zam oranı belirlendi! Yüzde 18 Kıb-Tek zararına üretiyor...

Ülkemizde gerek dövizden gerekse girdi maliyetlerinin artışından dolayı yaşanan zam dalgası devam ediyor.

GÜNDEM KIBRIS

KIBRIS DÜNYA RUM BASINI TÜRKİYE SAĞLIK TEKNOLOJİ SPOR MAGAZİN

22 Eylül 2018 Cumartesi 12:19

Elektrikte zam oranı belirlendi! Yüzde 18 Kıb-Tek zararına üretiyor...

Ülkemizde gerek dövizden gerekse girdi maliyetlerinin artışından dolayı yaşanan zam dalgası devam ediyor.

22 Eylül 2018 Cumartesi 12:19

ELEKTRİĞE %18 ZAM KAPIDA

Son olarak akaryakıtta yapılan 1 TL'ye yakın zammın etkileri sürerken yeni zammı nereye geleceği de belli oldu. Kıbrıs Türk Elektrik Kurumu hafta içi yaptığı toplantıda kilowatt başına elektrik ücretlerine zam yapma kararı aldı. Kıbrıs Türk Elektrik Kurumu Yönetim Kurulu yapılacak zammın yüzde 18 olması noktasında ise ısrarcı.

Haberin devamı için tıklayın.

Photo 6

The production of the news included critical aspects and blamed Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board (Kıb-Tek) due to producing at their loss. There is a constant comparison between rises in petrol and electricity prices on their headlines. The news styles are also critical. The news always covered the percentage (amount) of the rises. At the micro-level, language used includes negative patterns. The selection of words is related with the headlines and sentences in the context. The news criticizes the increase. It is sensed that the way the news is given seeks to convince and provoke people to react to this.

HaberKıbrıs offered more critical discourse compared to GündemKıbrıs. HaberKıbrıs made criticism to the current coalition government based on their newspapers' ideology. On the other hand, GündemKıbrıs offered a rather normalising attitude by indicating governments' actions happened due to currency crisis (inflation) and government has to make these increases.

The news of rise in electricity prices are constantly given in relation to the rise in petroleum prices; even if the rise in petroleum prices are trivial. This attitude is taken in order to show that inflation affects other sources as well.

GündemKıbrıs mentions Cyprus Turkish Electricity Board is producing electricity below the cost of production. On the photographs, both newspapers use electricity bill is image as the background. This is interesting because of the electricity bills users realize the rise. However, on the first one, a petroleum pipe is shown as if the rise only came to petroleum.

HaberKıbrıs, in order to attract attention, uses adverbs like 'last minute' which shows the increase is not well-planned; is done in an abrupt manner. In a nutshell, the news given by HaberKıbrıs concentrates on more micro-level futures. This is done by playing around with the words such as 'last minute', 'massive increase' etc. The analysis indicates that GündemKıbrıs presents the news (increase in electricity prices) in relation to increase in petroleum prices. By doing this, they try to normalize the rise.

In conclusion, despite the fact that rises in electricity prices is a common cause of problem in North Cyprus, it is observed that the news is covered in both oppositional & progovernment newspapers. While giving the news, the newspaper which is pro-government seeks to apply the rules of peace journalism more than the newspaper which is in opposition to the government.

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Digital Democracy: Review of Cristian Fuch's Social Media a Critical Introduction Book

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Abstract

Public sphere is a forum for dialogue and exchange of ideas to form a community of rational opinions in which all claims are reviewed and either approved or rejected through rational discourses. The public domain is a part of a space beyond the influence of system elements such as government, economy, etc., in which the communicative action flows in contrast to the functional logic of the system. Accordingly, the public sphere can be considered a form of communication structure that emerges in social networking of a civil society. Social media have a capacity for shaping new public sphere which users can effect on public opinion through this media. The triangle between "government", "public opinion" and "social media" plays an important role in today's society.

There different perspective about this sphere, for some it is democratic place because of its especial characteristics like fluidity, time and place independency, Asynchronicity and anonymity for them social media is the suitable place for practicing democracy, by creating an ideal space for its users to talk, discuss and improve their idea. In the other hand for some scholars it is same with other media and society in our life and it is not more democrat of other media.

Keywords: Cyber democracy

Introduction

Social media is a vast and complex world which has led to dramatic transformations and changes in human life and has initiated major developments in the human knowledge. In many communities, social media is seen as a new informational, research and entertainment environment operating in parallel or to complete the extent public sphere. Although from some perspective this new and virtual community have a potential to be a new kind of public sphere and can play a key role in public opinion but the main question is that; is it a place that everyone has the same chance for creating content? Is everyone having the same visibility in this sphere for shaping public opinion?

As Lake (1995) said the main goal of democracy is controlling power by people from this point of view is social media a suitable place for citizens to participate in political issues? Or criticize power?

