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Indian Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism

Aims and Scope

The journal focuses on research in journalism and mass communication. The journal is refereed scholarly journal in mass communication and provides leadership in scholarship for the field. It publishes original articles and book reviews on topics including but not limited to theoretical and methodological developments in journalism and mass communication, international communication, media technologies and society, advertising, public relations, journalism history, media law and policy, media management and economics, political communication and health communication.

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Analysis of Online Audience Comment on 2016 Subsidy Removal Issue in Nigeria: A Case Study of Premium Times and Sahara Reporters

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ABSTRACT

The study analysed online audience comments on the 2016 subsidy removal issue in Nigeria. The analyses of the comments were made to find out the positive comments, negative comments, tones of comments (ethnic, regional, political) and the overriding position. The researcher employed the propositions and guidelines of Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and discursive psychology to analyse the comments, this is because it has suitable proposition that match the desire of the study. The study found that, negative comments had the highest portion of all the comment analysed while positive comments had smaller portion though it has significant number. The analysis found that among the negative comments, even the media that reported the issue was attacked. It was also found that some comments were fragmented in ethnic, political and regional tones. The study recommends that more online vetting of comment should be used by online media to ensure the positive exploitation and use of the platforms by the audience. The study further studies should be conducted to find out the diverse understanding, acceptance and rejection of government policies by Nigerian populace on the online platforms.

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Keywords: Communication; Television; Digital; Technology

INTRODUCTION

In any communication chain, the audience is the element at which messages are targeted. Hermida [1] has referred audiences as “communicatee” which means the message recipients. Media collect, produce and transmit their messages to their target audiences. However, the nature of the media determines the nature of its audience. For instance Radio Medium has listeners as audience, television has viewers as audience and online Media has web users as its target audience.

According to Gurevitch et al. [2] due to digital technologies, audiences are becoming more and more active participants in public communication, in a way that media practitioners can no longer expect to operate within an exclusive professionalized enclave. In other words, with advancement in communication

technology which has made it possible for the establishment of web-based media, audience participation has grown to a level that media practitioners cannot operate exclusively without audience involvement in their discourse. Even though, the audience participation is not a new phenomenon but the rise in mode of participation enabled by the new media has provided a leap forward in audience involvement in public communication.

Among the many types of audience participation generated by the interaction of Internet into media, audiences' comments in news are the most widely used in online news sites and common forms of citizen engagement online, with great potential for public discourse concern [3,4]. This platform has given the public a medium for expressing their perspectives on current issues and on matters of public [5]. The consumptions of media contents nowadays are not only restricted to reading, watching and browsing, but has developed to include contributing to media discourse. This feature spurred by the new media is a global phenomenon.

Nigeria being most populous nation in Africa has the highest number of web users African Telecommunication Research Report (ATRR). According to Wilson and Gapsiso [6] Nigerians are passionate about expressing their minds on issues of national importance. They identified that these expression cut across all sphere of national endeavours such as politics, religion, family, economy, culture, corruption, government policies, sports etc. and media serving as channel. Research has established that the availability of interactive features in news sites distinguishes online journalism from its offline counterparts. Interactivity signifies a shift from the traditional media one-to-many communication flow to the emergence of a two-way communication model which converts online audiences from passive to active media consumers.

The potential of interactivity to facilitate a dialogue between the media and its audiences is therefore indisputable. The users' comments (audience comment) have only recently been broadly adopted by news sites and thus they have yet to receive much attention in the literature. Audience comments can be understood as civic forums, where citizens contribute their views, exchange and ideas. Thus, user comments are an interesting subject for investigation in the context of audience participation in journalism.

In this light, readers' comments can be seen as a desirable contribution to journalism and a healthy democratization of discourse. Research has not only shown that online news comments are a dynamic space for exchange of ideas and arguments exchange but journalists themselves recognize their potentials to fulfill deliberative ideals when engaging their audience in the discussion of public issues [3].

Groups and individuals have often exploited the audience comment platform to mobilize citizens. For example Wilson and Gapsiso [6] pointed out that group like Occupy Nigeria, was a socio-political protest movement that began in Nigeria on Monday, 2 January 2012 in response to the fuel subsidy removal by the Federal government. The media coverage of the issue showed how much concern it has generated. In 2012 during President Jonathan's Administration, before the subsidy removal (PMS) petrol was sold for N65 per litre but as soon as the announcement was made, it rose to N97 official price. Though, the subsidy removal was partial it affected the lives of citizens everywhere thus, triggering public response via online platforms [7].

Under the present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, the Federal Government on 11th May, 2016 announced the total removal of the subsidy on downstream oil sector. The Minister of State for Petroleum Resources, Ibe Kachikwu announced the removal on the background of the fuel scarcity and supply difficulties in the country which generated several comments in the various online platforms including the online news media.

This study analyses audience comments on subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016 in online sites of two prominent online media: Sahara Reporters and Premium Times.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The advent of online news media has given freedom to online audience to respond and comment on various issues without hindrance. Various Studies have been conducted on online users' comments over national and international issues [8,9]. These studies analysed issues in respect of audience comments on various national issues. However, there hasn't been a documented study on the comments of Nigerians on the total deregulation of the downstream oil sector by Buhari led government in 2016. Therefore, this study fills a gap in knowledge by analysing audience comment on 2016 fuel subsidy removal in Nigeria.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To find out the online audience positive and negative comments on the subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016.
- To examine how the tones of the comments on subsidy removal in Nigeria in 2016 are segmented.
- To examine the overriding position (between positive or negative) of the online audience comments on subsidy removal in Nigeria in 2016.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Are there positive online audience comments on the subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016?
- Are there negative online audience comments on the subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016?
- What are the tones (political, regional and ethnic) of the comments on the subsidy removal issue in 2016 segmented?
- What is the overriding acceptance or rejection of 2016 subsidy removal in Nigeria in the online audience comments?

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Audience: In the context of this study, Audience is the element in a communication chain which refers to message recipient. The receiver of a message is the target audience of media organizations.

Online audience: With regard to this study, the concept of Online Audience refers to anybody who read news reports, features, and watches and download movies among other means of consumption.

Online media: For the purpose of this research the online media is well established media organization which based its operation on the internet platforms. It operates either on websites, blogs, vlogs, mini sites and other online platforms.

Subsidy removal: Subsidy is the money paid by a government with the aim of reducing the cost and supply difficulty of a particular product or service to people of a country. Subsidy is paid to support the market of a particular good so that citizens will enjoy cheaper purchase.

Audience comments: In the context of this study, the users' comments refers to the ability of readers to express their opinions on news reports, opinion pieces, journalists' blogs, and any other content available on the site. In essence everyone with an Internet access can 'talk back' to media and to each other on high-profile issues. Audiences' comments can be understood as civic forums, where citizens contribute their views, exchange ideas and where civic talk can take place.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In media studies, audience are people, either as groups or as individuals. It also refers to large groups of people, like the mass audience for television news, newspaper readerships, people in the cinema or even people attending a major sporting event or a rock concert. The people in such groups are seen as having connection with each other in terms of the interest in the event they are attending or witnessing. The audience comment or sometimes referred as "users' comments feature" refers to the ability of

readers to express their opinions on news reports, opinion pieces, journalists' blogs and any other content available on the site. In essence everyone with an Internet access can 'talk back' to reporters and to each other on high-profile issues. According to Hille and Bakker "User Comments" are interesting subjects for investigation in the context of audience participation in journalism.

Audience participation in news websites comes in various shapes and forms, e.g., Just as user involvement in the use and creation of the content of interactive media can be graduated into different degrees [10], Wahl-Jorgensen et al. [11] focusing on the field of news and journalism, distinguish between "audience comment" and "audience content"; that is, between audience contributions based on, respectively, opinions and facts. These researchers also established how producers and audience appreciate substantial, fact-based audience participation while they discard opinionated contributions.

Audience participation is primarily possible in the shape of audience comments and similar interpretational categories where ordinary people react to the news that has already been produced [1,12]. At the same time, they are one of most common forms of citizen engagement online, with great potential for public discourse giving the public a medium for expressing their perspectives on current issues and on matters of public concern [4,5]. Audience participation is growing and evolving as a new tool of brand activation and brand engagement [13].

There are however different types of participation in media discourse and even production [13]. These are; Information participation, Collaboration participation, Conversation participation and Meta-communication Information: According to both Harrison and Hermida, this type of audience participation is one among the most commonly used on news websites, probably because it simultaneously draws upon the resources of the audience and allows the journalists to retain control over the news production.

COLLABORATION

Through this kind of participation, audience who happen to be in the right place at the right time transcend their role as eye witnesses and become some kind of amateur journalists who participate in blurring the distinction between audience and journalists.

CONVERSATION

The third type of audience participation is conversation of a more sociable nature. Sociability is a prominent characteristic of a large proportion of the conversations that take place on digital media.

Meta-communication

The fourth type of audience participation is meta-communication; that is, about the very communication which the news constituted. Jensen (2010: 94) describes meta-communication as the communication that takes place “above and beyond the exchange of literal information”. That is what goes on here: through exchanges about the very coverage, the premises and processes behind the news production are made visible, so that audience can both follow the covered event and gain insight into a level ‘above and beyond’ the coverage of the event.

However, Vujnovic [14] outlined that in respect to economic considerations within news outlets, readers’ comments may bring concrete benefits such as brand-building, user-loyalty and boosting website traffic thus; possibly attracting advertisers. In online media, at the end of news articles, readers want to express personal opinions, interact with one another, act as entertainers, or express intense emotional reaction [15].

Nonetheless, a series of studies had demonstrated that the use of interactive features by mainstream news sites is relatively limited, especially features that promote user-to-user interactions. Consequently, research by Reich [3] have indicated that readers’ comments might pose several challenges to journalists and newsrooms, due to an array of aspects: quality concerns related to the presence of inappropriate speech, such as hate speech, racism, defamation, abusive comment, incivility, or linguistic. Thus, some newsrooms are deciding to move online comments from their websites to Facebook commenting.

Singer and Ashman assert that the anonymity of the online users, mainly understood as a factor in the uncivil tone of online discourse which may affect a news organization’s reputation. This factor emanates from the ‘free world’ nature of the online platforms. Even though audience participation in news production is not a new phenomenon, it is a far more prominent feature online than in traditional news media. With digital, interactive media, the flow of communication has moved beyond the classic transition model of content passing only from senders to receivers to a two way communication between audience and the media.

The digital media have enabled multi-directional communication flows where “the people formerly known as the audience” [16] have increased opportunities to more directly influence and participate in the production of media content. The implication is that the common understanding of news as something produced by actors with a certain professional background within certain institutions and organizations has changed, as news production now also takes place beyond the news organizations.

Bruns has introduced the relevant concept of the produser, which amalgamates ‘producer’ and ‘user’ and captures how the role of the audience now also comprises a potential element of creation.

Attributes Of Online Audience

As central focus of this study, the researcher choose category of online audience to shed more light on their attributes which in one way or the other differentiate them with the conventional audience. These attributes affect their relationships with the media and other audience as well. Some of the attributes are also applied to the conventional audience but are more complex and advance with online audience.

Interactivity

The ability to post comments on new sites is one of the greatest attributes of online audience which not only facilitates a communication between users (user-to-user interactivity) but it also enables users to create their own content (user-to-document interactivity). Interactivity signifies a shift from the traditional media one-to-many communication to the emergence of a two-way communication model which converts online audience from passive to active media consumers. The potential of interactivity to facilitate a dialogue between the media and its audiences is therefore indisputable.

Nonetheless, a series of studies has demonstrated that the use of interactive features by mainstream news sites is relatively limited, especially features that promote user-to-user interactions. The implication here is that online audience enjoys most privilege to interact with the media and even other audience.

Anonymity

Another element worth noting is the level of anonymity of the online audience while commenting or any other interaction with the media through the internet. The concept of anonymity here means the amount of information users are asked to provide before posting a comment. The information they provide does not serve enough templates to identify someone or even where they are commenting from, this is because there is a wide room for the audience to provide false information. In some instances, the information might be right but not reliable to identify the audience.

Diversity

Online audience are now considered to be more diverse than any other media be it radio, television, film or newspaper. Taking this attribute from the angle of Marshall McLuhan who predicted that the world will be a “Global Village” which has since been confirmed through the internet, people from all angles of the world, irrespective of their tribe, believe, age, religion, class, perspective, notion and culture

come together to make up what is now called “Global Audience”. Such combination of people attends to similar messages at their various leisure times. This puts online media into crucial situation to produce and deal with its audience. Unlike the traditional media, where notion of regionalism, sectionalism, nationalism and religious are common, dealing with online audience such (isms) must be balanced or totally avoided to fit and cover the audience.

Freedom

The widespread adoption of online media has empowered individuals to develop new forms of expression, reach new audience and quickly disseminate information around the world. From emails and blogs, to YouTube and Twitter, new digital technologies are enabling people who otherwise might not have been heard to express themselves and engage in far-flung conversations that were once near impossible. However, threats to free expression are just as prevalent online as they are off. Internet use and social media in particular, has allowed for the disruption of the power dynamics of global communications.

The change in the flow of information has altered traditional mechanisms of institutional control. Although there are clearly exceptions, major traditional (or offline) media outlets are typically concentrated in the hands of a few – mainly large corporations. Traditional media such as television or newspapers can be quite expensive, and require specific skills and expertise to produce. Online media have disrupted this structure, by enabling almost anyone who wants to publish or broadcast their views to become a content producer. Audience sizes have also grown online, as a single Twitter feed or small online news platform can now potentially reach far more people than traditional media ever could. To help keep up, traditional media outlets are now integrating with online media, which has resulted in the added benefit of their content also becoming more widely accessible.

Online based (internet based)

There is quite a presence on the Internet. Through the Internet, every person is given the opportunity to participate in different ways. The Internet gives people a platform to write and reach the people who are interested in what they are writing about. When writers write online, they are able to form communities with the people they share common interests with. The audience that people are trying to reach can be general or specific, all depending on what the writer is discussing in their online posts.

Audiences have to go and check into what the writers are writing to stay on top of the latest information. Writers have to find their niche and try hard to work their way into an already formed community. The target audience of the writer is able to respond to the writers’ posts and can give feedback. The Internet

allows these connections to be formed and fostered, hence giving room for the concept of “online audience”. Internet creates a chance of being part of an audience and a creator at the same time.

Theoretical Framework

This study used the Discourse Analysis theory as its theoretical framework. A discourse is understood as the fixation of meaning within a particular domain. A discourse is established as a totality in which each concept is fixed as a moment through its relations to other signs. The theory was constructed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in 1985. Laclau and Mouffe constructed their theory by combining and modifying two major theoretical traditions, Marxism and structuralism. Marxism provides a starting point for thinking about the social, and structuralism provides a theory of meaning.

The overall idea of discourse theory is that social phenomena are never finished or total. Meaning can never be ultimately fixed and this opens up the way for constant social struggles about definition of society and identity, with resulting social effects. The creation of meaning as a social process is about the fixation of meaning. We constantly strive to fix the meaning of concept by placing them in particular relations to other actions.

According to Stubbs [17] discourse analysis is defined as a linguistic theory which is concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence/utterance with the interrelationships between language and society and the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication.

The term discourse analysis according to Slembrouck is very complex and ambiguous. It is used in this study as theory to lay a philosophical background to the analysis of online audience comments on media news sites. This is because the theory is connected with intensive look at speech or written discourse. However, it refers to attempts to study the organisation of language beyond the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers.

Discourse analysis does not presuppose a bias towards the study of either spoken or written language. In fact, the monolithic character of the categories of speech and writing is increasingly being challenged, especially as the gaze of analysts' turns to multi-media texts and practices on the Internet.

Moreover, discourse analysis foregrounds language use as social action, language use as situated performance, language use as tied to social relations and identities, power, inequality and social

struggle, language use as essentially a matter of practices rather than just structures. The reason for selection of this theory is that it has concern with the study of written and spoken text. It is in line with this study that seeks to analyse online audience comment on online news sites. The application of discourse analysis theory as philosophical background becomes imperative because it has assumptions that best stand for the analysis of written or spoken text. Bernárdez outlined the basic tenets of discourse analysis, which are summarized as follows:

- Language only exists in use and communication. It always fulfills certain functions in human interaction.
- Language use is necessarily social.
- Language is not autonomous. It shares some characteristics with other social and cognitive phenomena.
- The description of language must account for the real facts of language. It should not postulate hidden entities only motivated by the needs of the formal system utilized.
- Linguistic structures should be closely linked to the conditions of language use.
- Language is natural and necessarily vague and inaccurate; therefore any prediction can only be probabilistic.

Discourse analysts investigate the use of language in context, thus they are interested in what speakers/writers do, and not so much in the formal relationships among sentences or propositions. Discourse analysis, then, has a social dimension, and for many analysts it is a method for studying how language “gets recruited ‘on site’ to enact specific social activities and social identities” (Gee 1999: 1). Discourse Analysts explore matters such as: turn-taking in telephone conversations, the language of humour, power relationships in doctor/patient interviews, dialogue in chat rooms, the discourse of the archives, records or files of psychoanalysts, the scripts of a given television program, the discourse of politicians, the characteristics of persuasive discourse, the structure of narrative, the discourse of E-mail messages, audience comments on news sites among other.

METHODOLOGY

A review of related study identified that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discursive Psychology Approaches as appropriate method for the study. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Discursive Psychology Approaches are used to address research questions of this study. Critical Discourse Analysis stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. All social practice are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served [18]. Critical discourse analysis subsumes a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse as cited [18].

The Fairclough's model for Critical Discourse Analysis consists of three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

- The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts). The object of analysis in this study is the online which is categorised under visual texts.
- The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects. The means by which the object of analysis was produced is classified under writing but within the context of the study an online writing.
- The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes. The initial way of writing was hand and typewriting but with the emergence of ICTs it has alter the process as it bring along digital typing through computers, mobile phones among others.

According to Fairclough each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis:

Text analysis (description),

Processing analysis (interpretation),

Social analysis (explanation).

The useful thing about this approach is that it enables the researcher to focus on the signifiers that make up the text, the specific linguistic selections, their sequencing, and their layouts and so on. However, it also requires researcher to recognise that the historical determination of these selections and to understand that these choices are tied to the conditions of possibility of that utterance. This approach gives multiple analytic entries, because, It does not matter which kind of analysis one begins with, as long as in the end they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory. In this study the three-part analytic model for working with a text on the news sites will be applied.

According to Jorgensen and Phillips [19], Discursive Psychology centres on language use in everyday text and talk and is a dynamic form of social practice, which constructs the social world, individual selves and identity. Discursive psychology deploys many of the same methods as other qualitative approaches but discursive psychology differs from other qualitative approaches in how meanings are produced within the discourses that people draw on as resources in order to talk about aspects of the world [19]. Discursive Psychology deploys many of the same methods (coding, transcription, interview etc.) as other qualitative approaches.