Public sphere is a forum for dialogue and exchange of ideas to form a community of rational opinions in which all claims are reviewed and either approved or rejected through rational discourses. The public domain is a part of a space beyond the influence of system elements such as government, economy, etc., in which the communicative action flows in contrast to the functional logic of the system. Accordingly, the public sphere can be considered as a form of communication structure that emerges in social networking of a civil society (Minavand, 2006). Social media have a capacity for shaping new public sphere which users can effect on public opinion through this media. The triangle between "government", "public opinion" and "social media" plays an important role in today's society are social media users a part of this triangulation?

Social media by its special characteristics like fluidity, time and place independency, Asynchronicity and anonymity interactivity obliquity and decentralist (Minavand, 2006) is a suitable place for practicing democracy and by creating an ideal space for its users to talk, discuss and improve their idea can be a part of democracy or as lake discuss in his article the information that users shares On the Internet can be a part of democracy (Lake, 1995)but is everyone feel free and safe to share political views and information in virtual world?

Social Media

Social media can refer to any web sites or web-based services with sociability characteristic that use the Web-2, including blogs, social networks, social-news sites and wikis. Social media is a media in which the content interaction and publishing on the Internet is designed through social interaction and has a very high accessibility. It is a web-based

technology for conversion and publication of media monologue to multilateral dialogues. The presentation of social media is based on Web-2 technology, allowing the users to generate content and exchange information (Khaniki & Babayi, 2011). Web 2 first established by O'Reilly in 2005 which lists its especial characteristics as: "radical decentralization, "rich user experience", "the web as a platform", "undetermined behavior" and control of one's own data" (Fuchs, 2014). Any of these characteristics can play a key role in describing what social media is? Its fluidity, being space and time independent, seen as a new platform gave chance to scholars interpretive it from different way.

What is social about social media? Is one of the fundamental questions about this era; Fuchs in his book classified form of society as: 1) "information and cognition" 2) "communication" 3) "community" 4) "collaboration and co-operative" work. Form some perspectives all media are social because they are the part of the society and for some only media which support communication are social. There are different point of view about being social but as Fuchs mentioned social media and all computer based media are social since they transmit human knowledge (Fuchs, 2014). Although whenever users use social media objectified knowledge by using social media, but it is still social. Every day millions of people all around the world communicate each other through these social networks. The content of these communications is information that shared every minute in this society. Internet includes technological basics and interactions at the same time (Fuchs, 2014). As Fuchs (2014) mentioned in his book. For Durkheim all media are social since they are product of social processes. They produced through social relations between humans in the other hand Tonnies believe that co-operation are the kind of "sociality as community.

One can said that all mediums are social since they are information technologies and also can be communicative and networked media enable cognition communication and co-operation at the same time, one or two or all three form of sociality can shape the World Wide Web (Fuchs, 2014).

Deliberative Democracy

Public participation is a base idea of democracy, social media can be successful if people understand this (Seyfpoor, 2015) this is the main idea about democratic process in social media. For some social media can improve the deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy is a school of thought which talk about fair and equal space for everyone for discussing their ideas and opinions. Deliberative democracy is based on argument, not only the sense that is launched by argument but also the legitimization of argument since this argument is the way of making collective decisions (Elster, 1998). Arello (2015) believes that deliberation is a key concept in modern society. In deliberation citizens through conversations can come to the agreement, in deliberative democracy everyone have the fair chance for argument which can produce public goods.

By emergence of social media in the first sight it seemed that social media with its features like place and time independency, flexibility, fluidity can play an important role in this process. For Mohammadi social media have potential for practicing deliberative democracy, since the content of interactions are chosen freely, he also noted that social media is an arena for fair discussions without traditional boundaries. This facility makes social media suitable place for shaping and extending relation between people and can be a sphere for manifestation of democratic relation (Mohammadi, 2015).

This is the first enthusiasm of social media that it based on open and equal deliberation citizens, and this produced virtual public sphere. After second wave of social media and by emergence of social networking site this virtual public sphere was displaced by user centered networks which provides context for political discussions and political identities (Mercea & Loader, 2011).

Social networking sites can see as a flexible place for contests and experience dramatic opportunities for accessibility, it can play a strength role in accessing to people from different ideas and believes. Although all mentioned facilities are the key step of the social media, but social media is not equal and fair for all users. Everyone from all around the world don't have access to this sphere. Researches show that internet and communications based on it provides technology for democratizations but still elites produce the content of this political arguments (Placek, 2017).

For Arello social media is not democratic and deliberative because social media "is a privately operated mass consumption product, aimed at entertaining and audience, not at allowing them engage in political actions" (Arello, 2015, p. 4). He also believes that the arguments in this sphere is coherency and highly opinionated.