At this point, because the researcher is interested in studying audience comments on online media news sites over the subsidy removal in Nigeria, then the data of the researcher are audience comments posted under the news items on the sites of Sahara Reporters and Premium Times. These data are primary data

because they are collected and compiled by the researcher. So, the researcher collects all the comments of audience on the identified stories on the two news sites.

Because of the dynamic nature of online news sites there is no standing number of the sites, but as at the time of this study there are more than 200 online news sites in Nigeria according to “Naija Dailies” an online platform which arrange news sites for readers [20]. These serve as the population of the study. The researcher purposively selected comments on the subject that are constituted around the issue under study and filter those that are not related. Content categories of this study include: positive and negative comments, tone of the comments (fragmented based on political, regional and ethnic affiliation) and overriding position of the audience comments (Table 1).

To effectively analyse the audience comments under the news item posted on the two selected online-based media themes were drawn based on the objective of the study. Comments posted by the audience on the sites of the news media were read and reread in order to identify and place them in the relevant themes. The themes drawn are: comments that are positive and negative, comments considered fragmented based on political, regional and ethnic affiliation. To identify the key messages in comments, which included offensive speech, attack and defence, the study conducted an analysis of macro propositions. According to Van Dijk cited by Wilson and Gapsiso [6], macro propositions analysis is based on an identification of the most relevant collection of information in a text, derived from the local meanings of words and sentences by macro rules, such as deletion, generalisation and construction. In this case, the study looked at the comments in which audience acclaim, attack or defends the issue under study; comments that are negative or positive, titled toward political, regional and ethnic affiliation and overriding position of the online audience comments on subsidy removal in Nigeria in 2016. The findings were quantitatively and qualitatively presented.

The study used Coding Sheet as instrument for data collection. Coding data, it means assigning attributes to specific units of analysis, such as paragraphs, sentences, or individual words. In an online post users usually tag online information like pictures, links, or articles. Coding is simply an academic version of this tagging process. The study adopted quantitative method for data presentation “nominal level data measurement”. Quantitative data analysis is helpful in evaluation because it provides quantifiable and easy to understand results [21]. The study used tabular presentation using simple percentage analysis technique to presents its findings, In the table, the nature of the post comments would be arranged along the vertical line, whereas on the horizontal line the units of analysis-news stories and audience opinion comments. To enhance the quality of the presentation screen shots of the comment is used to accompany the tabular presentation.

Content Categories	Description
Positive Comments	Comments that are favourable to the subsidy removal issue, personalities involved etc
Negative Comments	Comments that are unfavourable to the subsidy removal issue, personalities involved or hostile to the news media that reported the issue, other audience etc
Political comments	Comments that chanted a particular political ideology, political personalities, slogan etc
Regional comments	Comments that chanted regional sentiment, believe, groups, personalities etc
Ethnic comments	Comments that chanted particular ethnic group, personalities of the group, believe of the group, tradition of the group etc

Table 1: Content Categories and Description.

Data Presentation And Analysis

The data collected were presented and analysed based on research questions of the study. A total of 215 comments were identified under two selected posts from the two media (Sahara Reporters and Premium Times).

RQ1: Are there positive online audience comments on the 2016 subsidy removal issue in Nigeria?

From the 215 comments analysed, the above table indicate that there are 65 positive comments. The positive comments are classified into two; positive toward the subsidy removal issue and positive toward personalities (President, Minister etc) involved in the subsidy removal issue. There are 47 (72.3%) positive comments toward the subsidy removal issue which indicate an acceptance of the policy by some audience (Table 2). The examples of these are:

“Subsidy removal has always gained my support any day any time....”

“.....Almost all Nigerians has been urging the government to deregulate so that they can have fuel to buy. The burden was too heavy financially for the government to bear, this should be a welcome decision and relief to everyone. As this is what the people, lets hope it will eventually lead to competition and fall in price”

“I am willing to accept the new price if the federal government present a tangible plan and a timetable for the restoration of the local refineries to 100 percent capacity. We need a clear and detailed plan. Solve this problem once and for all. I understand the government can’t even pay salaries and want to spend massively on infrastructure that is why they don’t want to pay fuel subsidy. But we need a long

term solution to our problems. The reality is if the local refineries work, there will be no need for forex differentials or for import of oil. There will be no need for price increase of PMS. President Buhari please give us a final solution, enough is enough”

“...removal of subsidy would curtail corruption so it had nothing to do with being trustworthy or corrupt.....Removal of subsidy allows competition and the market to dictate the price”

“Deregulation had its merits then no doubt but the problem was the proponent of deregulation. When a woman says NO for the first time, she does not necessarily mean NO but saying tell me more about yourself, prove to me that you love me, I want to know about you... GEJ and his band failed in providing the right answers and so the people saw that he cannot be trusted hence the protests and with the subsidy scam + all the revelations of today, Nigerians were right in saying NO to him 2012”

Rq2: Are there negative online audience comments on the 2016 subsidy removal issue in Nigeria?

The above table indicates that apart from the positive comments, there are also audience comments that have negative coloration. The analysis found 103 negative comments, 31 (30%) comments are unfavourable to the subsidy removal issue, 49 (47.5%) comments are unfavourable to personalities and government involved (Table 3). There are 7(6.7%) comments that are hostile the media that reported the issue whereas 16 (15.5%) comments are unfavorable toward other audience or other comments. Examples of some comments that are unfavourable to the subsidy removal issue include:

“I don’t know how this makes common sense for a marketer to be subject to the USD parallel market and yet have a cap on its sale price. Somebody please explain this to me. NNPC will import with FOREX at CBN rate which is almost 50% of what obtains in the parallel market, and other marketers will at black market rate? NNPC stations will sell at not more than =N=145 and other marketers too? If this is the summary of the new policy, then I am in shock. I pray I am over reacting! In all of this, the common man continues to suffer”

“I don’t have problem of whatever they call it. My problem is the hike of the price of the petrol to N145 per litre which is going to affect negatively, the lives of over 170 million people”

“Rejected. It costs Nigeria less than \$10 per barrel to produce Crude Oil. At N145 per liter fuel will be selling at above \$140 per barrel. Deregulation means PPPRA must be scrapped and prices allowed to determine their level. Crude oil access must be open to any buyer at bid price just like Forex. Anyone

can import product means DPR only monitors quality and statistics. Deregulation by fixing price is nonsense”

“Now someone has to explain the new job of the PPPRA. No more price control”

“Why do we support this deregulation without presenting roadmap Infact Nigerians were not informed of happening only that MrKachukwu came onboard and be informing us what has happened, anyway there should be no deregulation until when I know the days or months even years that good road networks will pass across Nigeria, when salary increment will be approved, when power will be without interruption, when railway network will be installed and effective. When all these questions are answered then there should be deregulation, this kind of hiruhuru deregulation should not be accepted at all, this is not the type of change we are expecting, a change that will cater for citizenry is what we are clamouring for”

S/N	Directions	Description	Number of Comments	Percentage
1	Positive toward the subsidy removal issue	Comments that are favourable to the issue	47	72.30%
2	Positive Toward Personalities (President,Ministers etc) involved in subsidy removal issue	Comments that are favourable to personalities or government involved	18	27.60%
Total			65	100%

Table 2: Category of Positive Comments.

S/N	Directions	Number of Comments	Percentage
1	Negative toward the issue	31	30%
2	Negative toward Personalities involved	49	47.5%
3	Negative toward the media	7	6.7%
4	Negative toward the audience	16	15.50%
Total		103	100%

Table 3: Category of Negative Comments.

“This is delusion. The prices once they go up will never come down again. The government is simply trying to sustain its budget on the back of its citizens. This is a road we should avoid. There are other alternatives. He is simply stifling the economy. You will see before the end of the year”

The analysis found that, out of 103 negative comments identified 49 (47.5%) comments are unfavourable or attacked the personalities, parties and the government involved. Examples of such comments are:

“Increasing economic hardship is a sure bet to bring down any government. I thought all politicians know this, perhaps not Buhari....”

“The Jonathan administration is gone. Nigerians voted for “Change” and “Sai Baba.” By various missteps, the Buhari administration has made many things worse.....Buhari put a lawyer in charge of oil exploration and production; a lawyer in charge of power, works and housing; a lawyer in charge of the budget; etc.”

“This is very selfish and it shows Buhari is nit in government. He should better spend more time at home. No one is coordinating the economy right now”

Some of the negative or unfavourable comments were directed toward the media organization for being biased, overlooking some issues and over blotting other issues. Some of the comments discredited the media and used abusive words to accuse their pattern of reportage as suitors of one party, personality and region. Some of such comments include:

“Sahara reporters are a bunch of hypocrites. There are no fire and brim stones now that their pay masters are in government. Money lasts only temporarily but truth, justice and fairness lives forever”

“Sahara has failed to use a captivating heading line for this news. Fuel, electricityeverything on increase and yet they are scarce. Sahara we are expecting a hash tag in this”

“PPRA will be announcing a new price band... and the new price will not be above N145 per liter” yet your headline screams “Nigeria Deregulates’...?”

RQ3: What are the tones (Political, regional and ethnic) of the comments on the subsidy removal issue in 2016 segmented?

The analysis found that some of the comments were fragmented toward political affiliations (parties,

personalities and ideology), regional and ethnic sentiments. Some of the tones are titled in support of the personalities involved in the subsidy removal issue with the perception that major government actors belong to particular region, ethnic or political organization (Table 4).

The analysis found that there are audience comments that have political composition. The analysis found 25 comments with political compositions, 5 (20%) comments chanted or sang either for or against the political slogans of party involved in the subsidy removal issue, 9 (36%) comments chanted political personalities either in government or opposition. Majority of the political comments chanted political ideologies. Examples of some comments that have political colorations include:

S/N	Tones	Number of Comments	Percentage
1	Political Comments	25	11.6%
2	Regional	19	8.8%
3	Ethnic	3	1.3%
Total		47	100%

Table 4: Tones of Comments.

“APC CHANGE! SaiBaBa... Jonathan must be choking with laughter... I cannot forget how a senior APC chieftain few weeks before the 2015 Presidential Elections analysed why fuel (PMS) should sell below 86-naira... Yes, even President Buhari said that the fuel subsidy was a scam and a ploy to rip-off Nigerians”

“And under PDP, petrol is cheap and water is plentiful and cheap!”

“APC always try to do the right thing, after they’ve tried everything else...”

“D political unwillingness of Jonathan was a major contributor on y he was unable to remove d subsidy..APC CHANGE”

“SAI BABA, Sai Buhari”

“We can see clearly now. Nigerians has been scammed by the promise of CHANGE. In fact, GEJ is an angle to compare with this man we call our president”

Tones of some comments were tilted towards regional sentiments and chanted personalities from various regions of the country. Some of the comments were abusive and designed to downgrade people, personalities and image of the region. Some of them are:

“SaiTompolo!”

“They do not need to protest because they know the money to be ensure saved from the removal of subsidy will not be looted by one useless Otuoke man and his illiterate wife along with their comrades in stealing and then turn around to say stealing of public funds is not corruption”

“Yes I remember...That bloody northern liar’s name is Gen. Buhari under whom massive looting of the PTF took place, but whom APC’s hopeless barracudas have chosen to crown patron saint!!!!”

“Oya o, idey wait for all biafrans to begin abuse baba!”

RQ4: What is the overriding acceptance or rejection of the 2016 subsidy removal in Nigeria in the online audience comments?

The overriding position was negative comments or comments that are unfavourable to the issue and personalities involved. Out of the 215 comments from the two selected media analysed, there are 103 negative comments out of which 49 were directed toward the personalities or parties involved which include the President, Minister, their political parties among other personalities, while 31 were directed to the subsidy removal issue. This indicates a plausible argument that the majority of the audience rejected the 2016 subsidy removal in Nigeria. Most of them showed their disagreement through direct attack on the personalities involved in the issue. The personalities involved in the issue include the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who is also the Minister of Petroleum Resources, Minister of state for Petroleum Resources, Minister of Information and Culture. Their names were mentioned in various comments made by the audience.

On the other hand the media that reported the issue also suffered some negative comments from the audience. Abusive words were used to refer the media as biased and suitors of a particular political group or region. This indicated the fact that the audience rejection has reached an extent of attaching the issue to the biasness of the media. The analysis also identified some negative comments toward other audience who have commented on the issue. As a response to audience who commented in support of the issue, there were many abusive comments made by high number of the audience who have rejected the issue. These categories constituted the highest number of comments and indicate higher number of audience that rejected the 2016 subsidy removal in Nigeria.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The recent advancement and involvement of audience participation or engagement in news process

was greatly enhanced by the advent of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) which internet cannot be neglected. In contrast to days before the change in information and communication pattern in the society, the participation of audience in media is usually limited. Audiences only participate in media through opinions, petitions and letters to the editors. These sometimes attract the attention of the media for future considerations. Some of the conventional audiences' reactions though delayed but most often lead to instant correction by the media. This indicates the delayed model of communication between media and its audience. It has also made audience to be passive with regard to media content.

This was the situation until the emergence of ICTs that have virtually changed every facet of life which media practice is not an exception. It has altered the process of communicating with media audience. The Information Age exemplifies the mainstreaming of technology into every business of life. The study found that the technology is used by media to engage and measure their audience readership, traffic on their sites through web techniques. The provision for audience to comment on issues is one of the techniques that have open up a great opportunity for audience to participate and make their contribution in the discourse of local, state and national affairs in the media.

The discourse analysis theory proposed an extensive study of either written or spoken statement in order to derive meaning out of it. The meaning is derived based on its composition through the use of word choice, sentence construction, use of terms etc. this study justify that a critical look at text give room for identifying meaning attached to words and statements. The use of discursive psychology helped in determining and classifying the comments according to the psychological construct contain in the comments. The anonymity of the online platform has given the audience sense of rejecting or accepting issues without contextual hindrance. Based on the analysis, it is apparent that media organizations now operate online sites for reaching more audience. Through these sites audience are provided with opportunity to express themselves through comments, likes, tags among others. This has been demonstrated from the comments made by audience about the 2016 subsidy removal issue in Nigeria. This correlate with the argument of Wilson and Gapsiso [6] that during days of delayed audience response comments, articles, opinion from audience that do not meet the interest of media owners, relations and friend of media owners are often left unpublished, whether the opinion is in the interest of the nation or not. But with these developments in the interaction between media and audience and the fact that anonymity is key in the relationship, audience now have the opportunity of posting comments under news items with little or no hindrance as was the case with 2016 Subsidy Removal issue in Nigeria. This implies that the online platform has enable Nigerians to express their views on local and national issues devoid of hindrance by the media.

Such opportunity has also provided the audience with right to react to government policies. The sense of rejection has been demonstrated by the audience on the sites of the two selected media on subsidy removal issue. Consequently, there is identified abuse of such rights by the audience in the participatory online journalism by the use of offensive speech, words and terms against groups, personalities and organizations. This instance draws a parallel with tones and overriding comments of online audience on subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016.

However, it is the heterogeneity of audience that leads to the variations and tones of comments about subsidy removal issues in Nigeria. This occurs on the background that everybody is entitled to use the internet, visit news sites and make comments sometimes without clear identification of the audience. The ability of being anonymous on the medium made them to engage in uncivil comments.

The main finding from the critical discourse analysis conducted found that online audiences have commented on the subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016. The first research question asked thus; are there positive online audience comments on the subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016?

The analysis found that there are online audiences that made positive comments on the issue. The positive comments are those comments made in support of the issue. There are positive comments that were directed toward the subsidy removal issue while others were positive toward the personalities (President, Ministers and other political leaders) involved. These findings correlate with scholars who argue that most people online are far more likely to be nice than resort to rude, hostile, and uncivil communicative behavior. This finding provides answer to the research question which seeks to find out whether there are positive comments made by the audience on the 2016 subsidy removal in Nigeria.

The second research question reads; are there negative online audience comments on the subsidy removal issue in Nigeria in 2016?

The study found that exorbitant numbers of comments were negative. The negative comments implied comments that are unfavourable to subsidy removal issue. The analysis found that some negative comments attacked the subsidy removal issue, attack on personalities involved in the new policy, parties or political affiliation of the government involved in the issue. There were comments that engaged in exchange of abusive words among the audience over the subsidy removal issue. There were also attacks on the media that reported the issue itself. These findings correlate with argument of Eveland and Shah that, intense comments debates on media bias and people's own perception of biases have led to unhealthy amounts of skepticism in the mainstream media. Yet the nature of that apparent

bias in the news varies. The study found that some comments were tilted toward political, ethnic and regional sentiments. This answered the third research question which read; what are the tones of the comments on the subsidy removal issue in 2016 segmented? There are identified comments that have tones of ethnic affiliation, regional sentiment and political inclination. There are political comments that chanted particular political personality, party slogan and ideology, the number of ethnic comments is negligible compared to other tones because there are only 3 comments which constituted only (1.3%) of the comments analysed. There are also comments with tones of regional sentiment. This finding concur with Rowe (2013) who says some people explicitly seek out different opinions, while others are seeking content that matches their own views. Indeed, as online discussion allows participants to remain relatively anonymous, and by extension, unaccountable for their behaviour, citizens often engage in angry, hostile, and derogatory discussion, taking the opportunity to attack the beliefs and values of others without fear of retribution.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of online media is a great development in enhancing media discourse. Online media is an essential tool that gives more opportunities for audience to participate with immediacy in the discussion of local, national and international affairs. As exhibited in the findings of this study, the opportunity has been exploited by the audience as many of those who comment expressed their dissatisfaction with the subsidy removal. The way other comments were composed along ethnic, political regional shapes as well as posting negative and injurious comments, has the capabilities of relegating the platform into combat zone where audience unhealthy conversation.

To this end, it is the conclusion of this study that the online news service or platform arrived with positivity and negativities but the audience explored more of the negativities than the positivity; this is seen in their unhealthy conversation and comments towards the media organization. It is also my argument that the exploration of the negativity is inextricably linked to the anonymity provided by the platforms. The online comments have also brought about balance in tone of public opinion towards government policies, this boils down to the fact media advancement overtime gave audience degree of power to hold and express their perspectives on issues. The result of this analysis gave a picture of how less Nigerians comment with ethnic composition on issues that affect virtually everybody in the country, distinct from what is invariably obtainable on other issues related to ethnic practices, ethnic leaders, ethnic values and culture generally.

RECOMMENDATIONS

However, increasing abuse, glorifying violence and tension has revealed the disadvantaged nature of online media. The following recommendations are hereby made:

There should be moderation and vetting of online comments by the media in cases of clear misuse of the platform. The moderation is required to enable the platform serve its intended purpose as discussion platform and provide opportunity for audience to air their view.

There is need for online audience to engage in healthy conversation on the online platform while expressing their view on local, regional and national issues in order to enhance the collection of audience opinion about policy issues. This will improve and encourage some level of decency in the discourse of national issues.

There is need for online media to establish more procedure for identifying the identity of online audience before approving their comments. This can be done through connection with social media pages like Facebook, Twitter etc securing sign up and registration of individuals on the platform that would eradicate deep anonymity.

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Between Knowledge and Power: Political Agenda and Social Engagement of Political Elites through Micro-Blogging (Twitter) in India

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ABSTRACT

In the age of connectivity through the double-edge sword in the context of time biased and space biased media, new social media emerged as the most powerful weapon in the hands of political elites to create a unique platform where they can interplay between the knowledge and power. This paper is an attempt to understand national political agenda and social engagement of ten top and most popular political elites in the micro-blogging site twitter in India. Though there are other popular social media sites, twitter is known as the mouth piece of some most influential political elites across all major political parties and can give a minute to minute update to their followers. As the part of data collection and data analysis, tweets from selected ten twitter accounts were collected over a period of one month, before the declaration of one of the national political party's Prime Ministerial (PM) candidate for the upcoming national election of India and being analyzed by adopting hermeneutics as the method of data analysis to understand the lifeworld of the political elites while balancing the knowledge and power.

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Keywords: Twitter; Media; New media; Lifeworld; Knowledge and power; India

INTRODUCTION

Time and space has been the biggest driver and negotiator of “civilisational” journey of human space. Individual space is constantly defined through the time and space s/he lives in. Be it ancient, medieval or modern civilization, there has been a constant drive to negotiate between time and space. Many factors have contributed and numerous scholars have attempted to understand the constant dilemma of time and space while defining any particular society. So considering the dilemma of time and space, a society undergoes constant process of transformation and thus, remains ever dynamic which, in turn, defines the life of human being. This brings the key question --- what is the key driver of constant transition of the society vis-à-vis human nature. As Innis has argued and Poe quoted, “through the physical attributes of media pushes societies and ideas constantly in a new direction”. Not only Innis but also scholars like McLuhan [1] and scholars from different schools of thought have argued as to how

emergence of different forms of media and patterns of communication define the social world of the particular period. This would be interesting to observe that the evolution of speech, manuscript, print, audio-visual and internet has always given a new direction not only to the society but also to every individual party to it. As Poe [2] has rightly pointed evolution of media at different points carries certain attributes what he called as medium attribute, which has led to network attributes. Further, Poe has said that a particular social network emerges from a specific medium attribute, which, in turn, manifests certain set of social practices and values. Essentially if we try to understand that evolution of any specific kind of media or any changes in the existing media has always contributed in the formation of a new social system which accounts for the social and individual practices. If we attempt to put it into a perspective, we will find that any change in the communication practice or innovation through the communication practices, has given a new direction to the social practice and a new meaning to the individual behavior. Essentially this paper is an attempt to understand individual behavior through the new communication practice which gets manifested through the social media. Attempt has also been made to bring some broad connection between the concepts like Innis's [3] idea of knowledge and power with the communication driven by the new social media by creating a lifeworld in cyberspace.

“If men define situations as real they are real in their consequences [4]¹”. Reality and myth are created in the lifeworld² by people in the context of time and space. Much before the invention of internet, Innis [3] has argued that change from time biased media to space biased media brings knowledge and power together. He has also made it clear that in order to persist in time and occupy space, there is a need to strike the balance between time-biased and space-biased media by empires (or political elites). This is quite visible and explicit with the new age media which redefined both temporality and spatiality and given a new meaning to the political elites to balance between knowledge and power. In the age of connectivity, through the doubleedged sword in the context of time biased and space biased media, new social media has emerged as the most powerful weapon in the hands of political elites to create a unique platform where they can interplay between the knowledge and power. Through the broader idea of the paper, some of the major research constructs need to be defined like the idea of lifeworld in a mediated environment of communication known as cyber space, emergence of new political elites and their creation of lifeworld in the cyber space, construction of new critical mass through the new media where the political elites present their lifeworld and manifestation of new form of discourse where the interplay of knowledge and power become crucial.

¹ The Thomas theorem is a theory of sociology which was formulated in 1928 by W. I. Thomas and D. S. Thomas (1863-1947).

² In whatever way we may be conscious of the world as universal horizon, as coherent universe of existing objects, we, each “I-the-man” and all of us together, belong to the world as living with one another in the world; and the world is our world, valid for our consciousness as existing precisely through this ‘living together.’ (Husserl, 1936)

The main argument of the paper can be summarized as the creation of an individual lifeworld which is one step away from Husserl [5] lifeworld constrained by the space and liberated by the time. The new lifeworld is subject to bring the balance between knowledge and power, as the media which created the scope for the lifeworld is both time biased and space biased [3]. But the argument doesn't stop here, rather going one step ahead of creating a further division of power in the individual cyber lifeworld between politico-utopianism and politicodystopianism. With this central approach selected, cyber lifeworld would be analysed to map the trend of balancing trait of knowledge and power which is contextualized in the mediated space. The ideal combination of these elements creates a new socio-political realm where the perfect condition of politico-utopia and politico-dystopia creates a huge space for alternative power manifestation through social engagement. This can be simply termed as the new cyber lifeworld for where political agenda can be set with extensive scope for social engagement.

The first section of the paper would deal with the extension of phenomenology of Husserl and Schutz in the cyber space, followed by the marked distinction of Innis's knowledge and power. To empirically verify the theoretical identification the paper proceeds with the attempt to understand the lifeworld of selected Indian political elites presented in the cyber space. After the brief discussion on methods adopted to collect the data, data is being analysed and presented in the above discussed theoretical framework. The last section of the paper examines verifies the cyberspace lifeworld between the knowledge and power and how this is used by our present political elites to set the agenda through the social engagement.

LIFEWORLD AND CYBERSPACE

From the understanding of lifeworld defined by Husserl and developed by Schutz, this is conceived as a universe of what is selfevident and a world that subject may experience together being as a part of the society. This also explained the concept of world what the subject experienced through its living and become the part of his/her life. This collective inter-subjective pool of perceiving, as explained by Husserl, is both universally present and, for the purpose of humanity and society, capable of arriving at 'objective truth,' or at least as close to objectivity as possible. This entire idea of lifeworld can also be traced through different sociological literature which is also the concern of Durkheim [6], what he called the collective conscience or consciousness which implies both mental and moral qualities. His intention in the use and analysis of the collective mental and moral phenomena approaches modern conception of the role of culture in social life, especially as employed by the social and cultural anthropologists. In the similar framework, Durkheim (ibid) developed the concept of social integration – the convergence of moral and mental elements in maintaining social order. One major element of integration is the extent to which various members interact with each other. Close to the Husserl's idea

of objectivity in the lifeworld and collective consciousness of Durkheim, we can also take the idea of lifeworld into the understanding of social facts of the same sociologists. Durkheim, essentially external to individual and society, has thought it get manifested through the integration of economic realities and psychological realities with individual personalities. That complex interaction can be account for something which Husserl advocated for the lifeworld of individual. When lifeworld can be studied in the context of social facts, sociologists like Weber, who has introduced the revolutionary approach to study of human behavior through his methodological contribution called *Verstehen*, which means comprehending or understanding the level of meanings. For him *Verstehen* makes possible the scientific study of human behavior in two ways: it facilitates direct observational understanding of the subjective meanings of human action and it facilitates understanding of underlying motives. This is further get polished when Weber combined his notion of ‘understanding’ with his modified Platonism called ‘ideal types’, the study of social and individual behavior took many step forward in both scientific sophistication and social-political utility [7]. Whereas social realities under Weber’s analysis “must be understood (*verstehen*) by imagining oneself into the experience of men and women as they act out their own worlds” [8]. This is essentially what the paper attempted to bring the notion of lifeworld from the Husserl’s explanation through the sociologist’s explanation of Durkheim and Weber. However this gets ratified with the further development of lifeworld by Schutz [9] which gives a direct link to take the lifeworld in the context of cyber space by going beyond the notion of objectifying human behavior through subjective interpretation.

This subjective interpretation leads to the major question of intersubjectivity in everyday human life. So how it is possible in the inter-subjectivity lifeworld to understand each other and this has been the common concern of most of the phenomenologist. Or we can make it simpler while saying how from the inter-subjectivity world, the ‘social fact’ of Durkheim or ‘ideal type’ of Weber or lifeworld of Husserl emerged. Schutz [9] answered the question by saying that no human is developed in an isolated environment. The lifeworld is already in its perennial existence in the society an individual is born in and through the process of socialization each individual get introduced to the lifeworld which can be reorganized or rewired in due process. Based on differences in the spatial-temporal arrangement of human contact, as mentioned by Zhao [10], ‘Schutz divided the contemporaneous lifeworld into two major realms: the realm of consociates made up of individuals sharing a community of space and a community of time, and the realm of contemporaries made up of individuals sharing neither a community of space nor a community of time.’ However there has been an emergency of a third realm by adding to the definition of Schutz of life world which is again defined by Schutz and Luckmann [11] and cited [10], ‘the concept of mediation to describe the possibility of individuals sharing a community of time without sharing a community of space, but Schutz stopped short of calling this possible domain

a potential third realm of the lifeworld'. To contextualize this we can see the possibilities of lifeworld in the context of the cyberspace lifeworld. Here we are retaining all our previous definitions of lifeworld and adding one more layer to it by bringing the dialogue of temporality and spatiality to our understanding of cyber space and creation of a new kind of cyber lifeworld. The third realm is further defined by Zhao [10] in words and I quote: “the structure of the realm of consociated contemporaries in comparison to the structures of two other social realms. People in this realm physically reside in different locales across the zones of immediate experiences of different individuals. But, unlike contemporaries who orient toward others as mere “ideal types,” people in this realm are telecopresent individuals, interacting with one another face to device in real or near-real time. And, unlike consociates who grow older together in the same physical surroundings, people in this realm live through the experience of a social reality that they jointly created and maintained in cyberspace.”

The characteristics of three realms of lifeworld are given in the form of a figure which is borrowed from (ibid) given below: (Figure 1).

The Third Realm Consociated Contemporaries is The Major Approach of Lifeworld

Parameters	Realms of the Lifeworld		
	Consociates	Consociated Contemporaries	Contemporaries
Location of Contact	Geospace	Cyberspace	Geospace
Recurrent Contact Situation	Copresence	Telecopresence	Noncopresence
Recurrent Mode of Contact	Face-to-Face	Face-to-Device	Non-Face-to-Face
Recurrent Form of Relation	We-Relation	We-Relation	They-Relation
Shared Meaning Context	Subjective	Truncated Subjective	Objective
Social Distance	Intimate	Intimate & Anonymous	Anonymous

Source: Consociated Contemporaries as an Emergent Realm of the Lifeworld: Extending Schutz’s Phenomenological Analysis to Cyberspace. Human Studies [10].

Figure 1: Characteristics of three realms of lifeworld of Zhao.

Which is the focus of the paper while dealing with knowledge and power in the context of cyberspace lifeworld? In forthcoming section we are going to examine how the new form of lifeworld operates in the context of the new cyberspace or internet. How the lifeworld of cyberspace operates with intersubjectivity of two major dimensions of humanity i.e., knowledge and power?

Between knowledge and power in cyberspace and representation of new emperors

As we have discussed earlier, individual and societal behavior is always driven by one or other means of communication. With the new additions in the realm of communication there has been change and shift

of the human nature which is essentially driven by the kind of medium used by an individual in a particular time and space. That simultaneously affects the life and nature of humanity which subjects to the integration of the lifeworld of individuals. If we acknowledge the contribution of mediated communication as one of the key factor for the creation of lifeworld, this would be important to bring Innis's [3] two dimension approach to understand media. He rightly divided media into two types as time biased and space biased media (ibid), where time biased media is meant to carry messages and information to many generations but with limited access as restricted in space bound activities. This can be the best example of Schutz's one more social real where he is talking about the role of predecessors for the sustenance of the lifeworld. This is essentially through the time biased media. In the other hand the space biased media which is more ephemeral as defined by Innis. While time-biased media favour stability, community, tradition and religion, space-biased media facilitate rapid change, materialism, secularism and empire. The emergence of new media has given a new dimension to time and space biased media, which might not be captured in the Innis's 'Empire and Communications'. Media can be both time and space biased that cyber media stands for. The time and space biased media is directly associated with the Zhao [10] fourth realm of lifeworld i.e., consociated contemporaries. While the creation of lifeworld which is mediated by either time or space biased media, Innis examined the rise and fall of ancient empires as a way of tracing the effects of communications media. He looked at media that led to the growth of an empire; those that sustained it during its periods of success, and then, the communications changes that hastened an empire's collapse. He tried to show that media 'biases' toward time or space affected the complex interrelationships needed to sustain an empire. These interrelationships included the partnership between the knowledge (and ideas) necessary to create and maintain the empire, and the power (or force) required to expand and defend it (wiki). Innis is right when he examined the time biased and space biased media in the contemporary political situation and I quote:

Innis wrote that the interplay between knowledge and power was always a crucial factor in understanding empire: "The sword and pen worked together. Power was increased by concentration in a few hands, specialization of function was enforced, and scribes with leisure to keep and study records contributed to the advancement of knowledge and thought. The written record, signed, sealed and swiftly transmitted was essential to military power and the extension of government. While this paper attempting to understand the lifeworld in fact the new realm of lifeworld in the context of cyber space, this become crucial to bring the Innis's categorization of media in terms of space and time biased. The media we are talking now is essentially both time biased and space biased and above all formed of time biased and space biased media we have encountered in the history. So considering the level of time and space biasness of the media and creation of the fourth realm of lifeworld this is absolutely important to

examine how the balance need to be created between knowledge (ideas) and power (force) to sustain the empire. This paper has made the attempt to connect the life world with the time and space biased media to understand the new partners in the political discourse.

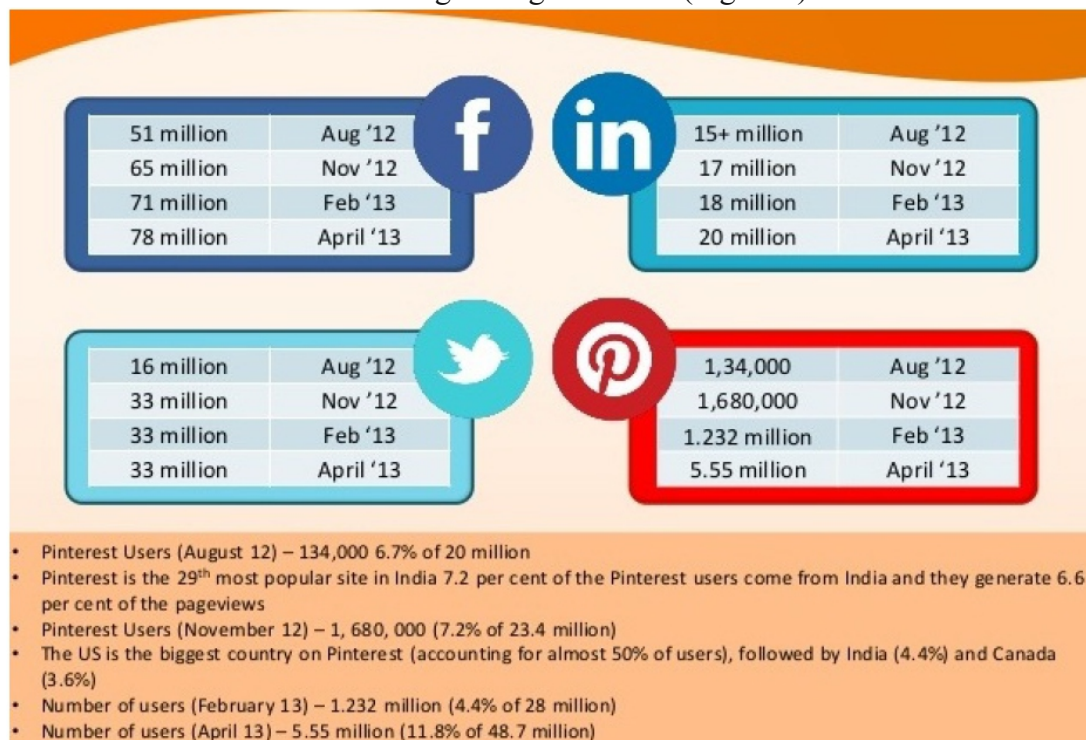
Knowledge and power in the context of modern political discourse

By connecting two broad theoretical approaches like phenomenology and lifeworld with bias and communication of Innis, this paper tries to understand the lifeworld of some of the contemporary political 'elites' in the new cyberspace. To define 'political elite', the paper has adopted the constructs given by Pareto [12] when he pointed out that people are no more equal intellectually and morally than they are physically. And he chooses to call "elites" those who are most capable in any particular group. "Elites" as a concept is devoid of any moral or honorific connotations in Pareto's writings. As he defined the term as it simply denotes "a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activities". Pareto further divided the elite class in two categories: 'governing elite, comprising of individuals who directly or indirectly play some considerable part in the government, and the non-governing elites comprising the rest'. This paper is more concerned about the governing elites which would be termed as the political elites for more comprehensive understanding and phenomenological approach of lifeworld would be adopted to examine the knowledge and power factor in the time and space biased media in the context of India. To understand the broader theoretical framework, in the contemporary mediated environment a micro media analysis is conducted in the context of India.

RESEARCH PROGRESS AND METHODS

With the theoretical framework this paper is attempted to understand national political agenda and social engagement of selected political elites in the new communication network. As one of the emerging economy and 2nd most populated country, India is the home for extensive increase of communication network and destination for major media giants of the world. As per the latest report by comscore and reported in The Hindu [13], "India has bypassed Japan to become the world's third largest Internet user after China and the United States, and its users are significantly younger than those of other emerging economies, global digital measurement. India now has nearly 74 million Internet users, a 31 per cent increase over March 2012. This is also important to note that with the growth of mobile networks in India mobile based internet has given a new dimension to the internet uses in India". With the growth of internet and exponential growth of social networking sites, cyberspace has given a new meaning to the human interaction in cyberspace. As the data also suggested that threefourths of India's online population is under 35 as against just over half worldwide and internet users spent a quarter of their online time by using social media. This is also pertinent to note that the social media users of India are educated young population of the country. This is one of the major reasons why traditional political

approach on the basis of knowledge or power would not work. The young mass and drivers of social media exponential growth of the country are too restless for the ideology or only knowledge oriented politics and also too smart to reject the force or only power driven politics. They want relate to the country's development and be part of the process, where they connect with the knowledge and also appreciative of the facts of the country's growth with all modern industrial and capital process so accept the power of the political force as well. One can say the blend of knowledge and power goes well with the new literate young mass of the country. So, social media has given a good platform to realize both knowledge and power to young mass of the country. Among social media sites, Linkedin and Twitter are the next most popular and accounts for 90 percent of all searches in India [13]. Different trends of social media users of India are mentioned in the given figure bellow (Figure 2).