Users in social media can criticize each other and can freely blurred traditional barriers in discussions but in the in the lack of sources, information in this era is more populist and antithesis. In this sphere users as same as other media prefer to argue or be in touch with whom they are in the same idea and perspective with. This make arguments more limited without any changes and this cannot help social media to be more democrat or deliberative.

Who sets the Agenda?

One of the most important functions of social media is that users are the user and producer of information at the same time .Providing facilities for making connection between social and individual capitals is social media's aim (Rahmanzadeh, 2010).these capitals are achieved by interaction between people through social media. The content of these interactions in addition to the personal information is the social and political developments and events. for Ess this internet-based communication democratic since participants can interact through textual topics (Ess, 1996).

Important point in this subject is that who decides what we're talking about? As Rahmanzadeh noticed in his paper the symbol of nationality these days rather than blood or land, is Common Information which is called "info nation" (Rahmanzadeh, 2010). Most of the time in social media people talk about one topic and ignore other topics, they can talk about terrorist attack in Paris for more than a week, but nobody even mentioned about attack in Afghanistan in the same week. This issue is the same with traditional media and agenda setting theory, media do not determine people what to think but what to think about. Although internet based communication technologies create opportunity for it user's to getting information or participate in political and social issues the source of this information is still important.

In the absence of professional journalists, it seen that citizen Journalism is successful in social media but again information spread of information is still with elites. For Placek even we believe that social media have political effect this effect is marginal (Placek, 2017).

Visibility

In the first sight it seemed that social media users from different political and social view have chance to discuss their ideas and seen and heard. For Jenkins blogs are expanding the range of perspective and creates sphere for participants to express their ideas, for him by social media everyone has a chance to heard and seen (Jenkins, 2006). But he forgets to consider lack of visibility. Political blogs most of the time are not in a same level with important and mainstream media. They can't attract people as same as websites like CNN or BBC. As Fuchs notice that the most important advantage of sites like CNN is that they have the power to gather people together. People with same information to discuss this large number of audiences is their power (Fuchs, 2014). Democratic sphere needs equal and fair opportunity for being heard and seen. Political economy of online attention tends more to the brands and big companies which are more visible and can attract more audience. The "potential political influence of the internet hinges on its capacity to make communication, information retrieval, and information dispersion more efficient" (Bailard, 2012, p. 157). As mentioned above potential of being effective is directly depends on visibility.

Ownership

In discussions about social media as new public sphere and in its capacity in democratization ownership is a fundamental aspect which most of the time not considered. O'Reilly emerged web 2 in 2000 when the internet economy was in crises. The idea of web 2 is new and have economic and democratic potential helps it to become more popular. Social media which is a web 2 technology is inverted in the crises of capitalism it established for new sphere and new model of capital accumulation for the corporate internet economy (Fuchs, 2014). For some Web 2's fundamental is exploitation of free labour. Social media's foundation was based on the attraction of investigators to investigate

more on internet based communication technology money is a central aspect of capitalist system and it is an only commodity that can be exchange against other commodities (Fuchs, 2014). Money is the basis of the technologies in capitalist system. Social media is the most important products of communicative capitalism, from this perspective its goal is not to boost political and social participation and democratization (Arello, 2015). Citizens and the information that they share in social media are not just audience they are customer of big and profitable companies like Google, Facebook, Tweeter and etc.

Conclusion

Freedom of speech and freedom of press are fundamental points of democracy. By emergence of the social media dramatic changes take place in communication. Communication and interactions through these technologies have produced communities in this sphere. This sphere for some is the new public sphere which give to its users' chance to communicate and interact freely. Characteristics of this technology like flexibility and anonymity creates suitable place for participant to participate and discuss about their ideas and shapes public opinions and this discussions and arguments are shape deliberative democracy. This deliberation is based on online information, important point here is the source of this information in lack of editors and gate keepers it seems that social media can be a plural public sphere which give chance to alternative ideas and voice to seen and heard but information that mediate in this sphere is still mediated and influenced by elites. Political elites and power still sets the agenda since they are more visible and have more accesses to audience. It is clear that internet can produce undesirable consequences for democratic policy but the cannot guarantee consumption of pluralistic information as audience have chance to choose web pages and information which is more near to their own ideas (Ceron & Memoli, 2015).

In the other hand the role of ownership should not be forgotten Web 2 s establishment is the result of the economic crises in internet-based communications. Its inventor by illusion of something new which can play an important role in society attract more investigator. Social media as same as traditional media are features of capitalist system. Although so how by using anonymity feature of social media users can criticize and talk but it is enough if they can criticize the system of social media. As Fuchs on his book mentioned social media is social since it has the all aspects of being social (Fuchs, 2014). This social place is more cooperative, and users are mostly digital labour instead of participant which is the main point of democracy.

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