Source: The Hindu (2013) India is set to become the youngest country by 2020.

Figure 2: Popular Social Media Usages in India.

Out of all social media where subjective interaction happens between different individuals, one of the most popular social media is twitter in India by considering its unique characteristics of 140 letter spacing with 33 million users as per the latest data and of course increasing considering the fluidity of audience in social media. This gives an opportunity where individuals not only need to present himself/herself but also need to package in a manner that the feeling and emotions need to be captured in 140 characters. By adding to this some of the recent literatures like Christian [14] also highlighted that how:

“A great deal of discourse—often revolving around sexy phrases such as “Twitter Revolutions” or “The YouTube War”—has reinforced the central role of technology in antigovernment protests or acts of

dissent, only for critical questions to be raised shortly afterward regarding the actual level of use and effect of such technologies.”

Scholars like Murthy [15] also emphasis through his article on ‘Twitter: microphone for the masses?’ that ‘the question of whether twitter has really produced a new space in which ordinary people meaningfully interacted with ordinary people around the world who have rich insiders account pertaining to diverse forms of socioeconomic life’. Considering twitter and one of the important microblogging sites, the study has focused to analyse the profile of ten most followed political elites of India in a particular period of time.

Contextualizing Political Situation of India

When the country has the highest number of youth population, so it is obvious to expect more energy and change in different spheres like economy, politics etc. As per the report published by report published by IRIS Knowledge Foundation in collaboration with UN-HABITAT and reported in The Hindu [13] and I quote:

“Every third person in an Indian city today is a youth. In about seven years, the median individual in India will be 29 years, very likely a city-dweller, making it the youngest country in the world. India is set to experience a dynamic transformation as the population burden of the past turns into a demographic dividend, but the benefits will be tempered with social and spatial inequalities. The population in the age-group of 15-34 increased from 353 million in 2001 to 430 million in 2011. Current predictions suggest a steady increase in the youth. population to 464 million by 2021. By 2020, India is set to become the world’s youngest country with 64 per cent of its population in the working age group [13].”

With so much energy and powered enforced by social media seeking for a political change become quite obvious. In one side there is a ruling class which has been forming the government from the Independences with some interim changes in the name of Congrees Party, which is essentially lead by the Gandhi Family (most powerful political family) of the country. On the other there are alternative power houses ruling different provinces (states) with some visible impact of the development which suits mostly to the young groups we are talking about. So there is a striking demand for change and a consolidated voice manifested by the group in different forms like supporting the nationwide movements against state corruption etc. In this crucial time with the forth coming central election 2014, there is a popular drive to change the government and get an alternative for the same. So the biggest question is who can be the alternative? There has been emergence of new alternatives from social movements like the Aam Admi Party but at this point their political voice is very limited and the biggest

national opposition party to Congress is Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which is known as the right wing party of India and had the history of pro-Hindu political wing. This is also not to forget that India has more than 20% of Muslim populations. However, considering the province rule, the country has seen the successful leader from the party (BJP), Mr. Narendra Modi, ruling one provincial government (state) since more than one and half decade and shown phenomenal economic growth of that part of the country. Though there are allegations like a big communal crash massacre of 2002, happened that part of the country [16] associated to that individual but the tremendous growth practice has given a new image to that individual. As the biggest opposition of ruling party, BJP has been trying to promote him as the next primeministerial candidate to fight the 2014 general election. The biggest controversy is acceptance of his leadership and his two faceted images as a right-wing leader and a development crusader by the country men Where one section of the population, our young brigade are ready to forgive his communal past and go by his development agenda there are other sections including the ruling party those who are not ready to accept his leadership because of his radical image and controversies surrounding his image. So in the process of the BJP's promotion of Mr. Narendra Modi as the leader for the next general election a new political environment has emerged in the country since last one year. However, officially BHP declared the face of their political party for next general election only on 13th September 2013. Being the image of development led politics Mr. Modi has become the ideal for our youth brigade of the country which get manifested in social media by becoming the highest followed politicians in twitter. So this study is an attempt to understand the twitter life of our political class or political elites and the lifeworld created with the new social class in social media.

Lifeworld of The Political Elites in Twitter

Political elites are decided on the basis of the Paretonian (V. Pareto) definition of governing elites and ten number selected by considering political elites accounts in terms of their maximum number of followers. Ten political elite profiles are selected and data collection conducted in the early October 2013. As the part of data collection individual tweets from selected ten accounts are collected over a period of one month, before the declaration of one of the national political party's Prime Ministerial candidate for the upcoming national election³ and analyzed by adopting hermeneutics as the method of data analysis to understand the lifeworld of the political elites while balancing the knowledge and power. The period which is considered is basically from 15th August to 15th September 2013 and declaration of the Prime Ministerial candidates for the forth coming central election 2014 (Table 1).

Data collected and documented of those 30 days period from the above mentioned accounts and total

³ One of the national political parties Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) declared Mr. Narendra Modi as BJP's 2014 election Prime Ministerial candidate on 13/09/2013.

number of 723 tweets were collected. Through number of tweets varies non-proportionately that we will see in our analysis section. Post to the collection of data considering major theoretical framework, hermeneutics this research adopted hermeneutics method for the purpose of analyses in the context of knowledge and power in the new lifeworld created by the time and space biased media. And the major objective behind adopting hermeneutics as the method of data analysis is, essentially to explore and analyze the lifeworld of people, using qualitative method, and non-directive interviewing techniques to collect information. Considering the subjective interpretation of the subject this is found that hermeneutics is the most suited method for the data analysis where ‘explanation is a necessary step for understanding. We always explain in order to better understand. A text must be explained in its internal structure before being understood in its correlation to the interest it arouses and to which it responds. It is no different for a value or a group of values. But the opposite is just as true. If understanding passes through explanation, explanation is completed in understanding [17].’ Lifeworld analysis of political elites through their individual tweets.

Name of the Political elite	Twitter Account	No. of followers*	Total no. of Tweets in the given period	Party affiliation	Present designation
Narendra Modi	@narendramodi	2555171	113	BJP	CM-Gujarat
Arvind khejriwal	@arvindkejriwal	641012	05	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)	President of AAP
Naveen Jindal	@MPNaveenJindal	98169	75	Indian National Congress	MP- from Kurukshetra, Chairman Jindal steel and Power Ltd.
Digvijay singh	@digvijaya_28	98236	71	Indian national Congress	General Secretary of All India Congress Committee
Subramanian Swamy	@swamy39	296386	104	BJP	Former Union Cabinet Minister and MP
Ajay Maken	@ajaymaken	276034	21	Indian National Congress	General Secretary AICC and in charge Communication Department.
Omer Abdulla	@abdullah_omar	365104	31	Jammu and Kashmir National conference	CM of J&K
Sushma Swaraj	@sushmaswarajbjp	725735	36	BJP	Opposition leader Lok Sabha
Shashi Tharoor	@shashitharoor	1936300	217	Indian National congress	Minister of state for Human Resource Development ,India, MP for Thiruvananthapuram
Milind Deora	@milinddeora	115000	50	INC	Minister, Communications, IT and Shipping, Govt of India; Musical Anthropologist; Fiercely Independent; RTs aren't endorsements

*Number of followers as on 14/10/2013 at 4.30 pm

Table 1: Presence of 10 most followed political elites in the micro-blogging site.

After the collection of the data with the subjective interpretation and theoretical framework discussed in other sections, the data is coded in four categories considering the knowledge and power in the cyber lifeworld. Four major codes are dystopia, utopia, knowledge and self-projection.

ANALYSIS

Basis number of followers Narendra Modi> Shashi Tharoor> Sushma Swaraj> Arvind Kejriwal> Omar Abdulla> Subramanian Swamy> Ajay Maken > Digvijay Singh> Naveen Jindal

Numbers of followers in twitter refers to people who have agreed to receive your Tweets through Twitter. If you add someone else to the list of people you read, you “follow” them. Popularity on Twitter is often measured by the number of followers a person has. Thus we see that Narendra Modi, who is

from the opposition party, has got the highest number of followers [18]. He is followed by Shashi Tharoor, who is from the ruling party. However, what is interesting to note is that members who have stand last in the row are the ones from the ruling party. Arvind Kejriwal, who is considerably, new to the arena of politics have been on the higher side of the followers' graph. Thus we see a falling trend towards the ruling party [19].

Total no. of Tweets in the given period

Shashi Tharoor> Narendra Modi> Subramanian Swamy > Naveen Jindal> Digvijay Singh> Sushma Swaraj> Omar Abdulla> Ajay Maken> Arvind Kejriwal

The most active person on twitter, it seems is Shashi Tharoor, followed by, Narendra Modi and then Subramanian Swamy. Arvind Kejriwal is being followed by over 6 Lac people, but, he has tweeted only 5 times in last 1 month. Naveen Jindal and Subramanian Swamy have also been considerably active but their number of followers certainly doesn't convey that the more the person is active on twitter, the more will be his followers. Here we can say there needs more than mere tweets to be the Prime Minister of India [20].

Going by the ascending order, we see, Arvind Kejriwal has tweeted 4 times on other issues and one time pertaining to his projection on image. Going by the same trend the highest number of tweets by Shashi Tharoor comprise of 98 other issue tweets followed by tweets pertaining to knowledge etc and self-projection tweets are low in numbers. The numbers in the table clearly show that maximum tweets have been written covering Dystopia, utopia and others. Very few tweets pertain to self-projection of the politician which indicates the tendency of drifting away from writing about them. And it also conveys that politicians are smart enough to portray themselves as a leader with food for thoughts and concern rather than a blabbering individual bluffing about their own selves. However, one leader who has given equal importance to all kind of issues without overshadowing his own projection is Narendra Modi [21] (Table 2).

Issues	Narendra Modi	Sushama Swaraj	Shashi Tharoor	Navin Jindal	Digvijaya Singh	Subramanian Swamy	Ajaya Maken	Omar Abdulla	Milind Deora	Arvind Kejariwal
Dystopia	12	10	8	0	34	22	9	3	1	0
Utopia	21	9	23	16	9	24	6	3	19	0
Knowledge	18	6	81	22	6	30	3	1	16	0
projection	20	6	7	9	6	7	2	10	0	1
Others	42	5	98	28	16	21	4	14	14	4
Total	113	36	217	75	71	104	21	31	50	05

Dystopia (Political/Social/Cultural/Economic etc.)

Utopia (Power/Self work)

Construction of Image

Knowledge partner

Others/ambiguous/Personal

Table 2: Life world of political elites through the micro-blogging site.

Topic Wise Analysis

Going by the topics on which tweets have been made, it is seen that Narendra Modi's maximum tweets pertain to his own self work/ power. For example, he has written about inauguration of water pipeline and its benefits to society; Creation of new districts to develop poor and marginalized; Announcement formation of 23 new Talukas in Gujarat; Stressed on the importance of Gram Sabhas and use of technology for overall development of our villages etc. As far as self-image projection is concerned, his tweets are like Attended Kisan Panchayat, a large gathering of thousands of farmers from various states, during Vibrant Gujarat Global Agriculture Summit; Great to be in Jaipur. Join Suraj Sankalp Rally LIVE; Joined Suraj Sankalp Yatra earlier today; A big thank you to the people of Rajasthan for their warm welcome; It was great listening to Rajnath Ji and Vasundhara Ji in Jaipur @ BJP Rajnath Singh @ Vasundhara BJP; Great month long campaign by EC for voter registration across states. Urge you all, especially youth to make use of it; and etc. Thus analysis deeper into the topic we see that not only Mr. Modi has written about his works and meetings and thoughtful tweets related to growth and development of the state but he has also connected to people and has motivated them by tweeting like Sharing glimpses of the public meeting in Rewari and some Tweets by enthusiastic netizens on what has been a great day. Apart from projecting his own image, Mr. Modi has also applauded his party coworkers in his tweets thereby showing their oneness in team [22].

On the contrary, Shashi Tharoor tried himself to keep at a bay when it comes to self-image creation. However, though a few, he has made quite explicit tweets about political blame gaming and his stand which has quite a critical tone like An Indore journalist asked me about NaMo's comment that he has no dream of becoming Prime Minister.

Me: I don't dream of him becoming PM either!; Seems rise of BJP MLA Mangal Lodha's political graph & his company's finances have been contemporaneous! Alumnus of Reddy Biz School, K'taka?; and a thousand Sanghis vilify me on social media. TV covered the entire event. Why doesn't anyone listen to my speech before reporting? Maximum tweets of Mr. Tharoor have enveloped topics related to Knowledge/youth/perspective sharing like Improving the quality of schoolteachers; Social media alone cannot win elections; The success of any such site depends on large numbers of people signing up to it. Success breeds success!, etc. Mr. Tharoor has also not shied away from tweeting about movies etc.

Thus, comparing the top two most active twitters, we see that Narendra Modi being in power has made total use of the platform to set an agenda of constructing his own image by commenting and publicizing issues related to positive development and growth. His tweets are majorly positive and carry a tone of determination and optimism whereas on the other hand Shashi Tharoor's tweets are a

critique to politics, media etc but when his tweets are thoughtful and have covered number of issues raising an attention towards them. He has also done some publicity around conferences and seminars he has attended [23].

The third highest twitter person Subramanian Swamy has maximum tweets criticizing opposition very vocally with opposition political comments like Monumental hypocrisy: The Hindu editorials attack the US but its editor of Indian origin but refuses to give up US citizenship; Vadra has taken the Residency Permit in Dubai. TDK family flight has begun as Modi juggernaut rolls on; I was Law Minister I had this power. It was taken away by SC in 1994 because next Minister Bhardwaj misused it. Even his political comments like I hope see fishermen of our country released soon after they are produced before a Magistrate and case compounded; One batch of fishermen released yesterday but not mechanised powered boats. These are owned by Elis, Porkis and DDs.; With me addressing a public meeting in Lal Chowk in Srinagar and Zubin's orchestra in Srinagar Park the process of owning Kashmir has begun; shows a pessimistic tone. His tweets on Knowledge have focused majorly on controversial topics and radical ones like my book Virat Hindu Identity -- Concept and Its Power has been printed and is now available for purchase; Islamic Banking is a failure in Dubai itself. It will India be conduit for religious conversion--no loan to Hindus on technicalities. So Sri Lankan army chief has invited me to speak at an international conference of army chiefs on how to effect peace in the region. Will do; TOI lied on Islamic Bank. It is a Venture Capital outfit which cannot accept deposits or give loans. So it is not a bank; and What India needs is a "Reclaim Hindustan" operation by Saam, Dhaam, Bheda and Dand.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Analyzing the above data, it shows that popularity on twitter has nothing to do with the kind or amount of tweets. Twitter does convey the agenda that a particular politician desires to set across, however, it also shows the kind of mindset a particular politician has. Though, the persons who are quite active in tweets have got good numbers of followers, nevertheless, we have also seen politicians which fairly good number of tweets having comparatively less number of followers. Thus, only number of tweets cannot ascertain the number of followers. There are various other factors which collect and motivate the general public to follow a politician. Though, Narendra Modi has been known for his aggressive campaigning and transforming the Country towards a positive side of political, economic and social spheres, Shashi Tharoor on the other hand speaks intellectually on various issues and has established himself as a thoughtful politician with an intellectual bent of mind. Subramanian Swamy on the other hand despite tweeting in large number could not gather many followers. Similar is the case with Naveen Jindal and Digvijay Singh. Thus, twitter does play a role however; it's the amalgamation of the medium /platforms including individuals' perception and word-of-mouth that plays a larger role.

To conclude this paper founds that, Indian political elites has used cyberspace to set the agenda through the social engagement which clearly defined in terms of how they present themselves to others. The study clearly sees that, four types of political elites and their creation of life world through the tweet analysis.

- Knowledge Partner: You see your reflection in me (“I am more a knowledge partner than a power centre- Knowledge focused”)
- Utopian Politician: Still believe in the power centric approach of politics and carry to the new media lifeworld (“my world represent utopian and other dystopian”).
- Between the knowledge and power: I can bring the balance (“I represent your utopian world and they represents the world of dystopia and can also being your knowledge partner”).
- “I am here because I need to be, I can’t ignore you” .

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Fast Food, Families and Advertising as A Cultural Site

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ABSTRACT

Fast food advertising seeks to persuade fractured families that the atmosphere of home consumption of food can be fused into fast food outlets as part of popular culture. Fast food is niche-marketed as a desirable community ritual with slogans, songs, toys, and architectural décor. This synthesis of studies traces the ties of food, family and home to socialization, gender roles, power, identity, convenience, time, work, civility, nutrition, changes in food production and service, parenting, and the popularity of the car.

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Keywords: *Fast food; Families; Advertising; Culture*

INTRODUCTION

In order to retain and build consumer audiences of children and families, advertisers of fast food have tried to fuse the fractured family to convince them that the decline and changes in the home consumption of food can be re-created, re-captured, re-claimed and re-produced through commodity, community and popular culture.

In the U.S., “few popular culture topics occupy a larger place in the American psyche than food” [1]. Places, palates and Presidents are popularly connected, whether in Kellogg’s “Family of Cereals” in Battle Creek, or on the tables of the First Families in the White House. There is Hershey chocolate; Atlanta coke; Golden Coors; the New York bagel; Texas toast; the Denver sandwich; and Milwaukee beer; and in the White House, “the President’s bully pulpit and the example of the first family’s own dinner table” may “promote a new culture of food.” in the multi-cultural cuisine era of President Obama [2]. In the culinary past of the presidency, there was the cherry picker (Washington); Easter eggs (Madison); alcohol (Jackson and Grant); fat (Cleveland and Taft); thin (Wilson); hot dogs served to royalty (Franklin Roosevelt); barbecue (Lyndon Johnson); meatloaf (Nixon); jelly beans (Reagan); Clinton at McDonalds; plus the first Bush who bashed broccoli and the second Bush who nearly choked on pretzels long after Garfield sipped squirrel soup [3]. Peanut farmer Carter asked for corn bread at Wendy’s in Saginaw and ex-President Reagan got \$66,000 to speak at Hardee’s hamburger convention, after the Cold War’s end when “the line outside McDonald’s in Red Square stretched longer than the line of those waiting to see Lenin’s Tomb”[4].

The popular consumption and promotion of such fast (“junk”) food like candy, cereal, and soda has been blamed by the Kaiser Family Foundation research for the increase of obese children who view 40,000 television ads a year which affect their food choices [5]. Websites now target kids by requiring proof of food purchases to play interactive “advergames” for rewards which make them “agents of the advertiser” [6]. Food ads have been found to affect taste preferences of children as young as two when marketers get them to recognize their brands and logos and link them to unhealthful diets [7]. Targeted advertising has also created children as meat-eaters [8]. Fast food is “not merely a business, but a clue and key to culture” and part of our language, landscape and our ritual therapy of psychological and spiritual fulfillment [9]. McDonald’s “inroads into the American lifestyle and diet” represent “the leading edge of the fast food industry’s impact on American cultural geography” [10]. Linguistically, it has become a metaphorical prefix (“Mc”) and symbolic suffix (“ization”) for the changing nature of contemporary social life with its rational standardization, predictable efficiency, working conditions replacing people with machines, and its control of leisure and recreation [11]

Food and culture have long been interwoven [12] with literature [13]; “nutritional language” [14]; history, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, geography, religion, architecture, organizations, recreation and health [15]. In the sociology of food, “eating habits are viewed as a matter of culture, a product of codes of conduct and what is eaten, how it is cooked and served, the range of choice, who does the preparation, are all a matter of material and social relationships” [16].

Family, Food and Home have Historic Ties

“Foods chosen, methods of eating, preparation, number of meals per day, time of eating and the size of portions eaten make up human foodways”, and the home and family have historically provided that social setting. Food has been a vehicle for expressing friendship, for smoothing social intercourse, and a universal medium for expressing sociability and hospitality [17].

According to Leon Kass at the University of Chicago, the “emotional link between eating and being” was established at the dining table which has been a classroom and microcosm of society where “One learns self-restraint, sharing, consideration, taking turns, and the art of conversation” [18]. Food connects us to the outside world and helps us understand it. “Our language is rife with food metaphors: life is ‘sweet’, disappointments are ‘bitter’, a lover is ‘sugar’ or ‘honey’. Truth can be easy to ‘digest’ or ‘hard to swallow’. Ambition is a ‘hunger’. We are ‘gnawed’ by guilt and we ‘chew’ over ideas. Pleasures are ‘appetites’ and extras are ‘gravy’ [18]. Indeed, language itself may have originated when mouths opened for food in a shared act of the primitive family.

Meals at the dinner table strengthen and maintain family solidarity and socialization [19]; and aid in the re-constitution of marriages after divorce [20]. We not only are where we eat, but “We are also what (emphasis added) we eat in communication terms, our expectations of food, exercise, table manners, arguments, and picking up our socks determine family behavior or personal character” [21].

Families eating together at home promote unity, affection, selfexpression, discipline, emotional health, and nutritional eating habits. It cultivates friendship, warmth and security of companions -- the French and Latin word meaning “one who eats bread with another”. Meals at home nurture the psychological security of a child and “heighten the children’s cognitive or knowledge-acquiring abilities along with their linguistic competence in later years” [22]. Parents talking to children at mealtime can improve their vocabulary [23].

At home, “a commitment to sharing the preparation and consumption of food can also be important to the production and maintenance of households”. It is a place for drawing boundaries and identities for age, gender, home design and layout; a place to socialize and civilize children; to exchange intimate conversations and confidences, to mark seasons, festivals, childhood memories and the rites of passage [15]. It is a forum for building ties [24] in an atmosphere of “hearth, home, coziness, warmth, nourishment, security and contentment” [25].

In many ways, “the circumstances under which food is eaten are as important to good health as the food itself ” [22]. The “psychological and social factors play a larger role than had been thought in determining a person’s choice of food” [26]; and “it appears that it is the arrangements surrounding the preparation and consumption of meals, rather than the food itself, which merits attention” [20].

Changes in Families Challenge Food Advertisers Massive social, economic and technological forces are changing families. There have also been changes in food production, processing, storage, distribution, packaging and marketing. More liberated women work outside the home, where they used to prepare most meals. Males have less power and presence in the home and often work two jobs at odd shifts. Long commutes mean little time to prepare meals for unsupervised children whose conflicting schedules discourage a common time and place to eat. One in three kids cooks their own meals. Fast food is also popular with single and older adults who also tend to eat sporadic and unscheduled meals alone [27].

Other patterns changing family meals are frozen food, microwaves, and TV dinners, which reduce family interaction, while they watch TV commercials that advertise fast food. Other factors include

dispersed sites of home and work; and cars to get there and in which to drive to find and eat fast food. Since World War II, food abundance and convenience meant attitudes could be shaped by those selling the food and “less and less are we expected to wait for dinner, or avoid spoiling our appetites. Instead, we eat when and where we want, alone, with strangers, on the street, on a plane. Our increasing reliance on prepared foods coincides with a diminished inclination or capacity to cook, which in turn, only further separates us--physically and emotionally-- from what we eat and where it comes from. Convenience completes the decades-long depersonalization of food” [18].

Despite this individual “grazing” and the decline of the family meal, “Americans idealize mothers who feed, so much so that even though television writers have made it into the ‘90s by getting their female characters out of the house and into the work force, they have remained in the 50s and 60s by continuing to have them call their loved ones to the table at mealtime” [22]. The Brady Bunch and Waltons at mealtime were popular. The ranking of the 10 most memorable TV moms included June Cleaver in “Leave it to Beaver” and Roseanne Conner in “Roseanne”, who put meals on the table (in nostalgia and/or parody) at breakfast and dinner. New realities in home and family have not stopped advertising, marketing and mass media from manipulating nostalgic and romantic images of the family to create a desire for corporate commodities sold and bought for their image and convenience, but not necessarily for their nutritional value. Fast food outlets cash in on the angst over the decline of the family by connecting private emotions with products representing idealized family relations. McDonald’s, for example, represents itself as a “haven in a heartless world” [28]. It seized on anxieties stimulated by separation and isolation to neutralize and conquer through consumption the commodity of fast food in a “community of friendship and kinship”. “At the same time that companies reaffirm the importance of the private world, they undermine it through commercialization” [29]. As food preparation has moved out of the home into the factory, fast food has been “designed to lure families out of the home” [30]. Amidst the “pressures of commodified life”, family members are “the targets of a variety of marketing strategies geared toward increasing consumption” [30].

As the market moves into the family, the family moves into the market. In the fast food industry, “the market has entered the private realm of the family household and transferred the work done there into opportunities”. Advertising lures housewives from cooking at home to “free them from the stultifying atmosphere of the kitchen and the nursery” and has turned noisy teens into patrons [30]. They can eat fast, with no need to dress up, plan or have manners; and they can enjoy playgrounds, pens and clowns which distract them from parents. “The prime target for fast food restaurants is the family unit” [17]. Fast food extends the commercial culture into a previously private and family area via popular culture that reflects and reinforces cultural themes [31].

Advertisements utilize “powerful symbolic meanings of foods, so that what is being sold is not just a product, but a lifestyle, a dream, a source of emotional fulfillment” [17]. C.W. Post, founder of General Foods, said “You don’t just manufacture cereal. You’ve got to get it halfway down the customer’s throat through advertising.” This means selling the family’s cultural eating “experience” more than selling food or nutrition. In this McLuhanesque process, the marketing medium is the message whereby it’s faster to create the food than to create the TV commercials [32].

Techniques to Fast-Fix the Family “Experience”

Psychology and nutrition are related. Digestion begins in the mind before food is eaten. The appetite is in the eye which sees food, room furnishings, tableware and rituals of service [33]. Appealing pictures of food have been called “pornographic” by Chris Wolf of Noble and Associates. Food is a commodity with emotional and cultural values. “When food is consumed symbolically, its taste is of relatively little importance. It is the image around the food product that is most important” [34]. The “design of foods and beverages has to be driven by information on the psychology of eating and drinking” if the food business is to attract consumers [35].

“To win in the restaurant chain game, you have to provide more than just adequate food and service, marketing is a lot more than sales or advertising. There must be a reason, besides price and convenience, for consumers.” [36]. That reason is the family “experience” and “atmosphere” [37], which was the key to the early popular “packaging” of food products in “roadside” restaurants, cafes, diners, stands, drive-ins and walk-ups which were familiar, easy, informal “places of comfort” which were “away from home” [38]. Even in the home today, food, family and communication are linked by ads. For example, a conservative father and liberal daughter are brought together with “family values” by eating Honey Nut Chex. “What next? Conversation?”, asks the commercial touting “Generation Chex”.

The popular success of fast food is due in part to its promise of “a short-cut to everlasting familial commitment”. Commercial cooking becomes an expert, technical, speedy, rational performance and “less an emotional expression of familial care and concern” with caring, loving “home cooking” [39].

Food advertisements re-create an image of this past with affectionate mothers preparing food for their children being trained for civility and good health around the family dinner table. Ads create emotional pleasures not necessarily related to food texture or nutrition, and indulgent hedonism which do not encourage asceticism [34]. Nostalgic family images are strongly upfront in TV commercials: Plain and folksy “Cliff” is everybody’s uncle in IHOP; So was Dave Thomas in Wendy’s (named for his daughter), and the finicky grandmother who asked “Where’s the beef?” The late Colonel Sanders remains a universal grandfather for Kentucky Fried Chicken, which reverted to his sales pitch “We do chicken right” after an unappealing and shortlived campaign for its chicken sandwiches showed chickens driving a bus [40].

Popeye's and Church's built their popularity with dinner sales. Whataburger uses an old black and white 1950s photo to boast that its food tastes like it was "cooked at home by real folks". Denny's updates its image with a 1950s retro-style neon, jukebox motif with employees wearing bowling shirts to appeal to a nostalgic-minded younger set of consumers. Faced with black families charging racial discrimination, Denny's in Watts served soul food (oxtails, chitterlings, collard greens and sweet potato pie) [41]. Its corporation president, John Romandetti, said "I don't want to change the image of a family-style restaurant because that really is our heritage" [42]. Such "Dining out has the capacity to transform emotions into commodities which are made available to the individual as if they were consumer items. A sense of family unity is sold with the McDonald's hamburger" [43].

McDonald's does it all for Consumers

Probably no fast food franchise has marketed advertising of family and home as popular culture as effectively as McDonald's with its individualistic service slogans: "You Deserve a Break Today" and "We Do It All for You". Its "marketing to the mind" was "as high as it could go on the motivational hierarchy" as it "revolutionized the fast food business--at the motivational level--by shifting the reason for dining out from physical survival to spiritual survival: kids, family fun, family values, love, compassion, concern. It is what good parents do with their children, it is the 'right thing' to do" [44].

McDonald's is marketed as a "romantic, ardent, loving, passionate, and amorous experience. It is a place where love can be re-experienced, or reborn, and where experiences can be renewed. It is marketed directly to children, who in turn market to their parents. When parents are marketed by their own children, this phenomenon arouses and creates mild to moderate parental guilt and the parents almost always acquiesce" [44].

Children may have learned food behavior at home, but "as children grow up and spend more time away from home, direct parental influence declines. Increasing knowledge and awareness of the many roles of food, acquired through contact with mass media, peer group members and a wider variety of social encounters become influential" [45]. TV's fast food commercials "encourage children to resist parental definitions of 'good food'" and to re-define the family diet with fashionable foods [15]. Where once it was the comic "Popeye" gaining strength eating un-tasty, unpopular spinach, now it is the child at the kitchen table reluctant to take his parents' advice to drink his orange juice until a movie actor enters the kitchen and urges he drink it, and the child believes him instead of his parents and proceeds to drink it.

Dining away from home is promoted in TV fast food commercials which reach children who are heavy watchers of TV commercials, and who don't read newspapers [46]. In addition, researchers have found

that almost 75 percent of the food eaten on prime time TV shows is junk food eaten between meals, and rarely do people on TV sit down and eat as a family [47]. Some food producers pressure schools to advertise and consume their coin-machine products [15].

Research indicates parents yield to children on food choices. There is “a strong positive relationship between yielding behavior and the mother’s attitude toward advertised products” and a “powerful influence in the purchase “by mothers of dry cereals, especially in lower income families with more TV viewing by children [48]. Mothers and children in low income families also tend to be more positive (and less critical of TV advertising [49]. “After all, the target for fast food and family restaurant marketers are those consumers--largely families from the lower--and middle-income ranks with children.” [50]. Hardee’s built a strong brand loyalty around these “rural and blue-collar markets” [51]. Others have calculated and competed for family niches with targeted ads, especially children. Fast food success belongs to those who are able to change and adapt [52].

Media Try to Re-connect the Family to Eating

Advertising dollars are the route to sales success in the competitive \$100 billion fast food “burger wars”, where the leading chains already spend millions: McDonald’s \$578 million and Burger King \$423 million in 1997; and Wendy’s \$250 million in 1999 [40]. Ads have been sensitive to schedules and routines of the younger consumers, their eating behaviors, and their desire to be freed from adult tastes and manners.

Wendy’s, with its late popular founder Dave Thomas who “really personifies the Wendy’ experience”, “beefed up” its ad budget early in 1998 “because consumers tend to stay home after eating and spending too much time there [40]. The fastest growing franchise, Subway sandwiches, competes with McDonald’s “Big Mac” and Burger King’s “Whopper” with its “Smile and Bite” in which “a slightly rotund junior executive races out of an office building and sprints across town, passing marathon runners all the way, in order to burn up the fat calories he’s about to consume with his burger” [53].

Pizza Hut made its “greatest new product introduction in the company’s history” and increased its sales 25% with its cheese-stuffed crust ads targeted toward 18-49-year old males watching the Final Four NCAA Basketball on CBS and the Stanley Cup hockey finals on Fox [54]. Carl’s Jr. used a TV commercial showing uncivil food scenes of the Three Stooges and a campaign slogan “If it doesn’t get all over the place, it doesn’t belong in your face” [55].

The first national exposure for Atlanta-based Chick-Fil-A, (a halfmillion dollar deal with its first cable

contract with The Family Channel) was launched during “back to school and holidays” with product-tie-ins to the TV channel programs and store displays featuring the family channel logo [56]. Some years back, the Roy Rogers burger chain dropped its highly successful campaign to get kids to snack on its fast food in school cafeterias, after cafeteria workers complained the ads were unkind to them by showing them as “lunch ladies, who dished up dismal casseroles to the tune of ‘See You in September’” [57].

Teen sales were boosted at Taco Bell by the ads showing the feisty, Spanish-speaking chihuahua which “has become part of the popular culture vernacular” [40]. Eagerly competitive Taco Bell targeted the “Generation X” 18-24-year-olds with CD and tape music give-aways, its first Superbowl spot, and a movie-tie-in to Paramount’s “Congo”, which was “considered in Hollywood circles” to be “too violent to have inked Big Mac or Burger King for their typical all-family and kid-targeted promos” [58].

Re-creating the family experience dominated Burger King’s campaign to surpass McDonald’s sales. It showed how Burger King looks, cooks, and hooks children. Much of the kitchen is open for viewing so those waiting in line can see flames flickering in the broiler. There is a “virtual fun center” with the usual playground equipment but also electronic kiosks with interactive games and video-conferencing for kids to chat with other kids in another Burger King [59].

The corporation found that customers would eat there more often if they had a more pleasant environment, a stress-free experience, less crowds, tables not bolted to the floor, and easier to read menus [59]. The corporation had revised its menu boards to reflect different price groups and had tried to shift upscale with dinner baskets and table service [51]. It tried to balance youth individuality with family conformity through its slogans “Have it Your Way” and “Sometimes You Gotta Break the Rules”. But when teen heart throb Dan Cortese screamed to Gen-Xers “I love this place”, the ad “sent a mixed message by touting specials designed for families with young children” [60].

Burger King appealed to parents, kids, teens and young adults as a sponsor of the family movie “Anastasia” on the Fox Kid’s Network [61]. It also teamed up with Kraft Foods and the Nickelodean cable channel in a \$20 million project whereby the channel telecast “secret” on-screen images that could be decoded using Nickel-O-Scopes in Kraft kids-brand packages. Burger King offered action figures toys and puppets through its kids meals tied to network shows, including the promotion of the movie “Rugrats”. Burger King Vice-President of Marketing Services, Richard Taylor, saw the tie-in as “a great brand fit” saying ““Both of us want to speak to kids, not at them” [62]. Fast food customers were offered trinkets from “Star Wars”, Happy Meal toys, Teletubbies, Teenie Beanie Babies, teddy bears and plastic Furbies to reproduce the family atmosphere [59].

McDonald's: The Marketed Model for Family Food

With its 25,000 stores selling fast food in 115 countries after starting with one store in suburban Chicago in 1955, “No other retailer is so ubiquitous around the world” [59]. The culture and entertainment of family and children has been as crucial as the consumption of its food and nutrition. ““We’re not in the hamburger business; we’re in show business””, is an old Kroc homily [63]. “We are first of all, in the real estate business””, said McDonald’s President Harry Sonneborn [64].

Founder Ray Kroc preached ““the gospel of quality, service, cleanliness and value”” and said in his autobiography.

Grinding it Out, The Making of McDonald's

“I speak of faith in McDonald’s as if it were a religion. I believe in God, family and McDonald’s--and in the office, that order is reversed.” [65]. Fast food restaurants are a kind of church, whose decor, menu, and conversation between counter-clerk and customer are so unvaried and dependable as to have become a kind of comforting ritual, according to anthropologist Conrad Kottak [18].

Taking kids off the streets and giving them jobs with low skills and low pay was an early McDonald’s aim. After car hops faded at its suburban sex-playground hangouts, the corporation switched to an emphasis on families and “targeted the suburbs for development because of McDonald’s orientation to the family market” [63]. When the corporation first sought a national mass marketed “media magic” image in the late 1960s, it “treated eating out as a family event”. For young adults, it was “a fun place for families to go” to “escape to an island of enjoyment”--Moms escaping meals, Dads escaping work hassles, kids escaping the disciplined home dinner table. The deserved “break” to “get up and get away” for food, folks and fun became the best known commercial song on TV along with the popular tongue twister on the ingredients of the “Big Mac” [63].

The consumer bought the “secular communion” and internal decor under the new “family-oriented mansard roof” and “the icons that one sees in the television advertisements and in cartoon books.” [66]. Eating at McDonald’s became “a substitute for home and love” with “No broccoli, no tablecloths, and no forks. Sheer bliss. It’s easier to sell fun than it is to sell nutrition”, and “nutrition had little or nothing to do with” fast food marketing [67,68]. As for charges its food was plastic and processed, the corporation responded saying its food was prepared with the same loving care of trusted mothers or for children at home with families [34].

Reaching kids through Teenie Beanie Babies commercials was hugely successful in McDonald’s

contract with the NBA because more youth played basketball than football. A contract with the NFL was not renewed for 100 million toys for a Happy Meal promotion which “sparked an unexpected frenzy among customers” who gobbled up the toys in two weeks, but threw away the meals! In 1998, McDonald’s introduced a new McHappy Meal Girl doll. When a drink was held up to her mouth, she emitted a drinking sound; when a hamburger was held up to her mouth, she took a bite [40]. Eating habits and manners have moved from home to the fast food restaurant.

Appeals to children were made in TV spots showing a teen-ager using a French fry as a baton to conduct a school of fish like an orchestra; and another showed parents coaxing their twins into a swimming pool by promising them a trip to McDonald’s [40]. In another pre-teen demographic parental persuasion, the tables were turned at a family gathering with kids sitting at the adult table and grown-ups squeezed around a rickety card table [40]. An adult Mc Burger-sandwich got negative reaction from kids after adults told the company “they want more reasons to come to McDonald’s to satisfy their more mature taste requirements” [69]. McDonald’s in 1989 even appealed to working adult customers by providing fax machines, table phone jacks, copies of the Wall Street Journal, and sock hops, antique car shows, and volleyball for nearby apartment dwellers [70].

Media are the Messengers of Meals

In 1994, McDonald’s own communications network (MCN) was linked to video satellite technology and staged its first music promotion selling more than seven million compact discs and cassettes of popular music at discount prices to customers who buy certain items from its menu [71]. It had also experimented with its own low power FM McRadio in Sandwich, Illinois, whereby patrons with car radios could hear commercials and then get Drive-Thru Radio service, earlier called “radio on a stick” [59]. By 1998, ads were being adjusted to daytime car driving [72] and later outdoor billboard ads were used.

In 1996, McDonald’s added cable TV to target niche markets to retain the firm’s family audience “on their own terms at their own time”. They sponsored cable shows, developed programs and conducted contests. Cable sales staffs worked with programmers to accommodate sponsors.

Cable outlets gave McDonald’s a chance to become part of the fabric of that channel, according to Ken Dice, vice-president and media director for Leo Burnett. McDonald’s not only reached customers, “They reach audiences and make them think that McDonald’s is part of what they do, an ongoing presence on that network”. In trying to become a part of the brand name of cable networks, “We take ourselves from just being an advertiser to weaving ourselves into what the cable channel is about”, Dice explained [73].

Use of the movies as a market medium has had a strong family emphasis. McDonald's promoted movies on videotape for "Jurassic Park" and "The Flintstones". Kroc himself appeared briefly in "A Touch of Class". The children's charity clown, Ronald McDonald, appeared in 1988 in his first movie, "Mac and Me", financed by an anonymous investor, although the production crews were served free cokes and only Coca Cola is served at McDonald's [74].

McDonald's connected its name with family values via its joint sponsorship of "Beethoven's 2nd" about a lovable Saint Bernard. They served meals on Beethoven tray liners and featured the movie on the cover of its 4.5 million circulation kid's magazine [75]. McDonald's promoted its "Super Hero Burger" when it became a licensing partner with Warner Brothers in its release of "Batman Forever" in 1995. (Burger King did so similarly with "Lion King").

Batman's "promotional link with Big Mac gives a (film) property instant credibility, opening doors to other partners and dollars" and goes beyond the burger on the menu and the popular movie costumes and celebrities' store visits. The vice-president of McDonald's Promotion, Sports and Presence Marketing, Dean Barrett, described the strategy: "Being the granddaddy of promotions allows McDonald's to combine new products as in its recent tie with a clutch of NBA stars and Warner Brothers' Looney Tunes characters. At the last minute, McDonald's slipped Michael Jordan into its menu mix, hailing the basketball star's return to the game by re-branding its specialty Big Mac sandwich as the 'Michael Jordan McBacon Deluxe'". Barrett sees promotional effort as a way to keep McDonald's as a fun place for families. People come to expect that a visit to McDonald's will always be entertaining and comprised of, not only great food at a great value, but a fun experience. "Our brand is fun" [76]. A supportive view is that Junk food is "fun", "honest" and the "last frontier", but the "nutrition police and food fascists want us to feel ashamed if we like it" [77].

Film, food, family and fantasy are culturally interwoven in the "empires of popular culture" of McDonald's and Disney, although the two parted business since that insightful comparison was made [78] of how both appeal to wholesome family entertainment and to the child's taste and mentality with mascots like Mickey Mouse and Ronald McDonald. Both provided a "promise of instant gratification in the almost instantaneous delivery of fantasy and food" and "adults are led or badgered by their children to pay visits to Disneyland or to eat at McDonald's" [78].

"While Disney made apt use of his film and television production to plug the parks, McDonald's began as a place network and afterwards launched a hefty television advertising program which produced the fantasy character of the clown and the humanoid food items to reinforce McDonald's consciousness

[78]. Both provided a sanctuary from the “distresses and pressures of the nuclear family” in a “clean and attractive haven for families as a barrier against the corruption of the outside world” with the “defensive quality of temples dedicated to preserving a sense of safety and certainty” [78].

Certainty, Civility, Community, Children and Crime

Safety and security are highly problematic in American public life, especially in dense and fixed congregations like fast food eating sites, where crime has increased and endangered lives of young workers as well as customers [79]. These range from the deaths of pizza deliverers in traffic [80] and ambush murders in home delivery, to the murder of four girls in Austin’s unsolved 1996 “I Can’t Believe It’s Yogurt” shop murders; the cafeteria murder scenes in Killeen, Texas and Littleton, Colorado; and the March 2000 shootings and prayer-march vigils at fast food outlets in suburban Pittsburgh. Perhaps the most dramatic and significant was the 1984 massacre of 21 people (mostly poor Mexican- American children) in a popular family setting at McDonald’s in San Ysidro, California.

McDonald’s later demolished its building and gave the land to the city which sold it to a community college which built on it, where a monument and memories of McDonald’s remain, while a new McDonald’s prospers at another site [81]. Meanwhile, the corporation has touted its food and care for families and children in hurricanes, floods, earthquakes, and the 1992 Los Angeles riots, where McDonald’s “safe and clean” image and sites were not harmed by arson, vandalism or looting [63]. Conscious of any connections to violence, it did cancel its ads sponsoring the violent TV series, “The Untouchables” [82].

The demise of civility, once learned at dining tables in the 19th Century, has been linked to public violence by brutes and barbarians who feed and eat, while only the cultured dine [25]. Neither grace nor the graceful prevail, as children in public are impolite, unsharing, self-centered; can’t wait for food (which they often play with or throw) while they talk or sing while eating; and fail to learn which manners or utensils to use [83].

It is argued that commercialized public “styles of interaction encouraged in the restaurant produce an uncivilized society”, which supports the ideas of Simmel, Goffman and Elias that the modern individual’s character is shaped by a long history of manners in which human consciousness can’t be separated from the public realm [43]. Particularly, “the exchange between customer and restaurant crew also illustrates the structural barriers to civilized sociability” as fast-food personnel are trained for specific conversational “formulaic exchanges” which prevent any recognition of the other as unique. Each diner is treated indiscriminately, despite the well-publicized promise that “We do it all for you” [43].

The commercial commodification of food has been blamed for the breakdown of family and community. “Advertising is strongly associated with overproduction” and media messages urge people to eat more than they need. “Companies fight it out to control our stomachs from morning to night” and mass production and mass consumption require large-scale advertising [84]. “Will the real imperialism of the future be not by the military but the media. Will the nation that feeds the people control the people?” [9]. The closeness of food production and consumption has been separated, and despite the corporate logos, colors and ads used, “few of these corporate hits began as businesses with close ties to the eating communities from whence hamburgers, fried chicken, or pizza came” [19].

The formation of these “consumption communities” by corporations validates Marx’s “commodity fetishism”, the separation of “cuisine and community” and the civic responsibilities of private corporations relative to democracy and a public culture [85]. Fast food enterprises have profited by re-creating images for family and social change, but public violence hints all is not so well as the fantasies suggest. Real problems may not be solved in “Lake Edna”, the imaginary, utopian town used in the Kentucky Fried Chicken commercial; or in McDonald’s “Hamburger University” or through “down-home” Hardee’s move to the big-city [86].

Like families, local and small towns have also been enveloped by the nationalized franchises, affecting their traffic, socialization, eating and nutritional habits [87]. That continues an early pattern of fast food sites chosen in areas “appropriate for a family-oriented dinner house operation” with maximum accessibility, parking, visibility, trade areas, acceptable zoning, and profits [88]. Whether there can be a commercially successful return to the diners’ laid back atmosphere and “down home features” amidst changes in taste and ads is yet to be seen. Some see the revived 1950s diners as “a focal point of the community” like the fictional and intimate get-away tavern in TV’s “Cheers”, “Where everybody knows your name” [89].

The Future of Fast-Food and Families: Past as Prologue

The young will likely be served first in the future---faster and freer, with flexible food folkways and family re-defined. More and faster food will be available and convenient in airports, sports stadia, hospitals, military bases, food courts, convenience stores and toy shops [40,90]. There will likely be more interactive, youth-friendly, computerized orders [91]; mobile canteens [92]; rolling restaurants [93]; eating in cars--while driving [94]; and self-service and home delivery, as “the dining experience moves full cycle; from home to restaurant and then back again to the home” [44].

Those alarmed by a decline in families eating together at home are reminded that the family dinner is a

source of tension and conflict and a threat to individuality [95]; and that “as meaningful as dinnertime can be, there’s a risk in mistaking correlation for causality” since families can also come together on trips, in front porch talks, at work, and at kids’ events [96]. Family meals were ideals and myths of the past, it is argued. Mealtime was divisive; women were servants and waitresses, rather than fellow diners, and the upper classes seldom ate as a family while the poor often had no tables [97].

As for the uncivil superficiality of eating out, it is argued that it is not a passive, predictable and homogeneous experience [98]. Different people seek different pleasures; responsible customers are genuinely engaged with others, and are not duped by surreptitious sales techniques [99]; and “grazing” can even be nutritious [100].

As newly-defined families emerge in a post-modern, non-sexist home with less patriarchal power over dinner-time discipline, critics of capitalist commodification hope for a more educated and emancipated consumer in new generations. Already, many youth join vegetarians and animal rights activists to protest and boycott fast food exploitation of the natural environment, pesticides, additives, preservatives and growth hormones. Anti-McDonald billboards advocate “The animals deserve a break today”: and urge “McDonald’s cruelty to go” [101].

Some are enthusiastic about food and farm collectives, resent institutional junk food franchises, and challenge impractical, authoritarian eating schedules, menus, etiquette and eating styles. Greater flexibility and individuality in tastes are gaining popularity in health-conscious circles where “heart-smart” foods and diets are cautious about salt, sugar, fat, cholesterol, allergies, food poisons, and how they affect the body, health and safety [102]. (Burger King recalled more than 25 million dangerous pokemon ball toys distributed with kids’ meals in late 1999.)

Greater democratic food choice may affect food standardization and popularize local flavors and tastes like ethnic foods. The international spread of American-style fast food has aroused site and service boycotts in Israel [59] and in Western Europe, where “Mad Cow” disease has lurked. If billions of burgers are not sold in Belgium and Beijing or in the Muslim world, both the commodity and community of fast food could face a skeptical re-examination and perhaps a second look at the communal production, preparation and sharing of food as a cultural and communication experience.

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Media and Political Propaganda; Radio Cairo in the Era of Sadat: Analytical Study

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study to examine the role of Radio Cairo as propaganda and political persuasion tools for Egypt's foreign policy in the era of President Sadat.

The study used content analysis as a research tool to examine how the Egyptian media used propaganda techniques in communicating messages to the Arab audiences in the Middle East in issue regarding Egypt's leadership in the peace process; the right of the Palestinian people for a national homeland; and Israel's right to exist. The Arabic materials and the scripts of Radio Cairo programming during three- weeks used for analysis.

Egyptian media concentrated mainly on six major techniques in communicating their messages to the arab people regarding the Camp David agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel, which included the following: Focusing Attention or Spotlighting; Testimonial, Division and Name calling; Self-Interest or Ad Hominem; Omission of Material; and Bandwagon.

The study concluded that, Radio Cairo had notable success in affecting the audiences and public opinion therein. The majority of Egyptian people greeted Sadat's decision to visit Israel and the Camp David Agreements with relief and approval. They hailed Sadat as the "Peace Hero" and the "Savior of the Masses". Radio Cairo also played a highly important role in bringing the people of the Middle East, including the Israel's, closer to peace by stimulating positive thinking. Finally, Radio Cairo helped to make Israel for the first time, acceptable to the Arabs, particularly the moderate Arab states and to the Egyptian people themselves.

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Keywords: Radio Cairo; Propaganda; President Sadat; Communication; People; The Camp David Summit Conference

INTRODUCTION

Radio is a medium of communication used to promote animosities and start wars among people; influencing and mobilizing the mass for revolution in the Middle East as in the era of President Nasser.

The same medium used to promote friendships, peace with Israel and treaties of good will in the area. Radio Cairo did the latter in the era of President Sadat, as attested to by Camp David Agreements, Radio Cairo helped to make Israel acceptable to the Arab's, particularly the moderate Arab states, and to the Egyptian people.

OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this study is to explain and examine the role of Radio Cairo in the peace process in the Middle East during President Sadat era.

STUDY QUESTIONS

The study will examine and explain the role of Radio Cairo in the peace treaties during President Sadat. The study will answer the following questions:

- What was the role of Radio Cairo as a vehicle of propaganda and political persuasion in the peace process in the Middle East in the era of President Sadat?
- What are the strategies, tactics, techniques and principles of propaganda were employed to justify the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel.

STUDY IMPORTANT

This study is an analytical study examines the role of Radio Cairo as a tool of political persuasion and propaganda in the Middle East in the era of President Sadat; it hoped that the study will provide adequate answers to the presiding questions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Egyptian Radio

Egyptian Radio also known as the Egyptian Radio's General Program transliterated as El-Bernameg Al-Aam, also popularly known as Radio Cairo is the pioneering Egyptian radio station that started broadcasting on 31 May 1934 in agreement with the Marconi Company.

In December 1947, the contract with Marconi was suspended in favor of an Egyptian national broadcasting station.

The station is known also for its call "This is Cairo. It is considered the First Program (in Arabic) of the (Egyptian Radio and Television Union).

The station had some of the best known Arab broadcasters of their time. Later on three main new radio channels were added, namely the pan-Arab the Voice of the Arabs in 1953, Egyptian Radio's Second Program in 1957 and the pan-Arab Middle East Radio in 1964. All four stations broadcast on high powered medium wave transmitters covering most of the Middle East and North and East Africa.

President Sadat

Muhammad Anwar el-Sadat was the third President of Egypt, serving from 15 October 1970 until his assassination by fundamentalist army officers on 6 October 1981. Sadat was a senior member of the Free Officers who overthrew King Farouk in the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, and a close confidant of President Jamal Abdel Nasser, under whom he served as Vice President twice and whom he succeeded as President in 1970.

In his eleven years as president, he changed Egypt's trajectory, departing from many of the political and economic tenets of Nasserism, re-instituting a multi-party system, and launching the Infitah economic policy. As President, he led Egypt in the Yom Kippur War of 1973 to regain Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, which Israel had occupied since the Six- Day War of 1967, making him a hero in Egypt and, for a time, the wider Arab World. Afterwards, he engaged in negotiations with Israel, culminating in the Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty; this won him and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin the Nobel Peace Prize, making Sadat the first Muslim Nobel laureate. Though reaction to the treaty - which resulted in the return of Sinai to Egypt—was generally favorable among Egyptians, it was rejected by the country's Muslim Brotherhood, which felt Sadat had abandoned efforts to ensure a Palestinian state. With the exception of Sudan, the Arab world and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) strongly opposed Sadat's efforts to make a separate peace with Israel without prior consultations with the Arab states. His refusal to reconcile with them over the Palestinian issue resulted in Egypt being suspended from the Arab League from 1979 to 1989. The peace treaty was also one of the primary factors that led to his assassination.

Propaganda

Propaganda is information that is not objective and is used primarily to influence an audience and further an agenda, often by presenting facts selectively to encourage a particular synthesis or perception, or using loaded language to produce an emotional rather than a rational response to the information that is presented [1]. Propaganda is often associated with material prepared by governments, but activist groups, companies and the media can also produce propaganda.

Propaganda is a modern Latin word, the gerundive form of *propagare*, meaning to spread or to propagate, thus propaganda means that which is to be propagated (Oxford dictionary). Originally this word derived from a new administrative body of the Catholic church (congregation) created in 1622, called the Congregation de Propaganda Fide (Congregation for Propagating the Faith), or informally simply Propaganda [2]. Its activity was aimed at “propagating” the Catholic faith in non-Catholic countries [2].

From the 1790s, the term began being used also to refer to propaganda in secular activities [2]. The term began taking a pejorative or negative connotation in the mid-19th century, when it was used in the political sphere [2].

In the twentieth century, the term propaganda has been associated with a manipulative approach, but propaganda historically was a neutral descriptive term [1,2]. A wide range of materials and media are used for conveying propaganda messages, which changed as new technologies were invented, including paintings, cartoons, posters, pamphlets, films, radio shows, TV shows, and websites.

The Camp David Summit Conference

At USA President Jimmy Carter's invitation, Israel's Prime Minister Begin and the Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat joined President Carter at Camp David in a last-chance effort to break the dangerous stalemate and deadlock in the Middle East.

The Camp David Conference started on the 5th of September and ended on the 17th, 1978. After thirteen days at Camp David, Egypt's President Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Begin signed two agreements [3]. The first agreement dealt with overall Mideast settlements – the West Bank and Gaza framework-; the second agreement was the Sinai Agreement and a plan for Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty [4].

The two agreements at Camp David represented an initial step toward a final peace settlement and involved only two parts in the Arab-Israeli conflict [5].

The Iraqi government circulated a memorandum calling for immediate joint Arab action against Sadat's "retreat is concession" in the Camp David "Framework for Peace" in the Middle East. Iraq viewed itself as an integral part of the eastern confrontation front with Israel. The Iraqi memorandum encouraged the Arab governments to take a serious and responsible position in order to prevent the implementation of the Camp David agreements, and invited them – with the exclusion of Egypt – to an Arab summit conference hosted by Iraq. The rich Arab countries were requested to establish a national fund for catering to Egypt's financial needs and to the needs of all the Arab confrontation countries and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), [6].

An Arab summit conference was held in Baghdad on November 2, 1978, and was attended by all invited Arab states. The declared objectives of the conference were to attempt to persuade and convince Sadat to re-join the Arab soldieries by forfeiting and surrendering his commitment to the Camp David

Agreements, which were viewed as the unconditional humiliating surrender of the Arab cause and the Palestinians' rights [7]. In response to Camp David Accords, the Arab countries, particularly the radical non-moderate Arab states and PLO, could not endorse the accords and remained adamant, firm and unyielding in their refusal. They were convinced that the Israeli government would continue to push and intensify its settlement policies in the occupied lands, with a view toward their ultimate and eventual incorporation into Israel.

From the Arab view, Camp David constituted an abandonment of a comprehensive settlement in favor of a separate Egyptian-Israeli peace. This view was widely held in most of the Arab countries [8]. They felt that Sadat had let them down by making a separate peace with Israel in exchange for the return of the Sinai Peninsula [9].

In summary, the Arab countries were convinced that the Camp David Accords represented only a separate peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, and that these agreements did not represent a just, durable, comprehensive peace settlement in the area [10].

During the Camp David Agreements, Egyptian broadcasters stood ready to propagate to the public their opinions concerning this matter. In the following section, the content of Radio Cairo's political broadcasts will be analyzed [11].

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

The study will use content analysis as a research tool to answer the study questions. The place of content analysis in communication research is indicated by the following paradigm for communication research: Who says what to whom with what effect [12].

The Arabic materials and the scripts of Radio Cairo programming during three- weeks used for analysis. The procedure for choosing the content of the programs includes the following:

Selecting the appropriate sampling of the daily and weekly political, news, talk shows and commentary programs purposively from the Program schedule of Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" programs.

Selecting the appropriate sample of the scripts of these programs randomly. The guiding principle in the sampling was to give every script of the sampling programs an equal chance of being drawn for the sample. The purposively selected programs were carried by the Egyptian political broadcasts between the first of August 1978 and the end of April 1979, the period which witnessed the Camp David Summit

and the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel, which were signed on March 26, 1979.

The daily programs selected were:” Comments in the News”/15 minutes, which was run daily at the peak time period/1:40 PM, and repeated at 8:10 PM. The second program was “The Talk of the Press”/15 minutes, which was run daily at 8:45 AM. The third program was “Dialogue with Listeners”/5 minute programs, which was run at 10:45 PM. The name of the weekly program was “Arabs and the World”/30 minutes, which run at 10:30 PM every Monday [13].

Selecting the unit of analysis: The theme was considered (subject matter, statement, issues, argument, comments or any other selfcontained expression).

Constructing categories: A category system was used to classify the content of the preceding programs in order to identify the pertinent symbols. Such categories covered the full range of the content of the purposively selected sampling news and political-commentary programs.

The purpose of analyzing some of the news, commentary and political programs on “Voice of the Arabs” is to show the following: The goals and objectives of the Egyptian news and political programs broadcast between the first of August 1978 and the end of April 1979.

To whom those broadcast directed?

What the major themes carried by the Egyptian political comments and news broadcast were?

What methods, strategies and techniques were employed by the Egyptian broadcasters to justify the Camp David Accords and the separate peace treaty with Israel, and to influence and affect public opinion, convincing and persuading the people in the Arab countries to support and champion the Egyptian imitative and Egypt’s leadership in the peace process in the Middle East, and to win the minds and emotions of the masses for peace in the area [14].

DATAANALYSIS

The content analysis of the Egyptian political, commentary, and news that the Egyptian broadcasters concentrated on three major issues or themes, in communicating their messages to the Arab populations regarding the Camp David agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel. These major themes could be divided as follows:

Egypt’s leadership in the peace process.

The right of the Palestinian people for a national homeland.

Israel's right to exist.

The study will examine how the Egyptian media used propaganda techniques to deal with these issues in communicating their messages to the Arab audiences in the Middle East [15].

Question 1: Egypt's leadership in the peace process

The content analysis of the Egyptian political programs showed that Egypt was usually accorded a position of leadership and centrality which enhanced her capabilities; thus, Egypt as self-appointed leader in the Arab world, came to play a special role in the Middle East [16].

Radio Cairo confirmed that without Egypt, the Arabs could achieve no progress, politically, economically, or militarily, and could do nothing in the field of social and cultural development. Radio Cairo highlighted Egypt's central and leading position in the Arab world, pointing out that there could be no war or peace without Egypt in the Middle East. Radio Cairo insisted that Egypt was, indeed, the center from which the other branches were formed; Egypt was a vital and sure base for the Arab nation. The Egyptian political broadcasters moved to criticize the radical Arab leaders by saying that, insisted of supporting Egypt efforts to restore the occupied Arab territories, radical Arab states were denouncing the Egyptian actions as treason [17].

Egypt publicly demanded Israel's withdrawal from "every inch" of the occupied territory and self-rule in domestic affairs in the West Bank and Gaza and sought Israeli withdrawal from east Jerusalem. At the same time, Egypt called for the establishing a Palestinian entity on both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This was a historical truth and could be realized by all Arabs [18].

The programs kept criticizing and condemning the attitudes of the radical Arab leaders. Those leaders, who claimed that they were for peace and against war, were with the Palestinian settlement just in order to recognize Israel.

Egypt's media questioned those Arab leaders: "What had Egypt done than work toward peace, if you knew its position and its demands in the current negotiations at Camp David"?

The Egyptian media emphasize to the Arab audience that the Palestinian problem was the essence, the heart, and the crux of the conflict in the Middle East and Egypt will try to break the statement in the Middle East negotiation (referring to the Egyptian objective of helping the Palestinians to put an end to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip), and "a bomb here or there will not going to liberate the land".

The political programs in Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" confirmed that the Palestinians had the right to participate in deciding their own future, and questioned "whether there other alternatives to the offered solutions". These alternatives will be discussed objectively.

The Egyptian rulers, in their endeavor to convince the other Arabs country of the necessity of establishing a comprehensive peace settlement for all parties in the area under Egypt's leadership, threw in all their efforts and talent. They indicated that the Camp David Agreement was a real step towards a comprehensive peace which recognized the rights of the Palestinian people. This was the main theme, and it was used on all possible occasions.

Egypt's radio broadcasters indicate that those who followed the Mideast peace talks at Camp David found Egypt's alone fighting in the battle for peace; meanwhile, Egypt's target was to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement in all parts of the Middle East area. The Egyptians ask why the rest of the Arab states did not expand any effort in this respect. The Egyptian media people emphasized that the agreements of Camp David were not a framework for peace solely between Israel and Egypt. This framework was a comprehensive settlement to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East according to the United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338.

The Egyptian confirmed that these resolutions had been accepted by the Arab states in the Rabat Conference of 1974. In other words, the agreement came as a fulfillment of what Arab leaders agreed to in the Arab summit conferences. It was not a partial or individual agreement. It was a framework for a comprehensive settlement to liberate the Golan Heights as well as the Sinai Peninsula and involved the liberation of the West Bank and Gaza strip.

During the negotiation in Camp David, Radio Cairo focused in Egypt's position as a representative of the Arab states; moreover, it geared toward the key issues of the settlement and maintained that these positions were identical with the Arab views and demands. Radio Cairo indicated that Egyptian positions in the current negotiations in Camp David were:

Total Israeli military withdrawal with Arabs sovereignty restored after five years;

A Palestinian entity linked to Jordan after that five-year period of transition to Palestinian control, unlimited right of return for Arab refugees;

Total Israeli withdrawal possibility for U.N peacekeeping forces, demilitarize zone;

All settlements on occupied land were illegal and obstacles to peace; and Israeli withdrawal from east Jerusalem with no division of the city.

The Egyptian media emphasized that in Egypt demanded a “total withdrawal” from the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the establishing of Palestinian entity. This phrase was repeatedly used by Cairo Radio which moved to give some details to highlight the Camp David Agreements, thus intensifying the image which made it stand out to the Arab masses in the Arab world.

The Egyptian media emphasized to the masses that these two agreements were the framework for the overall Mideast Settlement and a plan for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

The Egyptian media considered the Camp David Agreements a real step toward a comprehensive peace which would secure the rights of the Palestinian people. The Egyptian political media confirmed that autonomy “is the first step on the road to self-determination and statehood” for the Palestinian. These catch-phrases were the main theme in the Egyptian media and were repeatedly used by Cairo Radio’s “Voice of the Arabs”. These Concepts, the Egyptian media wished the audiences in the Middle East to retain were repeated to the point of saturation. Making a special effort to tune in predisposes the listener to pay more attention to it and to believe what they hear.

THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE FOR A NATIONAL HOMELAND

The content analysis of the Egyptian Media political programs shows that Egypt called audiences to recognize the core of the problem “a national home for the Palestinian people”. The Egyptian media intended to outline the issues dividing the Arabs and Israelis and to reiterate the Arabs’ views that total withdrawal from the occupied territory and the creation of a Palestinian homeland were prerequisites for Mideast peace. The Egyptian media reminded the audiences of Israel’s right for self-determination 30 years ago and urged the Israel’s to grant the same right to the Palestinians.

The Egyptian media emphasized that Egypt was insisting on “a total withdrawal from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, and the establishing of a Palestinian entity”. This phrase was repeatedly used by Radio Cairo. These words were key words which were used by Egyptian Media. Other phrases repeatedly used were: Egypt is insisting not to ignore ant rights of the Palestinian people.

Achievement of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people and their rights to self-determination.

The right of Palestinian to establish their own state.

Radio Cairo made it clear, that a solution to the Palestinian problem was the key to any Middle East peace settlement. The Egyptian broadcasters emphasized that “the Palestinian should participate in the

determinations of their own future'. On the grounds that there must be a resolution of the Palestinian problem and a homeland for the Palestinian as an integral part of the peace settlement envisaged, the words, "a homeland for the Palestinian people", were the key words in the Egyptian Campaign for peace in the Middle East. Radio Cairo made it clear, also, that without a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem, there could be no durable peace in the Middle East. Radio Cairo insisted on the recognition of the Arab Palestinian people as a national entity, with the right to self-determination in their part of the common homeland. This homeland could be independent or linked with Jordan. They would have the right to participate in deciding their own future. Radio Cairo contributed to Israel's recognition of the Palestinian people's right to participate in their own future and establishing a Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip linked to Jordan.

'The right of the Palestinian people in deciding their own future' was a phrase repeatedly used by Radio Cairo. The Egyptian political programs confirmed that the Camp Davis Agreement were a real step to a comprehensive peace which secured the rights of the Palestinian people and pointed out that autonomy "was the first step on the road to self-determination and statehood". As it stood, Radio Cairo had a difficult time trying to convince other Arab leaders that face-to-face negotiations did not sell out the Arab cause.

Israel's right to exist

Radio Cairo emphasized that Sadat's trip to Israel broke down the barriers of suspicion, fear, illusion, and misinterpretation that for so long had prevented the two neighbors from even discussing peace. In the strongest acknowledgement ever made by an Arab broadcast of Israel's right to exist, Radio Cairo welcomed the Israelis to live peacefully in this part of the world; "we welcome you in sincerity". The Egyptian broadcasts added that Egypt would accept all the international guarantees that Israel might demand. Radio Cairo moved to explain that the Arab states had rejected Israel in the past, refusing to meet its representatives, "but today, we agree to live with you". Israel had become a fait accompli recognized by the whole world. Radio Cairo insisted that Israel could have peace with justice and territory occupied during the Six-Day War that they recognized the "core of the problem, a national homeland for the Palestinian people'.

After the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty, the Egyptian political programs confirmed that what had passed was the end of suffering, and what is coming is a new life.

Radio Cairo added, in one totally unexpected step, that Israel and Egypt had broken their diplomatic statement, adding a hopeful, new dimension to the search for peace in the entire Middle East. Radio

Cairo made it clear that, after the establishing peace in the rejoin, nothing would be difficult, nothing would be impossible in relations between the Arabs and Israelis, on all levels and in all senses. But, as long as the war went on, as long as there were factors likely to lead to a new war, there was separation by blood, even though there may have been the best of intention and purest of thoughts.

After Sadat's visit to Israel on November 22, 1977, Radio Cairo sought to make Israel acceptable to the Arabs (Particularly the moderate Arab states and the Egyptian people) for the first time and contributed to the recognition of Israel's right to exist as a "fait accompli" in the area of the Middle East.

The strategically techniques Egyptian media used regarding Camp David

According to the particular situation, the message might be rational or emotional. Primarily, due to the high level of illiteracy in the Arab world, Egyptian media tended to follow the emotional approach. Nevertheless, whatever their content, propaganda messages were delivered through a variety of techniques.

In this case, the Egyptian media concentrated mainly on six major techniques in communicating their messages to the Arab people regarding the Camp David agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel, which included the following.

Focusing Attention or Spotlighting

As it is graphically named, expedites perception by intensifying the image to make it stand out.

The Egyptian media effectively employed this technique in focusing attentions on Egypt's positions towards the key issues and towards the Camp David Agreements.

Radio Cairo praised Sadat's courage and imagination and continued to refute the agreements of the rejectionists, whose arguments, it proclaimed, were contrary to the truth; Egypt had not turned its back on the Arab world. On the other hand, it remained the vanguard of the Arab world and would continue the struggle for the Palestinians' rights and for their right of self-determination.

Testimonial

In this technique, the propagandist used an esteemed persons or political entity; in other words, the target was asked to believe something simply because some "authority" said it. For this technique, the Egyptian media used religious sanctions to affect public opinion in the Arab world.

Egypt's radio media gave as evidence verses from the Holy Quran, particularly this verse "If they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in Allah, he is the hearer, the knower". Even the Mufti of Egypt and the Rector of Al-Azhar were brought to the radio to assure Muslims in the Arab world that Islam approved of such peace settlements with Israel.

Cairo Radio also excerpts' from the speeches of President Sadat to the People's Assembly, in which he strongly defended the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel.

Radio Cairo's reminded the audiences in the Arab world of Egypt's sacrifices and of how the Egyptian people sacrificed a lot and presented a lot for Palestinian.

DIVISION AND NAME CALLING

This strategy aimed at splitting the country under attack into various antagonistic elements. This form of propaganda was directed by Radio Cairo against every other radical Arab country. Radio Cairo used the terms, "reactionary" and "feudalist" to describe the anti-Egypt leaders of the Arab world. Radio Cairo attacked the Arab hard-liners and criticized their opposition. "Those who reject the peace reject the war too; they should know that the cost of peace is too high and should remember the cost of war". Those people were not interested in solving the problem of the Palestinian people.

At the same time, the "Voice of the Arabs" addressed the Arab leaders, starting that there was still a chance for all the Arabs to participate in the communing peace of the Mideast, implying that it would be a just, comprehensive and lasting peace. Radio Cairo urged the Palestinian to join in forthcoming talks on autonomous rule for the West Bank and Gaza, asking the Arabs to realize that demonstrations would not throw the occupation troops out of the land.

SELF-INTEREST OR AD HOC

This technique was so basic that some politicians stress it as the "primary" propaganda technique. The propagandist's theme is "See what we are doing for you". The Egyptian propagandists effectively employed this slogan, "We, the Egyptian people, realize that, we form an organic part of a greater Arab entity and are aware of our responsibilities and obligations towards the Arab Nation. Egypt is fighting alone in the battle for peace, while Egypt's target is to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement for all parts of the area, to liberate the Golan Heights as well as the Sinai Peninsulas, and the liberation of the West Bank as well as the Gaza Strip. Peace means stability and prosperity for the whole area. We should congratulate our self after thirty years of war and sufferance".

OMISSION OF MATERIAL

This is the other side of the “selection” coin. It is natural that human beings should want to hide their faults and weaknesses, particularly when they are anxious to make a good impression. Omission of material is a convenient way to forget everything unfavorable to the persuasion campaign.

BANDWAGON

Radio Cairo assured the audiences that the opposition was marginal and disorganized.

Most broadcasts, which addressed the audiences and carried messages supporting the Egyptian initiative or attacking rival Arab leaders or government, contained such phrases as “everyone knows...”, “you all believe...”, “all people share...”, and so forth. These phrases were usually made the focus of the message conveyed in order to add weight to its content.

“Everyone knows that Egypt is insisting not to ignore any rights of the Palestinian people; and everyone knows that without Egypt, the Arabs cannot achieve any progress in politically, economically and militarily issues, and can do nothing in the area of social and cultural development”.

Media addressed the Arab audiences with such phrases as “You all believe that Egypt is working for the interest of the Arabs, particularly audiences the Palestinian people”. They addressed the Arab audiences in the Middle East, asking God to bless the efforts of peace...peace which meant stability and prosperity, for the whole area instead of the destruction and blood. War caused only sorrow and destruction for all. In seeking peace, President Sadat was not leading, but following the Egyptian people. The Egyptian people came out very strongly in favor of the peace.

Cairo’s appeal, directed more and more to the Arab elite and to the moderates, was in danger of being swamped, as far as the audiences were concerned, by the more strident revolutionary voices of those who remembered the pre-war success of Nasser’s operation.

CONCLUSION

Persuasion is a powerful tool for the advancement of personal and national causes. The communicator as a persuader should enhance his credibility whenever possible. Modern propaganda is based largely on the effect of the spoken word. The power of speech is the most distinctly human faculty that man possesses and the spoken word is preferred to the printed, and should be used whenever possible. The powerful Egyptian radio service used by Nasser to promote reevaluation in other Middle East Arab countries where used by Sadat to inform Arab audiences of the relations behind Egypt’s various

agreements with Israel over the occupied territory during the 1967 War. They also attempted to justify and persuade the Arab audiences and the emotions of the masses for peace. In the era of President Sadat, Radio Cairo played a role dissimilar to that in the era of President Nasser.

Radio Cairo contributed significantly to the peace process, persuasion for peace in the region. It also conveyed to the Arab masses what is believed to be the persuasive rationales regarding Camp David and the peace process in the Middle East. In the era of President Sadat, Egyptian radio tended to reflect the changing international political orientations of the country more than any other Egyptian mass medium.

Egyptian Radio was used as a vehicle of propaganda for peace by Sadat's government. During that time, Radio Cairo and the "Voice of the Arabs" played their most difficult roles, for the first time, the "Voice of the Arabs" encountered a new communication challenge; it was "swimming against the current".

In the late 1970, the situation reversed and Radio Cairo was impelled to formulate a different strategy, part of this strategy was to clarify Egypt's policies, focusing on Egypt's national role in the peace process, and in the struggle for just, durable and comprehensive peace.

The other part of the strategy was to maintain the organic relationship between Egypt and the Arab masses to keep their trust in Egypt and peaceful political line regardless of the stands and positions that were taken by the Arab regimes against Egypt.

In Egypt itself, Cairo Radio had notable success in affecting the audiences and public opinion therein. The majority of Egyptian people greeted Sadat's decision to visit Israel and the Camp David Agreements with relief and approval. They hailed Sadat as the "Peace Hero" and the "Savior of the Masses".

Cairo Radio played a highly important role in bringing the people of the Middle East, including the Israel's, closer to peace by stimulating positive thinking.

Finally, Radio Cairo helped to make Israel for the first time, acceptable to the Arabs, particularly the moderate Arab states and to the Egyptian people themselves.

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Who is Telling the Truth about the Egyptian Uprising 2011? Al-Jazeera versus the Egyptian Television

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines Al-Jazeera television channel's coverage of the Egyptian popular uprising and investigates the alleged bias in reporting that led the Egyptian authorities to close down al-Jazeera's office in Cairo. The paper uses framing and qualitative content analysis to explore Al-Jazeera's headlines as well as sources of information and news, particularly the interviewees on Friday, Jan. 25, 2011 (Friday of Anger). It also examines the sites of demonstrations highlighted in the coverage, namely Maidan al-Tahrir (Liberation Square). To see the divergence in news coverage, the paper juxtaposes Al-Jazeera's coverage and the official Egyptian television's coverage of the protest. It concludes that al-Jazeera's sources were predominantly leading figures in the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamists, and political groups calling for Mubarak's downfall. Al-Jazeera's interviewees and headlines saw no merit in the reshuffling of the government and considered that as a ploy to gain time and perpetuate Mubarak's repressive rule. On the other hand, the official Egyptian television, unsurprisingly, underscored and deplored acts of vandalism (Baltajah in Arabic), praised young protestors' efforts to protect the Egyptian national museum, called for calm, and asked the people to protect Egypt's security. In a nutshell, al-Jazeera's reporting was anti-government, highlighting voices demanding the toppling of the government, and calling for Mubarak's departure.

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Keywords: *Egyptian uprising; Al-Jazeera; Muslim brotherhood; President Hosni Mubarak*

INTRODUCTION

The Arab Spring brought pleasant surprises to millions of Arabs around the world. Some scholars thought Arab masses were in a political coma. Many political activists felt so powerless that they left their homelands and sought refuge in other countries. But ordinary people across the Middle East have never lost confidence in themselves; they proved to be patient, brave, and patriotic. Some analysts misread the symbolism of these popular uprisings. Some argue that the peoples revolted for bread and employment; others claimed the uprisings are foreign conspiracies. These popular uprisings symbolize the dreams of suppressed nations, and their unflagging quest to live in dignity and pride.

The Tunisians triggered popular uprisings in the Arab world by proving that despots are vulnerable, and can subdue determined peoples. But, don't forget the Sudanese people who did it twice; toppling two military dictatorships, Aboud in 1964, and Numeiri in 1985. How could millions of suppressed peoples in neighboring Egypt, Libya, and Yemen know about and identify with the Tunisian success story if it were not for the mass media? Although Arab governments controlled major global media, these governments could not entirely control international satellite televisions, mobile telephony, and the Internet. It's not a surprise that most Arab nations shunned government-controlled media, and sought political news in foreign media channels (e.g., BBC and VOA), before the advent of Al Jazeera.

During the Arab Spring uprisings, Al Jazeera channel was one of the few Arab television channels that stood by the side of the popular protest particularly in Egypt. The pan-Arab channel played a catalytic role as a change agent. It challenged dictators' official media outlets and exposed their wrong-doings. That was a bold, yet risky editorial decision. Fortunately, for Al Jazeera, the popular uprisings succeeded in regime change in Tunisia and Egypt. The author of this paper used media ethnography and qualitative content analysis to appraise Al Jazeera's coverage of the Egyptian uprising critically.

MEDIA DEPENDENCY THEORY

Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur's media system dependency theory provides a useful conceptual framework that integrates phenomenology in field media research. "An advantage of media system dependency theory is that we can use the same basic concepts that apply to the abstract macro relations between systems to examine the more concrete (and micro) relations between individuals and the mass media". According to the media dependency theory, "the degree of media contribution to individual's construction of subjective reality is a function of one's direct experiences with various phenomena and consequent dependence on the media for information about these phenomena".

The media dependency theory suggested that media portrayals immensely affect individuals' perceptions of social conflicts if these conflicts are remote and far from individuals' lived experiences. Conversely, the closer social conflicts to the individual daily experience are, the less his/her perceptions will be congruent with media construction of reality. Thus, the perceptions of individuals who do not have direct experience with these conflicts can be described as media dependent.

According to Cohen et al. "there was a weak trend, indicating that the more remote the conflicts are from people's unmediated experiences – the more they are dependent upon the media for their knowledge, understanding, and interpretation of social conflicts". Their study of foreign news coverage in US media suggests the presence of a "phenomenon that may be termed the severity syndrome of foreign conflict

news". Cohen et al. argued that international conflicts are portrayed in the US media as "severe," "complex" and "unsolvable." Moreover, conflicts in African, Arab and Muslim countries are portrayed as crises situations. Journalists, wittingly or unwittingly, sustain negative coverage of international events not only because of their national biases, but also because of their heavy reliance on government sources.

THE FRAMING THEORY

Frame analysis becomes a powerful tool for investigating media effects on foreign policy formulation and implementation. Goffman conceptualized the notion of framing as a person's definition of a situation, or a context in which human interaction takes place. He referred to frames as "the schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label events within their life space or the world at large". For Tuchman, however, a news frame represented a "window on the world".

According to Kuypers frames are "located in the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture at large". Frames "provide the interpretive cues for otherwise neutral facts." Driven by their interests and biases, news media construct stories in ways inducing audiences to draw certain conclusions.

Although framing is intentional or unintentional, the news media frame stories to advance their perspective, that of the target audience, or the views of the people involved in the event or issue. A "frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" [1]. Gamson [1] refers to several framing devices, including metaphors, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images. Paletz and Entman [2] argued that the form of television news "disguises the process of selecting, framing, structuring, contextualizing, and linking stories; it conceals the reconstitution and reconstruction of reality". Thus, "Media discourse is part of the process by which individuals construct meaning, and public opinion is part of the process by which journalists ...develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse".

Political communication scholars have used frame analysis mostly to examine how journalists relied on story lines to depict political events, highlight issues, and describe political figures. They differentiated between news media frames and individuals' frames [3,4].

Iyengar and Simon argued, "Print and broadcast news coverage of world events involving the use of US military force have propagated the world view and policy preferences of the incumbent administrations". Such news stories furnish their audiences with "contextual cues or frames in which to evaluate those subjects". Gamson and Modigliani [5] suggested that frames are formed by the interplay of journalistic routines and the influence of interest groups. Frames may reflect, however, ideological values of a particular social class and can be "driven by ideology and prejudice" [6].

Journalists use media frames to influence audiences' interpretations of media messages. Gitlin [7] defined media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol – handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual". Entman [6] extended this notion and contends that media frames rely on salience, repetition, and association with familiar symbols while directing "attention away from other aspects". Thus, "the essence of framing is sizing – magnifying or shrinking elements of the depicted reality to make them more or less salient" [3]. Entman [6] argues that frame diagnoses causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Thus, frames serve to "introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way".

But media frames may not resonate with individuals' frames. Audiences may accept, reject, or reframe these media frames [8,9]. Some studies examined the divergence between news media frames and public frames and depicted the public as an active rather than a passive audience. Since divergent frames compete for audiences' attention, some scholars consider framing as a competitive process.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Created by the Emir of Qatar in 1996, Al Jazeera emerged as the most important television channel in the Arab world. Entrapped by their national government-controlled television channels, Arab audiences were vying for a new voice that resonates with their needs and concerns.

The Egyptian government created more than 25 state-owned channels to persuade the Egyptian people with the government's stories, and to counteract Al Jazeera influence. Nonetheless, both endeavors failed abysmally. Disillusioned Arab people found in Al Jazeera news what they were looking for; a reasonable degree of editorial independence, and voice that expresses their dissatisfaction with the political stagnation, corruption, and repression in the Arab world. According to Zayani and Sahraoui [10] Arabs identified with Al Jazeera, it is "the channel of Arab disenchantment, articulating what people want to say but cannot say with a rare sense of audacity".

AJA journalistic independence should be understood in context; the channel can't work against the wish of its benefactor, Qatar. One example is the dramatic change in AJA's coverage of Saudi Arabia. Following a Qatari-Saudi rapprochement, AJA's aggressive approach to Saudi affairs changed into a meek and complacent coverage. And although Qatar argues that Al-Jazeera operates autonomously and that Qatar would not interfere in the channels editorial policies [11], there were incidents where Qatar intervened to reign in Al Jazeera.

Arab audiences' identification with AJA is not coincidental, because the channel played the victim's role for its coverage of Afghanistan and Iraq. AJA's office in Kabul was attacked, probably in retaliation for the scoop, it got from its exclusive coverage of the war in Afghanistan. Moreover, AJA's office in Baghdad was attacked by a US warplane that killed one of its correspondents (Tariq Ayoub). A cameraman, Sami al-Haj, working for AJA was arrested in Afghanistan and sent to Guantanamo detention center because he was allegedly helping al-Qaeda. He was released after nine years of imprisonment for lack of sufficient evidence. Recently, there were reports that the Bush administration entertained the idea of bombing AJA headquarters in Doha. The US pressures on Qatar to reign in AJA sustained doubts about the U.S. ingenuity about promoting free speech.

AJA was instrumental in exposing the U.S. fallacies about the WMD in Iraq, as well as the atrocities committed by the U.S. officers against Iraqi detainees in Abu Ghraib prison. AJA also criticized some Arab states, including Egypt, for collaborating with the United States and ignoring the interests of their peoples. Because of its provocative reporting on Arab politics, Al Jazeera had been banned by many Arab governments - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen - to name a few [11]. AJA office in Cairo was closed a few days after the beginning of the popular uprising.

Saghieh claimed that "Aljazeera's Impact Derives From its ability to fuse two dimensions of globalization: sophisticated technology ("capitalist globalization") and an appeal to ethnic and religious populism (what might be called, from old Marxist phraseology, ("lumpenproletariat globalization")).

Al Jazeera drew caustic criticism from many expected and unexpected sources. For example, former US secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld described the channel as a "mouthpiece of al-Qaeda," calling Al Jazeera "vicious, inaccurate and inexcusable". Pollock argued that AJA compromised its journalistic integrity to serve Qatar's political interests (Washingtoninstitute.org). But, some scholars tried to exonerate AJA and justify its biased reporting of some events. Iskandar and El-Nawawi [12] reasoned that AJA practiced "contextual objectivity" to meet its "audience's expectations". But, the concept of "conceptual objectivity" may not stand the scrutiny if coverage focuses on an in-group rivalry occurring in one contextual setting.

Al Jazeera coverage of the Arab uprisings bolsters the channel's standing in many countries. Some elites in some countries resented seeing Al Jazeera used for political expediency. Al Jazeera, to its credit, was persistently supportive of Arab civic societies. The channel endured some renowned employee defections probably because of its coverage of the uprising in Syria (e.g., Ghassan Ben Jeddo, and Luna AlShibl).

El-Nawawy and Iskandar [13] acknowledged bias in Al Jazeera coverage of the Iraq war, but justified it “contextual objectivity.” The authors vindicated Al Jazeera reasoning that most media organizations frame news in a biased fashion [14]. And although Al Jazeera has more editorial independence compared to similar news channels (Al Arabiya and Al Hurrah for example), its sensational coverage of political news in Iraq and Afghanistan is well-documented.

Wojcieszak argues, “Western critics have described Aljazeera as an ‘inexcusably biased’ ‘mouthpiece of Osama bin Laden’, criticized it for covering uncontextualized violence, death, and torture, accused the channel of hampering the democratization efforts in Iraq, and blamed it for the rise of insurgency and the increase in kidnapping incidents.” According to Samuel-Azran, “Aljazeera reports were “contaminated” and can be categorized as “propaganda,”. But, this is not a negative characterization for Al Jazeera as it brands itself as “a counter-hegemonic force in the Middle East, a force that facilitates sociopolitical changes by criticizing and challenging the institutionalized structures and the prevalent social discourse in the Arab world”. Zayani and Sahraoui [10] highlighted Al Jazeera’s regionally remarkable editorial independence, and its sympathetic coverage of the sufferings of Iraqis and Palestinians with “a distinctly Arab perspective”

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: How did Aljazeera cover the uprisings in Egypt?

RQ2: Did Aljazeera’s coverage adhere to the principles of journalistic objectivity?

METHODOLOGY

In this exploratory study, the researcher watched AJA channel news during the two weeks of the Egyptian uprisings. He watched the AJA news three times per day (morning, midday, and evening). The researcher also watched the news all day during the “Friday of Rage.” He also watched the Egyptian television channel to see the difference in the coverage. On Saturday, Jan. 29, 2011 the researcher watched AJA as well as the Egyptian television concurrently from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. to explore the variation in their messages. The researcher videotaped the headline news, and took notes of the key points. He also used Al Jazeera. net as an aid to search for more information on the AJA coverage.

The researcher gathered the data and transcribed it. He systematically classified the data into categories along thematic lines. He also took note of the influential interviewees on AJA and their statements. Then, he compared the coverage of the AJA and the Egyptian television to see the similarities and the differences in terms of language used as well as visuals.

To answer research questions, the researcher used media ethnography and qualitative context analysis. Madianou (2005), argues, “Media ethnography is gaining around as a legitimate research method.” The researcher used personnel observation to observe and evaluate the coverage of both channels to ensure the information and the way they are broadcasted.

FINDINGS

Major themes on AJA: An overriding theme of AJA coverage was demanding Mubarak’s departure. AJA espoused the protesters’ demand scalling for preventing of hereditary by dissolving the Consultative Council and the Parliament, enacting constitutional amendments (namely articles 76 and 77) to facilitate free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections, and lifting the state of emergency.

Most of the AJA coverage was from the Tahrir Square (Maidan al- Tahrir). Demonstrations in other cities were also covered including Alexandria, Al Arish, and Suez City. The focus was on the martyrs and those injured by the security forces. Many of the television coverage highlighted the masses on the streets, and the popular shouts “the people want toppling the regime.”

Another major theme was that the thugs (Baltajia in Arabic) were attacking the demonstrators. AJA suggested that some of these thugs were secret police in plain clothes. They are also supported by the national ruling party and some business people.

AJA’s coverage also hailed the Egyptian army as a neutral and reliable bastion of democracy. The army was depicted as a defender of free speech, protecting the protestors from police brutality.

AJA also highlighted Mubarak speech, framing it as too little too late. Most of the guests who commented on the speech condemned it arguing that it did not respond to the needs of the people.

Prominent opinion leaders on AJA: AJA broadcast Sheikh Yusuf Al Qaradawi’s statement asking the people to rise against the Egyptian government and calling on Mubarak to step-down. The respected Islamic preacher and his views on the uprising were featured numerous times. AJA also allowed Mohammed Hassanein Haikal, a prominent journalist known for anti-government stance, to use his program “Ma’a Haikal,” to call on Mubarak to step-down and discuss issues of the Egyptian revolution. The pan-Arab channel also interviewed Mohammed ElBaradei, Amr Musa, Ayman Noor, Amr Khaled, some apolitical members of the “Youth of the Revolution,” in addition to a number of the Muslim Brotherhood leaders including Isam Al-Irian and Abdel Munem Abu al-Fotooh.

Major themes on Egyptian television – Egypt’s News (Akhbar Masr) Most of the news on the Egyptian government-controlled television, Egypt’s News, focused on “how to protect Egypt.” The television highlighted complaints from numerous people who called-in from Nasr, Basateen, Roxy, and Rehab cities, complaining from looting and mugging. The television also broadcast news from a looted and burnt down Carrefour store in Ma’adi City, in Cairo. The main theme was that the thugs (Baltajia) were terrorizing the people. The television also highlighted news that in Cairo as well as in Alexandria the youth were protecting their homes as well public properties, namely the Egyptian National Museum.

Another important message was the need to respect the law and reject chaos. Interestingly, the Egyptian television never broadcast from the Tahrir Square; but showed live images from quiet places in Cairo, including an angle of Six of October Bridge. The Egyptian television also demanded that the people respect the army’s orders and abide by the curfew.

A major of the Egyptian television coverage was a conspiracy to destroy Egypt, and the people should pull together to protect it. For example, there were reports that the thugs (Baltajia) were attacking 57357 Hospital, which is a public hospital catering for children who suffer from cancer.

The Egyptian television also carried live all government news. It featured Mubarak witnessing the swearing in of the Ahmed Shafiq government. It also broadcast news refuting rumors about the fleeing of Jamal and Ala Mubarak to London.

Unlike AJA, the Egyptian television did not feature any prominent opinion leader, safe Sheikh al-Azhar. He called on the Egyptian people to safeguard Egypt and protect it.

DISCUSSION

AJA’s passionate coverage of the Egyptian uprising was not coincidental or episodic. The channel is known for criticizing Egyptian government and siding with its opponents. According to Seib, Aljazeera’s coverage of Egypt 2005 infringed on government’s rights. He added that “on the Election Day 2005 the Egyptian state channel didn’t mention [anything] about the anti-Mubarak protests. However, Aljazeera aired an interview with Mohammed H. Haikal [whose known to be an anti-Mubarak icon, and he banned to talk with the national channel]. Moreover, in the parliament day election state Egyptian channel didn’t report the violence accompanier the voting. Aljazeera; [however], ran footages with bloody faces and thugs waving machetes while police officers stood by”.

If we compare the coverage of AJA and the Egyptian television of the Egyptian revolution we find that both of them were biased; AJA to the people and the Egyptian television to the government. But, if we compare AJA coverage of the Egyptian uprising with the BBC's, we find a striking difference. AJA did not give a room for the representatives of the Egyptian government or their supporters. On the other hand, the BBC interviewed Mohammed Albaradei, Ahmed F. Sorour, the head of the parliament, the new secretary of the National Party Majed Alsherbeny, Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq, and the ex-vice president Omar Sulaiman. Thus, the BBC coverage is relatively more balanced compared to AJA's.

AJA's coverage of the Egyptian revolution sheds more light on the channel's political orientation. But, its potency should not be exaggerated. AJA provides Arab peoples with a voice [15], but its influence on the behavior of Arab states [16] should not be overstated.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that AJA coverage of the Egyptian uprising aimed at a regime change in Egypt. All the coverage including the news, the guests in the Doha studio, and the interviewees on the streets in Egypt were in favor of ousting Mubarak and dismantling his regime. AJA did not give room for the Egyptian government under Mubarak to voice its concerns. Thus, the coverage was squarely supportive of the Egyptian people against Mubarak's regime. Daring as it was, AJA's coverage of the Egyptian uprising could not have taken place if it was not sanctioned by the Qatari authorities. It's inconceivable for any person, much less a satellite media channel, to speak openly against an existing Arab ruler without being questioned by local government authorities.

Al Jazeera's assertions about editorial independence did not stand scrutiny. The popular uprising during the Arab Spring, 2011, made it evident that the channel reporting of events is far from balanced. Al Jazeera was tough on Mubarak of Egypt, Gaddafi of Libya, and Saleh of Yemen. But, the channel was lenient and sheepish on Bashir of Sudan, Assad of Syria and the monarchy of Bahrain. Although controlled by the state of Qatar, Al Jazeera is increasingly becoming a media diplomacy tool for the Arab people.

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An abstract is a concise informative presentation of the article content for fast and accurate Evaluation of its relevance. It is both in the Editorial Office's and the author's best interest for an abstract to contain terms often used for indexing and article search. The abstract describes the purpose of the study and the methods, outlines the findings and state the conclusions. A 100- to 250-Word abstract should be placed between the title and the keywords with the body text to follow. Besides an abstract are advised to have a summary in English, at the end of the article, after the Reference list. The summary should be structured and long up to 1/10 of the article length (it is more extensive than the abstract).

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Acknowledgements

The name and the number of the project or programmed within which the article was realized is given in a separate note at the bottom of the first page together with the name of the institution which financially supported the project or programmed.

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All the captions should be in the original language as well as in English, together with the texts in illustrations if possible. Tables are typed in the same style as the text and are denoted by numerals at the top. Photographs and drawings, placed appropriately in the text, should be clear, precise and suitable for reproduction. Drawings should be created in Word or Corel.

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Notes:

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